

THE DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF LONDON AND LEIDEN

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THE
DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF
LONDON AND LEIDEN

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PREFACE

THE MS., dating from the third century A.D., which is here edited for the first time in a single whole, has long been known to scholars. Its subject-matter—magic and medicine—is not destitute of interest. It is closely connected with the Greek magical papyri from Egypt of the same period, but, being written in demotic, naturally does not reproduce the Greek hymns which are so important a feature of those papyri. The influence of purely Greek mythology also is here by comparison very slight—hardly greater than that of the Alexandrian Judaism which has supplied a number of names of Hellenistic form to the demotic magician. Mithraism has apparently contributed nothing at all: Christianity probably only a deformed reference to the Father in Heaven. On the other hand, as might have been expected, Egyptian mythology has an overwhelmingly strong position, and whereas the Greek papyri scarcely go beyond Hermes, Anubis, and the Osiris legend, the demotic magician introduces Khons, Amon, and many other Egyptian gods. Also, whereas the former assume a knowledge of the *modus operandi* in divination by the lamp and bowl, the latter describes it in great detail.

But the papyrus is especially interesting for the language in which it is written. It is probably the

latest Egyptian MS. which we possess written in the demotic script, and it presents us with the form of the language as written—almost as spoken—by the pagans at the time when the Greek alphabet was being adopted by the Christians. It must not be forgotten, too, that this is the document which contributed perhaps more than any other to the decipherment of demotic, partly through its numerous Greek glosses.

We have therefore thought that a complete edition, with special reference to its philological importance, would be useful. The vocabulary is extensive, comprising about a thousand words. The present volume, containing the introduction, the transliteration, translation, and notes, will be followed by a complete glossary, with separate indices of Greek words, invocation names, names of animals, plants, and minerals, and a list of the glosses, &c., besides a chapter dealing with the principal grammatical forms met with in the MS., and a hand-copy of the text; the photographic reproduction by Hess of the pages in the British Museum and Leemans' facsimile of those at Leiden will of course preserve their independent value for reference, as, for instance, in judging the condition of the MS. and the precise forms of the signs in particular passages.

There is considerable inconsistency in the spelling of words in the papyrus itself. So much having to be rendered more or less conventionally, while fresh light is thrown daily on the intricacies of demotic, it is probable that there are a good many inconsistencies in our transliterations, translations, and notes, in spite of the watchfulness of the excellent reader at the Clarendon

Press. Those, however, who have dealt with the subject at all will probably not judge these too hardly.

In conclusion, we have to record our gratitude, first, to our predecessors in publication and decipherment of the papyrus—to Reuvens, Leemans, and Hess, to Brugsch, Maspero, Revillout, and W. Max Müller—but for whose varied contributions our task would have been infinitely more laborious even in the present advanced state of the study: and secondly, to the authorities of the Egyptian department in the British Museum, and of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, for their courtesy in affording every facility for studying the original MS., and more especially to Dr. Boeser of the Leiden Museum for much kindness and assistance.

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H. T.

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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE MS.

THE demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden was discovered at Thebes with other papyri, principally Greek but dealing with subjects of a like nature, in the early part of the last century, and was bought by Anastasi, who was at that time Swedish consul at Alexandria, and made a large collection of Egyptian MSS. When Anastasi obtained the MS. it must already have been torn into two parts, and it is even probable that he obtained the two parts at different times, since he sold his Egyptian collections, including the Leiden MS., to the Dutch government in 1828, while the London portion was bought at the sale of his later collections at Paris in 1857 for the British Museum (No. 1072 in Lenormant's Catalogue).

The Leiden fragment was made known to the world much earlier than that in the British Museum. Its importance for the deciphering of the demotic script by the help of the numerous glosses in Graeco-Coptic characters was at once perceived by the distinguished scholar Reuvens, at that time Director of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, who proceeded to study it carefully, and in 1830 published an admirable essay¹ in which he sketched the principal contents of the MS. and indicated its value for the progress of demotic

¹ Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs, par C. J. C. REUVENS. Leide, 1830. (Première lettre, Papyrus bilingues.)

studies. He then took in hand its reproduction, and the MS. was lithographed in facsimile under his direction, and he had corrected the proofs of the first plate when he was cut off by a premature death in 1835; his work was carried to completion and published by his successor in the Directorship of the Museum, Leemans, in 1839¹. Heinrich Brugsch studied it closely, and drew from it most of the examples quoted in his *Demotic Grammar* published in 1855; but, although later scholars have frequently quoted from it and translated fragments of it, the MS. has hitherto remained without complete translation, commentary, or glossary.

The London MS., however, lay from 1857 onwards almost unnoticed in the British Museum. To the late Dr. Pleyte, Leemans' successor at Leiden, belongs the credit of discovering that the two MSS. originally formed one. He had studied the Leiden portion, and at once recognized the handwriting of its fellow in London. Without publishing the fact, he communicated it to Professor Hess of Freiburg, when the latter was working in Leiden on the MS. there. Professor Hess went on to London, and, having fully confirmed Dr. Pleyte's statement, published in 1892 a reproduction of the British Museum MS. with an introduction, including the translation of one column, and a glossary².

Reuvsen in his essay dwelt at some length on the 'gnostic' character of the MS. He devoted his attention mainly to the parts which contain the glosses, and those are almost exclusively magical invocations, among which occur the names of gods, spirits, and demons, Egyptian, Syrian, Jewish, &c., strung together in a manner similar

¹ *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide: papyrus égyptien démotique à transcriptions grecques I. 383, publié par le Dr. CONRAD LEEMANS. Leide, 1839.*

² *Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar von J. J. HESS. Freiburg, 1892.*

to those found in gnostic writings and on gnostic gems. He even went so far as to associate them with the name of a particular gnostic leader, Marcus, of the second century, chiefly on the ground of his recorded use of Hebrew and Syriac names in his invocations and the combinations of vowels. In consequence the MS. has acquired the name of the 'Leiden Gnostic,' and the term 'Gnostic' has been passed on to the London MS. But as will be seen from the complete translation here published, there is nothing in the work relating to the gnostic systems—it deals with magic and medicine, and it seems a misnomer to call the MS. gnostic merely because part of the stock-in-trade of the magician and medicine-man were a number of invocation names which he either picked up from the gnostics or derived from sources common to him and them. Hence it has been thought desirable to abandon the epithet 'gnostic,' and to call the work the 'Magical papyrus of London and Leiden' (Pap. mag. LL.).

II. CONDITION OF THE MS.

The London portion is in far better condition than the Leiden portion. The papyrus is pale in colour and the ink very black; consequently where the MS. has not suffered material damage it is easy to read, as the scribe wrote a beautiful and regular hand.

The Leiden papyrus, on the other hand, has unfortunately suffered much, as Leemans, with a view to protecting the surface, covered both recto and verso with 'vegetable' paper, which probably could not be removed now without serious injury to the MS.; but either the paper or the adhesive matter employed with it has darkened and decayed, rendering the writing illegible in places.

In 1829, while the MS. was still in charge of Reuvens and before it had been subjected to the operation above described, he took a tracing of it which has been preserved, and which, though of little assistance in points of minute detail, may be relied on for filling up with certainty many groups which are now wholly lost in the original.

The main body of the writing is on the recto (horizontal fibres) of the papyrus, while on the verso are written memoranda, medical prescriptions, and short invocations.

The London MS. is Pap. No. 10070 of the British Museum (formerly Anast. 1072).

The Leiden MS. is known as I. 383 (reckoned among the Anastasi MSS. as A. 65).

The London portion forms the initial part of the MS. and joins on to the Leiden portion without a break, the tenth and last column of the London MS. and the first of the Leiden forming one column.

The first London column is imperfect, and it is not possible to say with certainty whether the MS. began with it or whether there was an anterior part now lost. It is quite possible that it began here. On the other hand, it is certain that the MS. is imperfect at the end, since the broken edge of the papyrus at Leiden shows traces of a column of writing succeeding the present final column.

It is impossible to estimate how much is lost, as the MS. is not an original composition on a definite plan, but a compilation of heterogeneous material collected together without any logical order.

The two portions, if joined together, would measure, roughly speaking, some 5 m. (about $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet) in length. In height it averages nearly 25 cm. (10 in.). The writing is in columns, of which there are twenty-nine on the

recto, while on the verso are thirty-three small columns or portions of columns; but these are not marked off, as are the recto columns, by vertical and horizontal framing lines¹, nor are they written continuously, but they seem to have been jotted down there on account of their brevity and discontinuous character.

The recto columns vary somewhat in size, but average 20 × 20 cm. (8 in. square). The writing is frequently carried beyond the framing lines.

In each column of the recto the number of lines is on the average about thirty to thirty-three; but the number is very irregular, ranging from forty-three in one column to five in another.

III. CONTENTS.

As has been stated above, the MS. is a compilation. An analysis of the contents will be found on page 14. From this it will be seen to consist mainly of directions for divination processes involving numerous invocations, together with erotica and medical prescriptions, in which, however, magic plays as large a part as medicine.

The MS. is far from being unique in regard to its contents. Fragments of similar works in demotic exist at Paris (Louvre, No. 3229, published by Maspero, *Quelques papyrus du Louvre*, 1875), and at Leiden (I. 384 verso, Anast. 75, published by Leemans, *Mons. du musée de Leide*, 1842, pl. ccxxvi-vii) a MS. partly demotic and partly Greek, the latter portion being published by Leemans in *Pap. graeci mus. lugd. bat.* 1885, ii. *Pap. V*, and re-edited by Dieterich, *Pap. Mag. Mus. Lugd. Bat.* The Greek papyri containing similar texts are numerous, many examples having been pub-

¹ The horizontal lines on the recto are continuous for the whole length of the papyrus.

lished from the museums of Berlin, Leiden, London, and Paris by Goodwin, Parthey, Leemans, Wessely, and Kenyon.

The well-known codex of the Bibliothèque Nationale published by Wessely, *Denkschr. Kais. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, xxxvi. 1888, contains a few invocations in Old Coptic along with the Greek (cf. Griffith, *A. Z.* 1901, p. 85, and bibliography, *ibid.* p. 72).

Magic was from the earliest times largely developed by the Egyptians in relation both to the dead and the living. Under the former head fall both the pyramid texts and other texts found in the tombs, including most of the Book of the Dead, which consists mainly of magical invocations intended to make smooth the path of the deceased in the next world.

Magical texts for the use of the living are found in the Harris magical papyrus (ed. Chabas, 1860), the Metternich stela (ed. Golenischeff, 1877) and kindred stones, the Berlin papyrus edited by Erman (*Zaubersprüche für Mutter u. Kind*, 1901), &c. Reference may be made to the volume on Egyptian magic by Dr. Wallis Budge, 1899, and to a special study on vessel-divination by E. Lefébure, 'Le vase divinatoire,' in *Sphinx*, 1902, VI. 61 seq. Cf. also Dieterich, 'Abraxas'; Kenyon in *Cat. Greek Pap. in B. M.*, I. 62 seq.; Miss Macdonald in *P. S. B. A.*, xiii. 160 seq.; Wunsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, &c.

In the closely allied department of medicine, it is sufficient to refer to the Ebers papyrus, the Kahun papyri, and the Berlin medical papyrus (ed. Brugsch, *Rec. Mon.* pl. 87-107), which offer many parallels. Among the Greek medical writers it is noticeable that Alexander of Tralles seems much more closely allied to the Egyptian school, if that be represented by our MS., than Galen.

But though the subject-matter of the MS. is not without its interest for the history of magic and medicine, its chief claim to publication lies in its philological interest. From the first its numerous glosses have attracted the attention of scholars, and have been the means of fixing the value of a large number of demotic groups. Further it is in date probably the latest known papyrus written in the demotic script; most of the glosses are really Coptic transcriptions, and under this head may likewise be included all the Egyptian words written in cipher; so that the MS. in these furnishes us with a series of very early Coptic words, including several grammatical forms of great interest. Possibly too the text may be of importance in relation to the question of dialects in pagan Egypt; but that is a subject too little worked out at present to allow of definite statements. The vocabulary is very extensive, and includes a number of Greek words, the names of over 100 plants, besides numerous animals and minerals.

IV. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE MS.

It may be useful to record here the names of those who have dealt with the MS. at greater length than a mere passing reference or quotation, and to whom we are indebted for many suggestions:—

REUVENS. *Supra*, p. 1.

LEEMANS. *Mons. &c., texte; Aegyptische Papyrus in demotischer Schrift, &c.* 1839.

MASPERO. *Rec. trav.*, i. 18-40 (1870).

REVILLOUT. *Setna*, introd. pp. 3-48 (1877); *Rev. Égypt.*, i. 163-172 (1880), ii. 10-15, 270-2 (1881); *Poème satyrique* (1885).

PLEYTE. *P. S. B. A.*, 1883, 149.

BRUGSCH. *Wtb. pass.*, A. Z., 1884, 18 seq.

MAX MÜLLER. *Rec. tr.*, viii. 172 (1886), xiii. 149 (1890).

HESS. Setna pass. (1888), Zur Aussprache des Griechischen, in the *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, vi. 123; Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar, 1892.

GROFF. Mém. de l'Institut Égypt. iii. 337 seq. (1897), and Bulletin du même, 1897, 1898.

As the London portion of the MS., which in the order of contents is the first part, was published fifty years later than the second part at Leiden, it follows that each publication has an independent numbering of the columns, starting from I. In view of the fact that there are many references in demotic literature already to the columns by their numbers as established by the publications of Leemans and Hess, it would have been desirable to retain the existing numbering if possible. But, as will be seen by comparison of the hand copy of the whole MS. which accompanies this edition with the former publications, the changes in the way of consolidation of the columns, and in some cases necessary re-numbering of the lines, have made it compulsory to introduce a new and continuous numbering of the columns. For instance, Hess col. X and Leemans col. I form a single column, and the same is the case with Leemans cols. II and III and cols. IV and V, and with verso, cols. XVI and XVII, XXII and XXIII. A comparative table of the old and new numbers will be found at the end.

V. THE GLOSSES.

There are about 640 words with transcriptions in Coptic characters in addition to a few inserted in the text.

Besides all the letters of the Greek alphabet we find the following used:—

ff (=κ 26/15).	6 (=ϛ : ϣ 9/11).
Ϸ (=κ 7/33, 25/34).	ϣ (=ϣ 2/10, 9/14).
h (=λ 25/34, 35 text).	Λ (=Ϸ 9/14, 25/34).
ϣ (=ω 2/13, 5/23, 8/8).	ϣ (=Ϸ 2/4).
3 (=ϣ 1/25, 8/9, 13, V. 5/9).	5 (=Ϸ 9/6, 29/10).
λ (=ϣ 2/18).	Ϸ (=Ϸ 2/26, 29/10).

The glosses were undoubtedly written by the same scribe who wrote the demotic text. And it seems that he wrote the glosses before he filled in the rubrics. For the handwriting of the demotic text and of the rubrics is unquestionably the same; and in filling up in red the empty spaces he had left for rubrication, the scribe took occasion to fill in with his red ink occasional lapses in the black writing. In the text this can be observed in e.g. 24/1, the omitted ϣ of the second *str* (?) has been filled up in red, and also the omitted determinative in the last word of 28/8, an omitted letter in *phr* 29/11, an omitted word *sn* interlineated in 29/12, and a plural sign in 25/26; and so too the gloss *ewe* in 28/8, overlooked when the glosses were originally inserted in black ink.

It is a fact that there is often a considerable difference between the Greek letters in the passages written in Greek and in the glosses (e.g. *παπιπετου* in 15/25 and 15/29), but this may be accounted for by the fact that the former are written in a cursive hand with ligatures, while the glosses are carefully written with separately formed letters without ligatures for distinctness' sake in the narrow space between the lines.

The above considerations, however, only show that the text and glosses were written by the same hand in our existing MS. It does not follow that they were written by the original compiler. Max Müller has argued (Rec. tr., viii. 175) that they must be due to another individual since they are mostly in the Fayumic

dialect, while the dialect of the demotic text is 'Untersahidisch' (i.e. Achmimic, so called by Stern). In Rec. tr., xiii. 152 *u.*, he replaces the latter term by a more precise definition: 'Die Mundart steht zwischen Fayumisch u. dem Mittel-ägyptischen von Akhmim, letzterem näher.' But it is very doubtful whether this distinction between the text and the glosses can be maintained. The only example quoted by Max Müller that distinctly suggests Fayumic is the gloss $\lambda\omega$ and λ over a group in 16/5 and 25/34, which he reads as = (e) $\rho\sigma\sigma$, regarding the interchange of ρ and λ as evidence of Fayumic dialect. But the demotic group in question does not read *er-w*, but *mr* as in *mr-ʿh* (1/17, 2/7, 14/6, 28), and the gloss $\lambda\omega$ represents the absolute form of the late Egyptian word which we see in its construct form in Sahidic $\lambda\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ and in $\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omega\eta\iota\varsigma$. From the detailed examination of the dialect (in vol. ii) it appears probable that the dialect of the text does not show any distinction from that of the glosses, and it is not necessary to go behind the scribe of the present MS. and place the compiler earlier. He may well have been one and the same.

VI. DATE.

Reuvers (u.s. p. 151) placed the date of the MS. in the first half of the third century A.D., and this was repeated by Leemans.

Groff and Hess attributed it on palaeographical grounds to the second century; but in the light of recent additions to the knowledge of Greek palaeography, and the opinions based on them of Kenyon, Grenfell, and Hunt (see A. Z., xxxix. (1901) p. 78), the third century must be accepted as the date of the MS. But this, of course,

is the date at which the papyrus was written, and merely furnishes a *terminus ad quem* for deciding as to the date of the contents.

That the whole of the papyrus, in its present state, was written by one and the same scribe—with the possible exception of verso XXVIII—can scarcely be a matter of doubt to any one who has studied closely the handwriting of the original MSS. It must be stated, however, that Reuvens and Leemans were of opinion that the glosses were written by a later hand than that of the body of the text: but this question has been discussed above (p. 9), and apart from the identity of ink, and the material proof given there, it may be added that the hieratic glosses in 27/8 are certainly written by the same hand as the numerous hieratic passages scattered through the text.

The date of the contents is a much more complicated question. Written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic, and partly in Greek, they wear the aspect of a compilation, which is borne out by the varied and disconnected nature of the subject-matter.

It has been suggested that the work is a translation into demotic of a Greek original, and perhaps this is the first question demanding discussion. *Prima facie* it may be said to be likely, as so many similar works exist in Greek. The introduction of three invocations of considerable length written in Greek characters almost compels us to accept that origin for those particular sections, viz. 4/1-19, 15/24-31, 23/7-20. It seems probable that the translator felt he could transfer to Egyptian the prescriptions and preparations, while the formula of incantation had to be left in the original language. Had these sections been written in Egyptian originally, it is not likely that an incantation in a foreign tongue would be inserted in the place presumably of an Egyptian one.

And in the first named instance there is the additional evidence of two true Greek glosses, i.e. not *Coptic transcriptions* of the demotic words, but Greek equivalents of the two words 'table' and 'goose,' which seem to be inserted clearly to prevent a misunderstanding of the original terms. In the second instance 15/24-31, the original Greek lines 25-28 are immediately followed by a demotic translation of the same passage (ll. 29-31), which points in the same direction. Translation from the Greek is rendered probable, outside the passages already referred to, by the transcription of Greek prescriptions and substances in 24/1-25, and verso I, II, VIII, IX. According to an ingenious suggestion of Max Müller, in verso II the otherwise unintelligible phrase *m^{nes} n rm* is almost certainly a mistranslation of *μαγνησία ἀνδρεία*. Max Müller has also (Rec. tr., viii. 175-6) given strong reasons for regarding the passage 25/23-37 as being translated from a Greek original. However, even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian—certainly so in the case of the Greek passage in 15/25-28, which has itself clearly an Egyptian origin.

On the other hand, some of the chief sections of the MS. show no traces of Greek influence, e.g. cols. VI and XV. 1-20; but it would be rash to say that they are older; they may well represent only a purer Egyptian source. Max Müller (Rec. tr., viii. 172) has suggested that some of the magic formulae go back to the period from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty. This cannot be true of more than a few phrases. The language indeed is not entirely uniform, but throughout the papyrus the vocabulary and grammar are distinctly not 'Late Egyptian'; they are 'demotic,' and that too

of a kind which approaches Coptic much more closely than in any other known papyrus. Certain passages, such as the spell in 13/1-10, show more or less archaism, but in all cases it is mixed with late forms.

The use of hieratic might be thought to indicate some antiquity where it occurs. But the writing is a strange jumble; the hieratic is inextricably though sparingly mixed with the demotic, a single word being often written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic. Where hieratic signs occur the language is not generally more archaic than when the demotic is pure. In 23/24 the word *Abrasax* is written in hieratic. Now *Abrasax* is usually regarded as a typical gnostic invocation name, Irenaeus having stated that it was invented by Basilides (fl. 125 A. D.). This statement is now generally regarded as an error, and the name may be earlier; but there is no authority for placing it in pre-Christian times (cf. Hort, s. v. *Abrasax*, in Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; Dieterich, *Abrasax*, p. 46; C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Kopt. Spr.*, 1892, p. 562).

Not many documents written in hieratic have been ascertained to be later than the first century A. D.; but they were plentiful at Tanis amongst the burnt papyri found by Professor Petrie in the house of 'Bakakhuu' (*Asychis*), the destruction of which Mr. Petrie was disposed to date to 174 A. D. (*Tanis*, i. p. 41); and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* v. 237) mentions hieratic as still taught in the schools (circa A. D. 160-220). Hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the name of Decius (249-251), are found in the temple of Esneh, and the existence of hieroglyphic almost implies that of hieratic.

Judging by the language, it is difficult to believe that any part of the work in its present redaction is more than a century or two older than the papyrus itself.

The contents of the papyrus may be classified as follows :—

1. Divination—

- (a) by the vessel of oil I-III, IX-X. 22, XIV, XVIII. 7-33, XXI. 1-9, XXII (?), XXVIII, verso XXII, verso XXVI.
- (b) by a lamp V, VI-VII, VIII. 1-12, XVI, XVII-XVIII. 6, XXV. 1-22, XXVII. 13-36, verso XVIII, verso XXIV, verso XXXI.
- (c) by the sun X. 22-end, XXVII. 1-12, XXIX.
- (d) by moon XXIII. 21-31.
- (e) by the Foreleg constellation (Great Bear) verso XVIII.
- (f) by stars ? IV. 23-4.
- (g) through the priest Psash (?) VIII. 12-end.
- (h) through Imuthes IV. 1-22.
- (i) by dreams verso XVII, eye-paint XXI, invocation XXVII ? XXVIII.
- (k) for thief-catching III. 29, or shipwreck (?) verso XV.

2. to obtain favour and respect XI, verso XXXII.
to avert anger of superior XV. 24-31.

3. Erotica—

- by potions XV. 1-21, XXI. 10-43, XXV. 23-XXVI.
- by salves XII, verso III. 14-16, XII-XIII. 9, XIII. 10-11, XIV, XXIII, XXV, XXX, XXXII.
- αγωγιμον* verso XVI, XVII, XIX.
- διακοπη* XIII. 1-10.

4. Poisons, &c.—

- blinding XIII. 11, XXIV. 30.
- soporifics XXIII. 1-20, XXIV, verso II. 16-III. 3.
- maddening (magic) verso XXIX.
- slaying XXIII. 7, XXIV. 28, verso XXXII.
- uses of the shrew-mouse, &c. (chiefly in erotica) XIII. 11-end and verso XXXII.

5. Healing—

- poison XIX. 10-21.
- sting XX. 1-27.
- dog's bite XIX. 9, 32-40.
- bone in throat XIX. 21-32, XX. 27-33.
- gout and other affections of feet verso VIII-X, XI.
- water in ears verso IV. 1-5.
- ophthalmia (?) verso XX.
- fever verso XXXIII.
- haemorrhage, &c. in woman verso V. 1-3, 9-13, V. 4-8.
- to ascertain pregnancy verso V. 4-8.

6. names or descriptions of plants, drugs, &c. verso I-II. 15, III. 4-13, 17-18, IV. 6-19, V. 14-17.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

COLUMN I-III. Divination by vessel with medium.

1/2-3/5 invocation ; 3/5-3/35 directions.

IV. 1-19. Process employed by Imuthes.

1-8 directions ; 9-19 Greek invocation.

IV. 20-22. For a horoscope (?).

IV. 23-24. Eye-paints.

V. 1-2. fragmentary.

3-32. Divination by lamp without medium.

3-8 directions ; 9-23 invocations ; 24-32
prescription for eye-paint and further
directions.

VI-VIII. 11. Divination by lamp, with medium and alone.

6/1-11 directions ; 6/11-8/11 invocations.

VIII. 12-18. Divination alone, according to the priest
Psash (?).

12-16 invocation ; 16-18 directions.

IX-X. 22. Divination of Chons by vessel.

9/1-10/9 invocation ; 10/9-10/19 directions
for use with medium ; 10/20-10/22 for
use alone.

X. 22-35. Divination by vessel to see the bark of Ra, alone.

23-30 invocation ; 30-35 directions.

XI. Formula for acquiring praise and honour.

1-21 invocation ; 21-26 directions.

XII. Eroticon.

1-14 directions ; 15-18 invocation ; 18-27
alternative invocation ; 27-31 further
directions.

XIII. To separate a man from a woman.

2-9 invocation ; 9-10 directions (? incom-
plete) ; 11-29 uses of shrew-mouse (?) and
other animals, &c., for removing the man
and procuring the woman.

XIV. Divination by vessel with medium.

2-16 invocation ; 17-32 directions.

COLUMN XV. 1-20. Eroticon.

1-8 directions; 8-20 invocation.

XV. 21-23. Another eroticon.

XV. 24-31. Formula for averting anger of a superior.

25-28 Greek invocation; 29-31 demotic translation of the same.

XVI. 1-14. Divination by lamp; invocation.

XVI. 15-17. Invocation before the sun for success generally.

XVI. 18-30. Divination by lamp with a medium.

18-19 directions; 20-22 invocation; 22-30 further directions.

XVII. 1-21. Another method of divination by lamp with medium.

1-11 invocation; 11-21 directions.

XVII. 21-23. Another method of the same.

XVII. 24-26. Another method of the same.

XVII. 27-XVIII. 6. Another method of the same.

XVIII. 7-33. Divination by vessel with medium or alone.

8-23 invocation; 24-33 directions.

XIX. 1-9. Formula for the bite of a dog.

1-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XIX. 10-21. Formula for extracting poison from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a philtre.

11-19 invocation; 19-21 directions.

XIX. 21-32. Formula for a bone in the throat.

22-28 invocation; 28-32 directions.

XIX. 32-40. Formula for the bite of a dog.

33-39 invocation; 39-40 directions.

XX. 1-27. Formula for the sting of a scorpion (?).

2-13 invocation; 14-27 directions and invocation to the oil.

XX. 27-33. Formula for a bone in the throat.

XXI. 1-9. Divination by vessel through Osiris.

2-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XXI. 10-43. Eroticon (a scarab in wine).

10-20 directions; 20-43 invocations.

XXII. 1-5. Divination by vessel for spirit summoning (incomplete).

XXIII. 1-20. Formula to inflict catalepsy and death.

2-8 directions; 9-20 Greek invocation.

V. 14-17. Names of plants.

- VI-VII. Prescriptions for ailments of women.
- VIII-X. Prescriptions for gout.
 - XI. Prescriptions for ailments of the feet.
 - XII-XIV. Erotica.
 - XV. Formula for thief-catching and against shipwreck (?).
 - XVI. Eroticon.
 - XVII. Formula for dreams.
- XVIII. Divination by lamp, or by the Fore-leg (Great Bear) Constellation.
 - XIX. Formula for summoning a woman.
 - XX. Prescription for ophthalmia (?).
 - XXI. Formula for an eye-paint (?).
 - XXII. Vessel-divination, alone.
- XXIII. Eroticon.
- XXIV. Lamp-divination.
- XXV. Eroticon.
- XXVI. Invocation for use in vessel-divination.
- XXVII. Invocation for the same (?).
- XXVIII. Directions for spirit-summoning (?).
- XXIX. Formula to produce madness.
- XXX. Erotica.
- XXXI. Invocation for use in lamp-divination.
- XXXII. Formula for producing love or death of a woman, and acquiring praise.
- XXXIII. Formula for removing fever.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

TRANSLATION.

RESTORATIONS are placed in *square* brackets []. Lacunae in the original, for which no restoration is suggested, are represented by dots. Words in *round* brackets () are not in the original, but are added by the translators; those between angular brackets < > are intended to be omitted.

The second person singular has been rendered by 'thou, thee' in invocations, by 'you' elsewhere. In the very few instances in which the second person plural occurs, it is indicated by the use of 'ye' or 'you' (plur.); (*his*) following a word indicates that the word is followed in the original by the sign *sp sn*, implying that the word or phrase is to be repeated.

An accurate transcription of the magic names is given in the transliteration; in the translation we have rendered the sound approximately without strict adherence to any one system, generally following the glosses where they exist, as it was thought that this would be the most useful course for such readers as are not Egyptian scholars.

TRANSLITERATION.

For the system, see note preceding the demotic glossary. Words transliterated with Coptic letters *between asterisks* are written in *cipher* in the original.

REFERENCES.

In referring to the plates of the papyrus in vol. ii, Col. I. l. 1 is quoted as 1/1 and verso, Col. II. l. 3 as V. 2/3, &c.

TRANSLITERATION

COL. I.

1. ḥn p tš n Pr-mze z-mt
2. štte n pe-f ryt ḥtp n Pr- . . . e ḥr-f mw tyk
3. n ʾm t(?) e ne-f(?) šh(?)n ʿre-t ʿnh·t
4. tkr my p wyn p wstn ḥn pe hn
5. a·wn n-y p t a·wn n-y t ty·t a·wn n-y p nwn
6. ʿo·t n ḥmt n ʾrq-ḥḥ n ntr-w nt n t p·t nt θse
ʾm-n
7. wyn p wstn ḥn pe hne pe
8. ḥm-ḥl nte ḥr-f pḥt a py hne (nhē) my wz

COL. I.

1. 1. Restore from 18/7. The parallel text to ll. 13-17 shows that more than half of the page is lost, but the heading line was probably not of full length. *Pr-mze* is *περμζε* (*Oxyrhynchus*), capital of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

1. 2. *Pr- . . . e (?)*. The group suggests a reading *Pr-ʾr-ʾmn* for *περρμμων* (*Pelusium*), but the ʾr (?) sign is perhaps too upright, and it is more likely that the two signs following *Pr* are a special group for some divine name. Nothing is known of the religious importance of Pelusium, or even of its name in Egyptian, but the city is mentioned in a Greek invocation quoted below at l. 12.

1. 3. *sh (?)*. This group, here in the plural, may represent  *sh*, 'toes' (LANGE, A. Z., 1896, 76). Cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenb.*, c. 42, l. 9 *iw zb·w-i sh·w-i m ʿr·w* (*sic*) *ʿnh·w*, 'my fingers and toes are as rearing serpents.' But the same group recurs in 7/2 as a masc. sing. subst. where the context rather suggests the meaning 'testicles.'

ʿnh·t, of a serpent, cf. 12/17; in Egyptian *PLEYTE*, Pap. Tur., cxxxii. 4 and (very late) Mar. Pap. Boul., I. Pl. 9, ll. 5-6. It seems to mean 'darting forward for attack.' Similar meanings, 'rise,' &c., are common, esp. in late texts, BR., Wtb., 198-9; cf. also 9/16, 10/7. But in GRIFFITH, *Tell el Yahudiyeh*, xxv. 15, an enraged serpent *ʿnh nf·w-f* 'breathed its vapour' at a god, *ʿnh* being there a transiive verb surviving in Sah. *ⲁⲛⲩⲩ-ⲧⲓⲩ* 'breathe,' BSCIALI, *Rec. tr.*, vii. 25 (Job ix. 18).

TRANSLATION

COL. I.

(1) [A vessel-divination which a physician?] of the nome of Pemze [gave to me]. Formula: (2) '[O god N.] the border of whose girdle (?) rests in Peremoun (?), whose face is like a spark (3) of (?) an obscene (?) cat, whose toes (?) are a rearing uraeus (4) quick[-ly ?]; put light and spaciousness in my vessel (5) Open to me the earth, open to me the Underworld, open to me the abyss, (6) great of bronze of Alkhah, ye gods that are in heaven, that are exalted, come ye (7) [put ?] light and spaciousness in my vessel, my (8) [this] boy, whose face is bent over this vessel

l. 4. *p wyn p wstn*, cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. v. 17 (ed. DIETERICH) γενεσθω βα(θυσ) πλα(τος) μη(κος) αυγη in an ονειρον αιτησις.

l. 5. Or perhaps '[Open to me, O heaven!], open to me, O earth!' &c. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1180 ανοιγητι (sic) ουρανε.

tyt transcribed *THI* in Gloss. 17/20, O. C. Par. *TH* (A. Z., 1883, 94). In II Kham. ii. 10, &c., the judgement of the dead takes place in Tei, which seems convertible with Amenti.

p nwn. It is a question whether this is the hieroglyphic  . The latter occurs only twice in this papyrus, but in one of the instances it is clearly parallel to *nwn*. Cf. xxi. 33 *nte-k py k km hyt 'r pyr n*  with ix. 15 *'nk p hf 'r pyr n p nwn*.

l. 6. *'rg-hh*. BRUGSCH, Dict. Geog., 130, 1121 = [a]λχαι 15/27, O. C. Par. αλχαι (A. Z., 1883, 104), the necropolis at Abydos where the head of Osiris was preserved. It is spelt with *l*, *'lg-hh* only once in 15/30, cf. the converse in *gh'i'kter* = χακτηρη 5/5.

'm-n. αλωσι, cf. MÜLLER, A. Z., 1893, 50, who suggests that it is cohortative 1st plur. 'let us come,' or for *'m-w n-y*, 'come ye unto me,' with the *n-y* unaccented being reduced to an enclitic, but cf. 11/16 *'m-n n-y*.

l. 8. *nhe*, 'oil,' and *hne*, 'vessel,' confused in the writing. Parallel passages authorize either.

9. e ze py šn-hne p šn-hne n 'S-t pe e-s qte
 10. 'm n-y a hn . . . pe htr ze hb nb . . .
 11. . . . [nte-]k t wn yr-t-f n py 'lw a bl ar-w tre-w
 12. z 'nk pe p pr-'o my-sr sr-my-srpt rn-yt
 13. [a]r-k ty n p-hw z 'nk pe syt-t'-k stm rn-yt stm
 14. hrenwte l'ppt-t-th' l'ksnth' s'
 15. l bwel sp-sn lwtery g's'ntre' y'h-'o
 16. [p]šft n t p-t 'bl'nt'h'nt'lb' p srrf
 17. [e-'r-k] zt-f e-'r-k sq n hrw-k p mr-'h-nfr pe htr

1. 10. *htr* here and elsewhere perhaps 'compeller,' meaning him (here Anubis) who compels the gods to do the magician's will.

1. 11. *aa*. Note this gloss as a variant or correction of *nte-k ty*, also in l. 18.

1. 12. *z 'nk*. For the essentially Egyptian identification of the utterer of the spell with his god see DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 136 note, and cf. *Iambl. de Myst.* vi. 6.

p pr-'o my-sr, cf. the corrupt *τον μυνισδρω τον αναξ* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. ix. 11-12.

sr-my-srpt. The same signs recur grouped together in varying order as a divine appellative in 9/6 and 11/8. The knife  and hide  are the zodiacal signs of Leo and Aries (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22); the flower or seed-head is the peculiar determinative of the *καρπוט* throughout this papyrus. The same divine name, composed of a lotus bud (?)  with lion and spelt-out name of ram (*srhw*), occurs in LEPS., *Todt.*, cap. 162, l. 5, variants giving *srpd* for the lotus bud (?) (Br., Wtb., 1265) and *m'y* for the lion (Leyd. Lijkpap., No. 16). Cf. also PLEYTE, *Chapitres Suppl.*, Pl. 14 and 131. The group of a lotus leaf, lion, and ram is figured on several hypocephali, the best example being in BUDGE, *Lady Meux Cat.*, 2nd ed., Pl. VI. Cf. PLEYTE, *ib.* text, Pl. opp. p. 60. Probably none of these instances are earlier than the Persian invasion. Outside our papyrus the normal order is evidently lotus-lion-ram, and Greek versions agree with this: *Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXI. l. 499* *εγω ειμι ο εν τω Πηλουσιω καθιδρυμενος Σερφουθ: μυνισρω:* (so facs.), similarly l. 557; in Leyd. Pap. V. col. 3 a, l. 6, the spelling is varied and corrupt. In each case *σερφουθ* is marked off from *μυνισρω*, the latter appearing as one word. On a gnostic gem in the Wilson Collection belonging to Aberdeen University is the legend:—*σερφουθ μυνισρω λαλαμ dos μοι χαριν πραξιν νεικην*. In this combination the lotus (*καρπוט*, see below, 2/17), the lion (*λεοντι*, see below, 5/11), and the ram (*ερω*, see below, 11/8 and 14/13, and decan names in Br., Wtb. *Suppl.*, 995) probably all represent solar attributes.

rn-yt. This abnormal spelling apparently arises from a combination

(oil); cause to succeed (9) for this vessel-divination is the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought (10) come in to me, O my compeller (?), for everything (11) and cause the eyes of this child to be opened to them all, (12) for I am the Pharaoh Lion-ram; Ram-lion-lotus is my name (13) to thee here to-day, for I am Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, Setem (14) [is my true name, &c.] Hrenoute, Lapptotha, Laxantha, Sa-(15)[risa, &c.] Bolbouel (*bis*), Louteri, (Klo-)Kasantra, Iaho (16) [is my name, &c., Balkam the] dread (?) one of heaven, Ablanathanalba, the gryphon (17) [of the shrine of God, &c.]. [You] say it, drawling (?) with your

of the earlier *ryn-y* and the later form found in O. C. Par. *ερεντ* (A. Z., 1900, 89, cf. Boh. *ερεντ* Hyv. Actes, 108). Cf. 14/2 *yrt-yt*.

l. 13. Lines 13-17 are repeated with the missing passages complete in verso XXVII, which is written on the back of this and the following column.

syl-p-k. The first element is written as the 'serpent' *crt* in the parallel text and *k* is bull (*κo*, 7/33), but *p* seems meaningless. It may possibly be 'the impregnator of the cow,' cf. BUDGE, *Nesiamsu*, iii. 6, *p' k' sty m k-wt*. In PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, i. 252, we have practically the same phrase introduced into an O. C. context which gives an entirely different meaning, 'I am Osiris whom Set destroyed,' *πεντασχι τακο(γ)*; see ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 109 note.

stm, i. e. 'hearing,' or perhaps 'hearer,' but the personal determinative is absent.

l. 15. *Kasantra* alone without *κλο* appears in the demotic of both texts, suggesting a reminiscence of the prophetess Cassandra.

l. 16. *srrf* the hieroglyphic *sfr* of II Beni Hasan, Pl. IV, a winged quadruped with raptorial beak. The *srrf* is described in Kufi, xv. 1 seq., as 'the image (?) of god (?), the king (?) of all that is in the world, the avenger that cannot (himself) be punished; his beak is that of the falcon, his eyes those of a man, his limbs of a lion, his ears of a . . . , his scales of a water- . . . , his tail a serpent's.' Further, he is the mightiest of beings next to God, has authority over everything on earth like Death, and is the instrument of God's vengeance.

l. 17. *sq*, cf. 6/19 for the complete phrase. The meaning 'drawl' is not quite certain. It must be some artificial way of speaking, such as whining or muttering, cf. 7/32 and Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 1, l. 38, col. 3. l. 2, and *φθογγος αναγκαστικός*, &c., Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. 765 seq.

18. a šnt-k ar-f ty n p-hw nte-k t wn yr-t-f n
py [lw]

19. nb nte-k nhm py lw nte hr-f ph[t a py]

20. n ntr hry-t p-sepe-n-p-t hry-t

21. ank pe Hr Mn nt hms a py šn-hne ty n
p[-hw]

22. py šn-hne ty n p-hw mryghry e-r-k

23. nte-w z pe šn n-y z n-w sp-sn n ntr-w nt wcb
n p nwn

24. n t n rn nte n ntr-w n Kmy h hr n gpe-w

25. thr z ank t-py-šteh-ty n t n rn

26. t wz-k p pr-o pešm-ty nt htp hr r

27. ny hpš-w n nb n m-t t m-t n r-y p bye

28. th z ank pe stel ych-o wn-t

COL. II.

1. e-r-k z n p hm-hl z a-wn n yr-t-k e-f wn yr-t-f nte-f
nw a p wyn e-r-k t r-f š

2. z w sp-sn p wyn pyr sp-sn p wyn θse sp-sn p wyn
hy sp-sn p wyn p nt n bl

3. m a hn e-f hp nte-f wn yr-t-f nte-f tm nw a p wyn
e-r-k t r-f htm yr-t-f

p-mr-ḥ pronounced *p-le-ehe*, produces the common Ptolemaic proper name Πελαιας, as is proved by a bilingual (SPIEGELBERG, Strassb. Pap. No. 21, text, pp. 21-2, the reading *P-ers* to be corrected to *p-mr-ḥ*; the Greek nominative shown in GRÆNF. Amh. Pap. LI. 5). The religious significance of this appellation, 'the good oxherd,' is not clear, nor has it been traced in early texts; from 2/7 it is clearly applied to Anubis, and perhaps dogs were used for herding cattle in Ancient Egypt? It is probably equivalent to Gk. ποιμην, for which see GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 26, B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 31. If the Good Shepherd is the meaning, we may note the Χριστος Ανουβις of Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. vi. 17.

l. 19. *nhm* written with the lotus bud, cf. BR., Wtb., 796-7.

l. 20. pcr. In the writing of the glosses the aspirate is suppressed before p, even in 19/19 ππατ for *p-hrt*, so also 16/7 καρρη, 28/9 ποζορ 29/14 παρωτ, V. 33/3 παρει. The initial demotic group *hry* is seen in

voice: 'O beautiful oxherd, my compeller, (18)
 ask thee about here to-day: and do thou cause
 the eyes of this boy to be opened (19)
 and do thou protect this boy whose face is bent down
 [over this (20) vessel] of god, lord of earth, the
 survivor (?) of the earth, lord of earth (21)
 I am Hor-Amon that sitteth at this vessel-divina-
 tion here to-day (22) this vessel-divination
 here to-day; Marikhari, thou (23)
 and that they tell me my inquiry. Say to them (*bis*)
 "O holy gods of the abyss (24) [I am] of
 earth by name, under the soles [of] whose [feet?] the
 gods of Egypt are placed (25) thar, for I am
 Ta-pishtehei of earth by name (26) preserve
 thee, O Pharaoh, Pashamei that resteth at the mouth (?)
 (27) these shoulders of real gold.
 Truth is in (?) my mouth, honey (28) [is in my lips?]
 Ma . . . tha for I am Stel, Iaho, Earth-opener."'

COL. II.

(1) You say to the boy 'Open your eyes'; when he
 opens his eyes and sees the light, you make him cry out,
 (2) saying 'Grow (*bis*), O light, come forth (*bis*) O light,
 rise (*bis*) O light, ascend (*bis*) O light, thou who art
 without, (3) come in.' If he opens his eyes and does

Ptolemaic proper names commencing with $\Phi\rho\iota$ - 'sheikh' = *p-hry-*. The
 pronunciation here would be *hri-tô* rather than *pet*, unless the spelling is
 fanciful.

l. 21. Hor-Amon is known in figures of glazed pottery (LANZONE, Diz.
 Mit., 601).

l. 23. *sp-sn*. It seems probable that this group may be used simply as
 a mark of emphasis, e.g. after *m šs*, 'exceedingly,' and here after the
 imperative 'say to them!' It can hardly mean 'say to them twice.'

l. 26. *hr r*, or 'opposite,' as in Coptic $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau$.

l. 27. *bye*, cf. 9/16: or perhaps, 'The truth of my mouth [is] the honey
 [of my lips].'

4. e·r-k 'š ar-f n whm z-mt·t p kke a·l-k n ḥ-t-f p wyn a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn

5. p š'y nt ḥn p nwn a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn Wsr nt ḥr nšme·t a·ny p wyn n-y

6. a ḥn py IV tw nt n bl a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn p nte p šp pa ny wne·t·w n t·t-f a (*sic*)

7. a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn 'Np p-mr·ḥ nfr a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn z e·r-k

8. a t s-^o ar-y ty n p-hw z 'nk Hr s 'S·t p s nfr n Wsr e·r-k a·ny n ntr·w n t s·t

9. wpe e·r-k a t 'r-w 'r n pe hb n-se t mš'e(?) te·t yp·t Ne-tbew e·r-k a ty 'r-w 'r n'm-s

10. z(?) twr'm-ne 'm-ne 'c mes sp-sn 'o-rnw-'o-rf sp-sn 'o-rnw-'o-rf sp-sn p'h-'o-r-f

11. p'h-r-f y-'o qwy n stn tw-ḥr my wz py 'lw nte ḥr-f pḥte a py

12. nh[e nte-k(?)] t ph(?) n-y Sbk š' nte-f pyr stm rn-yt stm pe pe rn n mt z 'nk

13. l . . [m] t twlot t't pynt't pe rn n mt p ntr 'o nte ne·w rn-f

COL. II.

1. 4. *a·l-k*. The *a* is an addition above the line. 'l-k would be $\alpha\lambda\kappa$, but the *a* prefixed suggests * $\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa$ on the analogy of $\alpha\lambda\iota$, hardly $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa$ 'cease,' cf. ST., § 384. The gloss may of course be incomplete, like some others.

a·ny, the same formula in O. C. Par. $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \sigma\alpha\delta\alpha\omega\theta\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\tau\eta$ A. Z., 1900, p. 87.

1. 5. *p š'y* O. C. Par. $\pi\sigma\omicron\iota$ A. Z., 1883, p. 105: 1900, 92 and $\psi\omicron\iota$ ib. 93 from Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1643. A god whose name often occurs in Graeco-Egyptian names, $\Sigma\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, &c. (cf. SPIEGELBERG, Demot. Stud., i. p. 57*), and in the titles of Antoninus Pius was translated $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$. In the older texts (*š'y*) he seems to be mainly a god of destiny (LANZ., Diz. Mit., 1185).

p š'y nt ḥn p nwn = $\sigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu\ \sigma\ \phi\rho\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 239.

nšme·t, the bark of Osiris: see Rec. trav., xvi. 105 seq., esp. p. 121.

1. 6. *šp*. The meaning is very uncertain. It might be 'the ruling star,' cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 9, l. 36 $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \omega\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$.

not see the light, you make him close his eyes, (4) you call to him again; formula: 'O darkness, remove thyself from before him (*sic*)! O light, bring the light in to me! (5) Pshoi that is in the abyss, bring in the light to me! O Osiris, who is in the Nesheme-boat, bring in the light to me! (6) these four winds that are without, bring in the light to me! O thou in whose hand is the moment(?) that belongeth to these hours (7) bring in the light to me! Anubis, the good oxherd, bring in the light to me! for thou (8) shalt give protection(?) to me here to-day. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of Osiris; thou shalt bring the gods of the place (9) of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do my business, and they shall make my affair proceed; Netbeou, thou shalt cause them to do it. (10) For [I am?] Touramnei, Amnei, A-a, Mes (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Pahorof, (11) . . . Pahrof, Io, a little(?) king, Touhor; let this child prosper, whose face is bent down to this (12) oil [and thou shalt] escort(?) Souchos to me until he come forth. Setem is my name, Setem is my correct name. For I am (13) L[ot], M[oulo]t, Toulot, Tat,

l. 8. *cw* may be only magical gibberish, but suggests the word for 'protection,' 'amulet.'

l. 9. *wyfe*, the gods of the place of judgement are presumably the numerous gods of Egypt who assisted at the judgement of the dead. Cf. V. 33/2.

Ne-ibew, a deity (?) unknown except in the proper name *Παυερβευς*, GRENF. Pap. Tebt. No. 88, l. 20 (B.C. 115-4). There are said to be sixteen of them in V. 33/5 q. v.

mʿ, of an inanimate object in a transferred sense.

l. 11. *gwy n stn*, perhaps only gibberish, to be pronounced *kouiens* (?).

l. 12. *pʿh* or perhaps *ʃe*.

Sdk. It seems curious that the very well-defined god Souchos should be asked for when Anubis is the one really required: doubtless he might be supposed to dwell in the liquid oil.

rn-yt, &c. Cf. O. C. Par. *ερεπτ . . . πε πα ρεπ η αιητ* (A. Z., 1884, pp. 23-4, 1900, p. 89). *το ονομα το αληθινον* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 115.

l. 13. Lot Moulot may perhaps be the missing words, cf. 18/13.

14. wnḥ a py ḥlw aph-ḥo-b-ḥo-s ḥpsewst-ḥo-s epḥletsyḥ
e-ḥr-k ḥš ny

15. sh-w n sp VII e-ḥr-k t ḥr-f wn yr-t-f nte p wyn aḥny
nte-f z ḥNp ḥy a ḥn e-ḥr-k ḥš ḥt-f

16. z-mt-t ḥy ryz mw ryz ḥy t wr t ḥy py ḥwt nfr a-ms
heryew t šr-t n t neme-t

17. ḥm n-y z nte-k py sšn ḥr pyr ḥn t srpt n p nws-t-r
nt ḥr wyn a p t tre-f

18. hy ḥNp ḥm n-y p ḥy p zr p ḥry-sšt n na t ty-t p
pr-ḥo n na ḥmnt p wr syn

19. . . nfr n Wsr p nḥt ḥr-f ḥwt n ntr-w e-ḥr-k ḥḥ n t ty-t
ne-ḥr t-t-f n Wsr e-ḥr-k šms

20. [n] by n ḥBt z e-w ḥnh nḥm-k tre-w ny by-w na ty-t
tsre-t ḥm a p t wnḥ-k ar-y

1. 14. *aph-ḥo-b-ḥo-s*, &c. As the glosses show this is merely a transcription of the Greek words ἀφῶβος ἀψεύστος ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ, and to mark this the determinative of that which is foreign is placed at the end of each word. It is interesting to find the initial letter /, here and in 10/30, representing the Gk. α, and so indicating that that was its normal pronunciation. In Achm. it corresponds to α, rarely ε, in Sah. and Boh. to ε, rarely α. ε is probably a wearing down or shortening of the earlier α.

1. 15. *aḥny*, a peculiar writing (as if *aḥn-y*) for ἀνά, occurring also in I Kham. v. 14*.

16. *y*. The sign represents  and is transcribed *ny* twice 7/24, 16/9. This can hardly be the pronunciation of the interjection

The usual interjection in religious texts is   which occurs here frequently spelt    , but we consider  to be distinct from *hy*.

ryz mw ryz, cf. 18/13 *lot mw lot*, 27/5 *rw my rw*, V. 12/3 *lyl mw ly*.
neme-t apparently a goddess, perhaps of destruction: usually this

* The group for *ny* is that which spells *ne-ne* (ננ) in ordinary texts, but here the *ne* is superfluous, and in this papyrus a false *ne* is always written before *ne*, so that ננ has to be written out *ne(-ne)-ne*. In other texts as well as this we find *ne-nfr* with a false *ne*, probably due to the initial sound of *nfr*, and this may have led to the otiose *ne* before *ne* in the present text.

Peintat is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, (14) appear to this child without alarming or deceiving, truthfully.' You utter these (15) charms seven times, you make him open his eyes. If the light is good and he says 'Anubis is coming in,' you call before him (Anubis). (16) Formula: 'O Riz Muriz, O To-ur-to, O this beautiful male born of Herieou, the daughter of the Neme, (17) Come to me, for thou art this lotus-flower that came forth from in the lotus of Pnastor, and that illuminates the whole earth; (18) hail! Anubis, come to me, the High, the Mighty, the Chief over the mysteries of those in the Underworld, the Pharaoh of those in Amenti, the Chief Physician, (19) the fair [son?] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, thou manifestest thyself in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. Thou servest (20) the souls of Abydos, for they all live by thee, these souls (namely) those of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth, show thyself to me

name is attached to the execution-block, but here it has the determinative of fire.

l. 17. Cf. Horus on the lotus at Erment L. D. iv. 61, g. 65; and in Greek papyri, *εχει μορφην νηπιου παιδος επι λωτω καθημενος* PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, ii. 106; *ο επι του λωτου καθημενος και λαμπυριδων την ολην οικουμενην* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. iii. 15.

śn, *srpt*, see LORET, *Rec. trav.*, i. 190, for a useful but by no means final discussion of the Egyptian names of the lotus. *srpt* (see 1/12) is a name apparently of late introduction, *śn* is very ancient, and both words are to be paralleled, with varied meaning, in Semitic languages. From this passage one may conjecture that *srpt* is the lotus *bud* and *śn* the flower.

l. 18. *wr syn*, 'chief physician,' an old Egyptian official title (O. K. in P. S. B. A., xi. 306, Persian period BRUGSCH., *Thes.*, 639), but amongst the gods most applicable to Thoth. Apparently Thoth and Anubis are here united, cf. the name Hermanubis and l. 21. *ħry-śśt*, 'chief over the mysteries,' is another old title appropriate enough for either Thoth or Anubis.

l. 20. 'For they all live by thee.' Apparently Anubis was responsible for the provision of food and attendance on the souls,

21. ty n p-hw nte-k Thwt nte-k p e-r pyr n ht-f n p š'y
 'o p yt-w sp-sn n n ntr-w tre-w 'm a r n r-w

22. n pe hne n p-hw nte-k z n-y wh n mt-t m't hr mt-t
 nb nt e-y šn hr-w e-mn mt-t n 'ze n'm-w z 'nk 'S-t

23. t rħe-t nte n z n r-y hp z-mt sp VII e-r-k z n
 p hm-ħl ze a-zy-s n 'Np z

24. mš' a bl a'ny n ntr-w a hn e-f mš' m-s-w nte-f
 'nyt-w a hn e-r-k šn p 'lw z hr n ntr-w

25. 'y a hn e-f z hr-w 'y nte-k nw ar-w e-r-k 'š ht-w
 z-mt-t nhe-k n-y sp-sn p š'y nhs-t-k mer'

26. p wr-ty tsytsyw tnnzyw a'ry mt ar-y Thwt my 're
 qme mh p t n wyn hb

27. m hr-f šps šps 'q a p ht my t hp t m't p ntr 'o nte
 ne'w rn-f z sp VII

28. e-r-k z n p hm-ħl z a-zy-s n 'Np z a'ny w' tks a
 hn hr n ntr-w my hms-w e-w

l. 21. *p yt-w sp-sn* is intended to be read *p yt yt-w* as 8/2. Cf. the common appellation *προπατωρ* in the Gk. papyri. 'Father of the fathers of all the gods' occurs perhaps as early as the N. K. in Boul. Pap. No. 17, p. 7, l. 6 (Hymn to Amon-Re).

l. 22. *nte-k z n-y wh*. For this formula cf. O. C. Par. *πρεσβυ οτω και αφωλ επιζητος αμμοσ ερωζ (sic)* (A. Z., 1900, 89). *εισελθε και χρηματισον* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 445. *šn*, lit. 'inquire,' is used vaguely, both of the inquiry and of the answer in this papyrus, as *χρηματισειν* in Greek. *ϣηη* *Ⲫⲁ* in Copt. is 'beg for,' not 'ask a question'; possibly it has such a meaning here.

l. 24. *hr n ntr-w 'y*, &c. = *(*ϩ*)*ⲁⲛⲏⲧⲏⲣ* *ⲉⲓ* . . . *(*ϩ*)*ⲁⲧ* *ⲉⲓ* (see chapter on grammar in vol. ii).

l. 25. 'And you see them' is an addition above the line which does not seem appropriate, as the boy, not the magician, is to see them.

nhe-k . . . *nhs-t-k*: the defective spelling *nhe* is found again in the papyrus, leaving no doubt that it represents *nhse*, 'waken,' 'raise.' The verb is 'iv^{tas} infirmæ' according to *SETHE*, and the suffix form, lost in Coptic, shows here a curious uncertainty as to the retention of the *t*.

l. 26. *wr-ty*. Originally the title of the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna (Khmun), it was perhaps applied later to the ibis-god himself (e.g. *LEGRAIN*, *Livre des transf.*, iv. 5). Evidently in connexion with this, Thoth is called 'the god five times great ('o), the mighty (*wr*) lord of Khmun' (II *MAHAFFY*, *Petrie Pap.* Pl. 13, II *Kham*.

(21) here to-day. Thou art Thoth, thou art he that came forth from the heart of the great Agathodaemon, the father of the fathers of all the gods; come to the mouths (22) of my vessel to-day and do thou tell me answer in truth to everything that I shall inquire about, without falsehood therein; for I am Isis (23) the Wise, the words of whose mouth of mine (*sic*) come to pass.' Formula: seven times. You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying (24) "Go forth, bring in the gods."' When he goes after them and brings them in, you ask the boy, saying 'Have the gods (25) come in?' If he says 'They have come' and you (*sic*) see them, you cry before them. Formula: 'Raise thyself for me (*bis*), Pshoi; raise thyself, Mera (26), the Great of Five, Didiou, Tenziou, do justice to me. Thoth, let creation (?) fill the earth with light; O (thou who art an) ibis in (27) his noble countenance, thou noble one that enters the heart, let truth be brought forth, thou great god whose name is great.' Say seven times. (28) You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying "Bring in a table for the

5, 7). The common Ptolemaic name Πορτις (cf. GRENFELL, Gk. Pap. I, II; Amherst Pap.; WILCKEN, Gr. Ostr.) in the witnesses of the Grey antigraph (Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. I. Pl. 27) is *P-wr-ty* in the corresponding Berlin demotic Pap. 3119 verso (Berl. Dem. Pap. Pl. 16). Πορτις is no doubt founded on an abbreviated pronunciation of the name which we have here with its full value *P-wer-tiu*. In V. 33/2 we have the normal orthography of the title, varied here and in 22/1.

my 're qme. Meaning very uncertain; if the dot after *qme* be taken as closing the phrase, the 'r must be regarded as passive in meaning 'let a creation (?) be made,' cf. 5/22 *my wn yr-t* and GRIFF., High Priests, p. 87, n. to l. 6, and SETHE, Verb., ii. § 247, and *mĥ* following the dot suggests an imperative. Perhaps *Maregom* (?) is to be taken as a magical name.

l. 27. 'q a p ĥt, perhaps may be participial rather than imperative. 'q r ĥt, lit. 'enter the heart,' is common in early demotic in the sense of 'please.' Cf. ΔΡΩΤΗ= (SPIEGELB., Rec. trav., xxiii. 201) ωκ η ρητ (BSCIAL, ib., vii. 27).

29. ḥms eʾr-k z aʾny wʿ ʾrp a ḥn klp-f a n ntr-w aʾny
hyn-w t a ḥn my wm-w my swr-w

COL. III.

1. my wm-w my swr-w my ʾr-w hw nfr e-w wh eʾr-k z
n ʾNp z ʿnn (*sic*) eʾr-k šn n-y e-f z t ḥ-t eʾr-k z n-f z p
ntr nt ne ʾr pe šn

2. n p-hw my ʾr-f ḥ e rt-f e-f z ḥ-f eʾr-k z n-f z a-zy-s
n ʾNp z fy n nk n t mte eʾr-k š

3. ḥ-t-f ty hte-t z p šʿy n p-hw p nb n p-hw p nte pe-f
pe ny wne-t-w eʾr-k t ʾr-f zt-s

4. n ʾNp z p ntr nt ne šn n-y n p-hw my ʾr-f z n-y rn-f
e-f ḥ a rt-f nte-f z rn-f eʾr-k šn-t-f

5. a mt-t nb nt eʾr-k wh-f pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr ʾny-k tbe VII
nmy e bʾr te-w qym nʾm-w a pnʿ-w

6. a p ke ḥr eʾr-k fy-t-w eʾr-k wʿb n wš n zh-w a
nte(?) nb n p t nte-k smne-t-w n pe-w ky e-wne-w

7. smne-t nʾm-f ʿn nte-k smne tbe III ḥr p nḥe t k-t
tbe-t IV nte-k sʿr-w n p qt n p ḥm-ḥl(?) n wš n

8. zh ʿe-t nte-f a p ʾytn nge bʿe VII nte-k ʾr-w n py
smte ʿn nte-k ʾny t VII e-w wʿb

9. nte-k sʿr-w n p qte n p nḥe erme tyk VII n ḥm
nte-k ʾny wʿt bʾtʾne-t nmy nte-k mḥ-s n

1. 29. *wʿ ʾrp*, 'a (vessel of) wine,' probably the *κεραμιον* of the Rosetta stone: cf. the use of *ḥt*, 'silver,' in contracts = *tbn*.

COL. III.

1. 1. *ʾr hw nfr*: from this and other passages it is clear that the actual meaning of this common expression is not to pass a day of pleasure, but simply 'enjoy oneself.'

ʾNp would seem to be an error for *p ḥm-ḥl*, 'the boy.'

t ḥ-t, probably as we say 'the first thing,' 'at once.'

1. 2. *n t mte*, 'from the midst,' i.e. of the gods seated at the meal.

1. 3. *p-hw . . . ny wne-t-w*, cf. note on 2/6.

1. 5. *swḥ-yḥ*, lit. 'spirit-gathering,' is the title for the material arrangements for divination as to locality, censings, salves, &c., to be employed, not the invocations.

Egyptian bricks are crude. The use of burnt brick was introduced by the Romans and increased to Byzantine times, but crude brick remained throughout the principal building material.

gods, and let them sit.” When they (29) are seated, you say ‘Bring in a (jar of) wine, broach it for the gods; bring in some bread, let them eat, let them drink,’

COL. III.

(1) ‘let them eat, let them drink, let them pass a festal day.’ When they have finished, you speak to Anubis (*sic*) saying ‘Dost thou make inquiry for me?’ If he says ‘At once,’ you say to him ‘The god who will make my inquiry (2) to-day, let him stand up.’ If he says ‘He has stood up,’ you say to him (i. e. the child) ‘Say to Anubis “Carry off the things from the midst”’; you cry (3) before him (i. e. the god) instantly saying ‘O Agathodaemon of to-day, lord of to-day, O thou whose (possession) these moments are!’ You cause him (the boy) to say (4) to Anubis ‘The god who will inquire for me to-day, let him tell me his name.’ When he stands up and tells his name, you ask him (5) concerning everything that you wish.

Its spirit-gathering. You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them (6) to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you place them in their manner in which they were (7) placed, again; and you place three tiles under the oil; and the other four tiles, you arrange them about the child without (8) touching any part of him against the ground; or seven palm-sticks, you treat them in this fashion also. And you take seven clean loaves (9) and arrange them around the oil, with seven lumps of salt,

1. 6. *nle nb*. The reading not quite certain, but extremely probable.

1. 7. *p qt*. The usual group for *qt* is very much abbreviated, and is thus identical with that for *wb*, ‘wish,’ but there can be little doubt of the reading. The meaning must be that the bricks are laid about the boy so that he can stand or sit on them without touching the ground.

1. 9. *tyk* can scarcely be other than Sah. *τασ*. The otiose *y* may be

10. nḥe n whe e-f wḥ nte-k t a t bḥt'ne't ḥm sp-sn n wš n t ḥp ḥy'se nte-f ḥp e-f stf

11. m šs sp-sn nte-k 'ny wḥ ḥm-ḥl e-f wḥ e b-r te-f še erme s-ḥm't e-r-k sze a ḥry ḥn zz-f

12. e-f ḥ a rt-f a t ḥt z 'n e-f a 'r šw n še a p hne e-f ḥp e-f 'r šw e-r-k t str-f a ḥr ḥe't-f

13. e-r-k ḥbs-f n wḥt šnt't n 'ywt e-s wḥ e-r-k 'š a ḥry ḥn zz-f e wn wḥ ryt n t ry-t ḥry-f (*sic*?)

14. n t šnt't e-r-k 'š py 'š nt ḥry a ḥry ḥn zz-f e-f kšp a ḥry nw a ḥn p nḥe š' sp VII e yr't-f

15. ḥtm e-r-k wḥ e-r-k t 'r-f wn yr't-f e-r-k šnt't a p nte 'r-k wḥ-f ḥr 'r-k-f š' p nw n p θ VII n p hw .

16. p 'š nte 'r-k 'š-w (*sic*) a ḥry ḥn zz-f n ḥt a znt-f n ne-f msz-w z 'n e-f a 'r šw n še ḥr

17. p hne z-mt't hb šps nšr bk šps aḥte't my wḥ-y mw ky hb šps nšr

18. bk šps aḥte't e-r-k 'š n-y a ḥry ḥn zz-f š' sp VII e-r-k t 'w ny ḥr

19. mt't ne-f msz-w e-ḥp nte pe-f msz II mt't (ne)nfr-f m šs sp-sn e-f ḥp e pe-f msz n

20. wnm(?) pe (ne)nfr-f e-f ḥp e p . . . pe ne-bn-f pḥre't n pḥr p hne n gtg nte n ntr-w 'y a ḥn nte-w z

compared with that in *hyl* for ḥal 13/12, *P-šylem* (21/3) = O. C. πασαλωα, and is brought about by such forms as 'ny-t-k (root 'ny) for 'n-t-k, my (αοι) αα-, rn-yt for rn-t (1/12).

l. 10. Oasis oil, cf. 6/2, not mentioned elsewhere; a kind of 'real oil,' but not identical with it 25/12.

ḥm sp-sn must be read *ḥmḥm*, C. ψηαψηα, cf. 2/21, 18/13, 24/12.

ḥy'se, meaning quite uncertain: cf. perhaps *ḥsyse* in I Kham. 6/19, II Kham. 6/16.

l. 12. *a ḥr ḥe't-f*, a curious expression, 'on the face of (?) his belly,' cf. the use of *ḥr* in l. 6.

l. 13. *šnt't n 'ywt*: Boh. ψεντω παρ (PEYRON), cf. σινδών βυσσίνη Hdt.

ii. 86. The Egyptian *šnd-t* was the loin-cloth or tunic, and in this papyrus it still seems to signify a dress, though in Coptic it can be used simply for 'cloth.' Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 88 (A. Z., 1883, 99) and Brit. Mus. Pap. Gr. No. XLVI. l. 206, for the use of σινδών in magic.

Omit the words 'you call down into his head.'

and you take a new dish and fill it with (10) clean Oasis oil and add to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness(?) so that it becomes clear (11) exceedingly; and you take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman, you speak down into his head (12) while he stands, previously, (to learn) whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel. If he is profitable, you make him lie on(?) his belly; (13) you clothe(?) him with a clean linen tunic(?), <you call down into his head>, there being a girdle on the upper part (14) of the tunic; you utter this invocation that is above, down into his head, he gazing downwards <looking> into the oil, for seven times, his eyes being (15) closed. When you have finished, you make him open his eyes, you ask him about what you desire; you do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

(16) The invocation that you utter down into his head previously to test him in his ears as to whether he will be profitable in going to (17) the vessel. Formula: 'Noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, (18) hawk, noble and mighty.' You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this, then (19) his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it be his right ear, (20) he is good; if it be his left ear, he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that

l. 14. Omit 'looking' as corrected by the addition above the line.

l. 15. *n p θ VII*: for the reading *θ*, rather than *θ wne-t*, compare V. 24/6. The phrase is evidently to be connected with the Coptic idiom *ⲡⲏⲁⲣ ⲡⲓ ⲁⲛⲓⲩⲣⲓⲧⲉ*, 'the ninth hour.' *ⲁⲛⲓⲩⲣⲓⲧⲉ* are feminine.

l. 19. *e-ḥp*, probably an unique spelling in demotic instead of the usual *e-f ḥp*, for *eywne*.

l. 20. The word for left (sinister) cannot yet be transliterated. In Egyptian we have *lby* and *smḥ*, in Sah. *ḡḥwṣp* and Boh. *ⲁⲁⲩⲏ*: in several passages we have *gbyr*, the Achmim. *ḡḥp* (Zach. xii. 6, in

21. n-k wh n mt-t m^c-t e^r-k t qwqe n swht-t n **aceg**
nge p nt hn-s a t st-t hr phre-f ty hte-t phre-t a t ^r-w

22. sze e^r-k t tp n **κρορ** a p ^h hr ^r-w sze phre-t
a ^{ny} n ntr-w a hn n kns e^r-k t shy

23. n msh hr ^{nte} sq a p ^h e^r-k wh a t ^r-w ^y a hn n
tkr ⁿ e^r-k t ^h n **εαιε** e p ^h erme t qwqe

24. n swht-t nt hry hr phr-f ty hte e^r-k wh a ^{ny} rm
e-f ⁿ a hn e^r-k t g^lgⁿtsy a p ^h hr ^w-f a hn

25. e^r-k wh a ^{ny} ^yh a hn e^r-k t s-wr hr ^{ny}(?) n ylh
a p ^h hr ^w p ^yh a hn e^r-k t ht

26. n hyt-t nge wn-t(?) nfr sp-sn e^r-k wh a ^{ny} hsy a
hn e^r-k t g^l ^b n ^y ^m a p ^h

27. e^r-k wh a ^{ny} rm e-f mwt a hn e^r-k t hs n **eo**
hr s Nb-t-h-t a p ^h hr ^w-f a hn e^r-k

28. wh a t še(-w) n-w tre-w e^r-k t hs n **en** a p ^h hr
^r-w še n-w a pe-w m^c tre-w nte-k ^s pe-w r n wt-w ⁿ(?)

Pap. Rain. Mitth. ii. 266); *gbyr* may possibly be connected with *gbyr* and with the demotic ligature here; or *hmr* may be the reading of the latter.

l. 22. *tp*. Two portions of the body are written *tp* in the demotic of this papyrus. One has the det. of bone as well as that of flesh, and is undoubtedly *ταν*, 'horn,' Eg.  Without the det. of bone we have the *tp* of an ass or a hoopoe, which presumably means the head or skull; in other cases, e.g. 19/26, one may doubt whether horn *ταν* is not intended by the same group.

l. 23. *sq*, written with the crocodile, presumably = *αιε*; see the verb in BRUGSCH, Rec., iv. Pl. 97, l. 16, and as a participle attached to a word meaning incense, ib., Pl. 85 A, ll. 3, 7, and 11; Pl. 96, l. 6.

εαιε suggests *εαιε*: *αιε*, i. e. 'anise,' or according to some MSS. 'mint,' LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. pp. 53, 71; and it seems possible that the tall dry stalks of the anise (as opposed to the commonly prescribed seeds) should be denoted by *h*, lit. 'wood.'

l. 24. *g^lgⁿtsy* with gloss *καλακαποι* suggests *κολοκύνθεις*; but as the determinative here indicates a mineral and not a plant, it must be intended for *χαλκάνθη*, 'sulphate of copper,' which is written *χαλκάνθον* in Leyd. Pap. X. 1, 3.

l. 25. *y^h*, 'spirit' of a dead person, or a 'demon': the Gk. *δαίμων*, which may be good or bad (Pap. Bibl. Nat. passim). On the Bentresh Stela the demon possessing the princess is *h*.

the gods enter and tell (21) you answer truthfully. You put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame; it will be enchanted instantly.

Prescription to make them (22) speak: you put a frog's head on the brazier, then they speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: you put the bile (23) of a crocodile with pounded frankincense on the brazier.

If you wish to make them come in quickly again, you put stalks (?) of anise (?) on the brazier together with the (24) egg-shell as above, then the charm works at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man, you put sulphate of copper on the brazier, then he comes in.

(25) If you wish to bring in a spirit, you put *sa-wr* stone with stone of *ilkh* on the brazier, then the spirit comes in. You put the heart (26) of a hyaena or a hare, excellent (*bis*).

If you wish to bring in a drowned man, you put sea-*karab*-stone (?) on the brazier.

(27) If you wish to bring in a murdered (?) man, you put ass's dung with an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier, then he comes in.

If you (28) wish to make (them) all depart, you put ape's dung on the brazier, then they all depart to their place, and you utter their spell of dismissal also.

ylh. The *h* is written by a sign common enough in other texts, but in this MS. found only here, and in 6/20 *h/n* and 23/29 *h/ly*.

l. 26. *hsy*, 'approved,' 'deified,' as an expression for one drowned or devoured by a crocodile (19/24), cf. Hdt. ii. 90, and note to l. 31.

g^rrb n y^m, 'sea-*karab*,' determined as a mineral can scarcely be *κάραβος* = 'palinurus vulgaris,' unless its shell be treated as such. Cf. *καρκινος ποταμιος* in Pap. Bibl. Nat. 2458, 2687. In favour of the sense 'crab' or 'crayfish' we might suppose that it was called 'sea-*karab*' to distinguish it from the *καραβος*, 'beetle.'

l. 27. *rm e-f mwl*, *πεφαιμοοστ*, but perhaps meaning 'murdered man,' not merely a 'dead' man.

l. 28. *še n-w*: this ethical dative adds a certain force to the word, of

29. e·r-k wh̄ a ʾny ʿze a hn̄ e·r-k t h̄qe n grwgws hr̄
ʾbn̄ t a p̄ h̄ n sh̄ nte ʾr-k š̄ e·r-k š̄ne

30. wt-w e pe-w(?) m̄ wt nfr wt r̄se

31. e·r-k wh̄ a t ʾre n ntr·w ʾy n-k a hn̄ nte p hn̄ ph̄r
n tkr̄ e·r-k ʾny w̄ m̄hrr̄ nte-k t š̄e-f n h̄sy hn̄ p(?) ʾrt n
ʾh̄·t km̄·t

32. nte-k ty-f a p̄ h̄ hr̄ ph̄re-f n t wne·t n rn-s nte p
wyn̄ h̄p

33. w̄ s a mr-f a h̄·t-f n p nt hr̄ hne a t ʾr-f ph̄r n tktk̄
e·r-k ʾny w̄ swt n ʿyw n ʿy XVI IV·t n h̄t IV·t n [wt ?]

34. IV·t s̄st̄ IV·t n ʾtme·t nte-k ʾr-w n w̄ swt nte-k
sp-w n snf n qwqwpt̄ nte-k mr-f n w̄ m̄hrr̄ n ʿh̄-f n p r̄

35. h̄sy e-f qs n h̄bs(?) n š̄-stn̄ nte-k mr-f a h̄e-t-f n p
h̄m-h̄l nt hr̄ p hn̄ hr̄ ph̄r-f n tkr̄ e [mn̄ mt·t ?] n p [t . . .]
n̄m-f(?)

COL. IV.

1. w̄ s̄s̄(?)m̄st̄ e·hr̄ ʾr-s p ntr̄ ʿo ʾy-m-h̄tp̄ pe-f sw̄h̄·ȳh̄ hr̄
ʾny-k w̄ tks n h̄ n zyt

withdrawal into or to oneself, an idea naturally associated with sleeping or lying down (*str n-k* 4/8) and best seen with the verb *š̄e*, which by itself means 'go,' while *š̄e n-f* (*ⲱⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲓ*) means 'go away,' 'go home,' 'withdraw.'

1. 29. ʾny ʿze a hn̄, probably = *κλεπτην πιασαι* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 172.

e·r-k š̄ne = *εκϋαν*-, an isolated instance at present. The following is the *απολυσις* of the Gk. papyri, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 333.

1. 31. *t š̄e-f n h̄sy* = *ⲭⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ*, cf. Sah. *ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲥⲁⲛ* 1 Tim. i. 19, and *ⲁⲱⲕ ⲡⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ* 'be drowned' (PEYRON). The literal meaning is 'thou shalt cause him to go as one praised (pleasing).' Similarly in I Kham. iv. 9, 14, 20 drowning is expressed by *ʾr-f h̄s·t p R̄*, 'He did that which pleased Re (the sun god).' *h̄sy* has det. of sun and in some cases the divine det. *ⲓ* prefixed to the word-sign, cf. 15/12. In Gk. our expression is rendered by *ἐκθέωσον*, 'deify,' or possibly 'consecrate,' which proves that the meaning 'blessed dead,' i.e. 'divinised,' was not yet forgotten: *λαβων μνγαλον ἐκθέωσον πηγαιω υδατι, και λαβων καθαρους σεληνιακους δυο ἐκθέωσον υδατι ποταμω* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2455; *εασον καταβωτην εις κρινινον εως αν αποθεωθη* B. M. Pap. CXXI. 629; *αποθωσον εις [γαλα, &c.]* Berl. Pap. I. 5.

h̄sy—as a proper name = *ⲁⲩⲱⲥ* (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 7*), lit. 'praised' or 'blessed'—is an euphemism for 'drowned.' No other meaning is ascertained in demotic for the word as subst.; and that it

(29) If you wish to bring in a thief, you put crocus powder with alum on the brazier.

The charm which you pronounce when you (30) dismiss them to their place: 'Good dispatch, joyful dispatch!'

(31) If you wish to make the gods come in to you and that the vessel work its magic quickly, you take a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow (32) and put it on the brazier; then it works magic in the moment named and the light comes.

(33) An amulet to be bound to the body of him who has the vessel, to cause it to work magic quickly. You take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], (34) four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe, and you bind it with a scarab in its attitude of the sun-god, (35) drowned, being wrapped in byssus, and you bind it to the body of the boy who has the vessel and it will work magic quickly; there being nothing [in the world better (?)] than it (?).

COL. IV.

(1) A scout-spreader (?), which the great god Imuthes makes. Its spirit-gathering. You bring a table of olive-

implies that condition is shown by the determinative of water added to the name on mummy tickets (SPIEGELBERG, l.c.). We may thus be sure of its meaning in l. 26 q.v. and in l. 35, as well as in the numerous parallels to the passage here under discussion. Applied to Osiris, also, the word 'drowned' is quite appropriate, see 6/12.

l. 33. See the same list of the colours in BR., Wtb. Suppl., p. 173.

l. 34. *n ḥf n p r*, the *καθαρον ηλιακον τον τας ιβ ακτινας εχοντα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 751: i.e. true scarab with front tarsi drawn to edge of thorax, so displaying 12 spines (4 on head and each leg), fancifully compared to sun's rays; cf. hieroglyph of the sun's glory ☀.

l. 35. The reading at the end is very uncertain: perhaps *ar-f*.

COL. IV.

l. 1. Imuthes, cf. SETHE, Untersuch. II, Imhotep. In B. M. Pap. CXXI. 630 he appears as *τον εν Μεμφει Ασκληπιον*; and in the demotic of Leyd. I.

2. e-f θ rt-t IV e bnp rm nb n p t ḥms ḥr ʾt-f a nḥe nte-k ḥ^c-f e-f w^cb a te-k-t qts(?) e-ʾr-k wh

3. a ʾr wḥe(?) nʾm-f n mt-t m^ct n wš n mt-t n ʾze tey-s pe-f smte e-ʾr-k ḥ^c p tks ḥn w^c . . . e-f w^cb

4. n t mt-t n p m^c e-f ḥn a zz-k nte-k ḥbs-f n w^c-t šnt-t n zz-f a rt-f nte-k ḥ^c tbe-t

5. IV ḥr rt-f n p tks ne-ḥr-f e t w^c-t n t r^c-t ḥry-t n t w^c-t nʾm-w e wn w^c-t ḥw-t n s^cn ne-ḥr-f nte-k t zbe-t

6. n ḥ n zyt ar-s nte-k t ʾt n sre-t e-f nt-yt ḥr ḥl ḥr qs-ḥh(?) nte-k ʾr-w n bnn-t

7. nte-k t w^c-t a p ʾḥ nte-k ḥ^c p sp a te-k-t qts(?) nte-k ʿš py ʿš n mt-t wynn(?) ar-f z-mt-t nte-k str n wš n szy

8. wbe rm nb n p t nte-k str n-k ḥr nw-k a p ntr e-f n p smte n w^c w^cb e-f θ ḥbs(?) n š-stn ḥr ʾt-f e-f θ še a rt-f

9. *επεικαλουμαι σε τον εν τω αορατω σκοτει καθημενον και ανα μεσον*

10. *οντα των μεγαλων θεων δυνοντα και παραλαμβανοντα τας ηλιακας*

11. *ακτεινας και αναπεμποντα την φαεσφορον θεαν νεβουτου σουαληθ*

384, verso I* he is invoked as 'Imhotp-wer (the Great), son of Ptah and Khretankh,' as at Deir el Medineh, SETHE, *ib.*, 24.

tks, elsewhere a 'boat,' but the gloss *τραπαισεν* defines it as a 'table.' TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 23, mentions oracles from tables. *ḥms ḥr ʾt* in l. 2 can hardly mean anything but 'sit upon,' which rather implies a 'bench,' cf. B. M. Pap. XLVI. 3 *βαθρον*.

l. 2. *a te-k qt (?)*-s, cf. ^{κοτε}*κοτε*, 'circulus,' but *wḥ-s* is a possible reading, and it may be conjectured to mean 'at your convenience,' also in l. 7.

l. 3. *wḥe* with prefixed *ʾ*(?), the reading doubtful. For a word *wḥ*, 'letter,' see II Kham. ii. 28, &c. The meaning here seems always to be a *direct* divination without medium. We have *wḥe (?) n p ḥbs*, 'lamp divination,' 27/29; *wḥe (?) n Manebai*, 'a divination named Manebai,' 27/32; *wḥe (?) a ḥrw Pe-šḥ*, 'divination for the voice of Pasash,' 8/12.

tke for *tks*, like *nhe* for *nhs* cf. 2/25.

'room (?)', the reading and meaning very uncertain.

l. 5. Or 'one by each of them (the feet),' but the expression hardly admits of this.

l. 6. *sre-t* with gloss *χρηατριον*, perhaps a wild goose, cf. Br., *Wtb. Suppl.*, 1082. Note the fem. gender, which apparently distinguishes it

wood (2) having four feet, upon (?) which no man on earth has ever sat, and put it, it being clean, beside (?) you. When you wish (3) to make an inquiry-of-god (?) with it truthfully without falsehood, behold (this is) the manner of it. You put the table in a clean room (?) (4) in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you cover it with a tunic (?) from its head to its feet, and you put four bricks (5) under the table before it, one above another (?), there being a censer of clay before it (the table); and you put charcoal (6) of olive-wood on it (the censer) and put wild-goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ankh*, and make them into balls (7) and put one on the brazier, and lay the remainder at your side (?), and pronounce this spell in Greek (?) speech to it—Formula—and you spend the night without speaking (8) to any one on earth, and you lie down and you see the god in the likeness of a priest wearing fine linen and wearing (a) nose at his feet.

(9) 'I invoke thee who art seated in the invisible darkness and who art in the midst (10) of the great gods sinking and receiving the sun's (11) rays and sending forth the luminous goddess Neboutosoualeth,

from the domesticated duck called *sr*, found from the O. K. onwards, which is masc.

1. 7. *wym(?)*, cf. V. 3/12. There as well as here the 'foreign' sign after *ml-t* refers to Greek words. In 27/35 the word is spelt out strangely *wʿyʿny*; *wynn* is the usual demotic spelling, *ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲏⲏ* the Coptic, but *ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲓⲛ* is quoted by PEYRON in Sah., and perhaps this is the form indicated in 27/35. In 12/25 we have *wʿyʿnʿnyne-t* for the fem.

str n-k, ethical dative: see note to *ʃe n-w* 3/28.

szy wbe, cf. the common phrase in Greek magic *κοιμω μηδενι δους αποκρισιν* B. M. Pap. XLVI. l. 398, CXXI. l. 748, CXXII. 67; *κοιμω αναποκριτος* XLVI. l. 458.

1. 8. *ef θ ʃe*, apparently as seen in very late sculpture in figures of gods, &c., with jackals' heads on their feet indicating wariness and swiftness (?). Cf. MASPERO, *Les Origines*, p. 149; PLEYTE, Chap. Supplem., i. p. 133; in Greek papyri *εν τοις ποσιν εχων την ορασιν* (?).

12. θεον μεγαν βαρζαν βουβαρζαν ναρζαζουζαν βαρζαβουζαθ

13. ηλιον αναπεμτον μοι εν τη νυκτι ταυτη τον αρχαγγε-
λον σου

14. ζεβουρθauνην χρηματισον επ' αληθειας αληθως αψευ-
δως αν-

15. αμφιλογως περι τουδε πραγματος οτι εξορκιζω σε κατα του
εν τη

16. πυρινη χλαμυδι καθημενου επι της αουρεας κεφαλης του
αγα-

17. θου δαιμονος παντοκρατορος τετραπροσωπου δαιμονος υψι-
στου σκο-

18. τιου και ψυχαουγεου φωξ μη μου παρακουσης αλλα ανα-
πεμψον

19. ταχος τη νυκτι ταυτη επιτα . αιην του θεου τουτο ειπας γ'

20. hr ʾr-f sze wbe-k n r-f wbe r-k n mt-t mʿ-t hr hb nb
e-ʾr-k wh-f e-f wh e-f še n-f ʿn

21. hr ʾr-k wh wʿ pyngs n ʿš wne-t(?) hr n tbe-tw(?)
nte-k wh n syw-w hr ʾt-f nte-k sh pe-k ʿs-shne a wʿ zʿm
nmy

22. nte-k wh-f hr p pynʿks hr ʾr-f t ʾw ne-k syw-w n-k
e-w wz hr pe-k ʿs-shne

23. n wz hyb e-f znt swḥ n *ḥeσ* hr ḥl hy t a
yr-t-k nʾm-f hr ʾr-k wz hyb-t

24. k-t ʿn tpe ḥnʿ snf n *κοσκοσπ(?)ετ* θ-ḥ-w(?) nte-k
ʾr-w n phre šwy smt yr-t-k nʾm-f hr nw-k ar-w ʿn

1. 16. αουρεας. Mr. Kenyon suggests that this may possibly be a
corruption of αργυρεας.

1. 18. ψυχαουγεου. Mr. Kenyon, who has kindly looked at this passage
in the original MS., writes: 'I think the fourth letter is α, not λ, . . . and
the only thing I can think of is ψυγαγωγον. In this case we should again
have γ and ο confused (as in αουρεας = αργυρεας?). This leaves φωξ
unaccounted for, but a nominative (and from its termination it could be
nothing else) is out of place here, so that the corruption must in any case
be rather extensive. I do not think anything but επιταγειν can be read
in l. 19. Probab'ly επιταγή is meant.' The word ψυγαγωγον is probably
to be taken as associated with the idea of necromancy.

(12) the great god Barzan Boubarzan Narzazouzan Barzabouza, (13) the sun; send up to me this night thy archangel (14) Zebourthaunen; answer with truth, truthfully, without falsehood, without (15) ambiguity concerning this matter, for I conjure thee by him (16) who is seated in the flaming vesture on the silver(?) head of the (17) Agathodaemon, the almighty four-faced daemon, the highest (18) darkling and soul-bringing(?) Phox; do not disregard me, but send up (19) speedily in this night an injunction(?) of the god.' Say this three times.

(20) Then he speaks with you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning everything that you wish. When he has finished, and goes away again, (21) you place a tablet of reading(?) the hours upon the bricks and you place the stars upon it and write your purpose(?) on a new roll (22) and place it on the tablet; then he(?) makes your stars appear which are favourable for your purpose(?).

(23) [A method] of lucky-shadows(?), that is tested: a hawk's egg with myrrh, pound(?), put on your eyes of it, then it makes lucky-shadows(?). (24) Another again: head and blood of a hoopoe; cook(?) them and make them into a dry medicament and paint your eyes with it; then you see them, again.

$\phi\omega\xi$ may be an indeclinable magic name, though the customary line has not been drawn over it. Cf. $\sigma \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. . . B. M. Pap. CXXIV. 20 and $\phi\upsilon\xi\epsilon$ below 7/22.

l. 20. $r-f w\delta e r-k$: $\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha$ Berl. Pap. I. 39.

l. 23. $wz h\gamma\delta$. The shadow is probably that of the god appearing in the lamp. Cf. 6/6.

l. 24. $\theta-h-w$, probably the imperative of some verb θh (?) followed by the suffix of the object, meaning e.g. 'cook them,' so also Louvre Dem. Mag. vi. 18 $n\tau e-k \theta-h-w$.

COL. V.

(1) And you set up your [planisphere?] and you stamp on the ground with your foot seven times and recite these charms to the Foreleg, turning (?) to the North seven times (2) and you return down and go to a dark recess.

(3) A question-form, tested. You go to a dark clean recess with its face open to the south and you purify it with (4) natron-water, and you take a new white lamp in which no red earth or gum-water has been put and place a clean wick (5) in it and fill it with real oil after writing this name and these figures on the wick with ink of myrrh beforehand; (6) and you lay it on a new brick before you, its underside being spread with sand; and you pronounce these spells over the lamp again another seven times. You display frankincense in front of (7) the lamp and you look at the lamp; then you see the god about the lamp and you lie down on a rush mat without speaking (8) to any one on earth. Then he makes answer to you by dream. Behold its invocation. Formula: (*In margin*: Behold the spells which you write on the wick: Bakhukhsikhukh, and figures)

gr. Zauberpap., I. l. 277. As to the use of red earth and gum with pottery cf. the quotation from SACY, s.v. $\alpha\omega\iota$, in PEYRON, p. 380 a.

l. 5. $r^w h^l$, 'myrrh ink,' $\sigma\mu\rho\rho\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$, probably somewhat after the recipe given in PARTHEY, u. s. II. 34^a.

$gh^l g^l g^l$ = $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\rho\eta\pi\epsilon\varsigma$, a term. techn. for mystic symbols: cf. WÜNSCH, Sethian. Verfluchungstafeln, p. 98; SCHMIDT, Gnostische Schriften, p. 54 seq.

l. 6. $ne-zz-k$. It seems probable that $\mathfrak{Q} \overset{!}{Q}$ reads zz , for apart from any other correspondences we have this compound preposition written out as $ne-zz$ - in 14/6 and Louvre Dem. Mag. iv. 19. 22.

$'llwnt$, $*\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\tau*$ 22/17, evidently = $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\nu\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$.

l. 8. $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ looks like 'Soul of Khukh, son of Khukh.' The magic-name compounds with $\chi\upsilon\chi$, $\chi\upsilon\chi$, $\chi\omega\omega\chi$ are very numerous; cf. P. Sophia, § 361, $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}$ and elsewhere often $\beta\alpha\chi\upsilon\chi$. SETHE, Verbum, i. § 417, suggests that the $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{X}$ is the elemental god KK , 'darkness.'

9. hy ank mwr'y mwryby b'bel b'-o-th b'-my p š'y

10. 'o mwr'th-'o p . . . ḥbr n by nt ḥtp n ḥry ḥn n p't n p'tw (*sic*)

11. t'tot sp-sn bwl'y sp-sn my-ḥr . . . sp-sn l'hy sp-sn b'-o-lbwel y sp-sn 'c tt sp-sn bwel sp-sn y-'o-hel sp-sn p šmsy ḥyt

12. n p ntr 'o p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t st't p nte t st't n r-f nte b'-re-s ḥm p ntr 'o nt ḥms

13. ḥn t st't p nt n t mt't n t st't nt n p šy n t p't nte p 'w erme p n'š n p ntr n t't-f wnh-k ar-y

14. ty n p-hw mw ky p ky n wnh-k a mwses nta e'r-k 'r-f ḥr p tw nte ḥr-k t ḥp p kke p wyn ne-ḥr-f

15. tg(?)a te-y tbḥ n'm-k nte-k wnh-k ar-y ty n py grḥ nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n mt't m't n wš n mt't n 'ze z e-y a š'š-k

16. n 'Bt e-y a š'š-k n t p't ne-ḥr p r' e-y a š'š-k ne-ḥr ḥ e-y a š'š-k

17. ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b'-r-f thm pe p š'š 'o petery sp-sn p'ter enphe sp-sn *enphe* ḥ

18. p ntr nt n t r' ḥry-t n t p't nte p šbt nt (ne)'ne-f n t't-f 'r t ḥp ntr e bnp ntr t ḥp-f 'm n-y

19. a ḥry a ḥn n t mt't n ty st't nt ty ḥ-t-k pa bwel sp-sn nte-k t m'y p 'š-shne [nt] e-y šll ḥrr-f

20. n py grḥ n mt't m't n wš n mt't n 'ze my m'-s my stm-s p ntr 'o sysyhowt sp-sn ke-z *apauwote* 'm

21. a ḥn ḥr zz-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f n mt't m't n wš n mt't n 'ze p ntr 'o nt ḥr p tw

1. 10. Read *ḥn t p't n n p'tw* or *ḥn p't p'tw*.

1. 11. In the demotic there is one uncertain sign that may correspond to *tau* of the gloss.

1. 12. Lines 12-22 are parallel to 7/8-18, 17/1-10, 17/27-32.

1. 14. Moses was a popular hero with many legends in Jewish circles, both before and after Christ (WIEDEMANN in P. S. B. A. xi. 29, 267). Note that the form of the name employed is Greek and not Hebrew; cf. V. 12/6.

nla e'r-k: cf. note to 15/13.

(9) 'Ho! I am Murai, Muribi, Babel, Baoth, Bamui, the great Agathodaemon, (10) Muratho, the . . . form of soul that resteth above in the heaven of heavens, (11) Tatot (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Mouihtahi(?) (*bis*), Lahi (*bis*), Bolboel, I (*bis*), Aa, Tat (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Yohel (*bis*), the first servant (12) of the great god, he who giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god who is seated (13) in the fire, he who is in the midst of the fire which is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and the power of god; reveal thyself to me (14) here to-day in the fashion of thy revelation to Moses which thou didst make upon the mountain, before whom thou thyself didst create darkness and light, (15)—*insertion*—I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer in truth without falsehood; for I will glorify thee (16) in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee (17) before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he (=thou) of the great glory, Peteri (*bis*), Pater, Enphe (*bis*), (18) O god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him. Come down <in> to me (19) into the midst of this flame that is here before thee, thou of Boel (*bis*), and let me see the business that I ask about (20) to-night truly without falsehood. Let it be seen (?), let it be heard (?), O great god Sisihout, otherwise said Armioouth, come (21) in before me and give me answer to that which

l. 15. The pointer at the beginning of the line refers to the similar sign at the beginning of ll. 33-4, which offer a variant version of l. 15. One may conjecture that the pointer represents the Eg. *dg*, Copt. τωϛ: τωϛ, 'plant,' 'insert,' 'join.'

l. 17. *thm*, a mistake or metathesis for *htm*; cf. 7/12, 17/5, 30. *petery*, &c. See vol. ii, Mythological Index.

22. n 'twgy (ⲓⲣⲁⲃⲁⲱⲛ) gh'bc'h-^o 'm n-y a hn my wn yr-t
a bl n py grh hr t mn t mt-t

23. nt e-y šn hrr-s n mt-t m^ct n wš n mt-t n 'ze a
... hrw (?) n p le'sphwt nb-lot . . lyl's sp VII nte-k str n-k

24. n wš n sze p kys nt e^r-k ty-s a yr-t-k e^r-k 'nn'y a
šn n p hbs n šn nb n hbs hr 'ny-k hyn-w hrre n *ⲕⲣⲗ*

25. n *ⲕⲃⲱⲕ* hr gm-k-ysw n p m^c n p s-qlm ke-z p
s-trmws e^r-k 'ny-t-w e-w knn e^r-k ty-sw

26. e w^c lq n yl e^r-k 'm r-f m šs sp-sn š^c hw XX n w^c
m^c e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s hw XX e^r-k

27. 'ny-t-f a hry nte-k wn ar-f hr gm-k hyn-w hry-w
hn-f erme w^c mz e^r-k h^c-f š^c hw XL nte-k 'ny-t-f a
hry

28. nte-k wn ar-f hr gm-k-f e^r-f 'r snf e^r-re hr 'r-k ty-f
a w^c nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a hn w^c nk

29. n blz n w^c m^c e-f hep n nw nb e^r-k wh a 'r
n p hbs n'm-f n nw nb e^r-k mh yr-t-k n py

30. snf nt hry e^r-k 'nn'y a hn a 'š sh a p hbs hr nw-k
a w^c sšt n ntr e-f 'h n p bl n p hbs nte-f sze

31. wbe-k hr p šn nt e^r-k wh-f nge nte-k str hr 'w-f
n-k a^r-f tm 'y n-k e^r-k nhs e^r-k 'š pe-f thm

l. 22. Atugi with gloss Gabaon: cf. 7/17.

l. 24. Lines 24-30 are repeated in 27/24-29.

l. 25. ⲕⲣⲗ n ⲕⲃⲱⲕ = ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲕⲱⲕ, 'raven's eye,' the Greek bean.

gm-k-ysw, an extraordinary form; but, it is to be feared, no guide to the real pronunciation, which was probably *gemyoks* or *gemyoksu*; the written *y* is thus superfluous, cf. 3/9 note, or at least misplaced.

s-qlm, see note in glossary. 'The place of the garland-seller': does this mean his shop or his garden?

ty-sw: the regular form in this papyrus, as it were, *ⲧⲏⲥⲱ. In *gm-k-ysw*, above, the *sw* = Eg. *st*, plur. of the absolute object-pronoun. Here, after the infinitive, it is abnormal, the *s* being inserted before the proper suffix *-w* on false analogy. In Coptic (Str., § 342, p. 169, and PIEHL, A. Z., 95. 42) the only clear instance of this false form seems to be Sah. ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲥⲱ. The similar ⲧⲏⲥⲱⲥⲉ, ⲧⲏⲥⲱⲥⲱⲥ, &c., are also etymologically wrong, but they seem to be helped by the causative with *st*-*m*-*f*: see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 85.

l. 26. ⲓⲗ: ⲓⲁⲗ: ⲉⲓⲁⲗ probably to be connected with *ἰαλος*.

I shall ask about, truly without falsehood. O great god that is on the mountain (22) of Atuki (of Gabaon), Khabaho, Takrtat, come in to me, let my eyes be opened to-night for any given thing (23) that I shall ask about, truly without falsehood . . . the voice (?) of the Leasphot, Neblot . . . lilas.' Seven times: and you lie down (24) without speaking.

The ointment which you put on your eyes when you are about to inquire of the lamp in any lamp-divination: you take some flowers (25) of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the garland-seller, otherwise said of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh and put them (26) in a *lok*-vessel of glass and stop its mouth very well for twenty days in a secret dark place. After twenty days, if you (27) take it out and open it, you find a pair (?) of testicles in it with a phallus. You leave it for forty days and when you take it out (28) and open it, you find that it has become bloody; then you put it on a glass thing and put the glass thing into a pottery thing (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you desire to make inquiry of the lamp with it at any time if you fill your eyes with this (30) blood aforesaid, and if you go in to pronounce a spell over the lamp you see a figure of a god standing behind (?) the lamp, and he speaks (31) with you concerning the question which you wish; or you lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to

⁶*m.* This group cannot be read *tm*, τωαα. It must be connected with ααε, 'clay.'

l. 27. *hyn-w*, 'some,' here and elsewhere suggests the meaning of 'a pair' (Hess, Setne, p. 30).

l. 28. ε(ε)αγφκτογ, see the chapter on Grammar.

e're: probably the Eg. emphasizing particle , cf. 7/1.

The meaning of *hr r-k*, *уак*, here is not merely consuetudinal but injunctive, equivalent to the old *sdmhrf*, as used e.g. in Pap. Ebers (ERMAN, Grammar, 2nd ed. § 221).

32. e·re hr ʾr-k str hr qme wt e·r-k w^cb a s-ḥm·t e zz-k
st a rs e hr-k st a mḥty [e] hr-f n p ḥbs st a mḥty ḥ-f

33. tg(?) a hry te-y tbḥ nʾm-k nte-k wnḥ-k ar-y ty·n
py grḥ nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wh n mt·t m^c·t hr
t mn t mt·t

34. nt e-y šn nʾm-k e-tbe·t[-s ?]

COL. VI.

1. w^c šn n p ḥbs hr še-k a w^c·t ry·t n kke e-s w^cb ʾt
wyn nte-k šte w^c qel nmy hr w^c·t z^c·t

2. ybt nte-k ʾny w^c ḥbs ḥt e bnp-w t prš mw n qme
ar-f e pe-f s^cl w^cb nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n m^c·t e-f w^cb n whe

3. nte-k ʿš n šḥ·w n tʾw R^c tp twe m ḥ^c-f nte-k ʾny p
ḥbs wbe p r^c e-f mḥ nte-k ʿš n šḥ·w nt hry ar-f n sp IV

4. nte-k ḥy·t-f a ḥn a t ry·t e·r-k w^cb erme p ʿlw nte-k
ʿš n šḥ·w a p ʿlw e·bnn-f nw m-s p ḥbs ʿn e yr·t-f

5. ḥtm š^c sp VII e·r-k t ʾlbwnt a p ʿḥ e-f w^cb e·r-k t·t
n pe-k tb^c a zz-f n p ʿlw e yr·t-f ḥtm

6. e·r-k wh e·r-k t ʾr-f wn yr·t-f a hr p ḥbs hr nw-f a t
ḥyb·t n p ntr n p qte n p ḥbs nte-f šn n-k

7. a p nt e·r-k wh-f e·re hr ʾr-k-f n m^rre·t n w^c m^c e
mn-te-f wyn e-f ḥp e·r-k šn hr ʾyḥ sšre w^c s^cl n ht

8. n zy p nt e·r-k ty-f a p ḥbs nte-k mḥ-f n syr e-f w^cb
e-f ḥp e ge ʿš-šḥne pe s^cl e-f w^cb hr nḥe n m^c·t e-f w^cb

9. p nt e·r-k ty-f a p ḥbs e-f ḥp e·r-k a ʾr-f a ʾny
s-ḥm·t n hwt skne n wrt p nt e·r-k ty-f a p ḥbs e·re
hr wh-k p ḥbs

1. 34. *e-tbe-t-s* must be the reading.

COL. VI.

1. 1. A niche in a wall with special orientation for magic utensils, &c., occurs in the nineteenth dynasty; see NAVILLE, *Quatre stèles*.

1. 3. *ʾw R^c*, &c. Perhaps the title of some specific religious work, like the hymns to the rising sun prefixed to the New-Kingdom Books of the Dead: or an invocation in an earlier part of the papyrus now lost.

1. 7. *ʾyḥ sšre*. The meaning is not quite clear. In II Kham. ii. 26

you, you rise and pronounce his compulsion. (32) You must lie down on green reeds, being pure from a woman, your head being turned to the south and your face being turned to the north and the face of the lamp being turned northwards likewise.

(33) *insert above*—‘ I pray thee to reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer truly concerning the given matter which I ask thee about.’

COL. VI.

(1) An inquiry of the lamp. You go to a clean dark cell without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall (2) and you take a white lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean, and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, (3) and you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn in his rising and you bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times, (4) and you take it into the cell, you being pure, and the boy also, and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being (5) closed, seven times. You put pure frankincense on the brazier. You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. (6) When you have finished you make him open his eyes towards the lamp; then he sees the shadow of the god about the lamp, and he inquires for you (7) concerning that which you desire. You must do it at midday in a place without light. If it be that you are inquiring for a spirit damned, a wick of sail-cloth (?) (8) is what you put in the lamp and you fill it with clean butter. If it is some other business, a clean wick with pure genuine oil (9) is that which you put in the lamp; if you will do it to bring

there is mentioned a book for *shr 'hy*, ‘ overthrowing (or laying) demons ’; cf. note 3/25.

l. 9. *skne n wrt*, ροδινον ελαιον, Diosc. i. 53.

10. ḥr wꜥt tbeꜥt nmy nte p ꜥlw ḥms ḥ-f ḥr ke tbeꜥt
e yrꜥt-f ḥtm eꜥr-k ꜥš a ḥry ḥn zz-f šꜥ sp IV

11. n shꜥw nt eꜥr-k ꜥš-w a p sꜥl a p ḥbs a t ḥꜥt
e bꜥr te-k ꜥš a p ꜥlw z-mꜥtꜥt ꜥn nte-k p sꜥl wꜥt ꜥo n t
mnḥꜥt n Thwt

12. ꜥn nte-k p ḥbs n š-stn n Wsr p ḥsy ntr n sšne
n tꜥt ꜥSꜥt n msne n tꜥt Nbꜥt-ḥꜥt

13. ꜥn nte-k p ḥrt tp aꜥr-w n Wsr ḥnt ꜥmnt ꜥn nte-k
p snb ꜥo aꜥy ꜥNp tꜥt-f ermeꜥf a t ḥꜥt n Wsr p ntr wr

14. aꜥr-y ꜥny nꜥm-k n p-hw ꜥy p sꜥl a t nw p ꜥlw a
ḥn-k nte-k ꜥr wh a mꜥtꜥt nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n
p-hw ꜥn

15. tm ꜥry-s p nt eꜥr-k ꜥr-f ꜥy p sꜥl aꜥr-y t nꜥm-k a
t gyzꜥt n t ꜥḥꜥt kmeꜥt aꜥr-y t mḥ nꜥm-k ḥn t gyzꜥt

16. n t ꜥḥꜥt s-ḥmꜥt snf n p ḥsy p nt e-y t nꜥm-f m-s-k
ḥr nḥꜥt t kyz n ꜥNp t nt wh ar-k n shꜥw

17. n p wr ḥyq n nt e-y ꜥš n-k nꜥm-w nte-k ꜥny n-y
p ntr nte p wh-shꜥne n tꜥt-f n p-hw nte-f z n-y wh a
mꜥtꜥt nb nt e-y šn

18. ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mꜥtꜥt mꜥꜥt n wš n mꜥtꜥt n ꜥze
ꜥy Nwt mwꜥt mw ḥy ꜥPꜥt mwꜥt stꜥt

l. 12. *p ḥsy*, cf. l. 16, and above, note to 3/31. 'Approved,' 'praised' would be a rather unexpected term to apply to Osiris himself, though it could be explained as equivalent to *mꜥ ḥrw* and 'deified.' The sense 'drowned' is quite applicable, as Osiris' body was at least sunk in the waters, cf. the text of Ptah published by BREASTED, A. Z., 1901, Pl. II, ll. 19, 62; and this sense is implied in Brit. Mus. Pap. XLVI. 259-63 *οστα Εοιηους . . . τον Εοιη (ΖΑCΙΕ) τον ενεχθεντα εν τω ρευματι του ποταμου* for three days and three nights. Plutarch's account, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 13 et seqq., hardly needs quotation.

sšne, &c. Cf. similar passage in Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 12, l. 1.

tꜥt ꜥSꜥt . . . tꜥt Nbꜥt-ḥꜥt. In both cases the strong *t* is written at the end of the word for 'hand.' Presumably it is an old dual form.

l. 13. *snb aꜥy*, &c., the linen used by Anubis in wrapping the mummy of Osiris.

l. 14. *aꜥr-y ꜥny*, *aieme*, rather than past relative, which would have taken *nꜥm-f* instead of *nꜥm-k*; so also in l. 15, &c.

a t. This is hardly an imperative *a t*.

a woman to a man, ointment of roses is that which you put in the lamp. You must lay the lamp (10) on a new brick and the boy also must sit on another brick with his eyes closed. You cry down into his head four times. (11) The spells which you recite <to the lamp> to the wick previously before you recite to the boy: formula: 'Art thou the unique great wick of the linen of Thoth? (12) Art thou the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? (13) Art thou the original band that was made for Osiris Khentamente? Art thou the great bandage with which Anubis put forth his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god? (14) I have brought thee to-day—ho! thou wick—to cause the boy to look into thee, that thou mayest make reply to every matter concerning which I ask here to-day. (15) Is it that you will (?) not do it? O wick, I have put thee in the hand of the black cow, I have lighted thee in the hand (16) of the female cow. Blood of the Drowned one is that which I put to thee for oil; the hand of Anubis is that which is laid on thee. The spells (17) of the great Sorcerer are those which I recite to thee. Do thou bring me the god in whose hand is the command to-day and let him give me answer as to everything about which (18) I inquire here to-day truly without falsehood. Ho! Nut, mother of water, ho! Apet, mother of fire,

l. 15. *an *tmaic*, lit. 'Is not-doing-it that which you will (?) do?' Cf. l. 37.

**h-t kme-t*, black animals are generally prescribed in both Greek and demotic magic. Cf. B. M. Gk. Pap. CXXI. l. 301, &c., &c.

l. 16. *t *h-t s-hm-t*, 'the female cow,' seems curious, but is quite correct, being due to the fact that, except for the gender of the article, there is no distinction in sound between the words for 'ox' and 'cow.' Cf. 7/1, 2.

l. 17. *p wh-shne*. The 365 gods are mentioned V. 33/6. Probably one of these presided over the course of each day.

l. 18. Nut, goddess of the sky, wife of Geb and mother of Osiris; Apt, probably the birth-goddess, worshipped in a small temple at Karnak, in

(19) come unto me, Nut, mother of water, come Apet, mother of fire, come unto me Yaho.' You say it drawling (?) with your voice exceedingly.⁽²⁾ You say again: 'Esex, Poe, Ef-khe-ton,' otherwise said, 'Khet-on,' seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, these alone are the things that you recite (21) to the lamp, and you lie down without speaking. But if obduracy take place, you rise, you recite (22) his summons, which is his compulsion. Formula: 'I am the Ram's face, Youth is my name; I was born under the venerable persea (23) in Abydos, I am the soul of the great chief who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse that is in U-pek; (24) I am he whose eyes are as the eyes of Akhom when he watcheth Osiris by night; I am Teptuf upon the desert of Abydos; (25) I am he that watcheth the great corpse which is in Busiris; I am he who watcheth for Light-scarab-noble (?).' (*In margin*) The spells that you write on the lamp, Bakhukhsikhukh (*and figures*) (26) 'whose name is hidden in my heart; Bibiou (Soul of souls) is his name.' Formula, seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, (27) these things alone are what you recite. If it is an inquiry by the boy that you are about, you recite these aforesaid to the lamp (28) before calling down into the head of the boy, you turn round (?), you recite this other invocation to the lamp also. Formula: 'O Osiris, O lamp (29) that giveth vision

'magnate,' *pw*, 'old.' It is no doubt a solar name (here for Osiris?), and it occurs in ch. 162 of the Book of the Dead, but unfortunately without variants (PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 21, 130)*.

l. 29. *hw-w*. This has evidently been written by mistake for *hry-w*, which has been inserted above. The mistake is important as indicating that the *r* of *hrw*, *hw*, 'day,' was retained in the plural (sing. 2007).

* Cf. perhaps the inscription on a hypocephalus at Cairo

 DARESSY, Textes Mag., p. 56, and  ib., p. 15 =  METT., St., l. 39.

θs-phr 'y p ḥbs sp-sn 'Mn mne n'm-k 'y p ḥbs sp-sn
te-y

30. 'š n-k e'r-k 'nn' a ḥry ḥr zz p y'm 'o p y'm
n [ḥ]r p y'm n Wsr 'n e-y z .

31. n-k 'n e'r-k 'y ḥb-yt-k 'y p ḥbs mtr ar-k n-t
gm-k Wsr ḥr pe-f rms n zwf tḥn

32. e 'S't ne-zz-f e Nb-t-h-t ne-rt-f e n [ntr·w] ḥwt·w
n ntr·w s-ḥm·tw n pe-f qte a·zy-s 'S't my z-w-s

33. n Wsr e-tbe n mt·tw nt e-y šn ḥrr-w a t 'w p
ntr nte p wḥ-sḥne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wḥ a mt·t nb nt
e-y šn ḥrr-w

34. ty n p-hw e 'S't z my 'š-w n-y a w' ntr ḥb-y-s
e n(?) šq-f a n mt·tw nt e-f a še n'm-s nte-f mnq-s

35. šm-w 'ny-w n-s nte-k p ḥbs p-e'ny-w n-s p ḥyt
n Šm·t te-k·t mw·t erme Ḥke pe-k yt

36. ḥwy ar-k bnn-k mḥ a Wsr erme 'S't bnn-k mḥ
'Np e bnp-k z n-y wḥ a mt·t nb nt e-y šn

37. ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt·t m't n wš n z n-y mt·t
n 'ze 'n tm 'ry-s p nt e'r-k a 'r-f bn e-y a t n-k nḥe

COL. VII.

1. bn e-y a t n-k nḥe bn e-y a t n-k 't, 'y p ḥbs
e'ry e-y a t n-k n t ḥet n t ḥ't s-ḥm·t nte-y t·t snf

l. 31. *ḥb-yt-k*, note the final *stm-f*, especially common in the 1 pers. sing. Cf. l. 34.

n-t with *stm-f* = πτερε, cf. I Kham. 5/35, II Kham. 6/3 (GRIFF., High Priests, p. 193).

rms, see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 100. Evidently the πλοιον παπυρινον ο καλειται αιγυπτιστι ρωψ of Leyd. Pap. U. col. 2, l. 6, 7; an *m* before *s* would naturally become *p* in the mouth of a Greek.

l. 32. *n ntr·w ḥwt·w . . . s-ḥm·tw*, O. C. Par. πτερ ζσιμε . . . πτερ ζοοσητ A. Z., 1900, p. 88. Cf. the same expression in the Hittite treaty, L. D. III. 146, ll. 26, 30.

l. 34. *e n(?) šq-f*. Perhaps an adjectival verb of the form πανοτη 'he being clever' (or discreet, or swift, &c.).

l. 35. *p ḥyt n . . . ḥwy* seems to be equivalent to ἐξορκίζω σε κατα . . .

Ḥke, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 851, 859. As a form of the god Shu

of the things <of days> above, that giveth vision of the things below and vice versa; O lamp (*bis*), Amen is moored in thee; O lamp (*bis*) I (30) invoke thee, thou goest up to the shore of the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Do I speak (31) to thee? Dost thou come that I may send thee? Ho, lamp, witness(?) to thyself, since thou hast found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and *tehen*, (32) Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female gods about him. Speak, Isis, let it be told (33) to Osiris concerning the things which I ask about, to cause the god to come in whose hand is the command, and give me answer to everything about which I shall inquire (34) here to-day. When Isis said "Let a god be summoned to me that I may send him, he being discreet(?) as to the business on which he will go and he accomplish it," (35) they went and they brought to her; thou art the lamp that was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet thy mother and of Heke thy father is (36) cast at thee, thou shalt not be lighted for Osiris and Isis, thou shalt not be lighted for Anubis until thou hast given me an answer to everything which I ask (37) about here to-day truly without telling me falsehood. If thou wilt not do it, I will not give thee oil.

COL. VII.

(1) 'I will not give thee oil, I will not give thee fat, O lamp; verily I will give thee the body of the female

he would be connected with the lion-headed goddess Tefnut, here perhaps assimilated to the lion-goddess Sochet.

l. 37. *bn e-y a* (sic) *i*. The *a* is false with neg. fut., but occurs commonly in this papyrus. See 7/1, &c.

COL. VII.

l. 1. *e-ry* with gloss *ερε*, apparently = Eg. $\int \bigcirc$, as *e're* in 5/28: here 'verily' or 'but.'

2. n p ʾh ʾwt m-s-k nte-y t t-t-k n p ʾswe(?) n ʾft
 ʾr a·wn n-y ʾy na t ty·t t tb·t n ʾl nt n t-t-y

3. šp·t a ʾr·tn ʾy n by·w ʾqr·w(?) na bywkm t tyb·t n
 ʾnte nt ʾr qh IV ʾy p ʾe nt e-w

4. z n-f ʾNp n rn nt ʾtp ʾr t tybe·t n ʾl e rt-f
 smn·t ʾr t tybe·t n ʾnte my ʾw n-y

5. p kys m-s p šre ʾbs nte-f z n-y wʾ ʾr mt·t nb
 nt e-y šn ʾrr-w ty n p-hw n mt·t m·t e mn mt·t n ʾze
 nʾm-w

6. y-ʾo tʾb-ʾo swg·m·mw ʾkh·kh·nbw s·n·w·ny etsie
 qm-t

7. geth-ʾo-s b·s·e·th-ʾo-ry thmyl·ʾkh·khw a·ry n-y wʾ
 a mt·t nb nt e-y šn ʾrr-w ty n p-hw sp VII

8. n sh·w n p ʾlw b-ʾo-el b-ʾo-el sp-sn y·y sp-sn ʾ·
 sp-sn tt tt sp-sn p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ʾber n t
 st·t

9. p nte t st·t n r-f nte b·r-s ʾhm p ntr ʾo nt ʾms
 ʾn t st·t p nt n t mt·t n t st·t p nt n p šy n t p·t

10. nte p ʾw erme p n·š n p ntr n t-t-f wn·k a py
 ʾlw nt ʾr pe hne n p-hw nte-f z n-y wʾ n mt·t

11. m·t n wš n mt·t n ʾze e-y a ty ʾy-k n ʾBt e-y a
 š·š·k n t p·t ne-ʾr p r· e-y a š·š·k

12. ne-ʾr ʾh e-y a š·š·k n p t e-y a š·š·k ne-ʾr p
 nt ʾr p bht nte b·r-f htm pe p š·š·

13. ʾo petery petery p·ter enphe enphe p ntr nt n t
 ry·t ʾry·t n t p·t nte p šbt nt (ne)-

1. 2. Referring to the contest between Horus and Set when Horus injured the testicles of Set, and Set, at the same time, put out the eye of Horus. The eye of Horus symbolizes light—hence the threat to the lamp. But the reading and meaning are uncertain. Cf. note to 1/3.

t tb·t n ʾl seems to be in apposition to *ty·t*; a similar construction in l. 3.

1. 3. *ʾqr*. The double figure in the underworld formed of the foreparts of two lions or of a lion and a bull. LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.*, p. 5.

bywkm seems to be the name of the Arabian desert at the latitude of El Kab, according to BRUGSCH, *D. Geogr.*, 211, 1154, where the lion-

cow and put blood (2) of the male bull into (?) thee and put thy hand to the testicles (?) of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, O ye of the underworld, the box of myrrh that is in my hand; (3) receive me before you, O ye souls of Aker belonging to Bi-wekem, the box of frankincense that hath four corners. O dog, which is (4) called Anubis by name, who resteth on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of frankincense, let there come to me (5) the ointment for the son of the lamp that he (?) may give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood therein. (6) Io, Tabao, Soukhamamou, Akhakhanbou, Sanauani, Ethie, Komto, (7) Kethos, Basaethori, Thmila, Akhkhon, give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day.' Seven times. (8) The spells of the boy: 'Boel, Boel (*bis*), Ii (*bis*), Aa (*bis*), Tattat (*bis*), he that giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, (9) he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god that sitteth in the fire, he that is in the midst of the fire, he that is in the lake of heaven, (10) in whose hand is the greatness and might of God, reveal thyself to this boy who hath my vessel to-day, and let him give me answer truly (11) without falsehood. I will glorify thee in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee (12) before the moon, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he of the great glory, (13) Peteri, Peteri, Pater, Enphe, Enphe, the god who is above heaven, in

pair Shu and Tefnut were worshipped. Possibly the latter were identified with Aker.

The animal of Anubis was strictly a fox according to its shape, but coloured black.

l. 5. *p ʕre ʕbs*. Is this an expression for the wick, or for the boy-medium, or for the god?

l. 8. Lines 8-18, cf. 5/12-22.

14. 'ne-f n t:t-f 'r t hp ntr e bnp ntr t hp-f 'm a hn
n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty h:t-k pa bwel (ΑΠΗΛ)

15. nte-k t { m'y p 'š-shne nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw

16. { p zr n n bel-w n p 'lw nt hr pe hne a t
my m's my stm-s p ntr 'o
m'-f-s erme msz-f a t stm-f p ntr 'o } s'y-s-y-hwt sp-sn

17. (ΑΧΡΕΩΤΩ) 'm a hn { hr zz-y n p-hw nte-k t wn

18. { n t mt:t n ty st:t
yr:t a bl n mt:t nb nt e-y šll hrr-w ty n p-hw } p ntr 'o nt

hr p tw n g'b'-wn gh'b'h-'o (ΤΑΚΑΡΤΑΤ) e'r-k 'š ny

19. š' nte p wyn hp a're p wyn hp e'r-k st e'r-k
'š ty h:t(?) sh n whm 'n teys-t h:t n p thm

20. h-s nt e'r-k 'š-s 'y a-z(?) n-y sp-sn ths ten-'o-r p
yt n nhe z:t p ntr nt hr p t tre-f s'lk-m-'o

21. b'lk-m-'o br'k neph-r-'o-b-'n-p-r' bry's s'ry-ntr-w
melykhryphs

22. l'rnkn'nes herephes meph-r-'o-bry's phrg' phekse
ntsywpšy'

23. m'rm'reke-t l-'o-re-grepšye my nw-y a p wh n p
šn nt e-y ty e-tbe't-f my 'r-w n-y wh

24. a mt:t nb nt e-y šn hrr-w ty n p-hw n mt:t m't
n wš n mt:t n 'ze 'y 't'el 'pthe gh-'o-gh-'o-m-'o-le

25. hesen-myng'-nt-'o-n 'o-rth-'o-b'wb-'o n-'o-ere sere-
sere sn-g'th'r'

26. eresgšyng'l s'kgyste n-t-te-g'gyste 'krwr-'o-b-'o-re
g-'o-ntere

ll. 15, 17. These interlineations are words to be substituted in the case of no medium being employed.

l. 19. *ty k-i* was first written before *sh*, and then *h* written upon the *k*: see the Glossary.

l. 20. *y*: after this word the name of the deity invoked would be expected: a vertical line following may indicate an omission. *z n-y sp-sn* would seem to be an imperative with emphasis.

l. 22. *ntsywpšy'*. *nt* represents δ and *ts* θ, so *nts* probably represents an aspirated *d*, i. e. *dh*, which is transcribed in the Greek by Δ alone; but *ts* also represents Δ in 2/26.

l. 25. Hesemigadon, &c. A similar string of names occurs in Brit.

whose hand is the beautiful staff, (14) who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this fire that is here before thee, he of Boel, Aniel

(15) { cause me to see the business about
(16) and do thou { give strength to the eyes of the boy
which I am inquiring here to-day, let it be seen, let
who has my vessel, to cause him to see it, and to his
it be heard
ears to cause him to hear it, } O great god Sisihout,

(17) { before me and cause my eyes
(18) Akhremto, come in { into the midst of this flame,
(17) to be opened to everything for which I pray here to-day,
(18) O great god that is upon the hill of <Atugi> Gabaon,
Khabaho, Takrtat.' You recite this (19) until the light
appear. When the light appears, you turn round (?), you
recite this spell-copy a second time again. Behold the
spell-copy also (?) of the summons (20) that you recite :
'Ho! speak to me (*bis*) Thes, Tenor, the father of eter-
nity without end, the god who is over the whole earth,
Salkmo, (21) Balkmo, Brak, Nephro, Bampre, Brias,
Sarinter, Melikhriphs, (22) Largnanes, Herephes, Me-
phrobrias, Pherka, Phexe, Diouphia, (23) Marmareke,
Laore-Krephie, may I see the answer to the inquiry
on account of which I am here, may answer be made
to me (24) to everything about which I ask here to-day,
truly without falsehood. Ho! Adael, Aphthe, Kho-
khomole, (25) Hesenmigadon, Orthobaubo, Noere, Sere,
Sere, San-kathara, (26) Ereskhigal, Saggiste, Dodeka-

Mus. Gr. Pap. No. XLVI. l. 424, et seq. ; WESSELY, Ephes. Gram., 36, 244-5, 341, 377.

l. 26. Ereshkigal is the Sumerian goddess of the Underworld, cf. LEGGE, P. S. B. A., xxii. 121, lit. 'mistress of the Great Land,' i.e. the infernal regions; see the myth in BUDGE and BEZOLD, Tel-el-amarna Tablets, No. 82, p. 140; the name is found also in an Assyrian text in R. C. THOMPSON, Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers, No. 267 (from

27. e·r-k t ʔr-f wn yr-t-f nte-f nw m-s p ḥbs nte-k
šn-t-f a p nt e·r-k wh-f a·re ʿw n ḥt ḥp e bnp-f nw a
p ntr e·r-k st-k

28. e·r-k ʿš pe-f ḥtr z-mt-t seme·g·n-tw gen-tw
g·o-n-tw geryn-tw nt·reng·o lek·wks

29. ʾm n-y g·n·b a·ry k·t·y b·ryk·t·y ʾtn ʿḥ n n
ntr-w ʾtn stm ḥrw-y my z-w n-y wh

30. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʾy p ste
ns·l·b·ḥ·o n·syr· h·ke tw·n-f p my sr·w

31. my nw-y a p wyn n p-hw erme n ntr-w nte-w z
n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t
m·t n·n·n·n·n rn-k

32. n·n pe-k rn n mte e·r-k ʿš šmšeke n ḥrw-k e-f
ʿy e·r-k ʿš z ʾm n-y y·h·o y·w

33. y·h·o ʿwh·o y·h·o h·y k hw q' n·šbt ʾr-py-hpe
ʿbl·bl·n·bk

34. ḥr n bk ny·byt th·t·t my·ry-bl

COL. VIII.

1. a [ʾre p ntr(?)] ʾsq a tm ʾy a(?) ḥn e·r-k ʿš

2. my·ry-bl-qml·kykh p-yt-yt-w n n ntr-w phr w·t
yr-t rym k·t sby y·ḥ sp-sn sp-sn ḥ·ḥ·he

3. st-st-st-st yḥ' y·h·o ḥḥ my ʾw n-y p ntr nte p
wh-shne n p-hw n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb

4. nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw e·r-k z pf-ntr(?) n r-k
tne sp nb n e·r-k ʿš te-y ḥwy ḥyt ar-k n p nt ḥt
n·m-k n p nt ʿme n·m-k

information kindly supplied by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Hall, of the British Museum).

l. 28. The names in this line are found in Pap. XLVI above, l. 428, and also on a Gnostic gem described by GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1853, p. 54.

l. 30. *tw·f*, 'raise him up!' or with reflexive masc. suffix 'arise!' instead of fem. as in Coptic τω·νος, 'arise!'

COL. VIII.

l. 1. The short heading seems only intended to remind the reader of the subject in hand (see 6/27), and is not a new heading.

kiste, Akrourobore, Kodere.' (27) You make him open his eyes and look at the lamp, and ask him as to that which you wish. If obstinacy appear, he not having seen the god, you turn round (?), (28) you pronounce his compulsion. Formula: 'Semea-kanteu, Kenteu, Konteu, Kerideu, Darenko, Lekaux, (29) come to me, Kanab, Ari-katei, Bari-katei, disk, moon of the gods, disk, hear my voice, let answer be given me (30) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. O perfume of Zalabaho, Nasira, Hake, arise (?) O Lion-ram, (31) let me see the light to-day, and the gods; and let them give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day truly. Na, Na, Na, Na, is thy name, (32) Na, Na, is thy true name.' You utter a whisper (?) with your voice loudly; you recite saying, 'Come to me Iaho, Iaeu, (33) Iaho, Auho, Iaho, Hai, Ko, Hoou, Ko, Nashbot, Arpi-Hap (?), Abla, Balbok, (34) Honbek (Hawk-face), Ni, Abit, Thatlat, Maribal.'

COL. VIII.

(1) If [the god (?)] delay so as not to come in, you cry: (2) 'Maribal, Kmla, Kikh, Father of the fathers of the gods, go round (?), one Eye weeps, the other laughs. Ioh (*bis, bis*), Ha, Ha, He, (3) St, St, St, St, Ihe, Iaho, seek (?); let there come to me the god in whose hand is the command to-day, and let him give me reply to everything (4) about which I ask here to-day.' You say, 'Pef-nuti (?)' with your mouth each

1. 2. This continues from 6/34, which is short because of meeting the ruling: v. the facsimile.

my ʾr-y bl is repeated from the end of 6/34. Such repetition is usual where a page ends in the middle of a paragraph (e.g. in Cols. II-III, VI-VII), but there are exceptions as in Cols. IX-X. The sign over *bl* is hieratic for ~~𐤁𐤋~~ (= *bl*), as in 11/12.

1. 4. *pf-ntr* (?): possibly an archaic expression, 'that god,' but this and

5. my ʾre p kke prze a p wyn ne-ḥr-y ʾy p ntr ḥw-ḥs
rʿt ḥtm sy sp-sn ʾw ḥw ʾw ḥt b-r-y

6. ghʾ ʾt rʿt šfe bybyw yḥ-ʿo ʿryḥʿ sp-sn a-ry n-s
e-w a st ḥr bks gs·gs·gs·gs

7. yʿnyʿn e-ʾr-n e-y bs ks·ks·ks·ks my ʾw n-y p ntr
nte p wḥ-shne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wḥ a mt-t nb nt
e-y

8. šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʾm a ḥn pyʾ-t-w ḥy-tre-t ʾy
ḥp ḥpe ḥp ʿbr-ḥme p zf n t yr-t n t wz

9. qmr·qmr·qmr·qmr qm-r a-t ḥp qm·qm wr wt š . .
knwš pe-k rn n mte my z-w n-y wḥ

10. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʾm n-y
bʿkʿksykhekh a-zy n-y wḥ a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w
ty n p-hw n mt-t mʿt

11. n wš n z n-y mt-t n ʿze z-mt-t sp VII

12. wʿ a ḥrw pe-sh p wʿb n ks e-f z nʾm-f z
e-f znt n sp IX

13. ank r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw-t-f
ta p šw e-f ḥp

14. e t mn t mt-t ne ḥp mpr ʾy n-y n pe-k ḥr n pḥe-t
e-ʾr-k a ʾy n-y n pe-k ḥbr n wʿb

15. n pe-k sšt n rm ḥt-ntr e-f ḥp e bn-e-s a ḥp
e-ʾr-k ʾy n-y n pe-k smte n gʿlʿšyre

16. z ʾnk r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw-t-f
ta p šw a ḥr

other expressions that seem to have a meaning, such as 'do for her' *arainas*, 'they shall return' *euesól*, in l. 6, are likely to be only gibberish ejaculations; cf. *δωδεκακιστη* in Greek magic.

neʾr-k = conjunctive *nʿ*, usually written *nte-k* as Boh. *πτεκ*.

l. 8. *wz*. The *Ꞛ* eye is named *ovs* (cf. gen. *ovar-os*), *ovariov* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 75 and 92, pointing to the pronunciation *ovaxε*, *ovoxε* (?), cf. *taovaris*, 'she of the sacred eye,' in SPIEGELB., *Eigenn.*, p. 51*.

l. 12. *pe-sh*. There is no determinative to prove that this is a proper name. The previous sign instead of *ḥrw*, 'voice,' might be read as 'foreigner,' or 'Greek,' cf. 4/7, V. 3/12.

time, and you cry, 'I cast fury at thee of him who cutteth thee, of him who devoureth thee. (5) Let the darkness separate from the light before me. Ho! god, Hu-hos, Ri-khetem, Si (*bis*), Aho (?), Ah, Mai (?) ("I do not" ?), (6) Kha, Ait, Ri-shfe, Bibiu, Iaho, Ariaia (*bis*), Arainas ("do for her"), Euesetho ("they will turn the face"), Bekes, Gs, Gs, Gs, Gs, (7) Ianian, Eren, Eibs, Ks, Ks, Ks, Ks, let the god come to me in whose hand is the command and give me answer as to everything about which I (8) inquire here to-day. Come in, Piatou, Khitore; ho! Shop, Shope, Shop, Abraham, the apple (?) of the Eye of the Uzat, (9) Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmro, so as to create, Kom, Kom-wer-wot, Sheknush (?) is thy real name, let answer be told to me (10) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. Come to me Bakaxikhekh, tell me answer to everything which I ask about here to-day truly (11) without telling me falsehood.' Formula. Seven times.

(12) A direct (?) inquiry by (?) the voice of Pasash (?) the priest of Kes; he (the informant) tells it, saying it is tested, nine times: (13) 'I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau son of Tapshau, of his mother Tapshau, if it be that (14) any given thing shall happen, do not come to me with thy face of Pekhe; thou shalt come to me in thy form of a priest, (15) in thy figure of a servant of the temple. (But) if it shall not come to pass, thou (shalt) come to me in thy form of a Kalashire, (16) for I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau, the son of Tapshau, of his

Ks may be Cusae, or Cynopolis (El Qais), or some other town in Middle Egypt.

'Nine times tried' seems proverbial, cf. 14/31; and for the whole sentence, 29/1.

l. 14. *Phe-t*, a feline goddess worshipped at Speos Artemidos near Beni-Hasan in Middle Egypt. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 234.

l. 15. *g^{tr}šyre*, see the Glossary.

17. p ḥpš n p mḥ III n p wrš e wn w^c yb n mzwł
ḥt n ḥlpe III e wn mḥ-n-tp III

18. n b^cnyp tks n^m-f nte-k š n-y ar-f n sp VII
nte-k ḥ^c-f ne-zz-k ḥr nw-f n-k nte-f sze erme-k

COL. IX.

1. p šn-hne n Ḥns . . . ḥr-k Ḥns m ws-t nfr ḥtp
p syf šps ʾr pyr n p sšn Ḥr nb nw w^c pw . . .

2. ʾy ḥt nb ḥt ʾy šn-ty-t nb šn-ty-t nb ʾtn p ntr ʿo
p k wt p šre n p ʾkš ʾm n-y p syf šps p ntr ʿo nt [ḥn]

3. p ʾtn nte ḥn-w . . . p-ʿo-m-ʿo nt e-w z n-f p k
sp-sn wr p ntr ʿo nt ḥn t wz-t ʾr pyr a bl ḥn p IV [ḥn]

4. n z-t p tbe n n ef-w nt e b ʾr-rḥ-w rn-f b ʾr-rḥ-w
ky-f b rḥ-w smte-f te-y ʾr-rḥ(-w) rn-k te-y ʾr-rḥ(-w) ky-k
te-y [ʾr-rḥ(-w)]

5. smte-k ʿo rn-k ʾw rn-k ḥ rn-yk ʾmn rn-k wr ntr-w
rn-yk ʾmn rn-f a ntr-w nb rn-yk ʿo-m

6. wr ʿm rn-k ntr-w nb rn-yk srpt-my-sr rn-yk l-ʿo-w
ʾy nb t-w sp-sn rn-yk ʾm^cḥr n p-t rn-k sšn n syw . . .

1. 17. *τριταῖας οὐσης της σεληνης* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 170.

yḥ, lit. 'tooth.' Cf. Lat. 'spica allii.'

COL. IX.

1. 1. *Ḥns-m-ws-t-nfr-ḥtp*, the title of the principal form of Khons at Thebes, see the Bekhten stela. Khons was a moon-god, son of Amen and Mut. He is here identified with Horus and other gods.

For Horus rising from the lotus-flower see LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.*, ccxiv.

'Lord of time,' as the moon regulating seasons.

1. 2. *ḥt*, 'silver,' the moon-colour.

šn-ty-t, 'circuit of the underworld (?)'

p k wt, cf. his title 'ein feuriger Stier' in an inscription translated by BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 360; *wt* is evidently the Eg. *wʾz*.

p ʾkš, the Ethiopian, i. e. Amen, who at this time was popularly considered as, above all, the god of Meroe: see V. 20/1 and note.

1. 3. *nle ḥn-w* . . . Cf. *ḡne- ḡnaε* and below l. 10, and with the idea cf. Khons' title *nb ʾw-t ib*, 'lord of joy.'

p IV ḥn n z-t, cf. l. 13 with gloss. *ḡnaε*. *ḥn* is a vessel below 12/29. Here it may be a 'space' referring to the 'four quarters.' *z-t* may perhaps refer to 'space,' not time. One may also suggest the meaning of 'four boundaries' or 'four seasons,' and in l. 8 *ḥn* seems to mean

mother Tapshau.' [Say it] opposite (17) the Shoulder constellation on the third day of the month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic and there being three needles (18) of iron piercing it, and recite this to it seven times; and put it at thy head. Then he attends to you and speaks with you.

COL. IX.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Chons. '[Homage ?] to thee, Chons-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, the noble child that came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time (?), one he is . . . (2) Ho! silver, lord of silver, Shentei, lord of Shentei, lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian, come to me, noble child, the great god that is in (3) the disk, who pleaseth men (?), Pomo, who is called the mighty bull (*bis*), the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four [boundaries?] (4) of eternity, the punisher of the flesh (?), whose name is not known, nor his nature, nor his likeness (?). I know thy name, I know thy nature, I [know] (5) thy likeness. Great is thy name, Heir is thy name, Excellent is thy name, Hidden is thy name. Mighty one of the gods is thy name, "He whose name is hidden from all the gods" is thy name, Om, (6) Mighty Am is thy name, "All the gods" is thy name, Lotus-lion-ram is thy name, "Loou comes, lord of the lands" (*bis*) is thy name, Amakhr of heaven is thy name, "Lotus-flower of stars(?)

a 'cycle.' Cf. τα τεσσαρα μέρη του ουρανου και τα τεσσαρα θεμελια της γης, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 552.

l. 4. *p tbe*, cf. note on Petbe in P. S. B. A. xxii. 162.

te-y r-r-hw: the written *w* seems meaningless, for *r-h* is not here in *stm-f* dependent on *te-y*. The latter is the pron. 1st sing. $\frac{1}{2}$ followed by inf. or pseudo-part. For *r-r-h* see GRIFFITH, High Priests, p. 106.

l. 5. $\frac{1}{2}$ with gloss $\Delta\mathfrak{S}$ and therefore not 'spirit,' which would be $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{S}$. Perhaps it is the adjective 'beneficial.'

'He whose name is hidden from all the gods,' a phrase current in the New Kingdom for Amenra.

7. ʿy ʿy-y-ʿo ne-ʿy-ʿo rn-yk pe-k sšt mḥrr n ḥr n sre e st-f n bk e bs II ḥrr-f pe-k [ḥfe ḥfe]

8. n z-t pe-k ḥn n wrš pe-k ḥ n ḥ n elle ʾšt pe-k sym n sym n ʾMn pe-k ʾrw n t p-t byn pe-k rym n [p mty?]

9. lbs km st smn-t ḥr p t yb rn-k n te-k-t ḥe-t n p yʿm pe-k sšt n ʿny a-pyr-k nʾm-f . . .

10. t p-t te-k-t qnh-t p t te-k-t hyw-t wn-ne p ḥny a mḥt nʾm-k ty n p-hw z ʾnk ḥ(?) mne nw . . . y

11. ʾe e bnp-y ʾr-f ḥr ʾsq e bnp-y gm rn-yk p ntr ʿo nte (ne)-ʿy rn-f p ḥry ḥte-t n t p-t a-ʾr-y ʾr-f ʾr [p ḥkr?]

12. n p t p ʾyb n p mw nte-k nḥt nte-k t wz-y nte-k t n-y ḥs-t mr-t šfe-t a ḥr rm nb z ʾnk pe p k . . .

13. p ntr ʿo nt ḥn t wz-t ʾr pyr a bl ḥn p IV ḥn n z-t ʾnk ḥwne p rn ʿo nt n t p-t nt e-w z n-f . . .

14. ʾm-ph-ʿo-w sp-sn n mʿt sp-sn ḥs-f a ʾBt Rʿ Ḥr ḥnn(?) pe pe rn ḥry ntr-w rn-t n mte nḥt my wz-y my ḥpe pe hne . . .

15. aʾwn n-y n ʿrq-ḥḥ a ḥr ntr nb rm nb ʾr pyr

l. 7. The figure described may be compared with the ram-headed scarabs having hawk's wings which are common on late coffins, on the breast of the figure upon the inner coffins. What *ḥs* is is not evident. These scarabs often hold two Shen rings, or two sceptres with Maat feathers on the end.

pe-k [ḥfe ḥfe] *n z-t*. There seems to be space in the lacuna for the whole groups spelled out, as in l. 20. The extent of the lacuna, about 2 cm., can be judged by l. 12, where *k[wr]* has to be read. For the *ḥf n z-t*, cf. I Kham. iii. 31; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 22; and *τον αειζων οφιν* Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1323.

l. 8. ʾšt. The identity of this fruit-tree is very uncertain, v. LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 102.

rym n [p mty?]. Cf. I Kham. iii. 13, but the precise wording required is quite uncertain.

l. 9. *lbs*. There is a fish called *λεβίς*; and there is the modern *لبیس*. On the latter Mr. G. A. BOULENGER kindly furnishes a note, 'the lebis is the Arabic name of *Labeo niloticus*, a fish allied to and not unlike our carp. Like the latter, without being absolutely black, it may be of a very dark olive brown above.'

yḥ probably has a definite meaning, but as yet it is obscure.

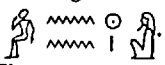
l. 10. *e ḥn-y*. This reading is possible, see the facsimile.

(7) cometh," Ei-io Ne-ei-o is thy name. Thy form is a scarab with the face of a ram; its tail a hawk's, it wearing (?) two panther-skins (?). Thy [serpent is a serpent ?] (8) of eternity, thine orbit (?) a lunar month, thy tree a vine-tree and persea (?), thy herb the herb of Amen, thy fowl of heaven a heron, thy fish of [the deep (?)] (9) a black *lebes*. They are established on earth. Yb is thy name in thy body in (?) the sea, thy figure of stone in which thou camest forth is a . . . ; (10) heaven is thy shrine, the Earth thy fore-court; it was my will (?) to seize thee here to-day, for I am one shining, enduring: my . . . (11) faileth (?) if I have not done it through (?) the delay, I not having discovered thy name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor (?) of heaven. (But) I have done it, [enduring ?] hunger (12) for bread, and thirst for water; and do thou rescue (?) me and make me prosper and give me praise, love, and reverence before every man. For I am (?) the [mighty] bull, (13) the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four regions (?) of space (?). I am *Hune* (youth), the great name that is in heaven, whom they call . . . (14) Amphoou (*bis*), "True" (*bis*), "He is praised to (?) Abydos," "Ra," "Horus the boy" is my name, "Chief of the gods" is my correct name, preserve me, make me to prosper, make my vessel to become [successful ?]. (15) Open to

l. 11. *a-r-y*. The translation is uncertain owing to the lacuna.

l. 12. *'nk pe p k* might mean 'I am he of the [mighty] bull'; if not, the magician identifies himself with Khons, see l. 3.

l. 14. *hs-f a 'Bt*. The *a* as a separate letter seems certain, v. the facs. The gloss *hsf* has the appearance of a construct form, but it may well be for *hsqf*. Even so it is difficult to find a meaning for the phrase.

The reading of the group following *R-Hr* is not certain. The signs are .

l. 15. The 'stone of Ptah' is not otherwise known. For Ptah as a creator see BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 110; BREASTED, *A. Z.*, 1901, 51.

a bl ḥn p ʾny n Pth z ank p ḥf ʾr pyr n p nwn ʾnk . . .

16. bre n ʾkš ʾnh n ḥf n nb n mʿt aʾre ʾbye n spʿt p nt e-y a zʿt-f ḥr ḥpe-f tw n hy . . .

17. apḥte z ʾnk ʾNp p sst (*sic*) nḥne ʾnk ʾSʿt e-y a mr-f ank Wsr e-y a mr-f ank ʾNp [e-y a mr]-f eʾr-k a nḥm-t a . . . nb

18. sʿt thth nb lsmtnwt lsmʿtot nḥt my wz-y my n-y ḥsʿt mrʿt šfeʿt ḥn pe hne . . .

19. pe swt ty n p-hw ʾm-t n-y ʾSʿt t nb ḥyq t wr ḥyq n n ntr-w tre-w Ḥr ḥʿt ʾSʿt m-s-y Nbʿt-ḥʿt n te grpe

20. wʿ ḥf n šre ʾTm p nt . . . n ʿreʿt a zz-y ze p nt e-f a myšt e-f a myš stn Mnt ty n p-hw(?) n wʿ(?) . . .

21. a my-ḥs apḥte a t še a wʿ my n šr my-ḥs a bl e-f qby aʾnʿt-w n-y sp-sn n by n ntr n by.

22. n rm n by n t tyʿt n by n t ʾḥyʿt n ʾyḥ-w n n-mwʿt-w nte-w <my ʾr-w> z n-y n t mʿt n p-hw a p nt e-y šn m-s-f z ʾ[nk]

The snake as word-sign has six loops here and in 21/4, four loops in l. 16. This agrees with the snake determinative of šy which has usually four loops, once (19/12) six loops, and twice (3/3, 5/9) two loops, and Shoi is said to be 'in Nun' 2/5. It is thus the snake of Shay. But the sign, meaning distinctly a (sacred) snake, cannot read šy, which always means distinctly a divinity. *Hfe* is perhaps the most probable reading, see esp. 21/4; the det. of that word in 9/20 has only two loops, but in Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 9 five or six loops. *Syt* 14/3, V. 27/1 has four loops, but the head seems to be raised high; *syf* is derived from Eg. *s-ʿ* which is represented by  in late texts, Br., Dict. Geogr., 762.

l. 16. *bre*: cf. ḥwape, 'intumescere,' ḥope, 'fastuose se gerere,' or better ḥepi, 'juvenis.'

ʾnh is evidently the serpent word met with in 1/3. Possibly both *bre* and ʾnh are adjectives, and the construction may resemble the familiar Coptic construction with adjectives, Str., § 187.

t-wn, apparently an unetymological spelling for ntrwn: cf. 18/21.

l. 17. *ssst*, error for *snt*: cf. 18/22.

l. 20. *wʿ ḥf n šre ʾTm*. Atum being a form of Ra, this may refer to the

me Arkhah before every god and every man that hath come forth from the stone of Ptah. For I am the serpent that came forth from Nun, I am a (16) proud (?) Ethiopian, a rearing serpent of real gold, there being honey in my (?) lips; that which I shall say cometh to pass at once. Ho! . . . (17) mighty one, for I am Anubis, the baby creature(?); I am Isis and I will bind him, I am Osiris and I will bind him, I am Anubis [and I will bind] him. Thou wilt save me from every . . . (18) and every place of confusion(?). Lasmatnout, Lesmatot, protect me, heal me, give me love, praise and reverence in my vessel (19), my bandage(?) here to-day. Come to me, Isis, mistress of magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem, (20) a snake of the son(s) of Atum is that which . . . a uraeus-diadem at my head; for he that shall strike(?) me(?) shall strike(?) King Mont here to-day . . . (21) Mihos, mighty one shall send out a lion of the sons of Mihos under compulsion to fetch them to me (*bis*) the souls of god, the souls (22) of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead, so that they tell me the truth to-day concerning that

poisonous serpent formed by Isis from the spittle of Ra, to bite him and make him reveal his secret name (texts of New Kingdom). With the construction compare l. 21 *w^t my n šr my-ḥs*, 10/13 *tbe.t III n tbe.t nmy*, and 10/10 *š^c n ny*.

l. 21. *My-ḥs*, a lion-god, son of Bubastis. For the pronunciation of the name see SPIEGELBERG, Eigennamen, p. 4*.

t še a: the *a* is quite certain, but is very puzzling.

a.n.t-w n-y sp-sn. This should be an imperative: see also the parallel l. 35. Possibly *sp-sn* is falsely written here.

n by, gloss. *ἡβαι*. The plural sign is often omitted with *by*, and here we see the reason, viz. that the plural had no special form.

l. 22. *n-mw.t-w*, cf. l. 25. The prefixed *n* seems to represent a reduplication of the initial *m*, *n* being regularly assimilated to a following *m*.

Here we have *νεκρὸς καὶ οἱ δαίμονες* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1453.

23. Hr s ʾS-t e-f ʾnn^c a mr n ʿrq-ḥḥ a hwy qs-t a ḥr n s-w a t mnḥ-t n p ḥsy

24. p ḥsy nfr n n ḥsy-w e-ʾr-k nhs e-ʾr-k a rpy ḥr r n r-w n pe hne pe swt pe zʿl mt-t . . .

25. nhs nʾm-w n-y [n] ʾyh-w n mt-w nhs pe-w by pe-w sšt n n r-w n' pe hne nhs-w nʾm-w n-y . . .

26. erme n mt-w nhs nʾm-w n-y sp-sn nhse(?) pe-w by erme pe-w sšt p ḥyt n py-s s wnte ta ʿrb . . .

27. nhs nʾm-w n-y sp-sn [n wn]te-w n ne-w s-t tbe my ʾr-w sze n r-w my ʾr-w mt-t n spe-w my ʾr-w z p-e-z-y [a p nt]

28. e-y šn ḥrr-f ty n p-hw my ʾr-w mt-t n . . . my ʾre mt-t mʿt ḥp n-y mpr t ḥr ḥr ḥr rn ḥr rn n mʿt sp-sn(?) [e mn]

29. mt-t n ʿze nʾm-w(?) [ʾy] p mḥrr n ḥstb n mʿt nt ḥms ḥr zz p šy n p pr-ʿo Wsr wn-nfr . . .

30. mḥ r-k n mw n(?) . . . kš-f a zz-y erme p nt ne-t-t my wz-y my wz-f θs-phr šʿ nte p-e-z[-y ḥp m]y ʾre

31. p-e-z-y ḥp z e-ʾre tm te(?) p-e-z-y ḥp e-y a t qte t st-t n p qte n ty sewe šʿ nte p-e-z-y ḥp z . . .

32. a p t stm-w n-y . . . z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn ʾnk ʾTm n p wtn n p rʿ ank ʿryʿttw t št-ʿo-t n(?) . . .

l. 23. *a mr-t* in the Khamuas stories means 'on board ship' (High Priests, p. 98), but **ⲙⲙⲣ** in Coptic is 'across,' 'to the other side,' 'beyond.' *a mr n* may be 'beyond' as a preposition; the same word is used in 15/12 in the same connexion (with the tomb of Osiris at Abydos).

l. 24. *e-ʾr-k*. The gloss is certainly **ⲉⲣ**, and must be a correction.

swt is difficult to understand. The idea must be founded on the use of knots in magic, Lat. 'ligatura.'

zʿl-mt-t probably = 'word-seeking,' from Eg. *zʿr*, preserved also in **ⲙⲙⲣ**, &c. Were all these used at once, or were they alternatives?

l. 26. *wnte*: cf. LANZ., Diz. Mit., 165, or better BRUGSCH, Wtb. Suppl., 322. It would be possible to read *ḥwnte*. From the next line the *wnte* would seem to be souls in torment or else punishing demons.

l. 27. *spe-w*, see Glossary, s.v. *spł*.

after which I am inquiring: for I am (23) Horus son of Isis who goeth on board at Arkhah to put wrappings on the amulets, to put linen on the Drowned one, (24) the fair Drowned one of the drowned(?). They shall rise, they shall flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage(?), my word-seeking(?). (25) Arouse them for me (*bis*), the spirits, the dead; rouse their souls and forms at(?) the mouths of my vessel; rouse them for me (26) with the dead; rouse [them] for me (*bis*); rouse their souls and their forms. The fury of Pessiwont ("Her (whose) son is Wont"), the daughter of Ar . . . (27) rouse them for me (*bis*), the Unti from their places of punishment, let them talk with their mouths, let them speak with their lips, let them say that which I have said, [about that which] (28) I am asking them here to-day; let them speak before(?) me, let truth happen to me; do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true (*bis*) name [without] (29) falsehood in it. [Ho?] scarab of true lapislazuli that sitteth at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer! (30) fill thy mouth with the water of [the pool?], pour it on my head together with him who is at my hand; make me prosper, make him prosper, and conversely, until my words [happen?], let (31) that which I say come to pass; for if that which I have said do not come to pass, I will cause fire to go round about this *Seoue* until that which I have said do come to pass; for [they came] (32) to the earth, they listened to me . . . they said to me, "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am Atum in the sun-boat of Phre;

l. 28. *n hr(?) t-y(?)*. Perhaps a very incorrect writing for *n h-t-y*, 'before me.'

l. 29. *p šy*. Perhaps the 'lake of U-Peke' in 12/17.

l. 31. *e-re tm te*, *epetā*, but the *te* is inexplicable.

sewe. This seems a threat to burn the bandages or even the mummy of Osiris.

l. 32. *št-o-t*, probably the chest, Eg. *šty-t*, of Osiris, BR., Wtb., 1410.

33. a·e-y kšp a bl ḥ[·t-k?] a nw m-s Wsr p ʾkš e-f
ʾn·w a ḥn a zz-y e wn šr ʾNp II ḥ·t-f šr Wpy [II m-s-f]

34. šr rr·t II mne [nʾm-]f z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
ank wʿ n py bk II nt rsy a ʾS·t erme Wsr t grp·t t . . .

35. erme py-s ʿw . . . a·ʾny·t-w n-y sp-sn n by n
ntr n by n rm by n t ty·t n by n t ʾḥy·t

COL. X.

1. n ʾyḥ·w n mt·w my ʾr-w z n-y t mʿ·t n p-hw ḥr p
nt e-y šn ḥrr-f z ʾnk ʾrtemy(?) . . . mw·t e-f ḥʿ ḥr ybt

2. ʾm n-y a ḥn ʾNp n pe-k ḥr nfr a·ʾr-y ʾy a wšte-k
. . . sp-sn ḥ·t sp-sn . . . [rs mḥ]t ʾmnt ybt

3. tw n ʾmnt nb my ʾr-w ḥp e-w šs sp-sn e-w smn·t
e-w swtn e-w pḥr e ḥ p ḥyt [n p wr?] šfe z ʾnk

4. yʿe yʿ·ʿo yʿe yʿ·ʿo sʿbʿ·ʿo-th ʿt-ne z te-y ḥwy [ḥyt]
ar-k tsye glʿte

5. ʾrkhe y·ʿo·ʿ phʿlekmy yʿ·ʿo mʿkhʿḥy yee kh·ʿo . . . n
kh·ʿo-khrekhy ee·ʿo-th

6. sʿrbyʿqw ygrʿ pšybyeg m·ʿo-mw mwnekh stsyth·ʿo
s·ʿo-th·ʿo-n nʿ·ʿo-n khʿrmʿy

7. p ḥyt n ny ntr·w tre-w a·z-y rn-w ty n p-hw nhs
nʾm-w n-y sp-sn n ḥsy·w n mt·w ʿnḥe(?) pe·tn by pe·tn
sšt n-y

8. a n r·w n pe ḥbs pe swt pe zʿlʿ mt·t my ʾr-f n-y
wḥ ḥr mt·t nb nt e-y šn [ḥrr-w] ty n p-hw n mt·t mʿ·t
sp-sn e mn mt·t

1. 33. 'The Ethiopian,' a curious epithet of Osiris. But he was worshipped in Ethiopia, Hdt. ii. 99, as well as at Philae, and he was dark-coloured, Plut., Is. et Os., c. 22. 33.

Ophois, Eg. *wḥ-wʿwt*, a jackal god.

1. 34. *Rr·t*, the name of the sow, *pḥp*, and of the hippopotamus goddess, but here perhaps a snake goddess. The det. has only two loops.

grp·t. The det. is the uraeus, as in *ʿre·t*, l. 20. In 20/6 it seems to be simply a two-looped snake.

COL. X.

1. 1. Possibly the meaning is 'Artemi in the mother's womb.'

I am Ario'atu, the *Shto* of . . . (33) I looked out before . . . to observe Osiris the Ethiopian, he came into my head, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Ophois behind him, (34) two sons of Rere mooring him. They said to me "Who art thou?" (*bis*). I am one of those two hawks that watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . (35) with its glory (?) . . . , bring them to me (*bis*), the souls of god, the souls of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon,

COL. X.

'(1) the spirits, the dead; let them tell me the truth to-day in that about which I shall ask: for I am Artemi . . . se(?)-mau, rising in the East. (2) Come in to me, Anubis with thy fair face, I have come to pray to thee. Woe(?) (*bis*), fire (*bis*), [South, North,] West, East, (3) every breeze of Amenti, let them come into being, proved (*bis*), established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the great one] of reverence; for I am (4) Iae, Iao, Iaea, Iao, Sabaoth, Atone; for I cast fury at thee, Thiai, Klatai, (5) Arkhe, Ioa, Phalekmi, Iao, Makhahai, Iee, Kho..n, Khokhreki, Aaioth, (6) Sarbiakou, Ikra, Phibiek, Momou, Mounaikh, Stitho, Sothon, Naon, Kharmai, (7) the fury of all these gods, whose names I have uttered here to-day, rouse them for me (*bis*), the drowned (?), the dead; let your (plur.) soul and your (plur.) form live for me (8) at the mouths of my lamp,

1. 2. *wšt*, 'salute with reverence' is the real meaning, not altogether lost in Coptic.

1. 4. *te-y hwy hyt ar-k* clearly corresponds to $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \sigma\epsilon$.

tsye, gloss $\Theta\iota\alpha\iota$. $\Delta\iota$ is here probably = short ϵ .

1. 7. *n hsy-w* opposed to *n mt-w*. In the Rhind. bil. $\text{'}h\ hsy-w$, 'approved spirits,' often, vii. 10, xiii. 9, xvii. 2. So perhaps here 'approved,' not 'drowned.'

'nhe, again with a meaning allied to that in 1/1.

1. 8. *hbs*. Hitherto it has been the *hin*, 'vessel,' not the lamp.

9. n 'ze hn-w ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr še-k
a w' pr n kke e [ḥr]-f wn a pr-rs nge pr-ybt

10. n w' m' e-f w'ḥ e-r-k prḥ-f n š' e-f w'ḥ n 'ny n
p y'r-ḥo e-r-k 'ny w' z n ḥmt e-f w'ḥ nge

11. w' hne n blz nmy nte-k t w' lq n mw n str nge
mw e-f w'ḥ a p z ḥn' w' lq n nḥe n m'ḥt

12. e-f w'ḥ nge nḥe w'et-f n wš n t mw ar-f nte-k t
w' 'ny n qs-ḥn(?) a ḥn p hne ḥr nḥe nte-k t w' ḥt

13. n pr-nfr n p 'ytn n p hne nte-k t qte tbe-t III n
p qte n p hne n tbe-t nmy

14. nte-k ḥ' t VII e-w w'ḥ ḥr n tbe-tw nt qte a p
hne nte-k 'ny w' ḥm-ḥl e-f w'ḥ e-f znt

15. n ne-f msz-w a t ḥ-t z e-f [r] šw n še ḥr p hne
e-r-k t ḥms-f ḥr [w'ḥ tbe-t] nmy nte-k ḥms ḥ-k

16. ḥr ke tbe-t e-r-k wḥ pe-f [ḥr?] ke-z 't-f nte-k
t t-t-k a r yr-t-f [e yr-t-f] ḥtm e-r-k 'š a ḥry

17. ḥn t mt-t n zz-f n sp VII [e-r-k] wḥ e-r-k fy
t-t-k ḥr r yr-t-f e-r-k p hne e-r-k t t-t-k

18. a ne-f msz-w e-r-k mḥt n'm-w n t-t-k ḥ-k e-r-k
šn n p ḥm-ḥl z 'n ae-r-k [nw a p ntr? 'o?] e-f z te-y
nw a w'ḥt

19. kmeme-t e-r-k z n-f ze a-z-ys z te-y nw a pe-k
ḥr nfr e-r-k p ntr 'o 'Np

l. 9. *ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn* = ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ of the Greek papyri.

l. 11. *lq* = λος: λοκ, translating κοτυλη, which in the LXX. translates the Hebrew *log*. Whatever was the precise measure intended by the λοκ, it seems to have taken the place of the Egyptian *hin* (less than a pint).

mw n str: apparently water allowed to stand for the night.

l. 12. *ḥt n pr-nfr*. The Good House is the place of embalming, GRIFF., High Priests, p. 25; but the presence of a plant det. no doubt indicates that it is a plant-name here. *Ḥt* might then be *εγκαρδιον*, as a botanical term 'core.' More probably the whole expression 'heart of the Good House' is to be taken as the name of a symbolical plant, such as the 'resurrection' plant, *Anastatica hierochuntina*, or something similar. Cf. the story of the flower enclosing the heart of Bata put in a cup of

my bandage(?), my word-seeking(?). Let him make me answer to every word [about] which I am asking here to-day in truth (*bis*) without (9) falsehood therein. Hasten (*bis*), quickly (*bis*).’ Its spirit-gathering: You go to a dark chamber with its [face] open to the South or East (10) in a clean place; you sprinkle it with clean sand brought from the great river; you take a clean bronze cup or (11) a new vessel of pottery and put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled(?) or of pure water into the [cup] and a *lok*-measure of real oil (12) pure, or oil alone without putting water into it, and put a stone of *qs-ankh* in the vessel containing oil, and put a ‘heart- (13) of-the-good-house’ (plant?) in the bottom of the vessel, and put three bricks round about the vessel, of new bricks, (14) and place seven clean loaves on the bricks that are round the vessel and bring a pure child that has been tested (15) in his ears before, that is, is profitable in proceeding with the vessel. You make him sit on a new [brick] and you also sit (16) on another brick, you being at (?) his face, otherwise said, his back, and you put your hand before [his] eyes, [his eyes being] closed and call down (17) into the middle of his head seven times. When you have finished, you take your hand from before his eyes, you [make him bend over] the vessel; you put your hand (18) to his ears, you take hold of them with your hand also, you ask the child saying, ‘Do you [? see . . .]?’ If he says, ‘I see a (19) darkness,’ you say to him ‘Speak, saying, “I see thy beautiful face, and do thou [hear my salutation ?], O great god Anubis!”’

water to revive, in the story of the Two Brothers. *qs-nh* might similarly be ‘quicklime.’

l. 19. *wšte* is probably to be restored at the end of the gap, as in ll. 2, 26. The translation may be ‘and do thou [pray to] the great god Anubis.’

20. e·r-k wh a ·r-f n hne w^cet-k e·r-k mh yr-t-k n
py kys e·r-k [hms hr ? p hne ?] a h p nt hry e yr-t-k

21. htm e·r-k 'š p 'š nt hry n sp VII e·r-k wn
yr-t-k e·r-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb [nt e·r-k wh-f ? . . .] hr
r-k-f n θ n p hw

22. n mh IV n p wrš š^c p hw n mh XV nte . . .
pe e 'h mh wz-t [šn hn]e w^cet a nw

23. a p wtn n p r^c z-mt-t [a]wn n-y t p-t t mw-t n
n ntr-w my [nw-y a p wt]n n p r^c e-f hty-hn[t]

24. hn-s z 'nk Gb 'rpe ntr-w šll p nt e-y 'r n'm-f
mbh p r^c pe y[t e-tbe] n mt-t-w 'r še n t-t

25. 'y hkne-t wr-t nb qnh-t t²-r^c-št(?) a·wn n-y t
nb 'yh-[w a·wn] n-y t p-t hy[t]t my

26. wšte-y n n wpt-w [z] ank Gb 'rpe ntr-w 'y p VII
stn hy p [VII mnt] k syt nb šfe-t

27. shz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) m' rw(?) nn(?) k kke hy
hnt-ybt-w

28. nwn wr he hy by sre by 'mnt-w hy [by by-w k]
kke k k·w

l. 22. 'h mh wz-t, i. e. at full moon.

šn hne w^cet = σκεψη δια λεκανης αυτοπτου, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 162; αυθο-
πτικη λεκανομαντεια, ib. l. 221; and αυτοπτ(ικος) λογος, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 53.

This passage to the end of the column is repeated in 27/1-12.

l. 23. hty hn[t]. The parallel 27/2 gives in hieratic ht followed by the
nose hnt and the det. of a boat. ht means 'float down the river,' 'go
north,' and hnt, 'sail up the river,' 'go south.' With this clue it is easy
to read in LEEMANS' facsimile the verb hty in demotic, written as in the
word mhty, V. 1, with its proper det. of water, and following it the verb
hnt, also in demotic, with its proper det. the boat. Thus, though LEEMANS'
facsimile cannot be confirmed owing to the wear of the papyrus, it is clear
that we have a compound expression hty-hnt, 'go down and up.' This is
the proper order for the two verbs, as is shown by hn m hd m hnt, 'rowing
to and fro,' in the Westcar Papyrus, V. 4. It of course refers to the
sinking to the horizon and rising to the zenith of the sun-boat.

l. 24. rpe ntr-w is a very ancient title of Geb.

l. 25. hkne-t, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 855; MASPERO, Rec. tr., i. 21.

l. 26. Whether the number 7 originally acquired its sacred character in
Babylonia or not, it had that character in Egypt, cf. BRUGSCH, Thes.,

(20) If you wish to do it by vessel alone, you fill your eyes with this ointment, you sit(?) [over the vessel?] as aforesaid, your eyes being (21) closed; you utter the above invocation seven times, you open your eyes, you ask him concerning everything [that you wish(?)]... you do it from the (22) fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the *uzat*.

[A] vessel-[inquiry] alone in order to see (23) the bark of Phre. Formula: 'Open to me heaven, O mother of the gods! Let [me see the ba]rk of Phre descending and ascending (24) in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father [on account of] the things which have proceeded from me. (25) O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret(?), Open to me, mistress of the spirits, [open] to me, primal heaven, let (26) me worship the Angels! [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven Kings, ho! ye [seven Môts], bull that engendereth, lord of strength (27) that lighteth the earth, soul of the abyss; ho! lion as lion of(?) the abyss, bull of the night, hail! thou that rulest the people of the East, (28) Noun, great one, lofty one, hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West, hail! [soul of souls, bull] of the night,

117 seqq.; LEPS., *Todtenb. Vorw.*, p. 6; Pap. Ebers LIV. 19 (eighteenth dynasty), the 7 Hathors (nineteenth dynasty, Pap. Orb. ix. 8; BR., *Thes.*, 800) and the 42 assessors in the Book of the Dead, ch. 125. The occurrence of 7 spirits in the very ancient chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead is of special importance.

The 7 kings are not elsewhere mentioned. '4 Môts in their cities' occurs in the text, 'Que mon nom fleurisse' (LIEBLEIN, x. 3, and parallel passages), and 7 is a number associated with Hermonthis, the city of Mônt (BRUGSCH, *Relig.*, 164, 7 Hathors and 7 Horus, L. D., iv. 63 c).

l. 27. The reading of the name     is uncertain. *Rw*, an obscure lion-god (Hieroglyphs, pp. 17, 18).

29. s' nw·t a·wn n-y ank wb-t 'r pr n Gb ky [ank y·y]y e·e·e [he·he·he]

30. h-^o h-^o h-^o ank e-nep-^o myryp-^o-i^c m^c-t(?) 'b thy[by-^o 'rw]wy . . . [y^ch-^o]

31. z-mt snf n *ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛⲉ* snf n *ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲧ* snf n *ⲉ[ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲗⲁ]* 'nh-^om·w [snw-p·t]

32. 'o-^omn qs(?)-'nh hstb n m^c-t hl p-tgs-^oS·t nt 'r m bnn·t [nte-k smt yr·t]-k n^om-f t·t(?) [rym·?]

33. n by-^o-n-p·t n w^c h n hr n 'ny nge h n hbyn [nte-k mr-k] a pe-k qte [n w^c-t]

34. pke n šr-bne·t hwt n [w^c] m^c e-f θse wbe p r^c bn-s t yr·t-k n

35. a h p nt sh ar-f

COL. XI.

1. r n t hse·t 'm n-y p pe-k rn nfr Thtwt ys sp-sn 'm n-y

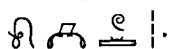
2. my m^o-y hr-k nfr ty n p-hw e-y n ky 'n nte-k šme . . .

3. n hs 'e n pe-k ls n stm-jk hrw-y n p-hw nhm-k-t mw 'hy nb t·w

4. r bn(?) nb hy p nte hbr-f n hbr-f 'o št a·pry ntr hr wt·t-f

1. 29. 'Son of Nut' might be either Osiris or Set, probably here the former: 'soul (*h*) of Nut' is a possible reading.

1. 30. Anepo may be 'great Anubis' or 'elder Anubis.'

The gloss ⲟⲩⲟⲩ may be incomplete, in 27/9 it is ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ: the hieratic probably reads .

1. 32. *p-tgs-^oS·t*, pronounced perhaps *pieksese*. Cf. *πιτταξίς*, the fruit of the *κραινία* or cornel-tree.

1. 33. *h n hr*, apparently the name of some object made of wood, lit. wood or stick of satisfaction, possibly the kohl-stick.

'ny, possibly Eg. *'nmw* (Eb.) = *'wn* = *w'n*, 'juniper' (LORET, Fl. Phar., 2nd ed., p. 41), the *αρκευθίτις* of the Greek papyri. Its juice is used as a writing ink in Louvre dem. Mag. V. 20.

mr-k a pe-k qte, the restoration is from the parallel 27/11. The

bull (?) of bulls, (29) son of Nut, open to me, I am the Opener of earth, that came forth from Geb, hail! [I am I, I,] I, E, E, E, [He, He, He,] (30) Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat (?) Ib, Thi[bio, Ar]oui, Ououu, [Iaho.] (31) Formula: blood of a *smun*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a n[ightjar], *ankh-amu* plant, [*senepe* plant], (32) 'Great-of-Amen' plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'footprint-of-Isis' plant, pound, make into a ball, [you paint] your [eyes] with it; put (?) a goat's-[tear] (33) in (?) a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony wood, [you bind it (?)] around (?) you [with a] (34) strip of male-palm fibre in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eyes ... (35) according to what is prescribed for it.

COL. XI.

1. A spell of giving favour: 'Come to me, O..... thy beautiful name. O Thoth, hasten (*bis*); come to me. (2) Let me see thy beautiful face here to-day..... [I stand(?)] being in the form of an ape; and do thou greet (?) me (3) with praise and adoration (?) with thy tongue of ... [Come unto me] that thou mayest hearken to my voice to-day, and mayest save me from all things evil (4) and all slander (?). Ho! thou whose form is ofhis great and mysterious form, from whose be-

meaning 'to your side' is indicated by 21/12, *mr-k a pe-k hr* probably referring to a phylactery or knot tied at a particular place.

COL. XI.

1. 1. *t hse-t*, apparently not *t hp hse-t* as in l. 20. Cf. 12/21.
1. 2. *šme* (?), cf. *šm* 18/9, but with different det. One may perhaps conjecture *šm-t*, 'favour (?) me,' here; it is hardly *ḥw*, 'wash,' 'purify' (of clothes, BSCIAI, Rec. trav., vii. 27).
1. 3. Cf. ll. 16-17, and PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 128, *nḥm-k wī m' iḥ-t nb dw* (var. *iḥ-t nb bīn dw*) *ḥpr m 'wy n rm-t ntr-w iḥ-w mt-w*.
1. 4. *r bn* may mean 'evil spell.'

5. nt ḥtp a mt(?) n N ank n t sr̥t(?) ʿo t
nt e pyr Hḥp(?)

6. ḥr-s(?) ank p ḥr n šfe t ʿo by m s-w-f ank
syf šps

7. nt n pr r̥ ank p nem šps nt m tph̄t [h]b
n s-w n m̥t nt ḥtp n ʿN

8. ank p nb ḥrwy ʿo nb tm m̥ pht m
[rn]-yt(?) ank sre s sre srpt-my-[sr] θs-ph̄r

9. rn-yt ʿḥ-ḥpr-sr(?) rn-yt n m̥t sp-sn my n-y ḥs mr̥t
[šfe t ne-ḥr mn a-ms] mn n p-hw nte-f t n-y ʿḥy nb nfr

10. nte-f t n-y kew tfew nte-f ʿr mt̥t nb nt e-y [a wh̄-s
nte-k tm t ʿr-f(?)] the a ʿr-y a ʿr n-y mt̥t bn(?) nte-f z n-y mt̥t

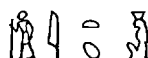
11. e mst-s m hw pn m grḥ pn m ʿbt pn m rnp̄t
tn m wne t(?) e p r̥ a sh̄t ḥt-w nte-f knm

12. yr̄t-w nte-f t ḥp p kke m ḥr-w z ank byr̄y . . .
[r̄]y ḥre-tn r̄y ank s Sh̄m-t

13. ank bygt k lt ank ḡt s ḡt nte ty t nte
ḥtp a mt(?) m h-t-ʿo t m ʿN

14. ank s Ḥkne t nb mke t nt ʿrf n ḥne t
nte n nh̄t-w ʿo apht m sw-f

l. 5. *ḥtp a mt(?)*, cf. l. 13. *mt(?)* is written differently from *ⲙⲏⲧⲉ* and may well be a masculine word, such as *mt*, 'depth.' It can hardly be *ⲙⲏⲣ*.

 *sri-t* seems a possible reading.

pyr. The reading of the following words is uncertain. The construction with  (ⲉⲧⲉ) suggests *nt e pyr Hḥp* (cf. V. 5/1) *ḥr-s*, and the facsimile admits of it.

l. 7. *pr r̥*, 'House of Re,' Heliopolis.

l. 8. *nb ḥrwy*. It seems as if the scribe had substituted 'hostility' for *ḥrwy*, 'testicles,' unless the words here are mere gibberish.

The tail of  *sr* is traceable in the gap after  in the Leiden facsimile.

l. 9. Cf. l. 17 for the restoration.

l. 11. *mst-s*, probably for *mst-y-s*, 'which I hate,' unless it be passive, 'which is hated.' Note the present sense of the *stm-f* in a relative clause, apparently confined in demotic to the verbs *mr*, 'love,' and *mst*, 'hate' (see chapter on Grammar).

getting came forth a god, (5) who resteth deep (?) in Thebes; I am of the great Lady, under whom cometh forth the Nile, (6) I am the face of reverence great soul (?) in his protection; I am the noble child (7) who is in the House of Re: I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern the ibis as a true protection, who resteth in On; (8) I am the master of the great foe, lord of the obstructor (?) of semen, mighty my name (?) I am a ram, son of a ram, Sarpot Mui-Sro (and vice versa) (9) is my name, Light-scarab-noble (?) is my true name (*bis*); grant me praise and love [and reverence from N. son of] N. to-day, and let him give me all good things, (10) and let him give me nourishment and fat things, and let him do for me everything which I [wish for; and let him not] injure me so as to do me harm, nor let him say to me a thing (11) which (I) hate, to-day, to-night, this month, this year, [this] hour (?) . . . [But as for my enemies?] the sun shall impede their hearts and blind (12) their eyes, and cause the darkness to be in their faces; for I am Birai . . . rai, depart ye (?), Rai; I am the son of Sochmet, (13) I am Bikt, bull of Lat, I am Gat, son of Gat, whose the Underworld, who rests deep (?) in the Great Residence in On, (14) I am son of Heknet, lady of the protecting bandage (?), who binds with thongs (?) . . . [I am the . . .] phallus (?) which the great and mighty Powers guard,

kmm. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 488, and the early Christian curse invoking blindness (CRUM, A. Z., 96. 85).

l. 12. *paï*, with det. of hide, may be the name of the lion (?), but there is a tendency to write *as* words with this det. Cf. *gæes*, 7/33.

hre-in r'y suggests a fanciful writing for 'be far from me (*a r-y*, *apaï*).

'Son of Sochmet,' perhaps Nefertem or Mihos, both being lion gods.

l. 13. The 'Great Residence in On' is the name of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis.

l. 14. *nht*. Cf. Rit. Pamonth, ii. 8, 'Hear ye, O divine powers of

15. nt ḥtp mw ḥn pr-wbst-t ank p ʿmʿm ntr nt
ḥn shym-t nb ʿy-t nb ʿot(?)

16. rn-yt ʿh-ḥpr-sr(?) rn-yt n mʿt sp-sn ʿy ny ntr-w
tre-w [a-z-y rn-w(?)] ty n p-hw ʿm-n n-y stm-tn n e-z-y
n p-hw

17. nhm-tn[-t] m nene nb ze nb ʿhy nb t nb m hw pn
my n-y ḥs-t mr-t šf[e-t ne-ḥr] t mn p pr-ʿo erme pe-f mšʿ

18. p tw erme ne-f ʿw-w nte-f ʿr mt-t nb nt e-y a
zt-w n-f erme(?) [rm nb nt e-w a-nw(?)] a-ʿr-y nt e-y
a sze erme-w nt e-w a sze

19. erme-y ḥn ḥwt nb s-ḥm-t nb ḥm-ḥl nb ḥl-ʿo nb
ḥr nb [n p] t tre-f [nt e-w] a nw a-ʿr-y ḥn ny
wne-tw n p-hw

20. nte-w ty ḥp te-t ḥse-t n ḥt-w n mt-t nb nt e-y
a n mne erme n nt e-w a ʿy n-y e šhr ḥfe(?)
nb-w(?)

21. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn e b-ʿr te-y zt-w nte-y whm
zt-w . . . [ʿ]h *een* n mnḥ tbt(?) nte-k ty-f

22. a ḥn w(?) sšn ke-z tšps tp nge nḥe n bq e-f
. . . . n *nenebe* ar-f ḥr ʿnt tp ḥnʿ pr-w(?)

Bubastis, who have come out of your shrines,' and below, V. 33/5;
I Kham. iv. 7; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 109.

l. 15. ʿmʿm. Cf. 13/11, 13, and in cipher εαιια 24/34, V. 32/2.
This must be the shrew-mouse. Here it appears connected with
Letopolis, where the shrew-mouse was sacred to the blind Horus
(RENOUF, P. S. B. A., viii. 155). In 13/11 the animal is prescribed to
produce blindness, and in 13/12 and 24/34 it produces death in a man,
and in V. 32/2 erotic feeling in a woman. The ʿmʿm, with determinative
of an animal, is prescribed in Pap. Eb. 91/10; and in Pap. Kah. 7/9
the remains of a determinative will suit very well the picture of a mouse.
It is curious that the cipher writing yielding εαιια (which is certainly
the same creature, cf. 13/19-21 with V. 32) makes its name almost
identical with Sah. ααιη, which in Sap. 12/8 corresponds to σφῆκες
of LXX. In Coptic, however, the shrew-mouse is αλιλ : αλιλι (PEYR.,
Lex. and Gramm.). The μυγᾶλος (*sic*) is prescribed several times in Pap.
Bibl. Nat. in ἀγωγαί.

Shym (Βοτ-ϣημ) and ʿy-t are both names of Letopolis in the Delta.
The last group in the line looks like ʿi, but is probably intended for wʿi.

l. 16. For the restoration cf. 10/7.

(15) which rests in Bubastis; I am the divine shrew-mouse which [resteth with-] in Skhym; lord of Ay, sole(?) lord ... (16) is my name Light-scarab-noble(?) is my true name (*bis*). Ho! all ye these gods, [whose names I have spoken] here to-day, come to me, that ye may hearken to that which I have said to-day (17) and rescue [me] from all weakness(?), every disgrace, everything, every evil(?) to-day; grant me praise, love [and reverence before] such an one, the King and his host, (18) the desert and its animals; let him do everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who shall see] me or to whom I shall speak or who shall speak (19) to me, among every man, every woman, every child, every old man, every person [or animal or thing(?) in the] whole land, [which] shall see me in these moments to-day, (20) and let them cause my praise to be in their hearts of everything which I shall [do] daily, together with those who shall come to me, to(?) overthrow every enemy(?), (21) hasten (*bis*) quickly (*bis*), before I say them or repeat them.' Over an ape of wax.

An oxyrhynchus(?) fish—you put it (22) in prime lily otherwise *tesheps*-oil or moringa(?) oil which [has been ... and you put liquid?] styrax to it, with prime frank-

l. 17. *šfe.t*. In the conspiracy against Rameses III(?) of the twentieth dyn., we hear of a spell to give *nrwy* and *šfe.t*, 'valour and respect.' NEWBERRY, Amherst Pap. II, l. 2.

l. 20. The last words may perhaps be *hf nb* (?), 'every enemy,' *nb* being written over the line as a correction of the plural signs. 'Enemy' is written *hf* (without *t*) as in I Rhind dem. 2, 3. The passage is very obscure.

l. 21. *ḥ*, for a similar direction following the invocation, cf. V. 33/8.

The fish is here masc., and therefore different from that in 12/31.

l. 22. *sšn*, 'lotus,' may be an error for *skn sšn*, 25/26, *σουσινον*, Diosc. i. 62, oil of lilies (*κρινα*), and *ελαιον σουσινον*, Pap. Berl. II. 249.

tšps as an oil, Br., Wtb., 1602, made from *laurus cinnamomum* according to LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 51.

bq. v. LORET, Rec. trav., vii. 101.

menēhe. v. LORET, Rec. trav., xvi. 148 *لَبْنِي* styrax.

23. wr-mr-t ḥn w^c ḥn(?) n thne nte-k 'ny w^c 'nh n
 ths-f n py nhe nt hry nte-k 'š

24. ny [sh ?]w ar-f n sp VII mbḥ p r^c n twe e b-r
 te-k sz[e wbe] rm nb n p t nte-k šty-f nte-k ths ḥr-k
 n'm-f

25. nte-k ḥ^c [p]'nh ḥn t-t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb
 'wt mš^c nb ḥr te-f t ḥp n-k

26. ḥs-t 'o-t 'wt-w m šs sp-sn py sp n sh pa p pr-'o
 [Ntryw (?)]š pe mn p nt (ne-)ne-f ar-f

COL. XII.

1. [w^c ky(?) a t 're] s-ḥm-t mr ḥwt hepwb^cls^cmw
 sttr(?) I hb'ryr(?) sttr(?) I

2. qwšt sttr(?) I n sty sttr(?) I mrwe sttr(?) I
 nhe n m^ct lq II e-r-k nt ny [phre-tw(?)]

3. e-r-k ty-sw a w^c ['ngen(?)] e-f w^b nte-k t p nhe n
 pe-w ḥr-w ḥr t ḥt n p wrš w^c hw a-re p w[rš]

4. ḥp e-r-k 'ny w^ct qeš . . . [k]m(?) e-s 'r n tb^c IX
 ke-z VII n ḥyt e yr-t-s šel n 'wn n [p nt(?)]

1. 26. The *pa* is for πα-. περo in O. C. Par. corresponds to *p pr-'o* in 21/2. So also we have in B. M. Pap. XLVI, l. 113 *εγω ειμι αγγελος του φαρω οσοροννωφρις*, 'of Pharaoh Osoronnophris,' where *φαρω* = our *pa p pr-'o*. Undoubtedly the initial letter of *pr-'o* had already been lost by assimilation to the article. The tautology of *του φα-* is precisely the same as in *Αμενωφρις του Παπριος*, 'Amenophis, son of Hapis,' in JOSEPHUS, *Contra Ap.* i. 26.

. 3. The only kings whose names end in š are Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and the native Khebbesh. Of these Darius is doubtless the name to be restored here; cf. *Diod. Sic.* i. 95, and for his reputation as a magician in particular, *μαγικων διδασκαλος*, PORPHYRY, *de Abstin.*, iv. 16. That kings, as well as aspirants to the throne, used these arts is suggested by the spell 'of Rameses III' being given to the herdsman Penhuyban in order to give him 'valour and respect.' See note to l. 17 above.

COL. XII.

1. 1. Restore [*w^c ky(?) a t 're*] *s-ḥm-t* from 25/23, 31.

hepw^bls^cmw: cf. *υποβαλσαμνα* (ξύλα) Leyden Pap. W. ix. 21 = *οποβαλσαμον*, 'juice of balsam tree'; cf. SIGISMUND, *Aromata*, pp. 14, 15.

μαλαξαθοσ = *μαλαβαθρον*, 'leaf of *Laurus Cassia*'; SIGISMUND,

incense together with seeds of (23) 'great-of-love' plant in a metal (?) vase; you bring a wreath of flowers of
 ... and you anoint it with this oil as above, and recite (24) these spells over it seven times before the sun in the morning, before speaking to any man on earth; you extract it, you anoint your face with it, (25) you place the wreath in your hand, and proceed to any place [and be] amongst any people; then it brings you (26) great praise among them exceedingly. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius]s (?); there is no better than it.

COL. XII.

(1) [A method for making] a woman love a man. Opobalsamum, one stater(?); malabathrum, one stater(?). (2) *kusht*, one stater(?); scented , one stater(?); *merue*, one stater(?); genuine oil, two *lok*; you pound these [medicaments]. (3) You put them into a clean [vessel], you add the oil on the top of them one day before the lunar period (?); when the lunar period (?) (4) comes, you take a black *Kesh* . . . -fish measuring nine fingers—another says seven—in length, its eyes being variegated (?) of

Aromata, p. 33, and LEMM., Kopt. Apocr. Apostelacten (Mél. Asiat. t. x. p. 351). It occurs in magic prescriptions, Leyden Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10. The demotic group *hb* . . . corresponding to it is strange in form and difficult to read: there seems to be a gap between the *r* and the measure.

Graphically $\odot$, $\oslash$ (fem.) are hieroglyphic equivalents of the demotic for $\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$, 'didrachma,' but from 24/15, 18 the former should be a small multiple of the latter. $\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ (Copt. $\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$, fem.) is common as a weight = 'tetradrachma,' in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.

1. 2. *qutst*, perhaps $\kappa\sigma\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Diosc. i. 15), which follows $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ in a prescription, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2680; cf. Leyd. Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10.

14. The Hebrew log is .56 litre, about one pint, and the Coptic $\lambda\omicron\kappa$ translates $\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\lambda\eta$, which in all its varieties is no larger than a pint.

ny [*phre-tu* (?)] : cf. 29/28, 29.

1. 3. *w^c* [**ngen* ($\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ of l. 11) *e*]-*f w^cb* seems to fill the gap, which is too wide in the Pl. of vol. ii. in this and the following line according to the evidence of the succeeding lines.

4. *qes* . . . , in l. 27 *qš* . . . , in both cases broken. In l. 9 it is referred

5. [e·r-k] gm hn w^c mw(?) nte-k ty-s a py nhe
nt hry n hw II e·r-k š n py š ar-f n twe

6. e b·r te-k y n p [bl n pe-k(?)] y e b·r te-k sze
wbe rm nb n p t a·r p(?) hw II sny [e·r-k]

7. hrp a bl n twe e·r[k še] a w^c km e·r-k ny w^c
šlhe n elle e b·r te-f wth elle

8. e·r-k fy·t-f n te-k·t [t·t n] e·r-k ty-f a te-k·t
t·t n wnm e·r-f r n tb^c VII e·r-k θy·t-f [a pe-k(?)]

9. y nte-k ny p [tbt(?)] a hry hn p nhe nte-k mr-s (*sic*)
a py-s st n tyb n mhe nte-k yh·t-s m-s [zz-f]

10. n p h n elle [nte-k h^c] p nk nt hr nhe hr-r-s š^c
nte-s zlzl p nt n het-s a hr[y]

11. e p ngen nt hr[r-s] hr w^ct tbe nmy š^c ke hw III
a·re p hw III sny e·r-k [ny·t-s]

12. a hry e·r-k qs[-s] n hl hsm hbs n š-stn e·r-k
h^c-s n w^c m^c e-f hep hn pe-[k pr]

13. nge e·r-k r ke hw II e·r-k š a p nhe n
a hw VII e·r-k hrh ar-f e·r[k wh (?)]

14. a t r-f te-f yp·t e[r-k th]s pe-k mt n hwt hn^c
pe-k hr e·r-k str erme t s-hm·t nt e·r-k r-f a·r-s

15. n sh nt e·r-k š-w a p nhe ank šwy(?)
gl^cb·n·o ank r^c nk qm-r^c nk s r^c ank

16. syšt s šwy(?) qme(?) n mw n N py srrf nt n Bt
nte·t tp·t wr·t wr hyq

to apparently as *p tbt*, 'the fish'; and in l. 31 is written with the fish sign, but with feminine article and termination. It seems characteristically female, the gender of the pronoun changing to fem. ungrammatically immediately after the masculine *tbt*, in l. 9, and no doubt it was sacred to some goddess. The lates niloticus (which according to MM. Lortet and Hugounenq is found of all sizes mummified at Latopolis, and is therefore the *Latus*, Ann. du Serv. iii. 15) is called in Arabic *qšr*, قشّر.

1. 6. *a·r*. The original reads perhaps *a r p*. In either case it is probably a slip for *a re p*.

1. 8. Vice versa of 'Lotus Lion-Ram' is 'Lion-Ram Lotus,' not 'Ram Lion Lotus'; see note to 1/12.

1. 9. *p [tbt]*. The remains favour this restoration. The word does

the colour of(?) the . . . (5) [which you(?)] find in a water(?) . . . you put it into this oil above-mentioned for two days; you recite this formula to it (the oil) at dawn . . . (6) before going [out of your] house, and before speaking to any man on earth. When two days have passed [you] (7) rise early in the morning [and go] to a garden; you take a vine-shoot before it has ripened grapes, (8) you take it with your left hand, you put it into your right hand—when it has grown seven digits (in length)—you carry it [into your] (9) house, and you take the [fish] out of the oil, you tie it by its tail with a strip(?) of flax, you hang it up to . . . (10) of(?) the vine-wood. [You place] the thing containing oil under it until it (thé fish) pours out by drops that which is in it downwards, (11) the vessel which is under [it] being on a new brick for another three days; when the three days have passed, you [take it] (12) down, you embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and fine linen; you put it in a hidden place or in [your chamber] (13) You pass two more days; you recite to the oil again for seven days; you keep it; when you [wish] (14) to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it. (15) The spells which you recite to the oil, ‘I am Shu, Klabano, I am Re, I am Komre, I am son of Re, I am (16) Sisht(?), son of Shu; a reed(?) of the water of On, this gryphon which is in Abydos. Thou (fem.) art Tepe-were (first, great) great of sorcery,

not occur elsewhere in the papyrus. For the change of gender in *mr-s* see note to l. 4.

m-s [zz-f], see l. 29.

l. 12. *pe-[k pr]* restored from the parallel l. 31.

l. 13. *nge* here and in l. 31 seems to be placed after the alternative phrase, as is the case with *r-pw* in older Egyptian.

l. 14. *a'r-s* for *ar-s*, ερος, ‘to her.’

l. 15. *šwy*. The name of the god Shu (cf. l. 20) is here falsely written like ται.

17. t ʿre-t ʿnh-t nte-t [p w]tn p šy n wʿpke my n-y
hs-t mr-t šfe-t ne-ḥr

18. ʿte-t nb s-ḥm-t nb mr-t pe rn n mte ʿš nte-s
ʿn ʿnk šwy(?) klʿkyn-ʿo-k ank yʿrn

19. ʿnk gʿmren ʿnk se pe pʿeaypʿf ynpen
ntynhs gʿm-r-n mw n ʿN ʿnk

20. šwy(?) šʿbw šʿ šʿbʿh-ʿo lʿh-ʿy-lʿhs(?) lʿh-ʿe-t
p ntr ʿo nt ḥr pr-ybt-t

21. lʿbrʿthʿ a[nk p] srrf nt n ʿBt ky nʿm-y(?) ʿn(?)
a t ḥs-t n ḥwt a ḥr s-ḥm-t ʿs-phr a ḥr . . .

22. nte-t t wr-t t wr ḥyq ʿkš-t s-t n rʿ t nb
ʿre-t nte-t Šhm ʿo-t nb ʿs-t

23. ʿr šḥme sʿbe nb a t n p rʿ n t wz-t
a.ms ʿḥ n t XV-t n grḥ nte-t qm

24. wr nwn nte-t qm wr-t nt n ḥ-t-bnbn
m(?) ʿN nte-t t yʿl n nb [nte-t t]

25. skte-t p wtn n p rʿ lʿnzʿ p ḥrt p šr n t
wʿyʿnʿyne-t t pyt-t n t

26. n gwg ny št-t n by-wekm t ḥs-t t mr-t nta
p rʿ pe-t yt ty-s n-t m[y] . . .

27. n-y a ḥry ḥn py nḥe ḥr ḥt yr-t nb s-ḥm-t
nb nt e-y ʿn-nʿ a ḥn a ḥr-w a wʿt qš

28. n tbʿ IX e-s km nte[-k ty-s a] ḥn wʿ sknn n wrt
nte-k ʿr-s n ḥsy ḥn-f nte-k ʿny-t[-s a ḥry]

1. 18. ʿš nte-s ʿn. The blank before ʿš is perhaps for the insertion of a word (*ke* (?)) in red ink; *nte-s* is *нтас*, St., § 299, and the invocation is still to the fish.

1. 20. *lʿh-ʿe-t*. The plural of *ʿe-t*, 'limbs,' is *ног* in O. C. Par. The singular may have been **не*.

1. 21. *nʿm-y*. Probably an error for *nʿm-f*, but the facsimile would admit of the reading *nʿm-w ʿn*.

1. 22. Thoueris is generally figured as a hippopotamus.

ʿs-t must be the place *is-t*, dem. *ʿs*, mentioned in BRUGSCH, Dict. Geogr., pp. 70-71, as being under the rule of Sochmet.

1. 23. *wz-t*: sun or moon as eyes of heaven; cf. 8/8, 10/22, 29/23.

1. 24. *Ḥ-t-bnbn* [*m*] *ʿN* is the best restoration. The 'house of the obelisk' was a famous shrine in the temple of Heliopolis.

(17) the living uraeus, thou art the sun-boat, the lake of Ua-peke; grant to me praise, love, and lordship before (18) every womb, every woman. Love (?) is my true name.' [Another (?)] invocation of it again: 'I am Shu, Klakinok, I am Iarn, (19) I am Gamren, I am Se Paer(?)ipaf, Iupen, Dynhs, Gamrou, water of On, I am (20) Shu, Shabu, Sha, Shabaho, Lahy-lahs, Lahei, the great god who is in the East (21) Labrathaa, I am that gryphon which is in Abydos.'

[Another] form of them (?) again (?) to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa, before . . . 'Thou art Thoueris, the great of sorcery, [cat (?)] of Ethiopia, daughter of Re, lady of the uraeus; thou art Sochmet, the great, lady of Ast, (23) who hast seized every impious person [eye-ball(?)] of the sun in the *uzat*, born of the moon at the midmonth at night, thou art Kam (?) (24) mighty, abyss, thou art Kam (?) . . . great one (fem.) who art in the House of the obelisk in On; thou art the golden mirror, [thou art ?] (25) the *sektet*-boat, the sun-boat of Re Lanza, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Amazon (?) in the . . . (26) of dûm-palm fruit (?), these of Bywekem; the favour and love which the sun, thy father, hath given to thee, send [them] (27) to me down into this oil, before the heart, and eyes of (?) every woman before whom I come in.' [Invocation] to a *Kesh* . . . -fish (28) of nine digits and black; [you put it] in an ointment of roses; you drown it therein; you

l. 25. *skte-t*. It is interesting to find this clear spelling, not *smkt-t*, which seems to be that of the Pyramid Texts.

w'y'n'yne-t, an extraordinary spelling for οὔρεσιν, 'Greek.'

pyt-t. pdty in Eg. seems to be a foreign soldier or mercenary. This is evidently a feminine derivative.

l. 26. *gwg* = *kwk* in Kufi, p. xx; probably the dûm-nut, as in Kufi it is evidently the fruit of a tree, so not *σορε* : *σορε*, carthamus.

l. 28. *skm n wrt*, *μυρον ροδινον* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 759. That it was of a consistency to choke a fish is seen by its use as a lamp-oil in 6/9.

29. nte-k 'yh m-s zz[-f] e'r-k wh e'r-k ty-s
a w^c hn(?) n yl e'r-k (*sic*) w^c hm n mw n s^csmrem

30. erme w^c hm n s^cS-t e-f . . . [e-f] nt nte-k 'š ny
ar-f n sp VII n hw VII wbe t pr n p r^c e'r-k ths
hr-k n^m[-f]

31. n p nw nt e'r-k str erme s-hm-t [nte-k] qs t . . . t
n hl hsm e'r-k tms-s n pe-k pr n w^c m^c e-f hep nge

COL. XIII.

1. p ky n prz hwt a s-hm-t s-hm-t a py-s hy

2. wy sp-sn ho sp-sn 'r(?) Gb hbr-f n k nq-f . . .
mw-t-f Tfn-t m whm . . .

3. mw wwhe(?) p 'b n yt-f hr-f p hyt n p nte by-f
m st-t e he-f (*sic*) m 'n nte-f . . .

4. mh p t n st-t nte n tw-w syt n sl(?) p hyt n ntr
nb ntr-t nb 'nh wr l'lt(?)

5. b'reš'k bel-kš . . . hwy mn p šr n t mn . . t mn
t šrt n t mn

6. my t st-t m-s ht-f t šht-t n pe-f m^c n str e b(?)
. . . . n st-t n mst . . .

1. 29. *t*, or a similar word, has dropped out between *e'r-k* and *w^c*. Such omissions have often been supplied over the line by the scribe.

s^csmrem, probably sisymbrium, of which there were two sorts, growing respectively on land and on water, Diosc. ii. 154-5. The former being also known as *Αφροδιτης στεφανος*, herba venerea (ib.), is very appropriate for this *ἀγωγή*. It may be *mentha sylvestris*, and the second species is *nasturtium* (SPRENGEL). Unfortunately the determinative is lost of our word, so that we cannot be sure that a plant was intended: cf. V. 13/7.

1. 30. *s-[n?]'S-t*. Among the ingredients of a sacred oil, Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 38, col. 1, is a plant called by this name. Here there is no det.

1. 31. *t h'(?)-t* might mean 'the carcass,' but having no determinative almost certainly represents the *qeš* . . . -fish of ll. 6, 27.

COL. XIII.

1. 1. For the subject, compare Leyd. Pap. Graec. V. col. 11, l. 15 (see LEEMANS' ed.), headed *w^c prz*, *διακοπος*.

1. 2. The first sentence, as far as *p hyt*, is in clumsy archaistic language,

take it [out], (29) you hang it up by [its] head [. . . days (?)] : when you have finished you put it on a glass vessel ; you [add] a little water of sisymbrium (30) with a little amulet (?) - of Isis and pounded ; you recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You anoint your head with [it] (31) in the hour when you lie with [any (?)] woman. [You] embalm the fish with myrrh and natron ; you bury it in your chamber or in a hidden place.

COL. XIII.

(1) The mode of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband. (2) 'Woe! (*bis*), flame! (*bis*) ; Geb assumed his form of a bull, coivit [cum filia ?] matris suae Tefnet, again (3) because (?) the heart of his father cursed (?) his face ; the fury of him whose soul is as flame, while his body is as a pillar (?), so that (?) he (4) fill the earth with flame and the mountains shoot with tongues (?) :—the fury of every god and every goddess Ankh-uer, Lalat (?), (5) Bareshak, Belkesh, be cast upon (?) N. the son of N. [and (?)] N. the daughter of N., (6) send the fire towards his heart and the flame in his place of

employing the obsolete *ʿb* for heart, *mw* for  or   the suffix with the noun *hbr*, the past *stm-f*, &c.

wy sp-sn : cf. Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 16.

Geb is *Kporos*, the planet *Kporos* being named 'Horus the Bull,' and Nut, daughter of Tefnut, is the heavenly cow in the Destruction des Hommes, &c. The restoration before 'his mother' is, however, very uncertain. Cf. the Greek myth of *Kporos*, and Plutarch, de Iside et Or., cap. 12, where 'Pea is Nut.

1. 3. *he-f*, 'his body,' must be for *he-t-f*, but this spelling occurs elsewhere in the papyrus. Cf. 21/22.

ʿn might represent the city of On, but the determinative is apparently a stone.

1. 5. *hwy a (?) mn*, 'is cast upon (?) N.'

There are traces of writing covering $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the end of this line, perhaps erased by the original scribe, and wholly illegible now.

7. a ḥn a ḥt-f n hte-t nb š' nte-f ḥwy t(?) mn t šr-t mn (*sic*) a bl ḥn ne-f 'y-w e-s lk(?)

8. mst n ḥt-f e-s ḥr ḥnt(?) n ḥr-f my n-f p wywy p w'w' p 'he(?) p ḥnt 'wt-w

9. n hte-t nb š' nte-w prz a ne-w 're-w e bnp-w ḥtp a šwe a nḥe **ḥḥḥ** * . . . p*

10. **ḥḥḥ** nte-k t 'rp ar-w nte-k 'r-w n w' twt(?) n Gb e wn w' ws n t-t-f

11. n p 'm'm nt ḥr še-f ar-w e'r-k 'ny w' 'm'm nte-k 'r-f n ḥsy ḥn hyn-w **ḥḥḥ** nte-k t swr p rm n (*sic*)

12. n'm-f ḥr 'r-f **ḥḥḥ** n p byl II e'r-k nt pe-f **ḥḥḥ** ḥr nk nb(?) n wm nte-k t wm-f-s p rm ḥr 'r-f(?)

13. **ḥḥḥ** nte-f **ḥḥḥ** nte-f **ḥḥḥ** e'r-k 'r-f a 'ny s-ḥm-t e'r-k 'ny w' 'm'm e'r-k ḥ'f ḥr w't blz n

14. ḥr nte-k wḥ-f ḥr t θse n w' 'o nte-k t pe-f st ḥn w't(?) blz n ḥr nge yl 'n nte-k wrḥ-f e-f 'nḥ a ḥn

15. n p r n w't s-t-eyw n t s-ḥm-t nte-k . . . -f n nb nte-k qs pe-f st nte-k t ḥl e-f nt ar-f nte-k ty-f a ḥn w't 'lykt n nb

1. 7. At the end read *e-s ḥr* (?).

1. 9. *ḥḥḥ* is probably the true native pronunciation of the word for gum, unaffected by the Greek.

1. 10. *twt* (?). The determinative of a star must mean that the planet form *Ḥr-p-k*, a bull-headed man standing with *was*-sceptre, is intended, BR., Thes., p. 68. With regard to the reading, the sign is the det. of *twt* in Bul. Pap. I. Pl. 37, l. 14, and in l. 15 stands for *twt*. *Twt*, 'figure,' seems to be the reading here, and wherever it occurs with the det. of divinity (15/10, &c.); but without det. (16/22, &c.) it means 'style,' 'method,' and is probably to be read *ky*. Max Müller, however (Rec. trav. ix. 26), shows reason for reading it *qte*, comparing Louvre dem. Mag. v. 1, vi. 19; *qte*, though apparently masc., may be the origin of the fem. *ḥḥḥ*.

1. 11. *hyn-w ḥḥḥ*, some water: cf. 21/13 *hyn-w 'rt-t*.

1. 12. The word in cipher reads *ḥḥḥ*, a word unknown in Egyptian. Probably it is a mis-writing for *ḥḥḥ* (l. 17) = *swm* (σωμα) of V. 32/5.

sleeping, the . . . of fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] (7) into his heart at any time, until he cast N. daughter of N. out of his abode, she having (?) (8) hatred to his heart, she having quarrel to his face; grant for him the nagging (?) and squabbling (?), the fighting and quarrelling between them (9) at all times, until they are separated from each other, without agreeing again for ever.' Gum, . . . , (10) myrrh; you add wine to them; you make them into a figure of Geb, there being a *was-sceptre* in his hand.

(11) [The uses (?)] of the shrew-mouse (?) to which it is put (goes). You take a shrew-mouse (?), you drown it in some water; you make the man drink (12) of it; then he is blinded in his two eyes. Grind its body (?) with any piece of food, you make the man eat it, then he makes a (13) . . . and he swells up and he dies. If you do it to bring a woman, you take a shrew-mouse (?), you place it on a Syrian (14) pot, you put it on the backbone (?) of a donkey, you put its tail in a Syrian pot or in a glass again; you let it loose (?) alive within (15) the door of a bath of the woman, you gild (?) it (*sic*) and embalm its tail, you add pounded myrrh to it, you

wm-f-s p rm: note the superfluous *f*.

l. 13. *ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲧⲟ*, probably a compound word, *ⲙⲟⲩ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟ*. It might mean 'water of spot (*ⲧⲟⲉ*)' or 'death of spot,' referring to a disease with spots or blisters.

blz n hr. Wine was imported from Syria in amphorae, but probably some special ware was denoted by this name.

l. 15. The word for bath is determined with the sign of fire: its name in Coptic is *ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲏ*: *ⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩⲏ* with variations; in the demotic there is no trace of the *ⲏ*, and it evidently means 'place of washings,' **ⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩⲏ*.

'You gild and embalm its tail' is perhaps the meaning.

l. 15. *ʿlykt* (fem.), an unknown word, apparently the *gsur*, 'ring,' of l. 27. It is perhaps to be connected with *ⲉⲗⲓⲗ* or *ⲉⲗⲓⲕⲧⲟⲥ*. *ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲁⲕ*, 'ring,' and *ⲁⲗⲓⲕⲟⲩ*, 'vase,' have been suggested, but these are both masculine, and ignore the *ⲗ*, which seems to be firm. The determinative appears to be that of silver, also found in *znf*, &c.

16. nte-k ty-s a pe-k tb^c bn-s ʿš ny šh·w ar-f nte-k mš^c a m^c [nb?] erme-f a(?) s-ḥm·t nb nt e·r-k a mḥt nḥm-s ḥr [wh?]-s m-s-k

17. ḥr r-k-f e ʿh mḥ e·r-k r-f a t ʾre s-ḥm·t lyb m-s ḥwt e·r-k fy pe-f *coaa* e-f šwy e·r-k nt[-f e·r-k] fy

18. w^c ḥm nḥm-f erme w^c ḥm n snf n pe-k tb^c n mḥ II n p s[ʿ]py[n] n tek·t t·t n e·r-k th-f erme-f e·r-k ty-f

19. a w^c z n ʾrp e·r-k ty-f n t s-ḥm·t nte-s swr-f ḥr ʾr-s lyb [m]-s-k e·r-k t pe-f *caue* a w^c ʾrp

20. nte p rm swr-f ḥr *ateq* ty hte·t nge ty-f a nk nb [n wm] e·r-k t pe-f *zet* a w^c ḥtm(?)

21. n nb nte-k ty-f a t·t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb ḥr te-f t ḥp n-k [ḥs·t mr·t šfe]t e·r-k ʾr w^c *hes* n ḥsy ḥn

22. w^c ʾrp nte-k t swr-s p rm ḥr *ateq* e·r-k t p *caue* n [w^c gʿ]e n rʿqt a nk nb n wm

23. ḥr *ateq* e·r-k t w^c·t *zaqla* n st II a p nḥe [nte-k psy]·t-s nte-k ths p rm nḥm-f ḥr

24. e·r-k wh a t ḥp *naue* ḥr rm nte-s tm lʿk-s w^c·t *[z]antooc* [erme?] *zaqla* nte-k psy·t-w ḥr

25. nte-k zqm p rm nḥm-w e·r-k wh a t ʾr-f *topp*(?) e·r-k t ḥr ʾr-f *topp*(?) e·r-k ty ḥnk(?) . . .

26. a yr·t-f n rm ḥr ʾr-f *šwaa*

I. 16. 'The charms' are those at the foot of the column, l. 27 et seqq.

There seems scarcely space for the *a* before *s-ḥm·t*, and it should no doubt be omitted.

I. 17. There is a variant version in V. col. 32 of the prescriptions in ll. 17-20.

I. 18. *sʿphyn*. The finger is always thus elaborately described in the pap., the blood being used in erotica as here 15/4, 22, V. 32/7. It is evidently the Boh. *celestin*. *الخنصر* 'middle finger' in KIRCHER. But Sah. *celestin* is 'heart,' also *εποχόνδρια* (cf. 21/25, 33); and that a nerve connected the third (ring-) finger of the left hand with the heart is said

put it in a gold ring (?), (16) you put it on your finger after reciting these charms to it, and walk with it to any place, and any woman whom you shall take hold of, she [giveth herself(?)] unto you. (17) You do it when the moon is full. If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, you take its body, dried, you pound [it, you] take (18) a little of it with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand; you mix it with it, you put it (19) in a cup of wine; you give it to the woman and she drinks it; then she has a passion for you. You put its gall into a (measure of) wine (20) and the man drinks it; then he dies at once; or (you) put it into any piece [of food]. You put its heart (?) into a seal-ring (?) (21) of gold; you put it on your hand, and go anywhere; then it brings you [favour, love, and] reverence. You drown a hawk in (22) a (measure of) wine; you make the man drink it, then he dies. You put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any food, (23) then he dies. You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and [cook] it, and anoint the man with it; then [he dies (?)]. (24) You wish to produce a skin-disease on a man and that it shall not be healed, a *hantous*-lizard [and (?)] a *hafleele*-lizard, you cook them with [oil (?)], (25) you wash the man with them. If you wish to make it troublesome (?), you put, then it is troublesome (?). You put beer (?) (26) to the eye of a man, then he is blinded.

(APION, frag. 7, MACROB. Saturn. vii. 13) to be a discovery of Egyptian anatomy. For fingers of the right hand see 16/29, 29/5.

l. 20. *hr* *atec*. It is very interesting to obtain the *stm-f* form following *hr*; but whether it would be **atec* or **atec* in Sah. may be a little doubtful. The vowel seems however to represent *ε*, not *α*, and should therefore correspond to *α*, not *ο*, in Sah.; but a Sah. form **atec*, or even **atnc*, would be conceivable.

l. 21. / over the line seems to be a correction of *hp*.

27. n sḥw nt ḥr ʾr-k š-w a p gswr n p nw nt eʾr-k
mḥt n(?) t s-ḥm-t nʾm[-f . . .] yḥ-ʿo ʾbrsʿks

28. my ʾre mn a-ms mn mryt my ʾr-s mḥ m-s-y a
p myt nte-k zrp(?) . . . ḥr ʾr-s wh-s m-s-k ḥr sh-
k[-s?] . . .

29. ʿn a t tys nt ḥr ʾr-k qs p [ʿmʿm(?)] nʾm-f

COL. XIV.

1. p-e-ze ke rm n-y z a-wn n yr-t sp-sn šʿ sp IV(?)

2. a-wn n yr-t-yt a-wn n yr-t-k θs-phr šʿ . . .
sp III a-wn tt a-wn nʿp III sp

3. a-wn III(?) z ʾnk ʾrtʿm-ʿo a-ms ḥme-ʿo p syt
ʿo n pr-ybt [nt] ḥʿ erme pe-k yt

4. n twe hy sp-sn ḥḥ(?) a-wn n-y hʿh ḥr z-k-f eʾr-k
sq n ḥrw-k ʾrtʿm-ʿo a-wn n-y hʿh eʾr-k

5. tm a wn n-y hʿh e-y a t ʾr-k wn n-y hʿh hb sp-sn
nwzh nte nw [a] p ntr ʿo ʾNp p nʿš

6. nt n-ne-zz-y p nʿšt ʿo n wz-t p nʿš ʾNp p mr ʾḥ
nfr a-wn nb eʾr-y

7. wnḥ-k aʾr-y z ʾnk nesthom neszot neshotb b-ʿo-
rylʿmmʿy sp-sn

l. 27. See l. 16 above for the employment of this spell.

l. 29. *qs*: the only embalming is of the tail of the shrew-mouse in l. 15.

COL. XIV.

l. 1. This line is merely a gloss on l. 2.

l. 2. The mark over *sp* occurs also in 29/22 and V. 9/8. In 29/22 it is placed over *sp* without any number following, in the other instance over a blank space where a numeral would be expected. Here a number has been written under *sp*, but below the line, as if inserted later, and the inference may be drawn that the sign in question indicates that a number is wanting.

l. 3. *Ham-o* might mean 'great carpenter,' but many Egyptian words in these magic names are no doubt almost meaningless, and it is difficult in translating to decide whether to give English equivalents or to transcribe them phonetically.

l. 5. *tm a wn*. The *a* is a mistake, or at least superfluous.

(27) The charms which you recite to the ring at the time of taking hold of the woman 'Yaho, Abrasax, (28) may N. daughter of N. love me, may she burn for me by the way (?).' You Then she conveys herself (?) after you ; you write it (29) again on the strip with which you wrap up the [shrew-mouse (?)].

COL. XIV.

(1) That which another man said to me: 'Open my eyes,' unto four times. (2) [A vessel-divination:] 'Open my eyes; open thy eyes,' (and) vice versa, unto three times. 'Open, Tat; Open, Nap,' three times; (3) 'open [unto me?]' three [times?], 'for I am Artamo, born of Hame-o (?), the great basilisk of the East, rising in glory together with thy father (4) at dawn; hail (*bis*), Heh, open to me Hah,' you say it with a drawling (?) voice 'Artamo, open to me Hah; if thou dost (5) not open to me Hah, I will make thee open to me Hah. O Ibis (*bis*), sprinkle (?), that I may (?) see the great god Anubis, the power, (6) that is about (?) my head, the great protector (?) of the Uzat, the power, Anubis, the good ox-herd, at every opening (?) (of the eye ?) which I have (?) made, (7) reveal thyself to me; for I am Nasthom,

nwzh is used of sprinkling a floor with water for the reception of visitors.

nta would mean 'that I may,' the demotic equivalent of which is usually written *nle-y*, though the *y* was not pronounced. Here we have *nle* alone written, unless the group be read *nle-w* 3rd pl., which would give the meaning 'that the god may be seen.'

1. 6. *n-ne-zz-y*: the *n* is a doubling of the initial.

'That I may see the god every time I open my eyes (?).' *e-r-y* is only past relative in ordinary demotic, but in early demotic is often future. Possibly it retains this meaning here, but if so it is a very exceptional usage.

Arian is repeated three times, each time with a different epithet, but the reading of the second is uncertain: it might mean 'this bringer of prosperity.'

8. m^cstsynks ʾNp mekyste ʾryⁿ p nt ʾy ʾryⁿ py
n(?) -wzy ʾryⁿ

9. p nt n bl hy phryks yks ʾn^cksybr-ʾo-k^s ʾmbr-ʾo-k^s
eb-ʾo-rks ks-ʾo-n

10. nbr-ʾo-khr^c . . p ʾrt wr ʾNp z ʾnk py mty ne-ʾtef
ne-pephⁿwn m^csph-ʾo-nege

11. hy my ʾp n-e-z-y nb ty n p-hw ze hy nte-k th^cm
th^cmth-ʾo-m th^cm^cth-ʾo-m

12. th^cm^cthwmth^cm th^cm^cthwtsy ʾMn sp-sn pe-k rn n
nte nt e-w(?) z rn-f z th-ʾo-m

13. ʾnkth-ʾo-m nte-k yt-th thwtsy rn-yk sythom
ʾnythom ʾp-s^c . . . š^ctn-sr

14. km a-wn n-y n n r-w n pe hne ty n p-hw ʾm
n-y a n r-w n pe hne pe swt my ʾre

15. pe ʾpt ʾr p(?) w[be ?] n t p-t my ʾre n wh^r-w n p
hwlot t n-y p nt n m^ct n p nwn my z-w n-y

16. p nt e-y šn ʾrr-f ty n p-hw n m^ct sp-sn e mn
mt-t n ʾze n^cm-w 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤍 m^ckh-ʾo-pnewm^c

17. z-mt-t ʾr ʾny-k w^c z n ʾmt nte-k pth w^c twt n
ʾNp ʾn-f nte-k m^ch-f n mw n str n

18. mnt(?) b-ʾr p r^c gm-t-f nte-k zq ʾr-f n n^che n m^ct
nte-k wh-f ʾr tb-t nmy e ʾrr-w pr^h

19. n š^c nte-k t ke tb-t IV-t ʾr p ʾm-ʾl nte-k t ʾre
p ʾm-ʾl str a ʾr ʾe-t-f

20. nte-k t ʾr-f(?) wh te-f mrt a t tb-t n p hne nte-k
t ʾr-f kšp a ʾn p n^che e wn w^c ʾbs pr^h a zz-f

1. 13. *š^ctn-sr-km* looks like 'sacrifice of black ram.'

1. 15. *wbe* (?). The facsimile gives *e* as the last letter of the word, and so excludes *wyn*. The previous group, apparently written *ʾre*, we have taken as *ʾr p*.

p hwlot has the determinative of locality.

1. 18. *mnt* (?), perhaps 'custodian,' as in I Kham. iv. 7. It might represent the name of the god Mōnth.

b-ʾr with final sense? Cf. I Kham. iv. 12, note, and below 22/3. The facsimile would perhaps admit of a reading *e b ʾr*.

Naszot, Nashoteb, Borilammai (*bis*), (8) Mastinx, Anubis, Megiste, Arian, thou who art great, Arian, Pi-anuzy (?), Arian, (9) he who is without. Hail, Phrix, Ix, Anaxibrox, Ambrox, Eborx, Xon, (10) Nbrokhria, the great child, Anubis; for I am that soldier. O ye of the Atefcrown, ye of Pephnun, Masphoneke; (11) hail! let all that I have said come to pass here to-day; say, hail! thou art Tham, Thamthom, Thamathom, (12) Thamathomtham, Thamathouthi, Amon (*bis*), thy correct name, whom they call Thom, (13) Anakthom; thou art Itth; Thouthis is thy name, Sithom, Anithom Op-sao (?), Shatensro (14) black; open to me the mouths of my vessel here to-day; come to me to the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), let (15) my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven; may the hounds of the *hulot* give me that which is just in the abyss; may they tell me (16) that about which I inquire here to-day truly (*bis*), there being no falsehood in them $\alpha\epsilon\eta\iota\sigma\tau\omega$, Makhopneuma.' (17) Formula: you take a bowl of bronze, you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with water left to settle (?) and (18) guarded (?) lest (?) the sun should reach it; you finish its (sur-)face (of the water) with fine oil, you place it on [three?] new bricks, their lower sides being sprinkled (19) with sand; you put four other bricks under the child; you make the child lie down upon (?) his stomach; (20) you cause him (?) to place his chin on the brick of the vessel; you make him look into

zq: reading not quite certain, but probably *zq hr-f* means $\alpha\omega\kappa$, 'complete its (sur-)face,' i. e. fill up the vessel with a thin layer of oil on the top of the water.

tb-t: the facsimile shows a numeral III (?) following, and 'a brick' is always *w-t tb-t*. The plural *hr-w* also follows; yet in l. 20 'the brick of the vessel' is spoken of in the singular.

l. 19. a *hr hr-t-f*, a curious expression, possibly meaning 'on his face-and-stomach.'

21. e wn w^c ḥbs e-f θ-r-t ḥr pe-f wnm w^c ḥb ḥr st-t
ḥr pe-f . . . nte-k t w^c ḥlp n sym n

22. 'Np ḥr p ḥbs nte-k t py sty a ḥry nte-k ḥs ny
sh-w nt ḥry a p hne n sp VII p sty nt e-r-k t-t-f

23. a ḥry ḥbwnt mrḥe(?) ḥmwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s bne
nt-w ḥr ḥrp nte-k ḥr-w n

24. bnn nte-k t a ḥry n'm-w e-r-k wh e-r-k t ḥre p
ḥm-ḥl wn yr-t-f e-r-k šn-t-f ze ne(?) p ntr ḥy a ḥn e-f

25. z ḥr p ntr ḥy [a ḥn] e-r-k ḥs ḥ-t-f z-mt-t pe-k q²
m^o ḥy ḥNp py . . . oy py g^cm

26. py km pe(?) . . . py srytsy sp-sn srytsy sp-sn
ḥbrytsy rn-yk n pe-k rn n mte

27. nte-k šn-t-f a p nt e-r-k [wh-f] e-r-k wh n pe-k
šn nt e-r-k šn ḥrr-f e-r-k ḥs ar-f n sp VII e-r-k wt
[p ntr] a pe-f ḥy pe-f wt z-mt-t

28. wt nfr sp-sn ḥNp p mr ḥḥ nfr ḥNp sp-sn p šr n
nw wnš whr p(?)[-e-ze?] ke-zm(?) z p šr n ne te(?)

29. ḥS-t whr nḥbryš-ḥo-tht(?) p gerwb n ḥmnt pr-ḥo n
te . . . z sp VII e-r-k fy

30. p ḥbs a p ḥlw e-r-k fy p hne nt ḥr mw e-r-k fy
t šnto-t [ḥr] ḥ-t-f ḥr ḥr-k-f ḥn

31. n šn-hne [w^ce]t-k nfr sp-sn ḥp e-f znt n sp IX p
sym n ḥNp ḥr rt-f n hhe n m^c

32. te-f gbe-t m q[ty t] gbe-t [n sym?] n ḥr e-f θy
wbḥ te-f ḥrre m q-t[y t ḥ]rre n ḥnq

1. 21. *sym n ḥNp*, the *ανουβιαδα την των σταχυν* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 901. Cf. below, l. 31.

1. 22. *t a ḥry* is the regular expression for putting incense on the censer or brazier.

1. 23. *ḥmwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s* Ἀμμωνιακὸν πόα ἐστὶν ὅθεν τὸ ἀμμωνιακὸν θυμίαμα, Diosc. iii. 98. The very slight alteration of *r* to *h* in the demotic would produce *θυμιάματος*.

1. 28. *p šr n nw wnš whr . . . p šr n ne te(?) ḥS-t whr*. For *te* = τα- cf. 8/13, 'the son of those of (?) a (?) jackal and (?) hound . . . , the son of those of Ta-Ese and (?) hound'; possibly a form of pedigree in breeding animals.

the oil, he having a cloth spread over his head, (21) there being a lighted lamp on his right, and a censer with fire on his left; you put a leaf of (22) Anubis-plant on the lamp, you put this incense on (the fire); you recite these spells, which are above, to the vessel seven times. The incense which you put (23) on (the fire): frankincense (?), wax (?), styrax, turpentine (?), date-stone (?); grind them with wine; you make them into a (24) ball and put them on (the fire). When you have finished, you make the child open his eyes, you ask him, saying, 'Is the god coming in?' If he says (25) 'The god has come in,' you recite before him: formula: 'Thy bull (?) Mao, ho! Anubis, this soldier (?), this Kam, (26) this Kem . . . Pisreithi (*bis*), Sreithi (*bis*), Abrithi is thy name, by thy correct name.' (27) You ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry which you are asking about, you call to him seven times; you dismiss the god to his home. His dismissal: formula: (28) 'Farewell (*bis*) Anubis, the good ox-herd, Anubis (*bis*), the son of a (?) jackal (and ?) a dog . . . another volume saith: the child of . . . (29) Isis (?) (and ?) a dog, Nabrishoth, the Cherub (?) of Amenti, king of those of ' Say seven times. You take (30) the lamp from (?) the child, you take the vessel containing water, you take the cloth off him. You do it also (31) by vessel-inquiry alone, excellent (*bis*), tried (?), tested nine times.

The Anubis-plant. It grows in very numerous places ;

l. 29. *gerwb* probably = קָרִיב. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 3061; Leyd. Pap. Gr. V, col. 9, l. 16.

l. 30. *fy* must refer to the removal of the apparatus.

l. 32. [*sym*] *n hr*. There seems hardly room for more than the sign *sym*, and some slight remains agree with it.

The leaves of stachys are λευκά (Diosc. iii. 110), coloris in luteum inclinati (PLINY, N. H., xxiv. 86). The former compares it with the

33. . . . e-r-k . . . yr-t . . . e b-r te-k
p hne

COL. XV.

1. w^c t swr e-r-k ny w^c hm n hñ n 'pe-t n w^c rm
e-f mw-t n htb-t

2. erme VII n blbyle-t n yt(?) n tms hn w^ct be-t n
rm e-f mw-t nte-k nt-w erme 'p-t X-t

3. ke-z IX-t pr-w n zph nte-k t snf n w^ct hcl'mt^c
n w^c 'e(?) km a h-t-w erme w^c hm n

4. snf n pe-k tb^c n mh II n p s'lpyn n te-k-t t-t n
gbyr erme te-k-t mt-t nte-k

5. hm-w n w^c sp nte-k ty-sw a w^c z n 'rp nte-k t-t
wth III ar-f n t

6. h'yt-t n p 'rp e b-r te-k tp-f e b-r te-w wtne hn-f
nte-k 'š py 'š ar-f n sp VII

7. nte-k t swr-s t s-hm-t n'm-f nte-k mr p h'r n p
syb nt hry n w^ct tys n š-stn

8. nte-k mr-s a pe-k znñ n gbyr pe-f 'š z-mt-t 'nk
pa(?) 'Bt n m^ct n

9. mnqe n ms n rn-s n 'S-t t sbb hh ta t s-t-sbh n
p š'y

10. 'nk py twt n p r^c s-t'me-sr rn-yt 'nk py twt n
mr mš^c a-phñ py

marrubium, the latter (through misunderstanding of *πράσιον*) with the leek. Here we have it compared to the *'nge* εινε: (εινονκ?) κόρυζα, BSCIAL, Rec. trav., vii. 25; LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed., p. 68. Curiously enough, amongst the synonyms of *κορυζα* in Diosc. iii. 126 *ἀνουβίαις* occurs. Evidently there is some confusion here with stachys.

thy wbbñ probably 'tends to whiteness.'

COL. XV.

1. 1. *hñb-t*: this might represent an Achmimic infinitive ending in ε, but in the Hist. Rom. no. 245 there is a fem. subst. *hñby*.

1. 2. *rm e-f mw-t*, no doubt again a man slain or murdered. Parts of the body of those who had suffered a violent death were considered peculiarly efficacious for magical purposes. Cf. P. S. B. A. xiii. 169-70.

1. 3. *pr-w*, a genitive *n* has probably been omitted by mistake.

(32) its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant(?)]; it turns (?) white; its flower is like the flower of conyza.

(33) . . . you . . . eye . . . before you . . . the vessel.

COL. XV.

(1) A potion. You take a little shaving of the head of a man who has died a violent death, (2) together with seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave of a dead (?) man; you pound them with ten *oipe*, (3) otherwise nine, (of) apple-seeds(?); you add blood of a worm (?) of a black dog to them, with a little (4) blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand, and with your semen (?), and you (5) pound them together and put them into a cup of wine and add three *uteh* to it of (6) the first-fruits of the vintage, before you have tasted it and before they have poured out from it; and you pronounce this invocation to it seven times (7) and you make the woman drink it; and you tie the skin of the parasite aforesaid with a band of byssus (8) and tie it to your left arm. Its invocation, formula: 'I am he of Abydos in truth, (9) by formation (?) (and ?) birth in her (?) name of Isis the bringer (?) of fire, she of the mercy-seat of the Agathodaemon. (10) I am this figure of the sun, *Sitamesro* is my name. I am this

h't'm't, referred to in l. 7 as *syb*. *Syb*, cf. 25/25, 28, = *c1h* : *c1n* (Eg. *sp*), the meaning of which seems vague—parasitic worms and insects and even sores. Possibly our word may be connected with *ελμυς*.

a *h-t-w* : see chapter on Grammar.

l. 7. *swr-s* : *s* is duplicated either as the object by *n'm-f* or as the subject by *t s-hm-t*.

l. 9. *n mnge n ms* is difficult.

n rn-s : it seems as if Abydos were here personified as Isis, cf. l. 13, or else we may translate 'by the name of Isis'; see 19/16.

ТАН : ТА- represents Eg. *tnf*, to which та- corresponds in Ptolemaic transcriptions of proper names. But possibly the *n* was retained in O. C. in looser combinations.

11. št^c py šhr-ʿo-t t ḥo ʿo-t rn-yt ʾnk py twt n Hr
py št^cm py št^c py

12. šhr-ʿo-t rn-t ʾnk py twt n ḥsy-ntr(?) nt mtr n šh
nt ḥtp a mr ty ḥr

13. t ḥtp-t ʿo-t n ʾBt nta mtr p snf n Wsr ā rn-s n
ʾS-t e-w ty-f a ḥry ḥn

14. py z py ʾrp my nʾm-f snf n Wsr te-f n ʾS-t a t
ʾr-s w^c mr n ḥt-s ar-f

15. n grḥ mre-t n nw nb e mn nw šr my nʾm-f p
snf n mn a-ms mn a ty-f

16. n mn a-ms mn ḥn py z py ʾpt n ʾrp n p-hw a t
ʾr-s w^c mr n ḥt-s ar-f

17. p mr nta ʾr-s ʾS-t a Wsr e-s qte m-s-f a m^c nb
my ʾr-s mn t šr n mn

18. e-s qte m-s mn p šr n mn a m^c nb p pz nta ʾr-s
ʾS-t a Hr Bḥtt my

19. ʾr-s t mn s(?) mn e-s mr nʾm-f e-s lby m-s-f e-s
rqh n t-t-f e-s qte m-s-f

20. a m^c nb e wn w^c-t ḥo n st-t ḥn ḥt-s n ty-s wne-t
n tm nw ar-f

21. ke ky nʾm-f ʿn p znf n p ḥbys n te-k-t ʿne-t n
pr-w zpḥ ḥn^c snf

22. n pe-k tb^c nt šh a ḥry ʿn nte-k nt p zpḥ nte-k
t snf ar-f nte-k ty-f a p z n ʾrp

23. nte-k ʿs ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t n p
nw n rn-f

l. 12. *ḥsy*: └ inserted after the *ḥ* seems to be a kind of determinative, also in 19/24. The reference here is, of course, to Osiris.

a *mr*: the geographical significance of this is difficult to grasp, but cf. 9/23.

l. 13. *t a ḥry ḥn*, 'pour into,' of liquids: cf. 19/29.

nt a seems to be the form for the relative before *stm-f* in this papyrus when used instead of the old relative form *a-stm-f*. Cf. l. 17, &c.

l. 14. *my nʾm-f*: above this is a letter resembling *α* erased by two lines; the following words are very difficult to understand. *Te-f* may be intended for the past relative *a-te-f*, 'which he gave.'

figure of a Captain of the host, very valiant, this (11) Sword (?), this Overthrower (?), the Great Flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this Fortress (?), this Sword (?), this (12) Overthrower (?) is my name. I am this figure of One Drowned, that testifieth by writing, that resteth on the other side (?) here under (13) the great offering-table (?) of Abydos; as to which the blood of Osiris bore witness to her (?) name of Isis when it (the blood) was poured into (14) this cup, this wine. Give it, blood of Osiris (that?) he (?) gave to Isis to make her feel love in her heart for him (15) night and day at any time, there not being time of deficiency. Give it, the blood of N. born of N. to give it (16) to N. born of N. in this cup, this bowl of wine to-day, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, (17) the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N. the daughter of N. feel it, (18) she seeking after N. the son of N. everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu, (19) let N. born of N. feel it, she loving him, mad after him, inflamed by him, seeking him (20) everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.'

(21) Another method of doing it again. The paring (?) of your nail's point (?) from an apple-fruit (?), and blood (22) of your finger aforesaid again; you pound the apple and put blood on it, and put it in the cup of wine (23) and invoke it seven times, and make the woman drink it at the moment named.

l. 21. *znf*: an obscure word; cf. 25/32, V. 7/1. It occurs also in a Philae inscription (BR., Thes., 1017), perhaps with the meaning of a 'small portion.'

prw: cf. perhaps Sah. εἴρα, pl. εἴριτε. It is not clear whether the fruit or the pips are intended.

l. 22. *a hry*. The MS. appears to have the *a*, but it must be a mistake of the scribe.

24. n še ne-ḥr ḥry e-f <sre-w(?)> myḥ erme-k
nte-f tm sze ar-k

25. μη με διωκε οδε· ανοχ παπιπετου μετουβανες· βασταζω

26. την ταφην του οσιρεως και υπαγω καταστησαι αυτην
εις αβιδος

27. καταστησαι εις ταστας και καταθεσθαι εις [α]λχας εαν μοι
ο ♀ κοπους

28. παρασχη προσρεψω αυτην αυτω pe-f 'š n mt-t
rm n kmy 'n pe py nt [ḥr]y

29. mpr ptt m-s-y t mn ank p'pypetw metwb'nes e-y
fy ḥr t qs-t n Wsr

30. e-y 'nn' a θy-t-s a 'Bt a ty ḥtp-s n 'Lgh'h e-f ḥp
nte t mn myḥ erme-y n p-hw

31. e-y a hwy-t-s abl z sp VII

COL. XVI.

1. ke-z'm thew ye 'o-e 'o-n y' w' ke-z'm elon
nfr sp-sn

2. n mt-wt n p ḥbs b-'o-th thew ye we 'o-'o-e y' w'
pth'kh el-'o-e

3. y'th e-'o-n peryph'e yew y' y-'o y' ywe 'm a ḥry.

4. a p wyn n py ḥbs nte-k wnḥ a py 'lw nte-k šn
n-y ḥr p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f

1. 24. *ḥry* probably means 'Sovereign,' 'king,' but may perhaps only mean a 'superior officer.' *sre-w* would seem to mean 'range soldiers,' 'array battle.'

1. 25. The Greek formula, ll. 25-28, is translated into demotic in ll. 29-31.

ανοχ, &c. This passage invites interpretation as Old Coptic, but if it really meant anything it must be corrupt, and the demotic version in l. 29 renders it phonetically as if it consisted of magic names. One may perhaps suggest *'nk pe pa p nt 'o my t w' b n-s*, 'I am the servant of him that is great; give discharge (ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩⲏⲟ) (of the fault or the liability) to her' (*sic* for 'to me'?).

1. 26. *ταφην*. At this time *ταφή* in Egypt = 'mummy,' as is seen by the mummy tickets (Pap. Rainer Mitth. V. 14).

(24) [A spell] of going to meet a sovereign (?) when he fights with you and will not parley (?) with you. (25) 'Do not pursue me, thou! I am Papipetou Metoubanes. I am carrying (26) the mummy of Osiris and I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, (27) to take [it] to Tastai (?) and to deposit it in Alkhah; if N. deal blows at me, (28) I will cast it at him.' Its invocation in Egyptian also is this as below: (29) 'Do not pursue me, N., I am Papipetu Metubanes. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, (30) I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to cause it to rest in Alkhah. If N. fight with me to-day, (31) I will cast it away.' Say seven times.

COL. XVI.

(1, 2) The words of the lamp: 'Both, Theou, Ie, Oue, O-oe, Ia, Oua—otherwise, Theou, Ie, Oe, Oon, Ia, Oua—Phthakh, Eloë—otherwise, Elon, excellent (*bis*)—(3) Iath, Eon, Puriphae, Ieou, Ia, Io, Ia, Ioue, come down (4) to the light of this lamp and appear to this boy

1. 27. *ταστας*: an unknown name. This phrase is not translated in the demotic.

[a]λχας: the λ is sufficiently recognizable in the facs.; see the note on 1/16. The ε of κοπους is likewise seen in the facs.

εαν μοι, &c. WÜNSCH, in the Supplement on magic tablets to the Corp. inscript. Attic., quotes in his preface an inscription from the Collections du mus. Alaoui l. p. 57 (publ. also MASPERO, Et. myth. arch. ii. 297), a Latin eroticon of the 2nd cent. A.D. from Hadrumetum written in Greek characters: 'Si minus descendo in adytus Osyris et dissolvam τὴν ταφὴν et mittam ut a flumine feratur. Ego enim sum magnus decanus magni dei Achrammachalala,' i.e. as WÜNSCH says, a sepulcro Osiridis arcam illius eripiet et in Nilum coniiciet, idem quod olim Typho fecerat.

COL. XVI.

1. 1. This is only a gloss on the second line.

1. 2. The apparent *n* at the beginning before *n mt-wt* is probably false.

1. 4. *šn*. In this papyrus this word is often used in such a way as to suggest the meaning 'answer' rather than 'inquire.' Perhaps it may mean both 'to inquire' and 'to be inquired of.'

5. ty n p-hw y^c-o y^c-o-mr therenth-o psykšyme^ckhe-
mr bl^c

6. khⁿsp^l y^e we-by b^rb^rrethw yew ^rp-o-n-ghnwph

7. brynt^cten-o-phry he^c g^rrhre b^lmenthre meneb^rry-
^ckhegh y^c

8. khekh bryn-sk(?) ^llm^c ^rwns^rb^c meseghryph nyptw-
mykh

9. m^c-o-rkh^rm ^y l^cnkhekh ^co-mph brymb^yynwy-o

10. th sengenb^y gh-o-wghe l^ykh^m ^rmy-o-wth nte-k
zt-f

11. e-f w^b n py smte p ntr nt ^cnh p ^hbs nt ^θ-ryt
t^grt^t pa zt wy

12. b-o-el a ^hn š^c sp III ^rrbeth b^y wtsy-o p ntr ^co
^co a(?)wy b-o-el

13. a ^hn t^t sp-sn a-wy b-o-el a ^hn š^c sp III t^grt^t
pa zt [a[·]]wy

14. b-o-el a ^hn š^c sp III bewtsy p ntr ^co a-wy b-o-el
a ^hn s^c sp III

15. p ^š nt e^r-k ^š-f a ^hr p r^c n ^hrp e b^r-r te-k ^š
a p ^lw z a^r-r p nt e^r-k ^r-f a ^hp

16. p ntr ^co t^b-o b^swkh^m ^cm-o ^ckh^cgh^r-khⁿ-
gr^cbwns^c

17. nwny-etsyqme-t g^cthwb^s^cthwry[·]thmyl^c^l-o sp VII

18. ke gy n^m-f ^cn e^r-k twⁿ-k n twe ^hr pe-k klk n
^hrp n p hw nt e^r-k a ^r-f n^m-f nge hw nb

19. z a^r-r p nt e^r-k a ^r-f nb a mte n t^t-k e^r-k
w^b a bte nb e^r-k ^š py ^š a ^hr p r^c n sp III nge sp VII

20. y-o-t^b-o s-o-kh^m-mw[·] ^co-kh^c-o-kh^c-n^c-bwns^c-
nw ^cn

21. yesy eg-o-m-p-t geth-o sethwry thmyl^c ^lw^p-o-
khry my ^rre hb nb

1. 5. The demotic sign corresponding to the glosses λo, λω is identical with that for *r* in *R-gly* = Παροτε, and with that for *mr* = Λε-, 'superintendent'; λo, λω is evidently the absolute form of the construct Λε-.

and inquire for me about that which I ask (5) here to-day, Iao, Iaolo, Therentho, Psikhimeakelo, (6) Blak-hanspla, Iae, Ouebai, Barbaraithou, Ieou, Arponknouph, (7) Brintatenophri, Hea, Karrhe, Balmenthre, Meneba-reiakhukh, Ia, (8) Khukh, Brinskulma, Arouzarba, Mese-khriph, Niptoumikh, (9) Maorkharam. Ho! Laankhukh, Omph, Brimbainouioth, (10) Segenbai, Khooukhe, Lai-kham, Armioouth.' You say it, (11) it (*sic*) being pure, in this manner: 'O god that liveth, O lamp that is lighted, Takrtat, he of eternity, bring in (12) Boel!'—three times—'Arbeth-abi, Outhio, O great great god, bring Boel (13) in, Tat (*bis*), bring Boel in!' Three times. 'Takrtat, he of Eternity, bring (14) Boel in!' Three times. 'Barouthi, O great god, bring Boel in!' Three times.

(15) The invocation which you pronounce before Phre in the morning before reciting to the boy, in order that that which thou doest may succeed: (16) 'O great god, Tabao, Basoukham, Amo, Akhakharkhan-kraboun-zanouni-(17)edikomto, Kethou-basa-thouri-thmila-alo.' Seven times.

(18) Another method of it again. You rise in the morning from your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, (19) in order that everything which you will do shall prosper in your hand, you being pure from every abomination. You pronounce this invocation before Phre three times or seven times. (20) 'Io, Tabao, Sokhom-moa, Okh-okh-khan-bouzanau, An-(21) iesi, Ekomphto, Ketho, Sethouri, Thmila, Alouapokhri,

l. 7. *κappε*: the aspiration of the second *p* is interesting. Cf. note to 1/20.

l. 11. *e·f·w·b*: the lamp must be pure as described in ll. 22 et seqq. *a·wy*, sometimes perhaps written *wy*, is *ⲁⲩⲱ*, *ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲱ*, ST., § 384, and is synonymous with *a·ny*: cf. 17/10, &c.

l. 15. *z a·r* = *ⲁⲣⲉ*, 'final.'

22. nt e-y a θy t-t ar-f ty n p-hw my ʾr-f ḥp pe-f ky
ḥr ʾny-k wʿ ḥbs nmy e bnp-w t prš ar-f nte-k (*sic*)

23. wʿ sʿl e-f wʿb ar-f nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n mʿt e-f wʿb
nte-k wḥ-f n wʿ mʿ e-f wʿb n mw n ḥsm e-f hep .

24. nte-k wḥ-f ḥr wʿt tbe:t nmy nte-k ʾny wʿ ʿlw nte-k
t ḥms-f ḥr k-t tbe:t nmy e ḥr-f

25. st a p ḥbs nte-k ḥtm n yr-t-f nte-k ʿš ny nt ḥry
a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ʿlw n sp VII e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f wn

26. yr-t-f e-ʾr-k z n-f ʿn e-ʾr-k nw a p wyn e-f z n-k
te-y nw a p wyn ḥn t st:t n p ḥbs e-ʾr-k ʿš ty hte z

27. hewe 𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤀 n sp IX e-ʾr-k šn-t-f a p nt e-ʾr-k wḥ-f
nb bn-s ʿš p ʿš a-ʾr-k t ḥ-t mbḥ p rʿ n ḥrp .

28. ḥr ʾr-k-f n wʿ mʿ e r wn a pr(?)-ybt nte-k ḥʿ ḥr-f
n p ḥbs e-f st nte-k ḥʿ ḥr-f n p ʿlw

29. e-f-st a ḥr p ḥbs e-ʾr-k ḥr . . . nʾm-f e-ʾr-k
ʿš a ḥry ḥn zz-f e-ʾr-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tbʿ n mḥ II n p(?)
ḥyne(?) n te-k-t t-t

30. n wnm

COL. XVII.

1. ke ky nʾm-f ʿn nfr sp-sn a p ḥbs e-ʾr-k(z?) b-ʿo-el
sp III y-y-y. 𐤀𐤀𐤀 tʾt tʾt tʾt p šmsy ḥyt n p ntr ʿo p nt
t wyn m šs sp-sn

2. p ḥbr n t st:t nte t st:t n r-f pa t st:t nte my-s ḥtm
p ntr nt ʿnḥ nte b-ʾr-f mw p ntr ʿo ⟨p⟩ nt ḥms ḥn t st:t
nt n t mt:t n t st:t nt

1. 22. *θy t-t a*, 'undertake,' 'apply hand to': cf. 17/26 *θ wʿb a*.

pe-f ky: this seems to correspond to *py smt* in l. 11.

t has been omitted by the scribe at the end of the line.

1. 28. *f* is omitted after *r* and *pr* is incomplete before *ybt*. The scribe has moreover been confused in describing the positions of the lamp and the boy.

1. 29. Thus the middle finger of the right hand must have had a different name from that of the left, see 13/18 and cf. 29/5 with this passage. *ḥyne*(?) has the det. of flesh and should be some part of the body.

let everything (22) that I shall apply(?) my hand to here to-day, let it happen.' Its method. You take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you (put) (23) a clean wick in it, and you fill it with pure genuine oil and lay it in a place cleansed with natron water and concealed, (24) and you lay it on a new brick, and you take a boy and seat him upon another new brick, his face being (25) turned to the lamp, and you close his eyes and recite these things that are (written) above down into the boy's head seven times. You make him (26) open his eyes. You say to him, 'Do you see the light?' When he says to you 'I see the light in the flame of the lamp,' you cry at that moment saying (27) 'Heoue' nine times. You ask him concerning everything that you wish after reciting the invocation that you made previously before Phre in the morning. (28) You do it in a place with (its) entrance open to the East, and put the face of the lamp turned (*blank*). You put the face of the boy (29) turned (*blank*) facing the lamp, you being on his left hand. You cry down into his head, you strike his head with your second finger, (that) of the, of your (30) right hand.

COL. XVII.

(1) Another method of it again, very good, for the lamp. You (say?): 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, A, A, Tat, Tat, Tat, the first attendant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, (2) the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame which is not quenched,

COL. XVII.

1. 1. *e'r-k*. 'Thou art Boel' would need *nle-k*: probably *e'r-k* *z* was intended.

1. 2. *pa t st:t*: the stroke over the *t* is merely a line separating off the interlineation.

nle my-s = ετε αεε-, elsewhere (l. 27, &c.) written etymologically *nle b'r-s*. Cf. ο ασβεστος λυχνος Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1218.

3. n p šy n t p't nte p 'w erme p n's n p ntr
n t-t-f 'm a hñ n t mt n ty st-t nte-k wñh-k <wñh-k>
a py 'lw ty n p-hw nte-k t 'r-f šn n-y hñ mt-t nb
nt e-y

4. a šn-t-f [a]r-w ty n p-lw z e-y a š's-k n t p't ne-hñ
p r' e-y a š's-k ne-hñ 'h e-y a š's-k n p t

5. e-y a š's-k ne-hñ p nt hñ p bñt nte b-r-f htm pa
p š's 'o nte p 'w erme p n's n p ntr n t-t-f pa p

6. š's 'o petery sp-sn p'ter emphe sp-sn p ntr 'o 'o
nt n t r' hñy-t n t p't nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)'ne-f n t-t-f
p-e'r t hñ p ntr e bp ntr

7. t hñ-f 'm n-y a hñ erme b-'o-el 'nyel nte-k t p zr
n n byl-w n py 'lw nt hñ pe hne

8. n p-hw a t nw-f ar-k a t stm msz-f ar-k e'r-k sze
nte-k šn n-f hñ hb nb mt-t nb nt e-y a šn-t-f ar-w ty
n p-hw

9. p ntr 'o sy-s-'o-th 'khrem-p-t 'm a hñ n t mt-t n
ty st-t p nt hms hñ p tw

10. n g'b-'o-n t'grt't pa zt p nte b-r-f mw nt 'ñh š'
ñhñ <a·wy> a·ny b-'o-el a hñ b-'o-el sp-sn

11. 'rbethb'y-nwtsy 'o p ntr 'o sp-sn <a·(?)wy> a·ny
b-'o-el a hñ t't sp-sn <a·wy> a·ny b-'o-el a hñ
e'r-k

12. z ny sp VII a hñy hñ zz-f n p 'lw e'r-k t 'r-f wn
yr-t-f e'r-k šn-t-f z 'n hñ p wyn hñ

13. e-f hñ e bñp p wyn pyr e'r-k t 're p 'lw h-f sze
n r-f a p hñs z-mt-t 'w p wyn pr

14. p wyn θs p wyn hñ p wyn pr p wyn n p ntr
wñh-k a'r-y p šmsy n p ntr nte p wñ-sñe n p-hw [n
t]t-f

15. nt ne šn n-y hñ 'r-f wñh-f a p 'lw n p nw n rn-f
hñ 's-k ny a hñy hñ zz-f n p 'lw e-f nw

the great god that dieth not, the great god he that sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, (3) who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come within in the midst of this flame and reveal thyself to this boy here to-day; cause him to inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall (4) ask him here to-day; for I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee on Earth, (5) I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who perisheth not, he of the great glory, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of the great glory, (6) Petery (*bis*), Pater, Emphe (*bis*), O great great god, who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having (7) created him, come in to me with Boel, Aniel; do thou give strength to the eyes of this boy who has my vessel (8) to-day, to (?) cause him to see thee, cause his ears to hear thee when thou speakest; and do thou inquire for him concerning everything and every word as to which I shall ask him here to-day, (9) O great god, Sisaouth, Akhrempto, come into the midst of this flame, he who sitteth on the mountain (10) of Gabaon, Takrtat, he of eternity, he who dieth not, who liveth for ever, bring Boel in, Boel (*bis*), (11) Arbethbainouthi, great one, O great god (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in, Tat (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in.' You (12) say these things seven times down into the head of the boy, you make him open his eyes, you ask him saying, 'Has the light appeared?' (13) If it be that the light has not come forth, you make the boy himself speak with his mouth to the lamp. Formula: 'Grow, O light, come forth (14) O light, rise O light, lift thyself up O light, come forth O light of the god, reveal thyself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is the command of to-day, (15) who will ask for me.' Then he reveals himself to the boy in the moment named.

16. m-s p ḥbs mpr t ʾr-f nw m-s ge mʿ m-s p ḥbs
wʿe-t-f e-f tm nw m-s-f ḥr ʾr-f htye-t

17. eʾr-k ʾr ny tre-w eʾr-k wh n pe-k šn eʾr-k st-k
eʾr-k t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f eʾr-k sze a ḥry ḥn zz-f n py ke

18. ʿš nt ḥry ze aʾre n ntr-w še n-w nte p ʿlw lk-f e-f
nw ar-w ʾrkhe-khem-phe nsew

19. hele sʿtrʿpermt ḥrh a py ʿlw nte-k tm t ʾr-f htye-t
ḥnwḥe škl-t nte-k t

20. st-f a pe-f myt n ḥrp aʾwn ty-t aʾwn ty te-y z nʾm-s
z ne-(ne)ʿne py šn-hne n p ḥbs(?)

21. a p ḥrp py smt ʿn pe pe-f ky ḥr ʾny-k wʿ ḥbs nmy
e-bp-w t prš ar-f nte-k t wʿ sʿl n

22. ḥbs e-f wʿb ar-f nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n mʿt e-f wʿb
nte-k wh-f ḥr wʿt tbe-t nmy nte-k t ḥms p ʿlw ḥr k-t tbe-t

23. wbe p ḥbs nte-k t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f nte-k ʿš a ḥry
ḥn zz-f a ḥ p ke ky ʿn ke ʿš e-ḥr

24. ʾr-k ʿš-f wbe p rʿ n twe n sp III nge sp VII
z-mt-t y-ʿo-tʾbe-ʿo s-ʿo-kh-ʿo-mmwʾ ʿo-kh

25. ʿo-kh-khʿn bwnsʿnw ʿn yesy eg-ʿo-mth-ʿo geth-ʿo
seth-ʿo-ry thmy

26. lʿʾlwʾp-ʿo-khry my ḥp mt-t nb nt e-y a ʾr-w n p-hw
nte-w ḥp e-f ḥp nte-k tm θ wʿb ar-f b-ʾr-f ḥp te-f mt-t
ʿo-t wʿb ke

27. ʿš a ḥ p nt ḥry ʿn z-mt-t b-ʿo-el sp III 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
𐤀𐤁𐤁 tʾt sp III p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥbr n t st-t pa
t st-t nte b-ʾr-s

28. ḥtm p ntr nt ʿnh nte b-ʾr-f mw p nt ḥms ḥn t st-t
nt n t mt-t n t st-t nt n p šy n t p-t nte p ʿw erme p nʿš

29. n p ntr n t-t-f wnḥ-k a py ʿlw hew 𐤀𐤀𐤀 sp-sn he-ʿo

1. 19. *hele* has the Greek symbol of the sun (ἥλιε) above it.

1. 20. The demotic sign for  at the end apparently stands for *ḥbs*, 'lamp.'

1. 26. *θ wʿb a*: cf. 14/32.

le-f mt-t ʿo-t: cf. εστιν δε το αγαθον ζωδιον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 171.

You recite these things down into the head of the boy, he looking (16) towards the lamp. Do not let him look towards another place except the lamp only; if he does not look towards it, then he is afraid. (17) You do all these things, you cease from your inquiry, you return, you make him close his eyes, you speak down into his head this other (18) invocation which is below, that is, if the gods go away and the boy ceases to see them: 'Arkhe-khem-phai, Zeou, (19) Hele, Satrapermet, watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or scared, and make (20) him return to his original path. Open Teï (the Underworld), open Taï (Here).' I say it that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better (21) than the beginning. This is the method again; its form: you take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you put a wick of (22) clean linen in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick, you make the boy sit on another brick (23) opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes, you recite down into his head according to the other method also.

Another invocation which (24) you recite towards Phre in the morning three times or seven times. Formula: 'Iotabao, Sokh-ommoa, Okh-(25)-okh-Khan, Bouzanau, Aniesi, Ekomptho, Ketho, Sethori, (26) Thmilaalouapokhri may everything succeed that I shall do to-day,' and they will(?) succeed. If it be that you do not apply(?) purity to it, it does not succeed; its chief matter is purity.

Another (27) invocation like the one above again. Formula: 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, I, I, I, A, Tat (*thrice*), he who giveth the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which does not (28) perish, the god who liveth, who dieth not, he who sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might (29) of the god, reveal thyself to

nte-f šn n-y nte-k ty ʾr-f nw nte-f kšp nte-f stm a mt-t
nb nt e-y

30. šn-t-f ar-w z e-y a šš-k n t p-t e-y a šš-k n p t
e-y a šš-k ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-ʾr-f htm

31. py ʿw petery sp-sn emphe sp-sn p ntr ʿo nt n
ḥry(?) n t p-t nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)-ne-f n t-t-f ʾr t ḥp ntr

32. e bnp ntr t ḥp-f ʾm a ḥn n t mt-t n ty st-t erme
b-ʿo-el ʾnyel nte-k t p zr n n byl-w n hew sp-sn

COL. XVIII.

1. n hew sp-sn p šr n hew sp-sn z e-f a nw ar-k n
yr-t-f nte-k t stm msz-f

2. nte-k sze wbe-f n hb nb e-f a šn-t-k ar-f nte-k z
n-y wh n mt-t mʿt nte-k p ntr ʿo sʿ

3. b-ʿo-th ʾm a ḥry erme b-ʿo-el tʾt sp-sn a-wy b-ʿo-el
a ḥn ʾm a ḥn n t mt-t n ty st-t

4. nte-k šn n-y ḥr p nt ne-(ne)-ne-f tʾgrtʾt py zt a-wy
b-ʿo-el a ḥn šʿ sp III ʾrbth

5. bʿynwtsy-ʿo p ntr ʿo a-wy b-ʿo-el a ḥn sp III e-ʾr-k
z ny a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ʿlw

6. e-ʾr k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f e-ʾr-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb a ḥ p
ky nt n bl ʿn

7. šn-hne e te-s n-y wʿ syn ḥn p tše n pr-mz ḥr
ʾr-k-f ʿn n šn-hne wʿ-t-k

8. sʾbʾ nm nn(?) byrybʾt hy sp-sn p ntr sysyʾh-ʿo nt
ḥr p tw n qʾbʾh-ʿo

9. nte t wt-t n p šʿy n t-t-f šm a py ḥm-ḥl my pḥr-f
p wyn z ʾnk

1. 32. Gloss 𐤂𐤌𐤕 𐤂𐤌𐤕: the word is spelt in the demotic like 𐤂𐤌𐤕,
'money,' with the det. of silver.

COL. XVIII.

1. 6. *n bl*: 𐤍𐤁 in the Revenue Pap., WILCK., Ostr., i. 19 n., 'on the
verso,' 'on the other side.' Cf. V. 15/7. The verso columns I and II
are on the back of this Col. XVIII, but they do not contain the passage
here indicated.

this boy, Heou (*bis*), Heo, that he may inquire for me, and do thou make him see and let him look and let him listen to everything which I (30) ask him, for I will glorify thee in heaven, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who does not perish, (31) he of greatness, Peteri (*bis*), Emphe (*bis*), O great god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, (32) deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with Boel, Aniel, and give strength to the eyes of Heu (*bis*).

COL. XVIII.

‘(1) Of Heu (*bis*), the son of Heu (*bis*), for he shall see thee with his eyes, and thou shalt make his ears to hear, (2) and shalt speak with him of everything; he shall ask thee about it, and thou shalt tell me answer truly; for thou art the great god (3) Sabaoth; come down with Boel, Tat (*bis*); bring Boel in, come into the midst of this flame (4) and inquire for me concerning that which is good; Takrtat, he of eternity, bring Boel in,’ three times, ‘Arbeth, (5) Bainouthio, O great god, bring Boel in,’ three times. You say these things down into the head of the boy, (6) you make him open his eyes, you ask him as to everything according to the method which is outside, again.

(7) [Another?] vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchus nome gave me; you (can) also make it with a vessel-inquiry alone by yourself: (8) ‘Sabanem, Nn, Biribat, Ho! (*bis*) O god Sisiaho who (art) on the mountain of Kabaho, (9) in whose hand is the creation of the Shoy, favour (?) this boy, may he enchant the

1. 9. *t wt-t n p šy*: ‘the generation of the Agathodaemon’ probably signifies ‘the fortune produced by the god of Fate.’

10. ḥr 'nw pe p ze k-z'm z 'nk ḥr nwn n twe ḥ'ḥ-ḥr
n mre-t 'nk

11. 'h n ḥr rhwe 'nk p r' p ḥrt šps nt e-w z n-f g'rt'
n rn ank p-e'r pyr a bl

12. ḥr p znḥ n t rpy-t n pr-ybt 'nk 'o sp-sn rn-yt 'o
pe pe rn n mte 'nk

13. rn-yt 'w pe pe rn n mte ank l'-o-t mw l'-o-t pe
p 'r-y g'm sp-sn p nte te-f

14. g'm-t ḥn t st-t pa py qlm n nb nt n zz-f th-'y-yt
sp-sn t sp-sn

15. h'tr' sp-sn p ḥr n 'e sp-sn hy 'Np p pr-'o n t
ty-t my še n-f p kke

16. a-'ny p wyn n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne z 'nk Ḥr s
Wsr a.ms 'S.t

17. p ḥrt šps nte mr-s 'S.t nt šn m-s pe-f yt Wsr
wn-nfr hy 'Np

18. p pr-'o n t ty-t my še n-f p kke a-'ny p wyn
n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne

19. pe swt ty n p-hw my wz-y my wz p nte ḥr-f pḥt
a py hne ty n p-hw

20. š' nte n ntr-w 'y a ḥn nte-w z n-y wh n mt-t m'-t
ḥr pe šn nt e-y šn

21. e-tbe-t-f ty n p-hw n mt-t m'-t n wš n mt-t n 'ze
twn hy 'Np

22. p snt nḥne mš' a bl ty wne-t a-'ny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t erme

23. p ntr nt θ wh n p-hw nte-f z n-y pe šn nt e-y
šn ḥrr-f n p-hw n sp IX

24. e-r-k wn yr-t-k nge p ḥm-ḥl nte-k nw a p wyn
e-r-k 'š a p wyn z 'we-t-f

1. 10. *ḥr 'nw* possibly means 'ape-headed'; the word *šm* (l. 9) occurs with the name of the ape also in 11/2. The copula usually follows *'nk* and *nte-k* immediately in this papyrus, but is separated here as in l. 13 *'nk l'-o-t mw l'-o-t pe*.

1. 12. *t rpy-t*: either the goddess Triphis or possibly the constellation Virgo.

light, for I am (10) Fair-face '—another roll says, 'I am the face of Nun—in the morning, Halaho at midday, I am (11) Glad-of-face in the evening, I am Phre, the glorious boy whom they call Garta by name; I am he that came forth (12) on the arm of Triphis in the East; I am great, Great is my name, Great is my real name, I am Ou, Ou (13) is my name, Aou is my real name; I am Lot Mulet, I have prevailed (?) (*bis*), he whose (14) strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, They-yt (*bis*), To (*bis*), (15) Hatra (*bis*), the Dog-face (*bis*). Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, (16) bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis, (17) the noble boy whom Isis loves, who inquires for his father Osiris Onnophris. Hail! Anubis, (18) Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, (19) my knot (?) here to-day; may I flourish, may he flourish whose face is bent down to this vessel here to-day (20) until the gods come in, and may they tell me answer truly to my question about which I am inquiring (21) here to-day, truly without falsehood forthwith (?). Hail! Anubis, (22) O creature (?), Child, go forth at once, bring to me the gods of this city and (23) the god who gives answer (?) to-day, and let him tell me my question about which I am asking to-day.' Nine times.

(24) You open your eyes or (those of) the boy and you see the light. You invoke the light, saying, 'Hail,

or or: the hieratic (?) symbols below are of uncertain meaning.

1. 13. *p'r-y*. It is difficult to make sense of this as it stands. Possibly the *p* may be a copyist's error for *e*, in which case the meaning could be that given above.

g'm sp-sn read *g'mg'm* = *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ*, cf. 3/10.

1. 17. *nle mr-s*: perhaps present relative, see chapter on Grammar.

1. 23. *nt θ wh n p-hw* seems to correspond to *nle p wh shne n l-t-f n p-hw* 6/17, &c., and so may mean 'who governs to-day': see 21/2.

25. p wyn pr sp-sn p wyn θs sp-sn p wyn ʿw sp-sn
p wyñ p nt n bl ʾm a ḥn e-ʾr-k z t-f n sp IX

26. šʿ nte p wyn ʿw nte ʾNp ʾy a ḥn a-ʾre ʾNp ʾy
a ḥn nte-f smne nʾm-f

27. e-ʾr-k z n ʾNp z twñ mšʿ a bl a-ʾny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t tym

28. a ḥn ḥr še-f a bl n t hte-t n rn-s nte-f ʾny n ntr-w
a ḥn e-ʾr-k rḥ-s

29. z a n ntr-w ʾy a ḥn e-ʾr-k z n ʾNp z a-ʾny wʿ
tks a ḥn ḥr n ntr-w

30. nte-w ḥms e-w ḥms e-ʾr-k z n ʾNp a-ʾny wʿ ʾrp(?)
a ḥn erme hyn-w t-w my wm-w my swr-w

31. e-f t wm-w nte-f t swr-w e-ʾr-k z n ʾNp z n se
ne šn n-y n p-hw e-f z se ʿn e-ʾr-k z n-f z

32. p ntr nt ne šn n-y my ʾr-f t ʿḥʿ t-t-f n-y nte-f
z n-y rn-f e-f z rn-f n-k e-ʾr-k

33. šn-t-f a p nt e-ʾr-k wḥ-f e-ʾr-k wḥ e-ʾr-k šn ḥr p
nt e-ʾr-k wḥ-f e-ʾr-k wt-w

COL. XIX.

1. [r(?)] n mt-t a p phs n p whr

2. a-ʾr-y ʾy a bl n ʾrq-ḥḥ e r-y mḥ n snf n ʾe(?) km

3. e-y syt nʾm-f p(?) tšer(?) n whr py whr nt ḥn p X
n whr

4. nte wn-te ʾNp s-f n ḥet-f šte n te-k-t mt-t ʿl n
pe-k zʾk nʾm-y(?) ʿn

5. e-ʾr-k tm šte n te-k-t mt-t nte-k ʿl n pe-k
zʾk e-y a θy-t-k

6. a ḥry a p ḥft-ḥ n Wsr pe nw e-y a ʾr n-k n
p-e-ʾr-e-p-e ge-t(?) ʾpt-w(?)

1. 27. *bk-t tym*: cf. Matt. ix. 35, x. 11, 14.

1. 31. *se*, lit. 'they' (are so), = *ce*, 'yes.'

COL. XIX.

1. 1. Supply *r*, 'spell,' before *n mt-t*: cf. l. 32.

(25) O light, come forth (*bis*) O light, rise (*bis*) O light, increase (*bis*) O light, O that which is without, come in.' You say it nine times, (26) until the light increases and Anubis comes in. When Anubis comes in and takes his stand, (27) then you say to Anubis, 'Arise, go forth, bring in to me the gods of this city (or?) village,' (28) then he goes out at the moment named and brings the gods in. When you know (29) that the gods have come in, you say to Anubis, 'Bring in a table for the gods (30) and let them sit down.' When they are seated, you say to Anubis, 'Bring a wine-jar in and some cakes; let them eat, let them drink.' (31) While he is making them eat and making them drink, you say to Anubis, 'Will they inquire for me to-day?' If he says 'Yes' again, you say to him, (32) 'The god who will ask for me, let him put forth his hand to me and let him ⁽³³⁾ tell me his name.' When he tells you his name, you _Λask him as to that which you desire. When you have ceased asking him as to that which you desire, you send them away.

COL. XIX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the bite of the dog. (2) 'I have come forth from Arkhah, my mouth being full of blood of a black dog. (3) I spit it out, the . . . of a dog. O this dog, who is among the ten dogs (4) which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract thy venom, remove thy saliva (?) from me (?) again. (5) If thou dost not extract thy venom and remove thy saliva (?), I will take thee (6) up to the court of the temple of Osiris, my watch-tower(?). I will do for thee the *parapage*(?) of

1. 4. *šte* seems to mean 'extract' rather than 'enchant.'

1. 6. *p-e-r-e-p-e ge-t* might mean 'that which he of *ge-t* did.'

ge-t, perhaps 'sort,' II Kham. vii. 7.

pt.w. REUVENS has clearly *ptk.w*, the *k* being apparently inserted by error between *t* and the determination of birds.

7. a ḥ p ḥrw n ṽS.t t šte.t t nb šte nt šte n nt nb
nte b-ṽr-w šte

8. n-s n rn-s n ṽS.t t šte.t nte-k nt *ḡzan*
ḥr *ḡmor*

9. nte-k ty-f a t tm.t n p phs n p whr nte-k mt.t ar-f
n mne šc nte-f (ne-)nfr

10. [r(?)] n mt.t a šte n t mt.t ḥr ḥt-f n rm e-ḥr-w t
swr-f phre.t nge(?)

11. zw.t ṽwe.t-f sp-sn y'blw p z n nb n Wsr

12. e swr ṽS.t Wsr p šcy 'o n ḥe.t-k e swr-w p III
ntr.w e swr-y

13. m-s-w ḥt ze n-k t ṽr-y th n-k t ṽr-y byk n-k t
ṽr-y hy

14. a bl n-k t ṽr-y hbrbr n-k t ṽr-y the n ḥt n-k t
ṽre r-y

15. z w^c my wz-y a kr'o(?) mw-bn mtw.t nb a'e-w
ḥt(?)w a ḥt-y

16. e-y swr-k my te-y hwy.t-w a ḥry n rn-s n s'rbyth^c
t šr.t

17. n p šcy z ṽnk s'br^c bry'th^c brys'r her

18. rn-yt ank Ḥr šc-r-n(?) e-f n.ṽw n p θ ṽwe.t-f y'h-'o

19. p ḥrt rn-yt n pe rn n mte a w^c z n ṽrp

20. nte-k t *ḥwyōw* e-f knn nte-k ty-f ar-f nte-k
mt.t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-f

21. p rm n twe e b-ṽr te-f wm [r(?)]n mt.t a p rm e
wn qs zthe

22. ḥr te-f šnbe.t nte-k pe šl'te l'te b'l'te

1. 7. ṽS.t ṽ šd.t is figured on a stela of Horus and the crocodiles in the British Museum, BUDGE, Mummy, p. 359; WILKINSON, Anc. Eg., 3rd ed., vol. iii. Pl. 33. For šte see note to l. 4.

l. 8. πρασον is prescribed for θηριοδικτοis, Diose., ii. 178.

ḡmor (ḡmor?): cf. kmw, BR., Wtb. Suppl., 1245; or qmh, kmh, ib., Suppl., 1249; Wtb., 1455, 1495 = ḡḡ, 'fine meal.'

l. 9. tm.t, 'wound'; the word is best known in the Eg. ḥr dm.t = person stung, bitten, or wounded, written out in the Metternich stela, l. 32.

birds (?) (7) like the voice of Isis, the sorceress (?), the mistress of sorcery (?), who bewitches (?) everything and is not bewitched (?) (8) in her name of Isis the sorceress (?). And you pound garlic with *kmon* (?) (9) and you put it on the wound of the bite of the dog; and you address it daily until it is well.

(10) [Spell] spoken for extracting the venom from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or (?) (11) . . . 'Hail to him! (*bis*) Yablou, the golden cup of Osiris. (12) Isis (and) Osiris (and) the great Agathodaemon have drunk from thee; the three gods have drunk, I have drunk (13) after them myself; for, dost thou make me drunk? dost thou make me suffer shipwreck? dost thou make me perish? (14) dost thou cause me confusion? dost thou cause me to be vexed of heart? dost thou cause my mouth (15) to speak blasphemy? May I be healed of all poison, pus (and) venom which have been . . . ed to my heart; (16) when I drink thee, may I cause them to be cast up in the name of Sarbitha, the daughter (17) of the Agathodaemon; for I am Sabra, Briatha, Brisara, Her (18) is my name. I am Horus Sharon (?) when he comes from receiving acclamation (?), Yaho, (19) the child is my name as my real name.' (Pronounced) to a cup of wine (20) and you put (*sic*) fresh rue and put it to it; and you make invocation to it seven times, and make (21) the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

[Spell] spoken to the man, when a bone has stuck (22)

l. 15. *krto* (?): the reading is very uncertain, and the remains will admit of reading *gkto*, i. e. κλτο.

a-e-w, perhaps for εατ, or simply ετ.

l. 16. *n rn-s*: there is no fem. word preceding to which this can be attached. Apparently the pronoun is explained by the subsequent *S'rbytha*, and the passage may be translated 'by the name of Sarbitha.'

l. 20. Seeds or leaves of rue as an antidote to poison, &c., Diosc., 3/45. *knn* is a word applied to leaves and flowers in this papyrus.

23. p msh wbh nt hr t stp-p-t(?) n p y^cm n h-o-h
nte he-t-f

24. mh n qs n hsy nb h^cy e-r-k a syt n py qs n-y
a hry n p-hw e-f r

25. qs e-f r wšym(?) e-f r l . . . s n tys-t e-f r nge
nb e mn n

26. ge šre z ank w^c h^c-t n my ank w^c tp n sr ank
w^c šl

27. n byw srrf pe pe rn n mte z Wsr p nt m t t
p rm n rn-f

28. p nt sp VII nte-k mt-t a w^c hm n *neq*
nte-k

29. t hr-f n p rm a hry nte-k ty-f a hry hn r-f nte-k
hn pe-k tb^c erme

30. te-k-t 'ne mwt II n te-f šnbe-t nte-k t r-f
'm p nhe nte-k t

31. twf-s n htp nte-k t p nhe nt hn te-f šnbe-t a
bl ty hte-t

32. hr w p qs a hry erme p *neq* r n mt-t a p
phs n p whr

33. p hyt(?) n Mn t rp-t z ank py hkr nht šl'm^c
m^clet št(?)

34. a-ph^t št-^ce-t grš-^ce-t grš-^ce nb rnt t'hne(?) b'hne(?)
py 'e(?)

35. py km p 'e(?) r(?) št(?) py 'e(?) pa ty IV-t 'lw-t
p wnš n šr wpy

36. p šr n Np glz n pe-k šl h^c n pe-k ryt a hry
e-r-k n hr

37. n St a Wsr e-r-k n hr n 'pp a p r^c Hr s Wsr
a.ms S-t nta e-r-k mh r-k ar-f

1. 25. Copies and the original seem to admit the reading *wšym*, which may be connected with Eg. *wšm*, meaning perhaps a fine point; and *qs* in Egyptian is a harpoon-head.

1. 26. *'nk*, perhaps possessive 'mine is'; *tp*, parallel to *šl*, may here be 'horn': see 3/22.

in his throat. 'Thou art Shlate, Late, Balate, (23) the white crocodile, which is under (?) the . . . of the sea of fire, whose belly (24) is full of bones of every drowned man. Ho! thou wilt spit forth this bone for me to-day, which acts (?) [as] (25) a bone, which, which as (?) a bandage, which does everything without (26) a thing deficient; for I am (?) a lion's fore-part, I am a ram's head (?), I am a leopard's tooth; (27) Gryphon is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand, the man named (28) is he who gives (?) my' Seven times. You make invocation to a little oil. You (29) put the face of the man upwards and put it (the oil) down into his mouth; and place your finger and (30) your nail [to the?] two muscles (?) of his throat; you make him swallow the oil and make him (31) start up suddenly, and you eject the oil which is in his throat immediately; (32) then the bone comes up with the oil.

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. (33) The exorcism (?) of Amen (and ?) Thriphis; say: 'I am this Hakoris (?) strong, Shlamala, Malet, secret (?) (34) mighty Shetei, Greshei, Greshei, neb Rent Tahne Bahne (?) this [dog ?] (35) this black [one], the dog which hath bewitched (?), this dog, he of these four bitch-pups (?), the jackal (?) being (?) a son of Ophois. (36) O son of Anubis, hold on (?) by thy tooth, let fall thy humours (?); thou art as the face (37) of Set against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop against the Sun; Horus the son of Osiris, born of Isis (is he ?) at whom thou didst fill thy

l. 27. *m t-t*, or 'beside me,' *πτοστ*.

l. 31. *n htp*: in older demotic *n htp*, II Kham. 3/18; possibly the *t* may be an error.

l. 33. *hyt*(?): cf. 21/30.

hkr is determined with the signs of a foreigner and a man. It is perhaps the same word that constituted the name of king Akoris (*Hgr*) of the twenty-ninth dynasty.

l. 37. Apop, the dragon-enemy of the sun.

38. mn a·ms m[n nta(?)] e·r-k mḥ r-k ar-f stm n py
sze Hr ʾr t ʾlk ḥmm ʾr še a p nwn

39. ʾr snt p t stm p yḥ-ʿo sḥ-ʿo ʾbyḥ-ʿo n rn e·r-k
lšlš(?) t tm·t e·r-k nt

40. ḥm ʾh tt t ar-f ke e·r-k nt bšwš ḥr ʾby t ar-f nte-k
z·t-f ʿn a wʿ z n mw nte-k t swr-f-s

COL. XX.

1. n mt·t a t plege

2. ʾnk pe s stn wr tp ʾNp te mw Šm·t ʾS·t(?) ʾre-s(?)
ʾy m-s-y

3. a bl a p t n ḥr a p sbt n p t n ḥḥ a p tš n ny
wm-rm z

4. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp z twnt-k
nte-k ʾy

5. a Kmy z pe-k yt Wsr e-f n pr-ʿo ⟨a⟩ n Kmy
e-f n wr a (sic) p

6. t tre-f n ntr·w tre·w n Kmy swḥ a θ t grept n t·t-f

7. t wne·t n z ny a·re-s fy n-y n wʿt fks·t hy te
nmte·t a·r-y

1. 38. This seems to imply an original chaos of burning.

1. 39. *p* seems distinct, *stm* is extremely doubtful.

lšlš(?) : the reading is from REUVENS' copy. πωρεο, 'purify,' is
determined by  in 5/3, and 'cleanse' fits the sense here.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *plege* = πληγή, as MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 174. πληγή is used especially of the sting of a scorpion, B. M. Gr. Pap. CXXI, l. 193, &c., but also of bites and stings of venomous animals in general, Diosc., Περι Ιοβολ. 19, and of wounds in general. Except that it bleeds (l. 14) there is little here to show what is meant by *plege* so long as ll. 7-8 remain unintelligible.

1. 2. According to this Anubis was the eldest son of Osiris (l. 5), and his mother was Sekhemet-Isis, called in l. 9 Isis. The liaison of Osiris with Nephthys (cf. PLUTARCH) is referred to in the O. C. of Pap. Bibl. Nat.
nte-s(?)y is a possible reading, *a·r-s* is not possible.

1. 3. *wm-rm* : there were Anthropophagi and Cynamolgi caninis capibus (cf. 21/7) associated in Africa, apparently on the Upper Nile, Plin.,

mouth (i.e. bite), (38) N. son of N. (is he) (?) at whom thou hast filled thy mouth; hearken to this speech. Horus who didst heal burning pain (?), who didst go to the abyss, (39) who didst found the Earth, listen, O Yaho, Sabaho, Abiaho by name.' You cleanse (?) the wound, you pound (40) salt with . . . ; apply it to him. Another: you pound rue with honey, apply it; you say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it (?).

COL. XX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the sting: (2) 'I am the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis(?), she came (?) after me (3) forth to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh, to the nome of those cannibals, saying, (4) "Haste (*bis*), quick (*bis*) my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis," saying, "Arise and come (5) to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt, he is ruler over (6) the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand." (7) The moment of saying those things she brought me a blow (?),

H. N., 6. 35 ad fin. Northward, Anthropophagi were placed in Syria, ib. 7. 2, or in Parthia (ROBINSON, Apocr. Gosp., p. 23, and Preface): cf. Rec. tr., xxv. 41. The land of Hah (Millions) is not known.

l. 5. *a n Kmy . . . a p t* must be for *n Kmy . . . n p t*. Possibly the Faiyumic pronunciation *e* for *n* has produced this exceptional writing.

l. 7. The following may be suggested as an alternative translation for this difficult passage: 'At the moment when she said this, a wasp (?) flew to me, my spittle (?) fell down upon me (from fright); it (the wasp) drew near (or gathered itself together) to me, coming unto me with a sting.' Here *a-re-s* is taken as a relative attached to *z* as regularly in other demotic texts (I Kham. v. 1, &c.); the *n* before *fks-t* is omitted. *fy* is taken in the sense of 'fly' (see GRIFF, H. Priests, p. 178, note to l. 19), and *fks-t* as possibly an Egyptian rendering of σφήξ. The Coptic ϣⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥⲓ, meaning an aquatic (?) animal of some kind, can hardly be the same word for phonetic reasons; for the form of the *f* see l. 21. The word recurs in 21/7.

nmte-t as 'power' = ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲧⲓ: this makes no sense. Cf. Kufi, xii. 30, 'he swallowed his *nmty-t*' (of the monkey when terrified).

8. a·r-s swḥ a·e-s ʾy n-y n nw plege a·e-y ḥms a
ḥry a·e-y

9. rym ḥms ʾS·t te mw·t n pe mte a bl e-s z n-y mpr

10. rym sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp lkh n ls·t-k a
ḥt-k ḥs-phr

11. š' n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) lkh n n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) š' n
r·w n te-k·t

12. nmte·t p nt e·r-k a lkh-f e·r-k 'm-f bn p'y n'm-f
a p t z pe-k

13. ls p ls n p š'y pe-k s'l pa ʾTm

14. nte-k lkh-f n pe-k ls e-f ḥr snf ty hte·t m-s-s e·r-k
mt·t a w' ḥm

15. n nḥe nte-k mt·t ar-f n sp VII e·r-k t n'm-f a
t plege m-mne e·r-k

16. sp w'·t tys n 'yw e·r-k ty-s ar-f

17. nt e·r-k zt-f a p nḥe a ty-f a t pl'ge
m-mne

18. ḥms ʾS·t e-s mt·t a p nḥe 'b'rt·t e-s tyt a p nḥe

19. n m'·t z e·r-k ḥsy te-y ne ḥys·t-k p nḥe te-y
ne ḥys

20. n'm-k e·r-k ḥse n t p š'y e·r-k mḥy n t·t ḥt
te-y ne ḥys-k

21. š' zt p nḥe sp-sn n sym ke-z m'·t p fty n p š'y
p s n Gb ʾS·t t nt

22. mt·t a p nḥe p nḥe n m'·t t tltyle·t n hwm-p·t
p zlh n Ḥr-št

l. 10. *ls·t-k*. This form seems due to a confusion in endeavouring to write in archaic style. The *t* is quite unwarranted by Egyptian. We may compare the *t* added before the object pronouns following *stm-f*: cf. also note to l. 20. We have here a passage in which very modern forms *ⲁⲡⲁⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ* are mixed with older forms *ḥms ʾS·t* (past *stm-f*) and this *ls·t-k*.

l. 12. *nmte·t*: if this means 'tail' we may compare Pist. Sophia, p. 323 *ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲁⲧ*, 'the point of the tail of the dragon.'

bn p'y: the Achmimic vetitive *ⲁⲡ=ⲁⲡⲣ*, cf. 21/23, probably derived from the old vetitive *m*. It occurs in Eg. as *bn*, Pap. Mag. Harris 8/7.

fell my tail (?) upon me. (8) It (?) gathered together (?), it (?) coming to me with a sting (?): I sat down and (9) wept. Isis, my mother, sat before me, saying to me, "Do not (10) weep (*bis*), my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis; lick with thy tongue on thy heart, repeatedly (?) (11) as far as the edges of the wound (?); lick the edges of the wound (?) as far as the edges of thy (12) tail (?). What thou wilt lick up, thou swallowest it; do not spit it out on the ground; for thy (13) tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaemon, thy tongue (?) is that of Atum."

(14) And you lick it with your tongue, while it is bleeding, immediately; thereafter, you recite to a little (15) oil and you recite to it seven times, you put it on the sting daily; you (16) soak a strip of linen, you put it on it.

(17) [The spell] which you say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: (18) 'Isis sat reciting to the oil Abartat and lamenting (?) to the true oil, (19) saying, "Thou being praised, I will praise thee, O oil, I will praise (20) thee, thou being praised by the Agathodaemon; thou being applauded (?) by me myself, I will praise thee (21) for ever, O herb-oil—otherwise true oil—O sweat of the Agathodaemon, amulet (?) of Geb. It is Isis who (22) makes invocation to the oil. O true oil, O drop of

1. 17. *p^hge*: the word has been extensively corrected; *p*, originally *ʔ*, and *g* and *e* being written above the line—see the facsimile.

1. 18. *tyt* = τωετ, plangere. The songs at funerals both in ancient and modern Egypt are in praise of the deceased, so the word may really mean, or at least imply, 'pronounce eulogy.'

1. 19. *hys-t-k*, and in l. 20 *hys-k*. It seems as if in one case the *t* was preserved and in the other lost. Compare the fact that this τ of verbs iii^{ae} inf., is often preserved in Sah. when lost in Boh.

1. 21. *nhe n sym* = ηεγ ησιμ, i. e. ῥαφάνιον, Diosc. i. 45 and Peyr. Lex. *f^hty*, cf. 21/16, is the reading = ηωτε, not *šty*, *wy^hty*. For the form of *š* in this papyrus see *šty* in 19/7, 8; *f* over another sign has the tail very short.

1. 22. *zlh* means to pump, draw water.

23. nt ʾn·w a ḥry n p wtn n twe e·r-k a ʾr p nfr n
t yt·t n twe a ḥwy

24. t p·t a p ʾytn a ḥr šn nb e·r-k a t nfr t ʿe·t ʾr wh (?)
e·r-k a ʾr phret

25. a p nt ʿnh z e-y a bk-k a t plege n s stn wr tp
ʾNp pe šr

26. z e·r-k a mh-s n e·r-k t nfr-s z e-y a bk-k a
plege n mn a·ms mn

27. z e·r-k a mh-s n e·r-k t nfr-s sp VII r n
mt·t a ʾny qs a bl ḥn šnbet

28. ʾnk p nte zz-f θy n t p·t e rt·t-f θy a p nwn ʾr
nhe n py msh mrh (?) ḥn pr-zm (?)

29. n N z ʾnk s' syme t'm'h-ʿo pe pe rn n mte ʿnwg
sp-sn z swḥ·t n bk

30. p nt n r-y swḥ·t n hb p nt n ḥe·t z qs n ntr qs
n rm qs n h'let qs n rym

31. qs n ʾw qs n nk nb e mn nk ge z p nt n ḥe·t-k
my ʾw-f a ḥt-k p nt n ḥt-k

32. my ʾw-f a r-k p nt n r-k my ʾw-f a t·t ty n p-hw
z ʾnk p nt ḥn t VII n p·t nt smne·t

33. ḥn t VII n qnh·t z ʾnk p šr n p ntr nt ʿnh a
w' z n mw n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm·t

l. 24. ʾr wh, past part. perhaps of ⲟⲩⲱ, cessare, or of ⲟⲩⲱⲉ, per-
manere.

l. 25. *ḥk* would seem here to mean 'employ,' 'apply.'

l. 27. *a bl*: or *a ḥry* would be a possible reading.

l. 28. *θy n . . θy a*: cf. note to l. 5.

ʾr *nhe n py msh* meaning very uncertain; perhaps 'who has risen,
naḡce, as this crocodile,' or, if *nhe* = ⲛⲟⲩⲉ, 'who has expelled this
crocodile.' Cf. note to 2/25.

pr-zm. This, though usually written without the *pr*, must be the
ⲭⲙⲁⲉ, situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, and well known
in Coptic literature. The name *zm* may be written with the figure of
a crocodile.

rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter (23) which cometh down from the sun-boat at dawn, thou wilt make the healing effect(?) of the dew of dawn which heaven hath cast (24) on to the earth upon every tree, thou wilt heal the limb which is paralysed(?), thou wilt make a remedy (25) for him that liveth; for I will employ thee for the sting of the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis, my child, (26) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well? For I will employ thee for (the?) sting of N. the son of N., (27) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well?" Seven times.

Spell spoken to fetch a bone out of a throat.

(28) 'I am he whose head reaches the sky and his feet reach the abyss, who hath raised up(?) this crocodile . . . in Pizeme(?) (29) of Thebes; for I am Sa, Sime, Tamaho, is my correct name, Anouk (*bis*), saying, hawk's-egg (30) is that which is in my mouth, ibis-egg is that which is in my belly; saying, bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, (31) bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides; saying, that which is in thy belly let it come to thy heart; that which is in thy heart, (32) let it come to thy mouth; that which is in thy mouth, let it come to my hand here to-day; for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who standeth (33) in the seven sanctuaries; for I am the son of the god who liveth.' (Say it) to a cup of water seven times: thou causest the woman (*sic*) to drink it.

l. 29. Egg of ibis and hawk, the same collocation in B. M. Pap. XLVI. 241.

l. 31. *e mn nk ge*, 'there being nothing else,' i. e. nothing not included in my words—a curious expression: cf. *emn nge šre*, 19/26.

COL. XXI.

1. p šn-hne n Wsr
2. 'we-t-f Wsr p pr-'o n t ty-t p nb n t qs-t p nte
zz-f n Tny e rt-t-f n N p nt θ wh n 'Bt
3. e te-f 'whe-t pr-šylem p nt hr p nbs n mrwe p nt
hr p tw n p-'o-r'nws p nt hr pe pr š' nhe
4. p pr n Ne-tbew š' z-t p nte hr-f m sn n hr n bk
n š-stn a-ph'te-t nte pe-f st n st n hf(?)
5. e te-f 't n 't n mnt(?) e te-f gyz n rm nt elθ(?)
n py mzh n ryt nte py b' n wh-shne n te-f gyz
6. 'we-t-f y'hw s'b'h-'o 't-t-ne mystemw y'wyw 'we-t-f
mykh'el s'b'el
7. 'we-t-f 'Np n p tše n n hr-n-'e(?)·w p nte pe-f pe
py qh p nt fy fks hr t rt-t w't-t
8. hp p kke n t mt-t a'ny p wyn n-y a hn 'm n-y a
hn a-z-y n-y p wh n p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw n
sp IX
9. š' nte p ntr 'y nte p wyn hp hr 'r-k-f a h p ky
n p sp nt <bl> hry 'n e hr-f n p 'lw a pr-ybt e hr-k h-k
a pr-'mnt e-'r-k 'š a hry hn zz-f

COL. XXI.

1. 1. The first lines of this column have been made the subject of special study in connexion with the Old Coptic texts of Paris (written on the first pages of the Pap. Bibl. Nat., edited by WESSELY), which contain a variant version of them: ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 89; GRIFFITH, A. Z., 1900, 85; 1901, 86.

1. 2. Parallel to this line the O. C. (A. Z., 1883, Pl. 3) gives εοτωτε οςιρε, пероѣти ппнѣ ѡткансе петѣпрнсіѣтин ετ+ιοτω πεѣωτ петζα ζѣα ппотѣс. ппероѣе. ете пег. εοοτ ѡ па ѡαλωα. The notes to the foregoing in A. Z., 1900, 86 seq., may be consulted by those who wish to study its connexion with the demotic text.

Tny. The Edfu geographical list (Br., Dict. Geogr., 1359) states that the head of Osiris was preserved at Abydos (in the nome of This) and a *sbq*, 'foot (?)', at Thebes.

θ wh, O. C. αιοτω : cf. 18/23.

1. 3. 'whe-t has the determinative of wood : cf. 'why, Kufi, xi. 21.

pr-šylem, πασαλωα, perhaps Jerusalem, or Siloam. Probably *n pr-šylem* is to be read.

COL. XXI.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Osiris. (2) 'Hail to him! Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in This, and his feet in Thebes, he who giveth answer (?) in Abydos, (3) whose . . . is (in?) Pashalom, he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranos, who is on my house to eternity, (4) the house of Netbeou for ever, he whose countenance is as the resemblance (?) of the face of a hawk of linen, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a serpent, (5) whose back is the back of a crocodile (?), whose hand is a man's, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, in whose hand is this wand of command, (6) hail to him Iaho, Sabaho, Atonai, Mistemu, Iaiiu; hail to him, Michael, Sabael, (7) hail to him, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who carries a wound (?) on one foot, (8) hide the darkness in the midst, bring in the light for me, come in to me, tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here to-day.'—Nine times, (9) until the god come and the light appear. You must do it in the manner of the remainder as above again; the boy's face being to the East and your own face to the West; you call down into his head.

p nbs n mrwe: cf. MASPERO in P. S. B. A., xiii. 496. Cf. *n pr-wt* in l. 36.

p^{co}-r^{mes}, perhaps *οὐρανός*, in the sense of Olympus.

l. 4. *Ne-lbew*: see note on 2/9.

hf: a 'snake's' head or tail is regularly described as *n hf* in Eg.: cf. Leyd. I. 384, V. II*. 12.

l. 5. *mnt*: some monster or reptile with spiny back, perhaps a crocodile, to judge by the determinative, for which cf. 3/23. It may mean a guardian (𓂏𓂏𓂏) dragon, as in I Kham. iv. 7.

nt elθ (?): very obscure, though the writing is clear.

l. 7. *hr-n^{we}*: cf. 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, Z., 235, and see the note to 20/3 and A. Z., 1900, 88 (Hdt. iv. 191).

t rt-t w^{et}-t, *ore-phte* is thus perhaps one foot as opposed to dual *p^{at}-*.

l. 9. *nt n bl* and *nt hry* have both been written.

10. n p mḥrr n p z n ʾrp a t (*šic*) s-ḥm-t mr
ḥwt e-ʾr-k ʾny wʿ mḥrr n ḥr (?)  ★ nte py mḥrr ḥm
pe nte mn-te-f tp e-f θ n III n ʾkym

11. ḥr t ḥ-t n zz-f ḥr gm-k pe-f ḥr e-f šm a bl nge
p nt θ tp II ʿn e-ʾr-k ʾny-t-f n t pr n p rʿ e-ʾr-k mr-k
n wʿ ḥbs(?) n p ḥrw n ʾt-k

12. nte-k mr-k a pe-k ḥr n wʿt pke-t n šr-bne-t e p
mḥrr ḥr t ḥ-t n t-t-k nte-k mt-t ar-f a ḥr p rʿ e-f a pr
n sp VII e-ʾr-k wh e-ʾr-k θ-f n ḥsy

13. ḥn hyn-w ʾrt n ʾḥ-t kme-t e-ʾr-k ḥn a zz-f n wʿ
. . . n ḥ n zyt e-ʾr-k ḥʿf šʿ rhwe ḥn p ʾrte a-ʾre rhwe
ḥp e-ʾr-k

14. ʾnt-tf a ḥry e-ʾr-k prḥ ḥrr-f n šʿ nte-k t wʿt mnfre(?)
n ḥbs(?) ḥrr-f ḥr p šʿ šʿ hw IV e-ʾr-k ʾr ʿnte ʾh st-t
mbḥ-f a-ʾre p ḥrw IV sny nte-f šwy

15. e-ʾr-k ʾnt-tf ne(?)-rt-t-k e wn wʿ ḥbs(?) prḥ ḥrr-f
e-ʾr-k prz-f n te-f mt-t n wʿ tk n ḥmt e-ʾr-k fy te-f pše-t
n wnm erme ne-k yb-w n t-t-k rt-t-k n wnm

16. e-ʾr-k zffz-w ḥr wʿt blz n ššw nmy n ḥ n elle e-ʾr-k
nt-w ḥr IX-t n blbyle-t n zph erme te-k-t mt-t nge te-k-t
fty n wš n nḥe

17. n t s-t-eyw-t nte-k ʾr-f n wʿt bnn-t nte-k ty-f a
p ʾrp nte-k mt-t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t
nte-k fy te-f ke pše-t n , . . . ḥnʿ ne-k yb-w n t-t-k

18. rt-t-k n . . . ʿn nte-k mr-w n wʿt tys n š-stn ḥr

l. 10. *a t s-ḥm-t mr*: supply ʾre after *t*; cf. 25/31, V. 3/14, 13/10.

‘Fish-faced (?)’: possibly the weevil as having the oxyrhynchus’ snout. In Horap. the weevil (?) is *μονόκερως καὶ ἰδιό- (ἰβιό-?)μορφος*.

tp: cf. 3/22; ʾkym probably = Eg. *ikm*, ‘shield.’

l. 11. *p nt θ tp II* = ‘stag-beetle (?)’. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 65 *καθαρὸν τὸν ταυρομορφον*, and see Horap. I. 10 for Scarabaeidae, Lucanidae (*δίκερως καὶ ταυροειδής*) and Rhynchophora.

l. 12. *mr* sometimes means ‘wrap,’ but see 11/33.

ḥ-t must be a mistake for *ḥ-t*, probably through confusion of the sounds *ḥ* and *ḥ*.

θ-f, not from *ʾx: ʾs*, which would give *θy-t-f*, but a false writing for *t še-f* above 3/31 = **ʾxʾf* from *ʾx: ʾs*.

(10) [The method] of the scarab of the cup of wine, to make a woman love a man. You take a fish-faced (?) scarab, this scarab being small and having no horn, it wearing three plates (11) on the front of its head; you find its face thin (?) outwards—or again that which bears two horns—. You take it at the rising of the sun; you bind (?) yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back, (12) and bind (?) yourself on (?) your face with a strip of palm-fibre, the scarab being on the front (?) of your hand: and you address it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you drown it (13) in some milk of a black cow; you approach (?) its head with a hoop (?) of olive wood; you leave it till evening in the milk. When evening comes, you (14) take it out, you spread its under part with sand, and put a circular strip of cloth under it upon the sand, unto four days; you do frankincense-burning before it. When the four days have passed, and it is dry, (15) you take it before you (lit. your feet), there being a cloth spread under it. You divide it down its middle with a bronze knife; you take (?) its right half, and your nails of your right hand and foot; (16) you cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood, you pound them with nine apple-pips together with your urine or your sweat free from oil (17) of the bath; you make it into a ball and put it in the wine, and speak over it seven times, and you make the woman drink it; and you take its other half, the left one, together with your nails of your left hand (18) and foot also, and bind them in a strip of fine linen, with myrrh and saffron, and bind them to your

l. 15. *ne-rt-t-k*: a strange spelling.



fy: so also in l. 17.

l. 16. *fly*, &c. *ρύπος βαλανείων* was actually prescribed as a drug, Diosc., i. 34.

hl grwgws nte-k mr-w a pe-k znḥ n gbyr nte-k str erme
t s-ḥm·t e-w mr ar-k

19. e-f ḥp e·r-k wh a ·r-f 'n n wš n še-f n ḥsy ḥr ·r-k-f
'n n p mḥ III n p wrš e·r-k ·r n py smte nt ḥry n-f 'n
e·r-k š pe-f š ar-f a ḥr p r' n twe e·r-k zḏf

20. e·r-k prz-f e·r-k ·r-f a ḥ p nt ḥry 'n n mt·t nb
nt e·r-k š-f ar-f mbḥ p r' n twe nte-k pe
p mḥrr n ḥstb n m·t a·n-y·t-k a bl n p r n pe ·rpe e·r-k

21. θy(?) zmyz ḥmt a šy·t-k nta rh wm p sym e-f hm
p sḥ·t e-f gm' a n sšt(?)·w 'y·w n na Kmy e-y hb n'm-k
a mn a·ms mn

22. a myḥ·t-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s sp-sn a ty-s mḥt sp-sn
a ty-s 'te·t z nte-s p-e·r ·r ty-s m·t a ḥr p r' n twe
e-s z n p r'

23. z bn pr n p 'ḥ z bn wbn n p mw z bn 'y n na
Kmy n t sh·t z bn wl' n šn·w 'y·w n na Kmy z bn wtwt

24. e-y hb n'm-k a mn a·ms mn a š'k'-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s
sp-sn a ty-s mpt (*sic*) sp-sn a ty-s 'te·t nte-s wh-s a p
myt m-s mn a·ms mn n nw nb(?)

25. nt e·r-k š-f ar-f e-f ḥn p ·rte a·wy 'o
sp-sn a·wy pe 'o sp-sn a·wy nwn-f(?) a·wy mr-f p mḥrr
sp-sn nte-k t yr·t n p r' p s'ḥpyn

26. n Wsr t shn·t·t(?) n šwy e·r-k n'y n py ky nta
Wsr pe-k yt še n'm-f e-tbe mn a·ms mn š' nte-w t t
st·t m-s ḥt-s t ḥo·t

27. m-s ny-s ef-w š' nte-s <ne> še mn a·ms mn a m'

l. 23. Read (n) n šn·w.

l. 24. mpt (*sic*) for mḥt.

The last group is  n nw nb: cf. l. 43; but in 27/10 we have *stm* written similarly.

l. 25. s'ḥpyn, see note to 13/18.

l. 26. *shn·t·t* looks like a compound with *sh*, 'the toes' collectively, or 'a toe.' *sh-n-t-t* may therefore mean the toes, or the fingers (collectively) of Shu, referring perhaps to his hands which support the sky. The eyes of Ra and Atum were the most important instruments of their rule.

py ky, i. e. the condition of one drowned, *Eois*, cf. 6/12.

left arm, and lie with the woman with them bound upon you. (19) If you wish to do it again without its being drowned, then you do it again on the third of the lunar month. You do it in this manner that is above for it again. You pronounce its invocation to it before the Sun in the morning, you cook (it), (20) you divide it, you do it according to that which is above again in everything. [The invocation] which you pronounce to it before the Sun in the morning: 'Thou art this scarab of real lapis-lazuli; I have taken thee out of the door of my temple; thou carriest (?) (21) of bronze to thy nose (?), that can eat (?) the herbage that is trampled (?), the field-plants (?) that are injured for the great images of the men of Egypt. I dispatch thee to N. born of N. (22) to strike her from her heart to her belly (*bis*), to her entrails (*bis*), to her womb; for she it is who hath wept (?) before the Sun in the morning, she saying to the Sun, "Come not forth," to the Moon, "Rise not," to the water, "Come not to the men of Egypt," to the fields, "Grow not green," and to the great trees of the men of Egypt, "Flourish not." (24) I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to injure her from her heart unto her belly (*bis*), unto her entrails (*bis*), unto her womb, and she shall put herself on the road (?) after N. born of N. at every time (?)'

(25) [The spell] that you pronounce to it, while it is in the milk. 'Woe (?), great (*bis*), woe (?), my (?) great, woe (?) his (?) Nun, woe (?) his (?) love. O scarab (*bis*), thou art the eye of Phre, the heart (?) (26) of Osiris, the open-hand (?) of Shu, thou approachest in this condition in which Osiris thy father went, on account of N. born of N. until fire is put to her heart and the flame (27) to

l. 27. *ne*. This group occurs in a similar phrase in l. 41 and in l. 32, if the reading in the latter instance be correct. If it stands, then *ne* is difficult to explain; it looks like a preposition 'to,' but if l. 32

nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e'r-k š-f ar-f e'r-k kk n'm-f
hy pe hrt nfr p syf n wm-w(?) nhe(?)

28. p-e'r syt nt syt 'wt n ntr-w tre-w py nta p nt
n hm erme p nt 'y gm-t-f 'wt t p't(?) 'o-t II-t hr pr-ybt
n Kmy

29. e-f pr n nw mhrr km hr w't bw n qme zwf te-y
'r-rh n pe-k rn te-y 'r-rh n te-k-t hm-t(?) t yp-t n syw
II(?) rn-k

30. te-y hwy hyt(?) ar-k n p-hw nph'cm b'lc b'lkhc
y-o-phphe z zf nb hmmm nb sht nb nt e'r-k n'm-w

31. n p-hw e'r-k-sw hn p ht p wef p mws p nyš t
'te-t p mht 'o p mht hm n spyr-w n ef-w n qs-w n 'e nb

32. n p h'r n mn a.ms mn š' nte-s še(?) ne(?) mn
a.ms mn a m' nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e'r-k š- ar-f
hn p 'rp p mhrr sp-sn nte-k pe p mhrr

33. n hstb n m't nte-k t yr-t n p r' nte-k p byl n
'Tm t shn-t-t(?) n šwy p s'l'pyn n Wsr nte-k py k km
hyt 'r pyr n p nwn

34. e p nfr n 'S-t erme-k nte-k r'ks r'p'r'ks p snf n
py 'š hwt a'n-w-f n p t n hr a Kmy hr p bl(?) a p 'rp(?)

be left out of the question, the fact that both in 21/27 and 21/41 š is written over *ne*, as if by an afterthought, suggests that *ne*, which is identical in spelling with *na* the auxiliary of the future, must be the verb *na*, 'go' (attaching itself to *nos*: *nos*, 'futurus esse'), as opposed to *nnos*, 'come' (which is qualitative of *ei*; see KABIS, A. Z., 75. 107). *na* is practically the qualitative of *we* (STERN, § 348). The correction of *ne* to š in both passages would therefore be particularly remarkable. Although, according to STEINDORFF, § 251, the qualitative is admissible in the conjunctive, it seems difficult after *wyante*: hence no doubt the correction; but if it be possible, the meaning would be 'until she be going,' while š expresses 'until she go.' It would seem that the scribe was puzzled by the *ne*, hence the mistakes and corrections. The following table of forms of the verbs 'come' and 'go' may be useful:—

	Inf.		Inf.	Qual.	Stm-f.
'go'	Copt. <i>we</i> : <i>wet</i>		<i>nos</i> : <i>nos</i> , <i>na-</i>	<i>na</i>	(τ)εππο(οτ)?
	Dem. <i>š</i>		<i>n'</i> <i>ne-</i>	<i>ne</i> (?)	<i>n'-f</i>
'come'	Copt. <i>ei</i> : <i>i</i>		—	<i>n-nos</i>	(τ)ατο
	Dem. <i>'y</i>		—	<i>'n-'w</i>	<i>'w-f</i>

her flesh, until she shall follow (?) N. born of N., unto every place in which he is.' [The spell] which you utter to it when you cook it: 'O my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), (28) thou who didst cast semen and who dost cast semen among all the gods, whom he that is little (and ?) he that is great found among the two great enneads in the East of Egypt, (29) who cometh forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus-reed; I know thy name, I know thy "the work of two stars" is thy name, (30) I cast forth fury upon thee to-day: Nephalam, Balla, Balkha (?), Iophphe; for every burning, every heat, every fire that thou makest (31) to-day, thou shalt make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver (?), the spleen, the womb, the great viscera, the little viscera, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, (32) in the skin of N. born of N. until she follow (?) N. born of N. to every place in which he is.'

[The spell] that you pronounce to it in the wine: 'O scarab (*bis*), thou art the scarab (33) of real lapis-lazuli, thou art the eye of Phre, thou art the eye of Atum, the open-hand (?) of Shu, the heart (?) of Osiris, thou art that black bull, the first, that came forth from Nun, (34) the beauty of Isis being with thee; thou art Raks, Raparaks, the blood of this wild boar (?) which they brought from the land of Syria unto Egypt

l. 28. *p't o-t*. It is very rarely that the Ennead is written without the addition of the word 'gods.' The double Ennead of eighteen gods is frequently mentioned from the earliest times onwards.

l. 29. *no*. Can this gloss represent a qualitative of *npe* as *o* of *espe*? The usual qual. is *npe*.

n nw mhr for *n w mhr*: cf. 14/28, 20/8.

hm-t (?), 'trade,' 'art' (?).

l. 30. *hyt*. In spite of its peculiar form this word can scarcely be other than *hyt*, both on account of its meaning and of its association with *hwy*. We may translate 'fury of Phalam,' &c.

l. 31. *mws*, O. C. *μαωτς*, probably from Eg. fem. *mis-t*, 'liver' or 'kidneys.' *p mht hm* named *p ky mht* in Pap. Rhind. iv. 6.

35. e-y hb-k n e-r-k n^c n pe hb n e-r-k a 'y-f hr-k
hb-t a p 'b nte-w thm-f a t hny-t nte-w t šwy-s a p š^c
n p snyt nte-w hḥ-f n wš

36. n tw p zwf n(?) pr-wt nte-w t p hmt m-s-f e Hr
wz n 'S-t n hṛhr-w 'y-w n na Kmy nte-w tm ḥ^c ḥwt
s-hm-t n te-w mt-t e-y hb

37. n'm-k yn a ny e-y hb n'm-k a hry a p ḥt n mn a-ms
mn nte-k 'r st-t n ḥe-s šḥt ḥn ny-s mḥt my p lyb m-s ḥt-s

38. p trwš m-s ny-s ef-w my 'r-s m qte n p ḥpš m-s
t ryr-t my 'r-s

39. n [p?] mš^c n p ḥy m-s t ḥyb-t e-s qte m-s mn a-ms
mn a m^c nb nt e-f n'm-w e-s mr n'm-f e-s lby m-s-f e
b-r-rḥ-s m^c n p t

40. e-s n'm-f θy ty-s qt n grḥ my n-s p 'hm p rwš n
mre-t mpr t wm-s mpr t swr-s mpr t str-s mpr t ḥms-s hr

41. t ḥyb-t n ny-s 'y-w š^c nte-s <ne> še n-f a m^c nb nt e-f
n'm-w e ḥt-s 'bḥ e yr-t-s ḥl e ny-s nw pn^c e-b-r-rḥ-s m^c

42. n p t e-s n'm-f š^c nte-s nw ar-f e yr-t-s m-s yr-t-f
'b-s m-s 'b-f t-t-s m-s t-t-f e-s t n-f ty . . . nb my hr t
ḥ-t n rt-t-s

43. m-s ne-f tbs-w n p [ḥ]yr n nw nb e mn nw šr ys
sp-sn tkr sp-sn

COL. XXII.

I. tey-s n(?) p rn n wr-ty nt e-w 'š-w a 'yḥ nb e mn
p nte

l. 35. 'y-f here and in V. 12/5-8 must represent the infinitive form of
'r, 'do,' with suffix $\Delta\Delta\epsilon\gamma : \Delta\epsilon\gamma$.

hr-k: cf. V. 33/3.

thm seems to be the actual reading in the original, but if so it must
be an error for ḥm.

hny-t: cf. $\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\xi\omega\eta\epsilon$, CRUM, Pap. Fay. No. 34.

l. 37. $\epsilon\mu\epsilon : \mu\iota$, 'be like,' takes n in Coptic, but here is used with a.

l. 38. The reading is uncertain: perhaps *my 'r-s p qte*, or more likely
the plural *n qte*. The Shoulder and Hippopotamus are the two well-
known constellations: cf. BRUGSCH, Thes., i. 126-7; MASPERO, Les
Origines, p. 94.

l. 39. The first words may be *n n mš^c*, hardly *n p mš^c*.

to the wine, (35) I send thee; wilt thou go on my errand? Wilt thou do it? Thou sayest, "Send me to the thirsty, that his thirst may be quenched, and to the canal that it may be dried up, and to the sand of the *snwt* that it may be scattered without (36) wind, and to the papyrus of Buto that the blade may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for (?) Isis, catastrophes grow great for the Egyptians, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst." I (37) send thee; do like unto these; I send thee down to the heart of N. born of N. and do thou make fire in her body, flame in her entrails, put the madness to her heart, (38) the fever (?) to her flesh; let her make the pursuit of the "Shoulder"-constellation after the "Hippopotamus"-constellation; let her make (39) the movements of the sunshine after the shadow, she following after N. born of N. to every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing the place of the earth in which (40) she is. Take away her sleep by night; give her lamentation and anxiety by day; let her not eat, let her not drink, let her not sleep, let her not sit under (41) the shade of her house until she follow (?) him to every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glance turned (?), she not knowing the place (42) of the earth in which she is, until she see him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every Let fly (?) the tip of her feet (43) after his heels in the street at all times without fail at any time. Quick (*bis*), hasten (*bis*).'

COL. XXII.

(1) Behold! (spell?) of the name of the Great-of-Five which they pronounce to every spirit. There is none

COL. XXII.

1. 1. No more than the heading has been written. It can hardly refer to the spell in 2/25.

2. n-nḥt-f ar-w(?) ḥr n z'm-w e'r-k 'š ny sh·w a hne nb
3. b-re n ntr·w še n-w e bnp-k šn·t-w a mt·t nb nte-w
z n-k
4. p wh ḥr t p·t p t t ty·t šn e-f wwy p mw
5. t sh·t sh e-f n t·t-f n rm a 'š-f

COL. XXIII.

1. w' r a t hy z-mt·t
2. ḥr 'ny-k w' tp n 'o nte-k smn·t-f 'wt rt-k wbe p
r' n twe e-f a pr
3. wbe-f 'n n rhwe e-f 'n·n' a p ḥtp nte-k ths te-k·t
rt·t n wnm n st
4. n ḥr te-k·t rt·t n n s'n n 'ršyn(?)·w n te-k pt
'n nte-k smn te-k·t wnm
5. ḥr t ḥ·t te-k·t ḥr ph e p tp n te-w mte·t
nte-k ths t·t-k n te-k·t t·t II·t n snf n
6. 'o ḥn' t fnz II·t n r-k nte-k 'š ny sh·w a ḥr p r'
n twe rhwe n hw IV ḥr
7. str-f e'r-k wh a t 'r-f ** e'r-k 'r-f n hw VII
e'r-k 'r pe-f θ·we·t e'r-k mr w'·t 'y n šr-
8. bne·t a t·t-k w'·t pk n šr-bne ḥwt a ḥn·t-k ḥn' zz-k
nfr nfr pw py(?) (p?) 'š nt e'r-k 'š-f a ḥr p r'
9. *ἐπικαλούμαι σε τον εν τω κενεω πνευματι δεινον αορατον*
10. *παντοκρατορα θεων θεων φθοροποιον και ερημοποιον ο
μισων*

1. 2. Reading *n-nḥt-f e'r-w* (?).
1. 3. Or final 'that the gods depart not.'
1. 5. Probably this spell was never copied out, the remainder of the page having been left blank.

COL. XXIII.

1. 1. . . . (?). The signs are   , suggesting catalepsy or an evil dream, but the reading is quite uncertain. The result is sleep (l. 7), and, if further prolonged, death.

1. 5. *ḥr bl* or *ḥr ph* (?).

t·t-k n te-k·t t·t II·t: probably meaning 'your two hands.' Cf. V. 10/4, 5, of the feet.

that is (2) stronger than it in the books. If you pronounce these charms to any vessel, (3) then the gods depart not before you have questioned them concerning every word and they have told you (4) the answer about heaven, earth, and the underworld, a distant inquiry (?), water, (5) (and) the fields. A charm which is in the power(?) of a man to pronounce.

COL. XXIII.

(1) A spell to inflict (?) catalepsy (?) Formula. (2) You take an ass's head, and you place it between your feet opposite the sun in the morning when it is about to rise, (3) opposite it again in the evening when it goes to the setting, and you anoint your right foot with *set*-stone (4) of Syria, and your left foot with clay, the soles (?) of your foot also : and place your right hand (5) in front and your left hand behind, the head being between them. You anoint your hand, of your two hands, with ass's blood, (6) and the two *fuz* of your mouth, and utter these charms towards the sun in the morning and evening of four days, then (7) he sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you do it for seven days, you do its magic, you bind a thread of palm-fibre (8) to your hand, a mat (?) of wild palm-fibre to your phallus and your head ; very excellent. This is the invocation which you utter before the sun : (9) 'I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, (10) almighty, god of gods, dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou

1. 6. *fuz* : possibly the corners of the mouth.

1. 7. *θ-wei-t* seems to mean literally 'taking pledge,' *αι-εοτω : ει-αοτω*, so as to get power over a man or god ; hence 'magic.' See I Kham. iv. 32.

1. 9. See a very similar invocation in *διακοπαι*, Leyd. Gr. Pap. V. 11/17, 15/21.

11. οικίαν ευσταθουσαν ως εξεβρασθης εκ της Αιγυπτου και
εξω

12. χωρας επενομασθης ο παντα ρησων και μη νικωμενος

13. επικαλουμαι σε τυφων σηθ τας σας μαντειας επιτελω

14. οτι επικαλουμαι σε το σον αυθεντικον σου ονομα εν οis
ου δυνη

15. παρακουσαι ιω ερβηθ ιωπακερβηθ ιωβολχωσηθ ιωπαταθναξ

16. ιωσωρω ιωνεβουτοσουαληθ ακτιωφι ερεσχιγαλ νεβοπο-
σοαληθ

17. αβεραμενθωου λερθεξαναξ εθρελνωθ νεμαρεβα αεμινα

18. ολον ηκε μοι και βαδισον και καταβαλε τον Δ η την
Δ ριγει και πυ

19. ρετω αυτος ηδικησεν με και το αιμα τουφυωνος εξεχυσεν
παρ εαν

20. τω η αυτη δια τουτο ταυτα ποιω κοινα

21. a šn wbe 'h e·r-k 'r-f n šn·hn w'e·t nge hm·hl
e-f hp e nte-k nt ne šn e·r-k mh yr·t-k

22. n wyt mstme e·r-k 'h hr zz w' m' e-f θse hr zz
pe-k pr e·r-k sze wbe 'h e-f mh

23. wz·t n e·r-k w'b n hw III e·r-k 'š py 'š
wbe 'h n sp VII nge sp IX š' nte-f wnḥ ar-k

24. nte-f sze wbe-k h'y s-'ks 'Mn s(t)-'ks 'br'-
s(t)-'ks ze nte-k 'h

25. p wr n n syw·w p-e·r ms·t-w stm m-s n-e·z-y mš'
m-s na r-y wnḥ-k a·r-y t'h'nw

26. t'he'wnw' t'hnw'th' pfe pe rn n mtr IX n z·t-s
š' nte-s wnḥ-s ar-k

1. 13. σηθ: the name of the brother of Osiris is usually written in the Greek papyri with the line over it. Cf. B. M. Pap. CXXI. 965, &c.

1. 15. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 893 *ονομασιν σου α ου δυνασαι παρακουσαι*.

1. 18. Frost and fire—probably ague and fever, as REVILLOUT suggests. Cf. *ρίγοπύρετος* GALEN; *ριγοπυρετιον* Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 218.

1. 19. Read *τυφωνος* (?).

1. 20. *κοινα*: cf. WESSELY, N. gr. Zauberpap., numerous references in index.

1. 22. *sze wbe* is not *ἀποκρίνεσθαι* here.

that hatest (11) a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of (12) the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." (13) I invoke thee, Typhon Set, I perform thy ceremonies of divination, (14) for I invoke thee by thy powerful name in (words?) which thou canst not (15) refuse to hear: Io erbeth, Iopakerbeth, Iobolk-hoseth, Iopatathnax, (16) Iosoro, Ioneboutosoualeth, Aktiophi, Ereskhigal, Neboposoaleth, (17) Aberamen-thoou, Lerthexanax, Ethreluoth, Nemareba, Aemina, (18) entirely(?) come to me and approach and strike down Him or Her with frost and (19) fire; he has wronged me, and has poured out the blood of Typhon(?) beside(?) him (20) or her: therefore I do these things.' Common form.

(21) To divine, opposite the moon. You do it by vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a child. If it is you who will inquire, you fill your eye (22) with green eye-paint (and) stibium, you stand on a high place, on the top of your house, you address the moon when it fills (23) the *uzat* on the 15th day, you being pure for three days; you pronounce this invocation to the moon seven or nine times until he appear to you (24) and speak to you: 'Ho! Sax, Amun, Sax, Abrasax; for thou art the moon, (25) the chief of the stars, he that did form them, listen to the things that I have(?) said, follow the (words) of my mouth, reveal thyself to me, Than, (26) Thana, Thanatha, otherwise Thei, this is my correct name.' Nine (times) of saying it until she (*sic*) reveal herself to thee.

1. 24. The acrophonic use of the group   *st* in *ast* is remarkable.

1. 26.   is read first *ḥa* and then *ḥni*.

After IX probably *sp* should be supplied.

nṯe-s wnḥ-s: it seems as if the feminine referred to the Greek moon *σελήνη*, the Egyptian being masculine.

27. ke ky n'm-f 'n a 'š-f wbe 'ḥ e'r-k smt yr-t-k n
py smt e'r-k a ḥry a ḥr 'ḥ e-f mḥ wz-t ḥr nw-k a p
sšt n p ntr ḥn t wz-t

28. e-f sze wbe-k 'nk h'ḥ q' 'm(?) -r m'-'mt mte
pe pe rn z 'nk . . . by s-'o 'g'n'gwp

29. mlḥ 'ḥ(?) 'ḥ(?) hy mlḥ rn-yt n m'-'t sp-sn . . . z-t
ank ḥl(?) -by stt ḥn(?) m nfr rn-yt sr 'o šnbt pe rn n mte

30. z m sp IX e'r-k 'ḥ wbe 'ḥ e yr-t-k mḥ n py kys
wy(t) mstme nt ḥr 'by n ḥr nte-k t w' šḥy n w' ppy

31. 'o ar-f nte-k ty-f a w' nk n yl nte-k ḥ'-'f n-k n w'
m' e-f hep š' p nw nt e'r-k a 'ḥ n-f ḥr 'r-k-f 'n a ḥ
p nt ḥry

COL. XXIV.

1 a. a k·t

2 a. nyt n bne ḥwt

3 a. e-f š'kh n 'rte

4 a. *ε(?)κῖλ*

5 a. nte-k 'r-w n w' m bnn t a p 'rp(?)

1. pḥre-t e'r-k wḥ a *ρωαε* e-f znt

2. *σκαλλοσθα ρμῖ* (δραχμή) I

3. *οπισσ* (δραχμή) I nt ḥr 'rte

4. nte-k 'r-f n bnn nte-k ty-f a w' *κπισαε*

5. e-f zf(?) nte-f *σθααεγ* ḥr 'r-f *αεκαδ*

6. k·t e'r-k wḥ a t str rm n hw II

7. *ααναρακοροσ ριζα* (ούγκία) I

8. *αελακρετικοσ* (ούγκία) I

1. 29. The group before *z-t* is difficult to read.

1. 31. 'ḥ *n-f*, 'wait for, be ready for, it.'

COL. XXIV.

1. 1 a. The five short lines at the top corner have been taken first and numbered 1 a, &c.

1. 1. *e-f znt* seems to belong to *ρωαε*, but may perhaps be loosely attached, like *nfr* in l. 17 to *pḥre-t*, without reference to its gender.

1. 2. *Convolvulus scammonia*, Diosc. iv. 168, found chiefly in Syria

(27) Another form of it again, to be pronounced to the moon. You paint your eye with this paint, you (going ?) up before the moon when it fills the *uzat*, then you see the figure of the god in the *uzat* (28) speaking unto you. 'I am Hah, Qo, Amro, Ma-amt, Mete is my name; for I am . . . bai, So, Akanakoup, (29) Melkh, Akh, Akh, Hy, Melkh is my true (*bis*) . . . eternity, I am Khelbai, Setet, Khen (?)—em-nefer is my name, Sro, Oshenbet, is my correct name.' (30) Say it nine times. You stand opposite the moon, your eye being filled with this ointment :—green eye-paint (and) stibium, grind with Syrian honey and put the gall of a chick (31) full grown to it, and put it on a thing of glass, and lay it (by) for yourself in a hidden place till the time when you are ready for it; then you do it again as above.

COL. XXIV.

(1 *a*) For catalepsy (?)—another : (2 *a*) flour of wild dates (3 *a*) which has been beaten up (?) with milk, (4 *a*) . . . (5 *a*) you make them up together into a ball, (and) put in the wine.

(1) A medicament, when you wish to drug (?) a man—tested :—(2) scammony root, 1 drachm, (3) opium, 1 drachm; pound with milk, (4) you make it into a ball and put it into some food (?), (5) which is cooked (?), and let him eat it; then he is upset.

(6) Another, when you wish to make a man sleep for two days :—(7) mandragora root, 1 ounce, (8) liquorice (?),

and Asia Minor; a strong cathartic, very griping. The root is used, and from it is obtained a gum resin (Brit. Pharmacop.). *πιν* is probably a mistake for *πιζ ρίζα, σκαμβωνίας ρίζα* occurring amongst the synonyms in Diosc., l. c.

1. 7. Mandragora, Diosc. iv. 76.

1. 8. *μελακρετικος* might be *μηλα κρητικά* (?) (*κυδώνια*), meaning quinces.

9. ***οὐγκία*** (οὐγκία) I
 10. ***κισσος*** (οὐγκία) I
 11. e·r-k nt-w a ḥ w^c lq n ṛp e·r-k wh ṛ·f n mt·t
 rm-rḥ
 12. e·r-k t ḥt(?) IV·t a p w^c sp-sn n'm-w erme(?) w^c
 with n ṛp nte-k
 13. <nte-k> ṭḥb-w n θ n twe š^c rhwe nte-k stf-w
 14. nte-k t swr-w-s nfr sp-sn k·t III·t ***κετορ***
 15. ***απορ*** sttr·t(?) I qt I t n^c ḥr ***υωτι***
 16. nte-k ṛ·f n ***σασι*** nte-k t wm-s p rm nt e·r-k
 wh·f
 17. pḥr·t a t ṛre rm ṛn-q<te>tk nfr sp-sn
 18. pr·w ***απωρ*** sttr·t(?) I $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t I nn·t n m'ntṛ'gwrw
 IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
 19. gyss-^co-s IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t nt n w^c sp nte-k t
 20. with n ṛp XV ar·f nte-k ty·f a w^c·t glyt·t n yl
 21. nte-k ḥrḥ ar·f e·r-k wh a ty·f e·r-k t w^c ḥm a
 w^c z n ṛp
 22. e·r-k ty·f n p rm p gyss-^co-s ḥr rt·f ḥn n km·w
 23. te·f gbe·t m qty gbe·t n šk'm e-s prz n III ḥlp
 24. m qty gbe·t n elle ḥr ṛ·s šp I n ḥy te·f ḥrre
 25. m qty ḥt ke-z nb k·t šy n ***σαλε*** n R'qt
 26. nte-k(?)t a nk nb n wm k·t w^c·t ***σαγλαελε κετ*** II
 27. pḥre a šy n fy pr·w zpḥ n pr·mnt sym(?)
 n ***κλω***
 28. nt-w n w^c sp ṛ m bnn t a p wm(?)

But more probably it is the *μελίκητον*, 'honey and water,' of Hipp., Aph. v. 41 &c.; cf. also *γλυκὴ κρητικόν*, GALEN, de Antid. i. 12, &c., 'liquorice.'

l. 9. Hyoscyamus, henbane, Diosc. iii. 69, used as hypnotic, &c., Brit. Pharm.

l. 10. *κισσος*, Diosc. ii. 210.

l. 11. *a ḥ*: a curious usage.

mt·t rm-rḥ: cf. I Kham. iv. 37.

l. 12. The meaning may be that you take each of the four ingredients separately and soak it in wine. Perhaps the four *uteh* of wine make the *lok*.

1 ounce, (9) hyoscyamus, 1 ounce, (10) ivy, 1 ounce; (11) you pound them like (*sic*) a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly (?) (12) you take four portions to each one of them with an *uteh* of wine, (13) you moisten them from morning to evening; you clarify them, (14) you make them drink it; very good.

Another, the fourth (?) :—pips (?) [of ?] (15) apple, 1 stater (?), 1 *kite*, pound with flour. (16) You make it into a cake (?); you make the man eat it, whom you wish.

(17) A medicament for making a man sleep; very good :—(18) pips (?) of apple, 1 stater (?), 1 drachma, mandragora root, 4 drachmas, (19) ivy, 4 drachmas; pound together; you put fifteen (20) *uteh* of wine to it; you put it into a glass *glyt*; (21) you keep it. If you wish to give it, you put a little into a cup of wine, (22) you give it to the man.

Ivy: it grows in gardens; (23) its leaf is like the leaf of *shekam*, being divided into three lobes (24) like a vine-leaf; it (the leaf) is one palm in measurement; its blossom (25) is like silver—another says gold.

Another: gall of an Alexandrian weasel, (26) you add it to any food.

Another: a two-tailed lizard.

(27) A medicament for catalepsy (?): gall of cerastes, pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*, (28) pound them together; make into a pill, put (it) into the food (?).

w^e sp-sn = oṣa oṣa.

l. 14. *t swr-w-s*, 'let them absorb it,' or 'let the patient (?) drink it.'

l. 18. $\frac{1}{2}gt.t$. This group of the *kite*, written with the sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ either over it, as twice in this line, or preceding it, as in l. 19 and V. 7/5, 9/3, doubtless represents the Coptic ⲥⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲉ : ⲭⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧ, which is also a fem. word, meaning half a didrachma, or drachma.

l. 26. *nte-k* seems superfluous, see note on plate.

ll. 27-28. A parallel passage, V. 3/1-3.

l. 27. *κλω*: LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. x. (Bull. St. Pet. xiii. 12) has shown that κλω was the name of a vegetable arrow poison.

29. k·t e·r-k t snf n *σεεοσι(?)λ* ḥr snf n rm e-f mw·t

30. a p ṛp nte·k t swr-f p rm ḥr *ετεγ*

31. k·t e·r-k t snf n ṁwlz a *ιεγ* ḥr ṛ-f *ωηε*

32. k·t e·r-k t snf n *σεεσλω* py smt ṁn pe

33. k·t e·r-k ṛ w^c *εεσ* n ḥsy ḥn w^c ṛp nte·k t swr-f p rm

34. ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t w^c *εεεε* n py smt ṁn ḥr ṛ-f

35. te-f yp·t ṁn pe-f *εεεε* ṁn e·r-k ty-s a p ṛp

36. ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t m šs e·r-k t *εεεε* n

37. g^cle·t n R^cqt a nk nb n wm ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t e·r-k t w^c·t

38. *εεεεεε* n st II a p nḥe nte·k st(?)·t-s erme-f nte·k ths

39. p rm nṁ-f ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t

COL. XXV.

1. n mt·tw n p ḥbs a šn n p ṁlw

2. z-mt·t te·te yg t^ct^ck thethe

3. s^cty s^cn·t^cskl kr-^co-m^ck^ct

4. p^ct^cksur^cy k^clew·p^cnkt ^c·t^csyewy

5. m^ckt·sy^ct^ck^ct ḥt-y ḥt r y-^co-y

6. ḥ^c·w(?) y my z-w n-y wh <a> n mt·t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw

7. z ṁnk Ḥr p ḥrt ḥr ṁb tt z ank ṁS·t t rḥ·t

8. n n z n r-y ḥp z sp VII ḥr ṁny-k w^c·t mšprt·t(?) nmy

9. nte·k t w^c s^cl n ḥbs(?) e-f w^cb ar-s n ṁny a bl ḥn ḥ·t-ntr nte·k

10. smn·t-s ḥr w^c·t tbe·t nmy n ṁny n p myḥl e-s w^cb e bnp

1. 30. *t swr-f (sic) p rm*: so also l. 33.

1. 35. *ty-s* for *ty-f*.

1. 38. *st-s*: can *ps-t-s* be intended? Cf. 27/14.

(29) Another: you put camel's blood with the blood of a dead man (30) into the wine; you make the man drink it; then he dies.

(31) Another: you put a night-jar's blood into his eye; then he is blinded.

(32) Another: you put a bat's blood; this is the manner of it again.

(33) Another: you drown a hawk in a jar of wine; you make the man drink it; (34) then it does its work. A shrew-mouse (?) in the same way; it does (35) its work also. Its gall also, you add it to the wine, (36) then it does its work very much. You put the gall (37) of an Alexandrian weasel into any food; then it does its work. You put a (38) two-tailed lizard into the oil and you cook it with it; you anoint (39) the man with it; then it does its work.

COL. XXV.

(1) The words of the lamp for inquiry of the boy.
 (2) Formula: 'Te, Te, Ik, Tatak, Thethe, (3) Sati, Santaskl, Kromakat, (4) Pataxurai, Kaleu-pankat, A-a-tieui, (5) Makat-sitakat, Hati, Hat-ro, E-o-e, (6) Hau (?), E; may they say to me an answer to everything concerning which I ask here to-day, (7) for I am Harpocrates in Mendes, for I am Isis the Wise; (8) the speech of my mouth comes to pass.' Say seven times. You take a new lamp (?), (9) you put a clean linen wick into it brought from a temple, (10) and you set it on a new brick, brought from the mould (?) and clean, on which

COL. XXV.

1. 6. $\tau\alpha\tau$: the demotic group is probably a ligature for some divine name.

1. 8. $n n z$, probably for $\epsilon\eta\tau\omega$, pronounced $\eta\eta\tau\omega$.

$m\dot{s}pr\dot{t}t$: here and in l. 11 the first sign might be $\dot{h}$ as in the facs.

1. 10. $myhl$, possibly 𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤓𐤕 , المنقر, in any case probably means the brick-maker's mould; my may well represent 𐤎𐤌 , as in imperative 𐤎𐤌- .

11. rm ʿly ar-s nte-k t ʿh-s a rt-s nte-k smn t mšprt-t
 12. hr ʾt-s nte-k t nhe n mʿt ar-s nge nhe n whe
 13. nte-k smn tbe-t II-t nmy hrr-k nte-k hʿ p ʿlw ʾwt
 14. rt-k nte-k ʿš n sh-w nt hry a hry hn zz-f n p ʿlw
 15. e t-t-k hr r yr-t-f nte-k t hl a hry hr gbe-t n twre-t
 16. ne-hr p hbs hr ʾr-k-f n wʿ mʿ e-f n kke e-f (*sic*)
 pe-f r
 17. wn a pr-ybt nge p rs e mn ʿy n p ʾytn hrr-f
 18. nte-k tm hʿ wyn a ʾy a hn a p mʿ n rn-f nte-k
 s-wʿb p mʿ n rn-f a t h-t
 19. nte-k hwy ʾt-f n p ʿlw a p r n t ry-t e-ʾr-k wh
 e-ʾr-k ʿš sh
 20. e-ʾr-k fy t-t-k hr r yr-t-f wʿ ʿlw e b-ʾr te-f še erme
 s-hm-t
 21. [p] nt e-ʾr-k t še-f ne-t-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z ʾh p nt
 e-ʾr-k nw ar-f
 22. hr mt-t-f erme-k n mt-t nb nt e-ʾr-k šn-t-f a-ʾr-w
 23. wʿ ky a t ht s-hm-t m-s hwt ʾr n wʿt wne-t nte-f
 hp ty hte-t hr ʾny-k
 24. wʿt *ḥey(?)e* (e-s ʿnh) erme *κοτκοτπ(?)ατ*
 e-w ʿnh kys n ʾr n-w
 25. snfe n ʿo hwt snf n syb n ʾh-t km nte-k ths ne-w
 26. ʿpe-t-w n skn sšn nte-k ʿš wʿ skp a hr p rʿ n te-f
 wne-t n hʿ
 27. e-ʾr-k ht(?) zz-w n t II-t e-ʾr-k ʾny pe-w ht a bl
 n ne-w spyr n wnm
 28. n t II-t nte-k ths-f n p snf n ʿo hnʿ p snfe(?)
 n syb n ʾh-t km-t
 29. nt hry e-ʾr-kt y-sw a hn wʿ hʿr n ʿo e-ʾr-k hʿ-w
 n p rʿ šʿ nte-w

1. 11. ʿly would seem to represent αλε:αλη; the gloss αλο is strange.

a *rt-s* presumably means 'set it up on end.'

1. 17. ʿy n p ʾytn, probably to be taken together, meaning 'cellar.'

(11) no man has mounted(?); you set it upright, you place the lamp (?) (12) on it; you put genuine oil in it, or Oasis oil, (13) and you set two new bricks under you; you place the boy between (14) your feet; you recite the charms aforesaid down into the head of the boy, (15) your hand being over his eyes; you offer myrrh upon a willow leaf (16) before the lamp. You do it in a dark place, the door of it (17) opening to the East or the South, and no cellar being underneath it. (18) You do not allow the light to come into the place aforesaid; you purify the said place beforehand. (19) You push the boy's back to the opening of the niche. When you have finished, you recite a charm, (20) bringing your hand over his eyes. A boy who has not yet gone with a woman, (21) is he] whom you make come before you (?); you question him, saying, 'What do you see?' (22) then he tells you about everything that you ask him.

(23) A method to put the heart of a woman after a man; done in one moment(?), and it comes to pass instantly. You take (24) a swallow(?) alive, together with a hoopoe, (both) alive. Ointment made for them: (25) blood of a male ass, blood of the tick(?) of a black cow; you anoint (26) their heads with lotus ointment; you utter a cry before the sun in his moment of rising; (27) you cut off the heads of the two; you take the heart out of the right ribs (28) of both of them; you anoint it with the ass's blood and the blood of the tick(?) of a black cow, (29)

l. 21. Read [*p*] *nt e·r-k*, which is required by the space and the meaning. *ne-t-t-f*: either *-f* must refer to the lamp, or to the action in general, or else it is a slip for *-k*.

l. 23. *w·t wne-t*: the preparation of the materials would take several days, but they could be kept ready for immediate use.

l. 24. *Bhte* seems a likely word, but there is no authority for reading the third sign in the cipher word as *h*.

e-w e·nh does not mean that several hoopoes were required. There were only two birds: see l. 27.

30. šewy n hw IV a·re (?) p hw IV sny e·r-k nt-w
e·r-k ty-sw a w^c

31. rky^c e·r-k h^c-f n pe-k y e·r-k wh a t r^ce s-ħm-t
mr ħwt e·r-k θy

32. p znf n w^c ħ n hr e·r-k š ny rn·w n mte a ħr-w

33. e·r-k ty-f a w^c z n r^cp nge ħnke e·r-k ty-f n t
s-ħm-t nte-s swr-f

34. ank byr^c-qhl l·q^ch s'smry^c-mr

35. pls-plwn ank 'o-'n-ne s'b^cthl s'swpw

36. nythy my ħt mn a·ms mn m-s mn a·ms mn ħn

37. ny wne-t·w n p-hw sp VII ħr r-k-f n p mh
XIV n p wrše nfr sp-sn

COL. XXVI

1. ke š 'n n py z n r^cp

2. byr^cgetht

3. s'm^cr^c

4. pylpywn

5. y^chwt

6. s'b^cwth

7, 8. s'ypwnyth^cs

9. ke š nte-f 'n ħr ke-zm

10. ank byr^cg^ctht

11. l^ctht

12. s'smyr^c

13. plyprn

14. 'o-hw

15. s'b^cqht

16. s'swpwnyth^c

17. my ħt mn m-s

COL. XXVII.

1. ke šn-hne w^ce·t a nw a p wtn n p r^c p š nt e·r-k
š-f a·wn n-y t p·t t mw·t n n ntr·w

2. my nw-y a p wtn n p r^c e-f ħt-ħnt ħn-s z nk Gb
rpe ntr·w šll p nt e-y r n^cm-f mb^c p r^c pe yt

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you take (32) the shaving (?) of a pleasure-wood (?); you recite these correct names before them; (33) you put it into a cup of wine or beer; you give it to the woman and she drinks it. (34) 'I am Bira, Akhel, La-akh, Sasm-rialo(?), (35) Ples-plun, Ioane, Sabaathal, Sasupu, (36) Nithi, put the heart of N. born of N. after N. born of N. in (37) these hours to-day.' Seven times. You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Very excellent.

(1) Another invocation again of this cup of wine : (2) 'Birakethat, (3) Samara, (4) Pilpioun, (5) Iahout, (6) Sabaouth, (7, 8) Saipounithas.'

COL. XXVII.

(1) Another vessel-divination, (to be done) alone, for seeing the bark of Phre. The invocation which you recite: 'Open to me O (?) heaven, mother of the gods! (2) Let me see the bark of Phre going up and going

1. 35. Notice the transcription of the group for 'ass,' here 10, in 26/14 1A-.

1. 8. A gloss to l. 7.

Lines 1-12 are a repetition of 10/22-34; see notes there.

3. e-tbe mt-t ʾr še n t-t ʾy ḥkne-t wr-t nb qnḥ-t tʾ rʿ(?)-
št-rd(?) a·wn n-y t nb ʾyḥ·w

4. a·wn n-y t p-t ḥyt-t my wšte-y n n wpt·w z ʾnk
Gb ʾrpe ntr·w ʾy p VII stn ʾy p VII

5. Mnt k syt nb šfe-t šḥz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) mʾ rw(?)
nn(?) k kke

6. hy ḥnt-ybty·w nwn wr ḥʾw hy by srʾw by ʾmnty·w
hy by by·w

7. k kke k k·w sʾ nw-t a·wn n-y ank wbʾ t ʾr pyr n
Gb hy ʾnk

8. y·y·y e·e·e he-he-he h-ʿo h-ʿo h-ʿo ank ʿnep-ʿo
myry·p-ʿo-rʿ mʿ-t(?) ʾb thyby

9. ʿo ʾrw·wy wʾw yʿh-ʿo p swḥ-ʾyḥ snfe n smnw snf
n qqwpt snf n ʾmwłz

10. ʿnḥ-ʾm·w snw-p-t ʿo-ʾMn qs(?) ʿnḥ ḥstb n mʿ-t ḥl
p-tgs-ʾS-t nt ʾrw m bnn-t nte-k smt

11. yr-t-k nʾm-f ḥr rym-t n by-ʿo-n-p-t n wʿ ḥ n hr n
ʾny nge hbyn nte-k mr-k a pe-k qte

12. n wʿ-t pke-t n šn-bn-t ḥwt

13. p ky n ʾr p šn-hne n p ḥbs e-ʾr-k ʾny wʿ ḥbs e-f
wʿb e-f wbḥ n wš n t prš mw n qme ar-f e pe-f šʿl n
š-stn nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe

14. n mʿ-t nge nḥe n yt-t nte-k mr-f n ʿy IV-t n ʿyw
e bnp-w st-t-w nte-k ʿyḥ-t-f a wʿ-t zʿy-t n pr-ybt

15. wʿ-t šmwe-t n ḥ n tphn nte-k t ʿḥ p ḥm-ḥl n pe-f
mt a bl e-f wʿb e b-ʾr te-f še erme s-ḥm-t nte-k ḥbs yr-t-f
n t-t-k

16. nte-k θ-r p ḥbs nte-k ʿš a ḥry ḥn te-f ʿpe-t šʿ sp
VII nte-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z ʾḥ n-e-nw-k a-ʾr-w

1. 8. Note the hieroglyphic transliterations of demotic.

1. 10. *snw-p-t*, possibly *σίναπι*, 'mustard'; it occurs in Louvre dem.
mag. iii. 27 with gloss . . . *ροχλου* (?).

1. 14. *st-t-w*, or perhaps *ps-t-w*, which have not been boiled.

1. 15. *tphn*, probably *δάφνη*, Diosc. i. 106.

A good instance of *ἀπεραιωτο εἶδολ*.

down in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father (3) on account of a thing that hath proceeded from me. O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret open to me, mistress of spirits, (4) open to me primal heaven; let me worship the angels! for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven kings; ho! ye seven (5) Mônts, bull that engendereth, lord of strength, that enlighteneth the earth, soul of the abyss (?). Ho! lion as lion of (?) the abyss (?), bull of the night; (6) hail! thou that rulest the people of the East, Noun, great one, lofty one; hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West; hail! soul of souls, (7) bull of the night, bull (?) of (two ?) bulls, son of Nut. Open to me, I am the Piercer of earth, he that came forth from Geb; hail! I am (8) I, I, I, E, E, E, He, He, He, Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat (?) Ib, Thibai (9) great, Aroui, Ououu, Iaho. The spirit-gathering: blood of a *smune*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-jar, (10) *ankh-amu* plant, *senepe* plant, Great-of-Amen-plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'foot-print (?) -of-Isis' plant, pound and make into a ball, and paint (11) your eyes with it upon (?) a goat's tear, with a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony; you tie yourself at your side (12) with a strip (?) of male-palm fibre. (13) The way of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp. You take a clean bright lamp without putting minium (or) gum-water into it, its wick being of fine linen; you fill it with genuine oil (14) or oil of dew; you tie it with four threads of linen which have not been cooked (?); you hang it on an East wall (on) (15) a peg of bay-wood; you make the boy stand before it, he being pure and not having gone with a woman; you cover his eyes with your hand; (16) you light the lamp and you recite down into his head, unto seven times; you make him open

17. e-f z ḥr e-y nw a n ntr-w e-w n p qte n p ḥbs
ḥr z-w n-f wh a p nt e-w a šn-t-w ar-f e-f ḥp e-r-k wh
a r-f n t-t-k w-t-k

18. e-r-k mḥ yr-t-k n p kys nt ḥry e-r-k ḥ a rt-k
wbe p ḥbs e-f mḥ nte-k š ar-f n sp VII e yr-t-k ḥtm
e-r-k wh e-r-k wn

19. yr-t-k ḥr nw-k a n ntr-w n pe-k ph nte-k sze wbe-w
ḥr p nt e-r-k wh-f e-ḥr r-k-f n w m n kke p š nt
e-r-k š-f

20. z-mt-t ank m-neby ghthethwny **𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁** my
wšte-y-t-k p šr n rpythn-

21. pyr pyle-s' gnwryph-rys' tny-yryss' psy psy
yrys-s'

22. gymyhwrrw-phws-s' 'o-qm'tsys' **𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁**
pert-o-mekh

23. per-g-o-mekh s'kmeph m n-y a ḥn nte-k šn n-y
ḥr p šn nte-y šn ḥrr-f n mt-t m-t n wš

24. n mt-t n 'ze pe-f swḥ-yḥ p kys nt e-r-k ty-f a
yr-t-k e-r-k n-n' a r nb n p ḥbs

25. ḥr ny-k hyn-w ḥrre n bel n ***𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁*** ḥr gm-k-sw
n p m n p s-trmws e-r-k ny-t-w e-w gnn

26. nte-k ty-sw a w lq n yl e-r-k m r-f m šs sp-sn
š hw XX n w m e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s

27. hw XX e-r-k ny-t-f a ḥry e-r-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k
hyn-w ḥryw erme w m'z ḥn-f e-r-k ḥ-f š hw XL nte-k
ny-t-f

28. a ḥry nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k-f e-ḥr-f r snf a-re
ḥr r-k ty-f a w nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a ḥn w nk
n blz

29. n m e-f hep n nw nb e-r-k wh a r n p ḥbs

l. 19. *n pe-k bl* or *ph* (?): cf. l. 30.

ll. 24-29 are a repetition of 5/24-30; see notes there.

l. 24. *whe* (?). *šn* stands in the parallel. It seems that *whe* (?) is used of *μαντεία αὐτοπτική* (cf. note to 10/22), and *šn-hne*, when opposed to it (l. 34), means divination with a medium.

his eyes; you ask him, saying, 'What are the things which you have seen?' (17) If he says, 'I have seen the gods about the lamp,' then they tell him answer concerning that which they will be asked. If you wish to do it by yourself alone, (18) you fill your eyes with the ointment aforesaid; you stand up opposite the lamp when alight; you recite to it seven times with your eyes shut; when you have finished, you open (19) your eyes; then you see the gods behind(?) you; you speak with them concerning that which you desire; you ought to do it in a dark place. The invocation which you recite, (20) formula: 'I am Manebai, Ghethethoni, Khabakhel, let me worship thee, the child of Arpithnapira, (21) Pileasa, Gnuriph-arisa, Teni-irissa, Psi, Psi, Irissa, (22) Gimituru-phas-sa, Okmatsisa, Oreobazagra, Pertaomekh, (23) Peragomekh, Sakmeph, come in to me, and inquire for me about the inquiry which I am inquiring about, truthfully without (24) falsehood.' Its spirit-gathering: the ointment which you put on your eyes, when you are about to make any divination by the lamp. (25) You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh, (26) and put them into a *lok* of glass; you close its mouth very carefully for twenty days in a hidden dark place; after (27) twenty days you take it forth, you open it; then you find a pair (?) of testicles and a phallus inside it; you leave it for forty days; and you take it (28) forth; you open it; then you find that it has become bloody; you must put it into some thing of glass, and you put the glass thing into a pottery (thing) (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you wish to make a divination (?) by the lamp with it, you

1. 29. *n nw nb*: the parallel 5/29, where this is repeated with the next sentence, shows that it cannot mean 'from all sight.'

fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, you proceed to lie down, (30) or you stand opposite the lamp; you recite this invocation aforesaid; then you see the god behind (?) you, while you are standing up or lying down. Excellent (*bis*) and tried (?). (31) You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink, 'Bakhukhsikhukh,' or, as says another book, 'Kimeithoro Phosse'; (32) this method which is written above is the method of the divination of Manebai. If you wish to do it (33) by inquiry of the lamp, this also is the form, it is also profitable for (?) the divination of Muribai. If you do it (34) by vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you make the boy stand upright (35) before the lamp, he having his face covered; you recite to his head, standing over him, this Greek invocation; when you have finished, you uncover (36) his face, then he answers you truthfully.

COL. XXVIII.

(1) Another mode of vessel-inquiry, alone. Formula: 'I am the lord of Spirits, Oridimbai, Sonadir, Episghes, Emmime, (2) Tho-gom-phrur, Phirim-phuni is thy name; Mimi, Bibiu (*bis*), Gthethoni, I am Ubaste, Ptho, (3) Balkham born of Binui, Sphe, Phas, I am Baptho, Gammi-satra is thy name, Mi-meo, (4) Ianume.' Its spirit-gathering: you go to a clean place, you take a vessel of bronze, you wash it with water of natron, you put a *lok*-measure (5) of oil to it; you place it on the ground; you light a bronze lamp; you put it on the ground by the bronze vessel; (6) you cover yourself with a clean

COL. XXVIII.

l. 1. *epysghes emmyme*: MAX MÜLLER, Rec. trav., viii. 178, reads here *episkhes epimme*, and regards it as a transcription of *ἐπίσχεσ ἐπὶ με*, 'come to me.' The reading is probably *emymme*, but it may still be a corruption of the Greek phrase he has suggested.

l. 5. θ-s, xoc.

7. e-r-k šn-t-f a p nt e-r-k wh-f e-r-k wh a t 're n
ntr-w n p hne sze wbe-k n r-w wbe r-k e-r-k 'š y'h-o

8. yph e-o-e gynntethwr neph'r 'ph-o-e hr 'r-w n-k wh
a mt-t nb nt e-r-k a šn-t-f a-r-w 'n a-r-w tm z n-k wh
e-r-k 'š

9. py ke rn ng-o-ngethygs m'ntwn-o-b-o-e g-o-
kšyrhr-o-nt-o-r nt-o-ntr-o-m' leph-o-ger

10. gepher-s-o-re e-r-k 'š ny hr 'r-w šn n-k n mt-t m't

11. ke šn-hne e-hr 'r-k t't nhe n sym ar-f e-hr 'r-k-f
a h p nt hry z-mt-t sze wbe-y sp-sn h'mst p ntr n n ntr-w
n p kk

12. 'yh nb hyb-t nb nt hn 'mnt e-r-s p-e-r mw nhse
n-y sp-sn py by n 'nh py by n sns n my pry

13. pe hne pe swt ty n p-hw e-tb p hne n 'S-t wr-t
e-s šn m-s py-s hy e-s qte m-s py-s sn hwt mn'š sp-sn

14. mn'nf sp-sn a-zy-s z mn'š sp-sn mn'nf sp-sn ph-o-
ny sp-sn n hh n sp nte-k z-t-s n p hm-hl ze a-zy-s

15. z my š n-k p kke 'm n-y p wyn nte-k wn yr-t-k
ty hte-t hr 'w n ntr-w a hn nte-w z n-k wh n mt-t nb

COL. XXIX.

1. tey-s ky n šn n p r' e-w z n'm-f z e-f znt m šs sp-sn
pe-f swh-'yh hr 'ny-k w' hm-hl e-f w'b nte-k 'r . . .

2. 'yh nt sh ar-f nte-k 'ny-t-f n p mt n p r' nte-k t 'h-f
a rt-f hr w't tbe-t nmy n p nw nt e're

3. p r' ne h' n'm-f nte-f 'y a hry tre-f m tre p 'tn nte-k
t 'w w't qbe-t n 'yw nmy n pe-f ph (?) nte-k

1. 11. *p ntr n n ntr-w*: cf. *φρουθι νυθηρ*, Pap. Bib. Nat. 1643, and
προυτε νυθηρ τηρου, B. M. XLVI. 8.

1. 12. *pr-'mnt*, the det. of *hn* being the same sign as *pr* that should
have followed, one has been omitted.

e-r-s p-e-r mw: their meaning is obscure.

COL. XXIX.

1. 1. The end of the line is quite uncertain after 'r t(?).

1. 3. *qbe-t*: Boh. *κοβι*, in the Vienna ritual means a mat (?); in l. 23
we have a parallel passage with *šnt-t*.

linen robe, you and the vessel; you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, for seven times; you open your eyes; (7) you ask it concerning that which you wish; if you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths to your mouth, you cry: 'Iaho, (8) Iph, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, Aphoe.' Then they make answer to you concerning everything concerning which you will ask of it again. If they do not tell you answer, you recite (9) this other name: 'Gogethix, Mantounoboe, Kokhir-rhodor, Dondroma, Lephoker, (10) Kepharsore.' If you recite these, then they inquire for you truthfully.

(11) Another vessel-inquiry: you put vegetable oil into it; you must proceed as above. Formula: 'Speak unto me (*bis*), Hamset, god of the gods of darkness, (12) every demon, every shade that is in the West and the East, he that hath died hath done it (?), rise up to me (*bis*), O thou living soul, O thou breathing soul, may (13) my vessel go forth, my knot (?) here to-day, for the sake of the vessel of Isis the Great, who inquireth for her husband, who seeketh for her brother; Menash (*bis*), (14) Menanf (*bis*).' Say, 'Menash (*bis*), Menanf (*bis*), Phoni (*bis*),' a multitude of times; and you say to the boy, 'Say, (15) "Depart, O darkness; come to me O light," and open your eyes at once.' Then the gods come in and tell thee answer to everything.

COL. XXIX.

(1) Behold a form of inquiry of the sun, of which they say it is well tested. Its spirit-gathering: you take a young boy who is pure, you make the spirit-formula (?) (2) which is written for it; you take him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment at which (3) the sun shall rise, and it comes up entirely with the entire (?) disk; you put a new mat (?) of linen

4. t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f nte-k ḥ a rt-k ḥr ʾt-f eʾr-k š a ḥry ḥn zz-f eʾr-k qlhe a ḥry ḥn

5. zz-f n pe-k tbʿ n p rʿ n te-k-t t-t n wnm bn-s mḥ yr-t-f n p smt aʾr-k n ḥt

6. nʿsyrc ʿo-ʿpkys šfyw(?) sp-sn bybyw sp-sn rn-yk n mʿt sp-sn srpt aʾwn n-y t p-t n py-s

7. <n py-s> wsh py-š mt aʾny n-y p wyn nt wʿb my ʾw n-y p ntr nte p wh-šḥne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y

8. wh a mt-t nb nte ʾw-y šn ḥr-ʾr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t mʿt e mn mt-t ʿze ḥn(?)w ʿrkhnwtsy etʿle tʿl

9. nʿsyrc yʿrmekh nʿserʿ ʿmptḥw ḥ-ʿo ʿmʿmʾrkʿr tel yʿ-ʿo

10. nʿsyrc hʿkyʾ srpt ḥzysyphth ḥ-ʿo ʿt-ḥe y-yʿe(?)w bʿlbel my

11. ʾw n-y p wyn e-f wʿb my phre p ʿlw my z-f n-y wh my ʾw n-y p ntr nte p wh-šḥne n t-t-f nte-f z

12. n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥr-ʾr-w n mt-t mʿt e mn mt-t n ʿze ḥn-w bn-m-s-s eʾr-k š pe-f ḥtr

13. n ke sp VII e yr-t-f ḥtm z-mt-t sy-sy-pytsyrypy sʿʿʿo-nkhʿb

14. hrʿbʿ-ʿo-t phʿkthy-ʿo-p ʿnʿsʿn krʿʿnʿ krʿtrys tmʾ

15. ptʿrʿphne ʿrʿphnw ʾm n p ʿlw my ʾw n-f p ntr nte p wh-šḥne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb

16. nt e-y šn ḥr-ʾr-w ty n p-hw aʾre p wyn ʿsqe a ʾy a ḥn eʾr-k z ke ke sʾls-ʿo-ʿthʿ yppel

17. syrbʿ n sp VII eʾr-k t *אלבסונוט* a p ḥ eʾr-k z py rn ʿo m-s ny tre-w eʾr-k š-f

18. n ḥt-f a ph-t-f ḥs-phr n sp IV ʿueb-ʿo-th-yʿbʿthʿ- bʿyth-ʿo-beuʿ

19. eʾr-k z my mʾ p ʿlw p wyn my ʾw p ntr nte p wh-šḥne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn

20. ḥr-ʾr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t mʿt e mn mt-t n ʿze ḥn-w tey-s ke ky nʾm-f(?) ʿn eʾr-k ḥy p ʿlw a wʿ

1. 5. *ibʿ n p rʿ*: possibly the 'Apollo-finger' of modern chiromancy, i. e. the third (ring-) finger. The operation described in 3/12, 16, is the *προκαδωνισας παιδα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 89.

behind (?) him; you (4) make him shut his eyes; you stand upright over him; you recite down into his head; you strike down on (5) his head with your Ra-finger of your right hand, after filling his eye with the paint which you made before: (6) 'Nasira, Oapkis, Shfe (*bis*), Bibiou (*bis*) is thy true name (*bis*), Lotus, open to me heaven (7) in its breadth and height, bring to me the light which is pure; let the god come to me, who has the command, and let him say to me (8) answer to everything which I am asking here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein (?), Arkhnoutsi, Etale, Tal, (9) Nasira, Yarmekh, Nasera, Amptho, Kho, Amamarkar, Tel, Yaeo, (10) Nasira, Hakiā, Lotus, Khzisiph, Aho, Atone, I . I . E . O, Balbel, (11) let the pure light come to me; let the boy be (?) enchanted; let answer be given me; let the god who has the command come to me and tell (12) me answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth without falsehood therein.' Thereafter you recite his compulsion another (13) seven times, his eyes being shut. Formula: 'Si . si . pi . thiripi S . A . E . O . Nkhab (14) Hrabaot, Phakthiop, Anasan, Kraana, Kratris, Ima- (15) ptaraphne, Araphnu, come to the boy; let the god who has the command come to him, let him tell me answer to everything (16) which I shall ask here to-day.' If the light is slow to come within, you say, 'Ke, Ke, Salsoatha, Ippel, (17) Sirba,' seven times; you put frankincense (?) on the brazier, you utter this great name after all those, you utter it (18) from beginning to end, and vice versa, four times, Auebothiabathabaithobeua; (19) you say: 'Let the boy see the light, let the god who has the command come in; let him tell me answer to everything about which I shall ask (20) here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein.'

1. 8. *hn-w*: this seems to be the reading, cf. l. 12.

21. m^c ḥry e-f ḥse e-r-k t ḥ-f a rt-f n w^c m^c e wn w^c ššt 'o n pe-f mt e r-f wn a pr-ybt e ḥr [ʾre(?)] p r^c wbne

22. a ḥn n ḥe-t-f nte-k smt yr-t-f n p 'lw n p smt nt šḥ ar-f nte-k 'š ar-f n . . . sp ke-z VII e-r-k ḥ ḥr ʾt-f nte-k t ʾr-f

23. kšp a ḥr p r^c e-f mḥ wz-t e-f ḥ a rt-f ḥr w^c-t tbe-t nmy e wn w^c-t šnto-t n 'yw nmy n pe-f ph(?) e yr-t-f ḥtm

24. e-r-k 'š a ḥry ḥn zz-f e-r-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tb^c nt šḥ ḥry 'n e-r-k t *אלבוטחוט* a ḥry ne-ḥr-f e-r-k wh e-r-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f

25. ḥr nw-f a n ntr-w n pe-f ph(?) e-w sze wbe-f nt ḥr ʾr-k ty-f a yr-t-f n p 'lw e-f ʾn-n^c a šn-hne nb n p r^c

26. ḥr ʾny-k *IIX(?)* II n p yr e-w 'nh n p II nte-k wš p w^c n'm-w n ḥ n elle n p mt n p r^c nte-k t p snf n p ke a ḥr-f

27. nte-k t n^c-f erme-f ḥr ḥl nte-k ʾr-w n bnn-t e-w ḥy n tb^c w^c(?) e-r-k š'še(?) t a yr-t-f e-r-k ʾny w^c ʾb n lyl(?) erme w^c ḥ n

28. hr n ll 'n nte-k ḥy ty phre ḥr(?) w^c ḥm n st n t(?)-nhš ḥr mw n elle n Kmy nte-k mḥ yr-t-k n'm-f e-r-k

29. mḥ yr-t-k n ty phre nte-k q(?)šp a ḥr p r^c e-f mḥ wz-t e yr-t-k wn a ḥr-f ḥr ʾr-f wnḥ-f ar-k nte-f z(?) n-k(?) wh(?)

30. a mt-t nb te-f mt-t 'o-t(?) w^cb ḥr ʾr-f ʾr šw a ḥm-ḥl nte-f ʾr šw n-k ḥ-k n rm w^c-t

1. 21. *e ḥr p r^c* should be *e ḥr ʾre p r^c*; the condition of the MS. is very unsatisfactory in this part of the column.

1. 23. *mḥ wz-t*, i. e. at the summer solstice, Br., Thes., 296.

1. 26. For the use of vine-twigs as fuel for magic purposes, cf. HYVERN., Actes, p. 311; Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 544, &c.

Behold, another form of it again. You take the boy to an upper lofty (21) place, you make him stand in a place where there is a large window before him, its opening looking to the East where the sun shines (22) in rising into it; you paint the boy's eye with the paint which is prescribed for it, you recite to him times or seven times; you stand over him; you make him (23) gaze before the sun when it fills the *uzat*, he standing upright on a new brick, there being a new linen robe behind him (?), and his eyes being closed; (24) you recite down into his head; you strike on his head with your finger described above; you offer frankincense (?) before him; when you have finished, you make him open his eyes, (25) then he sees the gods behind him (?) speaking with him.

[The ointment] which you put in the boy's eyes when he goes to any vessel-inquiry of the sun (26). You take two of the river both alive, you burn one of them with vine-wood before the sun, you put the blood of the other to (?) it, (27) you pound it with it with myrrh, you make them into a pill, they measuring one finger (in length); you put into his eyes; you take a kohl-pot (?) of and a kohl-stick (?) of (28) *lel* (?). You pound this drug with a little *set*-stone (?) of Ethiopia and with Egyptian vine-water; you fill your eyes with it, you (29) fill your eyes with this drug, you look towards the sun when it fills the *uzat*, your eyes being open towards it; then he appears to you, he gives you answer (?) (30) to everything. Its chief point is purity; it is profitable for the boy, and it is profitable to you yourself as a person (acting) alone.

1. 27. *š'e* or *š'me*? The reading is uncertain.

1. 29. *qšp* or *kšp*? The latter is the correct form of the word.

1. 30. *mt-t 'a-t w'ab*; cf. 17/26.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

1. ʾnh n r^c οφρυσ ηλιου
2. ʾnh n ʿh οφρυσ (σεληνης)
3. hyn·w sym·w ne
4. ηλιογονον
5. σεληνογονον
6. hyn·w sym·w ne
7. θιθυμαλος
8. nte py sym hm nt hr n km·w pe
9. nt hr ʾre t ʾw ʾrte a bl
10. e·r-k t pe-f ʾrt a hʿr n rm
11. hr ʾr-f blbl

VERSO COL. II.

1. χαμεμελον thw-w^cb rn-f
2. λευκανθεμον šq-htr rn-f
3. κριναθεμον mn p nfr a hr-y rn-f
4. χρυσανθεμον nfr hr rn-f ke-z a t hrr·t nb

COL. I.

1. 1. ὀφρὺς ἡλίου is a synonym of the *σχοῖνος ελεία* in Diosc. iv. 52.
1. 4. ηλιογονον: cf. *ελιογωνον* as synonym of *εσον* in Peyr. Lex. 422 along with *κνίκος* (*carthamus tinctorius*, Diosc. iv. 187), *ἀτρακτυλῖς* (ib. iii. 97), &c.; so apparently a sort of thistle.
1. 5. σεληνογονον: the name given by *προφήται* to the *παιονία* (the modern *paeonia*) according to the synonyms in Diosc. iii. 147. The plant-names ascribed to the *προφήται* are naturally connected with deities, heavenly bodies and the like. SPRENGEL (Praefat., p. xvi) identifies the *προφήται* with those of Egypt, but this is perhaps too precise.
1. 9. The grammatical construction seems confused: one would expect *εμωαγ* or *ετεμωαγ*, Str., §§ 426, 427. The writer has given the form of the relative *ετωωταει*, but has inserted *hr*, which seems to be an anomaly.
1. 10. GALEN, de Simpl. medic., viii. 19/7, makes the same remark about the juice of the *τιθύμαλλος* (Diosc. iv. 162), viz. that if dropped on the skin it burns it.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

(1) Eyebrow of Ra : ὀφρὺς ἡλίου. (2) Eyebrow of the moon. ὀφρὺς σελήνης. (3) These are some herbs.

(4) *Heliogonon*. (5) *Selenogonon*. (6) These are some herbs.

(7) Spurge, (8) which is that small herb that is in the gardens (9) and which exudes milk. (10) If you put its milk on a man's skin, (11) it causes a blister.

VERSO COL. II.

(1) *Chamaemelon*. 'Clean-straw' is its name.

(2) *Leucanthemon*. 'Prick-horse' (?) is its name.

(3) *Crinanthemon*. 'None is better than I' is its name.

(4) *Chrysanthemon*. 'Fine-face' is its name, otherwise

COL. II.

1. 1. χαμαίμηλον, chamomile (synonym of ἀνθεμῖς in Diosc. iii. 144, of παρθένιον, ib. 145).

thw-w'b = τὸς + ὀσηνῆ (?), 'clean hay,' probably on account of the scent. According to Apul. c. 24 *thaboris* (MS. var. *tuoris*) was the Egyptian name of the plant χαμαίμηλον (WIEDEMANN, *Altaeg. Wörter* v. Klass. Aut. umschr., p. 22).

1. 2. λευκανθεμον; synonym of ἀνθυλλίς, ἀνθεμῖς, παρθένιον, Diosc. iii. 143-145, but none of these plants seem to suit the Egyptian name ḫtr, 'prick(?) - horse.' Cf. ἡωκ, fodere, and Ar. شاك, 'prick.'

1. 3. κρινάνθεμον is said to be the houseleek; perhaps its occurrence in Diosc. iii. 127, as synonym of ἡμέροκαλλίς, gives a better explanation.

1. 4. χρυσάνθεμον, Diosc. iv. 58 = *Chrysanthemum coronarium*. The name also occurs as a synonym for ἀρτεμισία (ib. iii. 117) χρυσοκόμη, ἐλίχρυσον, and ἀείζων τὸ μέγα (ib. iv. 55, 57, 88).

t ḫrr-t nb: cf. LEMM, *Cypr. v. Ant.*, 12 a, 13, and p. 64, περριρε (*sic*) αἰπιοση. The Hawara wreaths contained specimens, PETRIE, *Hawara*, p. 53.

5. n p s-qlm te-f gbe-t nht pe-f h 'kf
6. te-f hrre-t n nb te-f gbe-t m qty gryn^cthemwn
7. p m^cknesy^c
8. *μανεσια*
9. w^c 'ny n ty e-f km m qty
10. stem e'r-k nt-f e-f km
11. *μαγνης* p m^cknes nt 'nh hr 'n-w-f
12. *μακνης* e'r-k hyt-f e-f km
13. p m^cnes n rm hr 'n-w-f
14. n t 'n-tsyke e'r-k hyt-f
15. hr 'r-f t 'w snf a bl
16. a t pe-k zz
17. w^ct *επιγε* nte-k wš[-s(?)] n *νενεεβ(?)*
18. nte-k nt-s erme qt I-t n *απωξ*
19. erme w^ct *β(?)εζωλ* nte-k . . .
20. nte-k t w^ct

VERSO COL. III.

1. phre[^t a shy n fy]
2. pr-w zph n(?) pr(?)-mnt sym(?) n *κλο*
3. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p 'rp(?)
4. *φηκλς*
5. w^c 'ny e-f wbh pe e-f m qty
6. g'rb'n^c wn ke w^c e^{ik}hr 'r-w 'r-f

1. 7. *m^cknesy^c* is magnetic iron ore: cf. DIOSC. v. 147; PLIN., H. N., 36. 25.

1. 10. *e-f km*: here *km* is probably pseudo-participle, but in l. 12 infinitive.

1. 11. *m^cknes nt 'nh* = *μάγνης ζών*, frequently referred to by ALEXANDER TRALLIANUS (ap. Fabricius, Bibl. gr. Hamburg, 1724, t. xii), e.g. p. 640 in prescriptions.

hr 'n-w-f: cf. l. 13, it is probably an imperfect sentence, unless it means 'it is imported.'

1. 13. *m^cnes n rm*: perhaps 'human magnes,' on account of the blood. Cf. PLIN., H. N., 36. 25, where the haematites magnes of Zimiris in Aethiopia is described as sanguinem reddens si teratur. He also

said 'the gold flower' (5) of the wreath-seller; its leaf is strong, its stem is cold (?), (6) its flower is golden; its leaf is like *crinanthemon*.

(7) Magnesia, (8) *manesia*. (9) A stone of black like (10) stibium; when you grind it, it is black.

(11) *Magnes*. Magnesia viva; it is brought (i.e. imported?).

(12) *Maknes*. When you scrape it, it is black.

(13) *Maknes* of man. It is brought (14) from India (?); when you scrape it (15) it exudes blood.

(16) To drug (?) your enemy; (17) an *apshe*-beetle (?); you burn it with styrax (?), (18) you pound it together with one drachma of apple (19) and a and you (20) and you put a

VERSO COL. III.

(1) Medicament [for a catalepsy (?). Gall of ceras]tes, (2) pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*. (3) Grind them together, make into a ball, put it into wine(?), and drink (?).

(4) Lees of wine. (5) It is a white stone like (6) gal-

speaks of *magnes mas* and *femina*, the former being strongly magnetic and of reddish colour; and W. MAX MÜLLER has suggested to us that *n rm* may here be for *ἀνδρείος*.

l. 14. *n-Isyke* = *Ἰνδική* (MAX MÜLLER). For Coptic forms of the name cf. LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. ii. (Bull. de l'Acad. St. Petersbourg, x. 405).

l. 16. Probably the word is that in 23/1.

l. 17. *επηγε*: cf. the beetle *ῥῥγ-τ* of ch. xxxvi of the Book of the Dead.

ll. 19-20. REUVENS' tracing and the facsimile show many scraps in the last lines, but they are too vague to be legible.

COL. III.

l. 1. Restored from 24/27.

l. 4. *φείκη*, 'lees of wine,' 'salt of tartar' (REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 51, who gives references).

l. 6. *g'rb'n*: probably *χαλβάνη*, galbanum, the resinous sap of *Bubo galbanum* L., a plant of the fennel tribe used in medicine: see Diosc.

iii. 87. Cf. also *χαρῆαν*, *Costum dulce*, *حلت*, Kircher, 186.

7. n sgewe p ky n r̥h-s
8. ar-f z nte-f n m̥t pe e-r-k nt w̥ hm
9. hr mw nte-k ths-f a p h̥r
10. n w̥ rm n w̥t hte hm hr r-f
11. h̥(?) p h̥r
12. pe-f rn n mt-t wynn(?) αφροσεληνον
13. z̥h n ʿh w̥ ny pe e-f wbh
14. phr-t a ty re s-hm-t mr hwt θθ-t n šnt-t
15. nt hr ʿby ths hnt-f (sic) n'm-f
16. nte-k str erme t s-hm-t
17. z̥h n ʿh w̥ ny e-f wbh pe e-f m qty
18. yl e-f h̥yt n pke sp-sn m qty r̥senygnw

VERSO COL. IV.

1. phre-t n msze e-f n mw
2. hm zf hr r̥p e-f nfr
3. nte-k t ar-f bn-s šty n h̥t
4. nte-k h̥y(t?) hm w̥t(?) zf(?) hr r̥p
5. nte-k t ar-f a hw IV
6. σαλαματρα
7. w̥t h̥flel̥ hm
8. e-s n ʿwn n k̥r̥yne
9. e mn-te-s rt-t
10. tp n sr κεφαλεκη rn-f
11. w̥ sym e-f m qty w̥t bw n šmr hwt

1. 7. *sgewe*. MAX MÜLLER (Rec. tr., vili. 174) suggests that σκευή may have the meaning 'quick-lime,' though this sense is not found in the dictionaries.

1. 12. *wynn* (?): cf. 4/7.

αφροσεληνον = ἀφροσελήνος, Diosc. v. 158, another name for σεληνίτης λίθος, selenite or foliated sulphate of lime (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 51, with reffs.).

11. 14-16. These lines are repeated in V. 13/10-11.

1. 18. *r̥senygnw* = ἀρσενικόν, yellow orpiment, i. e. sulphide of arsenic: cf. Diosc. v. 120. ALEX. TRALL., u. s., p. 632, mentions it in a prescription for gout.

banum. There is another sort which is made (7) into lime (?). The way to know it (8) that it is genuine is this. You grind a little (9) with water; you rub it on the skin (10) of a man for a short time; then it (11) removes the skin. (12) Its name in Greek (?) ἀφροσέ-
ληνον, (13) 'foam of the moon.' It is a white stone.

(14) A medicament for making a woman love a man : fruit (?) of acacia; (15) grind with honey, anoint his phallus with it, (16) you (*sic*) lie with the woman.

(17) 'Foam of the moon'; this is a white stone like (18) glass, (when?) it is rubbed into fragments like orpiment.

VERSO COL. IV.

(1) Medicament for an ear that is watery. (2) Salt, heat with good wine; (3) you apply to it after cleansing (?) it first. (4) You scrape salt, heat with wine; (5) you apply to it for four days.

(6) σαλαμάνδρα, (7) a small lizard (8) which is of the colour of chrysolite. (9) It has no feet.

(10) 'Ram's horn,' κεφαλικὴ is its name, (11) a herb which is like a wild fennel bush; (12) its leaf and its stem

COL. IV.

1. 1. The cross x at the beginning of sections in this and the next column seems intended to catch the eye in the crowded writing on the original—see the facsimile.

Flux from the ears : cf. Pap. Eb. 91/3.

1. 7. *w^c.t* (?). The sign in the original is like *hmt*, 'bronze,' and scarcely like *w^c.t*.

1. 8. *k^rγne* = καλαίγη, chrysolite, greenish-yellow : cf. GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 44 (B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 197), and KRALL, Pap. Rain. Mitth., iv. 141.

1. 9. The σαλαμάνδρα of Diosc. ii. 67 has feet.

1. 10. *tp n sr* : probably κριός Diosc. ii. 126 = Cicer arietinum, PLINY, Nat. Hist. xviii. 32. See SPRENGEL, ad loc.

1. 11. *šmr hwt* = شمار بری, طامارخوست, TATTAM, Lex. from MS. Par. 44, p. 340. The Semitic word is interesting.

12. te-f gbe:t pe-f ḥ zq^c m qty
13. p mr-rm eʾr-k nt-f e-f šwy nte-k sḳ-f(?)
14. nte-k ʾr-f n kser-ʿo-n nte-k ty-f a šḥ nb
15. ḥr lk-f ταμονιακη
16. ḥr rt-s m qty slom(?)
17. n te-f gbe:t ne-f pr-w t-qty:t
18. m qty tp n sr e-f θ
19. swre:t ḥm n pe-f ph(?)

VERSO COL. V.

1. phre:t a(?) ʿrz snf mw n ḥp(?)^c-ʿo
2. ḥr ḥnqe nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm:t nʾm-f n twe
3. e b-ʾr te-s wm ḥr ʿḥ-f
4. p ky a rh-s n s-ḥm:t z e-s ʾwr:t eʾr-k t ʾre
5. t s-ḥm:t ty-s mʾ a ḥr py sym nt ḥry ʿn
6. ḥr rhwe aʾre twe ḥp nte-k gm p sym
7. e-f šhlḳt bn e-s a ʾwr:t eʾr-k gm-t-f
8. e-f wtwt e-s a ʾwr:t
9. phre:t a ḥt(?) snfe gbe:t n šyš^c
10. gbe:t n ḥmt-ʿf e-f knn nt t
11. ar-k eʾr-k str erme t s-ḥm:t k-t ḥl
12. ḥzn šḥy n *σζαε* nt ḥr
13. ʾrp ʾs n sty t ar-k eʾr-k str erme-s
14. ασφοδελος
15. ke-z a mzwł hwt

l. 13. *p mr-rm*: cf. *φιλάνθρωπος*, synonym of *ἀπαρίνη*, Diosc. iii. 94, a bedstraw 'cleavers' (*προσέχεται δὲ καὶ ἱματίους*, Diosc. ib.).

šl-f(?): cf. *ὑλαγελ*, *cribrare* (?).

l. 14. *kseron* = *ξηρόν*, as suggested by MAX MÜLLER, *Rec. tr.*, viii. 173.

l. 15. *ἀμμωνιακή*: cf. Diod. iii. 88, and above.

l. 16. *slom*: perhaps = *ὑλωα*, *μολόχη*, a mallow.

COL. V.

l. 1. *ḥp(?)^c-ʿo*, 'great Nile,' as name of some perhaps very juicy plant: cf. V. 33/5 for the reading.

ll. 4-8. A similar prescription in the nineteenth dynasty, Br., *Rec.*, ii. pl. 107: cf. RENOUF, *A. Z.*, 1873, 123, for recent parallels.

are incised like (13) the 'love-man' plant; you pound it when it is dry, you gather (?) it, (14) you make it into a dry powder; you apply it to any wound; then it is cured.

Styrax, (16) it grows like *slom* (?) (17) as to its leaf; its seed is twisted (18) like the 'ram's horn' plant, it bearing (19) a small spine at its end.

VERSO COL. V.

(1) A medicament to stop blood: juice of 'Great Nile (?)' plant (2) together with beer; you make the woman drink it in the morning (3) before she has eaten; then it stops.

(4) The way to know it of a woman whether she is enceinte: you make the woman (5) pass her water on this herb as above again (6) in the evening; when the morning comes and if you find the plant (7) scorched (?), she will not conceive; if you find it (8) flourishing, she will conceive.

(9) A medicament to stop blood: leaf of *sheisha*, (10) leaf of 'fly-bronze,' fresh; pound, put (it) (11) on you, you lie with the woman. Another: myrrh, (12) garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with (13) old scented wine; put (it) on you, you lie with her.

(14) Asphodelos, (15) otherwise called 'wild onion.'

l. 4. *rḥ-s...z*: a characteristic construction in demotic: cf. II Kham. vi. 21. 27.

l. 9. *ḥt* (?). This seems a curious use of the word.

l. 10. *ḥmt-ṣf*. This looks like the literal translation of some foreign name. It is clearly a plant-name; but *χαλκόμυια*, which it suggests, is found only as the name of a kind of fly: cf. our 'corn-bluebottle.'

l. 13. *ʾrp ʾs*, 'old wine,' frequently prescribed in ALEX. TRALL.: cf. Corp. Pap. Rain. II. 183.

n sly = *οἶνος ἐνὶ ὄδῳ*, Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 1837.

l. 14. *ἀσφοδελίς, φύλλα ἔχων πρᾶσφ μεγάλῳ ὁμοία*, Diosc. ii. 199.

l. 15. *χέλκεβε*: evidently some bulbous plant like the last; called *βοτάνην χέλκεβε* in Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 70. Cf. perhaps *γέλυς*.

16. $\chi\epsilon\lambda\kappa\epsilon\beta\epsilon$

17. ke-z hzn hwt

VERSO COL. VI.

1. phre:t a t 'lk mw hr s-hm:t t hyt:t n phre:t hm
hr nhe nt . . . n-s(?) hw(?) II

2. bn-s p hw II phr n mh II-t psymytsy nte-k nt-f
erme w' hm n 'nzyr n s-nhe

3. m šs sp-sn nte-k t nhe n m't ar-f e-f nfr erme
w't swht nte-k nt-w nte-k 'ny w' 'l(?)

4. n hbs(?) n 'yw e-f šm't nte-k sp-f n ty phre:t nte-s
zqm n t s't-eywe:t nte-s

5. y' n 'rp e-f <ne->nfr nte-k t p 'o-l n phre:t a
hry n'm-s nte-k s'y n'm-f n hn

6. a bl hn ty-s 'te:t n w't hte:t hm n p smt n p
mz n p hwt š' nte t phre:t

7. hlhl nte-k 'ny-t-f a bl nte-k h's š' rhwe a're rhwe
hp e'r-k sp w't qlme:t n 'by

8. n m't nte-k ty-f a hry n'm-s š' twe š' hw III
ke-z IV

VERSO COL. VII.

1. k't m-s-s mw n šwbe e-f lhm znf w' mw n msz n
qle:t znf w' a h p znf

2. n w' z nte-k t w' wth n 'rp e-f <ne->nfr a he:t-w
nte-s swr-f n mre:t e bap-s

3. wm nt nb n p t bn-s zqm n t s't-eywe:t a'r-s t
ht a're rhwe hp e'r-k t p 'l n

4. 'bye a hry n'm-s a h p nt hry š' hw VII k't
m-s-s e'r-k 'ny w't lwps nmy e'r-k t

COL. VI.

1. 1. The last signs must be *hw II*, 'two days': cf. l. 2. The group before this is unusual. The first sign may be Υ , the uterus, reading *k-t* or *hm-t*(?) (Kah. Pap. V. 2 note), and the last two might stand for *n-s*, 'to her,' or for *n mn*, 'daily.'

(16) Khelkebe, (17) otherwise called 'wild garlic.'

VERSO COL. VI.

(1) A remedy to cure water in a woman. The first remedy: salt and oil; pound; apply to the vulva(?) daily(?) two days.

(2) After the two days, the second remedy: white lead, you pound it with a little pigment from an oil-dealer (3) very carefully; you put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg and pound them; you take a strip (4) of linen cloth which is fine-spun(?); you dip it in this medicament. She must bathe in the bath, she must (5) wash in good wine; you put the medicated strip on her; you draw(?) it in (and) (6) out of her vulva for a short time, like the phallus of a man, until the medicament (7) spreads(?); you remove it, you leave her till evening; when evening comes, you dip a bandage(?) in genuine honey, (8) you put it on her until morning, for three, otherwise said four, days.

VERSO COL. VII.

(1) Another to follow it: juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed down, one ladleful(?), water of the ears of a *khe*-animal, one ladleful(?) like the ladle (2) of a (wine-) cup; you add a *uteh*-measure of good wine to them; and she drinks it at midday, before she has (3) eaten anything whatever, after bathing in the bath, which she has done before; when evening comes, you put the rag(?) (4) with honey on her as above for seven days.

1. 2. *psymytsy*, as REVILLOUT pointed out, is *ψιμίθιον*, 'white lead': cf. ZOEGA, 626; DIOSC. v. 103.

5. X n wth n ʾrp ʾs e-f hlk ar-s eʾr-k t wʿt $\frac{1}{2}$ qt-t
n bšwš e-f knn a ḥt-f n θ

6. n twe šʿ mreʿt nte-s zqm n t sʿt-eywe nte-s ʾy a
bl nte-s swr-f aʾre rhwe

7. ḥp eʾr-k t ʾbye a ḥry nʾm-s a ḥ p nt ḥry ʿn šʿ
hw VII

VERSO COL. VIII.

1. ποδακραν

2. eʾr-k t ḥms p rm nte-k t š sʿn ḥr rt-f n p rm

3. nte-k t š . . . m-s-f a rt-f ḥr ʾt-f eʾr-k šn

4. p rm z ḥr-f stm šʿ hw III m-s-s eʾr-k ʾny qppp

5. eʾr-k psy-t-f ḥr nḥe n qwpre eʾr-k ths rt-f

6. nʾm-f eʾr-k wḥ eʾr-k ʾny qntʾe Rʿqt ḥr ell šw

7. ḥr sym n gyz eʾr-k nt-w ḥr ʾrp eʾr-k slk-f n p bl

8. ny nte-k nyf m-s-f n r-k

VERSO COL. IX.

1. k-t

2. ευφορβιον I-t qt-t

3. πεπτερεως $\frac{1}{2}$ qt-t

4. περηθου sttr-t(?) I-t

5. αυταρχες sttr-t(?) I-t

6. sttr-t(?) I-t διοναπερον

7. mn ʾrp sttr-t(?) VI

COL. VIII.

l. 5. *nḥe n qwpre* = ἔλαιον κύπρινον, Diosc. i. 65; PLIN., H. N., 12. 51; 13. 1, 2; 23. 46, made from the seeds or leaves of ἡ κύπρος, ἄουνηρ, KIRCHER, p. 179, Lawsonia inermis, the henna of the Arabs. The red dye made from the leaves is now the commonest cosmetic in the East, but was perhaps little known anciently. The oil frequently occurs in prescriptions in ALEX. TRALL.

l. 7. *sym n gyz*: lit. 'hand-plant,' with gloss ΠΗΤΑΚΤΑΛΟΣ, which no doubt stands for πεντεδάκτυλος, Diosc. iv. 42 = πεντάφυλλον (potentilla). According to LENZ, p. 702, it is still called in Greece by both names. Cf. PARTHEY, Zauberpap., ii. 34. 40; Pap. bibl. nat. 287.

ll. 7-8. *n p bl ny*: a curious construction, if correct.

COL. IX.

l. 3. πεπτερεως for πεπέρεως, 'pepper' (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50), cf.

Another to follow: you take a new dish; you put (5) ten *uteh*-measures of old sweet wine on it; you put a half *kite* of fresh rue on it from (6) dawn till midday; let her bathe in the bath, and come out and drink it. When it is evening (7) you put honey on her as above again for seven days.

VERSO COL. VIII.

(1) Gout. (2) You make the man sit down; you place clay under the feet of the man; (3) you put to it (?), his feet resting on it; you ask (4) the man, saying, 'Has it hearkened?' for three days. Thereafter you take an ant (?), (5) you cook it in oil of henna; you anoint his feet (6) with it. When you have finished, you take Alexandrian figs and dried grapes (7) and potentilla; you pound them with wine; you anoint him besides (?) (8) these; and you blow on him with your mouth.

VERSO COL. IX.

(1) Another: (2) 1 *kite* of Euphorbia, (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of pepper, (4) 1 stater (?) of pyrethrum (?), (5) 1 stater (?) of adarces, (6) native sulphur, 1 stater (?), (7) any wine 6

Diosc. ii. 188; and for its use as a magico-medical ingredient, WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 25; and below V. 14/3; SIGISMUND, Aromata, p. 41.

l. 4. *περηθου* = *πυρέθρου*, apparently an umbellifer hot to the taste: cf. Diosc. iii. 78.

l. 5. *αυταρχες* = *αδάρκης*, Diosc. v. 136, a salt efflorescence on marsh plants. It is noteworthy that these four ingredients, spurge, pepper, *πυρέθρου*, and *αδάρκης*, are all found with many others in a prescription for gout given by ALEX. TRALL., lib. xi. p. 628.

l. 6. *διοναπερον* = *θειον απυρον* (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50), native sulphur. For its use cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 168; ZOEGA, 626 *ονη πατωμυα*. The *οναπερον* of KIR. 203 = sulphur rubrum, is doubtless a corruption of the above.

8. nḥe n m^ct . . . ntek nt-w
9. nte-k ʾr-w n w^ct splelyn t a p m^c
10. nt šn n p rm

VERSO COL. X.

1. ke s a(?) rt-f n p-etʾgrwn
2. eʾr-k šḥ ny rn-w a w^c pq
3. n ḥt nge tren eʾr-k ty-f
4. a w^c ḥ^cr n ʾywr nte-k mr-f a rt-f
5. n p rm n rn-f *δερμα ελαφιον* n t rt:t II:t
6. *θεμεβαραθει*
7. *οτρεμεβρεποττινε*
8. *διοχθοσ*
9. *σεμεβαραθειμιοσ*
10. *καιοσ* my lk mn a.ms mn
11. n šn nb nt ḥn ne-f pt.w te-f rt.w II:t
12. ḥr ʾr-k-f e ʿḥ my

VERSO COL. XI.

1. pḥre:t n rt(?) . . .
2. ḥzn ʾlbwnt
3. . . . ʾs
4. nḥe n m^ct nt ths-f
5. nʾm-f e-f šwy eʾr-k y^c-f
6. n mw qbe ḥr lk-f
7. pḥre:t n rt:t e-f sk m šs sp-sn nfr sp-sn
8. eʾr-k y^c rt-f n mw n šwbe:t
9. nte-k ḥyt-f m šs sp-sn ḥr rt-f
10. k:t ʾlqw n . . . θθ n šnt:t
11. šew nt t ar-f

1. 9. *splelyn*: cf. ZOEGA, 630 *σπελελιν*, apparently a 'plaster' or 'poultice,' probably = *σπλήν, σπληνιον*.

staters(?); (8) genuine oil you pound them, (9) you make them into a poultice; apply to the part (10) which is painful of the man.

VERSO COL. X.

(1) Another talisman for the foot of the gouty man: (2) you write these names on a strip (3) of silver or tin; you put it (4) on a deer-skin; you bind it to the foot (5) of the man named, *δέρμα ἐλάφιον*, with the two feet. (6) 'θεμβαραθεμ (7) ουρεμβρενουτιπε (8) αιοχθου (9) σεμ-μαραθεμμου (10) ναιου. Let N. son of N. recover (11) from every pain which is in his feet and two legs.' (12) You do it when the moon is in the constellation of Leo.

VERSO COL. XI.

(1) Remedy for a foot(?): (2) garlic, frankincense, (3) old (4) genuine oil; pound (together); anoint him (5) with it. When it is dry, you wash it (6) with cold water; then he recovers.

(7) Remedy for a foot which is much sprained(?); very excellent. (8) You wash his foot with juice of cucumber; (9) you rub it well on his foot.

(10) Another: sycomore figs(?) of . . .; fruit(?) of acacia, (11) persea fruit(?); pound (together); apply (it) to him.

COL. X.

1. 1. *p-el'grwn* = *ποδαγρών*.

1. 2. Cf. ALEX. TRALL, lib. xi. p. 656, for a similar method of dealing with gout. Such charms are as common in ancient times as in modern.

1. 3. Tin is frequently used for similar purposes: cf. WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 11.

1. 5. *n t r t t II-t*, that is with the two feet of the skin.

1. 12.  the knife is the sign of the Zodiac for Leo (BRUGSCH, Nouv. Rech., p. 22, Stobart tables, &c.): cf. 5/11 and note 1/12.

COL. XI.

1. 10. *twne* is perhaps the reading of the imperfect group.

VERSO COL. XII.

1. ke-z wr šerʔy(?)
2. ʔnk pe wr šʕ(?)ʕy nt ʔr hyq a t rpy·t ʕo·t nb
qwow(?)
3. ll mw ll p mw n sn-t(?) p nt n r-y p ʕt n H·t-ḥr·t
šw mr
4. p nt n ḥt-y ḥt-y pz pe ḥt mr p(?) wḥe e·ḥr^{wi} ʔre ʔm·t
5. ʔy-f a ʔm-mw wḥe e·ḥr^ʔ ʔre wnš·t ʔy a wnš wḥe
e·ḥr ʔre whr·t ʔy·t-f
6. a whr p wh nt a p ntr šr spd(?) ʔy-y·t-f a mw-s·t-s
e-f ʔn·nʕ a t sbt·t n nynʕre-t-s
7. a wh mw n [p]e-f ntr pe-f ḥry pe-f yḥ·ʕo sʕb·h·ʕo
pe-f glemwrʕ mwse plerwbe s my
8. ʔbrʕsʕks senklʕy my ʔre mn a·ms mn ʔy-f a mn a·ms
mn
9. my ʔr-s wʕ pz wʕ mr wʕ lyb ʕo e-s qte
m-s-f a mʕ nb p ḥyt
10. n yḥ·ʕo sʕb·ḥw h·ʕo-ry·ʕo-n(?) pʕn-t-rgʕ-t-r ʔn-t-rgʕ-t-r
ʔrbʕ
11. nthʕʕ thʕʕ·ʕo thʕʕks z te-y ḥwy ḥyt a·ʔr·tn

VERSO COL. XIII.

1. n n ntr·w ʕy·w n Kmy mḥ t·t·tn n st·t sḥt·t (bk-f)
ḥwy·t-f a p ḥt n mn a·ms mn
2. hbq nʔm-s nge ʔyh θ n ty-s qt·t mge rm ʔmnt my
ʔre p ʕy

COL. XII.

1. 1. A gloss on l. 2.

1. 2. *qwow* (the first *w* may be a determinative 𓂏). BRUGSCH, Dict. Geog., 819, identifies this with the modern Qau (Antaeopolis). But Qau is derived from Copt. ⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ, which in its turn is perhaps from the hierogl. *dw-qʕ*.

1. 3. *p ʕt*: obesity is a mark of beauty in the East.

1. 5. *ʔy-f*: cf. note 21/35. *ʔy* in this line must be an error for *ʔy-f*. *ʔy·t-f* at the end of the line must be the same word: cf. Boh. ⲁⲓⲓ and ⲁⲓⲟⲩ, and *ḥsy-k* 20/20, beside *ḥsy·t-k* 20/19.

VERSO COL. XII.

(1, 2) 'I am the great Shaay (otherwise said, the great Sheray?), who makes magic for the great Triphis, the lady of Koou(?) (3) Lol Milol, the water of thy brother(?) is that which is in my mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, is (4) that which is in my heart; my heart yearns, my heart loves. The(?) longing such as a she-cat (5) feels for a male cat, a longing such as a she-wolf feels for a he-wolf, a longing such as a bitch feels for (6) a dog, the longing which the god, the son of Sopd(?), felt for Moses going to the hill of Ninaretos (7) to offer water unto his god, his lord, his Yaho, Sabaho, his Glemura-muse, Plerube . . S Mi (8) Abrasax, Senklai—let N. daughter of N. feel it for N. son of N.; (9) let her feel a yearning, a love, a madness great, she seeking for him (going) to every place. The fury (10) of Yaho, Sabaho, Horyo . . Pantokrator, Antorgator, (11) Arbanthala, Thalo, Thalax: for I cast fury upon you

VERSO COL. XIII.

(1) 'of the great gods of Egypt: fill your hands with flames and fire; employ it, cast it on the heart of N. daughter of N. (2) Waste her away, thou(?) demon; take her sleep, thou(?) man of Amenti; may the house

1. 6. Cf. Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος ὑψίστοις, quoted from the Orac. Sibyll.
2. 247 by PARTHEY, 2 Gr. Zauberpap., p. 58. *s-t* is *сн, 'seat.'

1. 7. *wḥ mw*: very common as a title equivalent to χαχύτης.
[p]e-f: this correction of the text seems almost certain.
plerwbe perhaps = πλήρωμα.

COL. XIII.

1. 2. *nge* . . . *nge* must be нсї: нхс before the subject, though here before the imperative, which is not allowed in Coptic (W. MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., xiii. 151).

3. n py-s yt ty-s mw't n ny-s m' nte e-s n ħe-t-w . . .
 'š e h-ʿo-h n st-t

4. ar-s e-s z ze n-ny e-s <ʿḥ> qrmrm n bl z ne-ʿy z
 ʾnk w'ʿt ryt-t n Gb

5. Hr r(?)ʿo-n p r' rn-yt prq rn-s a bl n Kmy š' hw
 XL ʾbt XXXIII CLXXV n hw p zq-r n VI n ʾbt

6. gyre thee(?) pysytw ek-ʿo(?)ymy ʾt'm sp VII
 hs n *~~aece~~* w' ħm n mw't n ʿo-t

7. ħn' s'smrym(?) ʾp-t VII-t n hs n *~~sece~~* sly n
 ~~beene~~ n ħwt ħ-t n yp-t n nḥe

8. nte-k st-t-w n glm n mḥ nte-k 'š ar-f n sp VII
 n hw VII nte-k ths ħn-t-k

9. n'm-f nte-k str erme t s-ħm-t nte-k ths ħt-s n t
 s-ħm-t 'n

10. a t ʾre s-ħm-t mr py (*sic*) hy θθ-t n šnt-t nt ħr
 ʾbye nte-k ths ħn-t-k n'm-f

11. nte-k str erme t s-ħm-t a t ʾre s-ħm-t mr
 nq-s hbete n r-f n w' ħtr ħwt nte-k ths

12. ħn-t-k n'm-f nte-k str erme t s-ħm-t

VERSO COL. XIV.

1. a t

2. ʾbn (δραχμη) I

3. *~~nmup~~* (δραχμη) I

4. mḥ n knwt(?) e-f šwy (δραχμη) IV

5. s'terw (δραχμη) IV

6. nt n pḥre šwy a-ry yp-t n'm-f

7. a ħ p nt e-ʾr-k swne n'm-f erme s-ħm-t nb

1. 3. *n ħe-t-w*. Note this Coptic form *ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲱⲩ* instead of the usual demotic *ħn-w* lost in Coptic. In this particular phrase, however, *n'm-w*, not *ħn-w*, is usual.

1. 4. *n-ny . . . ne-ʿy*. It is suggested that, in spite of the strange orthography, *ⲛⲁⲓ misereri* is here intended.

1. 5. It is difficult to see what is intended by the numbers.

1. 6. The first words of this line have been read by PLEYTE (P. S. B. A.,

(3) of her father and her mother (and) the places where she is; call out "There is flame of fire (4) to her," while she speaks, saying, "Have mercy(?)," she standing outside and murmuring "Have mercy(?)." For I am an agent(?) of Geb, (5) Horus Ron Phre is my name, tear her name out of Egypt for forty days, thirty-three months, 175 days, the complement of six months, (6) Gyre, Thee, Pysytu, Ekoimi, Atam.' Seven times. Dung of crocodile, a little placenta(?) of a she-ass, (7) together with sisymbrium, seven *oipi* of antelope's dung, the gall of a male goat, and first-fruits of oil; (8) you heat them with stalks of flax. You recite to it seven times for seven days; you anoint your phallus (9) with it, you lie with the woman; you anoint the breast(?) of the woman also.

(10) To cause a woman to love her husband: pods of acacia, pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it (11) and lie with the woman.

To make a woman *amare coitum suum*. Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint^{ph} your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

VERSO COL. XIV.

(1) To make (2) alum, 1 drachm, (3) pepper, 1 drachm, (4) *mhknwt*, dried, 4 drachms, (5) satyrium, 4 drachms. (6) Pound together into a dry medicament; do your business with it (7) like that which you know with any woman.

v. 152) as κύριε θεε πιστε ἐξήνυ'Αδάμ, 'O divine faithful Lord, I cast out Adam.'

l. 10. *py*: error for *py-s*.

COL. XIV.

l. 5. *s'terw* = *σαρπιον*, MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 176-177. For the plant (which is not identified) see Diosc. iii. 133. It is a venereal stimulant.

VERSO COL. XV.

1. n rn-w n n ntr-w nt hr w^he-k-s e-r-k 'n-n(?) a
'ny 'ze a hn swr(?)
2. m'skelly m'skell-^o phnwgent^b-^o
3. hreks(?)sygth-^o perygthe-^o-n perypeg^{ne}ks
4. 're-^o-b's'gr^e ke-zm 'o-b's'gr^e
5. py rn hr z-k-f hr t h't n zy e-f n-n^e a byk e-tbe
n rn-w
6. n ΔΙΟΚΡΟC nt n hn nte-f wzy e-r-k 'š-w a p z(?)
n ΔΔΩΝΑΙ nt sh
7. n bl e-f a 'r w^c-t bk'y-i(?) 'o-t e-f 'ny 'ze a hn

VERSO COL. XVI.

1. 'rmy-^o-wt (ke-zm ἀρμιοϑ) syth^{ny} wth^{ny}
2. 'ry'mwsy s-^o-br-tt byrb't my[s]yryth^t
3. a-ms-th'rmyth^t a-wy mn a-ms mn a bl hn ny-s
'y-w
4. nt e-s n'm-w a 'y nb nte mn a-ms mn n'm-w e-s
mr[.t]-f e-s lby m-s-f
5. e-s 'r n p šp n ht-f n nw nb e-r-k sh ny n
r'w hl a w^c-t tys-t
6. n š-stn e-s w^cb nte-k ty-s a w^c hbs nmy e-f w^cb
e-f mh n nhe n m^c-t n (p)
7. pe-k 'y n θ n rhwe a twe e-r-k gm p f'e n t
s-hm-t a ty-f a hn p s'l nfr-f (sic)

COL. XV.

1. I. GROFF has written an elaborate study on this column in *Mém. de l'Inst. Égypt.* iii. 377; many of his readings are wrong, but it remains very difficult to read and interpret.

w^he-k(?): the second sign is imperfect; w^šte-k(?).

'n-n^e(?): cf. l. 5, n-n^e(?).

'ze: cf. 3/29.

swr(?). Can this be really a trace of *hn*, to be restored *n šn hn*, 'by vase-questioning.'

l. 2. For a similar list of names see Pap. Gr. Lugd., Pap. V., col. 9, l. 10.

l. 5. Can ετ^hε have the meaning 'instead of'?

l. 6. The Dioscuri were the patron gods of sailors.

VERSO COL. XV.

(1) The names of the gods whom you want (?) when you are about (?) to bring in a criminal [by vase-questioning?] (2) Maskelli, Maskello, Phnoukentabao, (3) Hreksyktho, Perykthon, Perypeganex, (4) Areobasagra, otherwise Obasagra.

(5) This name you utter it before a ship that is about (?) to founder on account of the names (6) of Dioscoros, which are within, and it is safe.

You recite them to the bowl (?) of Adonai, which is written (7) outside. It will do a mighty work (?) bringing in a criminal.

VERSO COL. XVI.

(A row of figures, viz. 3 scarabs, 3 hawks, and 3 goats.)

(1) 'Armioout (otherwise Armiouth), Sithani, Outhani, (2) Aryamnoi, Sobrtat, Birbat, Misirythat, (3) Amsietharmithat: bring N. daughter of N. out of her abodes (4) in which she is, to any house and any place which N. son of N. is in; she loving him and craving for him, (5) she making the gift of his desire (?) at every moment.' You write this in myrrh ink on a strip (6) of clean fine linen, and you put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, (7) in your house from evening till morning. If you find a hair of the woman to put in the wick, it is excellent.

Bowl (?) of Adonai. Perhaps reference may be made to the familiar story of Nectanebus and the magic bowl in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

l. 7. *n bl*: see note on 18/6.

COL. XVI.

l. 7. For the use of hair in Egyptian magic, cf. the actual specimen mentioned by CHABAS, *Pap. Mag. Harris*, p. 184.

nfr-f or *nfr pe*: cf. 23/8.

1. w^c r a ʔny [s-ħm-tʔ] n ħwt a hb rswe:t ke-z a pre
rswe:t ʕn

2.

3. e·r-k sh ny a w·t gbe·t n 'qyr nte·k h· hr zz-k
e·r-k n·q<te>·t·k hr

4. ʔ-rf rswe:t nte:f hb rswe:t e:f h̥p eʔ-r-k a ʔ-rf a hb
rswe:t eʔ-r-k ty-s a r-f n wʕ qs

5. ḥr ʾr-f ʾny s-ḥm-t ʿn e-ʾr-k šḥ py rn a t kbe-t n
 ʿqyr n snf n *H2* nge *KOYKOTet* (*sic*)

6. nte-k t p f'e n t s-hm-t a hn t gbe-t nte-k ty-s a
r-f n p qs nte-k sh n p 'ytn n py rn z a'wy

7. mn t šr't n mn a p 'y n p m' n str nte mn p šr
n t mn n'm-f

8. εστι δε και αγωγιμων

1. ΗΡΟΤΗΘΕΟΤ

2. ΕΚΤΟΣΛΑ

3. ИРРЕФЕДИ

4. wnh-k a'r-y t mn p ntr

5. nte-k sze erme-y hr p nt e-y šn·t-k

6. hrr-f n mt·t m^c·t e bnp-k z n-y

7. mt·t n 'ze *KPOKOC* . . . II

8. *СТНЕНКЪТ* . . . II

9. nt hr snf n * ϑ (?)[α]nto ϑ c*

10. ʔr m bnn·t nte-k hyt-f hr ʔrte

II. n ms-hwt t a yr-t-f n wnm nte-k 'š(?) ar-f(?)

12. a hr ⟨p⟩ hbs nb nge p h̥pš n rhwe

1. w^c r n 'ny s-hm-t(?) a bl n py-s 'y hr 'ny-k w^c
...ce

COL. XVII.

1. 8. *αγωγίων* = *ἀγώγιμον*. Cf. REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 50 and refs. there; also Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. CXXI. 295, 300, and p. 115.

VERSO COL. XVII.

(1) A spell to bring [a woman] to a man (and?) to send dreams, otherwise said, to dream dreams, also.

(2) (A line of symbols or secret signs.)

(3) You write this on a rush-leaf and you place (it) under your head; you go to sleep; then (4) it makes dreams and it sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you put it (the leaf) on the mouth of a mummy. (5) It brings a woman also; you write this name on the rush-leaf with the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe (?); (6) and you put the hair of the woman in the leaf, and put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you write on the earth with this name, saying: 'Bring (7) N. daughter of N. to the house in the sleeping-place in which is N. son of N.' (8) Now it is also an *αγωγιμον*.

VERSO COL. XVIII.

(1) ' *ἡροῦθιοτ* (2) *εκτοτλα* (3) *ἡρρεφεζι*.

(4) 'Reveal thyself to me, god N., (5) and speak to me concerning that which I shall ask thee, (6) truthfully, without telling me (7) falsehood.' Saffron, 2 (measures), (8) stibium of Koptos, 2 (measures), (9) pound together with blood of a lizard, (10) make into a ball, and rub it with milk (11) of one who has born a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you make invocation (?) to him (?) (12) before any lamp or the 'Shoulder' constellation in the evening.

VERSO COL. XIX.

(1) A spell for bringing a woman out of her house.

COL. XVIII.

1. 8. **στηληκητ** = *στιμμί κοπτικόν*. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. XLVI. 67, CXXI. 336; Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 1071.

1. 10. *'rte n ms-hwt*: common in Old Egyptian prescriptions. Cf. *γάλα ἀρρενοτόκου γυναικός*, Diosc. v. 99, likewise in connexion with *στιμμί*.

2. n ʾm·t (*sic*) n ḥwt nte-k t šwy-f nte-k ʾny w^c
qbḥ(?)

3. n ḥsy nte-k mnqe w^c kswr e ḥ·t-f šfe n nb

4. n my e(?) r-w wn e ḥr-f n wn a wn nʾm-w eʾr-k
t n(?) nk ḥr(?)·f

5. eʾr-k wh a ʾny s-ḥm·t n-k n nw nb eʾr-k wh p
kswr n p ḥrw n w^c ḥbs

6. e-f mḥ eʾr-k z ar-f(?) z a·wy mn t šr mn a py m^c

7. nt e-y nʾm-f n tkr ḥn ny wne·t-w n p-hw ḥr ʾw-s
ty hte·t

VERSO COL. XX.

1. a ty lk yr·t-bn(?) n rm ʾMn py ḥwt ḥy py
ḥwt ʾkš ʾr ʾy a ḥry

2. n mrwe a Kmy gm Ḥr pe šr e-f fy·t-f a hn rt-f
a·e-f šk^c-f

3. a zz-f n III r n mt·t ʾkš e-f gm mn a·ms mn
a·e-f fy·t-f a hn

4. rt-f a·e-f šk^c-f a zz-f n III r n mt·t ʾkš g(?)ntyny-
tnty

5. nʾ qwqwby . . . khe ʾkhʾ

6. a w^c ḥm n nḥe nte-k t ḥm ḥlyn ar-f nte-k ths p
rm nt ḥr yr·t-bn(?) nʾm-f

7. nte-k šḥ ny ʿn a w^c zm nmy nte-k ʾr-f n mze a
ḥe·t-f nte-k py byl n t p·t n n šḥ

COL. XIX.

1. 2. *qbḥ*: the reading of the first sign is doubtful. The determinative would lead one to expect ʾbḥ, 'tooth,' but it is difficult to read so. *qbḥ* would perhaps be κoḥg, 'tendo,' or it may be the name of some animal which is to be drowned.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *yr·t*(?), followed by det. or word-sign for evil, 'bad eye,' which might be either ophthalmia or 'evil-eye,' εἰεφθοονῆ. The prescription perhaps favours the former.

1. 2. Amon was the god of Meroe: cf. II Kham. iv. 15.

You take a (2) of a wild she-cat ; you dry it ; you take a heel-tendon (?) [of a (?) which has been (?)] (3) drowned ; you fashion a ring, the body (?) bezel) of which is variegated (?) with gold [in the form of two (?)] (4) lions, their mouths being open, the face of each being turned to the other ; you put some its face (?). (5) If you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you place the ring on the upper part of a lamp, (6) which is lighted ; you say, ' Bring N. daughter of N. to this place (7) in which I am, quickly in these moments of to-day.' Then she comes at once.

VERSO COL. XX.

(1) To heal ophthalmia (?) in a man. '[Ho ?] Amon, this lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down (2) from Meroe to Egypt, he finds my son Horus be-taking himself as fast as his feet move (?), and he injured (?) him (3) in his head with three spells in Ethiopian language, and he finds N. son of N. and carries him as fast as his feet move (?), (4) and injures his head with three spells in Ethiopian language : Gentini, Tentina, (5) Kwkwby, [Ak]khe, Akha.' (6) (Say it) to a little oil : add salt and nasturtium seed to it, you anoint the man who has ophthalmia (?) with it. (7) You also write this on a new papyrus ; you make it into a written amulet on his body :—' Thou art this eye of heaven' in the writings (followed by an eye with rays, as drawn in the papyrus).

The spell seems very corrupt, but some sense may be made of it by supplying *e-f* before *gm*.

1. 3. *a hn ri-f*, 'according to the movement (?) of his feet.'

1. 6. *hlyn, wλλειν*, Sah. in Peyron = *κερδαμων* (*κάρδαμον*, Diosc. ii. 184) *κερδαμωμο* (*καρδάμωμον*, ib. i. 5).

1. 7. *mze*: cf. II Kham. ii. 26 ; P. S. B. A., 1899, p. 269 ; perhaps connected with *μαγία*.

VERSO COL. XXI.

1.

2.

3.

4. t-nḥs(?) ṣnḥ-ṣm

5. nt ṣr(?) n p yṣr

6. smt yr-t-k nṣm-f

VERSO COL. XXII.

1. [e-f] znt

2. tey-s [p kys nt ḥr ṣr-k(?)] ty-f a yr-t-k e-ṣr-k ṣn-

3. nṣ a p hn n šn wṣe-t-k wyt

4. ms-tme qs(?) ṣnḥ s(?) . . . ḥrrw n šr-ṣo-t(?)

5. km nte *eṣero(?)ṣ* pe snf n qwqwpt

6. nt . . . m bnn nte-k smt yr-t-k nṣm-f ḥr mw

7. n elle n(?) Kmy(?) ḥr st n t(?) nḥs ḥr

8. nw-k a t ḥyb-t n ntr nb ntr-t nb

9. -f te-y ṣš n-tn n ntr-w ṣy nt ḥṣ-w erme p rṣ
t(?)semwks

10. ṣmp(?) p-yṣm-enpṣyṣ yb-ṣo-th yṣe sṣbṣ-ṣo-th

11. a-[wn] n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ṣy nt ḥṣ-w erme p rṣ
my wn yr-t a p12. [wy]n nte-y mṣ p ntr nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn ze
p s ṣblṣ

13. n[ṣth]ṣnṣlbṣ p ntr wr mṣrṣrṣ ṣn-t-ne ṣbyṣth

14. n snn(?) . . ṣe n-t-sṣtrṣperqmṣe Wsr ly

15. l[ṣ]m rn-f a-wn n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ṣy my wn yr-t
a p wyn16. nt[e-y] mṣ p ntr nt šn n p-hw a-wn n-y sp-sn te-y
ḥwy ḥyt a-ṣr-tn n p ntr ṣo sp-sn17. . . . nte(?) ne-ṣy(?) te-f pḥt-t nt ṣnḥ ṣṣ z-t my
pḥt-w sp-sn n p rnn

COL. XXII.

1. 4. *šr-ṣo-t km-t* = the edible seed *šr-t km-t*, E. E. F. Paheri, Pl. III. top
ine; BRUGSCH, Wtb., 1405: cf. the white *šr-t ḥz-t* from which beer was

VERSO COL. XXI.

(1-3) (Fragments) (4) of Ethiopia (?), *ankh-amu* flowers, (5) pound, make(?) of the river, (6) paint your eye with it.

VERSO COL. XXII.

(1) tested. (2) Behold [the ointment which you] put on your eye when you (3) approach the vessel of inquiry alone: green eye-paint, (4) stibium, *ges-ankh* (?), amulet of , flowers of black *sher-o* (?) (5) which are beans(?), blood of hoopoe, (6) pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice (7) of Egyptian(?) grapes, and *set-stone* (?) of Ethiopia; then (8) you see the shadow of every god and every goddess.

(9) Its 'I invoke you (plur.), ye great gods who shine with the sun, Themouks (10) Amp . . . Piam, Enpaia, Eiboth, Eiae, Sabaoth, (11) open(?) to me (*bis*), ye great gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the (12) light, and let me see the god who inquires to-day, hasten (*bis*); for the protection (13) Ablanathanalba, the mighty god, Marara, Atone, Abeiath, (14) N Senen (?), [Psh]oi, Zatra-perkemei, Osiris, (15) Lilam is his name. Open to me (*bis*), ye great gods, let my eyes be opened to the light, (16) and let me see the god who inquires to-day. Open to me (*bis*). I cast the fury on you (plur.) of the great (*bis*) god, (17) whose might is great(?),

prepared, ib., Suppl., 1200. Here the former is made equivalent to *ερεκος*, presumably *ἄρικος* (= *Vicia cracca* L., common vetch according to LENZ, Bot. d. alten Griechen u. Römer, p. 726), which was a common cultivated plant in Egypt. Cf. Oxyrhynchus Pap. II. cclxxx. 16, Tebtunis Pap. pass.; in Coptic Corp. Pap. Rain. II. p. 176 (ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ), Crum Copt. MSS. Fay. p. 78 verso, l. 35 (ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ).

1. 7. *elle n*(?) *Kmy*(?): cf. ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲕⲏⲏⲉ, 'black grapes,' but see 29/28, which is practically a parallel.

18. sp-sn p rn n p [ntr?] a·wn n-y
sp-sn

19. [n ntr·w] 'y nt h^c-w erme p r^c my wn [yr·t a p
wyn nt]e-y

20. [m' p ntr] nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn . . . sp . . .

VERSO COL. XXIII.

1.

2. nt

3. hr(?)

4. ke

5. . . . naž

6. 'ny

7. pr·w

8.

9. ke 'n

10. hs šwy e-f wš . . . II

11. nt [hr nhe(?) n q]wpr hr 'by

12. ths [hn·t-k(?)] n'm-f nte-k str erme-s

VERSO COL. XXIV.

1.

2. ar-f nte-k

3. n š-stn ar-f e py(?) rnn III šh ar-f

4. hr hl nte-k θ-r-f nte-k wh-f

5. zz-k nte-k 'š-w ar-f 'n n sp IX

6. hbs hr 'r-k-f n p nw n p θ III n rhwe

7. t-k z-mt-t y-^co-b's'wmpth-^co

8. [ghr-^co-me lw]gh^r my wn yr·t a bl

9. [n mt·t] m^c·t hr t mn t mt·t nt e-y šll hrr-s ty

10. [n p-hw n] mt·t m^c·t n wš, n z n-k mt·t n 'ze

11. ιωθακαοταπιτωχρωμελοσχαρ

12. my wn yr·t a bl n mt·t m^c·t hr t mn t mt·t nt
e-y šll

13. hrr-s ty n p-hw

who lives for ever, give power to the name (?) (18) the name of the god (?) open to me (*bis*), (19) ye great [gods] who shine with the sun, let [my eyes] be opened [to the light, and let] me (20) [see the god] who answers to-day, hasten (*bis*) . . . times . . .

VERSO COL. XXIII.

(Lines 1-9 fragments.) (10) dung dried and burnt, 2 (measures), (11) pound (with oil of) henna and honey, (12) anoint [your phallus] therewith, and lie with her.

VERSO COL. XXIV.

(1) (2) on it, and you (3) of fine linen on it (? him); these three names being written on it, (4) with myrrh; you light it and place it (5) your head; you recite them to it again nine times. (6) the lamp; you do it at the time of the third hour (?) of evening (7) [and you] lie down (?). Formula: 'Iobasaoumpttho (8) [Khome(?) Lou]khar; let my eyes be opened (9) in truth concerning any given matter which I am praying for here (10) [to-day, in] truth without telling thee (*sic*) falsehood.'

(11) 'Iobasaoumptthokhromeloukhar, (12) let my eyes be opened in truth concerning any given thing which I am praying (13) for here to-day.'

COL. XXIII.

1. 1. Probably some five or six short lines have completely disappeared before the beginning of the existing fragments of this column.

COL. XXIV.

Following this on LEYDEN, Pl. XIV., there are several scraps of Greek, &c., numbered 1-7. They are written on pieces of papyrus used for patching worn places, and have no necessary connexion with the text.

VERSO COL. XXV.

1.

2. hs n bk ḥm ʾsy

3. bel nt n wʿ sp ths

4. ḥn·t-k nʾm-f nte-k str erme

5. t s-ḥm·t e-f ḥp nte-f šwy e·r-k

6. nt wʿ ḥm nʾm-f ḥr *epn* nte-k

7. ths ḥn·t-k nʾm-f

8. nte-k str erme t s-ḥm·t nfr sp-sn

VERSO COL. XXVI.

1. e·r-k [wḥ a t ʾre n] ntr·w n p hne(?) szè wbe-k

2. a·re n ntr·w ʾy a ḥn e·r-k z py rn [a·r-w] sp IX

3. yʾ·o yph e·o-e gynntʾthwr neph·r

4. ʾph·o-e ḥr ʾr-f wḥ-shne n-k a p nt e·r-k a šn·t-f
ar-f a·r θ·hr5. ḥp a tm z n-k wḥ e·r-k z py ke rn a·r-w n sp
IX šʿ

6. nte-w šn n-k n mt·t mʿ·t ng·o-ngetsyks mʿntw

7. n·o-b·o-e g·o-ghyr hr·o-n-t-r nt·o-ntr·o-mʿ

8. leph·o-ger gephe·rs·o-re sp VII

9. 𐤀𐤁𐤕𐤕 · 𐤇𐤓𐤕 · 𐤕𐤍 · 𐤕𐤍𐤁𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 · 𐤍𐤇𐤕𐤕𐤕 · 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕

VERSO COL. XXVII.

1. a ḥ p nt ḥry ḥn z ank pe syt·t·k stm rn-yt

2. stm pe pe rn n mt ank gʾnthʿ gyn-tw gyy-tw

3. ḥry-ntr ʾrynwte lʿbtʾthʿ lʾptwthʿ

4. lʿksʿnthʿ sʿrysʿ mʿrkhʿrʿhwt-tw

5. ʾrsyngʿghlʿ k-zm ʾrsyngʿlʿbel b·o-l-b·o-el

6. b·o-el sp-sn l·o-tery gl·o-gʾsʿntrʿ yʿh·o

7. rn-yt yʿh·o pe pe rn n mt bʾlkhʿm p šft n t p t

COL. XXVI.

1. 1. This column is a reproduction of 28/7-10 with slight variations.

1. 4. θ·hr = Boh. 𐤀𐤓𐤕, 'delay.' This phrase is omitted in the parallel.

VERSO COL. XXV.

(1) (2) hawk's dung, salt, *asi* plant, (3) *bel*, pound together, anoint (4) your phallus with it and lie with (5) the woman. If it is dry, you (6) pound a little of it with wine, and you (7) anoint your phallus with it (8) and you lie with the woman. Excellent (*bis*).

VERSO COL. XXVI.

(1) If you wish [to make] the gods of the vessel(?) speak with you, (2) when the gods come in, you say this name to them nine times: (3) 'Iaho, Iphe, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, (4) Aphoe.' Then he makes command to you as to that which you shall ask him about. If delay (5) occur, so that answer is not given you, you recite this other name to them nine times until (6) they inquire for you truthfully: 'Gogethix, Mantou, (7) Noboe, Khokhir, Hrodor, Dondroma, (8) Lephoker, Kephaersore.' Seven times. (9) Iaho . Eiphe . On . Kindathour . Nephar . Aphoe.

VERSO COL. XXVII.

(1) According to that which is above within, saying, 'I am this Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, (2) Setem is my correct name. I am Gantha, Ginteu, Giriteu, (3) Hrinoute, Arinoute, Labtatha, Laptutha, (4) Laksantha, Sarisa, Markharahuteu, (5) Arsinga-khla; another volume (says) Arsinga-label, Bolboel, (6) Boel (*bis*), Loteri, Klogasantra, Iaho, (7) is my name, Iaho is my correct name,

1. 9. Repeats the invocation names in ll. 2-3.

COL. XXVII.

1. 1. This column is parallel to 1/13-16.

ni hry (n?) hn: hn must refer to the recto. Cf. *n bl* = 'verso,' 18/6, V. 15/7.

8. ʔbl'n'th'n'l'b' srrf n t qnh't n p ntr nt 'h n p-hw(?)

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

1. e-ʔr-k ne t š(?) syw(?) . . m(?) a hry(?) . . .
2. e 'h zl-t(?)

VERSO COL. XXIX.

1. . . . ty lb rm nb nge s-ḥm-t nb
2. e-ʔr-k θ p f'e n p rm nt e-ʔr-k wh-f erme p f'e
3. n w' rm e-f **ααοστ** nte-k mr-w erme ne-w ʔre-w
4. nte-k mr-w a ḥe-t-f n w' **θεσ** nte-k wrh-f
5. e-f 'nh e-f ḥp e-ʔr-k wh a ʔ-r-f n hyn-w hw-w
6. e-ʔr-k ḥ' p **θεσ** n w' m' e-ʔr-k s-'nh n'm-f n
pe-k 'y

VERSO COL. XXX.

1. e-ʔr-k hs n **ααοστνε**
2. ḥr hy ḥe-[t]-s
3. k-t e-ʔr-k ths ḥn-t-k n hs n
4. **κελ** nte-k str erme s-ḥm-t ḥr ʔr-s mr-t-k
5. e-ʔr-k nt hs n **κισ(?)ακ** ḥr ʔby
6. nte-k ths ḥn-t-k n'm-f a ḥ p nt hry 'n
7. ke hs n **χατε** ḥr sknn n
8. wrt a ḥ p nt hry 'n
9. ke e-ʔr-k qp s-ḥm-t n hs n **χατοσλ**
10. e p snf ḥrr-s ḥr lk-s
11. hs n **εο** 'n py smte

COL. XXVIII.

1. 1. This short column appears to be the only part of the papyrus written in a different hand from the rest. It is very obscure, and the words seem much abbreviated. The group elsewhere reading *nk* (*ηκ*) is conspicuous, but is without the determinative, and perhaps has another meaning here.

1. 2. Cf. V. 10/12. The zodiacal sign *♏* ★ stands for Scorpio (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22). For the reading *zl-t* (?), cf. O. L. Z., 1902, V. col. 6, 223.

Balkham, the mighty (?) one of heaven, (8) Ablanathanalba, gryphon of the shrine of the god which stands to-day (?).'

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

(1) You shall cause a star (?) to go . . . place (?) under the earth (?) (2) when the moon is in the constellation of Scorpio.

VERSO COL. XXIX.

(1) [Spell to] make mad any man or any woman.

(2) You take the hair of the man whom you wish, together with the hair (3) of a dead (murdered ?) man ; and you tie them to each other, (4) and tie them to the body of a hawk, and you release (?) it (5) alive. If you wish to do it for some days, (6) you put the hawk in a place and you feed it in your house.

VERSO COL. XXX.

(1) If you dung of a *smoun*-goose, (2) then her body falls.

(3) Another : you anoint your phallus with dung of (4) a *kel*, and you lie with (the) woman, then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee). (5) You pound dung of with honey, (6) and you anoint your phallus with it as above again.

(7) Another : dung of hyaena (?) with ointment of (8) roses as above again.

(9) Another : you fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung (10) when the menstruation is on her ; then she is cured.

(11) Ass's dung also—this method (of treatment).

COL. XXIX.

1. 5. *n hyrw hw-w*. Does this mean 'for several days' or 'after several days' ?

COL. XXX.

1. 2. *hy het-s* : perhaps of abortion, 𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤕 : 𐤓𐤕𐤕.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

1. $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\sigma\tau$ 2. ke-z $\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\omega\theta$ 3. p ntr nt $\epsilon\omega\eta$ p $\eta\beta\varsigma$ nt θ -4. r-yt $\gamma\mu$ a $\eta\eta$ 5. $\eta\tau$ zz-y nte-k z n-y $\omega\eta$ 6. $\eta\tau$ p nt e-y $\varsigma\eta$ $\eta\tau\tau$ -f ty n p-hw

VERSO COL. XXXII.

1. a t $\gamma\tau\epsilon$ * $\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon$ *(?) m-s $\eta\omega\tau$ 2. e γ -r-k $\gamma\eta\gamma$ w ϵ * $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ * e-f $\epsilon\eta\eta$ 3. nte-k $\gamma\eta\gamma$ pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon[\epsilon]\epsilon$ * a bl nte-k $\eta\epsilon$ -f n w ϵ m ϵ 4. nte-k $\gamma\eta\gamma$ pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon[\tau]$ * nte-k $\eta\epsilon$ -f n ke m ϵ e γ -r-k5. fy pe-f swm ϵ tre-f e γ -r-k nt-f m $\varsigma\varsigma$ sp-sn6. e γ -r e-f $\varsigma\omega\gamma$ nte-k fy w ϵ $\eta\mu$ n p nt nt-yt erme w ϵ 7. $\eta\mu$ n snf n pe-k tb ϵ n m η II n p s ϵ l ϵ pyn8. n te-k t ϵ t n gbyr nte-k ty-f a w ϵ z n $\gamma\tau\epsilon$ 9. nte-k t swr-s t $\eta\mu$ -t $\eta\tau$ γ -s * $\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon$ * m-s-k10. e γ -r-k t pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ * a w ϵ z n $\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\tau$ * $\alpha\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ *11. ty hte ϵ t nge ty-f a ef nge nk n wm12. e γ -r-k t pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon\tau$ * a w ϵ $\eta\tau\mu$ n nb nte-k ty-f13. a t ϵ -k $\eta\tau$ ty-f n-k $\eta\varsigma$ -t ϵ o ϵ t m τ -t $\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ t

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

1. a $\eta\tau$ [e-]f m ς ϵ a $\eta\tau\gamma$ $\eta\tau$ tw n mre ϵ t
n η e-f t ϵ l ϵ yt a w ϵ $\eta\tau$ $\eta\tau$ a w ϵ $\eta\tau$ km2. e n zm . . . [$\eta\tau$ γ]t-f na p wr-ty $\eta\eta$ que-f a-e-f gm
n n ntr-w tre-w e-w $\eta\mu$ s-t a $\eta\tau\gamma$ a t s ϵ t w $\gamma\tau\epsilon$ -t3. e-w wm [n p rt] n $\eta\epsilon$ p pe wr $\eta\tau$ -w $\eta\tau$ $\gamma\mu$ n e γ -r-k
wm $\eta\tau$ $\gamma\mu$ n e γ -r-k ne wm $\eta\tau$ -f ϵ l ϵ wt-t η a $\eta\tau$ -y

COL. XXXII.

1. 1. This column is a paraphrase of 13 '17-21.

1. 6. e γ -r e-f; possibly for $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$. The parallel has e-f $\varsigma\omega\gamma$.

COL. XXXIII.

1. 1. a $\eta\tau$. a in this papyrus appears as the auxiliary of the past α -, but not of the present e-.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

(1) 'Sisihoout (2) otherwise Armioth, (3) the god who liveth, the lamp which is (4) lighted, come within (5) before me, and give me answer (6) concerning that which I ask about here (7) to-day.'

VERSO COL. XXXII.

(1) To make rave for a man. (2) You take a live shrew-mouse (?), (3) and take out its gall and put it in one place, (4) and take its heart and put it in another place. You (5) take its whole body, you pound it very much; (6) when it is dry, you take a little of the pounded stuff with a (7) little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart, (8) of your left hand, and put it in a cup of wine (9) and you make the woman drink it. Then she has a passion for you.

(10) You put its gall into a cup of wine, then she dies (11) instantly; or put it in meat or some food.

(12) You put its heart in a ring of gold and put it (13) on your hand; then it gives you great praise, love, and respect.

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

(1) Horus he was going up a hill at midday in the verdure season, mounted on a white horse on a black horse, (2) the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his bosom. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgement (3) eating [of the produce?] of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief.

[e?]-f mst, &c.: cf. O. C. in A. Z., 1883, 100; 1900, 90 *петноу пптоу пмере псма*.

For Horus on horseback, cf. PLUT., de Is. et Osir., c. 19.

l. 2. *hms-t*: probably as Ach. *μαατ* (as used for infinitive in l. 6) rather than *μααснот*.

l. 3. *hst* (?): cf. l. 6 and V. 5/1. A feminine word similarly spelt is found in connexion with embalming in BRUGSCH, Thes., 893, 895.

4. mn [ky?] n'm-y n wm te-y šn zz-y te-y šn ẖe·t a
w' g'wm' ẖy·t a w' tw rs ty 'h-y

5. ne 'S·t [lk]-s e-s šte ne Nb-ẖt lk-s e-s s·wze ne p
XVI n Ne-tbew·w ne pe(?) w' n nẖt

6. n ntr n[e p? 3?]⁶⁵ n ntr ẖms·t a ẖry a wm n p
rt n t sh·t n ẖ'p pe wr š' nte-w šte n p g'wm'

7. n zz[-f n p] šr n 'S·t n zz-f n mn a·ms mn n n
g'wm' n grẖ n n g'wm' n mre·t p šn zz py srrf

8. py ẖmm [n n g']wm'·w n ne 'r . . . n rt-f šte
a bl n zz-f n mn a·ms mn 'h nẖe n m'·t

9. n sp VII [nte-k th]s t·t-f ẖe·t-f rt-f nte-k mt·t ar-f

Probably the word here, with divine determinative, is different, and may well represent *H'p*, 'the Nile.' The same group occurs in Pap. In-singer 16/21.

pe wr is difficult, 'belonging to the Great,' or 'son of the Great,' or 'my Great one.'

apaei: cf. note 1/20.

l. 5. *ne*: probably fut. neg. nne.

XVI n *Ne-tbew·w*: cf. 2/9 note; perhaps οι δεκαεξ γιγαντες of Berl. Pap. (PARTHEY), II. 102. There were also the 16 cubits of the Nile, and according to one account the body of Osiris was torn into sixteen pieces, Rec. tr., iii. p. 56, v. p. 86; other texts give fourteen parts (PLUTARCH) or seventeen (Rhind. bil. i. p. 3).

l. 6. [3]⁶⁵ gods, i. e. one for each day of the year. Cf. the 365

Said they, 'Horus, come, art thou eating? Horus, come, wilt thou eat?' He said, 'Take yourselves from me; (4) there is no [desire?] in me for eating. I am ill in my head; I am ill in my body; a fever hath taken hold of me, a South wind hath seized me. (5) Doth Isis [cease] to make magic? Doth Nephthys cease to give health? Are the sixteen Netbeou, is the one Power (6) of God, are [? the 3]65 gods seated to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief, until they remove the fever (7) from the head of the son of Isis (and) from the head of N. born of N., the fevers by night, the fevers by day, the headache, this burning, (8) this heat of the fevers of of his feet, remove from the head of N. born of N.' (Say it) over genuine oil (9) seven times, and anoint his hand, his body, his feet, and pronounce the words to him.

names of the great god in Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. 4, 32, and the 365 gods, ib. W. 3, 13.

n t sḥ.t: erased in original.

l. 7. *srrf*: probably for *srḥ*.

l. 8. *ne 'r*  (?).

š/e: a participle resuming the idea of *š/e* in l. 6 after the long parenthesis.

ERRATUM

Page 40, note to line 2, *for* κότε *read* κότε

CORRESPONDENCE OF COLUMNS

Old No. New No.			Old No. New No.		
<i>Recto.</i>			<i>Verso.</i>		
LONDON	I =	I	LEIDEN	I =	I
"	II =	II	"	II =	II
"	III =	III	"	III =	III
"	IV =	IV	"	IV =	IV
"	V =	V	"	V =	V
"	VI =	VI	"	VI =	VI
"	VII =	VII	"	VII =	VII
"	VIII =	VIII	"	VIII =	VIII
"	IX =	IX	"	IX =	IX
"	X } =	X	"	X =	X
LEIDEN	I } =		"	XI =	XI
"	II-III =	XI	"	XII =	XII
"	IV-V =	XII	"	XIII =	XIII
"	VI =	XIII	"	XIV =	XIV
"	VII =	XIV	"	XV =	XV
"	VIII =	XV	"	XVI-XVII =	XVI
"	IX =	XVI	"	XVIII =	XVII
"	X =	XVII	"	XIX =	XVIII
"	XI =	XVIII	"	XX =	XIX
"	XII =	XIX	"	XXI =	XX
"	XIII =	XX	"	XXII =	XXI
"	XIV =	XXI	"	XXII, XXIV =	XXII
"	XV =	XXII	"	XXV, XXVI =	XXIII
"	XVI =	XXIII	"	XXVII =	XXIV
"	XVII =	XXIV	LONDON	I =	XXV
"	XVIII =	XXV	"	II =	XXVI
"	XIX =	XXVI	"	III =	XXVII
"	XX =	XXVII	"	IV =	XXVIII
"	XXI =	XXVIII	"	V =	XXIX
"	XXII =	XXIX	"	VI =	XXX
			"	VII =	XXXI
			"	VIII =	XXXII
			"	IX =	XXXIII

It has been found necessary to make some changes in the numbering of the lines in Leid. I-V, XVII, and Verso Leid. III, VIII, XXII-XXVI.

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Text, Translation, and Commentary

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Verzeiht! es ist ein groß Ergetzen,
Sich in den Geist der Zeiten zu versetzen,
Zu schauen wie vor uns ein weiser Mann gedacht,
Und wie wir's dann zuletzt so herrlich weit gebracht.

GOETHE, *Faust I*, ll. 570–73

Preface

The Preface to Albrecht Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie* is dated Heidelberg, May 2, 1903. The present commentary appearing a century later is deeply indebted to this ground breaking work which has remained in print through several re-editions with updated notes. Dieterich's main achievement was to elevate a seemingly obscure papyrus text to one of the most important original documents reflecting an insider's perspective of Graeco-Egyptian religion in the late Hellenistic period. Dieterich's work, however, has remained unfinished and his achievements have been recognized only partly. Responding to the challenge of carrying further Dieterich's investigations in the light of new evidence, and making the text and its interpretation accessible to an English-speaking readership has been the aim of the present writer.

Interest and encouragement by many colleagues and students in several countries helped speed up the completion of the commentary. Special acknowledgements are due to the participants of seminars at Claremont, Chicago, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. It is simply impossible to sort out the generous contributions made by so many colleagues and students who attended seminars and lectures over a good number of years.

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Last but not least, I am exceedingly grateful to Georg Siebeck, my publisher, for making it possible that such a specialized study can see the light of day; to the editors of the series "Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity" for accepting the volume; and to the team of Mohr Siebeck, especially Henning Ziebritzki and Matthias Spitzner, for their pleasant and efficient cooperation.

Chicago, May 2003

Hans Dieter Betz

Abbreviations and Short Titles

ABG	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte</i>
Abt, <i>Die Apologie</i>	Adam Abt, <i>Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura</i>
ACSt	American Classical Studies
ADAL.Ä	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Abteilung
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHAWPH	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
AlVi	Albae Vigiliae
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
APFB	Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ARWB	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Beiheft
ARWAW.PC	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia
ASAW.PH	Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse
Assmann, <i>Liturgische Lieder</i>	Jan Assmann, <i>Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott</i>
AuC	<i>Antike und Christentum</i>
Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>	Auguste Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>
Aune, <i>Prophecy</i>	David Aune, <i>Prophecy in Early Christianity</i>
Aune, <i>Revelation</i>	David Aune, <i>Revelation</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
Bagnall, <i>Egypt</i>	Roger Bagnall, <i>Egypt in Late Antiquity</i>
BAK	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BCNH.T	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section textes
BDAG	Walter Bauer, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (3rd ed., 2000)
BDF	Friedrich Blaß & Albert Debrunner, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i>
BDR	Friedrich Blaß, Albert Debrunner & Friedrich Rehkopf, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i>
BEAT	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
Beck, <i>Planetary Gods</i>	Roger Beck, <i>Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders</i>

- Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*
 Betz, *Lukian*
 Betz, *Galatians*
 Betz, *GMPT*
 Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*
 Betz, *Paulinische Studien*
 Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*
 Betz, *Antike und Christentum*
 Betz, *Gottesbegegnung*
 BHTh
 BiTeu
 BJ
 BKP
 Boll, *Sphaera*
 Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*
 Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Sternglaube*
 Boll, *Kleine Schriften*
 Bolls
 Bonner, *Studies*
 Bonnet, *RÄRG*
 Borgen, *Philo Index*
 Bousset, *Himmelsreise der Seele*
 Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*
 Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*
 Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*
 Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri"
 Budé
 Bultmann, *HST*
 Burkert, *Greek Religion*
 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*
 ByZ
 BzA
 BZNW
 CChr.SA
 CCTC
 CEg
 CH
 Chadwick, *Origen*
 CIL
 Clauss, *Mithras*
 CIR
 CMG
 R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Paulinische Studien*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Antike und Christentum*
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung*
 Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
 Bibliotheca Teubneriana
 Bonner Jahrbücher
 Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie
 Franz Boll, *Sphaera*
 Franz Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*
 Franz Boll, Carl Bezold, Wilhelm Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*
 Franz Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums*
 Bollingen Series
 Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*
 Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*
 Peder Borgen, *The Philo Index*
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (5th ed.)
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*
 William Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri"
 Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous la patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé
 Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*
 Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*
 Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*
 Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
 Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beihefte
 Corpus Christianorum, Series apocryphorum
 Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries
 Chronique d'Égypte
 Corpus Hermeticum
 Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum*
 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
 Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras*
 The Classical Review
 Corpus Medicorum Graecorum

- Collins & Fishbane, *Death* John J. Collins & Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstasy and Other Worldly Journeys*
- Copenhagen, *Hermetica* Brian Copenhagen, *Hermetica*
- CRAI *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
- CSLP *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum*
- Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* Franz Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*
- Cumont, *After Life* Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*
- Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* Franz Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*
- Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* Robert Daniel & Franco Maltomini, eds., *Supplementum Magicum*
- DDD Karel van der Toorn et al., eds., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*
- Deines & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* Hildegard von Deines and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*
- Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*
- Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*
- Delatte, *Herbarius* Armand Delatte, *Herbarius*
- Delatte & Derchain, *Les Intailles* Armand Delattes & Philippe Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*
- Denniston, *Greek Particles* John D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*
- Diels, *Doxographi* Hermann Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*
- D.-K. Hermann Diels & Walther Kranz, eds., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
- Dieterich, *Abraxas* Albrecht Dieterich, *Abraxas*
- Dieterich, *Nekyia* Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia*
- Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*
- Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* Albrecht Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*
- Dieterich, *Untersuchungen* Karl Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*
- DNP *Der Neue Pauly*
- Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* Eric R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*
- DÖAW.PH *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*
- Dölger, *Sol Salutis* Franz Joseph Dölger, *Sol Salutis*
- Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*
- ed.(eds.) editor (editors)
- EKK *Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*
- EPRO *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*
- Eranos *Eranos*
- ERE *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*
- ErJB *Eranos-Jahrbuch*
- Erman & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* Adolf Erman & Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*
- EVO *Egitto e vicino oriente*

- Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera* Christopher A. Faraone & Dirk Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera*
- Fauth, *Helios Megistos* Wolfgang Fauth, *Helios Megistos*
- Festugière, *La Révélation* André-Jean Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*
- FGH Felix Jacoby, ed., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
- Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*
- Frankfurter, *Religion* David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*
- Friedrich, *Thessalos* Hans-Veit Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tialles*
- FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns* William D. Furley & Jan Maarten Bremer, *Greek Hymns*
- FZPhTh *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*
- Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* Viktor E. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
- GGA *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
- Gignac, *Grammar* Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*
- GMPT Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*
- Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale* Fritz Graf, ed., *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*
- Graf, *Gottesnähe* Fritz Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber*
- Graf, *Magic* Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*
- Griffith & Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri* F. Ll. Griffith & Herbert Thompson, eds., *The Demotic Magical Papyri of London and Leiden*
- Griffith & Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus* F. Ll. Griffith & Herbert Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus*
- Griffiths, *Plutarch* John Gwyn Griffiths, ed., *Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride*
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- Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*
- Gundel, *Dekane* Wilhelm Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder*
- Gundel, *Astrologumena* Wilhelm & Hans Georg Gundel, *Astrologumena*
- Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* Hans Georg Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*
- Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*
- Harrauer, *Meliouchos* Christine Harrauer, *Meliouchos*
- HAW Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
- HBVK *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*
- Helbing, *Grammatik* Robert Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX*
- Hesp. *Hesperia*
- Hinnells, *Studies* John R. Hinnells, ed., *Studies in Mithraism*
- HLV Hans Lietzmann-Vorlesungen
- HNT Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
- Holzhausen, *Das Corpus Hermeticum* Jens Holzhausen, *Das Corpus Hermeticum Deutsch*

Hopfner, OZ	Theodor Hopfner, <i>Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber</i>
Hornung, <i>Conceptions</i>	Erik Hornung, <i>Conceptions of God</i>
Hornung, <i>Ägypten</i>	Erik Hornung, <i>Das esoterische Ägypten</i>
HRWG	Hubert Cancik et al., eds., <i>Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe</i>
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HThSt	Harvard Theological Studies
HUTH	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
IGSI	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JAC.E	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband</i>
Jaeger, <i>Theology</i>	Werner Jaeger, <i>Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers</i>
JCPH	<i>Jahrbücher für classische Philologie</i>
JCPH.S	<i>Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JMiS	<i>Journal of Mithraic Studies</i>
Jordan	David Jordan, comments by letter
Jordan, <i>The World of Ancient Magic</i>	David R. Jordan, et al., eds., <i>The World of Ancient Magic</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
Kaimakis, <i>Die Kyraniden</i>	Dimitris Kaimakis, <i>Die Kyraniden</i>
Kingsley, <i>Ancient Philosophy</i>	Peter Kingsley, <i>Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic</i>
Kirk & Raven	G. S. Kirk & J. E. Raven, eds., <i>The Presocratic Philosophers</i>
Klauser & Rucker, <i>Pisciculi</i>	Theodor Klauser & Adolf Rucker, eds., <i>Pisciculi</i>
Kotansky, <i>Amulets</i>	Roy D. Kotansky, <i>Greek Magical Amulets</i>
Kropp, <i>Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte</i>	Angelicus Kropp, et al., <i>Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Lewy, <i>Chaldean Oracles</i>	Hans Lewy, <i>Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i>
Löhr, <i>Verherrlichung</i>	Gebhard Löhr, <i>Verherrlichung Gottes durch Philosophie</i>
Long & Sedley	Anthony A. Long & David N. Sedley, <i>The Hellenistic Philosophers</i>
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stewart Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
Mach, <i>Entwicklungsstadien</i>	Michael Mach, <i>Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens</i>
Mahé, <i>Hermès en Haute-Égypte</i>	Jean-Pierre Mahé, <i>Hermès en Haute-Égypte</i>
Mandilaras, <i>The Verb</i>	Basil G. Mandilaras, <i>The Verb in Greek Non-Literary Papyri</i>
Martinez, <i>P. Michigan XVI</i>	David G. Martinez, <i>P. Michigan XVI</i>
Martinez, <i>Baptized</i>	David G. Martinez, <i>Baptized for Our Sakes</i>
Martinez	David G. Martinez, by communication
MBPF	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
Merkelbach, <i>Weihegrade</i>	Reinhold Merkelbach, <i>Weihegrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien</i>
Merkelbach, <i>Mithras</i>	Reinhold Merkelbach, <i>Mithras</i>
Merkelbach, <i>Isis Regina</i>	Reinhold Merkelbach, <i>Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis</i>

Merkelbach & Totti, <i>Abrasax</i>	Reinhold Merkelbach & Maria Totti, eds., <i>Abrasax</i>
Meyer, "Mithras Liturgy"	Marvin Meyer, "Mithras Liturgy"
Meyer & Smith, <i>Ancient Christian Magic</i>	Marvin Meyer & Richard Smith, eds., <i>Ancient Christian Magic</i>
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
Michel, <i>Gemmen</i>	Simone Michel, <i>Die magischen Gemmen</i>
Moulton, <i>Grammar</i>	James H. Moulton, <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i>
Müller, <i>Ägypten</i>	Dieter Müller, <i>Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Areologien</i>
Naveh & Shaked, <i>Amulets</i>	Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, <i>Amulets and Magic Bowls; Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity</i>
Naveh & Shaked, <i>Magic Spells</i>	Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, <i>Magic Spells and Formulae</i>
Nestle-Aland	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (post Eberhard et Erwin Nestle ed. Barbara et Kurt Aland, et al.; 27th ed. rev.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993)
NF	Neue Folge
Nilsson, <i>GGR</i>	Martin P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i>
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NJKPH	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie</i>
Nock, <i>Essays</i>	Arthur Darby Nock, <i>Essays on Religion and the Ancient World</i>
Nock & Festugière	Arthur Darby Nock & André-Jean Festugière, eds., <i>Hermès Trismégiste</i>
Norden, <i>Agnostos Theos</i>	Eduard Norden, <i>Agnostos Theos</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTS	<i>Novum Testamentum, Supplements</i>
NRSV	<i>The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments, New Revised Standard Version</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)
NTApoc	Edgar Hennecke et al., eds. <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i>
NTApok	Edgar Hennecke & Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds., <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen</i>
NTFi	<i>Nordisk Tijdskrift for Filologi</i>
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
OEAÉ	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i>
Orph. Frag.	<i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. Otto Kern
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	James H. Charlesworth, ed., <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
Pap.	Papyrus
Parker, <i>Miasma</i>	Robert Parker, <i>Miasma</i>
PDM	Papyri Demoticae Magicae
Pease, <i>Cicero</i>	Arthur Stanley Pease, ed., <i>M. Tulli Ciceronis De natura deorum</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PGL	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G. W. H. Lampe
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae
Ph.	<i>Philologus</i>
PhAnt	<i>Philosophia antiqua</i>

<i>Phoe.</i>	<i>Phoenix</i> . Bulletin uitg. door het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex oriente lux'
<i>Phron.</i>	<i>Phronesis</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina
Pohlenz, <i>Die Stoa</i>	Max Pohlenz, <i>Die Stoa</i>
Pradel, <i>Gebete</i>	Fritz Pradel, ed., <i>Griechische und süditalienische Gebete</i>
PRE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
PRE.S	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Supplementband
Preisendanz & Henrichs	Karl Preisendanz & Albert Henrichs, eds., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i>
Preisendanz, vol. 3 (index)	Karl Preisendanz, ed., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> . <i>Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , vol. 3 (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1941 [unpublished galleyproofs])
Preisigke, <i>Wörterbuch</i>	Friedrich Preisigke & Emil Kießling, eds., <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden</i>
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RAC.S	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Supplementband
Radermacher, <i>Grammatik</i>	Ludwig Radermacher, <i>Neutestamentliche Grammatik</i>
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
Reitzenstein, <i>Poimandres</i>	Richard Reitzenstein, <i>Poimandres</i>
Reitzenstein, <i>Erlösungs-mysterium</i>	Richard Reitzenstein, <i>Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium</i>
Reitzenstein, <i>HMR</i>	Richard Reitzenstein, <i>Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen</i>
RGG	Hans Dieter Betz, et al., eds., <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-)
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
Ritner, <i>Mechanics</i>	Robert K. Ritner, <i>The Mechanics of Egyptian Magical Practice</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinische Museum für Philologie</i>
Robinson, <i>Library</i>	James Robinson, ed., <i>The Nag Hammadi Library in English</i>
Roeder, <i>Kulte</i>	Günther Roeder, <i>Kulte</i>
Rohde, <i>Psyche</i>	Erwin Rohde, <i>Psyche</i>
Roscher, <i>Lexikon</i>	Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SAWW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
SBL.TT	Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations
SBW	Studien der Bibliothek Warburg
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Schäfer, <i>Übersetzung</i>	Peter Schäfer, ed., <i>Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur</i>
Schäfer & Kippenberg, <i>Envisioning Magic</i>	Peter Schäfer & Hans Kippenberg, eds., <i>Envisioning Magic</i>

- Schäfer & Shaked, *Magische Texte*
 Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*
 Schmekel, *Die Philosophie*
 Schreckenberg, *Ananke*
 Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift*
 Schürer, *History*
 Schweitzer, *Geschichte*
 Schwyzer, *Grammatik*
 Scott, *Hermetica*
 Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*
 Sethe, *Übersetzung*
- SGAM
 SGKA
 SGRR
 SHAW.PH
- Smith, *Studies*
 SO
 Speyer, *Frühes Christentum*
 SSIA
 Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*
 StPP
 SubEpi
 SVF
 TDNT
 TDSA
 Theiler, *Poseidonios*
 ThWAT
 ThWNT
 TK
 TLC
 Totti, *Texte*
- Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*
 TRE
 TSAJ
 TU
- UMS.H
 Velde, *Seth*
 Vermaseren, *CIMRM*
- Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I*
 Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II*
- Peter Schäfer & Shaul Shaked, eds., *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*
 Hans-Martin Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*
 August Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*
 Heinz Schreckenberg, *Ananke*
 Stephan Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift De Pythiae Oraculis*
 Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*
 Albert Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*
 Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*
 Walter Scott, ed., *Hermetica*
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 Paul Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*
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 Hans von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*
Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
 Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità
 Willy Theiler, *Poseidonios: Die Fragmente*
Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
 Texte und Kommentare
Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
 Maria Totti, ed., *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapisreligion*
 Vincent Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*
Theologische Realenzyklopädie
 Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
 Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
 University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series
 Henk de Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*
 Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*
 Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I: The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere*
 Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II: The Mithraeum at Ponza*

Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca III</i>	Maarten J. Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca III: The Mithraeum at Marino</i>
Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca IV</i> .	Maarten J. Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca IV: Le monument d'Ottaviano Zeno et le culte de Mithra sur le Célius</i>
Vermaseren & Van Essen, <i>The Excavations</i>	Maarten J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, <i>The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome</i>
Versnel, <i>Inconsistencies</i>	Henk S. Versnel, <i>Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion</i>
<i>VisRel</i>	<i>Visible Religion</i>
de Vogel, <i>Greek Philosophy</i>	Cornelia J. de Vogel, <i>Greek Philosophy</i>
Volz, <i>Eschatologie</i>	Paul Volz, <i>Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde</i>
Wächter, <i>Reinheitsvorschriften</i>	Theodor Wächter, <i>Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult</i>
Weinreich, <i>Studien</i>	Otto Weinreich, <i>Religionsgeschichtliche Studien</i>
Wessely, <i>Zauberpapyrus</i>	Carl Wessely, <i>Griechische Zauberpapyrus</i>
Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri"	Karl Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre"
Wiedemann, <i>Herodot</i>	Alfred Wiedemann, <i>Herodots zweites Buch</i>
<i>WJA</i>	<i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>WKP</i>	<i>Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>WSt.B</i>	<i>Wiener Studien, Beiheft</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
Zuntz, <i>Persephone</i>	Günther Zuntz, <i>Persephone</i>

Critical Signs used in the Papyrus Text

[]	Lacuna
< >	Omission in the original
[]	Deletion in the original
()	Resolution of a symbol or abbreviation
{ }	Cancelled by the editor of the text
`	Interlinear addition
αβγδ	Uncertain letters
....	Illegible letters

Introduction

I. The "Mithras Liturgy": A Provocative Title

The title of the present book is borrowed from Albrecht Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, which calls for explanation. The title announces two basic assumptions. First of all, the approach to the text is indirectly through Dieterich's commentary. Secondly, we thus recognize that it was Dieterich who, after considerable preparatory work had been done, decided to call the segment of text taken from the long magical papyrus of Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. grec 574) by the name *Eine Mithrasliturgie*.¹ He intended this title to be provocative, a fact proved subsequently by the reception of the book. The provocation turned out to be greater than Dieterich had anticipated.

Dieterich realized that a different descriptive title is found in the text itself, so he made that title, ΑΠΛΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ ([Ritual of] Immortalization),² the subtitle of his work (p. XI), followed by *Text und Übersetzung der Mithrasliturgie* ("Text and Translation of the Mithras Liturgy"). After publication, the provocative title "Mithras Liturgy" (which of course does not occur in the papyrus itself) became a kind of trigger to evoke controversies going straight to the heart and substance of classical scholarship.

Moreover, Dieterich dedicated his book to Franz Cumont (1868–1947), the famous Belgian scholar on Mithraism,³ whom he greatly admired but whose fundamental theories about Mithras he wished to challenge.⁴ Instead of Cumont's attribution of the text to an Egyptian magician engaged with Hermeticism, Dieterich's proposed to take the text's reference to Mithras

¹ Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1903; 2nd ed. 1910, by Richard Wünsch; 3rd ed. 1923, by Otto Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966).

² See the commentary *infra*, at lines 477, 647–48, 741, 747, 771.

³ On Cumont see Robert Turcan, "Franz Cumont, Fondateur," *Hieros* 2 (1997) 11–20; Corinne Bonnet, "Cumont, Franz," *RGK* (4th ed.), 2 (1999) 504–5.

⁴ On this point, see Albrecht Dieterich, "Die Religion des Mithras," *BJ* 108–9 (1902) 26–41; reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (ed. Richard Wünsch; Leipzig & Berlin, 1911), 252–71.

seriously and to interpret it in the context of syncretistic forms of Mithraism.⁵ Cumont's basic objections are the following:

"Among the learned researches which we cannot enumerate here, the most important is that of Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1903. He has endeavored with some ingenuity to show that a mystical passage inserted in a magical papyrus preserved at Paris is in reality a fragment of a Mithraic liturgy, but here I share the skepticism of Reitzenstein (*Neue Jahrb. f. das class. Altertum*, 1904, p. 192) and I have given my reasons in *Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belg.*, XLVII, 1904, pp. 1ff. Dieterich answered briefly in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* VIII, 1905, p. 502, but without convincing me. The author of the passage in question may have been more or less accurate in giving his god the external appearance of Mithra, but he certainly did not know the eschatology of the Persian mysteries. We know, for instance, through positive testimony that they taught the dogma of the passage of the soul through the seven planetary spheres, and that Mithra acted as a guide to his votaries in their ascension to the realm of the blessed. Neither the former nor the latter doctrine, however, is found in the fantastic uranography of the magician. The name of Mithra, as elsewhere that of the magi Zoroaster and Hostanes, helped to circulate an Egyptian forgery"⁶

Cumont based his views regarding Mithraism on the evidence of inscriptions and literary texts, which, as he correctly pointed out, contained nothing comparable to Dieterich's Mithras Liturgy.⁷ He did not take the name Mithras that occurs in the text seriously, but attributed it to the stereotypical cleverness with which Egyptian magicians dressed up their forgeries. Dieterich's other suggestion, according to which the text contained a "liturgy," was equally unacceptable to Cumont. Besides the problem of defining the term "liturgy," Cumont found it utterly incredible that an Egyptian magician should have had access to a Mithraic liturgy; such an esoteric text, had it existed, would have been highly secret, but no trace of it has survived. These objections are, however, speculative in view of the fact that the Paris Magical Papyrus is meant to be just such an esoteric text.

While these issues will have to be discussed further in the present commentary, it should be understood that Dieterich had walked into another highly

⁵ Cumont's major review of Dieterich is entitled, "Un livre nouveau sur la liturgie païenne," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 46 (1904) 1-10; see also his *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (Paris: Leroux, 1906), 300. Dieterich advanced further arguments to persuade Cumont (in *Mithrasliturgie*, 234-36), but Cumont remained unconvinced and repeated his criticism in the 4th edition (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), 272; see also the German edition, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum* (trans. August Burckhardt-Brandenberg; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1959), 279-80.

⁶ Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1911; reprinted New York: Dover, 1956), 260-61.

⁷ Cf. idem, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (2 vols.; Bruxelles: Maertin, 1899, 1896), 1.41.

contentious territory, that of the methodological debate between the two most influential schools of classical scholarship at the time, the schools of Hermann Usener (1834–1905) in Bonn⁸ and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Berlin (1848–1931).⁹ Dieterich represented the methodological approaches developed by Usener, his father-in-law and close collaborator. In Berlin, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff was deeply divided about the Usener school's extension of classical scholarship into the areas of popular religion ("Volksreligion"), folklore ("Volkskunde"), superstition ("Aberglaube"), and magic. On the one hand, Wilamowitz confirmed that the study of antiquity must include all of antiquity;¹⁰ on the other hand, he sensed the danger that classical philology could be neglecting the great Hellenic tradition by bogging down in what he contemptuously named "Botokudenphilologie."¹¹ Although he respected Usener, he saw in Dieterich's scholarship a tendency toward disintegration of the discipline of classical philology.¹² As a result, Wilamowitz and

⁸ Instructive is the correspondence between Usener and Wilamowitz; see William M. Calder III, ed., *Usener und Wilamowitz: Ein Briefwechsel 1870–1905* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1994), especially 55–58, where both articulate their basic premises regarding ancient religion. On the Usener school see Hans Joachim Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule: Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–1980) 5–106; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Hermann Usener," in *New Paths of Classicism in the Nineteenth Century* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1982), 33–48.

⁹ See, especially, Albert Henrichs, "'Der Glaube der Hellenen': Religionsgeschichte als Glaubensbekenntnis und Kulturkritik," in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (eds. William M. Calder III, Hellmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 263–305, esp. 280, 283–84, 287–88; Friedrich Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken in der Religionswissenschaft," *ARW* 35 (1938) 180–85.

¹⁰ See the remarkable conclusion of his lecture, given 1893 at Göttingen, entitled "Aus ägyptischen Gräbern" (*Reden und Vorträge* [2nd ed.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1902], 224–55), 254–55: "Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, daß die Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Daß sie das tun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehn, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden, – soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muß den Menschen menschlich sehn." The final sentence reflects Goethe's ballad of 1797, "Der Gott und die Bajadere: Indische Legende," in *Goethes Werke* (Hamburger Ausgabe, ed. Erich Trunz; München: Beck, 1989), 1.273–76, with the commentary, 664–66.

¹¹ Reported by Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken," 183.

¹² Dieterich made known his future plans that seem to confirm Wilamowitz's suspicions: a multi-volume work, entitled *Volksreligion: Versuche über die Grundformen religiösen Denkens*. In Part IV he wished to treat the subject of "Formen der Vereinigung des Menschen mit Gott," and in it he planned to complete the commentary work on the second part of the Mithras Liturgy. Only Part I was published: *Mutter Erde: Ein Versuch über Volksreligion* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1905). See Richard Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*, ix–xlii, esp. xxx, xxxvi; Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken," 182–83.

his school consistently treated Dieterich's work as marginal. The deeper reason, to be sure, had to do not so much with differences in philological method but with deeper competing conceptions of what constitutes the discipline of "classical philology."¹³

Dieterich was aware of the kind of risks he was taking. As correspondence with Usener reveals, he discussed matters beforehand with him, in particular the title of the book.¹⁴ He also gave lectures about his work before publication; he mentions his previous lectures on the Mithras Liturgy in the Preface. Thanking his friends Siegfried Sudhaus, Paul Wendland, and Richard Wünsch for their suggestions and warnings means that he shared manuscripts and galley-proofs with friends. Therefore, whatever the risks were, he took them knowingly and courageously, although he may have got more than he had bargained for.

Although even present-day scholars repeat Cumont's rejection of the title and the major hypothesis of Dieterich's book,¹⁵ these responses did not diminish the continuous stimulation exerted by it. The ongoing role Dieterich's book played in scholarship has been documented by the editors in the successive editions. From early on, scholars distinguished between Dieterich's provocative claim that the Mithras Liturgy actually came from the liturgy of the cult of Mithras and the plethora of materials and suggestive ideas assembled in the book. In his authoritative work, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (vol. 2, 1961), Martin P. Nilsson summed up the common view about Dieterich's book in this way. Regarding the main thesis, he says that "it should now be

¹³ See the studies included in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (eds. William Calder III, Hellmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), esp. 280–84.

¹⁴ In his letter to Usener, dated May 3, 1901, he brings up the "Mithrasweihe" and raises the question of the title in a letter of October 29, 1901; replying to Usener's suggestions (non-extant) in the letter of December 8, 1901, he decides on "Eine Mithrasliturgie": "ἀπαθανατισμός hatte ich zuvorgesetzt, weil in dem Papyrus nachher diese Partie so genannt wird in einer Stelle, die ich noch anhangsweise herausgebe: es schien mir die Bezeichnung zu sein, die diese Leute für den Kultakt wirklich brauchten; der Zusatz sollte nur eben die Zugehörigkeit zum Mithraskult [sic] gleich vorn hervorheben. Ich ändere das. Würdest Du 'Mithrasliturgie' oder 'Mithrasweihe' auf die Seite drucken? Ich muß auch, da an einer Abbildung für den Titel (eben der Rindschulterszene) probiert wird, die Worte des Titels formulieren. Würde Dir gefallen: EINE MITHRASLITURGIE – Text Übersetzung Einleitung von ... oder die Mittelreihe weglassen? Die Fragen haben aber gar keine Eile!" Quoted with permission from the *Nachlaß* of Usener and Dieterich in the University Library in Bonn (Signature: S 2102.2).

¹⁵ So also Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Egyptian Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 82, n. 33: "The section that mainly concerns us here (475–750) is what Dieterich misleadingly dubbed "eine Mithrasliturgie" in his book of that name."

given up." Yet, "The significance of Dieterich's book does not depend on this thesis, but on the more general ideas he presented, which in many ways have since become standard."¹⁶ This evaluation, however, requires revision in the light of more recent research in the areas of hellenistic syncretism in Graeco-Egypt and in Mithraism. The two implications of Dieterich's title, therefore, still demand explanation: the appearance of the name of Mithras and the "liturgical" nature of the text.

The present assessment of Dieterich's work has been well stated by Walter Burkert: "The interest in magical papyri for the history of religion was initiated by Albrecht Dieterich in his books *Abraxas* and *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, the success of which was lasting and well-deserved. Yet the thesis implied in the title *Mithrasliturgie*, that the fantastic voyage to heaven, as contained in this magical book, was enacted in the mysteries of Mithras, was criticized immediately and can hardly be maintained. The text describes a private trip in a quest for oracular revelations, not a communal mystery rite, with special elaborations on a syncretistic background. There remain puzzling problems in explaining this and similar texts."¹⁷ Indeed, this is the point where new investigations need to begin.

II. The Papyrus

1. Origin and Provenance

The text of the Mithras Liturgy consists of a segment of what scholars call the "Great Magical Papyrus of Paris," now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Supplément grec #574, part of the Anastasi collection, #1073). According to Preisendanz,¹⁸ the name derives from its great length of 36

¹⁶ Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.670, n. 2: "Diese These ... dürfte nunmehr aufgegeben sein.... Die Bedeutung des Dieterichschen Buches beruht nicht auf dieser These, sondern auf den von ihm vorgetragenen allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten, die vielfach maßgebend geworden sind...." For a more detailed discussion of Dieterich, see *ibid.*, 286–93. Cf. also Arthur Darby Nock who follows Cumont and Reitzenstein in his article of 1929 ("Greek Magical Papyri," *Essays*, 1.176–94, esp. 192): "We are here in the sphere of individualist religion. And this, as Reitzenstein has observed, is the key to the understanding of the so-called *Mithrasliturgie*. That document is neither a liturgy nor, properly speaking, Mithraic. It is an ἀπαθανατισμός, directions how one shall make oneself immortal and pass through the heavens...."

¹⁷ Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 68.

¹⁸ *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64; he also explains the different description in Lenormant's auction catalogue (p. 87) as having 33 pages (see below, n. 20).

leaves containing 3274 lines, written on both sides and to be taken as the pages of a papyrus codex. Fol. 1 recto, 3 verso, 16 and 34 recto, and fol. 16 and 34 recto, verso are blank. The creator of the book had 18 double-leaves, which he folded in the middle like pages and on which he wrote from p. 2 recto onwards. Fol. 1 recto verso, together with fol. 36 recto verso, formed the book cover; the small Coptic piece in fol. 1 verso seems to have been written onto it as an addition.

The delimitation of the beginning and end of the Mithras Liturgy was made first by Dieterich on the basis of Wessely's edition. While Dieterich was right about the beginning, he remained undecided about its end. In his commentary, he divides the Mithras Liturgy into two parts, the ritual proper, called ἀπαθανατισμός, "Immortalization" (ll. 475–723), and the "Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie" ("Instruction for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy," ll. 723–834). This division, however, is not based on a composition analysis and therefore creates more problems than it solves. While he includes the quotations from Homer at the end (ll. 821–34), he does not include those that stand before the beginning (ll. 467–74). More likely is that the Mithras Liturgy is, for whatever reason, sandwiched between the Homeric quotations. Moreover, his naming of the first part as "liturgy" ("Mithrasliturgie") and second part as "Anwendung" (Application) seems artificial, since he ignores the fact that both parts are "applications." Dieterich's reason follows from his assumption of a primary Mithraic source and its secondary magical application. The delimitation of the text segment, therefore, needs reconsideration in the light of a thoroughgoing compositional analysis.

a. Circumstances of Discovery

Regarding the origin and provenance of the papyrus book not much is known, and what little information we have seems to have come from the collector, Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1857).¹⁹ The man's original name may have been different, but he was known under the assumed name, written in Italian or French (Jean d'Anastasy). He was the son of an Armenian merchant from Damascus who had settled in Alexandria. This son became wealthy and gained the favor of the Pasha who appointed him in 1828 as Consul General in Egypt to the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden; he served in this capacity until his death. Besides business and politics, Mr. Anastasi enjoyed great

¹⁹ See Warren R. Dawson, "Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri," *JEA* 35 (1949) 158–66, esp. 158–60.

success as an enthusiastic dilettant and collector of Egyptian antiquities. In the post-Napoleonic world a wave of interest in these antiquities developed on the part of European dealers, scholars, and museums. He was of course not the only collector, but the time was ripe for rich pickings. Most likely working through Egyptian agents, Anastasi was able to amass huge treasures, of which he sent several shipments to Europe for auctions in Paris and London. Among the materials were 60 papyrus manuscripts, one of which was the Great Magical Papyrus. At the widely publicized auction in Paris in 1857 this papyrus was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale (#1073), where it is until today.²⁰ As the printed auction catalogue reveals, little was known at the time about the content of the papyri, but all sources agree that they came from Thebes,²¹ probably because Anastasi had said so.²² However, there is no concrete evidence concerning the time, location and circumstances of the discovery. Because of the similarities between the pieces in the collection and the fact of their relatively good condition, it is conceivable indeed that all or most of them came from the library of a learned priest and magician that was placed with him in his grave, perhaps in a large box or terracotta vessel.²³

If the "great magical papyrus of Paris," and together with it the Mithras Liturgy, was indeed found in Thebes, it does not necessarily imply that the papyrus was also written there. The collection, serving a practicing magician as a "handbook," was compiled from many sources. These sources may have existed in Theban temple libraries, but they could just as well have been excerpted at other places in Egypt, which would presuppose that the author travelled, visited temple libraries, and shared materials with other magicians.

²⁰ The sizable catalogue of 1129 items was compiled by François Lenormant, *Catalogue d'une collection Rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, No. 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 juin 1857, à une heure*. Etc. (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857), especially pp. 84–88: "Papyrus."

²¹ On this city in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see the essays and bibliographical materials in S. P. Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995). For the PGM, see W. J. Tait, "Theban Magic," *ibid.*, 169–82.

²² Lenormant's description is rather fanciful (p. 84): "M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d'un gnostique égyptien du second siècle...." Cf. Carl Wessely (*WS* 8 [1886] 189) who opts for Heracleopolis at the time of Tertullian. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 169–71, speaks of the Anastasi collection as "the Thebes cache" and refers to a letter by Anastasi, dated March 18, 1828 (now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden), confirming the origin in Thebes (169, n. 48).

²³ This is Preisendanz' conclusion; see Karl Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1933), 91–95: "Bibliothek der Zauberpapyri von Theben." Cf. also Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 166–68: "Temples and priests."

The Mithras Liturgy explicitly refers to such sharing of ritual texts among magicians. This assumption could mean either that the handbook was filled not at once but over a period of time, or that the sections were successively assembled before they were copied together into the handbook, or that the final copy resulted from a combination of both these activities.

About the "great magical papyrus" the catalogue has this to say: "Manuscript sur feuilles de papyrus pliées en livre, formant 33 feuillets écrits des deux côtés, à 60 lignes environ par page.... En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutant par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la *gnose*. — Ecriture du second siècle de notre ère."²⁴

Some general information about the milieu of these collectors can be gleaned from one of Anastasi's acquaintances, Giovanni d'Athanasī, commonly known as "Yanni," who was a resident for eighteen years at Thebes, engaged in hunting after objects of antiquity.²⁵ He was born on the island of Lemnos, and his father was a merchant in Cairo. At the suggestion of English travellers who met him in Thebes, where he worked as an interpreter to an English collector by the name of Henry Salt, he wrote up a personal account of his activities. This account was published in London in the year 1836, together with a catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of antiquities.²⁶ D'Athanasī's own collection was auctioned off in London by Leigh Sotheby in 1837.²⁷ These collectors speak of the manuscript scrolls as having been found in terracotta urns in or near tombs.²⁸

²⁴ Lenormant, 87 (Nr. 1073). Cf. on this passage Karl Preisendanz, "Zum Pariser Zauberpapyrus der bibl. nat. suppl. gr. 574" (*Ph.* 68 [1909] 575–77), 575–76: "Aus dem ganzen Passus geht hervor, daß man schon damals den Papyrus als eine Schicht von 33 (bzw. 36) Einzelblättern kannte. Das war natürlich die ursprüngliche Form des Buches nicht; denn von "Büchern", die aus übereinandergelegten, unzusammenhängenden Blättern bestanden, wissen wir nichts. Papyrusbücher in *Codexform* dagegen kennen wir."

²⁵ Giovanni d'Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt*, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum (London: John Hearne, 1836), ix, 151.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ix, 151.

²⁷ *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d'Athanasī*, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o'Clock precisely (London: J. Davy, 1837).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 79, 151.

b. Date

The question of the date has been decided firmly on linguistic and palaeographical grounds by the Vienna papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931), with whom all other papyrologists agree. They date the script to the early fourth century.²⁹ This, however, pertains to the written papyrus as extant: “Die Zeit Diokletians ist also terminus, ante quem das Papyrusbuch abgefaßt sein muß: auf alle Fälle ist die Liturgie in dieser Abschrift geschrieben zur Zeit hoher Blüte des Mithrasdienstes.”³⁰

As Dieterich indicates, this date applies to the extant script, but the text presupposes a longer process of development. The fact that the text shows evidence of the interpretation of older traditions means that these traditions have a prehistory of their own. Considering the complexities, Dieterich suggests that the development of the composition took more than 200 years, the origin occurring in the years 100–150, followed by the ritual function of the original text in the Egyptian Mithras cult (150–200), the subsequent adaptation and development by the magicians (200–300), and concluded by the inclusion of the final copy in the papyrus book.

Dieterich’s hypothesis is, however, beset with problems. (1) He does not distinguish clearly enough between scribe and author; (2) because he has no detailed compositional analysis on hand, he cannot clearly identify the author’s contributions in distinction from sources; (3) Dieterich’s own hypothetical assumption of an earlier stage as a Mithraic cultic text and subsequent adaptation by magicians determines how he sees the development, but does not conform to the textual evidence.

These problems, however, do not render Dieterich’s time frame invalid. It seems reasonable to estimate that it took about 200 years for the composition and its parts to come together. Internal criteria point to some older and some younger sources. Externally, the text is thoroughly Hellenistic-Egyptian – without any traces of Christian, Christian-gnostic, or Neoplatonic influences –, although traditions of Middle Stoicism are apparent, as is a certain closeness to Hermeticism.

²⁹ See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 43–46; Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64.

³⁰ Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 44 (emphasized). Preisendanz (1.64) also refers to Wilhelm Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin: Reimer, 1907; 3rd ed.: Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1962), who points out that the papyrus codex came into use just about this time.

c. Authorship

The question of authorship is also complicated. What we see on the papyrus pages is the work of a scribe who copied the text from a *Vorlage* into the codex. Redactional references in the text itself indicate that we must, at least in principle, distinguish the scribe from the author.

The redactional comments, if taken seriously, imply that the scribe or author had available more than one version of the *Vorlage*.³¹ If the two were different persons, one of them had compared the versions and noted the textual variants; he would then be the author, while the scribe copied his autograph. If scribe and author were the same person, the final text is the author's own autograph that included all the insertions and supplements. Things get more complicated by the facts that the author's work is a highly developed redactional composition involving his own contributions, older sources adopted and adapted from tradition, and supplements added at various stages of the composition by subsequent copyists. Therefore, while source materials excerpted from other contexts had their own authors before inclusion in the final copy, that final copy has only one author and redactor; there is no evidence of multiple authorship at the final level.

While the final author remains anonymous, he speaks in the first person throughout. Even when he identifies himself by names in passages we call "self-presentations," he leaves the place vacant by using the symbol Δ or magical names. As one might expect, he was an expert in the handling of magical materials. What is surprising, however, is his expertise as a literary scholar and writer.³² He has carefully examined other versions of the text and has noted textual variants: ἐν ἄλλῳ (l. 500) and φωτὸς κτίστα, οἱ δὲ συνκλεῖστα (l. 591).³³ He inserts a marginal comment (ll. 478–81) and cross-references to the supplements, and he corrects his own earlier practice (ll. 791–98).³⁴ He adds learned theological commentary with explanations of traditions (e.g., ll. 495–98, 529–32), or library research and consultation of herbalist sources for information on the plant *kenritis* (ll. 798–813). Finally, he begins his work with a fine literary preface (ll. 475–85), and he adds supplementary information before he ends with a note indicating completion (ll. 819–20).

³¹ On the references to variants see below at n. 33.

³² For the full evidence see the Conspectus of the literary analysis, below, pp. 60–87.

³³ Cf. also PGM II.50; IV.29, 1277; V.51; VII.204; XII.201; XIII.731; see also Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 211 n. 9; *Magic*, 236, n. 7).

³⁴ David Jordan's evaluation confirms this (letter of December 17, 2002): "Palaeographically, the papyrus is more interesting than I had thought. The scribe is clearly conscious of what he is doing: he leaves spaces within the line to mark punctuation and sometimes even to distinguish words. And there are several previously unnoticed lectional signs over some of the clusters of vowels." See below on ll. 610–17.

2. Editions

The first edition of the Paris Papyri was published by Wessely in 1888, based on his collation made in Paris in August of 1883;³⁵ in 1888 he checked the papyrus again and published his corrections in 1889.³⁶ All subsequent editions depend on Wessely, although several papyrologists examined the papyri and proposed different readings: Wilhelm Kroll,³⁷ N. Novossadsky,³⁸ Karl Preisendanz,³⁹ Richard Ganszyniec,⁴⁰ and others.⁴¹

In his own commentary *Eine Mithrasliturgie* of 1903, Dieterich relied on Kroll's collations and on the photographic plates, supplemented by other evidence.⁴² This supplementary material was added in appendices to the second edition (1910) by Richard Wunsch, and the third edition (1923) by Otto Weinreich. These editors, however, did not change Dieterich's text.⁴³ In Dieterich's book, the Greek text, with apparatus and notes, includes PGM IV. 475–834, but his German translation ends at l. 723, because he did not regard ll. 723–834 as belonging to the original Mithras Liturgy. Greek text and notes, however, continue until the end.⁴⁴ Although he paid careful attention to the textual evidence, he himself was more interested in the religio-historical interpretation which comprises the main body of his book.

The edition of the *Papyri graecae magicae*, edited and published in 1928 by Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), placed the Paris magical papyrus in the first volume. It includes the "Große Pariser Zauberpapyrus (P IV)," and as part of

³⁵ Carl Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London" (DÖAW.PH 36, 2. Abteilung; Wien: Tempsky, 1888), 27–208; the section containing the Mithras Liturgy is found on pp. 56–65.

³⁶ Idem, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Fünftehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889), 12–19.

³⁷ Wilhelm Kroll, "Adversaria graeca," *Ph.* 53 (1894) 416–28.

³⁸ N. Novossadsky, "Ad papyrum magicam bibliothecae parisinae adnotationes palaeographicae," *Journal of the Ministry of National Education*, Part 302, December 1895 (St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1895), 82–87.

³⁹ Karl Preisendanz, "Zum Pariser Zauberpapyrus der bibl. nat. suppl. gr. 574," *Ph.* 68 (1909) 575–77; idem, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920) 24–33; idem, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64.

⁴⁰ Collations of 1927, included in Preisendanz's edition of 1928 (1.65).

⁴¹ See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64–66; 2.v–xvii.

⁴² See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 2, apparatus; Richard Wunsch also used the plates (see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, appendix to the 3rd ed., 129).

⁴³ So Weinreich, in the preface to the third edition, p. iv: "Dieterichs Text blieb selbstverständlich unverändert, ebenso die in der zweiten Auflage enthaltenen Nachträge" [scil. Dieterich's].

⁴⁴ See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 16, apparatus.

it the Mithras Liturgy.⁴⁵ Preisendanz uses the text of Wessely, modified according to the carefully noted suggestions made by earlier scholars, foremost among them Dieterich.⁴⁶ In addition, Preisendanz made use of photographic plates which Dieterich had procured and which his widow, Marie Dieterich, had made available to him.⁴⁷ One should realize that the edition was intended merely as a study edition, paving the way for a standard critical edition which has not yet materialized.⁴⁸ The second edition of Preisendanz prepared by Albert Henrichs was intended as an improved republication.⁴⁹

Other study editions have been published more recently. Marvin W. Meyer contributed a fascicle entitled *The "Mithras Liturgy,"* which contains the text of Preisendanz and an English translation.⁵⁰ Moreover, a study edition was published in 1992 by Reinhold Merkelbach in the third of his four-volume collec-

⁴⁵ *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz (1st ed.; 2 vols.; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1928), 1.64–180; the Mithras Liturgy, 88–100; see also the citations in note 14 above, and Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSI* 41 (1919) 140–44; *ibid.* 42 (1920) 24–33.

⁴⁶ Preisendanz, a former student of Dieterich, dedicated his edition to the memory of his teacher, and to Richard Wünsch.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.64. The photographs were deposited at the University Library in Heidelberg, where Preisendanz had taught, until after World War II. They were used also by Albert Henrichs for the new Preisendanz edition of 1973 (1.12). Unfortunately, as Professor Ludwig Koenen reported, they were subsequently lost in the mail on the way to Ann Arbor, Michigan.

⁴⁸ Preisendanz's *Vorrede* (1.VI): "Auch dieses Corpus der griechischen Zauberpapyri geht auf Einfluß und Anregung ALBRECHT DIETERICHs zurück. Oft betonte er in jenen Heidelberger Seminarübungen des Sommers 1905 und im persönlichen Gespräch als Hauptgrund ihrer verächtlichen Behandlung durch die philologischen und theologischen Forscher das Fehlen einer leicht zugänglichen, allgemein lesbaren und verständlichen Ausgabe der verstreut publizierten und teilweise höchst mangelhaft bearbeiteten Texte."

⁴⁹ As Henrichs explains (1.XIII), his contributions consist of the inclusion of supplementary notes by Preisendanz and his own textual emendations (Zweite, verbesserte Auflage mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs [2 vols.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974]). For his work Henrichs was able to use Preisendanz's *Nachlaß* in Heidelberg. Preisendanz's vol. 3 was not published because the printing plates were destroyed when the Teubner publishing house in Leipzig was bombed on December 4, 1943. Fortunately, a set of the galley-proofs was saved, photocopies of which have circulated among scholars. Preisendanz explains the contents in the *Vorrede* to vol. 3 (printed in the new edition, 2.VII–XVII). The new edition of vol. 2 includes those texts that were to be part of vol. 3, and also the reconstructed Hymns according to a new reconstruction by Ernst Heitsch. See Henrichs's *Vorwort zur Neuausgabe*, 1.XIII; also Betz, *GMPT*, xlv. The comprehensive indices were not reprinted because they are now outdated, although they are still useful in the absence of a newly compiled *index verborum*.

⁵⁰ Marvin M. Meyer, *The "Mithras Liturgy"* (SBL.TT.GRRS, 2; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); Meyer's English translation was included in Betz, *GMPT*, 48–54.

tion, entitled *Abrasax*.⁵¹ The Mithras Liturgy, which he renames "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie," is based on Preisendanz's edition for the text, and on Dieterich's notes for the commentary, to which Merkelbach adds his own textual readings, German translation, introduction, and interpretative notes.⁵²

Partial texts, translations, and textual notes were contributed by Wilhelm Kroll,⁵³ Ernst Riess,⁵⁴ Ludwig Radermacher,⁵⁵ Wilhelm Crönert,⁵⁶ Sam Eitrem,⁵⁷ Theodor Hopfner,⁵⁸ Richard Reitzenstein,⁵⁹ Friedrich Zucker,⁶⁰ and André-Jean Festugière.⁶¹ Somewhat idiosyncratic is the early translation and gnostic interpretation, based on his own readings of the Greek text, by Wolfgang Schultz.⁶² Finally, an anonymous work, published in 1995 by a prestigious publishing house, presents a French translation of the Mithras Liturgy.⁶³

⁵¹ Reinhold Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, Band 3: *Zwei griechisch-ägyptische Weihezeremonien (Die Leidener Weltschöpfung; Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie)* (ARWAW.PC 17.3; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992).

⁵² For his own explanation of his work, see pp. vii, 155–57. Text and translation of PGM IV.475–824 are given on pp. 58–182, with notes pp. 233–49; an especially valuable contribution is his Introduction to both "Weihezeremonien" (PGM XIII.1–230, 343–71, and IV.475–824). He sees both the rituals as representative of an Alexandrian theology involving the main gods of the city, Sarapis-Aion-Iao-Abrasax and Pschai-Agathos Daimon (pp. 1–85).

⁵³ "Adversaria graeca," 421.

⁵⁴ "Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Magical Papyri," *CIR* 10 (1896) 409–13.

⁵⁵ "Griechischer Sprachbrauch," *Ph.* 63 (1904) 4–5.

⁵⁶ "Zur Kritik der Papyrustexte," *StPP* 4 (1905) 84–107, esp. 99–101.

⁵⁷ "Varia," *NTFi* 10 (1922) 102–16.

⁵⁸ *OZ*, II/1, §§ 116–19 (pp. 181–92). The commented German translation follows Dieterich.

⁵⁹ *HMR*, 169–76 (text, text-critical notes and commentary on the exordium); idem, "Eingang und Schluß der Mithrasliturgie," in *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (ed. by Edvard Lehmann and Hans Haas; Leipzig: Deichert; Erlangen: Scholl, 1922), 212–13 (German translation, following Dieterich).

⁶⁰ Review of Preisendanz's edition, *ByZ* 31 (1931) 355–63.

⁶¹ *La Révélation*, 1.303–9, following mostly Dieterich, but contributing his own notes as well; 3.168–74.

⁶² *Dokumente der Gnosis* (Jena: Diederichs, 1910), 83–95, 239–40.

⁶³ *Manuel de magie égyptienne: Le papyrus magique de Paris* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1995), 29–40, with notes, 131–33. There is no clarity about text or translator, although Preisendanz's edition and Meyer's translation in Betz, *GMPT* are known to the author.

III. Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908): Life and Scholarship

Albrecht Dieterich's personal life was from the beginning destined to be that of a scholar.⁶⁴ He was born into a family of teachers and theologians on May 2, 1866 in Hersfeld (Hessen), where his father was a teacher at the local *Gymnasium* and married to Henriette Münscher, the daughter of the director who in turn was the son of a theology professor in Marburg. The oldest son, Albrecht, grew up in a home of liberal Protestant parents who were open to the delights of culture and the arts. Careful guidance by his father led to the baccalaureate (1884) and the beginning of his university studies in Leipzig. Having first taken up theology, he was soon drawn toward philosophy of religion and German literature, but then he turned toward classical philology (represented by Ernst Curtius, Otto Crusius, Justus Hermann Lipsius, Otto Ribbeck, and Rudolf Hirzel). In 1886 Dieterich went to Bonn, where the first lecture by Hermann Usener convinced him like by a strike of lightning that classical philology was to be his future: "Here lie the great problems, to which you must dedicate your life."⁶⁵ His main teachers were Franz Bücheler and Hermann Usener, but he also studied classical archaeology and art with Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. What mostly interested him was the way Usener combined classical philology and history of religions, for instance in his book *Das Weihnachtsfest*.⁶⁶ Rather than letting him drift into "the great problems," however, his teachers trained him to prove himself as a philologist of the classical literature. Usener advised him to write a "Preisarbeit" (an essay competing for a prize) on Aeschylus, and after that Bücheler assigned to him the task of working up textual and commentary annotations to Papyrus Leiden J 384, published by Conrad Leemans in 1885.⁶⁷ Having won the two prizes, Dieterich expanded the second essay into his doctoral dissertation of 1888,⁶⁸ which ventures to explore on a purely

⁶⁴ For the following I am indebted to the essay "Albrecht Dieterich," based upon a variety of sources and personal witnesses, by Richard Wünsch, Dieterich's former student and editor of *Albrecht Dieterich, Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), xi–xlii. For Dieterich's continued influence see the essay by Friedrich Pfister, written in memory of the 30th anniversary of Dieterich's death, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken in der Religionswissenschaft: Zu seinem 30. Todestag," *ARW* 35 (1938) 180–85.

⁶⁵ Cited from Wünsch's article, xii: "Hier liegen die großen Probleme, denen du dein Leben widmen muß."

⁶⁶ Hermann Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1888). Usener who died in 1905 entrusted the 2nd edition to Hans Lietzmann who published it in 1910; the 3rd edition of 1969 is a reprint from Usener's *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, part I.

⁶⁷ Conrad Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1843, 1885); J 384 and J 395 are in vol. 2. See also Betz, *GMPT*, I–II, n. 21.

⁶⁸ *Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi, quam C. Leemans edidit in papyrorum Graecarum tomo II (V)*, denuo edidit, commentario critico instruxit, prolegomena scripsit A. D., which

philological level the yet mostly unknown magical literature of Hellenistic Egypt.⁶⁹ The Leiden Papyri J 384 and J 395 became PGM XII and XIII in the collection of Preisendanz;⁷⁰ they were again investigated by the papyrologist Robert W. Daniel who published them together with photographs in 1991.⁷¹

After he passed the state examination in 1889 and completed the required year of teaching as an intern in a *Gymnasium*, he left teaching in a secondary school, although he liked it and returned to it much later. Instead he went back to the Leiden Papyri for his *Habilitationsschrift*, now on J 395. However, warned by the fact that the magical papyri, usually relegated to the area of magic and superstition, were generally not accepted as qualification for a chair in Classics, Dieterich selected the Orphic Hymns as topic. Especially because of the work of Gottfried Hermann, these hymns had come to be recognized as cultic poetry, but they also provided a way to show the link between “higher literature” and the magical papyri. After his *Habilitation* 1891 at Marburg,⁷² he could use the other research material for his next work, an extensive commentary on J 395, which was published in the same year.⁷³ The work has two major parts. Part I deals with the text and religio-historical interpretation of J 395, focusing on the so-called “cosmopoiia of Leiden.” Importantly, he identifies it as a syncretistic text containing elements from ancient Egyptian religion, astrological mysticism, Greek religion and Stoicism. Part II focuses on the “Eighth Book of Moses” and explores the literary environment of “Jewish-Orphic-Gnostic” cults and the magical literature. Highly suggestive, this work raises a host of new questions and provides impetus for further investigations. The work was presented to Usener at the celebration of his 25th anniversary as a professor in Bonn. Indeed, it is an exemplary fruit of the close cooperation between Dieterich and Usener, whose daughter Marie he married in 1898. It is interesting, however, that Dieterich spent several weeks

appeared in JCPH.S 16 (1888) 749–830. The Prolegomena were reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 1–47.

⁶⁹ As a good philologist would, he insisted undertaking a trip to Leiden personally to collate the papyrus.

⁷⁰ See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2.57–131, esp. 57; Idem, “Die griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *APF* 8 (1927) 120–23.

⁷¹ Robert W. Daniel, *Two Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J 384 and J 395 (= PGM XII and XIII)* (ARWAW.PC 19; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991).

⁷² *De Hymnis Orphicis capitula quinque* (Marburg: Elwert, 1891).

⁷³ *Abraxas: Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums*. Festschrift Hermann Usener zur Feier seiner 25jährigen Lehrtätigkeit an der Bonner Universität, dargebracht vom Klassisch-philologischen Verein zu Bonn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). The title “Abraxas” comes from Goethe, *Westöstlicher Diwan*: “Sag’ ich euch absurde Dinge, Denkt, daß ich Abraxas bringe.” For a new publication of J 395 by Robert W. Daniel see above, n. 71.

at Göttingen, in order to meet the great philologists representing a competing approach to classical studies: Carl Dilthey, Friedrich Leo, and especially Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, whose edition and commentary of *Euripides, Herakles*⁷⁴ had greatly impressed Dieterich.

In his teaching as a Privatdozent in Marburg⁷⁵ Dieterich treated a wide range of subjects pertaining to Greek language and literature, but he also lectured on Greek mythology and history of religion, going as far as the decline of ancient religions and the rise of Christianity. These explorations came to the fore in his next book dealing with the discovery of what became known as the Apocalypse of Peter.⁷⁶ This fragmentary parchment codex was discovered in a tomb at Akhmim. While Christian in provenance, it also draws together sources from Jewish and Greek traditions about the netherworld.⁷⁷ Besides a critical examination of the text and a German translation, Dieterich's work has three major chapters, the first of which outlines what he terms "Greek folk-religion concerning the realm of the dead" ("Griechischer Volksglaube vom Totenreich"); the second chapter on "Mystery cult teachings concerning blessedness and condemnation" ("Mysterienlehren über Seligkeit und Unseligkeit") demonstrates how old elements of folkreligion emerge in official literature and religion; the third chapter deals with "Orphic-Pythagorean Books on Hades" ("Orphisch-pythagoreische Hadesbücher"). Understandably, these topics quickly became controversial, but through the debates they also began profoundly to change scholars' perception of the field. In many ways, Eduard Norden (1868–1941),⁷⁸ Richard Reitzenstein

⁷⁴ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides, Herakles* (3 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1889; 2nd ed. 1895; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959).

⁷⁵ His colleague and friend at Marburg was Georg Wissowa, who authored the magisterial *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HAW 4:5, 1902; 2nd ed. 1912; repr. München: Beck, 1971). See Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," xvi–xvii.

⁷⁶ *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893). A second edition was prepared and provided with additions by Richard Wünsch (1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). In the Preface Dieterich thanks Hermann Usener and Adolf Jülicher for their cooperation.

⁷⁷ For the editions, translations, and the present state of research, see C. Detlef G. Müller, *NTApoc* 2.562–78, *NTApoc* 2.620–38.

⁷⁸ See, especially, his *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1913; 4th ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956); *Die Geburt des Kindes: Geschichte einer religiösen Idee* (SBW 3; Leipzig: Teubner, 1924; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958). On Norden see the essays and bibliographies in *Eduard Norden (1868–1941): Ein deutscher Gelehrter jüdischer Herkunft* (eds. Bernhard Kytzler, Kurt Rudolph and Jörg Rüpke; Palingenesia 49; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), including my own: "Eduard Norden und die frühchristliche Literatur," 107–27; Wilt Aden Schröder, *Der Altertumswissenschaftler Eduard Norden (1868–1941): Das Schicksal eines deutschen Gelehrten jüdischer Abkunft. Mit den Briefen Eduard*

(1862–1931),⁷⁹ Eric Robertson Dodds (1893–1979),⁸⁰ Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963),⁸¹ and André-Jean Festugière (1898–1982)⁸² became indicators of the new direction of classical studies. From a present perspective, it is impressive to see how many of Dieterich's suggestive and provocative ideas have later been confirmed or at least gained in probability. New discoveries of texts and archaeological remains such as the Orphic-Dionysiac gold tablets and the Derveni Papyrus⁸³ have moved classical studies in directions that would have delighted him. The most impressive symbol of Dieterich's continuing influence was the collaboration of many scholars in producing the collection of the Greek Magical Papyri. Like many other projects, Dieterich had originally suggested this work,⁸⁴ and its main editor, Karl Preisendanz who was one of Dieterich's former students dedicated it to his memory.

To continue with Dieterich's life, in March of 1894 he set out on his long desired grand tour to Greece and Italy. By the middle of the 19th century, travelling to the historical sites and monuments had become much easier than it had been for previous generations, but they were still far from what modern tourists tend to take for granted. Dieterich travelled to Trieste, where a boat took him to Korfu, and from there through the Corinthian Gulf to Athens. In and around Athens he benefitted from resident scholars like Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Paul Wolters at the German Archaeological Institute. He took advantage

Nordens an seinen Lehrer Hermann Usener aus den Jahren 1891–1902 (Spudasmata 73; Hildesheim: Olms, 1999).

⁷⁹ On Reitzenstein, see Karl Prümm, "Reitzenstein (Richard)," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl. 10 (1985) 200–10; Wolfgang Fauth, "Richard Reitzenstein, Professor der klassischen Philologie (1914–1928)," in *Die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen* (ed. Carl Joachim Classen; Göttinger Universitätsschriften, Serie A, Band 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 178–96; Carsten Koch, "Richard Reitzensteins Beiträge zur Mandäerforschung," *Zeitschrift für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (1995) 49–80.

⁸⁰ See, especially, his Sather Lectures for 1951, *The Greeks and the Irrational*. On Dodds, his autobiography is instructive, *Missing Persons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); also Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts: Classical Influences in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 287–94; Giuseppe Cambiano, "Dodds, Eric Robertson," *RGG* (4th ed., 1999) 2.892–93.

⁸¹ See his main works, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; reprinted 1961); idem, *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (New York: Harper, 1964); idem, *Essays*. See also, Helmut Koester, *RGG* (4th ed., 2003), 6, s.v.

⁸² On Festugière, see *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne; vingt-cinq études réunies et publiées* (eds. Enzo Lucchesi & Henri D. Saffrey; Cahiers d'Orientalisme 10; Genève: Cramer, 1984), with a bibliography pp. xvii–xxxiv.

⁸³ For the present state of research, see the texts, articles, and bibliographies in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*.

⁸⁴ See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.vi.

of the Institute's guided tours to the Peloponnesos, visiting Corinth, the Argolis, Arcadia, and Olympia. Riding on a mule toward Olympia, he unfortunately hit against a branch of a tree, which threw him down onto the stony road where he lay unconscious. His travel companions were terrified and suspected internal or head wounds. Dieterich himself lost hope that he would survive, but after he was transported to Olympia he recovered sufficiently and could continue on the journey. Another boat trip took him to Delos, where he was received and shown around by Théophile Homolle. At the end of May, Dieterich travelled to Smyrna and from there to Pergamon, Sardes, Ephesus, and Magnesia. In Troja he met again with Dörpfeld during one of the excavation seasons; in Constantinople he admired such treasures as the Alexander Sarcophagus and the colorful life of the Bazaars. From Constantinople he travelled to Naples, visited Pompei guided by August Mau. Then he headed south to Sicily. In Palermo his search for ancient manuscripts was rewarded by the discovery of the Apokalypse of Anastasia, which he entrusted for an edition to his friend Rudolf Homburg.⁸⁵

The month of September saw Dieterich in Rome, whose immense treasures and rich life overwhelmed him. The scholars at the German Archaeological Institute, Eugen Petersen and Christian Hülsen, as well as August Mau and Wilhelm Helbig made sure he fully enjoyed his Roman days. After Rome and a visit to Tuscany he returned to Marburg in the spring of 1895, completing an enormously enriching tour that was not to be his last.

After his appointment to "außerordentlicher professor" (associate professor) at Marburg in the summer semester of 1895 his academic responsibilities changed and increased. His next publications reflected findings and impressions in Italy. His edition of and commentary on the mysterious inscription of Aberkios in the Lateran Museum brought into discussion this fragment of a third century CE tomb inscription by a Phrygian bishop. He showed that this inscription provides evidence of pagan and Christian syncretism in Asia Minor.⁸⁶ His studies of the Pompeian wall paintings and the comic figure of Pulcinella were helpful for understanding the important role of cult paintings, although they generated severe criticism by leading scholars, in particular Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.⁸⁷ Those who knew him well could not but notice

⁸⁵ *Apocalypsis Anastasiae* (ed. Rudolf Homburg; BiTeu; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1903).

⁸⁶ *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1896). For the present state of research, see Guntram Koch, "Aberkiosinschrift," *RGK* (4th ed., 1998) 1.62–63; Eckhard Wirbelauer, "Aberkios, der Schüler des reinen Hirten im Römischen Reich des 2. Jahrhunderts," *Historia* 51 (2002) 359–82 (bibl.).

⁸⁷ *Pulcinella: Pompeianische Wandbilder und römische Satyrspiele* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897). Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's stinging review appeared in *GGA* 159 (1897) 505–15. Cf. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," xxi–xxii; Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterich's Wirken," 182–83.

his anger and disappointment, so much so that he took the unusual step of responding firmly to these critics in the introduction to his next book, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*. Anticipating further hostile reactions, he made the point that he understood very well how to separate valid criticism from personal insult.⁸⁸

In 1897 Dieterich accepted a call to the University of Gießen, where he became a professor ordinarius and the successor of Eduard Schwartz. The fact that Gießen had only two classicists meant that his lectures had to appeal to a wider audience of students, but he enjoyed having a great deal of freedom in developing lecture courses. Also, he was supplied with a new but still rare slide projector ("Lichtbilderapparat") that enabled him to show photographic pictures during lectures. During his years in Gießen he also moved closer to the developing field of ethnography and folklore ("Volkskunde"), especially of his home province of Hessen. He became involved in the "Hessische Vereinigung für Volkskunde" and published articles in the "Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde." These fields of scholarship, however, were not as far removed from classical studies as it seemed at the time. On the contrary, other scholars had also recognized the value of folklore in bringing classics out of its cultural isolation by showing its connection with the social context of what people considered to be their own culture. However, Dieterich understood that the contextual interpretation of ancient religion would require long-term commitments by others as well. He laid the groundwork by training an amazing number of creative students and by helping to establish two publishing ventures, the journal *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*⁸⁹ and the monograph series *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (1903–), in which many of the dissertations written under him appeared. Moreover, it is noteworthy that about the same time the field of New Testament studies changed in similar ways, indicated by the creation in 1900 of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*. Expressing his long-standing interest in the origins of Christianity, he even published an article in the first volume of the new journal.⁹⁰

Dieterich's interest in the religion of Mithras originated with Cumont's monumental work. Two important articles appeared in 1902 that express Dieterich's new interest. The article "Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande"

⁸⁸ *Mithrasliturgie*, vi: "Aber rechtfertigen, was verfehlt ward, kann kein Vorwort; und allen Tadel der verdient ist, nehme ich umso lieber auf mich, je mehr die Sache dabei gewinnt. Denn ich weiß den Tadel, der erzieht und fördert, sehr wohl von dem zu unterscheiden, der beleidigt und im innersten verletzt."

⁸⁹ The journal *ARW* began in 1898; its founder was Thomas Achelis. From volume 7 (1904) onwards, Dieterich served as co-editor.

⁹⁰ "Εὐαγγελιστής," *ZNW* 1 (1900) 336–38; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 193–95.

connects the legend of the Magi from the East paying homage to the child Jesus with the visit of the Parthian king Tiridates to Rome in 66 CE, where he worshiped Nero ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν (Cassius Dio 63.1–7); he suggests that the three Magi are priests of the Mithras religion.⁹¹ A later article on “Die Religion des Mithras” sums up his admiration for Cumont’s work,⁹² but he differed from Cumont for the first time in seeing in a section of the Paris Magical Papyrus a remnant of a Mithraic ritual. This suggestion then led to the main thesis of his book of 1903 (*Eine Mithrasliturgie*); in an appendix of this book he collected other remnants of liturgical fragments, a collection that is still valuable today.⁹³

The work contains two major parts: first, a critical edition of the Greek text (PGM IV.475–834) and a German translation which, however, stops after what Dieterich took to be the end of the Mithras Liturgy proper (μυστήριον, l. 723). As we mentioned above, he regarded the following section (ll. 723–834) as “directions for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy” (*Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie*). He thus separated the non-magical Mithraic liturgy from its secondary reworking as a magical ritual. This division derives from his thesis of the section’s origin as a ritual of the cult of Mithras and the other as its later appropriation by a magician. From our present perspective, however, such a division makes little sense. In fact, Dieterich himself seems to have changed his mind later because in his future project (see above, n. 12) he had planned to complete the translation. At any rate, the learned apparatus of the text continues to the end, even after the German translation was concluded. Second, a large section containing “Interpretations” (*Erläuterungen*), which include a brief Introduction (pp. 25–30) and topically arranged chapters (pp. 30–212). Chapter I deals with the “Origin and the Sources of the Papyrus Text” (*Herkunft und Quellen des Papyrustextes*, pp. 30–92). In fact, the chapter includes a step by step review of the entire text, richly documented by references and discussion. Chapter II (92–212) investigates “The Liturgical Images of the Mithras Liturgy” (*Die liturgischen Bilder des Mithrasmysteriums*) in five thematic studies, showing Dieterich’s systematic interests. After a discussion of the terms “liturgy,” μυστήριον, and sacramentum as effecting a cultic unification with the deity, the first study investigates the theme of “The Human Being in God and God in the Human Being; the Eating of the Deity” (*Der Mensch in Gott und Gott im Menschen; das Essen des Gottes*, pp. 95–121). The second study specifies more narrowly, “The

⁹¹ “Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande: Ein Versuch,” *ZNW* 3 (1902) 1–14; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 272–86.

⁹² *BJ* 108–109 (1902) 26–41; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 252–71.

⁹³ “Reste antiker Liturgien,” *Mithrasliturgie*, 213–18; with additions, 225–26, 256–58.

Erotic Union of the Human Being with the God" (*Die Liebesvereinigung des Menschen mit dem Gotte*, pp. 121–34), followed by a third on "Being a Child of God" (*Die Gotteskindschaft*, pp. 134–56). The fourth study is on "Rebirth" (*Die Wiedergeburt*, pp. 157–79), and the final, fifth on "The Soul's Ascension to Heaven" (*Die Himmelfahrt der Seele zu Gott*, pp. 179–212).

The appendix on "Remains of Ancient Liturgies" (*Reste antiker Liturgien*, pp. 213–18) has already been mentioned.⁹⁴ It is followed by rather confusing sets of additional notes in the second and third editions of Dieterich's work (*Nachträge*, pp. 219–58), including his own additions gathered from his papers by Richard Wunsch, Wunsch's additions, and Weinreich's additions. These additions provide corrections, references to ancient texts and secondary literature, as well as arguments against critical reviews. The volume concludes with valuable indices.

Understandably, the work was received with great anticipation. Apart from Cumont, several other reviewers took issue with the title of the book. Indeed, the reviews focused on the title to the extent that little else was discussed. However, several reviews took up the issues with profound seriousness because they understood that not only the title and text of the Mithras Liturgy but also the methodology of interpretation were at stake. The ensuing controversy shows admiration as well as substantial criticism. While Cumont's negative critique seemed to sway many in his direction, some important scholars came to Dieterich's defense. In fact, the debates of the next ten years coincided with the formation of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule." Moreover, his appointment at Heidelberg attracted a growing number of excellent students, so that his scholarly reputation, in spite of the negative reactions, was greatly enhanced by the debate. At least two reviews were substantial and are still worth reading.

In his book *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, Albert Schweitzer places Dieterich's work in the context of chapter VII, "Die religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung," in which he analyses critically the methodology of the early "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule."⁹⁵ His presentation of Dieterich's thesis and method is remarkably positive and to the point.⁹⁶ According to Schweitzer, Dieterich approaches the text "directly" as a "Mithras Liturgy,"⁹⁷ and thinks the prayers were to be recited in the course of the ascension, which carries the

⁹⁴ See above, n. 93.

⁹⁵ *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911), 141–84.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 146–60.

⁹⁷ Schweitzer also questions the title: "Jedenfalls wäre es besser gewesen, wenn Dieterich dem Buche den unnötigen und umstrittenen Titel nicht gegeben hätte" (146, n. 1).

initiate out of this world of the four elements through the stars to the region of the gods. Guided by the sun god through the heaven of the fixed stars he reaches the supreme deity. The ancient initiates ritually performed this ascension in the Mithraic grottos. In fact, archeological findings could point to such scenarios. If the ritual was performed as a sacramental drama, the aim of the ascension to heaven was that the soul would attain immortality. The question remains whether this was the supreme mystery of this religion, which the devotees experienced only once, or whether it took its regular place in the cult.⁹⁸

The main points of Schweitzer's criticism concern Dieterich's methodology of comparing the Mithras Liturgy with the theology of Paul and John's Gospel, in order to explain the origins of their theologies as derivatives of mystery cults. In the course of that comparison Dieterich employs concepts such as "sacramental," "redeemer god," or "mystical union with the deity," which fit neither Paul's nor John's theology. In fact, Dieterich's apparent goal is to get beyond the individual texts and develop a conceptuality for all ancient religion. In order to document such a conceptuality, collecting as many parallels and analogies as possible seems necessary, but Dieterich himself warns against this kind of "Analogienwut."⁹⁹ Schweitzer's discussion reaches beyond Dieterich and is directed at the often unguarded assumptions of the early "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule." One must not forget, however, that in all this Schweitzer has also his own axe to grind.

Other substantial reviews came from Richard Reitzenstein who was more sympathetic to Dieterich than Schweitzer was;¹⁰⁰ a second review in 1912 also benefited from Schweitzer's of 1911. Reitzenstein agrees with Cumont that the Mithras Liturgy does not provide any information about the Mithras cult as Cumont conceived of it. The Mithras Liturgy "is not a liturgy in the narrower sense of the term, nor can it be used to reconstruct any kind of official Mithras religion; indeed, for Cumont's aims it is unusable and totally irrelevant. And yet, in Dieterich's hands and for his purposes the papyrus segment he calls 'Mithras Liturgy' has proven to be an immensely precious treasure."¹⁰¹ Reitzenstein,

⁹⁸ Ibid., 146–47.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 152.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Reitzenstein, "Hellenistische Theologie in Ägypten," *NJKA* 7 (1904) 177–94 (192–94 on Dieterich); idem, "Religionsgeschichte und Eschatologie," *ZNW* 13 (1912) 1–28 (12–16 on Dieterich).

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 12: "... sie ist weder eine Liturgie im engeren Sinne, noch kann sie zur Rekonstruktion irgendeiner anerkannten Form der Mithrasreligion verwertet werden; sie ist für Cumonts Zwecke wirklich unbenutzbar und vollkommen gleichgültig. Und doch hat sie sich in Dieterichs Hand und für seine Zwecke als unschätzbare Kleinod erwiesen. Freilich der Seltsamkeit und Bedeutsamkeit der Tatsache, daß wir hier eine religiöse

however, claims that Dieterich did not fully realize that we have here a religious document of large size, full of individual life and deep intensity, which simply does not conform to any religion known to us. In fact, "Cumont's way of looking at the evidence, justified as it is in and of itself..., cannot be the only one admissible, because it leaves out of consideration the numerous monuments of *individual* religious life that are extant from the period of syncretism."¹⁰² In other words, Dieterich did recognize the unique as well as syncretistic character of the Mithras Liturgy, but he did not make enough use of it in his defense against Cumont's view that there is only one kind of Mithraism. "Dieterich took over from his teacher Usener the great task of studying the formal language of religious thinking; he transposed it from the formation of the notion of deity or myth to the deepest ground of all religion, to the longing of humans for unification with the divine."¹⁰³

Today, because of the large increase in data, Mithraism has been shown to be a religion which experienced several reconfigurations in its history. As it spread over the Roman empire through the military and the administration, in particular in Rome, but also in Egypt, local adaptations were a normal phenomenon. Conceivably, Egyptian learned priests such as the author of the Mithras liturgy became devoted to Mithras, even while they served as priests in the Egyptian temples. The author's intense devotion to Mithras should not be denied its own integrity. That the author was a member of a Mithraic community is less likely, but he did have some valid information about the cult of Mithras. Given the syncretistic aura of Hellenistic Egypt, there was plenty of room in the Egyptian temples for Egyptian as well as Greek deities, so why not Mithras? If the priests were charged with developing the liturgies appropriate for worshipping so many other deities, why not for Mithras?

Therefore, contrary to the early criticisms, the book remained in discussion, evidenced by the two further editions of 1910 and 1923. Each time Dieterich's former students, Richard Wünsch (1869–1915) and Otto Weinreich (1886–1972), edited and expanded the notes while leaving the main text intact, until it was reprinted without change in 1966. Today, because of the newly devel-

Urkunde von größtem Umfang, individuellstem Leben und tiefster Innerlichkeit haben, die sich doch keiner uns bekannten Religionsform eingliedern läßt, ist Dieterich sich nie klar bewußt geworden...."

¹⁰² Ibid., 13: "... daß Cumonts Betrachtungsweise, so berechtigt sie an sich ist..., nicht die einzig zulässige sein kann, weil sie die Fülle der Denkmäler *individuellen* religiösen Lebens unerklärt beiseite lassen muß, die uns aus der Zeit des Synkretismus erhalten sind."

¹⁰³ Ibid., 13: "Die Formensprache religiösen Denkens zu erkennen, das war die große Aufgabe, die er von Usener übernommen hatte; er übertrug sie von der Bildung des Götterbegriffes oder Mythos auf das tiefste Innere aller Religion, auf die Sehnsucht des Menschen nach Vereinigung mit Gott."

oping interest in the phenomena and literature of magic as well as Mithraism, the book has moved from the margins into the mainstream of the increasing study of Hellenistic religious syncretism. The older positions, however, in modified forms still have present-day representatives.

Cumont's basic position is maintained emphatically by Reinhold Merkelbach and Robert Turcan. Merkelbach's commentary¹⁰⁴ is based on Dieterich's work, but he rejects Dieterich's title and proposes his own: "Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie," which he groups together with the Leiden Papyrus (PGM XIII), calling them by various terms: "Weihezeremonien,"¹⁰⁵ "Einweihungszeremonien,"¹⁰⁶ or "Die Pariser Unsterblichkeits-Liturgie."¹⁰⁷ Thus, while retaining the term "liturgy," he simply equates it with "ceremony." Turcan continues Cumont's denial that the Mithras liturgy has anything to do with Mithraism; he sees it marginally related to theurgical Neoplatonism.¹⁰⁸

New developments, however, have arisen in recent years that fundamentally challenge both Merkelbach's and Turcan's position.¹⁰⁹ Discoveries of fresco paintings, mosaics, inscriptions, and other archaeological findings have increased the evidence pointing to syncretistic forms of Mithraism.¹¹⁰ Important in this respect is a newly discovered fresco painting from a mithraeum in Ponza (Italy), showing clearly Mithras' raising up of the shoulder of a bull which is mentioned also in the Mithras Liturgy as a ritual act of central importance.¹¹¹ As Dieterich mentioned in his letters to Usener (October 29

¹⁰⁴ Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, vol. 3: *Zwei griechisch-ägyptische Weihezeremonien (Die Leidener Welterschöpfung; Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie)*. See above, p. 13 n. 51.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, v, 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Turcan, "Initiation," *RAC* 18 (1998) 87–159, esp. 119–20, 126–27: "Am Rande des theurgischen Neuplatonismus stehend, doch vom gleichen Geist durchtränkt, kennzeichnet das 'Rezept der Unsterblichkeit' (PGM IV 475–732; Festugière, *La Révélation* 1, 303/8; 3, 169/74), das Dieterich, Mithr. unpassend 'Mithrasliturgie' genannt hat, das geistige Milieu aE. des 3. Jh. nC., in dem der Vollzug innerer Mysterien empfohlen wurde." Consequently, Turcan does not mention the ML in his work, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1989; 2nd ed. 1992); ET: *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (trans. Antonia Nevill; Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). See also Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 17, 90–91, 95, 193.

¹⁰⁹ For surveys of the history of research, see Roger Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," *ANRW* II. 17:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. 2050–51; idem, "Merkelbach's Mithras," *Phoe.* 41 (1987) 294–316; idem, "The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Genesis," *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28; Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras: The God and His Mysteries* (trans. Richard Gordon; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 105–8, 126.

¹¹⁰ For further discussion, see below, section V of this Introduction.

¹¹¹ For discussion, see the commentary *infra*, on l. 699.

and December 8, 1901), it was this point that caused him to attribute the PGM text to Mithraism. As a result, there are many scholars today who insist that the Mithras Liturgy rightly carries the provocative name given it by Dieterich and that it should be attributed to syncretistic developments of Mithraic mysteries in Hellenistic Egypt. Therefore, today Cumont's criticism of Dieterich has become far less impressive than it first sounded and should not stand in the way of a positive assessment of the latter's accomplishments.¹¹²

To return to Dieterich's biography, the year 1903 brought another major event: the move to Heidelberg where he accepted the prestigious chair formerly occupied by Erwin Rohde and Otto Crusius. In Heidelberg, his activities shifted by necessity to lecturing, traveling as well as editorial and administrative tasks. One book appeared, on the subject of Mother Earth,¹¹³ but the ever increasing commitments that come with success and authority collided with the sudden death of Hermann Usener (October 1905) which hit him especially hard and disrupted his plans. He began working on a biography of Usener which he never completed. During a journey to Hamburg to lecture on "The End of Ancient Religion"¹¹⁴ he contracted influenza but refused to take time out for recovery. He had reached the peak of his career when on May 5 he went into the lecture hall to begin a new semester, but after the first few sentences he suddenly stumbled and collapsed because of a fatal stroke. He died without regaining consciousness on May 6, 1908.

As far as his legacy is concerned, his wife and his former students took the necessary steps to secure it. Marie Dieterich contributed his papers and research materials to the Usener-Archiv at the University Library in Bonn, where it still is today.¹¹⁵ His essays were collected in *Kleine Schriften*, published by Richard Wünsch.¹¹⁶ Dieterich's major books were reprinted after World War II by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

To sum up, Dieterich's "Mithras Liturgy" became known as a landmark of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule."¹¹⁷ His commentary demonstrated his five major discoveries: (1) that the text segment in question differs significantly from the other segments of the larger Paris Magical Papyrus; (2) that one must

¹¹² This was recognized already by Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 170, n. 1): "Ich bedauere, daß ein so feinsinniger Gelehrter wie Cumont bis in seine neusten Veröffentlichungen hinein Dieterichs Verdienst verkennt."

¹¹³ *Mutter Erde* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905).

¹¹⁴ "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," in his *Kleine Schriften*, 449–539.

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 4 n. 14.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 1 n. 4.

¹¹⁷ See the forthcoming article by Friedhelm Hartenstein and Hans Dieter Betz, "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule," *RGG* (4th ed., 2004).

interpret this segment in the syncretistic context of the mystery cults of Hellenistic Egypt and beyond; (3) that the text is influenced by Stoic philosophy and is close to Hermeticism; (4) that this text involves a kind of “liturgy”; (5) that cultic images play a significant role in the procedures.¹¹⁸ As a result of new discoveries and more refined methodologies of interpretation, today these five discoveries can be far better appreciated than in Dieterich’s own days. Dieterich’s book thus in no way resembles an outdated experiment, but rather continues to stimulate the discussion about this fascinating text and the larger issues of the interpretation of ancient religion.

IV. Genre and Composition

1. Delimitation

As stated before, the section of the Paris Magical Papyrus we call Mithras Liturgy is sandwiched between a series of Homeric verses which have been interrupted by this insertion (ll. 468–74, 821–34).¹¹⁹ These Homeric verses have section titles designating their function as charms. The charm ll. 468–69 is called *θυμοκάτοχον* (“Charm to restrain anger”), followed by ll. 470–74, called *Πρὸς φίλους* (“To get friends”). After the conclusion of the Mithras Liturgy, ll. 821–24 contain four more lines of Homer verses without a separate section title, followed by a *historiola*, an untitled short story serving magical functions (ll. 825–29), and another Homeric verse (l. 830). At this point, l. 831 suprisingly repeats the *θυμοκάτοχον* of ll. 468–69, and the first Homer verse of the section (ll. 469–70), entitling it again *Πρὸς φίλους* (ll. 833–34). After this, the papyrus continues in ll. 835–49 with an untitled section on favorable and unfavorable times attributed to the Greek planetary deities.

¹¹⁸ This discovery by Dieterich can be newly appreciated in the light of current studies on the significance of images; see Burckhardt Gladigow, “Präsenz der Bilder – Präsenz der Götter,” *VisRel* 4–5 (1985–86) 114–33; idem, “Epiphanie, Statuette, Kultbild,” *VisRel* 7 (1990) 98–121; Stephen R. Zwirn, “The Intention of Biographical Narration on Mithraic Cult Images,” *Word & Image* 5 (1989) 2–18; Richard Gordon, *Image and Value in the Graeco-Roman World: Studies in Mithraism and the Religious Art* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1996); Burckhardt Gladigow, “Kultbild,” *HRWG* 4 (1998) 9–14; idem, “Bild,” *RGG* (4th ed., 1998) 1.1560; idem et al., “Bilderkult,” *ibid.*, 1562–74; Jan Assmann & Albert I. Baumgarten, eds. *Representation in Religion: Studies in Honor of Moshe Barasch* (Numen Book Series: Studies in the History of Religions, 89; Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001), with bibl.

¹¹⁹ So Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 20–21: “Es scheint, daß zwischen die Homerverse der große Wahrsagezauber eingeschoben ist, so daß vor und nach ihm noch deren gesprengte Stücke erscheinen.”

Since there are no detectable reasons for breaking up the sequence of Homeric verses and sandwiching the Mithras Liturgy between the parts, some kind of confusion on the part of the copyist must have occurred. The repetition of ll. 468–70, including the section titles, in ll. 831–34 must then also be the result of that confusion. Moreover, the *θυμοκάτοχον* of ll. 468–69 reappears not only in l. 831 but also at the end of the sequence in ll. 821–24, while the isolated Homer verse in l. 830 occurs previously at the end of the sequence ll. 469–74. The papyrus has paragraphos signs between the Homeric verses; after l. 820 there is a vacant space. By contrast, there seems to be no paragraphos sign before the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy; it does, however, begin with a new line (l. 475).

The following conclusions can be drawn from this evidence:¹²⁰ (1) The Mithras Liturgy is originally independent from the Homer verses, which are therefore not part of its internal composition.¹²¹ (2) For no detectable reason, the copyist interrupted the charms containing the Homeric verses, inserted the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety (ll. 475–820), and resumed the Homer charms afterwards (ll. 821–34). (3) The problem remains unresolved. Perhaps, the copyist became confused about what he had copied already and what he still had to do. However, no such confusion appears elsewhere in the papyrus.

2. *The literary genre*

a. *External genre designations*

Since there is no external designation of the literary genre of the Mithras Liturgy, the question of its genre requires a complex answer. Apparently, the *Vorlage* had no section title, and neither the author/redactor nor the copyist inserted one. Whereas the PGM corpus contains many spells without section titles, in most cases a section title can be supplied on the basis of parallels. The Mithras Liturgy has no parallel in the PGM or anywhere else from which an external title could be derived.

¹²⁰ See the explanations given by Hubert Martin and Marvin Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 47, 54); Martin also points to the parallel in PGM IV.2145–2240, which does carry a section title indicating function (*Τρίστιχρος Ὁμήρου πάρεδρος*, "Divine assistance from three Homeric verses." The three Homer verses in ll. 2145–51 correspond to ll. 471–73 and 821–23.

¹²¹ Differently, Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, 20–21) regards ll. 821–34 to be a part of the Mithras Liturgy. He does not give a reason why he omits the Homer verses preceding the beginning (ll. 468–74). Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.182, 249) follows Dieterich; Preisendanz (1.100–1 [apparatus]) reports on the problem as unresolved.

b. Internal genre designations

The text of the Mithras Liturgy uses several terms of literary self-reference. Most important is ἀπαθανατισμός, the name for “the ritual of immortalization.” This name, however, occurs only in the supplemental rituals of Part III (ll. 741, 747, 771), describing the function of the main body, Part II (ll. 485–732) as “becoming immortalized” (ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι [ll. 647–48]). There is no evidence, however, that this name at one time served as the head title and was omitted by the redaction.¹²²

The terms σύνταγμα (ll. 481–82) and ὑπόμνημα (l. 820) are technical, and both refer to the text as a whole. The term σύνταγμα points to the text as a “composition” out of subordinate parts; ὑπόμνημα (“memorandum”) comes from legal language and states the completion of the document which, as the insertion of ll. 479–82 leads us to conclude, was sent to a “daughter.”¹²³

Subsidiary parts are also marked by appropriate terms. Prayers are called λόγοι, beginning with “the invocational prayer” (ll. 485–537), τοῦ λόγου ἡδε ἡ κλησις (l. 486), also called πρῶτος λόγος (“first prayer” in ll. 741–42). Second (ὁ β΄ λόγος) and third (ὁ γ΄ λόγος) prayers are enumerated in ll. 577 and 587, but it is unclear how these three are to be related to the citations of the σιγή-logos (ll. 558–59, 573, 577–78, 623). A greeting prayer can be named in l. 638 ἀσπαστικός (λόγος?). The section title of διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (l. 750) points to “instruction pertaining to the ritual” as the purpose of the composition. These linguistic markers are important for the determination of the compositional parts. None of these terms, however, serves as the head title expressing the literary genre of the whole composition. In modern descriptive terminology we might label it a “Ritual to obtain an ascension and consultation with the god Mithras.”

3. Composition

In spite of its complexity, the literary composition of the Mithras Liturgy is clear and well executed. Considerable agreement exists in the scholarly literature about the separate sections. The contributions by Dieterich as well as Merkelbach represent significant steps, but so far a detailed literary analysis has

¹²² Cf. Merkelbach's suggestion (*Abrasax*, 3.249) that some portion at the beginning of the *Vorlage* may have been omitted.

¹²³ See the commentary on ll. 479–82 and 820.

not been undertaken.¹²⁴ Our own literary analysis¹²⁵ shows four distinguishable parts.

Part I (ll. 475–85) contains a well-constructed exordium which takes the form of a prayer to the divinity of Providence and World-Soul. This prayer involves a petition for pardon in view of what is described as risky and potentially inappropriate transmission in writing of the secret tradition of mysteries to a fellow-initiate. Merkelbach calls the exordium “secondary,”¹²⁶ which he means not only in the literary sense that every introduction is secondary to whatever is being introduced, but also in the sense of replacement. He assumes that a text segment containing preparatory rituals, which need to be performed prior to the ascension ritual, has been excised and replaced by the present exordium. Merkelbach is certainly right about the necessity of preparatory rituals, especially because they are required for the magician and the fellow-initiate (ll. 733–36). Therefore, the fact that no such preparatory rituals are found at the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy needs to be explained. If such rituals appeared in the source material (*Vorlage*), the redactor may have excised them for several reasons: (1) The Paris Magical Papyrus (IV.26–51, 52–85) begins with preparatory rituals which may suffice for the following rituals. (2) The author presupposes that he and his addressee are already initiated (μύσται) and have thus learned to observe the preparations. (3) The author may regard the performance of the preparations as self-evident and adds only matters that are not self-evident (see, especially, the insertion of ll. 479–81).¹²⁷ (4) For the philosophically-minded author purification by the spirit, as it takes place in the ascension ritual itself, may have greater importance than the conventional purification rituals.¹²⁸

While separately or in combination any of these reasons could have caused the omission, no evidence exists for an excision of a text segment from the *Vorlage* which would have the present exordium as its replacement.

¹²⁴ Merkelbach describes sections by way of their content, but he does not provide a detailed literary analysis (*Abrasax*, 3.28–40, 159–83, 233–49).

¹²⁵ See the Conspectus, below pp. 60–87; for detailed discussions, see the respective sections of the commentary.

¹²⁶ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.155–59), especially 155–56: “Die Einleitung zu dem Text ist sekundär. Diese Einleitung gehört nicht zum ursprünglichen Text, sondern ist hinzugefügt worden, als man die Zeremonien auch an andere Personen weitergeben und zu anderen Zwecken als den ursprünglichen verwendet hat.”

¹²⁷ Not self-evident are the insertions of ll. 479–81, 651–55, and the supplemental rituals of Part III (ll. 732–819). This applies also to the preparation of the special amulets (ll. 813–19, mentioned before at ll. 659–61, 708).

¹²⁸ Terms designating purity are relatively infrequent in ML; see καθαρός l. 569; καθαρείως ll. 760, 771; ἁγιάζω 522; ἁγίασμα 522; ἅγιος ll. 522, 668–69; ἁγνέω l. 784. By contrast, the notion of “spirit” (πνεῦμα) in association with fire (πῦρ κτλ.) is central.

Part II (ll. 485–732) includes the main body of the ritual, which carries the name ἀπαθανατισμός (“ritual of immortalization”). This part subdivides into four subsections which deal with the major phases of the ritual. The subsections are partly prescriptive recitations, partly narrative descriptions of the ritual process.

Subsection A (ll. 485–537) sets forth for recitation a long, well-composed and highly complex prayer of invocation of the four elements which constitute the universe as well as the creation and recreation of the human body.

Subsection B (ll. 537–38) prescribes a breathing ritual for inhaling “spirit” (πνεῦμα) carried downwards by the rays of the sun.

Subsection C (ll. 539–44) provides religio-philosophical explanations of the concept of ascension through the spirit.

Subsection D (544–731) narrates in carefully described scenarios the seven stages of the ascension culminating at the seventh stage in an encounter with the god Mithras. Included in the narrative are prayers of invocation and greetings of the deities encountered as well as ritual acts to be performed at critical moments of the ascension. While the ascension takes place in the mind of the acting magician, it is both “realistic” in terms of the performance of ritual acts, and imaginary in terms of a journey through the seven spheres of the universe. Merkelbach considers the possibility that the “realism” would consist of a kind of theatrical production, including special effects. He points as evidence to Graeco-Roman authors who describe the use of “Sacred Theater” in a cultic context. “One may imagine a dark room, in which one corner is illuminated by a light reflecting the sun disk. The candidate stands on a pedestal that at some point can be lifted by ropes or by hydraulic machinery into the air.”¹²⁹ But of course one can also imagine that for a spirit-inspired Stoic machine-made “virtual reality” would be redundant.¹³⁰

- (1) First scenario (ll. 544–55): encounter with the planetary deities;
- (2) Second scenario (ll. 556–69): overcoming the threat by the planetary deities;
- (3) Third scenario (ll. 569–85): vision of the sun-disk;
- (4) Fourth scenario (ll. 585–628): vision of the opening of the doors to the world of the gods;
- (5) Fifth scenario (ll. 628–61): encounter with Helios;

¹²⁹ Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.28–40, especially 32: “Man stelle sich ein dunkles Zimmer vor, in welchem an einer Stelle ein helles Licht leuchtet, das die Sonnenscheibe repräsentiert. Der Kandidat steht auf einem Podest, das später entweder durch Seile oder durch eine hydraulische Konstruktion in die Luft gehoben wird.”

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 34: “Man kann sich auch vorstellen, daß dieses Podest gar nicht erforderlich war und daß der Initiand sich die Reise in die Luft nur meditierend suggerieren sollte.” See also *ibid.*, 39.

- (6) Sixth scenario (ll. 661–92): encounter with the deities of the Bear constellations;
- (7) Seventh scenario (ll. 693–732): encounter with Mithras.

Part III (ll. 732–819) contains supplemental rituals. These rituals need to be performed in conjunction with the preceding formula, as indicated by cross-references. They include the following:

Subsection A (ll. 732–50) provides three optional rituals for including an associate:

- (1) Consultation by using a medium (ll. 732–35);
- (2) Consultation without a medium (ll. 736–38);
- (3) Consultation working with showing of symbols (ll. 738–46);
- (4) Additional stipulations (ll. 746–50).

Subsection B (ll. 750–819): contains additional instructions:

- (1) Two preparatory rituals (ll. 750–92):
 - (a) Preparation of the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78);
 - (b) Preparation of the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–92).
- (2) Three items of information (ll. 792–813):
 - (a) Change of the ritual of the ointment (ll. 792–96);
 - (b) Change of the ritual concerning times of performance (ll. 796–98);
 - (c) Botanical information about the plant *kentritis* (ll. 798–813);
- (3) Third preparatory ritual: the phylacteries (ll. 813–19).

Part IV (ll. 819–20): concluding epilogue

4. Redaction

Regarding redaction, the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety is the result of redaction on the part of the author/redactor. However, several levels of redaction need to be distinguished.

Firstly, the composition as a whole involves redaction with regard to the traditions that have been included, perhaps modified, and arranged in the way shown by the document. These redactional activities presuppose literary skills, which enable the author to determine what is appropriate in literary terms.

Secondly, knowledge of rituals determines the required components as well as the sequence of the ritual acts. In other words, ritual knowledge that is primarily unwritten determines what is to be inserted at which place and in which order in the written account. This knowledge is also presupposed in Part III which contains supplemental information. What is supplemented are procedures considered necessary, desirable or optional within the parameters of ritual competence (e.g., ll. 487–81). This competence lies also behind the internal cross-references (e.g., ll. 750–819).

Thirdly, the author/redactor has compared his *Vorlage* with one or more other versions, and he has annotated textual variants (ll. 500, 591; cf. also II.49; IV.29; 1277; V.51; VII.204; XII.201; XIII.731).

Fourthly, there are a few redactional flaws that may be attributed to the copyist rather than the author (e.g., the omissions in ll. 660–61, 814–19).¹³¹

V. The Religio-historical Context

Determining in a more precise way the place where the Mithras Liturgy fits in its religio-historical context requires careful methodological considerations. Clearly, the point of departure should be the text as we have it, even though what we have before us is anything but self-evident. We may approach the question from several angles.

The immediate context is the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, a magical handbook in which the Mithras Liturgy appears along with many other texts. Within certain parameters these texts display a considerable degree of diversity. Seen in this context, the Mithras Liturgy is not like any of the other texts even in the larger corpus called *Papyri Graecae Magicae*; in fact, it stands out like an intruder from a different world, which has been inserted into a section using Homeric verses. To obtain valid comparisons, therefore, it is necessary for the interpretation to go beyond its immediate context.

As Cumont and others have seen, the Mithras Liturgy does not seem to fit in the context of Mithraism as we know it. However, what we know about the liturgy of the Mithraic mysteries is very limited. The inscriptions painted on walls of the mithraeum of Santa Prisca in Rome are equally puzzling; they certainly played some role in the ritual, but which role it was is unknown.¹³² Evidence of syncretistic Mithraism is increasing as a result of archaeological discoveries.¹³³ A Mithras sanctuary existed in Alexan-

¹³¹ For further discussion, see the commentary *ad loc.*

¹³² See Maarten J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine* (Leiden: Brill 1965); Hans Dieter Betz, "The Mithras Inscriptions of Santa Prisca and the New Testament," *NovT* 10 (1968) 62–80; reprinted in Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 72–91; Roger Beck, "The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Mysteries," *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28, esp. 127–28; idem, "Ritual, Myth, Doctrine, and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel," *JRS* 90 (2000) 145–80; Anke Schütte-Maischatz and Engelbert Winter, "Kultstätten der Mithrasmysterien in Doliche," in *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (ed. Jörg Wagner; München: Von Zabern, 2000), 93–99.

¹³³ It is hard to keep track of the discoveries; for the association of Helios and Mithras, see N. P. Milner, "New Votive Reliefs from Oinoanda," *Anatolian Studies* 44 (1994) 65–76;

dria.¹³⁴ What does it mean that the initiating priest in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has the name Mithras?¹³⁵ If William Brashear is right, a fragmentary Graeco-Egyptian papyrus could be a Mithraic catechism in dialogue form.¹³⁶

The wider context of Hellenistic mystery cults poses similar problems because the Mithras Liturgy, while using mystery-cult language and concepts, is not as such a mystery-cult text. To be sure, however, there are no agreed definitions of what qualifies as a mystery-cult text. On its own terms at least, the Mithras Liturgy wishes to be taken as a secret mystery-cult text.¹³⁷ It would be misleading to call it an "initiation ritual," if this refers to a first initiation.¹³⁸ Yet the practitioners claim to be initiated *μύσται*,¹³⁹ and among the formulae are some that seem like quotations of a preceding ritual; thus, an initiation ritual is assumed as a precondition for the present ritual. However, there is no indication which mystery initiation is assumed.¹⁴⁰

The best way to proceed, therefore, is to examine the religio-historical presuppositions internal to the text as well as close analogies elsewhere in contemporary ancient literature.¹⁴¹ Already Dieterich had noted the syncre-

Albert De Jong, "A New Syrian Mithraic *Tauroctony*," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New series, 11 (1997) 53–63; Michal Gawlikowski, "Hawarti: Preliminary Report," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 10 (1999) 197–204. For the later solar cult of Christ, see Franz Joseph Dölger, *Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 4–5; 2nd ed.; Münster: Aschendorff, 1925); Fauth, *Helios Megistos*; Martin Wallraff, *Christus Versus Sol: Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike* (JAC.E 32; Münster: Aschendorff, 2001).

¹³⁴ See the collection of evidence by Manfred Clauss, *Cultores Mithrae: Die Anhänger-schaft des Mithraskultes* (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 10; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 243, 245–52; idem, *The Roman Cult of Mithras*, 105–8, 126; Ingeborg Huld-Zetsche, "Die Stiertötung als Sternenkunde: Astral-mythologische Hintergründe im Mithraskult," *Antike Welt* 30 (1999) 97–104.

¹³⁵ Apuleius, *Metam.* XI.22: *ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem principium*; cf. XI.25: *complexus Mithram sacerdotem et meum iam parentem*. See Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 281–82.

¹³⁶ William M. Brashear, *A Mithraic Catechism from Egypt* (P. Berol. 21196) (Wien: Holzhausens, 1992). Cf. the review by Roger Beck, *Gnomon* 67 (1995) 260–62.

¹³⁷ For the evidence see my essay, "Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 209–29; also Graf, "Magie und Mysterienkulte," in *Gottesnähe*, 89–107 (ET: "Magic and Mystery Cults," in *Magic*, 96–117).

¹³⁸ Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.6–7, 84–85) speaks of "Einweihung," "Weihezeremonie" and "Initiation," but without clearly defining these terms. "Initiation" should be used for a first introduction into a mystery-cult, while further procedures could be called "rituals" with specifications, e.g., "rituals of sanctification" or "rituals of oracular consultation."

¹³⁹ See the commentary below on ll. 475–84.

¹⁴⁰ No other traditional names of gods are mentioned in the ML, except Helios-Aion-Mithras. See the commentary below, on l. 482.

¹⁴¹ For the following, see also my Hans Lietzmann Lecture of 2000, published under the title *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen und theologischen*

tistic character of the Mithras Liturgy and identified main contributors. That the text as a whole is situated in Hellenistic Egypt is evident especially from the final Supplemental Rituals (ll. 732–820).¹⁴² The names of the ingredients are Greek, although they refer to Egyptian places, animals, plants, and minerals. Although the non-Greek *voces magicae* may be intended to be “Egyptian” in Greek transcription, whether the author knew Egyptian script or language cannot be determined. The author’s handling of the *voces magicae* does not provide evidence for his knowledge of that language to the extent he understands and writes Greek.¹⁴³ What is astonishing, however, is that not much appears in the Mithras Liturgy regarding Egyptian religion. None of the traditional Egyptian deities are mentioned by name, and the same is true of Greek gods.

Given its monotheistic tendency, Helios-Mithras-Aion is the only deity named, but in addition there are deified abstracts such as Πρῶοία, Ψυχή, Τύχη, etc., and various astral divinities and powers. If, as is assumed,¹⁴⁴ the author was a learned priest/magician serving in a temple in Thebes,¹⁴⁵ it is

Bedeutung der ‘Mithrasliturgie’ (PGM IV/475–820) (HLV 6; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); idem, “Mithrasreligion,” *RGG* (2002) 5.1344–47.

¹⁴² Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt was diversified. The country was strongly influenced by Greek language and the religious ideas coming with it, but these influences differed from place to place. Overall there was a growing tendency toward syncretism, involving older Egyptian, Greek, and then Roman traditions. How to assess these religious developments is the subject of present scholarly discussions. See, especially, László Kákosy, “Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten,” *ANRW* II.18:5 (1995) 2894–3049 (3023–49: on magic, 3044: on the Mithras Liturgy); Bagnall, *Egypt*; Ritner, *Mechanics*; idem, “Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context,” *ANRW* II.18:5 (1995) 3333–79; idem, “Magic,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 3 (2001) 321–36; Jan Assmann, “Magic and Theology in Ancient Egypt,” in Schäfer & Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*, 1–18; idem, *Weisheit und Mysterium: Das Bild der Griechen von Ägypten* (München: Beck, 2000); David Frankfurter, “Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category ‘Magician,’” *ibid.*, 115–35; idem, *Religion in Roman Egypt*; Hornung, *Ägypten*, 62–98.

¹⁴³ On the vanishing ability to understand the hieroglyphs in Graeco-Egypt, see Erich Winter, “Hieroglyphen,” *RAC* 15 (1989) 83–103; H. Sternberg-El Hatabi, “Der Untergang der Hieroglyphenschrift: Schriftverfall und Schrifttod im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit,” *CEg* 69 (1994) 218–45.

¹⁴⁴ For assumptions regarding the author, see above, 10.

¹⁴⁵ For learned magicians see my essay, “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 173–83; for the Hellenistic and Roman world, see Matthew W. Dickie, “The learned magician and the collection and transmission of magical lore,” in Jordan, *The World of Ancient Magic*, 163–93; for Egypt, see Serge Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l’ancienne Égypte* (Paris: Persea, 1988); ET: *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 198–237.

surprising that he does not seem to be interested in utilizing the Egyptian pantheon and its concomitant myths. Rather, he articulates ideas of the philosophy of religion typical of Middle Stoicism.¹⁴⁶ These Stoic ideas were already discussed by Cumont and Dieterich.¹⁴⁷ As the author himself shows, his aim is to give interpretations of religious themes such as recreation/rebirth and ascension into heaven that are philosophical rather than mythico-theological. By comparison, the Mithras Liturgy does not show any evidence of Neoplatonic influence.¹⁴⁸

Since Dieterich displays an enormous range of source materials in his *Mithrasliturgie*, it is puzzling that he does not point out the many parallels to the Hermetic literature. His *Abraxas* shows, however, that he is familiar with the Hermetica and refers to them.¹⁴⁹ The omission of the Hermetic literature in Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie* may be caused by the fact that he is focused on Mithraism and that Hermeticism was brought first to the forefront by Richard Reitzenstein in his book *Poimandres*.¹⁵⁰ This book appeared in 1904 and shows no awareness yet of Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie*. This fact and his concentration on the Hermetic literature may have prevented him from even considering the Mithras Liturgy passage.¹⁵¹ This situation has changed radically in Reitzenstein's *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*. Dedicated to the memory of Albrecht Dieterich, the work is deeply influenced by him.¹⁵² The third edition of 1927 takes into account the

¹⁴⁶ A similar figure seems to have been the first century CE Isis priest and Stoic philosopher Chaeremon of Alexandria, who became Nero's teacher in 49 CE and who wrote a work called *Αἰγυπτιακὴ ἱστορία* which described the Egyptian priest's life as a fulfilment of Stoic ideals. See Pieter W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher; The Fragments collected and translated, with explanatory notes* (EPRO 103; Leiden: Brill, 1984); Michael Frede, "Chairemon," ANRW II.36:3 (1989) 2067–2103.

¹⁴⁷ Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 55, 83–86; *Mithrasliturgie*, 55, 61, 80–82, 155–56.

¹⁴⁸ Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 208: "... ich habe in ihr, soweit ich erkennen konnte, nirgends eine Spur entdeckt, die eine direkte Einwirkung neuplatonischer Lehren und ihrer Formulierungen auch nur wahrscheinlich machen könnte." In a defensive footnote (n. 2) Dieterich emphasizes that it would make no difference to his argument, even if dependency on Neoplatonism or Christianity could be demonstrated. ("Ich will auch hier, durch Erfahrungen gewarnt, noch einmal betonen, daß es meinen Ausführungen gar nichts nehmen würde, wenn Abhängigkeit vom Neuplatonismus sich nachweisen ließe, so wenig wie ein etwaiger Nachweis der Abhängigkeit vom Christlichen.")

¹⁴⁹ Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 31, 44, 61, 67, 87, 134 (pointing out that Hermes Trismegistos is mentioned in PGM IV.886; VII.550; see Betz, *GMPT*, 133, n. 93).

¹⁵⁰ On Reitzenstein, see above, n. 79.

¹⁵¹ Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, 15) mentions "das von Anz erkannte Mithrasmysterium" without further comment. He does, of course, know Dieterich's *Abraxas* (2, n. 1; 15, n. 2, and *passim*).

¹⁵² This work began as a lecture delivered in 1909 and published a year later (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1910).

controversies about Dieterich's "classic book *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,"¹⁵³ cautiously affirming his major hypotheses and expanding the study of oriental literature.¹⁵⁴ On the whole, Reitzenstein supports Dieterich's idea of the Mithraic character of the Mithras Liturgy.¹⁵⁵ He further integrates it into the orientally-hellenistic syncretism,¹⁵⁶ emphasizing its similarities with the Hermetic literature.¹⁵⁷ The differences between the Mithras Liturgy and the *Hermetica* are also clear: whereas the former maintains the actual practice of the ritual, the latter drop the ritual and fully internalize and spiritualize the religion.¹⁵⁸

This turn to spiritualization enabled Festugière to interpret the entire Hermetic literature in terms of a mystical Platonism.¹⁵⁹ His important analysis of *CH XIII* carries the title "La mystique par introversion."¹⁶⁰ It is intended to distinguish sharply between the philosophical mysticism of the *Hermetica* and magical rituals.¹⁶¹ Accordingly, his comparison of *CH XIII* and the Mithras Liturgy places the latter into the context of the former and points out the many close parallels. Agreeing with Dieterich's critics he calls the Mithras Liturgy a "pseudo-*Liturgie*." What does Festugière mean by this expression? It is a liturgy, but not in the strict sense of the term; its liturgy is rather an

¹⁵³ Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 81.

¹⁵⁴ In the third edition of 1927 Reitzenstein adds the name of Wilhelm Bousset to the dedication, a point he explains in the Preface (p. III): "Weg und Ziel haben jedem Forscher auf diesen Gebieten Hermann Usener und Albrecht Dieterich gewiesen, aber die engere Fühlung mit der Orientalistik blieb ihnen versagt, und doch ist das Christentum eine orientalische Religion. Wenn wir hier ergänzen und nacharbeiten, so geschieht es, wie ich von beiden weiß, in ihrem Sinn. Der Führer aber für diese Ergänzung ist Wilhelm Bousset gewesen. So zolle auch die neue Ausgabe dieses Büchleins den verstorbenen Freunden, dem Philologen und Theologen, meinen Dank."

¹⁵⁵ Idem, *HMR*, 81, 169–70, 191: "Dieterichs Hauptfund, daß es sich um die Schrift eines Mithrasgläubigen handelt, besteht also durchaus zu Recht. Nur dürfen wir sie mit dem *ἱερός λόγος* eines bestimmten Mysteriums so wenig identifizieren wie das poetische Gebet in dem Nephotes-Zauber oder bei Petosiris-Nechepto mit dem *ἱερός λόγος* eines ägyptischen Mysteriums."

¹⁵⁶ See the programmatic chapter "Orientalischer und hellenistischer Kult" (*ibid.*, 137–191).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 46–53, 167–91, and *passim*. More recently, Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 82–87, 168–72, has rightly emphasized the connections between the Mithras Liturgy and the *Hermetica* as well as the Nag Hammadi texts.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 46–67. See on this point William C. Grese, *Corpus Hermeticum XIII and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 47–58.

¹⁵⁹ On Festugière, see above, n. 82.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, *La révélation*, 4.200–57.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4.203, n. 1: "Même distinction entre *λόγος* et *πράξεις* dans la magie, entre *λεγόμενα* et *δρώμενα* dans les mystères, mais avec cette différence essentielle que l'opération de C. H. XIII consiste dans une expérience tout intérieure, sans l'aide d'aucun sacrement, rite ou représentation symbolique extérieure."

exercise in "virtual reality" comparable to apocalyptic narratives, so that the whole journey is merely "symbolic."¹⁶²

However, Festugière overlooks that the ritual of the Mithras Liturgy is supposed to be performed realistically, as its persistent emphasis on magical procedures shows. Therefore, differently from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the performance of the ritual magic in the Mithras Liturgy goes hand in hand with the imaginary journey to heaven. At stake is the entire complex of problems concerning immanence and transcendence.¹⁶³ The Hermetists separated the intellectual treatises from the ritual performances. In this way they created an intellectual religion, analogous to gnosticism, while magical procedures were relegated to the "scientific" areas of alchemy, astrology, and so forth.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, on the religious side there is no evidence of Jewish or Christian influences in the entire passage. The religion of the Mithras Liturgy is strictly pagan.

To sum up, the Mithras Liturgy occupies a precarious place between various ancient traditions. Clearly, its development took place in an Egyptian religious milieu under the influence of Hellenistic philosophy. That philosophy is Stoic, not Neoplatonic: the Mithras Liturgy originated in a milieu prior to Neoplatonism. Stoic ideas enabled the author to give "rational" explanations for magical practices. This approach implies a certain skepticism with regard to traditional Egyptian religion, because otherwise the author would not consider it necessary to provide apologetic explanations. He went as far as virtually ignoring the traditional Egyptian gods, substituting for them deified philosophical concepts. The entire ritual of rebirth is justified and believed effective because it is constituted in "natural" processes of generation and regeneration integrated in the cosmos. The cosmological worldview is Greek in origin, rather than old Egyptian. Given these contributing factors, the Mithras Liturgy seems to reflect an early or nascent Hermeticism of the first and second century CE. The fact that the composition separates the more philosophical main body (ll. 484–732) from the supplemental and mostly

¹⁶² Ibid., 170: "Il ne s'agit pas d'une liturgie: outre d'autre raisons, le style ne s'y prête aucunement. Il ne s'agit pas non plus, à mon sens, d'un 'livre de dévotion' d'une manière générique et vague, mais, plus précisément, d'un récit de montée au ciel comme la littérature apocalyptique... Il s'en rapproche aussi par la fait que la montée est symbolique: c'est en esprit que l'on s'élève, l'expérience est tout intérieure."

¹⁶³ See Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 1–2, who refers to Christian parallels in Origen and Augustine; Abraham P. Bos, "Immanenz und Transzendenz," *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92.

¹⁶⁴ See on this William C. Grese, "Magic in Hellenistic Hermeticism," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (eds. Ingrid Merkel & Allen G. Debus; Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 45–58.

magical instructions (ll. 732–819) shows the way Hermeticism is going, but it has not yet reached the Gnostic stage of the Corpus Hermeticum.¹⁶⁵

Other passages in the PGM, however, mention the name of Hermes Trismegistos. In the piece called “Charm of Solomon” (IV.850–929), a list of names for Egyptian divinities is introduced by the words: τὰ ὀνόματα, ἃ ἔγραψεν ἐν Ἡλιοπόλει ὁ τρισμέγιστος Ἑρμῆς ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασι (“I speak your name which thrice-greatest Hermes wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters” [ll. 895–96]). In a “Lamp divination” spell (VII.540–78), the god is called: φάνηθί μοι ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ, ὁ μεγάλῳφρων θεός, τρίςμεγας Ἑρμῆς (“Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great” [l. 551]). A passage in XIII.15 quotes from an otherwise unattested “Hermetic” book: ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς βίβλου Ἑρμῆς κλέψας τὰ ἐπιθύματα ζ’ προσεφώνησεν <ἐν> ἑαυτοῦ ἱερᾷ βίβλῳ ἐπικαλουμένην Πτέρυγι’ (“from this book Hermes plagiarized when he named the seven kinds of incense [in] his sacred book called *Wing*” [trans. Morton Smith]). Unfortunately, the reference to an Hermetic prayer in XIII.138 is textually dubious and the name Ἑρμαῖκος is Preisendanz’s conjecture. The papyrus reads EPMAI, with two tiny illegible letters written over it and vacant spaces before and after it.¹⁶⁶ In XIII.173, 179, 487–90, 495–500 Hermes is also given the magical name Semesilamps.

Besides the frequently occurring name of Hermes, who stands for the Egyptian Thot as well as for the Greek god,¹⁶⁷ there are a number of spells that are in many ways close to the Mithras Liturgy. The closeness is evidenced by terms and concepts found also in the Hermetica.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Several of my earlier articles on the Hermetica show that the writings reflect various stages of development and thus diversity within the Corpus Hermeticum. For these articles, see “Schöpfung und Erlösung im hermetischen Fragment ‘Kore Kosmou,’” in *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 22–51; “The Delphic Maxim Γ’ΝΘΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ in Hermetic Interpretation,” *ibid.*, 92–111; and “Hermeticism and Gnosticism: The Question of the *Poimandres*,” in *Antike und Christentum*, 206–21.

¹⁶⁶ See the photographic edition by Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, 38–39 (with apparatus, and a comment by A. Brinkmann, p. 92); Preisendanz, *ad loc.*, with apparatus; Morton Smith, in Betz, *GMPT*, 172 n. 6; 175, n. 25 (who notes the omission in the parallel version B, ll. 443ff.).

¹⁶⁷ See Preisendanz, 3.219–20 (index), s.v. Ἑρμῆς.

¹⁶⁸ See, e.g., Spell to establish a relationship with Helios (III.494–611, with parallel versions to ll. 591–609 in Ps.-Apuleius, *Asclepius* 41, and Nag Hammadi Codex VI; for the literature see Betz, *GMPT*, 33–34, with nn. 114–122); “Hidden Stele” (IV.1115–66); “Stele” (IV.1167–1226); “Consecration” addressed to Helios (IV.1596–1715); “Stele of Ieu” (V.96–171); “Hermes’ Ring” (V.212–302); “Ring” (XII.270–350); furthermore, the epistles of Pnouthis (I.42–195), to Nephotes (IV.154–205), and to Pitys (IV.2006–2125); XIII, *passim*. For the interpretation, see also Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 174–80, 219–29.

Greek Text*

f. 7 recto

475 Ἰλαθί μοι, Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχὴ, τάδε γράφοντι
 476 τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια, μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ
 477 ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ, μύστη τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνά-
 478/9 μεως ταύτης – χορὴ οὖν σε, ὦ θύγατερ, λαμβά-
 480 νειν χυλοὺς βοτανῶν καὶ εἰδῶν τῶν μ[ελ]-
 481 λόντων σοι <μηνυθῆσθαι> ἐν τῇ τέλει τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντά-
 482 γματος –, ἣν ὁ μέγας θ(εὸς) Ἥλιος Μίθρας ἐκέλευ-
 483 σέν μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου
 484 αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος αἰετός οὐρανὸν βαί-
 485 νω καὶ κατοπτεύω πάντα. Ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου
 486 ἦδε ἡ κληῖσις·
 487 [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως· αετιουω,
 488 ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς <ς> πρώτη. Π(όπυσον τρίς), σ(ύρισον
 τρίς), Φρ[ι],

f. 7 verso

489 πνεῦμα πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος
 490 πρῶτον – μ(ύκωσον τρίς) – πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν
 491 ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυ-
 492 ρὸς πρῶτον ηυ ηἰα εη, ὕδωρ ὕδατος, τοῦ ἐν
 493 ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον ὦω αα εεε, οὐσία
 494 γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτης
 495 υη υωη, σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ τοῦ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να), δια-
 496 πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου καὶ δε-

* The text given here on the whole follows Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.88–100, but different readings based on the photographic plates by David Jordan and David Martinez have been considered and adopted. For details see the commentary, *infra*.

497 ξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ
 498 κόσμῳ, ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ υἱ
 499 αὐτοῦ ευωιε. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ μετῆρτα
 500 φῶθ· μεθάρθα φηριη – ἐν ἄλλῳ, ἱερεῖζαθ –
 501 μεταπαρὰδῶναί με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει
 502 ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει· ἵνα
 503 μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπεί–
 504 γουσάν με χρεῖαν ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον
 505 ἀρχὴν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι ἀνχρε–
 506 φρενεσουφιριγχ· τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι
 507 ερονουῖ παρακουνηθ, τῷ στερεωτάτῳ
 508 ἀέρι εὔοαη ψεναβῶθ· ἵνα νοήματι μετα–
 509 γεν<ν>ηθῶ κραοχραξ ρ οὔμ εναρχομαι
 510 καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα νεχθεν
 511 αποτου νεχθιν αρπι ηθ, ἵνα θαυμάσω
 512 τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ κυφε, ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσ–
 513 σον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ νυω
 514 θεσω εχω ουχιεχωα, καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζω–
 515 γόνος καὶ περικεχυμένος αἰθέρῳ ἀρνομηθφ.
 516 Ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεύειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθα–
 517 νάτοις ὄμμασι, θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνη–
 518 τῆς ὑστέρας, βεβελτιωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους
 519 μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρ–
 520 του, ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶ–
 521 να καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημά–
 522 των, ἀγίοις ἀγιασθεὶς ἀγιάσμασι, ἀγίας
 523 ὑφεστῶσης μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπί–
 524 νης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως, ἣν ἐγὼ πάλιν
 525 μεταπαρὰλήμψομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν
 526 καὶ κατεπείγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην
 527 ἀχρεοκόπητον. Ἐγὼ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να), ὃν ἡ δ(ε)ῖ(να), κατὰ δόγμα
 528 θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον ευη υἱα εηι αω εἶαυ
 529 ἵνα ἴεω. Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν θνη–
 530 τὸν γεγῶτα συνα<ν>ιέναι χρυσοειδέσιν
 531 μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδό–
 532 νος ὡη αεω ηυα εωη υαε ωιαε,
 533 ἔσταθι, φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι, καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ>
 534 με ὑγιῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[ί]–
 535 γουσάν χρεῖαν. Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς ψυχ[ω]ν
 536 δεμου προχω πρωα, ἐγὼ εἰμι μαχαρφ[.ν]

- 537 μου πρωψυχων πρωε.
 "Ελκε ἀπὸ τῶν |
 538 ἀκτίνων πνεῦμα γ' ἀνασπῶν, ὃ δύναι[σ]αι,
 539 καὶ ὄψη σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφίζόμενον [κ]αὶ
 540 ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὕψος, ὥστε σε δοκεῖ[ν μ]—
 541 ἔσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι. Οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὔτε
 542 ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζώου ἄλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὄψη οὐδέν

f. 8 recto

- 543 τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάν—
 544 τα δὲ ὄψη ἀθάνατα. Ὁψη γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας
 545 καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεύοντας
 546 ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοὺς, ἄλλους
 547 δὲ καταβαίνοντας. Ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁρμώ—
 548 νων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ,
 549 φανήσεται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐ—
 550 λός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου. Ὁψη
 551 γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον εἰς
 552 δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπη—
 553 λιώτην, ἐὰν ᾗ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη
 554 τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέ—
 555 ρη τὰ ἐκείνου. Ὁψη τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὁράματος.
 556 Ὁψη {σὺ} δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ
 557 σε ὁρμωμένους.
 Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθες δεξιὸν
 558 δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ λέγε·
 559 Σιγὴ, σιγὴ, | σιγὴ,
 σύμβολον θεοῦ ζώντος ἀφθάρτου.
 560 Φύλαξόν με, σιγὴ νεχθεῖρ θανμελου.
 561 Ἐπειτα σύρισον μακρὸν σ(ύρισον δύο), ἔπειτα πόππυ—
 562 σον λέγων·
 Προπροφεγγῇ μοριος προ—
 563 φυρ προφεγγῇ νεμεθιρε αρψεντεν
 564 πιτητμι μεωυ εναρθ φυρκεχω ψυ—
 565 ριδαριω τυρη φιλβα.
 Καὶ τότε ὄψη τοὺς
 566 θεοὺς σοι εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μη—
 567 κέτι ἐπὶ σε ὁρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομέ—

- 568 νους ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων(ν).
 569 Ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν
 570 καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδέν τῶν θεῶν
 571 ἢ ἀγγέλων ὁρ<μ>ώμενον, προσδόκα βροντῆς
 572 μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκ-
 573 πλαγῆναι. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε·
 Σιγῇ, σιγῇ λό(γος).
 574 Ἐγὼ εἰμι <ὁ> σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ, καὶ ἐκ
 575 τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων ὁ Ξυ, ὁ Ξερθευθ.
 576 Ταῦτά σοῦ εἰποντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλω-
 577 θήσεται. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν β' λόγον,
 578 ὅπου σιγῇ β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, σύρισον β'
 579 καὶ π(όπυσον) β', καὶ εὐθέως ὄψῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ δί-
 580 σκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους (πεντα)δακτυ-
 581 λιαίους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὅλον
 582 τὸν ἄερα. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· Σιγῇ, σιγῇ.
 583 καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὄψῃ ἄπειρον
 584 κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκε-
 585 κλεισμένας. Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δῖωκε τὸν ὑπο-
 586 κείμενον λόγον καμμύων σου τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
 587 μούς. Αὐγὸς γ'·
 ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἄκου-
 588 σόν μου, τοῦ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να),
 κύριε, ὁ συνδήσας
 589 πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κλῆθρα τοῦ (τετρα)-
 590 λιζώματος,
 πυρίπολε πεντιτερουни,
 591 φωτὸς κτίστα — οἱ δὲ· συγκλεῖστα — Σεμεσιλαμ,
 592 πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ,
 593 πυρίθυμε | Ιαω, πνευματόφως ωαῖ
 594 πυριχαρῆ | ελουρε,
 καλλίφως αζαῖ,
 Αἰών ακβα,
 595 φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι,
 596 πυ | ρισώματε φνουηνιοχ, φωτοδῶτα,
 597 πυ | ρισπόρε αρει εἵκιτα,
 598 πυρικλόνε | γαλλαβαλβα,

f. 8 verso

- 598 φωτοβία ιαιαιω,
 599 πυριδῖνα πυριχι | βοοσηια,
 φωτοκινῆτα σανχερωβ,
 600 κεραυνο | κλόνε ιη ωη ιωηιω,
 φωτός κλέος βεεγένητε,
 601 αὔξησῖφως σουσινεφι,
 602 ἐνπυρισχησίφως | σουσίνεφι αρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντευ.
 603 Ἄστροδάμα, ἀνοιξόν μοι, προπροφεγγή, εμε-
 604 θειρε μ8ριομοτυρηφιλβα, ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦ-
 605 μαι ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ
 606 ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης τὰ μηδέπω χωρήσαντα
 607 εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν μηδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρ-
 608 θρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης ἢ θνητοῦ
 609 φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς ἀθάνατα ζῶντα
 610 καὶ ἔντιμα ὀνόματα·
 ηεω οηηω ιωω
 611 οη ηεω ηεω οη εω ιωω οηηε ωηε
 612 ωση ιη ηω οω οη ιεω οη ωση ιεω οη ιεεω
 613 εη ιω οη ιοη ωηω εση οεω ωιη ωιη εω
 614 οη ιιι ηση ωηη ηωσηε εωηια αηαεηα
 615 ηεση εση εση ιεω ηεω ὀηεση ηεω
 616 ηυω οη εῖω ηω ωη ωή εὐ οὐο υιωη.
 617 Ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύμα-
 618 τος τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτελῶν, εἴτα ὁμοίως τὸ
 619 δεύτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἕως ἐκτελέσης τοὺς
 620 ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου. Ταῦτά σου εἰ-
 621 πόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς καὶ κλόνου τοῦ περι-
 622 έχοντος. Ὅμοίως δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσει τα-
 623 ρασσόμενον. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε·
 σιγὴ λό(γος).
 624 Εἴτα | ἀνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὄψη ἀνεωγυῖ-
 625 ας τὰς θύρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν θ(εῶ)ν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν-
 626 τὸς τῶν θυρῶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἡδο-
 627 νῆς καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμά σου συντρέχειν
 628 καὶ ἀναβαίνειν.
 Στάς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 629 θείου ἀτενίζων εἰς σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα. Ὅταν
 630 οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχὴ, λέγε·

- 631 πρόσελθε, | κύριε, αρχανδαρα φωταζα πυριφωτα ζα-
 632 βυθιζ ετιμενμερο φοραθην εριη προ-
 633 θρι φοραθι.
 Τοῦτό <σου> εἰπόντος στραφήσονται
 634 ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτῖνες· Ἐσειδε αὐτῶν μέσον. Ὅταν
 635 οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης, ὄψῃ θεὸν νεώτερον, εὖει-
 636 δῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ <χ>λα-
 637 μύδι κοκκίνη ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον.
 638 Εὐθέως ἄσπασαι αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἄσπαστικῷ·
 639 Κύριε, χαῖρε, μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>λοκράτωρ,
 640 βασιλεῦ, μέγιστε θεῶν, Ἥλιε, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρα-
 641 νοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θεῖ' θεῶν, ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνοή,
 642 ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις, κύριε. Ἐάν σοι δόξῃ, ἄγ-
 643 γειλὸν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι
 644 καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να),
 645 γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχῶ-
 646 ρος σπερματικοῦ καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπὸ σου
 647 με<τα>γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπα-
 648 θανατισθεῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θ(εο)ῦ
 649 ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προσκυνῆσαί σε
 650 ἄξιοι καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην
 651 — ἵνα συμπαραλάβῃς τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας
 652 καὶ ὥρας ὠρονόμον, ὃ ὄνομα Θραψιαρι·

f. 9 recto

- 653 μορίροκ, ἵνα φανεῖς χρηματίσῃ ἐν ταῖς ἀγα-
 654 θαῖς ὥραις, εωρ ρωρε ωρρι ωριωρ ρωρ ρωι
 655 ωρ ρεωρωρι εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε. —
 Ταῦτά σου εἰ-
 656 πόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὄψῃ αὐτὸν περι-
 657 πατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ. Σὺ δὲ ἀτενίζων καὶ μύκωμα
 658 μακρὸν κερατοειδῶς, ὅλον ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦ-
 659 μα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγόνα, μυκῶ καὶ κατα-
 660 φίλει τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δεξι-
 661 ὄν·
 Φύλαξόν με προσυμηρι.
 662 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὄψῃ | θύρας ἀνοιγομένας καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ τοῦ βά-
 663 θους ζ' παρθένους ἐν βυσσίνους, ἀσπίδων

- 664 πρόσωπα ἔχουσας. Αὗται καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ
 665 Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι χρούσα βραβεῖα. Ταῦτα ἰδὼν
 666 ἀσπάζου οὕτως·
 Χαίρετε, αἱ ζ' Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρα-
 667 νοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, ἱεραὶ καὶ
 668 ὁμοδίαιτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, αἱ ἀγιώτα-
 669 ται φυλάκισσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων.
 670 Χαῖρε, ἡ πρώτη, χρεψενθαῆς.
 671 Χαῖρε, ἡ β', | μενεσχεῆς.
 Χαῖρε, ἡ γ', μεχραν.
 672a Χαῖρε, ἡ δ', | αραρμαχῆς.
 Χαῖρε, ἡ ε', εχομμῆ.
 672b Χαῖρε, ἡ ς', | τιχνονδαῆς.
 Χαῖρε, ἡ ζ', ερουρομβριῆς.
 673 Προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ζ' θεοὶ ταύρων
 674 μελάνων πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώ-
 675 μασιν λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ' διαδήματα χρύ-
 676 σεα. Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες
 677 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὁμοίως ἕκα-
 678 στον τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι·
 Χαίρετε, οἱ κνωδα-
 679 κοφύλακες, οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανίαί, οἱ στρέ-
 680 φοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον
 681 τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βροντάς καὶ
 682 ἀστραπὰς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολὰς ἀφι-
 683 έντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φύλα, ἐμοὶ δὲ εὖσεβεῖ
 684 καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὄντι ὑγείαν καὶ σώματος ὁλοκλη-
 685 ρίαν, ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὁράσεως εὐτονίαν, ἀταρα-
 686 ξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέ-
 687 ρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις, οἱ κύριοί μου καὶ μεγα | λοκράτορες θεοί.
 688 Χαῖρε, ὁ πρῶτος, αἰερωνθι.
 689 Χαῖρε, ὁ β', μερχειμερος.
 Χαῖρε, ὁ γ', αχριχιουρ.
 690 Χαῖρε, ὁ δ', μεσαργιλτω.
 691 Χαῖρε, ὁ ε', χιχρω | αλιθω.
 Χαῖρε, ὁ ς', ερμιχθαθωψ.
 692 Χαῖρε, | ὁ ζ', εορασιχη.
 "Όταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἐνθα
 693 καὶ ἐνθα τῇ τάξει, ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ὄψη
 694 κατερχομένας ἀστραπὰς καὶ φῶτα μαρ-

695 μαίροντα καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ
 696 κατερχόμενον θ(εὸ)ν ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτι—
 697 νὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν,
 698 ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ
 699 ἀναξυρίσι, κατέχοντα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου
 700 ὦμον χρύσειον, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἄρκτος ἡ κινουσα
 701 καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν
 702 ἀναπολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα. Ἐπειτα ὄψη
 703 αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀστραπὰς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 704 σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλομένους. Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως
 705 <μυκῶ> μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα,
 706 ἵνα συνκινήσῃς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μα—
 707 κρόν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν μυκῶ, καταφιλῶν πάλιν
 708 τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγων·
 μοκριμο φεριμο—

f. 9 verso

709 φερερι, ζω<ή> μου, τοῦ δεῖνα,
 μένε σύ,
 710 νέμε ἐν τῇ | ψυχῇ μου,
 μή με καταλείψῃς,
 ὅτι κελεύει σοι
 711 ἐνθo φενεν θροπιωθ.
 712 Καὶ ἀτένιζε τῷ θεῷ | μακρόν μυκώμενος καὶ ἀσπάζου οὕτως·
 713 Κύριε, χαῖρε, δέσποτα ὕδατος,
 714 χαῖρε, κατάρχα | γῆς,
 χαῖρε, δυνάστα πνεύματος,
 715 λαμπροφεγ | γῇ, προπροφεγγῇ, εμεθιρι αρτεντεπι.
 716 θηθ. μιμεω υεναρω φυρχεχω ψηρι—
 717 δαριω· Φρη Φρηλβα.
 Χρημάτισον, κύριε,
 718 περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος.
 719 Κύριε, παλινγενόμε | νος ἀπογίγνομαι,
 720 αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς | τελευτῶ,
 721 ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμε | νος,
 722 εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύο | μαι,
 ὥς σὺ ἔκτισας,
 ὥς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας

- 723 καὶ | ἐποίησας μυστήριον.
 724 Ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα | μιουρι.
 Ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρη-
 725 σμωδῇσει. Ὑπέκλυτος δὲ ἔσει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ
 726 οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, ὅταν σοι ἀποκρίνηται.
 727 Λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμόν καὶ εἰπῶ(ν)
 728 ἀπελεύσεται, σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός, ὡς ταῦ-
 729 τα πάντα χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως, καὶ τότε
 730 μνημονεύσεις ἀπαραβάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 731 μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα, κἂν ᾗν μυρίων στί-
 732 χων ὁ χρησμός.
 Ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς καὶ συμμύ-
 733 στη χρήσασθαι ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον
 734 μόνον σὺν σοι ἀκούειν, συναγνεύτω σοι <ζ'>
 735 ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλα-
 736 νείου. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μόνος ᾗς καὶ ἐγχειρῇς τὰ
 737 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα, λέγεις ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει
 738 ἀποφοιβώμενος. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέ-
 739 λῃς, κρίνας, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄν-
 740 θρωπος, χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς <σὺ> ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 741 κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀπαθαν<ατ>ισμῷ, τὸν πρῶ-
 742 τον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Γένε-
 743 σις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αἰητιουα.
 744 Τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς
 745 κεφαλῆς ἀ{υ}τόνῳ φθόγγῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ,
 746 χρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ. Γί-
 747 γνεται δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμὸς οὗτος τρεῖς τοῦ
 748 ἐνιαυτοῦ. Ἐὰν δὲ βουληθῇ τις, ὃ τέκνον,
 749 μετὰ τὸ παράγγελμα {τω} παρακοῦσαι, <τῷ> οὐκέτι
 750 ὑπάρξει.
 Διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως·
 751 Λαβὼν | κἀνθαρὸν ἡλιακὸν τὸν τὰς ιβ' ἀκτῖνας
 752 ἔχοντα ποιήσον εἰς βησίον καλλάινον
 753 βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι,
 754 συνεμβαλὼν αὐτῷ λωτομήτρας σπέρμα
 755 καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποιήσον μαζίον, καὶ εὐθέ-
 756 ως αὐτὸν ὄψῃ προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθί-
 757 οντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγῃ, εὐθέως θνήσκει. Τοῦ-
 758 τον ἀνελόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν
 759 μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει, καὶ

- 760 στρώσας καθαρίως ἄμμον ἱερὰν ἐπίθες
 761 τὸ ἀγγεῖον καὶ λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγους ἐπὶ
 762 ἡμέρας ζ' ἡλίου μεσουρανοῦντος·
 763 Ἐγὼ | σε ἐτέλεσα,
 ἵνα μοι ἧ σου οὐσία γένη χρήσι—

f. 10 recto

- 764 μος, τῷ δ(ε)ῦ(να) μόνῳ
 ιε ια η εη ου εια·
 765 ἐμοὶ μόνῳ | χρησιμεύσης.
 Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι φωρ φορ α
 766 φως φωτίζαας
 — οἱ δέ· φωρ φωρ οφοθει—
 767 ξαας. —
 Τῇ δὲ ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) βαστάξας τὸν κάνθαρο(ν),
 768 θάψας ζυμύρῃ καὶ οἶνῳ Μενδησίῳ καὶ βυσ—
 769 σίνῳ ἀπόθου ἐν κυαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι.
 770 τὸ δὲ χρῖσμα ἐστιάσας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς
 771 ἀπόθου καθαρείως εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμόν.
 772 Ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέλης δεικνύειν, ἔχε τῆς κα—
 773 λουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν πε—
 774 ριχρίων τὴν ὄψιν, οὗ βούλει, μετὰ ῥοδίνου,
 775 καὶ ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν,
 776 τοῦτου μερίζον' οὐχ εὖρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πρα—
 777 γματεῖαν. Αἰτοῦ δέ, ἃ βούλει, τὸν θεόν, καὶ δώ—
 778 σει σοι.
 ἡ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασίς ἐστιν
 779 ἥδε· Βαστάξας κεν' σ' τρίτην τὴν προκειμένη(ν)
 780 βοτάνην τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένην λέοντι
 781 ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζυμύ—
 782 ρῃ γράψον ἐπὶ φύλλου περσέας τὸ ὀκταγράμ—
 783 ματον ὄνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται, καὶ πρὸ γ' ἡμε—
 784 ρῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθέ πρωίας πρὸς ἀνατολάς,
 785 ἀπόλειχε τὸ φύλλον δεικνύων ἡλίῳ, καὶ
 786 οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως. Ἄρχου δὲ αὐτὸν
 787 τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι κατὰ θεὸν νομηνίᾳ.
 788 Τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν τοῦτο·
 ἱ εε οο ἱαῖ.

789 Τοῦτο | ἔκλιχε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῆς, καὶ τὸ φύλλον
 790 ἐλίξας ἔμβαλε εἰς τὸ ῥόδινον. Πολλάκις
 791 δὲ τῇ πραγματείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑπερεθαύ-
 792 μασα.
 Εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός·
 793 Μηκέτι χρῶ | τῷ συγχρίσματι,
 ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντα εἰς ποταμὸν
 794 <χρῆ> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον
 795 τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος
 796 διὰ τῶν κε' ζώων ὄρνεων, χρᾶσθαι
 797 ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνός, – ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γ', κατὰ
 798 πανσέληνον.
 Ἦ δὲ κεντρῆτις βοτάνη φύ-
 799 εται ἀπὸ μηνός Παῦνι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς
 800 μελάνης γῆς, ὁμοία δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ ὀρθῷ
 801 περιστερεῶνι. Ἦ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως
 802 γίγνεται· Ἰβέως πτερόν χρίεται τὸ ἄκρο-
 803 μέλαν χαλασθὲν τῷ χυλῷ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θι-
 804 γεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερὰ. Τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου
 805 ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενε-
 806 λαίτῃ ἐν τῇ Φαλαγρυ πρὸς ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς
 807 πλησίον <τῆς> τοῦ Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης.
 808 Ἔστιν δὲ | μονόκλωνον καὶ πυρρὸν ἄχρι τῆς ῥίζης
 809 καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν
 810 ἔχοντα ὅμοιον τῷ κορύμβῳ ἀσπαράγῳ
 811 ἄγριῳ. Ἔστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ
 812 καλουμένῳ ταλάπη, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦ-
 813 τλον.
 Τὰ δε φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον
 814 τοῦτον· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμέ-
 815 να προβάτου μέλανος ζμυρνομέλανι,
 816 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δῆσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου
 817 περίψαι, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα
 818 λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ

f. 10 verso

819 τρόπῳ. Εὐώνυμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθυμηρι. πληρέστα-
 820 τον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει.

Translation*

- 475 Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche, who writes these
 mysteries handed down, not for gain,
 and for an only child I ask for immortality,
 for an initiate of this our power
 (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take
 480 | the juices of herbs and drugs, which will be [made known]
 to you at the end of my sacred treatise),
 which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be handed over to
 me by his archangel so that I alone may go to heaven as an
 485 “eagle” | and behold [the] all.
This is the invocation of the prayer:
 “First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ,
 first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS PHR [.],
 490 spirit of spirit, the first of the spirit | in me, MMM
 fire god-given for my mixture of the mixtures in me,
 the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ,
 water of water, the first of the water in me,
 ŌŌŌ AAA EEE,
 earth material, the first of the earthy material in me |
 495 YĒ YŌĒ,
 a perfect body of me, NN, whose mother is NN,
 which, because of its fashioning by a noble arm and an
 incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet
 radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul,
 YĒI AYI EYŌIE;
 500 now, if it seems right to you, METERTA | PHŌTH
 (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place) ĪEREZATH,
 transfer me to the immortal birth and next, to my
 underlying nature, in order that, after the present and

* The translation is a revision of Marvin W. Meyer's in Betz, *GMPT* (1996), 48–54, based on the commentary *infra*.

505 exceedingly pressing need, I may envision the immortal |
 beginning with the immortal spirit,
 ANCHREPHRENESOUPHIRIGCH,
 with the immortal water, ERONOYĪ PARAKOUNĒTH,
 with the firmest air, EĪOAĒ PSENABŌTH;
 in order that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX R
 510 OĪM ENARCHOMAI | and the sacred spirit may breathe in
 me, NECHTHEN APOTOY NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH;
 in order that I may marvel at the sacred fire, KYPHE;
 in order that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, frightful
 water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ OYCHIECHŌA,
 515 and that the life-giving | and encompassing ether hear me,
 ARNOMĒTHPH.

For today I am going to envision with immortal eyes –
 I, a mortal born from a mortal womb, but improved through
 the exceedingly powerful might and the imperishable
 520 right hand | and with the immortal spirit, [to envision] the
 immortal Aion and lord of the fiery diadems – I, sanctified
 through holy consecrations – which holy [power] supports
 for a short while my human soul-power, which I will again |
 525 receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity
 which is pressing down on me – I, NN, whom NN bore,
 according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YĪA EĒI
 AŌ EĪAY İYA İEŌ.

530 Since for me, being | mortal, it is out of reach to
 ascend together with the golden radiances of the immortal
 brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒUA EŌĒ YAE
 ŌIAE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals,
 and at once <take me back> safe after the inexorable
 535 and pressing | need.

For I am the son PSYCHŌ[N] DEMOY PROCHŌ PRŌA,
 I am MACHARPH [.]N MOY PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

Draw in breath from the rays three times, drawing in as much as you can.
 540 [Then] you will see yourself being lifted up and | ascending to
 the height, so that you seem to be in midair. You will hear
 nothing either of human or of another living being, nor in that
 hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but
 rather you will see all immortal things.
 545 For you will see the divine constellation on that day | and hour,
 the presiding gods arising into heaven, and others setting.

Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk
 of god, my father; and in a similar way the so-called pipe, |
 550 the origin of the ministering wind; for you will see it hanging
 from the sun-disk like a pipe. Toward the region of the west [it
 is the source of] the unending east wind, when it is assigned to
 theregion of the east, and in the same way the other [west wind
 going] toward the regions of that one [scil., the east]. Then you
 555 will see the turn-about of the image [scil., the pipe]. |
 And you will see the gods intently staring at you and rushing at you.
 But you at once put your right finger on your mouth and say:

“Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living imperishable god |
 560 Guard me, Silence! NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!”
 Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound,
 and say:

“PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ
 NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PITĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH
 565 PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ | TYRĒ PHILBA.”

And then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and
 no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own
 order of affairs.

570 Thus when you see that the world above is pure | but agitated,
 and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you,
 expect a great crash of thunder to be heard, with the result that
 you are shocked. But you say again:

“Silence! Silence! (the formula)

I am a star, wandering about with you,
 575 and shining forth out of the | deep,
 the XY, the XERTHEUTH.”

Immediately after you have said this the sun-disk will be
 expanded. After you have said the second formula, where there is
 “Silence! Silence!” and what follows, make the hissing sound
 twice and the popping sound twice, and immediately you will
 580 see | a multitude of five-pronged stars proceeding from the
 sun-disk and filling all the air.

But you say again: “Silence! Silence!” And when the sun-disk
 has opened, you will see the boundless circle and its fiery
 doors shut tight. |

585 At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer.

The third prayer:

- "Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O
 lord, you who have bound together with your spirit the
 fiery bars of the fourfold | root,
 O Fire-burner, PENTITEROUNI,
 Light-creator (others: Confiner), SEMESILAM,
 Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,
 Fire-spirited, IAŌ,
 Spirit-light, ŌAI,
 Fire-delighter, ELOURE,
 Light-beauty, AZAI,
 Aion, AKBA, |
 Light-ruler, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,
 Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,
 Light-giver, ...
 Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA
 Fire-thronger, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
 Lightning-shaker, | IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Light-famous, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHI,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI
 MARMARENTEU.
 Subduer of stars, open for me,
 PROPROPHEGGE EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA.
 For I invoke, because | of the pressing and bitter and
 inexorable necessity, the immortal names, living
 and honored, which have not yet passed into mortal nature
 nor declared in articulate speech by human tongue or
 mortal speech or mortal sound: |
 ĒEŌ OĒEŌ IŌŌ OĒ ĒEŌ
 ĒEŌ EŌOĒ EŌ IŌŌ OĒĒE
 OĒE ŌOĒ IĒ ĒŌ OŌOĒ IEŌ
 OĒ ŌOĒ IEŌ OĒ IEEŌ EĒ IŌ
 OĒ IOĒ ŌĒŌ EOĒ OEŌ ŌIĒ
 ŌIĒ EOŌ OI III EOĒ ŌYĒ
 ĒŌOĒE EOŌ ĒIA AĒA EĒA |
 E EĒ EĒĒ EĒĒ IEŌ ĒEŌ OĒĒEOĒ

ĒEŌ ĒYŌ ŌĒ EIŌ ĒŌ
ŌĒ ŌĒ EE ŌŌ YIŌĒ.”

Recite all these things with fire and spirit, the first time performing to the end; then in the same way when you begin
620 the second time, until you have gone through the | seven immortal gods of the universe. When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and in the same way you will experience yourself being shaken. But you say again: “Silence!” (the prayer).

625 Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors opened | and the world of the gods, which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

Now stand still and at once draw spirit from the divine
630 into yourself, while you gaze intently. Then when | your soul has been restored, speak:

“Come forward, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA
PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATĒN
ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATI.”

When you have spoken this, the sun rays will turn themselves
635 upon you; look into the center of them. Then, when | you do this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown.

At once great him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, great power, great might, | king, greatest of gods: mighty is your breath, mighty is your power, O lord.

If it be your will, announce me to the greatest god, the one who begat and made you: that a human being am I,
645 NN, whose mother is NN, | who was born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish
650 of the exceedingly good god – requests to worship | you, and supplicates with as much power as a human being can have (in order that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EŌRŌ RŌRE

ŌRRI ŌRIŌR RŌR RŌI ŌR
REŌRŌRI EŌR EŌR EŌRE).”

655 After you have said these things, | he will come to the
celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road.
Gaze intently, and make a strong bellowing sound, like with
a horn, giving off your whole breath and squeezing your loins,
660 bellow, and kiss | the phylacteries and say, first toward
the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After have said these things, you will see the doors opening
and seven virgins coming from deep within, dressed
in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called
665 the Fates | of heaven, and wield golden wands.

When you see these things, greet in this manner: |

670 “Hail, O seven Fates of heaven,
O noble and good virgins,
O sacred Ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR,
O most holy guardians of the four pillars!
Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAĒS!
Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEĒS!
Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN!
Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHĒS!
Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIĒ!
Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAĒS!
Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIĒS!”

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces
675 of black bulls, in linen | loincloths, and in possession
of seven golden diadems. These are the so-called Pole Lords
of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner,
each of them with his own name:

“Hail, O warders of the pivot of the celestial sphere,
O sacred and brave youths,
680 who turn | at one command the revolving axis of the vault
of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of
earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious
tribes, but to me, who am a religious and godfearing man,
685 you [give] health and soundness of body | and acuteness of
hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours
of this day,
O my lords and powerfully ruling gods!
Hail to you, the first, AIERŌNTHI!

Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!

Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! |

690 Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTŌ!

Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRŌALITHŌ!

Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHŌPS!

Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHĒ!”

Now when they take their place, on the one side and the other,
in their order, gaze in the air and you will see lightning

695 bolts going down, and lights flashing, | and the earth shaking,
and a god descending, immensely great, with a shining face,
youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic

and a golden crown and trousers, and holding in his right hand
700 a golden | shoulder of a young calf.

This is the Bear which moves and turns the heavenly vault
around, in the opposite direction, with its upward and downward
seasonal revolutions. Then you will see lightning bolts
leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

705 And at once | make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly,
that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until total
exhalation, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

“MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN.

710 Stay! Dwell in my | soul! Do not abandon me!

For ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you.”

And gaze at the god while bellowing loudly; and greet in
this manner:

“Hail, O lord, O master of the water!

Hail, O founder of the earth!

Hail, O ruler of the wind! O bright lightener! |

715 PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ
YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIĒ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA!

Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter, O lord.

Having been born again, I am passing away;

720 while growing and having grown, | I am dying;

Having been born from a life-generating birth,

I am passing on, released to death –

as you have founded,

as you have decreed

and authored (the) mystery.

I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond

725 with a revelation. | Now you will grow weak in your soul,
and you will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He,
however, pronounces the oracle to you in verses,
and after speaking he will depart.

But you stand speechless, [wondering] how you will by yourself
730 comprehend all these things; for at a later time | you will
remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even
if the oracle contains myriads of verses.

But if you want to consult the oracle by using a fellow initiate,
so that he hears only the things spoken together with you,
735 let him be pure together with you for [seven] | days, and
abstain from meat and bath.

But if you are alone, and you are [directly] engaged with the
pronouncements of the god, you speak as inspired in ecstasy.
But again if you wish to show him, after you judge whether his
740 worth as a man is secure, | handling the occasion as though in the
immortalization ritual you yourself were being judged in his
place, recite for him the first prayer, of which the beginning
is "First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ."

745 And say the successive things as an initiate, over | his head,
in a soft voice, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing
his face with the mystery.

This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if
anyone, O child, after the instruction wishes to disobey,
750 then for him it will no longer | be in effect.

Instruction for the performance:

Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall
into a deep, turquoise cup, at a time when the moon is
invisible; put in together with it the seed of the fruit
755 pulp of the lotus, | and after grinding it with honey,
prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab]
moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it,
it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a
glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish;
760 and | spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, and set the
vessel on it, then say the name over the vessel for seven
days, while the sun is in midheaven:

"It is I who have consecrated you, that your substance may be
useful to me, NN alone, IE IA ËËË OY EIA, that you may
765 prove useful to me | alone, for I am PHŌR PHOR A PHŌS

PHOTIZAAS" (others: "PHŌR PHŌR OPHOTHEIXAAS").

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen; and deposit it in a
 770 flourishing bean field. | Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, deposit the ointment, in a pure way, for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, get the juice of the herb called Kentritis, and smear it, along with the rose
 775 oil, around the eyes of whomever you wish; | and he will see so clearly that you will be amazed.

I have not found a greater procedure than this in the world. Ask the god what you want, and he will give it to you. The encounter with the great god is like this:

780 Having acquired the above mentioned herb | Kentritis, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter name, as given below. And having kept yourself pure for three days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise, |
 785 lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and thus he [the sun god] will listen attentively. Begin to consecrate him on the new moon in the lion, according to the god[’s reckoning]. The name is: "I EE OO IAI." Lick this up,
 790 so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, | throw it into the rose oil.

Many times I have used the spell, and have been absolutely amazed.

But the god spoke to me:

"Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the
 795 river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery | of the scarab revitalized through the twenty-five living birds. Consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year."

The Kentritis plant grows from the month of Pauni, in the
 800 regions of the | black earth, and is similar to the erect verbenia. This is how to recognize it: the wing of an ibis is smeared, the black edge weakened by the juice, and when the feathers are touched, they fall off. As the lord |
 805 demonstrated to me, it [the plant] was found in the

Menelaitis area near Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant.

It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root;
 810 and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit | like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called Talapēs, like the wild beet.

Then the phylacteries are of this kind: Copy the [amulet]
 815 for the right [arm] onto the skin | of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with the sinews of the same animal, put it on; and [copy] that for the left [arm] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same method. The [magical name] for the left [arm] is: "PROSTHYMĒRI". |
 820 [With this] the memorandum has [finally] reached its completion.

Literary Analysis (Conspectus)

- 475–85 I. Exordium: a prayer
- 475 A. invocation of the deity by epithets
1. Providence
 2. Psyche (world-soul)
- B. presentation of petition
1. formula: ἔλαθί μοι
 2. category: petition for mercy in view of offense
 3. nature of offense
 - a. act constituting offense: putting into writing
 - b. object affected by offense
 - 1) regarding the text to follow (τάδε)
 - 2) regarding the content: sacred (oral) tradition
 - a) technical term: τὰ μυστήρια
 - b) specifications (play on words?)
 - (1) τὰ <ᾶ>πρατα
 - (2) παραδοτά
 4. transmission of the tradition
 - a. identification of the author
 - 1) as owner
 - 2) as mediator
 - 3) as writer (γράφοντι)
 - b. identification of the recipient
 - 1) as apprentice
 - a) status: “the only” (μόνῳ)
 - b) designation: “child” (τέκνῳ)
 - 2) as “initiate” (μύστη τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως)
 - c. statement of petition
 - 1) category: intercessory
 - 2) identity of the petitioner
 - a) the author (1st person sing.)
 - b) action: ἀξιούv

- 478 3) identity of the recipient: the "initiate"
- 478–81 4) object: immortality (ἀθανασία)
- 478/79 5. secondary insertion by the author
- a. address of recipient
- 1) identity (2nd person sing., σε)
- 2) as apprentice (daughter, θυγάτηρ)
- b. instruction for ritual
- 1) need for application (χρή)
- 2) term for application (λαμβάνειν)
- 480 3) names of ingredients
- a) juices of plants
- b) other ingredients (εἶδη)
- 481–82 c. reference to full information
- 1) place: end of the present text (750–819)
- 2) name for the present composition (τό μου ἱερὸν σύνταγμα; cf. 820)
- 482 6. chain of tradition of the ritual
- a. authoritative hierarchy
- 1) the highest deity
- a) attribute: "the great god," ὁ μέγας θεός
- b) name: Helios Mithras
- 482–83 2) divine intermediary
- a) attribute: "archangel," ἀρχάγγελος
- b) name: unnamed
- 3) the author of the present writing
- a) 1st person sing.: μοι
- b) status: "alone," μόνος (cf. 476)
- c) position: grade of "eagle"
- b. method of transmission
- 1) command by Helios Mithras
- 2) technical term: μεταδοθῆναι
- 484–85 7. purpose and goal
- a. conjunction: ὅπως
- b. heavenly journey: οὐρανὸν βαίνειν
- c. vision of the universe: κατοπτεύειν πάντα
- 485–732 II. Main body of the ritual (ἀπαθανατισμός)
- 485–537 A. introductory prayer
- 485–86 1. identifying reference
- a. quotation formula: ἔστιν δέ

- b. terms identifying the genre
- 1) the composition as a whole: λόγος
 - 2) the prayer of invocation: κλήσεις
- 487–537 2. recitation of the “first prayer” (cf. 741–42)
- 487–88 a. invocation of the primordial sources
- 1) address of γένεσις (γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως)
 - 2) voces magicae
 - 3) address of ἀρχή (ἀρχή τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς πρώτη)
 - 4) magical sounds
 - a) pop-sound (ποππυσμός, 3 times)
 - b) whistle sound (συριγμός, 3 times)
 - 5) magical name (?)
- 489–95 b. invocation of the four elements
- 489–90 1) first element: spirit/breath (πνεῦμα)
- a) address: πνεῦμα πνεύματος
 - b) attribute: τοῦ ἐν ἐμοῦ πνεύματος πρῶτον
 - c) magical sound: bellowing sound (μύκωμα, 3 times)
- 490–92 2) second element: fire (πῦρ)
- a) address: πῦρ
 - b) attributes, three
 - (1) τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων
 - (2) θεοδώρητον
 - (3) τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρὸς πρῶτον
 - c) voces magicae
- 492–93 3) third element: water (ὕδωρ)
- a) address: ὕδωρ ὕδατος
 - b) attribute: τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον
 - c) voces magicae
- 493–95 4) fourth element: earth (γῆ)
- a) address: οὐσία γεώδης
 - b) attribute: τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτη
 - c) voces magicae
- 495–98 c. anthropological consequences
- 1) concerning the body: “perfect body” (σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ)
 - 2) concerning personal name: NN
 - 3) recourse to creation mythology
 - a) technical term for creation: “formed”
(διαπεπλασμένον)
 - b) hymnic metaphors describing work of divine creator
- 496–97

- (1) the honored arm (ὕπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου)
 (2) the imperishable right hand (ὕπὸ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου)
- 497–98 c) cosmic polarities
 (1) light and darkness: ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ κόσμῳ
 (2) soulless and ensouled: ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐμψυχωμένῳ
- 498–99 4) voces magicae
- 499–537 d. petition
- 499–500 1) appeal to the divine will of the elements
 (ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ)
 2) voces magicae
 3) secondary gloss citing a textual variant from another source
 4) request
- 501–15 a) in general
- 501–2 (1) technical term: μεταπαραδίδωμι (“hand over in return”)
 (2) recipient: petitioner (με)
 (3) main concern: rebirth
 (4) sources
 (a) immortal birth (τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσσει)
 (b) restitution of primordial nature
 (ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει)
- 502–13 b) in detail: 4 ἵνα-clauses
- 502–8 (1) first ἵνα-clause: vision
 (a) defective condition: Ananke formula
 (μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπεύγουσάν με χρεῖαν)
 (b) restitution: ἐποπτεύω
 (c) process: vision of the immortal beginning
 (ἐποπτεύειν τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχὴν [cf. 487])
 (d) sources of change
 aa. immortal spirit (πνεῦμα)
 bb. voces magicae
 cc. immortal water (ὕδωρ)
 dd. voces magicae
 ee. firm air (ἀήρ)
 ff. voces magicae
- 508–11 (2) second ἵνα-clause: thought
 (a) defective condition

- (b) restitution: rebirth of thinking
(νοήματι μεταγεννᾶσθαι)
 - (c) voces magicae
 - (d) source of change: spirit
(καὶ πνεύση ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα)
 - (e) voces magicae
- 511–12 (3) third ἔνα-clause: amazement
 - (a) defective condition
 - (b) restitution: θαυμάζειν
 - (c) source of change: fire (τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ)
 - (d) vox magica
- 512–13 (4) fourth ἔνα-clause: vision
 - (a) defective condition
 - (b) restitution: θεᾶσθαι
 - (c) source of change: water
(τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ)
 - (d) voces magicae
- 514–15 c) final petition
 - (1) request to listen: ἀκούειν
 - (2) address to ether: ὁ ζωογόνος καὶ περιεχυμένος
αἰθήρ
 - (3) voces magicae
- 516–37 e. self-presentation of the initiate
- 516 1) intention of the self-presentation
 - a) recourse to the promise of salvation
 - b) realisation of the promise
 - c) reference to time: “today,” σήμερον
 - d) aim: ecstatic vision
 - (1) technical term: “envision,” κατοπτεύειν
 - (2) process: “with immortal eyes,” τοῖς ἀθανάτοις
ὄμμασι
- 517–37 2) self-identification
- 517–20 a) according to human nature
 - (1) condition of mortality by human birth
 - (2) restitution: relative improvement
 - (3) recourse to work of divine creator
 - (4) divine attributes
 - (a) ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ
 - (b) δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου

520–27

- b) according to initiation
 - (1) condition of immortality
 - (a) source: immortal spirit (ἀθάνατον πνεῦμα)
 - (b) resultant vision
 - (c) object: the god
 - aa. Name: Aion
 - bb. attributes
 - (aa) ἀθάνατος
 - (bb) δεσπότης τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων
 - (2) condition of sanctity
 - (a) source: consecration rituals (ἁγίοις ἁγιασμοῖς)
 - (b) resultant sanctity: ἁγιασθεῖς
 - (3) implications
 - (a) temporary strengthening of human soul-power (ψυχικῇ δύνاميς)
 - (b) reference to eschatological restitution
 - aa. comparison: “again,” πάλιν
 - bb. technical term: μεταπαραλαμβάνειν
 - cc. reference to time: the Ananke formula (see 503–4)
 - dd. quality: “complete,” ἀχρεοκόπητον

527–29

- c) by name
 - (1) formula of self-identity: I, NN, son of NN
 - (2) reference to divine law: κατὰ δόγμα ἀμετάθετον
 - (3) voces magicae

529–32

- d) didactic explanation regarding the relationship of the human and the divine
 - (1) concerning human mortality: θνητὸν γεγνῶτα
 - (2) citation of principle of incompatibility: οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν...συνανιέναι
 - (3) poetic description of heavenly splendor: χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδόνος
 - (4) voces magicae

533–35

- e) resultant command
 - (1) address of mortal nature: φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσις
 - (2) imperatives

- (a) concerning ascent: "stand" (ἕσταθι)
 - (b) concerning return: "take me back" (ἀνάλαβέ με)
 - (c) condition: "healthy" (ὑγιῇ)
- (3) references to time
 - (a) "at once" (αὐτίκα)
 - (b) Ananke formula (see 503–4, 525–26)
- 535–37 f) concluding formulae of self-identity
 - (1) first formula: "I am the son... (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ υἱός...)
 - (2) voces magicae
 - (3) second formula: "I am" (ἐγὼ εἰμι...)
 - (4) voces magicae
- 537–38 B. prescription of breathing ritual
 - 1. address: 2nd person sing.
 - 2. actions: inhalation (ἐλκεῖν, ἀνασπᾶν)
 - 3. object: πνεῦμα
 - a. physical: πνεῦμα as breath
 - b. metaphysical: πνεῦμα as spirit
 - c. transmission: by the rays of the sun
 - 4. medium: sun rays
 - 5. repetition: 3 times
 - 6. quantity: ὁ δύνασαι
- 539–44 C. explanatory introduction to the ascent ritual
- 539–40
 - 1. address: 2nd person sing.: ὅψῃ
 - 2. action: vision ("you will see")
 - 3. reality status: imaginative
 - 4. type of narrative: vision report in the prophetic future tense (ὅψῃ; cf. also 544, 549, 555, 565, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702)
 - 5. terms for imagined actions
 - a. ἀνακουφίζεσθαι
 - b. ὑπερβαίνειν εἰς ὕψος
 - 6. location: in midair
- 541 7. physical sense-perception during ascent
 - a. negative
 - 1) hearing: no hearing of human or animal sounds
 - 542–43 2) seeing: no seeing of anything earthly
 - b. reference to time: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ
 - 543–44 c. positive: seeing of things immortal (πάντα δὲ ὅψῃ ἀθάνατα)
- 544–732 D. ascension narrative in seven scenarios
- 544–55 1. first scenario: encounter with the planetary deities

- 544 a. reference to location: in midair (540)
 b. reference to time: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ (543)
 c. action: vision (ὄψῃ)
 d. objects seen
- 544–45 1) planetary constellation
 545–47 2) function: gods of days and hours
 3) movements of the deities in heaven
 a) ascending
 b) descending
- 547–55 4) appearance of two pictures
 547–49 a) first picture: the way of the planetary gods
 (1) description: way of the gods shown by the sun-disk
 (2) explanations
 (a) visibility of the gods
 (b) illumination by Helios
 aa. name: Helios
 bb. attribute: father god (πατήρ θεός)
- 549–55 b) second picture (ὁμοίως): the windpipe
 (1) action: ὄψῃ
 (2) object
 (a) name: ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός
 (b) description
 aa. turnable pipe hanging from the sun
 bb. for winds from east to west
 cc. for winds from west to east
 (c) explanation: regulation of the winds
- 556–68 2. second scenario: threat by the planetary gods
 556 a. conjunction: δέ
 b. action: ὄψῃ
 c. location: midair
 d. objects seen
 1) the planetary gods: οἱ θεοί
 557 2) their hostile response
 a) stare: ἀτενίζοντές σοι
 b) aggressive approach: ἐπὶ σε ὁρμώμενοι
- e. prescription of protective ritual
 1) address: σὺ δέ
 558 2) performance of ritual

- a) reference to time: εὐθέως
 b) ritual action: putting the right index-finger on the mouth
- 559–60 3) recitation of prayer
 a) type of prayer: petition (“second prayer” [σιγή-logos?], cf. 573–75, 578, 582–85, 623)
 b) invocation
 (1) name: σιγή (three times)
 (2) epithet: σύμβολον θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀφθάρτου
- 560 c) request for protection: φύλαξόν με
 d) invocation
 (1) name: σιγή
 (2) voces magicae
- 561 4) performance of magical sounds
 a) first sound
 (1) reference to time: ἔπειτα
 (2) name of sound: συριγμός
 b) second sound
 (1) reference to time: ἔπειτα
 (2) name of sound: ποππυσμός
- 562–65 c) voces magicae
- 565–69 f. result
- 565 1) reference to time: τότε
 2) action: ὄψη
- 566–69 3) object: the planetary gods
 4) their response: now friendly
 a) looks: εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντες
 b) approach: μηκέτι ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένοι
 c) conforming to cosmic order
 d) each performing assigned function
- 569–85 3. third scenario: the sun disk
- 569 a. reference to time: ὅταν οὖν
 b. action: “seeing,” ἰδῆς
 c. objects
 1) the cosmos καθαρὸς καὶ δονούμενος
 2) none of the gods or angels threatening
- 570–73 d. forewarning
 1) of hearing a loud thunder
 2) of being terrified

- 573–75 e. command to recite protective formulae
 1) the *σιγή* *σιγή*-logos (twice? cf. 559)
 2) self-identification
 a) formula *ἐγὼ εἰμι*
 b) attributes
 (1) *σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ*
 (2) *ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων*
 c) voces magicae
- 576–85 f. appearance of three images
 576 1) first image
 a) time reference: *ταυτά σοι εἰπόντος*
 b) description
 (1) reference to time: *εὐθέως*
 (2) the opening of the sun-disk:
ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται
- 577 2) second image
 a) preliminary rituals
 (1) time reference: *μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε*
 (2) recitation of the “second prayer”: *τὸν β’ λόγον*
- 578 (3) redactional comment, explaining that
 the *σιγή*-logos is meant (573–75)
- 578–79 (4) performance of two sounds
 (a) *συριγμός* twice
 (b) *ποππυσμός* twice
- 579 b) description
 (1) time reference: *εὐθέως*
 (2) action: “seeing,” *ὄψη*
- 579–82 (3) emergence of many five-pronged stars
 from the sun-disk and filling the air
- 582–85 3) third image
 a) preliminary ritual
 (1) reference to repetition
 (2) recitation of the *σιγή*-logos (573–75)
 (3) action: “seeing,” *ὄψη*
 b) description of the open disk (cf. 576)
 as a fireless circle with fiery doors closed
- 585–628 4. fourth scenario: the opening of the doors to the world
 of the gods
 a. time reference: *εὐθέως*
- 585–87 b. command to close the eyes (cf. 624)

- c. recitation of the following prayer
- 587 d. redactional reference to the liturgical order:
the "third prayer" (λόγος γ', cf. 484–5, 559–60, 573–75, 577, 582, 623)
- 587–620 e. recitation of a prayer to Aion
- 587–88 1) invocation
- a) formula: ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἄκουσόν μου
- b) self-identification of the orant by name (NN)
- c) primary attribute of the god: κύριε
- 589–602 d) aretology of 21 attributes and voces magicae
- 589 (1) first, naming the primary function of the god:
ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι τὰ πυρικά κλῆθρα τοῦ
τετραλιζώματος
- 590 (2) πυρίπολε πεντιπερουνι
- 591 (3) φωτὸς κτίστα (variant: συγκλεῖστα) Σεμεσιλαμ
- 592 (4) πυρίπνοε ψρυρινφευ
- 593 (5) πυρίθυμε Ιαω
- (6) πνευματόφως ωαῖ
- 594 (7) πυριχαρῇ ελουρε
- (8) καλλίφως αζαῖ
- 595 (9) Αἰών ακβα
- (10) φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι
- 596 (11) πυρισώματε φνουηνιοχ
- (12) φωτοδῶτα
- 597 (13) πυρισπόρε αρει εῖκιτα
- 598 (14) πυρίκλονε γαλλαβαλβα
- (15) φωτοβία ιαιαιω
- 599 (16) πυριδῖνα πυριχι βοοσηια
- (17) φωτοκινῆτα σανχερωβ
- 600 (18) κεραυνόκλονε ιη ωη ιωηιω
- (19) φωτὸς κλέος βεεγενητε
- 601 (20) αὐξήσιφως σουσινεφι
- 602 (21) ἐνπυρισχησίφως σουσῖνεφι αρενβαραζει
μαρμαρεντεν
- 603–4 2) petition
- a) address: ἀστροδάμα
- b) request: ἄνοιξόν μοι
- c) voces magicae
- 605–6 d) reason for the petition: ὅτι

- (1) action: ἐπικαλοῦμαι
 (2) Ananke formula: ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ
 πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης
 (cf. 503–504, 525–526, 534)
- 606–16 3) recitation of the secret names of the seven gods
 of the cosmos
- 606–10 a) description
 (1) as by nature non-human
 (2) as not pronounced in articulate speech
 (3) as speaking a non-human language
 (4) as divine: immortal, living, praiseworthy
- 610–16 b) list of 7 lines of vowel sequences
- 617–20 f. instruction concerning performance
 1) reference to previous list: ταῦτα πάντα
 2) kind of performance
 a) μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος
 b) line by line, twice from beginning to end
 3) explanation: each line contains the name of one
 of “the seven immortal gods of the universe”
- 620–23 g. effect
 1) reference to the recited prayer: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος
 2) announcement
 a) in the cosmos: tremendous thunder
 b) for the petitioner: experience of terror
- 623 h. command to recite the σιγῇ-logos
 (cf. 559, 573–75, 582–85)
- 624–28 i. appearance of the image
 1) command to open the eyes (cf. 586–87)
 2) action: ὄψῃ
 3) object: the open doors
 4) description of the image: the doors are open and
 behind them appears the world of the gods
- 626–28 5) response
 a) experience of ἡδονὴ καὶ χαρά
 b) the initiate’s πνεῦμα running with the gods and
 moving upwards (συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν)
- 628–61 5. fifth scenario: encounter with Helios
- 628–30 a. command to perform rituals
 1) time reference: εὐθὺς
 2) actions

- a) stand
 - b) draw in from the divine spirit
 - c) look intently: ἀτενίζειν
- b. command to issue an order
 - 1) time reference: ὅταν
 - 2) condition of the soul: ὅταν οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχὴ (cf. 622–23)
- 631–33 3) prayer formula
 - a) command: πρόσελθε (cf. 655)
 - b) address: κύριε
 - c) voces magicae
- 633–34 4) predicted result
 - a) time reference: τοῦτο εἰπόντος
 - b) focusing of the sun rays
- 634–37 5) response: look (ἀτενίζειν) into the sun rays
- c. epiphany of Helios
 - 1) time reference: ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης
 - 2) action: ὄψῃ
 - 3) object: Helios
 - 4) iconographical description of Helios
 - a) age: θεὸς νεώτερος
 - b) beauty: εὐηδής
 - c) hair: πυρινότριξ
 - d) clothing
 - (1) white chiton
 - (2) scarlet chlamys
 - e) wreath: πύρινος στέφανος
- 638 d. performance of the ritual of greeting
 - 1) reference to time: εὐθέως
 - 2) type of greeting: πύρινος ἀσπαστικός
- 639–42 e. recitation of the greeting prayer (χαίρετισμός)
- 639 1) address
 - a) title: κύριε
 - b) appeal: χαῖρε
 - c) three attributes (using μέγας)
 - (1) μεγαλοδύναμε
 - (2) μεγαλωκράτωρ βασιλεῦ
 - (3) μέγιστε θεῶν
- 640 d) name: Helios
- e) aretology

- 642 (1) two attributes (titles)
 (a) ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς
 (b) θεὸς θεῶν
- 642–55 (2) two attributes (verbs)
 (a) ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνολή
 (b) ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναιμις
- 642–43 (3) address: κύριε
- 643 2) presentation of petition
 a) formalities of protocol
 (1) submission to the divine will
 (2) technical term for announcing the arrival of
 a visitor: ἀγγέλλειν
- 644–49 b) request for an audience
 (1) person
 (a) name: Mithras (not named)
 (b) title: ὁ μέγιστος θεός
 (2) kin relationship between Helios and Mithras:
 τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι
- 645–49 c) self-identification of the petitioner
 (1) rank (attribute): ἄνθρωπος
 (2) person: ἐγώ
 (3) name: NN
 (4) recitation of *synthema* (cultic formula of
 self-definition
 (a) concerning human birth
 aa. mother
 (aa) origin: mortal uterus
 (bb) name: NN
 bb. father
 (aa) origin: sperm
 (bb) no name
 (b) concerning divine rebirth
 aa. time reference: σήμερον
 bb. reference to ritual
 (aa) subject: god (Mithras)
 (bb) term: μεταγεννᾶσθαι
 cc. election
 dd. immortalisation: ἀπαθανατίζειν
 (cf. 741, 747, 771)
 ee. time reference: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ

- ff. authorisation
 - (aa) divine will: κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ
 - (bb) divine goodness
- 649–55 (5) expression of devotion
 - (a) proskynesis
 - (b) formulas of devotion
 - aa. attitude: ἀξιούν καὶ δέεσθαι
 - bb. expressing humility: κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην
- 651–55 d) secondary insertion
 - (1) command to keep at hand the horoscope for day and hour
 - (2) secret name of the regent
 - (3) purpose: identifying opportune times for epiphany and divination
 - (4) voces magicae (variations on vowels)
- 655–57 f. the departure of Helios
 - 1) time reference: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος
 - 2) action: ὄψῃ
 - 3) object: departure of the god
 - 4) description of the image
 - a) motif: move to the pole (ἐλεύσεται)
 - b) image detail: wandering as on a road
- 657–61 g. performance of protective rituals
 - 1) staring intently: ἀτενίζειν
 - 2) doing the bellowing sound: μύκωμα
 - 3) intensity
 - a) loud: μακρόν
 - b) as through a horn: κερατοειδῶς
 - c) special effort
 - (1) giving out all breath: πνεῦμα
 - (2) squeezing the stomach
 - 659–60 4) kissing the phylacteries
 - 660–61 5) recitation of formula
 - a) request: φύλαξόν μοι
 - b) vox magica
 - c) turning first to the right
 - [d) turning to the left side]
 - 661–92 6. sixth scenario: encounter with the deities of the Bear constellations

- 661 a. time reference: ταῦτα εἰπὼν
b. action: ὄψη
- 662–72 c. description of the appearance of the seven virgins
(stars of the Great Bear)
- 662 1) location: the doors of the heaven are open
2) arrival: ἔρχεσθαι
3) origin: ἐκ τοῦ βάθους
- 663–65 4) iconography of the goddesses
a) figures: virgins (παρθένοι)
b) number: seven
c) dress: fine linen (ἐν βυσσίνους)
d) face masks: asps
e) name: οὐρανοῦ Τύχαι
f) symbols: holding golden wands: χρυσέα βραβεῖα
- 665–92 d. performance of the greeting
- 665 1) time reference: ταῦτα ἰδὼν
- 666 2) recitation of greeting to all
a) appeal: χαίρετε
b) name: αἱ ζ' Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
- 667 c) three attributes
(1) first: σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι
668 (2) second: ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδίαυτοι of NN (secret name)
668–69 (3) third: αἱ ἀγιοτάται φυλάκισσαι τῶν τεσσάρων
στυλίσκων
- 670–72 3) recitation of individual greetings
- 670 a) first greeting
(1) appeal: χαῖρε
(2) address: ἡ πρώτη
(3) magical name
- 671 b) second greeting
(1) appeal: χαῖρε
(2) address: ἡ β'
(3) magical name
- c) third greeting
(1) appeal: χαῖρε
(2) address: ἡ γ'
(3) magical name
- 672 d) fourth greeting
(1) appeal: χαῖρε
(2) address: ἡ δ'
(3) magical name

- e) fifth greetings
 - (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 - (2) address: ἡ ε΄
 - (3) magical name
- f) sixth greeting
 - (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 - (2) address: ἡ ζ΄
 - (3) magical name
- g) seventh greeting
 - (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 - (2) address: ἡ ζζ΄
 - (3) magical name
- 673 e. description of the appearance of the seven black bull-headed gods (stars of the Little Bear)
 - 1) arrival: προέρχεσθαι
 - 2) iconography
 - a) figures: male gods (θεοί)
 - b) number: seven
 - c) dress: linen loincloths
 - 674 d) face masks: black bulls
 - 676 e) name: οἱ πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 - f) symbols: golden diademes
- 677 f. prescription of performance of greeting
 - 678–92 1) recitation of greeting to all
 - 678 a) appeal: χαίρετε
 - b) name: οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες
 - 679 c) three attributes
 - (1) first: οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι
 - 679–81 (2) second: οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 - 681–87 (3) third: (οἱ)... ἀφιέντες
 - (a) cosmic phenomena: βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπάς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολάς
 - (b) punishment of the godless aliens: εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα
 - (c) reward for the pious orant: ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ ὄντι <δότε> ὑγείαν...
 - (d) time reference: ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώταις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις
 - 688 d) address by title: κύριοι μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί

- 688–92 2) recitation of individual greetings
- 688 a) first greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ πρῶτος
 (3) vox magica
- 689 b) second greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ β'
 (3) vox magica
- c) third greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ γ'
 (3) vox magica
- 690 d) fourth greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ δ'
 (3) vox magica
- 691 e) fifth greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ ε'
 (3) vox magica
- f) sixth greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ ς'
 (3) vox magica
- 692 g) seventh greeting
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε
 (2) address: ὁ ζ'
 (3) vox magica
- 692–732 7. seventh scenario: encounter with Mithras
- 692 a. time reference
 1) completion of the gods' procession
 2) arrangement in two groups on opposite sides
- b. performance of ritual: ἀτενίζειν τῷ ἀέρι
- c. action: ὀψῆ
- 694–95 d. description of cosmic phenomena
 1) lightning bolts coming down
 2) lights flashing
 3) earth shaking

- 696–704 e. epiphany of Mithras
 1) location: higher sphere
- 696 2) appearance by descent (κατέρχεσθαι)
- f. iconography
- 1) figure: θεός
- 2) size: ὑπερμεγέθης
- 697 3) face: φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν
- 4) age: νεώτερος
- 5) hair: χρυσοκόμης
- 698 6) dress
- a) white chiton
- b) Persian-style trousers: ἀναξυρίδες
- c) golden crown
- 699–702 7) insignia
- a) mythological (Mithraic): κατέχων τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ
 μόσχου ὄμυν χρύσειον
- b) astrological
- (1) identification of the bull's shoulder with the
 Bear constellation
- (2) function
- (a) moving and turning the heavenly vault
- (b) as moving upward and downward seasonal
 revolutions
- 702–4 8) cosmic features
- a) time reference: ἔπειτα
- b) action: ὄψη
- c) reference to eyes: giving off lightnings
- d) reference to body: giving off shooting stars
- 704–11 g. performance of rituals
- 704 1) reference to time: εὐθέως
- 705–7 2) first ritual: bellowing sound
- a) name: μύκωμα μακρόν
- b) intensity
- (1) long and loud
- (2) straining the belly: βασανίζειν τὴν γαστέρα
- (3) arousing the five senses
- (4) until total exhalation: εἰς ἀπόθεσιν
- 707–11 3) second ritual: protective
- 707 a) kissing the phylacteria
- 708 b) recitation of a prayer

- (1) invocation
 (a) voces magicae
 709 (b) address: ζώή μου
 (2) self-identification by name: NN
 (3) requests (three)
 (a) μένε σύ
 710–11 (b) νέμε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου
 (c) μή με καταλείψῃς
 (4) appeal to divine authority
 (a) command: ὅτι κελεύει σοι
 (b) voces magicae
 712–17 h. greeting of Mithras
 712 1) preliminary rituals
 a) intense look: ἀτενίζειν τῷ θεῷ
 b) bellowing sound: μακρὸν μυκώμενος
 713–17 2) recitation of the greeting prayer
 713 a) address by title: κύριε
 b) formula of three greetings
 (1) first greeting
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε
 (b) address by attribute: δέσποτα ὕδατος
 714 (2) second greeting
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε
 (b) address by attribute: κατάρχα γῆς
 (3) third greeting
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε
 (b) address by attribute: δύναστα πνεύματος
 715 (4) attributes/voces magicae: λαμπροφεγγη,
 προπροφεγγη
 715–17 3) voces magicae
 717–24 i. presentation of petition
 717 1) address by title: κύριε
 2) request for an oracle response: χρηματίζειν
 718 3) naming of the issue: NN
 719–24 4) self-presentation of the petitioner
 719 a) address by title: κύριε
 719–24 b) recitation of the *synthema* of initiation, in three parts
 719–22 (1) first part: rebirth and death (three statements
 of polarity)
 (a) first: παλινγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι

- (b) second: αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ
 (c) third: ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι
- 722–23 (2) second part: divine legitimacy (three statements concerning compliance)
 (a) first: ὥς σὺ ἔκτισας
 (b) second: ὥς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας
 723 (c) third: καὶ ἐποιήσας μυστήριον
 724 (3) third part: self-identification
 (a) formula: ἐγὼ εἰμι
 (b) secret name
- 724–27 j. granting of oracular consultation
 724 1) time references
 a) end of previous ritual: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος
 b) continuation: εὐθέως
- 725 2) kind of audience: χρησμοδεῖν
 725–26 3) recipient's condition during the consultation
 a) weakness of the soul: ὑπέκλυτος τῇ ψυχῇ
 b) ecstasy: οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει
- 727 4) form of response: in verses (διὰ στίχων)
 727–28 k. end of the session
 1) conclusion of the god's revelatory speech: εἰπὼν
 2) the god's departure: ἀπελεύσεται
- 728 l. condition after the audience: standing speechless (σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνός)
- 728–32 m. promises concerning the revelation
 1) concerning comprehension: at once (αὐτομάτως)
 2) concerning memory: flawless (ἀπαράβατως)
- 730–32 3) reliability
 a) words of the god: τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα
 b) regardless of the size of the oracle: καὶ ἥν μυρίων ὁ χρησμός
- 732–819 III. Supplemental rituals
 732–50 A. three optional rituals for including an associate
 732–35 1. prophecy with medium
 a. status: optional (ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς)
 b. type: fellow-initiate (σύμμυστης) as medium
 c. modus
 1) role of associate as medium: συμμύστη χρήσασθαι
 2) medium hears only what is spoken: τὰ λεγόμενα ἑκείνον μόνον σὺν σοὶ ἀκούειν

- d. ritual preconditions: prior sanctification
- 1) both together: συναγνεύειν
 - 2) duration: seven days
 - 3) abstentions
 - a) from meat: τὰ ἔμψυχα
 - b) from bath: βαλανεῖον
- 736–38 2. second option: prophecy without medium
- a. status: optional (ἐὰν δὲ ...)
 - b. type: mystagogue alone: μόνος ἦς
 - c. modus
 - 1) direct handling of the god's response: ἐγχειρεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα
 - 2) as in ecstasy: ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος
- 738–46 3. third option: prophecy by showing cultic symbols
- a. status: optional (ἐὰν δὲ ...)
 - b. type: fellow-initiate present, but not medium
 - c. modus
 - 1) showing of symbols: δεῖξαι (sc. τὰ δεικνύμενα)
 - 2) role of associate: interpreter of symbol
 - d. conditions
 - 1) evaluation by the mystagogue: κρίνας
 - 2) criteria
 - a) worthiness as initiate: εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν
 - b) genuineness as human being: ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος
 - 3) standard: same as applied in the immortalisation ritual (ἀπαθανατισμός, cf. 650, 747, 771)
- 741–46 e. ritual performance
- 1) prayer
 - a) recitation
 - b) name: “first origin of my origin” (486–537)
 - 2) other formulae: τὰ δὲ ἔξης
 - a) standard: ὡς μύστης
 - b) modus
 - (1) over the head: ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
 - (2) sotto voce: ὑπὸ φθόγγῳ
 - (3) inaudible for the associate: ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ
 - 3) anointment
 - a) type: eye-salve (χρίειν τὴν ὄψιν)
 - b) name of the anointment: μυστήριον (see 751–78)

- 746–50 4. additional stipulations
- 746–48 a. name of the ritual: ἀπαθανατισμός
(cf. 646–47, 650, 741, 771)
- b. frequency: three times a year
- 748–50 c. warning against misuse
- 1) address: ὦ τέκνον
- 2) situation envisaged
- a) time: after the instruction (μετὰ τὸ παράγγελμα)
- b) technical term: παρακούειν
- 3) solution: exclusion from the ritual, τῷ οὐκέτι ὑπάρξει
- 750–819 B. additional instruction
- 750 1. section title: διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως
- 751–819 2. two preparatory rituals
- 751–78 a. first ritual: the sun-scarab ointment
- 1) reference: χρίειν 746; cf. χρῖσμα 770;
περιχρίειν 773–74; σύγχρισμα 793
- 751–57 2) first stage
- a) acquiring ingredients: λάβων
- (1) a sun-scarab: ἀνθαρος ἡλιακός
- (2) a deep turquoise cup: βησίον καλλαῖνον βαθύ
- (3) seed of the fruitpulp of the lotus:
λωτομήτρας σπέρμα
- (4) honey
- 753–55 b) preparation
- (1) time: darkness, newmoon
- (2) dropping ingredients into cup
- (3) grinding it all up
- (4) making small cake: μαζιον
- 755–57 c) application
- (1) putting cake before scarab
- (2) feeding it
- (3) result: killing it instantly
- 757–71 3) second stage
- a) acquiring ingredients
- (1) dead scarab
- (2) glass vessel
- (3) quantity of excellent rose-oil
- (4) “sacred sand”
- b) preparation
- (1) picking up dead scarab

- (2) dropping into glass vessel
- (3) spreading "sacred sand" "in a pure way"
- (4) placing vessel on the sand
- 761-71 c) consecration
 - 761-62 (1) time: high noon
 - (2) duration: seven days
 - (3) modus: pronouncing formula "over the vessel"
 - 763-67 (4) recitation of formula
 - (a) name: ὄνομα (761)
 - (b) addressing the scarab
 - (c) action: ἐγὼ σε ἐτέλεσα
 - (d) purpose: ἵνα μοι ἡ σου οὐσία χρήσιμος
 - (e) self-identification: NN (τῷ δεῖνα μόνῳ)
 - (f) voces magicae
 - (g) purpose: ἐμοὶ μόνῳ χρησιμεύσης
 - (h) self-identification
 - aa. formula ἐγὼ εἰμι
 - bb. secret name
 - cc. redactional comment noting
a variant reading
- 767-71 d) preservation
 - (1) time: on the seventh day
 - (2) scarab
 - (a) removal
 - (b) burial ritual
 - aa. embalming with myrrh and
Mendesian wine
 - bb. wrapping in linen
 - cc. deposition in field of blooming bean plants
 - (3) ointment
 - (a) time: after dining
(ἐστιάσας καὶ συνευωχῆθεις, 756-57)
 - (b) deposition in pure manner:
ἀπόθου καθαρείως
 - (c) purpose: for use in the main ritual
(ἀπαθανατισμός)
- 772-75 4) supplemental ritual
 - a) status: optional (ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέλῃς...)
 - b) modus: to show it (δεικνύειν) to someone else
 - c) preparation of eye-salve

- (1) substance: juice of the plant *kentritis*
(cf. 778–86, 798–810)
- (2) mixing it with rose oil (cf. 790)
- d) application: around the eyes (?)
- e) result: clear sight (ὁψεται δηλαυγῶς)
- f) amazement: ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν
- 776–78 5) conclusion
- 776–77 a) “commercial”: τούτου μετίζον’ οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ
κόσμῳ πραγματεῖαν
- 777–78 b) theological maxim: αἰτοῦ δέ, ἃ βούλει, τὸν θεόν,
καὶ δώσει σοι
- 778–92 b. second ritual: the plant *kentritis*
- 778–79 1) section title: ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις
- 2) acquisition of ingredient
- a) plant name: *kentritis*
- b) reference: τὴν προκειμένην (l. 773)
- 780 c) time: zodiac conjunction of sun and moon in Lion
(cf. 786–87)
- 781–82 3) preparations
- a) ink
- (1) juice of *kentritis* plant
- (2) mixture with honey and myrrh
- 782–83 b) leaf of the *persea* plant
- (1) acquisition of a leaf
- (2) writing the eight-letter *vox magica* on it
- (3) reference: 788
- 783–85 4) application
- a) preliminary ritual
- (1) sanctification (ἀγνεύειν)
- (2) duration: three days
- b) time: early morning at sunrise
- c) action
- (1) licking off the *Persea*
- (2) showing the leaf to the sun (Helios)
- d) effect: the god (Helios) will listen attentively
(καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως)
- 786–92 5) additional instructions
- 786–87 a) time references
- (1) reference: 780
- (2) beginning of preparation

- (3) zodiacal conjunction of Helios in Lion:
τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι
- (4) concerning the newmoon: ἐν νομηνίᾳ
- (5) according to the divine will: κατὰ θεόν
- 788 b) concerning the ὄνομα
(1) reference: ὄνομα (783)
(2) citation formula: τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν τοῦτο
(3) the eight-letter formula
- 789–90 c) concerning the Persea leaf
(1) reference: 785
(2) action: licking off of the name
(3) purpose: self-protection
(4) disposal of the leaf after licking off
(a) rolling it up
(b) throwing it in with the rose-oil (cf. 774)
- 790–92 d) concluding testimony: a “commercial”
(1) testifying to frequent usage
(2) expressing great amazement
- 792–813 3. Further items of information
- 792–96 a. first item: change of ritual concerning the ointment
1) reference: σύγγραμμα 751–78
2) authorisation: personal revelation (εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός)
3) instructions
a) prohibition to keep the ointment for later usage
(overruling 768–71)
b) substitutional disposal: ointment to be cast into
the Nile (before the consultation?)
c) appropriate use of the scarab μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ
κανθάρου
(1) reference: 745, 751–78
(2) name: μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ κανθάρου
(3) reference to a ritual (?): τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος
διὰ τῶν κέ ζώων ὀρνέων
(4) wearing it during the consultation
- 796–98 b. second item: change of ritual concerning times
for consultation
1) reference: 746–48
2) inappropriate: three times a year
3) appropriate: once a month, at full moon

- 798–813 c. third item: botanical information about the *kentritis* plant
 1) reference: 773, 778–86
- 798–804 2) earlier data
 a) seasonal growth: from the month of Pauni
 b) geographical occurrence: region of the “black earth”
 c) comparable other plant: erect *verbena*
 d) identification
 (1) formula: ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως
 (2) method: the wing of an ibis smeared with the black juice of the plant will, when touched, lose its feathers at once
- 804–13 3) new information
 a) authorisation: divine revelation
 (τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου ὑποδείξαντος, cf. 792)
 b) geographical occurrence: region of Menelaitis in Phalagry
 c) environment: river banks, near the Besas plant
 d) description in detail
 (1) single stem
 (2) reddish to the root
 (3) leaves crinkled
 (4) fruit looking like that of wild asparagus
 (5) comparable other plant: *talapes*, a kind of wild beet
- 813–19 4. Third ritual: the phylacteries
- 813 a. reference: 659–61, 708
- 814–17 b. modus: τρόπος
- c. for the right arm
 1) material
 a) skin of a black sheep
 b) ink: black myrrh ink
 2) preparation
 a) inscription (?) (missing, cf. 661: προσυμερι)
 b) tying with sinews of the same sheep
 c) to be worn on right arm
- 817–19 d. for the left arm
 1) material
 a) skin of the white sheep
 b) ink: same as above (?)
 2) preparation
 a) inscription: προσδυμερι
 b) to be worn on on left arm

- 819–20 IV. Epilogue: statements concerning the document
- A. technical name for the document: ὑπόμνημα
(cf. σύνταγμα 480–81)
 - B. statement of completion: πληρέστατον
 - C. paragraphos sign after 820

Commentary

I. The Exordium (ll. 475–85)

Although not indicated by a line separator in the papyrus itself, the text of the “Mithras Liturgy” begins at l. 475 with an exordium comprising the ll. 475–85. Composed with some rhetorical care, the exordium shows evidence of the author’s literary interests and abilities as well as his religious sensitivities. Because there is a religious reason for it, he sets forth the exordium as a prayer of petition.¹ This exordium has a remarkably close parallel in the epistolary preface of the Apocryphon of James from Nag Hammadi:²

[James] writes to [...thos]: Peace [be with you from] Peace, [love from] Love, [grace from] Grace, [faith] from Faith, life from Holy Life! Since you asked that I send you a secret book which was revealed to me and Peter by the Lord, I could not turn you away or gainsay (?) you, but [I have written] it in the Hebrew alphabet and sent it to you, and you alone. But since you are a minister of the salvation of the saints, endeavor earnestly and take care not to rehearse this text to many – this that the Savior did not wish to tell to all of us, his twelve disciples. But blessed will they be who will be saved through the faith of this discourse.

A. The Invocation (l. 475)

Appropriately, the prayer begins with an invocation: “Ἰλαθί μοι, Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχή” (“Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche”). This invocation,³ however, poses several problems. (1) The second of the two divine names invoked is disputed textually. Wessely, followed by Dieterich, read Τύχη,⁴ but

¹ For a text and commentary regarding this section, see Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 169–78.

² NHC I,2, 1,1–28 (according to the translation in Robinson, *Library*, 30); cf. the translations by Dankwart Kirchner, *NTApok* (5th ed.) 1.238 (with further parallels); Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*, 1.18. The latter argue for the gnostic Cerinthus as addressee.

³ For the invocation generally and further bibliography, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.52–53.

⁴ Wessely, *Zauberpapyrus*, 56; Dieterich (1; 219).

Preisendanz's reading of $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ has generally been accepted.⁵ Although the first letter is somewhat uncertain, a decision in favor of Ψ is fairly secure; it is also supported by contextual evidence. Both names occur elsewhere in the PGM,⁶ but none of the passages attest the two names together, so one will have to look for parallels outside the corpus. (2) If one opts for $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ καὶ $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$, the question is whether the two names refer to two different deities, or to one deity identified by two epithets consisting of hypostatized abstractions. (3) The fact that at no other place the ML refers again to the two names raises the question how the author intended to relate the invocation to the rest of the ML.

These three problems can be solved in conjunction. The context, in which both $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ and $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ play an important role, seems surprising only at first sight. Influences of Stoicism elsewhere in the beginning sections of the ML make it most likely that the author refers to the "world-soul."⁷ Based on Plato's *Timaeus*,⁸ the concept of the world-soul was developed especially by

⁵ Preisendanz's edition, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; see also Richard Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche in der hellenistischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (SHAW.PH 10; Heidelberg: Winter, 1917); idem, *HMR*, 48–49, 170–74; Arthur Allgeier, "Ein syrischer Memrâ über die Seele in religionsgeschichtlichem Rahmen," *ARW* 21 (1922) 360–96; Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.158, 233.

⁶ For $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ see LVII.36: μεγαλόδοξε $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ (Isis); cf. ll. 17 and 30, where a black $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ may be mentioned. $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ occurs mostly together with Eros: IV.1724–25, 1730–31, 1733–34, 1738–39, 1741–43; XII.20; XIII.192. For $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ see IV.665–66 (the seven Tychai are Hathors); elsewhere it is often identified with Isis, cf. IV.2601, 2665, 3000, 3167; VII.506; VIII.51; XII.254; XIII.781; XXI.16; LVII.18 (cf. 30); and Luther H. Martin, "Tyche," *DDD* 877–78 (Lit).

Mithras and Tyche are associated in Cassius Dio 62.5.2, where the Persian Tiridates on a visit in Rome presents himself to Nero with these words: ἐγώ, δέσποτα. Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἔκγονος, Οὐολογασίου δὲ καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφός, σὸς δὲ δοῦλός εἰμι. καὶ ἦλθον τε πρὸς σέ τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς· σὺ γάρ μοι καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη. ("Master, I am the descendent of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaesius and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine; for thou art my Fortune and my Fate.") Cited according to the LCL edition by Earnest Cary (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1925), 8.142–43. In his diplomatically crafted statement Tiridates told Nero what tickled his ears, and he combined Roman and Persian imperial ideology.

⁷ So following Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.158, 233): "Es ist die Weltseele gemeint, die alle beseelt."

⁸ See Plato, *Phaedr.* 254c; *Tim.* 30b:... κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἐμψυχον ἔννουν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν. Cf. also 34a–36d; 41c,d: ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῇ. See Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato* (London: Routledge, 1935; repr. 1997), 57–97: "The World-Soul;" Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy*, 5.292–99. The tradition continues in later Platonism

Chrysippus and later Stoics, and it is here that the combination of the two concepts frequently occurs.⁹ Therefore, if the invocation is influenced by Stoic ideas, it means that only one deity, the highest deity in fact, is addressed in this way. Already Chrysippus defined the deity thus: "Chrysippus asserts that Zeus, that is the universe, is like a human being, and his providence is like its soul" (ἐοικέναι τῷ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν κόσμον, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὴν πρόνοιαν).¹⁰ Moreover, the relationship between the invocation and the remainder of the ML can be explained with the help of Merkelbach's observation that the exordium is a secondary feature prefixed to the received tradition.¹¹ The author makes the connection between the exordium and the main body of the ML through the element of fire/spirit, which is the substance of the world-soul.¹²

(see e.g. Philo, *Aet.* 47 (with reference to Chrysippus): τῇ προνοίᾳ – ψυχῇ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου; also 50–51, 84: ψυχῇ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ... ὁ θεός); Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.16; 3.3.5; 4.4.9; etc.; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.31). See Heinz Robert Schlette, *Weltseele: Geschichte und Hermeneutik* (Frankfurt a.M.: Knecht, 1993); Mischa von Perger, *Die Allseele in Platons 'Timaios'* (BAK 96; Leipzig: Teubner, 1997).

⁹ See SVF I § 172 (44,19–21) about the association of *mens mundi*, *providentia*, *πρόνοια*; SVF II, § 613 (187,13); § 933 (268,13); § 1064 (312,35); Marcus Aurelius, 12.24; Philo, *Aet.* 47–48,50–51; *Prov.* 2.9. For the passages dealing with the world-soul see also Pease, *Cicero*, 2.686–87; Joseph Moreau, *L'Âme du monde de Platon à stoïciens* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1939); Long & Sedley, 1.319–20; Albrecht Dihle, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. *ψυχή*, section A.3–5; Hermann Dörrie, "Der Begriff 'Pronoia' in Stoa und Platonismus," *FZPhTh* 24 (1977) 60–87; Michael Frede, "Chairemon," *ANRW* II.36:3 (1989) 2067–2103, esp. 2094–95; Robert T. C. Parker, "The Origins of Pronoia: A Mystery," in *Apodosis: Essays Presented to Dr. W. W. Cruickshank* (London: St. Paul's School, 1992), 84–94; Peter Steinmetz, "Die Stoa," in *Die Philosophie der Antike* (Basel: Schwabe, 1994), 4.539, 606–8, 610, 950–51; Myrto Dragona-Monachou, "Divine Providence in the Philosophy of the Empire," *ANRW* II.36:7 (1994) 4417–90, esp. 4424; Peter Frick, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria* (TSAJ 77; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Richard L. Gordon, "Pronoia," *DDD* 664–67.

¹⁰ SVF II § 1064 (312,35), from Plutarch, *Comm. not.* 36 (1077D).

¹¹ Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.55.

¹² See Steinmetz ("Die Stoa," 539): "Das aber, was die Welt beseelt, was als Logos, als Heimarmene, als Pronoia, als gestaltende Natur, kurz, was als aktives Prinzip nach Hervorbringung der Welt aus dem 'Feuer' als die ganze Welt durchdringendes 'Feuer' weiterwirkt, das ist die Weltseele (*mens mundi*, gelegentlich nennt Zenon diese feurige Weltseele auch πνεῦμα, Pneuma, lat. *spiritus*, ohne dass Pneuma schon ein fester Terminus wäre ...)."

B. Presentation of a Petition (ll. 475–78)

The formula ἔλαθί μοι introduces the prayer. Since it occurs also elsewhere in the PGM,¹³ it seems to be conventional even in its archaizing form.¹⁴ The reason for the petition is that the author confesses the commission of a specific offense: τὰδε γράφοντι τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια (“as I write these mysteries handed down, not for gain”). As Merkelbach has noticed, the offense consists of having written down (γράφοντι) the text to follow (τὰδε) because it contains the secret tradition.¹⁵ This secret tradition is named by technical expressions, not all of which are textually beyond doubt: τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα παράδοτα μυστήρια. Dieterich recognized a discrepancy between “writing down” the mysteries, constituting a secondary act, and the original form of oral transmission.¹⁶ However, he does not seem to realize that the act of writing down the sacred tradition is the offensive act precipitating the prayer, and that therefore the entire exordium cannot be part of the mystery ritual to be performed.¹⁷

¹³ The expression ἔλαθί μοι occurs also I.341; II.165; IV.457, 948, 1988, 2826. Parallel is ἔλεώς μοι γενοῦ, see III.567; IV.3124; V.420; cf. ἔλαος I.304; III.206, 213; these parallels indicate that the god is asked to smile with kindness at the orant.

¹⁴ See LSJ, s.v. ἔλημι, which mentions Theocritus 15.143; Lucian, *Epigr.* 41 [OCT; Jacobitz 22]; *Anthol. pal.* 12.158 [Meleager] (ἔλαθ', ἄναξ, ἔληθι); Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 1.357, 689. More common is the Attic ἔλεως, occurring also in the NT (Heb 8:12 [Jer 31:34 LXX]); cf. 2:17; Matt 16:22; cf. ἔλασθητί μοι, Luke 18:13). See Friedrich Büchsel, *TDNT* 3 (1938) 300–1; BDAG, s.v. ἔλεως; cf. ἔλασκομαι.

¹⁵ The secret tradition is to be handed down orally, not in written form.

See, e.g., the opening questions in the emperor Julian's *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (*Or.* V.169A): “And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable?” (καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρήτων γράψομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα ἐξοίσομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα ἐκλάλησομεν; LCL edition and translation by W. C. Wright, 1.442–43). Julian summarizes main points of myths and festivals, but he explicitly observes the rule of secrecy regarding the mystery rituals known only to the “theurgists” (173A–B).

Cf. the apocalyptic literature, where in some texts the prophet is ordered to write the things down he has seen, while in others he is prohibited. Since the apocalyptic literature is on the whole not secret but intends to be public, the question of writing is a literary *topos*. See *1En.* 12:4; 13:6; 69:9–10; 82:1–3; 92:1–5; *2En.* 19:3–5; 22:1–23:6; 33:6–12; 35:2; 36:1; 48:6–8; 50:1; 53:2–3; 54:1; 68:1–2; *Test. Abr.* 10; and also Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 183; my *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 186 (on Pausanias 39.13–14). For a collection of passages from apocalyptic writings, see Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSRHZ 5:6; Gütersloh: Mohr, 1984), 551 n., 667 n., 709 n.

¹⁶ Dieterich (50): “... muß es für höchst wahrscheinlich gelten, daß die Worte “ἔλαθί μοι Πρόνοια κτλ. den Beginn der rituellen Aktion selbst ausmachten und zur Eröffnung der Kulthandlung selbst gesprochen wurden; daraus folgt dann, daß τὰδε γράφοντι ... nicht mehr der echte Wortlaut der Liturgie sein kann: das Wort γράφοντι wäre die ganz äußerlich eingetragene Änderung dessen, der den heiligen Text abgeschrieben ...”

¹⁷ Pointed out by Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.155–56.

Rather, the prayer of the exordium is a different level of ritual act performed in writing by the author of the exordium.

The term “mysteries” (μυστήρια) refers to the text of the ML, that is by implication, to the ritual as a whole (ll. 476, 723); differently, in a supplemental section (ll. 746, 794), the term refers to an ointment used in the ritual.¹⁸ The μυστήρια are “handed over” (παραδοτά) as “sacred tradition” (παράδοσις). While these terms belong to the familiar mystery-cult language,¹⁹ the words τα πρατα in the papyrus²⁰ have been emended by scholars in different ways. Preisendanz and Eitrem²¹ emend as <ξ>πρατα, translated as “unverkäuflich,” in Greek a rare term according to LSJ (s.v.) who render it as “unsold, unsalable.” If ἄπρατα were accepted as correct, the author could have intended a contrasting pun.²² Differently, Merkelbach,²³ following Usener²⁴ and Riess,²⁵ contracts the words into πατροπαράδοτα (“handed down by the father”), but, if one wants to contract, plausible would also be πρωταπαράδοτα (“handed down first” or “handed down as most important”).²⁶ In theory, of course, πρατα could simply be the result of an error by the scribe who forgot to erase it after he had corrected himself by writing παράδοτα. While all of these emendations are possible, none seems compelling.

The words μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ (“for an only child”) point to the person to whom the tradition is going to be handed over, but there are ambiguities here as well.

¹⁸ For μυστήριον in the PGM see also I.131; IV.2477, 2592; V.110; XII.322, 331, 333; XIII.128, 685; XIX.a.52; XXXVI.306. See Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 27; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 170; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 24, 176, 180, 219–27; Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 89–107 (*Magie*, 96–117). For parallels in early Christian literature, see BDAG, s.v. μυστήριον.

¹⁹ For παραδίδωμι in the PGM see I.192; V.109–11 (Moses, ὃ παρέδωκε τὰ μυστήρια σου τὰ συντελούμενα Ἰσραὴλ); VII.448; XIII.933; παράδοσις I.54; παραδοτά is found only here. For further parallels see Dieterich, 53–54. LSJ, s.v., gives as references for παραδοτός: Plato, *Men.* 93b; Philodemus, *Rhet.* 1.369 S.; Diogenes Laertius 4.12 (Xenocrates, “Ὅτι παραδοτὴ ἡ ἄρετή α’). For the related παραδοτέος, LSJ lists: Plato, *Lg.* 802e; *Alc.* 1.132c; Iamblichus, *Protr.* 2. On the subject matter, see Betz, “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 173–83. For parallels and bibliography, see also BDAG, s.v. παραδίδωμι, 4; παράδοσις, 2.

²⁰ Wessely, 56.

²¹ See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

²² Cf. the parallel in Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich, 45): παραδοῦναι πολλὰ παράδοξα.

²³ Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 158. Cf. XXXIII.22–23: ὁ πατροπαράδοτος θεός. See also 1 Pet 1:18 and BDAG, s.v., with references.

²⁴ See Dieterich, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

²⁵ See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; Ernst Riess, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411; Sam Eitrem, “La théurgie chez les néo-pythagoriciens et dans les papyrus magiques,” *SO* 22 (1942) 49–79, esp. 52.

²⁶ Dieterich (3) reads τὰ πρῶτα παράδοτα; according to the *app. crit.* Wendland prefers πρωτοπαράδοτα. Cf. LSJ, Suppl., 129, s.v. πρωταπόγραφος, in a papyrus from Egypt (3rd c.).

The question is whether one should understand the expression as the author's self-reference, or as a reference to someone else as recipient of the text, or to the fellow-initiate later mentioned as τέκνον (l. 748). While the language is again familiar from the mystery-cults and attested elsewhere in the PGM,²⁷ parallels in the immediate context prove that the recipient of the document is addressed. So much is clear also from the close parallel in PGM I.192,²⁸ but the identity of the person is still in doubt. When the comment in l. 478 addresses the recipient as "daughter" (ὦ θύγατερ), it is done in a secondary insertion (see below). While the phrase μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ is neuter, the "daughter" in l. 478 may either be a supplementary specification of τέκνον or a substitute address.²⁹ In either case, the formulae contained in the text, presupposing a male initiate, would have to be secondarily applied to a female, an inconsistency known also from other mystery-cult texts, such as the Orphic Gold Tablets.³⁰ As an address, μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ formulates an exception which can be taken as absolutely exclusive ("only this child ever"), or as relatively exclusive ("only this child at this time"). Since the author later includes an instruction for a fellow-initiate (ll. 732–50), the term μόνος points to the magicians' common practice of having only one apprentice at a time.³¹ At any rate, while the exordium is not formally a letter, it is meant to function as a memorandum sent to an addressee.³²

The verb indicating petition appears to be ἀξιῶ ("I ask"), with its object being ἀθανασίαν ("immortality"), but the reading of the last two letters (-αν or -ας) are quite uncertain (Martinez). The papyrus has ἀξιωμυσται, which Preisendanz reads as ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ, μύσται τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως ταύτης. The question is whether ἀξιῶ functions as a verbal or adjectival form. Dieterich reads it as an adjective, ἀξιῶ ("worthy"), qualifying μύστη ("initiate").³³ The

²⁷ For τέκνον see XIII.214, 226, 230, 231, 343, 734, 742, 755. See BDAG, s.v. τέκνον, 3.b, with references; PGM also uses υἱός and παῖς. Egyptian instructional literature contains addresses like "my child," e.g. Lichtheim, 1.58–63, 76, 185; cf. the epilogue to *Instr. to Any*, Lichtheim 2.144–45. Also CH V.2; VIII.1; X.7; Cornutus (addressed to a παῖς). For more material, see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 290–94.

²⁸ I.192: ταῦτα οὖν μηδενὶ παραδίδου, εἰ μὴ μόνῳ [σο]υ ἰσχινῶ υἱῷ σου ἀξιοῦντι τὰ [παρ'] ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα ἐνεργ[ή]ματα. Cf. IV.2519: κρύβε, υἱέ. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 41.

²⁹ At any rate, the author is male, a υἱός (IV.535, 644–55, 719–24).

³⁰ See Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 225.

³¹ Cf. the parallels in Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 36–38; cf. also Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich, 45). This text, however, speaks of παράδοξα, not of μυστήρια.

³² A close parallel is the exordium to the Apocryphon of James from Nag Hammadi (NHC I.2, 1.18); see Robinson, *Library*, 30; Dankwart Kirchner, *NTApok* (5th ed.) 1.238 (with further parallels); Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*, 1.18. For other epistolary pre-scripts, see the letters of Pnouthis to Keryx (I.42–195), Nephotes to Psammetichos (IV.154–285), Pitys to Ostanos (IV.2006–2125).

³³ Dieterich (3); earlier, he read ἀξιῶ μωεῖσθαι τῆς ... (*Abraxas*, 163). His later reading was accepted by Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 290–93; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 136,

problem is that the papyrus reads the iota adscript indicating the dative ending for the noun, but not for the adjective. Also, the adjective would require the genitive ἀθανασίας (“worthy of immortality”), a fact that causes Merkelbach to change the accusative to the genitive, ἀθανασίας ἀξιῶ μύστη τῆς...³⁴ Another reason for Merkelbach’s change is that otherwise the adjective leaves the sentence without a verb. The lack of useful parallels also hampers a clear decision. The adjective ἀξιός refers to ritual in a few places, as does the verb ἀξιοῦν.³⁵ As a result, if one accepts the letters as they stand in the papyrus, Preisendanz’s reading seems to make sense. The author asks Providence and Psyche to grant (ἀξιῶ) immortality (ἀθανασία) to his addressee,³⁶ who as an initiate (μύστης) is entitled to it; immortality is of course the primary benefit derived from the mysteries (μυστήρια).³⁷ If so, it does imply, however, that Preisendanz’s reading of μύσται as referring to the deities (“ihr Mysten dieser unserer Macht”), awkward as it would be anyway, cannot be accepted.

The phrase concluding the sentence, τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως ταύτης (“of this our power”) refers to the divine power (δύναμις) energizing the ritual as a whole, a term occurring often in magical texts.³⁸ It is conspicuous that for all the magic, terms such as μαγεία, μαγικός, μάγος are not found in the Mithras Liturgy.

As scholars have pointed out repeatedly,³⁹ ll. 478–81 interrupt the sentence which continues in l. 482 by connecting ἦν with ταύτης (l. 478). The inter-

n. 1 (both with important parallels). Cf. also Wilhelm Kroll (by letter to Preisendanz): μόνον δὲ τέκνον ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ μῆσαι; Riess, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411, preferring μῆστής.

³⁴ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233), adducing the parallel in I.192 as support.

³⁵ ἀξιῶ II.177; IV.739; XI.a.15; ἀξιοῦν I.192; etc. For references to restrictions about passing on the secrets only to a son or a daughter, see Dieterich, 2; 49; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 35; Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 11 n. 13 (*Magic*, 4–5 n. 11). Graf’s assumption that the 8th Book of Moses is dedicated to a daughter seems, however, incorrect.

³⁶ The term ἀθανασία occurs only here in the PGM (l. 477) and indicates the purpose of the ritual called ἀπαθανατισμός (ll. 741, 747, 771; cf. ἀπαθανατίζειν, 647–48; ἀθάνατος, ll. 501, 504–6, 516–17, 520, 531, 544, 609, 620). For further references in the PGM, see Preisendanz, 3.51 (index). Nilsson (*GGR*, 2.686–88) distinguishes rightly between permanent and temporary immortality; the ML presupposes temporary immortality or deification. So also Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 175–86.

³⁷ So Dieterich (49); see also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 32–35, with references.

³⁸ Frequent in the PGM; for the ML see ll. 477–78, 524, 642, 650; furthermore see Preisendanz, 3.81 (index); related is ἐνέργεια κτλ. elsewhere in PGM. See Dieterich, 46–48; Friedrich Preisigke, *Vom göttlichen Fluidum nach ägyptischer Anschauung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1920); idem, *Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1922); Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.173–74, 190–96; Erich Fascher, “Dynamis,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 415–58, esp. 419–24; also Betz, “Power (δύναμις),” *DDD*, s.v.

³⁹ See Dieterich (2–3, with note) who treats it as a marginal gloss; Preisendanz (I.88–89) puts it in brackets and small print; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233) has it indented and enclosed in brackets.

ruption can best be explained as caused by an secondary insertion, which in itself is a complete sentence: *χρή οὖν σε, ὦ θύγατερ, λαμβάνειν χυλοὺς βοτανῶν καὶ εἰδῶν τῶν μ[ε]λ[ο]ντων σοι <μηγνυθήσεσθαι> ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντάγματος* (“furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take the juices of herbs and spices, which will be made known to you at the end of my sacred composition”). This insertion, however, raises interesting questions. Since the whole exordium secondarily introduces a text of sacred tradition, the insertion would have to have been made as a secondary supplement to that exordium. There are three options for explaining what may have happened. (1) The author of the exordium could have made the insertion, reflecting an afterthought and self-correction on his part. In this case the author himself would have rather clumsily messed up his own, otherwise well-written, composition. (2) The insertion could have originated as a marginal gloss by the author, which then was slipped into the text by a scribe who copied the text. This case would presuppose that the author did not himself inscribe the present papyrus, but that a scribe mechanically copied it from the author’s document. (3) A later redactor, who used an older document, may have inserted the sentence and thereby readdressed the document to a person different from the one originally intended.

Correspondingly, the first person singular *μου* (l. 481) would refer either to the original author or to a later redactor. That author or redactor would also identify the whole text he composed, prior to the insertion, as a “treatise” (*σύνταγμα* [ll. 481–82]). He would have added the insertion because without it the ritual would be incomplete and would not work. Since additional teachings are appended as well in ll. 750–819, why did the author not include the insertion among the addenda at the end of his composition? Because he himself refers to the full information at the end (ll. 772–813), the reason for putting the insertion into the exordium must have been compelling. The content of the insertion specifies only some ingredients to be used at the beginning, but no ritual is described in the text. Therefore, the insertion in ll. 478–82 functions as a reminder saying which ingredients must (*χρή*)⁴⁰ be used in an initial ritual. Although such a ritual is not described fully in the text, the author assumes that it needs to be performed. Since the same author is responsible for both additions in ll. 478–81 and 772–813, the conclusion should be that this author worked with an earlier document that he himself regarded as incomplete. That earlier document must have included the exordium (minus the insertion 478–82) as well as the main body of the text

⁴⁰ The term, here a reconstruction, is used in other passages, indicating instruction; see IV.913, 977; III.177: [*χρή σε ἐπ*]ιθύειν.

(ll. 484–720). The author, therefore, added the supplements (ll. 732–820), which also explains why he ended by declaring the document (ὑπόμνημα) to be now complete (ll. 819–20). The fact that some of the supplementary rituals are needed at the beginning caused him to insert the reminder in ll. 478–82.

Addressing the recipient as “daughter” (θυγάτηρ) can mean two things: she could be his own kin, or his apprentice. In the first instance, the magician as father would pass on a piece of sacred tradition to his daughter who is also a magician. In the second instance, “daughter” would be a metaphor. Such an address would conform to instructional language and practice, according to which “sons,” “daughters,” or “children” signify pupils or apprentices. Although there is no other instance of a female apprentice mentioned in the PGM, such usage should not be excluded as a possibility.⁴¹

The person in question, however, is not treated as an apprentice but as a fully initiated magician (μύστης). If the author calls her “daughter” in the metaphorical sense, she may at one time have been an apprentice, but she is now treated as a colleague; if, on the other hand, she is his biological daughter, he would regard her as his heir to whom he hands over a piece of sacred tradition. Both possibilities could be documented by parallels from ancient religions.

The transmission of esoteric knowledge from father to daughter also reflects older Egyptian practice⁴² which continues in Greco-Egyptian and Hermetic sources. In these texts Isis is the most important example. In the Memphitic tradition contained in the aretology of Kyme, Isis is educated by Hermes (l. 3), but is called the daughter of Kronos/Geb (l. 5), while in other sources she is regarded as the daughter of Thoth/Hermes.⁴³ A Hermetic source for father-daughter transmission is found in the prologue of the *Kyranides*, where Harpokration of Alexandria addresses his natural histories to

⁴¹ For θυγάτηρ cf. XXXIV.18–19; XL.2; LI.10. See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 35; BDAG, s.v. θυγάτηρ, 2–3.

⁴² I am indebted for this information to Thomas Dousa who mentioned ancient Egyptian medical texts but criticizes that scholars sometimes have a tendency to explain away the female gender; see H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 2. Hälfte (Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter, VII.2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), p. 690, IV, s.v.; p. 704; Thierry Bordinet, *Les Papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris: Fayard, 1995), 232. A most important example is Isis being instructed by Thot/Hermes, who in some texts is regarded as her father; see the Metternich Stele, lines 57–58 (saying VI), with the translation by J. F. Borghouts, “Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and Its Manifestation (bzw.),” in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (eds. R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen; Egyptologische Uitgaven 1; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 39, n. 123; furthermore, A. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: Brill, 1952), 15, 76.

⁴³ See Müller, *Ägypten*, 21, 26–27.

his daughter.⁴⁴ Female magicians are of course known from many quarters of Greek and Hellenistic⁴⁵ as well as from Jewish religion.⁴⁶

The language of the instruction is technical. The often occurring verb λαμβάνειν (“take”) indicates the acquiring and using of ingredients, one of which is “plant juice” (χυλοὶ βοτανῶν), specified further in the supplement (ll. 773 and 781).⁴⁷ The term εἶδῶν, from τὸ εἶδος (pl. εἶδη) seems strange as compared with other occurrences in the PGM;⁴⁸ here it refers either to drugs or to utensils.⁴⁹ Since in the supplement (ll. 772–813)⁵⁰ only ingredients and no utensils are detailed, the translation should be accordingly (“drugs”).⁵¹ The term μνησθήσεσθαι (“be informed”) is supplied by Preisendanz who argues for it on the basis of the parallels in PGM IV.2016, 2046–47, 2069.⁵² The information is to be found ἐν τῷ τέλει (“at the end”), where the cross-reference is indicated (τὴν προκειμένην [l. 779]). Concluding his statement (l. 482), the author refers to his composition as a whole by the phrase τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντάγματος. The term σύνταγμα is literary, combining the compositional with the functional (“composition”): the text is put together from sources, and it serves as a prescription for the performance of the ritual.⁵³

In l. 482, the text of the exordium continues, with the relative pronoun ἣν connecting with ταύτης (l. 479). The section (ll. 482–85) sets forth the hier-

⁴⁴ For the passing on of tradition within the family, see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 160–63; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 290–91; Festugière, *Révélation*, 1.332–36; Dimitris Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (BKP 76; Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1976), 14, lines 4–5: ἐκ τοῦ Ἀποκρατίωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως πρὸς τὴν οἰκεῖαν θυγατέρα; 15, lines 30–31: βίβλος ὑπὸ Συρίας θεραπευτικῇ, τῇ οἰκεῖα θυγατρὶ Ἀποκρατίων γέγραφε τάδε. See also the chain of tradition involving the theurgists Nestor, Plutarch and his daughter Asclepigeneia, and Proclus (Marinus, *Vit. Procli* 28, ed. Rita Masullo, *Marino di Neapoli, Vita di Proclo* [Napoli: D’Auria, 1985]). The note in Graf (*Gottesnähe*, 212, n. 13; ET: *Magic*, 237, n. 11), mentioning PGM XIII.341–43, is unclear because the term there is τέκνον.

⁴⁵ For the evidence of female magicians, see Matthew W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁴⁶ The “witch of Endor” is, of course, the most famous example (1 Sam 28). See Klaus Thraede, “Hexe,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 1269–76; Giuseppe Veltri, *Magie und Halakha. Ansätze zu einem empirischen Wissenschaftsbegriff im spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Judentum* (TSAJ 62; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 26, 29, 65–72, 79–81.

⁴⁷ For further references, see below on l. 773.

⁴⁸ For εἶδος see also III.190–91; VIII.5, 18; XIII.1077; 21.47–48.

⁴⁹ Preisendanz renders “Spezereien,” Merkelbach (159) “Arten,” Hopfner (according to Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) “Utensilien,” Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 48) “spices.”

⁵⁰ The term τῶν μ[ε]λόντων (ll. 480–81) refers to the supplement. The correction follows Dieterich (p. 3: μ[ε]λόντων), Preisendanz (*app. crit.*), and Merkelbach (158).

⁵¹ See for references LSJ, s.v. εἶδος, IV.

⁵² The term refers to matters “to be informed about.” Wilhelm Crönert (“Zur Kritik,” 190) supplies παραδοθήσεται.

⁵³ Cf. I.45–47: τὰ πάντα καταλεί[πόμενα ἡμῖν ἐν] βίβλοις μυρίαις συντάγματα.

archy of authority and the transmission of the tradition: ἦν ὁ μέγας θεός "Ἡλιος Μίθρας ἐκέλευσέν μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος αἰ<τ>ητῆς οὐρανὸν βαίνω καὶ κατοπτεύω πάντα ("which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be handed over to me by the his archangel, so that I alone may walk heaven as an 'eagle' and behold the all"). At the top stands the highest deity, defined by his names and epithets. Clearly, the god is monotheistic, indicated by his epithet ὁ μέγας θεός ("the great god"), which occurs only here in the ML.⁵⁴ The god has, however, two names: Helios and Mithras.⁵⁵ For the author, therefore, the two gods, originally separate, have become united. This is all the more remarkable because in the main body of the ML, the author's source material, the two gods are not identical. In l. 640 Helios occurs alone, named as the highest god but in fact subordinate to Mithras; in l. 643 another god is spoken of as ὁ μέγιστος θεός, and in ll. 696–704 this greatest god is described without naming him; he clearly is, however, Mithras. The author's sources, on the one hand, presuppose two different gods, but on the other hand the author's intention is to merge them into "one god." As Wolfgang Fauth has pointed out, while the ambiguity of the relationship between Helios and Mithras reflects Hellenistic syncretism (theocracy),⁵⁶ the author of the ML had philosophical interests as well. The fact that only Helios (and not Mithras) is named in l. 640, in spite of what no doubt is a description of him, may perhaps result from the author's interest in presenting the highest god as Aion (see ll. 520–23, 587–616). The double-name Helios-Mithras means that the author must have read the name of Mithras in the source. Did the author purposefully omit the name Mithras at l. 696? Why did he let the name of Helios stand? The reason for keeping Helios may have been that the god is needed for the ritual of ascent through the seven astral spheres.⁵⁷ Fauth also

⁵⁴ The epithet is frequent elsewhere in the PGM (see Preisendanz, 3.133–34 [index], s.v.).

⁵⁵ See also III.80: Μίθρα; 100–1: ναί, μέγιστε Μίθρα; 462: χαῖρε, Ἥλιε Μίθρα; V.4: Ζεῦ Ἥλιε Μίθρα Σάραπι; Ostrakon 2.8–9: Μίθρευ Μίθρα. The name Helios occurs in the PGM also in many other combinations.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the relationship between Helios and Mithras, and a review of the current literature see Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, esp. 11–33; Manfred Clauss, "Sol Invictus Mithras," *Athenäum* 78 (1990) 423–50; idem, *Mithras*, 146–55: "Mithras and the Sun-God"; N. P. Milner & Martin F. Smith ("New Votive Reliefs from Oinoanda," *Anatolian Studies* 44 [1994] 65–76), discussing a bust of a youthful god with a crown of rays, addressed as ΜΙΘΡΑ ΗΛΙΩ. Cf. IV.1596–1715, an invocation of Helios, with the epithet εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις (1715). See also Albert de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Religions of the Graeco-Roman World, 133; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 157–204, 284–96.

⁵⁷ Actually, this was Dieterich's (89–90) suggestion, commenting on Origen's description of the mysteries of Mithras and the κλίμαξ ἐπτάπυλος (*Cels.* 6.22). Cf. Fauth's critique, *Helios Megistos*, 22–23.

points to the Neoplatonist Julian's doctrine of the three suns in three worlds: the transcendental Helios in the intelligible world (κόσμος νοητός), Helios-Mithras in the middle (νοερός), and the sun-disk in the visible world (ὁρατός); accordingly, Helios is the deity uniting and holding the three worlds together.⁵⁸ Compared with Julian, the ML is clearly pre-Neoplatonic and shows the problems Julian's theory tried to solve.

The great god Helios-Mithras gave the order to "hand over" (μεταδίδωμι)⁵⁹ the tradition through his "archangel" (ἀρχάγγελος), a term used also in pagan sources, esp. in Neoplatonism.⁶⁰ This mediator figure remains unnamed.⁶¹ To whom was the tradition handed over? Apparently to the author: ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος. Naming the author as the exclusive recipient, however, is a rather common feature in similar texts.⁶² As indicated by the exordium, the text is just another instance in the passing on of the tradition.

The next word (l. 484) is controversial. The papyrus contains αἰτητης, which has been emended and interpreted in various ways. Preisendanz emends to αἰ<τ>ητής ("petitioner"),⁶³ rejecting Dieterich's reading as αἰητός

⁵⁸ Fauth (151–54), discussing Julian's *Hymn to Helios*, Or. IV.149A–D. Accordingly, Helios provides for unity between the gods, but "without confusion into unity" (δέιχα συγχύσεως εἰς ἕνωσιν); cf. 157A. At 155A Julian mentions worshipping Mithras as a novelty and with some ambiguity concerning his relationship to Helios.

⁵⁹ The term μεταδίδωμι is technical in this context, a synonym of παραδίδωμι; see for parallels I.130 (μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετὰδῶς, ἀλλὰ κρύβε, ...); IV.853; VII.457; XII.93. Cf. BDAG, s.v. μεταδίδωμι.

⁶⁰ The occurrences in Neoplatonism seem to go back to the Egyptian Anebo; see Porphyry, *Aneb.* 1.4: Ἐπιζητεῖς γάρ, τί τὸ γνώρισμα θεοῦ παρουσίας ἢ ἀγγέλου ἢ ἀρχαγγέλου ἢ δαίμονος ἢ τινος ἀρχοντος ἢ ψυχῆς. The passage in Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.3 seems to depend on this (see also 2.4). See Franz Cumont, "Les anges du paganisme," *RHR* 72 (1915) 159–82, esp. 175–80; Édouard des Places, *Jamblique, Les mystères d'Égypte* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1966), 79 n. 1.

⁶¹ Depending on the religious context, the names differ. In PGM XIII, the archangel, subordinated to Aion, is named Helios (XIII.257, 334–37; cf. III.339 without name) or Michael (XIII.928–29; IV.2356–57; VII.257); in XIV.a.5 Helios is asked to send his archangel. Other places speak of a plurality of archangels (I.208–9; IV.1203–4, 3051–52; XIII.328–29, 744; XXII.b.3,7; 15.a; 21.9–10). For further sources, see Dieterich, 47; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 171–72, n. 2; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax* 1.200, 219; *ibid.*, 2.79, 81 (XIV.a.5); Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, #29.3–4; #93.4; Kotansky, *Amulets*, #57.12. See BDAG, s.v.; Johann Michl, "Engel," *RAC* 5 (1965) 56–57; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 56, 142–43, 177, 225, 230; J. W. van Henten, "Archangel," *DDD* 80–82.

⁶² Cf. I.188; IV.1520–21, 2961; differently XII.37; LXII.25–26. See also Thessalos of Tralles, prooemium; furthermore 1 *En.* 19:3 (OTP 1.23): "(So) I, Enoch, I saw the vision of the end of everything alone; and none among human beings will see as I have seen."

⁶³ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.158, 233) follows Preisendanz, and translates: "der ich darum gebeten habe."

("eagle").⁶⁴ Preisendanz's correction is attested in papyri,⁶⁵ but it would be unique in the PGM.⁶⁶ Dieterich argued (50, 220–21) against Cumont⁶⁷ and Reitzenstein⁶⁸ that αἰητός is philologically not impossible⁶⁹; in addition, in a new reading of the papyrus Martinez favors the letter ε instead of η, so that the interpretation as the Mithraic title of "eagle" (αἰετός) claimed by the author is highly likely.⁷⁰ That this title could easily be connected with the following statement of purpose was pointed out by Weinreich.⁷¹

The language describing the goals of the author (ll. 483–85) is also rare in the PGM. First, there is οὐρανὸν βαίνω ("going to heaven"),⁷² which is not different in meaning from the usual εἰς οὐρανὸν βαίνω ("going into heaven").⁷³ Second, there is κατοπτεύω πάντα ("overviewing all things"), a topos in literature regarding ascension and view of the cosmos.⁷⁴ Indeed, these words sum up what the author understands to happen during the performance of the ritual.

⁶⁴ For other proposed corrections see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; idem, *WSt* 41 (1919) 140.

⁶⁵ See LSJ, Suppl., s.v.; Preisigke-Kießling, s.v.

⁶⁶ Cf. XII.144: αἰτησις; XIII.287: ἡτήσω αἰτησίαν; IV.434, 1290, 1930; XXII.b.30: ἐξαίτησις; IV.462, 1294; VI.29: ἐξαίτεῖσθαι. More frequent in the PGM is ἰκέτης (II.87; XIII.637).

⁶⁷ Franz Cumont, *Etudes syriennes* (Paris: Picard, 1917), 57 n.: "correction douteuse"; cf. 89.

⁶⁸ Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 172, 174) reads ἀλήτης ("wanderer").

⁶⁹ For Doric αἰητός see LSJ, s.v.: "Dor. for αἰετός, αἰετός."

⁷⁰ Dieterich (54, 151, 220–21) has further material supplied by Weinreich. For the Mithraic material see Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, 1.314 n. 8; Theodor Schneider and Eduard Stemplinger, "Adler," *RAC* 1 (1950) 87–94 (with references to Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.16, and Lucian, *Icarom.* 14); Wolfgang Speyer, "Geier," *RAC* 9 (1976) 430–69, esp. 439–41; Carsten Colpe et al., "Jenseitsfahrt I (Himmelsreise)," *RAC* 17 (1996), esp. 439–41; Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 105–6 (with photos from the Hedderheim mithraeum), 240, 242 (in connection with the ascension of the soul). Betz (*Lukian*, 39, 97 n. 6, 175) points to the eagle as a symbol of Helios and Zeus.

⁷¹ In Dieterich, 220–21.

⁷² Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.159) translates: "auf die Himmel(s)-Schale) trete(n)."

⁷³ I.67 (cf. 184: σπεύδω γὰρ εἰς οὐρανόν). For instances of this terminology, see Lucian, *Peregr.* 39: ἔλιπον γὰρ, βαίνω ἐς Ὀλυμπον; similarly Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.30. See Betz, *Lukian*, 38ff., 123, 128ff., 167–69. Cf. Vettius Valens, *Anth.* VI.1.9 (ed. Pingree [BiTeu, 1986] 231, 6–7):... τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπόντας οὐρανοβατεῖν ἀθανάτους ψυχᾶς καὶ θελαίς. Cf. also Lucian, *Sacr.* 9; *Timon* 49; *Astr.* 13; Philo, *Opif.* 69–71: αἰθεροβατέω, οὐρανοβατέω, συμπεριπολέω. For the terminology, see Abraham P. Bos, "Immanenz und Transzendenz," *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92, esp. 1045–46.

⁷⁴ For κατοπτεύειν see IV.516–17; 504: ἐποπτεύειν; Lucian, *Icar.* 12–16; see Betz, *Lukian*, 39 n. 1 (with parallels). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233) points to the Platonic idea (Plato, *Phaedr.* 247b–c) of the immortal souls when they travel to heaven on the chariot and break through the astral sphere to behold the heavenly world (cf. Ps.-Plato [Philip of Opus], *Epin.* 978c–d, 986b–987d). Closer to the ML is *CH* III.3: εἰς κατοπτεῖαν οὐρανοῦ;

II. The Main body of the ritual (ll. 485–732)

As indicated in the papyrus by a space after l. 486, the main body of the composition sets forth the ritual called ἀπαθανατισμός (“immortalization”; see the Analysis *infra*, part II, ll. 485–732). This ritual has several clearly distinguishable sections, beginning with a lengthy petitionary prayer (section A, ll. 485–537), a prescription for a breathing ritual (section B, ll. 537–38), the introduction to the ascent narrative (section C, ll. 539–44), the narrative of the ascent itself, consisting of seven scenarios (section D, ll. 544–732). This main body is then followed by supplemental rituals (part III, ll. 732–819), and a concluding statement (ll. 819–20).

A. The opening (first) prayer (ll. 485–537)

The importance of prayer for the ML as a whole is shown by the long prayer (ll. 485–537) to be recited at the beginning of the ritual. According to the internal numbering of the prayers (see ll. 741–42), it is the first,⁷⁵ a petitionary prayer by genre, consisting of the traditional parts of invocation (ll. 486–99) and petition (ll. 499–537).⁷⁶

1. Before the prayer begins, a statement of identification (ll. 485–86) separates it from the preceding exordium and defines the prayer by the proper terms: ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἥδε ἡ κλησις (“This is the invocation of the prayer”). λόγος⁷⁷ refers to the prayer as a whole, κλησις to the invocation.⁷⁸

2. The invocation is in two parts, first calling on “Origin” (ll. 486–87), and second on the four elements which in effect constitute “Origin” (ll. 489–95).⁷⁹ This kind of invocation of cosmic powers by abstract, personified

I.3 μαθεῖν θέλω τὰ ὄντα καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν τούτων φύσιν καὶ γινῶναι τὸν θεόν. For further references see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 24–27, 99–109; Nock & Festugière, 1.46, n. 10.

⁷⁵ In ll. 741–42, the prayer is identified as ὁ πρῶτος λόγος.

⁷⁶ On the composition of prayers, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.50–64. Since the prayer shows influences of Hellenistic philosophy, it will have to be classified among the philosophical prayers; see with further material van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 13–34: “The Philosopher’s Hymn.”

⁷⁷ The λόγος contains the things to be spoken (τὰ λεγόμενα).

⁷⁸ For the term κλησις, see II.81; VI.1; VII.878; XII.310. See also Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*, 467–71: “The Caller and the Call.”

⁷⁹ For the elemental origins see also the prayers addressed to Aion-Helios I.195–222; I.263–327; III.494–632; IV.1115–66; IV.1167–1226. For the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, see III.568; IV.440, 1126, 1303, 1961; VIII.78; XII.250–51; XVII.b.15; XXXIX.18–20; LXII.15.

concepts, instead of traditional names of deities, is clear evidence of influence of Greek philosophy.⁸⁰ As Merkelbach has pointed out, one finds this language in Plato's *Timaeus*; it originated, however, earlier with the Presocratics.⁸¹

The first, general invocation is a *parallelismus membrorum*, using two Greek terms denoting "origin," γένεσις and ἀρχή. Each line declares a primordial origin to be the source of the present suppliant's personal natural birth.

The first line (486) reads [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως ("First origin of my origin"). The term γένεσις can mean both "origin" and "birth," implying that the human birth of the individual has its direct source in the primordial origin of the universe.⁸² In principle, this cosmic origin defines what the ML means by "rebirth": it is the underlying φύσις that needs to be "regenerated."⁸³ The first line ends with the magical vowel sequence αηιουω. Since seven-vowel sequences are frequent in all sorts of magical literature, an occurrence in the ML is not surprising. The connection of the seven vowels with the seven planets seems obvious, but it does not appear to be a concern in l. 486,⁸⁴ where it is indicative of the cosmological foundation in a more general sense.

⁸⁰ The phenomenon is typical of philosophical prayers, beginning in the fourth century BCE; see Nilsson, GGR, 1.812–15; 2.206–7; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.47; Johan C. Thom, "Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* and Early Christian Literature," in Adela Y. Collins & Margaret M. Mitchell, eds., *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 477–99.

⁸¹ See Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.234), pointing to Plato's first birth of human beings which is the same for all, so that all can have the same chances in life: ὅτι γένεσις πρώτη μὲν ἔσοιτο τεταγμένη μία πᾶσιν, ἵνα μή τις ἐλαττοῦτο (*Tim.* 41e; cf. OCT reading μήτις). For the Presocratics, see below, at notes 87–88).

⁸² Within the ML, the term γένεσις refers to birth and rebirth (see on ll. 501, 720, 742). Outside of the ML, the term is used differently in reference to "creation" as understood in Egyptian and Jewish creation myths (IV.1040, 1749; VIII.43; XII.185; XIII.612, 620, 635–36; XXII.b.5).

⁸³ See ll. 501, 720. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.234) who relates the reference to the astrological birth constellation, an interpretation that has some support in the the ML. The author's objective is to combine cosmology and anthropology with astrology (see below on l. 544; cf. also XIII.612, 620, 635–36). At this point of the prayer, however, the ML is directed by philosophical cosmology, while astrology is a secondary overlay for the sake of "verification."

⁸⁴ For vowel sequences and variations in the ML, see ll. 492, 493, 495, 498–99, 528–29, 532, 600, 610–16, 764, 788. On vowel series generally, see Dieterich, 32–33, 266; Deißmann, *Licht vom Osten* (4th ed.), 393–99 (*Light from the Ancient East*, 453–60); Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 35–68 (lit.); Franz Boll, "Hebdomas," PRE 7 (1912) 2547–78; Wilhelm and Hans Georg Gundel, "Planeten," PRE 20 (1950) 2017–2185; Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri," 3431 (with further literature). Merkelbach's comment (*Abrasax*, 3.234) is unclear: "Offensichtlich sollte hier für jeden Planeten seine Stelle bei der

The second line (l. 488) addresses the other cosmological concept: ἀρχή τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς <ς> πρώτη (“first beginning of my beginning”).⁸⁵ Again, the term ἀρχή refers to both the primordial beginnings of the cosmos and the individual beginning of the initiate.⁸⁶ The oldest parallels to this notion of primordial ἀρχή are found in pre-Socratic philosophy, esp. the Orphic Fragments⁸⁷ and Anaximander. Anaximander used the terms γένεσις and ἀρχή together in referring to the origin of the universe, the sun, moon, stars, earth (... ἀρχὴν τε καὶ στοιχεῖον ... τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον ... ἐξ ὧν ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῦς οὖσι), including the human being (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) who originated from the same ἀρχαί.⁸⁸ As the sources of Plato, Aristotle, and Simplicius indicate, these ideas were handed down in philosophical traditions dealing with the origins of the universe.⁸⁹

Parallel to the vowel sequence in l. 486, l. 487 also ends with magical sounds to be performed by the suppliant. These sounds are indicated in the text by abbreviated symbols, the first of which are three letters with dots over them: πππ. Accordingly, the sound, called ποππυσμός (“smacking the lips”), is to be performed three times, equalling πόππυσον τρίς. This sound is known

‘ersten’ Geburt des Initianden angegeben werden. Die Konstellation bei seiner heutigen, ‘zweiten’ Geburt steht unten in der in 544 ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θεία θέσις. Vgl. auch die Vokalreihen in 610–616, welche zur Bezeichnung der Planeten dienen.” However, while the vowel composition in ll. 610–16 is expressly connected with the planets (617–20), this is not done in l. 486.

⁸⁵ The pap. reads ἀρχῆ. See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, according to which ἀρχῆ <ς> is Wendland’s correction. For the frequent omission of the final -ς see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.124–25.

⁸⁶ Again, the formulation is unique, but cf. the parallels in the ML, esp. ll. 505, 742 (differently l. 550). Interesting is the citation of the formula ἀρχή καὶ τέλος, “beginning and end” (IV.1125, 2836–37; XIII.130–31, 687; ἀρχή καὶ τελευτή IV.1639–41).

⁸⁷ See *Orph. Frag.* (ed. Kern), ## 21 (with parallels to the cosmogonic myth, pp. 90–93), 164, 168, 297 (l. 35), 298.

⁸⁸ For the texts, see D–K. 12 A 9; B 1 (l. 83, 4–8; 89, 11–15); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 1.6–8, ## 11a, 17b; Kirk & Raven, #96 and pp. 104–18. See Adolf Lumpe, “Der Terminus Prinzip (ἀρχή) von den Vorsokratikern bis auf Aristoteles,” *ABG* 1 (1955) 104–7.

⁸⁹ See Hermann Diels, *Elementum. Eine Vorarbeit zum lateinischen Thesaurus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), 35, 43; Jaeger, *Theology*, 35–45; Adolf Lumpe, “Elementum,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 1073–1100; Gerhard Delling, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. στοιχεῖον; Michael Lapidge, “ἀρχαί and στοιχεῖα: A Problem in Stoic Cosmology,” *Phron.* 18 (1973) 240–78. On the whole, see Hans Schwabl, “Weltschöpfung,” *PRE.S* 9 (1962) 1433–1589, esp. 1499–1566; the problems of later Christian adaptation are discussed by Wolfgang Speyer, “Kosmische Mächte im Bibelepos des Dracontius,” in idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1995), 141–51.

from the PGM⁹⁰ as well as from other magical sources.⁹¹ The second, a hissing sound is indicated by the three letters, again with dots over them: σσσ, equalling σύρισον τρίς. It is called συριγμός (“hissing”) and occurs elsewhere in the PGM and in other magical materials.⁹² The ritual sounds belong to the field of “music,” here reflecting cosmic music, about which the Pythagoreans had more to say.⁹³

Line 488 concludes with unexplained letters: φρ[.]. According to Preisendanz, several conjectures were proposed by scholars, all remaining tentative.⁹⁴ Martinez points to the three dots over the letters and raises the question whether they indicate sounds rather than a word.

⁹⁰ See for the abbreviation Preisendanz, *WSt* 41 (1919) 140–41; on ποππύζειν, ποππυσμός in the ML see ll. 561–62, 579; also VII.767–68; XIII.40, 44, 48–50, 203–4, 385, 391–92, 413, 527–28, 601.

The onomatopoeic term *poppysma* is mentioned by Juvenal (*Sat.* 6.584) in connection with fortune telling. Pliny (*Nat.* 28.25) reports as a consensus among all peoples that lightning should be prayed to by clucking of the tongue (fulgetras poppysmis adorare consensus gentium est). The 2nd c. CE philosopher Nicomachus of Gerasa (*Harmonicum enchiridium* 6, in: Carolus Janus, ed., *Musici Scriptores Graeci* [BiTeu; Lipsiae: Teubner, 1895; repr. 1995], 277), in discussing the cosmic dimensions of music, mentions theurgical worship in which οἱ θεοῦργοι call upon the deities σιγμοῖς τε καὶ ποππυσμοῖς καὶ ἀνάρθροις καὶ ἀσυμφώνοις ἤχοις συμβολικῶς ἐπικαλοῦνται. See also Janus’ note *ad loc.* concerning the connection between the seven vowels, the seven planets, and the musical sounds.

⁹¹ For further material see Dieterich, 34, 40–41, 42, 228; Richard Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARIW* 18 (1915) 589–93; Hopfner, *OZ* I, §§ 150–51, 780; Bonner, *Studies*, 12, 138, 186–87, 193; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, 361; Betz, *GMPT*, 48, n. 80; Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri,” 3431.

⁹² For συριγμός in the ML, see l. 561; also VII.323, 769; XIII.48–49, 50, 418–19, 421, 602, 946; συρίζειν in the ML ll. 561, 578; IV.1902–3, 2733; XIII.88, 193, 292, 531, 602; XXXVI.368: εεε ηηη λ´ σ´σ´σ´ν´ν´.

The sound of “hissing” or “whistling” is mentioned by Xenophon (*Symp.* 6.5) as similar to a pipe tune (αὐλημα). The emperor Julian (*Ep.* 19) refers to the Christian ritual of “hissing at the demons and making the sign of the cross on the forehead” (συρίττειν τε πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ σκιαγραφεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τὸν σταυρόν). Related is a reference by Plotinus (*Enn.* 2.9.14.6–8) to a number of magical hissing sounds: μέλη καὶ ἤχους καὶ προσπνεύσεις καὶ σιγμοὺς τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐκεῖ μαγεύειν γέγραπται. See also below, n. 107.

⁹³ Differently, Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.234) considers a special application for the sounds: “Mit dem dreimaligen P und S(ch) wird Pschai-Agathos Daimon angerufen, der in 635 erscheinende θεὸς νεώτερος. Der Gott wird auch mit Harpokrates und Eros gleichgesetzt.” Conceivably, Willy Theiler is right in an important article that the magical sounds are indicative of the “language of the spirit” (“Die Sprache des Geistes in der Antike,” in: *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift für Albert Debrunner* [Bern: Francke, 1954], 431–40).

⁹⁴ See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.* Wünsch saw here the name of the god Φρῆ. Preisendanz himself (Dieterich, 221; *WSt* 41 [1919] 140–41) conjectured φρ[ιμαξα]. Eitrem suggested φρ[υ].

The next section (ll. 489–95) contains the specific invocations of the four elements (πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, οὐσία γεώδης).⁹⁵ There can be no doubt that also this part of the invocation is indebted to pre-Socratic philosophy, in particular Empedocles' doctrine of the four elements as constituting the cosmos (τέσσαρα πάντων ῥιζώματα)⁹⁶ and held together by κρᾶσις.⁹⁷ The connection with Empedoclean and Stoic philosophy was seen already by Cumont and Dieterich, and it is affirmed by Merkelbach.⁹⁸ Most recently, the connection between the ML and Empedocles was pointed out by Peter Kingsley: "And it is no coincidence, either, that a section of the Paris magical papyrus – another document showing the profoundest affinities with basic aspects of Empedocles' teaching – contains a number of features each of which points separately to Empedocles but which, together, present a virtual summary of Empedoclean themes and concerns. Here we have a ritual for regeneration and immortalization that has significant analogies both with Empedocles and with the 'Orphic' gold plates, an initial prayer to the four elements as immortal, personified beings, and a description of the divine elements as existing simultaneously out in the universe and inside one which takes us to the heart of Empedocles' theory of perception...."⁹⁹ Kingsley constructs a line of transmission of this Empedoclean doctrine from Southern Italy and Sicily to Egypt, to the Hermetica (esp., *Kore Kosmou* § 63), to the ML, and to the *Turba philosophorum*.¹⁰⁰ This line of transmission, however, overlooks the fact that from Zeno forward, Stoicism as well affirmed the doctrine of the four elements.¹⁰¹ Therefore, the appearance of the philo-

⁹⁵ The four elements are listed also, somewhat varied, in ll. 505–15 and 713–14.

⁹⁶ For ῥιζώμα ("root"), see l.205; IV.1189–90; cf. τετραλιζώμα below, ll.589–90. See Christoph Riedweg, "Orphisches bei Empedokles," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 41 (1995) 34–59, esp. 53.

⁹⁷ D.-K. 31 B 6 (I.311. 15); 31 B 109 (I.351. 20–23); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 1, # 105; Kirk & Raven, 327–31, esp. ## 426, 432, 433, 454, 484. On the interconnectedness see esp. ibid., 357 (# 484): "For with earth do we see earth, water with water, with air bright air, with fire consuming fire, with Love do we see Love, Strife with dread Strife."

⁹⁸ Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, 1.103, 108, 117; Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 54, 58–60, 82, 83–86; idem, *Mithrasliturgie*, 55, 58–61, 79, 156; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 224–26; Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.234: "Die Lehre von den vier oder fünf Elementen ist griechisch, nicht ägyptisch (E. Hornung, *Der Eine*, 71)."

⁹⁹ Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 374. The passage is followed by a quotation of IV.476–95 and a reference to D.-K. 31 B 109 (I.351, 14–22).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 374–75; see also pp. 13–68, 74–75, 120–24, 183–84, 218 n., 300–1, 348–50, 354–62.

¹⁰¹ See the sources in *SVF*: Zeno, I # 85 (24.12 and 16), # 102 (28, 28); Cleanthes, # 499 (112.4–5); Chrysippus, II # 309 (112.25); # 444 (146.29–30); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 3. ## 899b, 901c, 903a, 912b, 913, 927. For discussion, see Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 1.71–72, 81, 219, 2.108; Robert B. Todd, "The Stoics and Their Cosmology in the First

sophical tradition of the elements in a syncretistic text such as the ML reflects a still broader tradition.¹⁰²

The first element, "spirit" (πνεῦμα), is addressed in ll. 489–90: πνεῦμα πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος πρῶτον ("spirit of spirit, the first of the spirit in me"). Although the text names the element of πνεῦμα first, the next line (l. 490) confirms that it is virtually identical with πῦρ ("fire").¹⁰³ This doctrine seems consistent with Stoicism, for which, however, fire is the highest element. In turn, fire can be identified with "ether" (αἰθήρ), although in the ML αἰθήρ does not receive special mention.¹⁰⁴ At any rate, while the formulation of ll. 489–90 is unique in the ML, the concept of πνεῦμα is highly important within the ML as well as in the PGM generally.¹⁰⁵ The genitive expression πνεῦμα πνεύματος shows that it is a concept functioning like a divine name. The genitive is explained in the following clause as analogous to a divine epithet, by linking the primordial πνεῦμα πρῶτον and the πνεῦμα which inhabits the human being, thereby rooting anthropology in cosmology in a way that corresponds both to Empedoclean and Stoic doctrines.

Line 490 orders another magical sound, indicated in the text by the three letters μμμ, again with dots over them. This abbreviation refers to the sound called μύκωμα, here to be performed three times by blowing air (representing

and Second Centuries A. D.," ANRW II.36:3 (1989) 1365–78; for the Romans see Ovid, *Metam.* 1.1–88, and Michael Lapidge, "Stoic Cosmology and Roman Literature, First to Second Centuries A.D.," *ibid.*, 1379–1429.

¹⁰² On the veneration of the elements in Hellenistic syncretism see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 223–37, "Elemente und Hypostasen"; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 144 (cf. 60); Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 223–26; Sam Eitrem, "Die vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe," *SO* 4 (1926) 39–59; 5 (1927) 39–59; Reinhold Merkelbach, "Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmythen," *Erfb* 34 (1966) 219–57, esp. 233–34; Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 301–3. Cf. also Proclus' Hymn 1 (To Helios), ll. 13–14, with the commentary by van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 162–63.

¹⁰³ For the connection of πνεῦμα and πῦρ in the ML see ll. 510–12, 589–90, 592–97, 617, 635–38.

¹⁰⁴ See αἰθήρ l. 515. On the concept, see Jan Hendrik Waszink, "Äther," *RAC* 1 (1950) 150–58, esp. 153–54; Lumpe, "Elementum," 1078–79. Cf. also the combinations of πνεῦμα and αἰθήρ IV.1115–16; 1137–43. The entire στήλη ἀπόκρυφος (IV.1115–66) consists of a prayer to Aion (l. 1163) using Stoic language. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 200, 208–10; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax*, 2.43–44, who also refer to Chairemon of Alexandria and Wis 1:7; 9:17; 12:1; Lapidge, "ἄρχαί and στοιχεῖα," 254; Michael Frede, "Chairemon," ANRW II.36:3 (1989) 2067–2103, esp. 2087–92, 2094; cf. for a non-philosophical expression I.97, 179–80: πνεῦμα ἄερινον.

¹⁰⁵ See in the ML also ll. 505, 510, 538, 617–18, 627, 658–59, 714; furthermore, for possible Stoic influence cf., e.g., I.96 (ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἄερινον); III.553–58; IV.1115 (τὸ πᾶν σύστημα τοῦ ἀέρου πνεύματος), 1116 (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διήκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆν); XII.323–50; XIII.166, 477; LXII.24. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 310–11.

spirit).¹⁰⁶ The sound was meant to be either a roaring or bellowing, or as a hard blowing through the nose, depending on how one interprets the adverb *κερατοειδῶς* in l. 657.¹⁰⁷

The second element of fire (πῦρ) is named next separately from spirit (ll. 490–92). One should understand the sentence as parallel to the first, but it contains interesting variations.¹⁰⁸ Fire is first simply named, and then explained by two defining statements. The first of these sums up cosmological definitions: τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδωρήτον (“god-given fire to my mixture of the mixtures in me”). The term *κρᾶσις* (“mixture”) is technical in Stoic cosmology, where it explains how the elements work together coherently in what Zeno calls *διακόσμησις*.¹⁰⁹ Going back ultimately to Empedocles, as Willem den Dulk has shown,¹¹⁰ the concept of *κρᾶσις* plays a special role in forging coherence among the elements in the cosmos. Lines 490–92 sum this up by saying that, in regard to the suppliant, *κρᾶσις* functions in both ways: it links the *κράσεις* of the elements to one

¹⁰⁶ See also for the verb *μυκάω* in the ML ll. 659, 707, 712, for the noun *μύκωμα* ll. 657, 705. See also PGM XIII.942, 945. For discussion see Dieterich, 221, 228–29; Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 217–22, 236, n. 74, 252, 364, 416; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.234.

The term is onomatopoeic and was compared to the bellowing of oxen (IV.2802 [ἡ ταύρων μύκημα]; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 292) or thunder; see LSJ, s.v. *μυκάομαι*. Cf. Apuleius’ (*Metam.* 8.27–28) description of ecstasy: “One [of the effeminates (*cinaedi*)] started to rave more wildly than the rest (*bacchatur effusius*), and producing rapid gasps from deep down in his chest as though he had been filled with the divine spirit of some deity” (*velut numinis divino spiritu repletus*).

¹⁰⁷ Dieterich (41–42, 69, 228 with lit.) thought of “Brüllen (wie mit einem Horn)” and refers as parallels to the “bull-roarers” in the cults of Mithras and Dionysus. Differently, Merkelbach comments (*Abrasax*, 3.242): “Es ist der ἦχος κερατοειδής gemeint, der entsteht, wenn man durch die Nase ‘Mmm’ und ‘Nnn’ spricht, s. Dionysios von Halikarnass, *De compositione verborum* 14 (p. 54, 14 Usener-Radermacher) τὰ διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων συνεχούμενα τό τε Μ καὶ τὸ Ν κερατοειδεῖς ἀποτελοῦντα τοὺς ἤχους.” In this context, Dionysius speaks also of φωνῆς συριγμός, the excessive use of sigma, as befitting irrational beasts rather than rational beings; see the LCL edition by Stephen Usher, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Critical Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1985), 2.100–101.

¹⁰⁸ Dieterich (3) and Reitzenstein consider this to be a later interpolation (see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*).

¹⁰⁹ See SVF I, # 102 (from Arius Didymus) on Zeno’s concept of *διακόσμησις*, describing how the elements come together through conversion (*τροπή*): ἐκ τινὸς δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πῦρ ἐξάπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ [μῦξιν] κρᾶσιν γίνεσθαι τῇ εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολῇ, σώματος ὅλου δι’ ὅλου τινος ἑτέρου διερχομένου. Regarding Chrysippus’ doctrine of *κρᾶσις* see SVF II ## 470 (152.18–30); 471 153.12; 472 (154.19); 481 (158.4); 487 (159.20); 799 (221.8, 14). Transmission to later authors took place through Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De mixtione*; Philo, *Conf.* 184; Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.7.10.

¹¹⁰ Willem Johannes den Dulk, *Κρᾶσις* (Leiden: Brill, 1934), esp. 41–48, 49–51.

another in the initiate's body as well as to the primordial fire. This linkage receives the attribute "god-given" (θεοδότητον), a declaration of its nature as a divine gift.¹¹¹ The second definition, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρὸς πρῶτον ("the first of the fire in me"),¹¹² parallels what has been said about the πνεῦμα in ll. 489–90. The statement again ends with a vowel combination: ηυ ηια εη.¹¹³

The third element of water is treated in analogous fashion in ll. 492–93; the text addresses it by name, ὕδωρ ὕδατος ("water of water"), and by the attribute τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον ("the first of the water in me"). The two previous *hapaxlegomena* were referred to in notes already,¹¹⁴ but water is mentioned in other connections frequently. The invocation of water ends with a vowel combination: ωω αα εεε.

The fourth element is addressed somewhat differently in ll. 493–95 as οὐσία γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρῶτη ("earthy material, the first of the earthy material in me"). The term οὐσία is equivalent to ὕλη, making it clear that as "matter" earth differs from the other elements. The expression οὐσία γεώδης is found in Stoic texts dealing with the four elements,¹¹⁵ and also has parallels in Philo, as a result of Stoic influence.¹¹⁶ This address again concludes with a vowel combination: υη υωη.

After the completion of the invocation, the suppliant moves without transition to the next section, an application to the initiate's body (ll. 495–98).¹¹⁷ Since he had mentioned his own body throughout the preceding invocation, this application simply draws out the consequences from what has gone before.

Given the divine origin of the elements constituting his body, he can claim it to be perfect: σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ ("my perfect body"). While this doctrine is unique in the PGM, it has close parallels in Stoic philosophy, which explains also why at this point there is no mention of the "soul" (ψυχή).¹¹⁸ The term

¹¹¹ The term is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. Cf. the parallels in Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.6; 15.67; Zosimus, *Alch.*, p. 114.5 (ed. Berthelot); *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 11.35: θεοδότητος ἀναγέννησις. See *PGL*, s.v.

¹¹² The phrase is also a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM.

¹¹³ Vowel combinations express sounds similar to other magical sounds. See the parallels in the vowel sequence in ll. 610–16.

¹¹⁴ Cf. in the ML I. 506: ἀθανάτω ὕδατι. Especially interesting are the expressions ὕδατῶδες and ὕδροπυρινοψυχρὸν πνεῦμα in IV.1142, 1146. For the *hapaxlegomena*, see above, nn. 111, 112.

¹¹⁵ See for this expression *SVF* II # 438 (144.18): εἶναι γεώδη τὴν οὐσίαν.

¹¹⁶ See, esp., Philo, *Opif.* 135; *Leg.* 1.31; *Cher.* 89; *Decal.* 31: ἐγὼ μετέχω μὲν οὐσίας δανεισάμενος ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς, τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σύστασιν αὐταρκέστατα.

¹¹⁷ For this part, cf. Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.60–64.

¹¹⁸ This differs from Philo's doctrine of God's perfect benefits bestowed on the soul; see, especially Philo, *Migr.* 33: ὅσα ἂν ... ὁ θεὸς ἄρδῃ, τέλεια καὶ ὁλόκληρα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα γεννᾶται. Cf. also 1 Thess 5:23.

σῶμα is to be taken as referring to the ἄνθρωπος, the human being as a whole, since it is constituted as a microcosm reflecting the macrocosmic universe. The invocation of the elements implies that much, because the same elements constitute the universe and the human being. Moreover, Stoic doctrine regards the soul as part of the πνεῦμα, not an entity separate from it. Therefore, the ML can be seen here as influenced by Stoicism, rather than by the Platonic concept of ψυχή (see also below, l. 498). This cosmology is summarized by Firmicus Maternus in the prooemium to Book 3 of his *Mathesis*:

“The god who created the human being, guided by nature, determined the shape, position and the whole substance of man. For he composed the human body, just like the body of the universe, from a mixture of the four elements, from fire, water, air, and earth, so that the well-balanced mixture of all these elements became a living being, ordered in imitation of the divine model; and thus he composed the human being as a divinely artistic creation, so that he conferred by force of nature to the small body all power of the elements and their substance. Through that divine spirit, which descended from the heavenly intelligence for the sustenance of the mortal body, he provided a home though fragile yet similar to the world. For this reason the five planetary stars, together with sun and moon, maintain the human being in fiery and eternal motion like a microcosm, so that it, made in imitation of the macrocosm, is governed by a substance similar to the deity.”¹¹⁹

The suppliant identifies himself by name. At this point, the pap. uses the symbol Δ, abbreviating the formula τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, X son of mother Y (abbreviated with NN in *GMPT*).¹²⁰ The suppliant thereby establishes the identity of the preceding first-person pronouns.

¹¹⁹ The citation is according to the edition by Wilhelm Kroll and Franz Skutsch, *Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos libri VIII* (2 vols.; BiTeu; Lipsiae: Teubner, 1897), 1.90–91: Scire itaque nos principe in loco oportet, Lollianum decus nostrum quod ad imaginem speciemque mundi formam hominis ac statum totamque substantiam deus ille fabricator hominis natura monstrante perfecit; nam corpus hominis ut mundi ex quattuor elementorum commixtione composuit, ignis scilicet et aquae, aëris et terrae, ut omnium istorum coniunctio temperata animal ad formam divinae imitationis ornaret et ita hominem artificio divinae fabricationis composuit, ut in parvo corpore omnem elementorum vim atque substantiam naturae cogente conferret, ut divino illi spiritui, qui ad sustentationem mortalis corporis ex caelesti mente descendit, licet fragile sed tamen simile mundo pararet hospitium. Hac ex causa hominem quasi minorem quendam mundum stellae quinque, Sol etiam et Luna, ignita ac sempiterna agitatione sustentant, ut animal, quod ad imitationem mundi factum est, simili divinitatis substantia gubernetur. (Trans. is mine)

The editor of the Collection Budé edition, P. Monat (*Firmicus Maternus, Mathesis* [Paris: Les belles lettres, 1994], 2.xii; also 2. 13, n. 1) attributes the statement to Hermetism. In fact, the Prooemium § 4 mentions the names of Petosiris and Nechepso; this passage is quoted by Dieterich (57), Festugière (*La révélation*, 1.126), and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.28).

¹²⁰ On this symbol see Preisendanz, 2.269; Friedrich Bilabel, “Siglae,” PRE 2nd ser., 4th half-vol. (1994) 2279–2815. esp. 2301.

The following statement (ll. 495–97) legitimates the claim that the body has been created perfectly with metaphors from creation mythology. The human body came about “because of fashioning by a noble arm” (διαπεπλάσμενον ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου). The phrase is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, although there are similar expressions elsewhere.¹²¹ That the human body is a πλάσμα the PGM states in passages defining the human being;¹²² these passages are close to Hermetic¹²³ or Jewish language.¹²⁴ The “noble arm” refers to the right arm. In the PGM it is the arm on which to affix the charms.¹²⁵ In the OT and Judaism the arm of God is a frequently used symbol of his power, but usage does not include the adjective ἐντιμος.¹²⁶ The expression “of his incorruptible right hand” (δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου)¹²⁷ which follows comes from the same language background.¹²⁸ Merkelbach has suggested the LXX as

¹²¹ For the term διαπλάσσω, not uncommon in Hellenistic Greek, see the passages in LSJ; Borgen, *Philo-Index*, s.v., and CH Frag. XXIII (Kore Kosmou), § 18: of the god’s creation of the zodiacal signs in human form: τὰ ἀνθρωποειδῆ τῶν ζώων διέπλασε.

¹²² Cf. IV.2379, 2388, where the forming (πλάσσειν) of a wax figurine is described.

¹²³ Cf. III.599–600: χαίρομεν, ὅτι σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐδειξας, ὅτι ἐν πλάσμασιν ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἀπεθῆσας τῇ σεαυτοῦ γνώσει. IV.1177–80: ... ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ἄνθρωπος, θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ πλάσμα κάλλιστον, γενόμενον ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ δρόσου καὶ γῆς. For Hermetic parallels see CH, Fragment XXIII.15 (Kore Kosmu; ed. Nock & Festugière, 4.5), 18 (4.6), 19 (ibid.), 23 (4.7–8), 30 (4.9–10), 39 (4.12), 43 (4.14), 67 (4.21); XXIV.9 (4.55); XXV.5 (4.69), XXVI.4 (4.81). See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 194.

¹²⁴ See IV.3024–28: ... καταβάτω σου ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ ἀπαραίτητος, καὶ εἰσκρινέτω τὸν περιπτάμενον δαίμονα τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου, ὃ ἐπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἑαυτοῦ παραδείσῳ, ὅτι ἐπεύχομαι ἅγιον θεὸν ἐπὶ Ἀμμων. XII.244–45: τίς μορφᾶς ζώων ἐπλασεν, τίς δὲ εὖρε κελεύθους; Cf. LXX Gen 2:7–8, 15, 19. With the question/answer format in PGM XII.244–45 cf. Ps 93:9 (MT 94:9); moreover, Ps 118:73 (MT 119:73): αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἐπλασάν με; Wisdom chapter 15, especially v. 16 (referring to idols): οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅμοιον ἄνθρωπος ἰσχύει πλάσαι θεόν.

¹²⁵ For the right arm cf. IV.312 (part of wax πλάσματα), 2514; for the left arm IV.80, 2899; LXII.23.

¹²⁶ In the OT the metaphor of God’s “mighty hand and outstretched arm” (*vel sim.*) is found frequently (Ps 44:3; 77:15–16; 89:9–11, 14; 98:1; 136:12; etc.), which the LXX renders as ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ (LXX Ps 135:12); the adjective ἐντιμος is not used in this connection (for ἐντιμος see I.286; IV.610, 3272; XIII.298; XXII.a.26, referring to Jewish angelic names). Philo interprets the σύμβολον in *Spec.* 1.145–50; *Leg.* 3.133–37. For the NT, cf. Luke 1:51; John 12:38; Acts 13:17; 1 Clem 28.2; 60.3; cf. also the Christian exorcism PGM 17.6–7: ... τὸν β[ρ]α[χ]ίονα τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τ[ῆ]ς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χ[ε]ῖρα. For the OT evidence see F. J. Helfmeyer, “𐤇𐤓𐤕 zeroa,” *ThWAT* 2 (1975) 650–60, section III; BDAG, s.v. βραχίων, χεῖρ.

¹²⁷ See also in the ML I. 519. References to the right hand are frequent in the PGM, but not combined with ἀφθαρτος; the same applies to the LXX. On the metaphor, see J. Bergman, W. von Soden, P. Akroyd, “𐤇𐤓𐤕, jād,” *ThWAT* 3 (1980) 421–55, esp. section V.

¹²⁸ While frequent in OT and Judaism, the metaphor of the hand of God appears with special explanations in Philo because of anthropomorphic implications (see, esp., *Conf.* 98; *Plant.* 50). The hand of God appears in the synagogue paintings of Dura Europos, and in

the background for this language in the PGM, but the evidence shows that a wider context of ancient metaphors is more likely.¹²⁹

Next come two statements defining the place of the human being in a universe of opposites.¹³⁰ The first (ll. 497–98) pertains to the cosmos: ἐν ἀφωτιστῷ καὶ διαυγῇ κόσμῳ (“in a world without light and yet radiant”). Again, this phrase is unique in the PGM, but the verb διαυγάζειν occurs in other cosmological contexts.¹³¹ This contrast points to the cosmic dualism of light and darkness, as it is found in ancient religious texts, in Greek philosophical thought, and in Gnostic sources,¹³² particularly also in Pythagoreanism.¹³³ The second contrast (l. 498) refers to opposites within the cosmos, ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ (“without soul and yet alive with soul”). That is, the human being exists in a world made up of “soulless and ensouled” entities. Again, the phrase is unique in the PGM, but the individual terms occur elsewhere in the PGM,¹³⁴ and in Greek cosmological philosophy.¹³⁵ The first part of the prayer then concludes with *vores magicae*: ὑψι αὐι ευωιε (ll. 498–99).

The next section of the prayer (ll. 499–537) contains the petition proper. Prior to the request itself, an appeal is made for approval by the divine

Jewish magic it is a major symbol. See Eduard Lohse, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. χεῖρ, section B.3; C.3; Lieselotte Kötzsche, “Hand II (ikonographisch),” *RAC* 13 (1986) 402–82, esp. 403–45.

¹²⁹ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.235), listing some examples (Exod 6:1; Ps 43 [44]:4) which, however, are textually different.

¹³⁰ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.235) thinks of the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος, to which the initiate wants to ascend, according to Plato, *Phaedr.* 247b, but it seems that Stoic ideas, not Plato, are the sources here.

¹³¹ See IV.990–92 (φωτίζοντα καὶ διαυγάζοντα); XIII.165 (Φῶς ... καὶ διηγύασεν τὰ πάντα). Cf. 2 Pet 1:19: ὡς λύχνῳ φαίνοντι ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ, ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διαυγάσῃ καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις.... 2 Cor 4:6; 6:14 may also be related.

¹³² For sources and bibliography, see Hans Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. φῶς, esp. 321, n. 132.

¹³³ On the Pythagorean συστοιχία of ἀρχαὶ δέκα, among them φῶς – σκότος, see D.-K. 58 B 5 (I.452.35–46); B 6 (I.453.20–21); B 27 (I.459.3); cf. 24 A 3 (I.211.11–15); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 1, §§ 31 and 42; Kirk & Raven, *Presocratic Philosophy*, 238, 240–41, 251, 257, 277, 280–84; Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9 (1973) 306–7.

¹³⁴ The term ἀψυχος occurs with a different meaning, referring to food, in PGM I.23; VII.441. Should ἐψυχωμένῳ be understood as the perfect form ἐνεψυχωμένῳ or the present ἐμψυχουμένῳ? Cf. τὰ ἐμψυχα which occurs in a cosmological context in IV.1766; cf. IV.735 (of meat); LXVII.2 (text uncertain).

¹³⁵ For the terminology of ἀψυχος – ἐμψυχος, see Pythagoras, D.-K. 14 A 9 (I.101.11–14); Empedocles, 31 A 48 (I.292.5–9); for Plato, *Tim.* 74e (ἐμψυχότατα and ἀψυχότατα); for the Stoa *SVF* III, # 714 (205.4) and # 988 (287–88): ζῶα ἀψυχα and ἐμψυχα. Philo uses the terms ἀψυχος, ἐμψυχία, ἐμψυχος, ψυχοῦν in discussing cosmology; similarly *CH* II.8–9; X.12; XI.10–11; Numenius, fr. 4b (ed. Des Places, 47.34–36). See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 123–26.

elements: ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ ("if it seems right to you").¹³⁶ Such appeals are part of Hellenistic prayer language.¹³⁷

In ll. 499–500 an important literary phenomenon requires mention. According to Preisendanz, the *voces magicae* are cited: μετερτα φωθ ἱερεζαθ,¹³⁸ but then after φωθ an inserted gloss comments that in a different version of the text (ἐν ἄλλῳ) another form of the magical words occurs: μεθαρθα φηριη. A different reading is proposed by Jordan who takes the ἐν ἄλλῳ to refer to ἱερεζαθ.¹³⁹ At any rate, the interpolated gloss shows that either the author or the final redactor had at least two versions of the text at his disposal, which he carefully compared, noting the discrepancies. The gloss shows evidence of a concern not only for magical but also for literary precision in collating versions of the text.¹⁴⁰ However, there are no other instances of these magical words,¹⁴¹ so only the present version of the text has survived.

The request itself is generally stated first (l. 501) as an infinitive clause: μεταπαραδοῦναι με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει ("give me over to immortal birth").¹⁴² The term μεταπαραδιδόναι is rare, but the author seems to like such composita.¹⁴³ The translation of the term is disputed. LSJ translates as "hand down" or "transfer," which would make it the equivalent of παραδιδόναι.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁶ Usener reads ἐὰν δὴ; see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

¹³⁷ See also ἐὰν σοι δόξῃ, l. 642; κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ, l. 648. Cf. the NT at Matt 8:2; 11:27; Mark 1:40; 14:36 par.; 1 Cor 4:19; Jas 4:15; and the Lord's Prayer in Matt 6:10. For more material see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.47–48; Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 392–96.

¹³⁸ So following the reading of Dieterich, who in an additional note supplied by Weinreich (Dieterich, 221) presents a rather fanciful explanation of the formula: "so zu schreiben und zu verstehen: μετερταφωθ (μεθαρθαφηριη ἐν ἄλλῳ) ἱερεζαθ. Zur Entstehung dieser *voces*: αφωθ ist genommen aus ἀφωτίστω in 4,5, θαρθαφ aus ἀφθάρτου in 4,5, so auch oft sonst, z.B. 4,11 ἀνχε ἀχρεοκόπητον 4,26."

¹³⁹ Jordan (by letter). The reason is that the citation formula usually precedes the citation.

¹⁴⁰ E.g., the "Eighth Book of Moses" (PGM XIII) contains several versions of the book; see Morton Smith, in Betz, *GMPT*, 181–82. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 6–20, discusses five parallel φιλτροκατάδεσμοι, with their differences indicated by forms of ἄλλος (for further examples see pp. 6–7, n. 31).

¹⁴¹ Cf. Brashear ("Greek Magical Papyri," 3601) who, following Karl F. W. Schmidt (GGA 193 [1931] 449), refers to φωουθ (IV.1683) as a parallel, meaning in Egyptian "große Schlange."

¹⁴² The aorist infinitive has the force of request, but it is prefaced by the humble phrase ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ (l. 499). For the imperative infinitive in Koine Greek see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 756–57; Moulton, *Grammar*, 3.78; BDR, *Grammatik*, § 389.

¹⁴³ Cf. μεταπααραλαμβάνειν (l. 525). See Moulton, *Grammar*, 2.389; BDR, *Grammatik*, § 116,4 (with references). Cf. BDAG, s.v. μεταπαραδίδωμι.

¹⁴⁴ LSJ (s.v., 2) adduces Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 32.226) as a parallel; it refers to the Pythagoreans' preservation of the mysteries: they left their main doctrines unwritten and passed them on to their successors ἅπερ μυστήρια θεῶν μεταπαραδιδόντες.

In the ML, however, the term may be more specific. Taking the preposition μετα—seriously, the ML seems to connote transformation and rebirth (ll. 517–27). It should therefore be translated, “transfer me to the immortal birth,” meaning rebirth.¹⁴⁵

The following words (l. 502) are difficult to interpret: ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένη μου φύσει. Whatever they mean, the words seem to clarify “immortal birth” in the preceding line. The word ἐχομένως is textually emended from pap. εχομενος, and thus the translation is uncertain.¹⁴⁶ LSJ (s.v. ἐχομένως) renders “next after,” a synonym of ἐφεξῆς, but interesting is also Reitzenstein’s suggestion that the words are an inserted comment meaning something like: “that means by implication.” Thus, if the words ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένη μου φύσει intend to clarify what is meant by γένεσις,¹⁴⁷ the

¹⁴⁵ See also VII.510: σὺ εἰ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ παλινγενοῦς Αἰῶνος. Merkelbach (Abraxas, 3.235) adduces as parallels the Taurobolium inscription from Rome (ed. Dessau # 4152, CIL VI 510): *in aeternum renatus*; the Roman tomb inscription in which a Paulina addresses her husband Vettius Agorius Praetextatus: *tu me marite... puram ac pudicam sorte mortis eximens in templa ducis ac famulam divis dicas* (ed. Dessau, CIL VI 1779); *Carmina latina epigraphica* (ed. Buecheler), # 111, lines 22–24; Arnobius, 2.62: *deo esse se gnatos nec fati obnoxios legibus*; CHI.26: τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γινώσκουσιν ἐσχηκόσι, θεωθῆναι; III.3; XIII.1–4, 7, 10, 13, 16–20, 22; Exc. XXIII.41. Matthew Calloun observes that παλιγγενεσία (and cognates) do not appear in LXX; ἀναγεννάω shows up only in a variant reading of the prologue of Ben Sira.

On rebirth generally, see Dieterich (137–40, 157–61); Reitzenstein, HMR, 39, 50, 97, 262–65; Nock, *Essays*, 1.190–94; Nilsson, GGR, 2.653, 687–88; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 25, 75, 99–101, 166 nn. 60, 70; Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 105–7. For early Christian literature, see John 1:12–13; 3:3, 5, 6, 7, 8, etc.; Tit 3:5; 1 Pet 1:3, 23; Justin, *Apol.* 1.66.1. For further references see BDAG, s.v. ἀναγεννάω; γεννάω, 1.b; παλιγγενεσία.

¹⁴⁶ With the pap. reading εχομενος, Dieterich (4, l. 8) proposes ἐχόμενον, Sudhaus ἐχομένως, which Preisendanz accepts and translates: “und gleich darauf wieder meiner eigentlichen Natur.” Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221) reports Preisendanz’s suggestion to read γενέσει· ἐχόμενος... φύσει, ἵνα... Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) notes that the text makes sense, if the following ἵνα-clause constitutes the beginning of a new sentence (see below, n. 153). Martinez comments that both emendations make good sense phonetically, ἐχομένως reflecting the common interchange εο/ω (Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.275) and ἐχόμενον reflecting the interchange of final silent letters (Gignac, *ibid.*, 131–32). Cf. Merkelbach’s translation (*Abraxas*, 3.160): “mich wiederum zu übergeben der Neugeburt in die Unsterblichkeit, entsprechend meiner vorhandenen Natur.”

¹⁴⁷ See Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*): “Reitz[enstein], der ἐχ. bis φύσει als Zusatz des Magiers betrachtet.” Differently, in his HMR, 175 n. 3, Reitzenstein proposes to connect ἐχόμενον with the preceding με (“mich, der ich noch festgehalten bin”). Calloun agrees and translates: “... to transfer me to an immortal birth, since I hold tightly to my underlying nature.” Accordingly, the author would have mistakenly used the nominative, with a lengthened “o”, instead of the accusative. If it is an adverb, it could be construed with μεταπαράδῶναι, which would result in: “to transfer me – subsequently to my underlying mortal nature – to the immortal birth.” For this meaning of ἐχῶ, see LSJ, s.v., § C.

expression τῇ ὑποκειμένη μου φύσει is also difficult. It can be taken in two ways: (1) in conformity with the ML elsewhere ὑποκείμενος can mean: "cited below,"¹⁴⁸ that is, as pointing forward to θνητὴ φύσις (ll. 533, 607). This interpretation would support Reitzenstein's suggestion of a gloss, resulting in the translation: "(the immortal birth) subsequent to my (mortal) nature, as mentioned below." (2) The expression could be philosophical in origin, pointing to the "underlying nature,"¹⁴⁹ or even to the "presupposed notion."¹⁵⁰ Because of the Stoic influences elsewhere in the ML, the parallels in Stoicism and Hermetism would favor speaking of "underlying nature."¹⁵¹ If this is the preferred meaning, the phrase would interpret γένεσις as meaning "rebirth" in the sense of a return to the underlying nature which consists of the divine elements.¹⁵²

The following passage (ll. 502–15) restates the general request, but now details it by way of four ἵνα-clauses dealing with sense-perception. Preisendanz seems right in taking the first ἵνα-clause as the beginning of an independent sentence.¹⁵³ The following doctrine about sense-perception and recognition agrees with that of the *Hermetica*. The first clause focuses on seeing, while the three others specify the resultant changes in recognition.¹⁵⁴ Together, the four ἵνα-clauses contain an entire doctrine of salvation pertaining to visual perception.¹⁵⁵ A final clause, which does not begin with ἵνα but is connected to the previous ἵνα by καί, shifts to the subject of hearing (ll. 514–15).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. I. 783: ὡς ὑπόκειται.

¹⁴⁹ See LSJ, s.v. ὑπόκειμαι, 8 (1) and (2) with references. This meaning occurs several times in the *Hermetica* (*CH* X.22; XI.6–7; XII.6; XVI.7; Exc. XXIII.2, 27; Frag. 26.1, etc.).

¹⁵⁰ As in Plato, Aristotle, and Timaeus of Locri, 32, p. 97e (ed. T. H. Tobin, *Timaios of Locri, On the Nature of the World and the Soul* [SBL.TT 26; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985], 48).

¹⁵¹ See concerning the categories *SVF* II, # 369 (124.31–32): τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ πῶς ἔχοντα καὶ πρὸς τί πῶς ἔχοντα. What is meant is referred to as ὕλη (II, ## 314, 373–74, 403), or the four στοιχεῖα (II, ## 405, 762). Similar are the concepts in *CH*; see, e. g., XI.2, 6; Exc. XXIII.2: τῇ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φύσει (versus ἐπικείμενον).

¹⁵² This doctrine agrees with Hermetism; see the summary in *CH* III.4: ... ἀνανεωθήσεται ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀνανεώσει θεῶν καὶ φύσεως κύκλου ἐναριθμίου δρόματι. τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἢ πᾶσα κοσμικὴ σύγκρασις φύσει ἀνανεουμένη· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἡ φύσις καθέστηκεν ("... renewed by necessity and by the renewal that comes from the gods and by the course of nature's configured cycle. For the divine is the entire cosmic combination renewed by nature. For nature is constituted in the divine.") (my trans.)

¹⁵³ Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*. As evidence for independent sentences beginning with an imperatival ἵνα he refers to Radermacher, *Grammatik* (2nd ed.), 170 (1); Preisendanz, *WSt* 41 (1919) 141–42, to which should be added BDR, § 387 (3a); Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 585–89; Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 11 n. 46.

¹⁵⁴ For the Hermetic doctrines, see, e.g., *CH* I.18, 21, 22; X.9–10; XIII.6.

¹⁵⁵ For a discussion of the "salvific ἵνα," see BDAG, s.v. ἵνα, 3; also Ethelbert Stauffer, *TDNT* 3 (1938), s.v. ἵνα.

The first *ἐνα*-clause comprises ll. 502–8 and concerns the change in the faculty of vision. The “present” condition, now overcome, is described as that of oppression: *μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπείγουσαν με χρεῖαν* (“after the present and very pressing need”). This kind of formulaic statement seems to be liturgical in nature; parallels are found in language dealing with the liberation from the oppression by *ἀνάγκη*, *εἰμαρμένη*, *τύχη* and *χρεῖα*.¹⁵⁶ Parallels occur also elsewhere in the ML;¹⁵⁷ the term *κατεπείγειν* (“pressing down”) appears repeatedly in formulaic passages.¹⁵⁸ An impressive example from the Latin literature is the prayer of Lucius to Isis in Apuleius (*Metam.* 11.25): “... but ever on sea and land thou art guarding men, and when thou hast stilled the storms of life thou dost stretch out thy saving hand, with which thou unravelest even those threads of fate which are inextricably woven together; thou dost pacify the gales of Fortune and keep in check the baleful movements of the stars” (... quin mari terraque protegas homines et depulsis vitae procellis salutarem porrigas dexteram, qua fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia et Fortunae tempestates mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes).¹⁵⁹ Given this present condition, the change needed comes next: (*ἐνα*) *ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχὴν* (“[in order that] I may envision the immortal beginning”). The term *ἐποπτεύειν* (“envision”) occurs only here in the PGM; it is known from the mystery-cults as referring to the final vision of the initiate.¹⁶⁰ The object of vision, *τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχὴν* (“the immortal beginning”) points back to l. 487. In other words, the spirit accomplishes the change in the faculty of vision by enabling the suppliant to have a

¹⁵⁶ For a collection of material see Schreckenberg, *Ananke*, especially 160–63. Dieterich (51–52) points to the role Ananke plays in the mysteries of Mithras.

¹⁵⁷ See the parallel in ll. 525–27, 533–35; for the meaning of *τὰ ἐνεστῶτα* (“the present situation”) see ll. 525 and 686; also V.295–96; VII.506–7; XIII.1049. For *χρεῖα* (“need”) see also II.64; IV.2975; XII.95. Cf. 1 Cor 7:26: *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην*; Gal 1:4: *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ*.

Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.235) compares the terms *χρεῖα* and *ἀνάγκη*, suggesting they mean the same in this context: “*χρῆ* can mean ‘one must,’ and *χρεός* is a debt *one must* pay. Cf. also 527 *ἀχρεοκόπητος*, ‘no longer burdened by astral compulsion.’” For further references and bibliography see BDAG, s.v. *χρεῖα*, 2.

¹⁵⁸ It is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, used only in the ML (ll. 503–4, 526, 534–35, 605). The term is attested since Homer; see LSJ, s.v., IV.2.

¹⁵⁹ Text and trans. by Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 100–101, with the commentary pp. 320–23.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. the synonym *κατοπτεύειν* which occurs in ll. 485, 516. For *ἐπόπτης* see VII.351, 572; XII.237; *ἐποπτος* I.259, 261. Cf. also CH I.3. See Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.235–36, referring also to the ritual breathing of the *πνεῦμα*. For literature see Erich Fascher, “Epoptie,” *RAC* 5 (1962) 973–83; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 43, 69, 91–92, 136 n. 35; 157 n. 14; 157 n. 59; 163 n. 18.

vision of the primordial beginning.¹⁶¹ The following passage confirms this interpretation.

Lines 504–8 make the resource of the enabling explicit by naming the primordial elements; the dative expresses both origin and appeal to the elements, three of which are named. The first is τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι (“the immortal spirit”),¹⁶² pointing back to the πνεῦμα πνεύματος of l. 489; it is followed by a *vox magica*: ἀνχερφερνεσουφιριγγ.¹⁶³ The second dative refers to τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι (“the immortal water” [506–7]), pointing back to the element of water (ll. 492–93); it is followed by another *vox magica*, ἐρονυῖ παρακουνῆθ.¹⁶⁴ The third dative (ll. 507–8) addresses τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι (“the firmest air”).¹⁶⁵ Notably, this element is not mentioned in ll. 489–93, but “air” plays a role elsewhere in the ML.¹⁶⁶ The adjective στερεός occurs in astronomical/astrological contexts in the PGM, pointing to the “firmament.”¹⁶⁷ The accompanying *vox magica* is εἶοση ψεναβωθ.¹⁶⁸

The question is why different elements (spirit, water, air) are named in ll. 504–8, instead of the four (spirit, fire, water, earth) in ll. 489–95. As Reitzenstein assumes, the difference can be either the result of error or of intention. According to the *Hermetica*, however, “spirit” and “air” are closely related.¹⁶⁹ Earth may be omitted because it plays no positive role in rebirth.¹⁷⁰ If so, the omission of fire still remains unresolved.

¹⁶¹ The vision of the primordial cosmos was an important part of the Hermetist’s concerns; see *CH* I.4–7 (projecting terror and ecstasy); III.1–3; XIII.3–5, etc.

¹⁶² This concept is attested also in *CH* X.17–22; XII.12, 18.

¹⁶³ The *vox magica* sounds as if derived from Egyptian, but it has not been explained. Cf. the list of Egyptian *vores magicae*, called “The Invocation to Uphor” in XII.335–50, which has in l. 347: ἀνχερφερνεψουφιριγγ. See Morton Smith in Betz, *GMPT*, 165.

¹⁶⁴ A *hapaxlegomenon*, unexplained.

¹⁶⁵ The pap. reads στερεοτάτῳ, which Dieterich (p. 4) wants to read as στερεῷ καὶ τῷ. Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221) reports that Preisendanz and Reitzenstein keep τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι, but Reitzenstein puts τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι and τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι in brackets, saying that “correct is only πνεύματι, cf. l. 29 [i.e., l. 505]; but the interpolator misunderstood it and in effect wanted to insert what Dieterich (p. 56) explained on the basis of Orphic formulae.”

¹⁶⁶ See l. 540–41: μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος; l. 693: ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι.

¹⁶⁷ See I.217; IV.265, 1210–11; V.47; LXII.14 (στερέωμα τῆς γῆς). Cf. BDAG, s.v. στερέωμα, 1.

¹⁶⁸ An unexplained *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; however, Wiedemann (in Dieterich, 37, n. 1) explains as Egyptian: ψεν, “son of the”; αβοτ “month.”

¹⁶⁹ Cf. VII.961: ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι, in an invocation of Seth. For the relationship between spirit and air, cf. *CH* I.5; II.11; III.2; IX.7; *Ascl.* 33 (on the cosmic origin of air: *spiritu tamen et aëre uacuum esse non possit*).

¹⁷⁰ Cf. l. 533: during the ascent mortal nature must be left behind (ἔσταθι, φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι). See also *CH* I.1; X.5–8, 12, 15–19; *Ascl.* 28; Exc. IV.10.

The second *ἐνα*-clause (ll. 508–11) notes where the effect of change is to take place: *ἐνα νοήματι μεταγεν<ν>ηθῶ* (“so that I may be reborn in thought”).¹⁷¹ The choice of the term *μεταγεννᾶν* indicates transformational change, rather than a new begetting (*ἀναγεννᾶν*).¹⁷² The term *νόημα* occurs only here in the PGM;¹⁷³ it is important in Hellenistic philosophy and religion, where it means the act of thinking or the resulting thought.¹⁷⁴ The idea of rebirth is stated by the verb *μεταγεννᾶν*, a key concept in the mystery-cults, although the specific word occurs rarely.¹⁷⁵ The concluding *vox magica* reads *κραοχραξ ρ οἰμ εναρχομαι*.¹⁷⁶ Line 510 names the source for the change: *καὶ πνεῦση ἐν εμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα* (“and [in order that] the sacred spirit may breathe in me”).¹⁷⁷ The statement refers back to ll. 489 and 505 (cf. 520) and contains a doctrine of inspiration, according to which the primordial spirit inspires the human

¹⁷¹ The pap. reads *μεταγεννηθῶ* which Dieterich corrects to *μεταγεννηθῶ*; so also Reitzenstein, Merkelbach.

¹⁷² The choice is intended; *ἀναγεννᾶν* does not occur in the ML. Cf. the quite different concept of salvation in 1 Pet 1:3, 23: *ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σποράς φθαρτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρετου διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος* (“begotten anew not from perishable but from imperishable seed, the word of the living and abiding God”). See Paul Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 94, 139–40.

¹⁷³ See, however, *νοεῖν* in a gnostic prayer, III.596–97: *χαριστάμενος ἡμῖν νοῦν, λόγ<ον>, γνῶσιν· νοῦν με<ν>, ἐνα σε νοήσωμεν....* In XI.a.25 (Apollonius of Tyana’s old serving woman): *νοήσει σοι* (“she... will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you”); see Betz, *GMPT*, 150–51. The term *νόημα* occurs frequently in the *Hermetica* (see VIII.1; XIII.6; etc.). Cf. also Eph 4:23: *ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοός*; Rom 12:2: *μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός*. See BDAG, s.v. *ἀνανεός*, *ἀνανεώσεις*.

¹⁷⁴ See LSJ, s.v., 3. For Stoic parallels, see *SVF* II, ## 164 (47.38–48.1); 236 (77.10–11); 378 (126.19–25). Frequent are passages in the *Hermetica* (e.g., VIII.1; Exc. XVII.2; XVIII.1; XIX.1–2, 4); see the notes in the editions by Scott, *Hermetica* (3.446, 452) and Nock & Festugière (3.CIV, n. 3, 78, n. 7). Philo’s usage is related to philosophical theory about speech and music (*Det.* 127–28; *Post.* 106–8; *Migr.* 104; etc.). In the NT, Paul’s doctrine of intellectual renewal uses the term as well (2 Cor 2:11; 3:14; 4:4; 10:5; 11:3; Phil 4:7).

¹⁷⁵ LSJ, s.v., mentions the ML (ll. 508–9, 647); Josephus, *JA* 11.40. Cf. on *ἀναγεννᾶν* above, n. 35 The Latin *renatus* occurs in Apuleius (*Metam.* 11.16 and 21; see Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 15, 51–52, 258–59, 289, 308, 317, 355–56) and on a Mithras inscription in Santa Prisca (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 80–82; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 40, 47–48, 177–79, 262–65; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 99–101). See also *infra* on ll. 517–27.

¹⁷⁶ This seems to be the reading in the pap., which remains unexplained. Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919], 142) takes the whole as one *vox magica*, with *οχρα* and *αρχο* palindromic. Dieterich (4–5) proposes *κραοχραξο, ἐνα ἐνάρχωμαι*. According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221), Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 175) wants to correct to *ἐναρχόμενος*, considering the mystery-cult term *ἀρχεσθαι* (versus *τελευτᾶν*), in comparison with Plato (*Symp.* 210a, 211c) and Paul (Gal 3:3).

¹⁷⁷ For *ἱερὸν πνεῦμα* see also III.8; cf. *ἄγιον πνεῦμα* XII.174.

spirit.¹⁷⁸ The concluding *voces magicae* (ll. 510–11) read νεχθεν αποτου νεχθιν αρπιν ηθ.¹⁷⁹

The third *ἵνα*-clause (ll. 511–12) refers to fire: *ἵνα θαυμάσω τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ* (“in order that I may marvel at the sacred fire”). The change is indicated by the suppliant’s desire to be able to “marvel” (*θαυμάζειν*) about the ritual efficacy, a key term in Greek religion.¹⁸⁰ The expression of “sacred fire” is mentioned only here in the PGM, but elsewhere the element of fire occurs frequently in ML (ll. 490, 617, 636–38).¹⁸¹ In the ML, spirit and fire are closely related, but not identical; it is not completely clear which is higher in the astral hierarchy. The statement concludes (l. 512) with the *vox magica*: κυφε. The term seems to be related to a type of incense called κῦφι (or κοῖφι).¹⁸²

The fourth *ἵνα* (ll. 512–13) focuses on the primordial water: *ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ* (“that I may gaze at the unfathomable, frightful water of the dawn”). The verb *θεᾶσθαι* indicates the suppliant’s desired ability to “behold” the primordial water. What kind of image the suppliant has in mind is difficult to say. The adjective *ἄβυσσος* occurs only here in the PGM, while the noun is more common; it keeps showing up in lists of primordial elements.¹⁸³ To an Egyptian, the “frightful water of the

¹⁷⁸ See also XII.324–34; XIII.762. Cf. Paul’s doctrine in Rom 8:15–16: αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα (scil., the spirit of God) συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν. For the interpretation, see Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 240. Hippolytus (*Haer.* 6.34) quotes as Valentinian doctrine based on Gen 2:7 LXX: καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς. Martinez also points to Homer, *Il.* 15.262; John 20:22; Ign. *Eph.* 17:1.

¹⁷⁹ A *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. The pap. reads νεχθεν, cf. νεχθιν. Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 58,2) had read τεχθεν, but rejected it because of νεχθιν; in *Mithrasliturgie* (5) he suggests ἐνεχθέν. Also Reitzenstein takes απο του (“derived from”) as part of the *voces magicae*, as does Preisendanz (in Dieterich, 221) who suggests two variants of the same formula. Jordan (by letter) suggests that απο του νεχθιν may be a gloss by the copyist indicating that the νεχθεν of l. 510 has been corrected from νεχθιν.

¹⁸⁰ The term *θαυμάζειν* occurs frequently in the PGM (in ML l. 775). See Georg Bertram, “Θαῦμα κτλ.,” *TDNT* 3 (1938), section A.

¹⁸¹ See Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 48–52; id., *Mithrasliturgie*, 64–47; Friedrich Lang, “πῦρ,” *TDNT* 6 (1959) 928–52, sections A.II–III.

¹⁸² For κῦφι, see IV.1313; 2971; the incense in association with Helios VII.537–98; IV.1275–1322, 2981; V.213–303 (κοῖφι V.221, 227–28); VII.538; See for further materials, Richard Ganszinec, “Κῦφι,” *PRE* 23. Halbband (1924) 52–57. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.236) points to Manetho’s work: Μάνεθως, Μένδης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἀρχιερεὺς. ἔγραψε περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων. ζῆται τί τὸ κῦφι (Suda, s.v. Μάνεθως; *FGH* [ed. Jacoby] 609, T 1 and F 16; Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 52, 80; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* (ed. Kaibel), 2.73 (LCL 2.66–67); Aelius Aristides 47.26 [p. 382.30 Keil]).

¹⁸³ See VII.261–62: ἐπὶ τῆς ἄβυσσου πρὶν γενέσθαι οὐρανὸν ἢ γῆν ἢ θάλασσαν...; I.343; III.554; IV.1120, 1148, 1350, 2835, 3064; VII.517; XIII.169, 482; XXXV1; XXXVI.217; LXII.29, 31. On the subject see Käthe Schneider, “Abyssos,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 60–62; BDAG, s.v. ἄβυσσος.

dawn” brings to mind the god Nun,¹⁸⁴ or the Greek waters of Styx.¹⁸⁵ The final *voces magicae* νῦν θεσω ἐχω σὺ χιεχῶα are unexplained.¹⁸⁶

The final petition (ll. 514–15) differs in three ways. (1) There is no ἔνα.¹⁸⁷ (2) The petition introduces the element of ether, not mentioned previously: καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζωογόνος καὶ περικεχυμένος αἰθήρ (“and may the lifegiving and encompassing ether hear me”). (3) The subject changes again (cf. πνεύσῃ l. 510): instead of asking for his improved hearing, the suppliant expresses the hope that the ether may hear his prayer.

As far as speech is concerned, the *voces magicae* empower it to make sure the prayer is being heard. The element of ether (αἰθήρ), located above the sphere of ἀήρ, is found only here in the ML, but in the PGM corpus it is attested more often.¹⁸⁸ The two attributes which are attached to αἰθήρ, ζωογόνος and περικεχυμένος,¹⁸⁹ point to cosmology; they show up only here in the ML.¹⁹⁰ The final *vox magica* ἀρνομηθρ is an unexplained *hapaxlegomenon*.

A new section begins in l. 516, introducing the final part of the prayer (ll. 516–37). Unusual for a prayer, it contains a detailed self-presentation of the suppliant.¹⁹¹ The nature and function of this self-presentation is partly ritual and partly didactic.

¹⁸⁴ So Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.236. On Nun see Reinhard Griebhammer, “Nun,” *LA* 4 (1982) 534–35.

¹⁸⁵ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.236) adduces the parallel in Apuleius, *Metam.* 6.13–14: *rorem rigentem* and *fontes horridos*. For the primordial waters, see *CH* I.4; III.1; for ἄβυσσος, see *CH* III.1; XVI.5. For further references, see Leonhard Goppelt, “ὕδωρ κτλ.,” *TDNT* 8 (1969) 314–33, esp. sections A.I–III.

¹⁸⁶ Various scholars have tried to restore corrupted Greek. Wessely reads θεχω ἐχω; Dieterich (5, n.) ὁ ἐγὼ ἐχω(?); Sam Eitrem (“Varia,” *NTFi*, 4th series, 10 [1922] 112) ἐγὼ ὦ ἐχω, οὐχὶ ἐχω α(?). Jordan (by letter) wonders whether the words ἐχω, οὐχὶ ἐχω (“I have, I don’t have”) may come from a formula of the kind cited in LXI.7: “you are oil, you are not oil.”

¹⁸⁷ Translators often supply another “in order that” (Merkelbach: “damit”), or, better, make it part of the preceding ἔνα-clause (Dieterich, Reitzenstein, Preisendanz, Meyer); Festugière changes the sentence: “... l’eau effrayante, et que m’entende l’éther...”

¹⁸⁸ Apparently, for the ML it is not identical with “fire.” For αἰθήρ, αἰθέριος see above, l. 489–90. Cf. the references in *CH* I.17; XI.19; Exc. VI.12; XXIII.11, 34; XXIV.1; XXV.7.

¹⁸⁹ Martínez observes that in the NT “life-giving” and “pouring out” is connected with the πνεῦμα; for references see BDAG, s.v. ἐκχέω, ἐκχυσας; ζωοποίησις, 1.a (Joh 6:63; 2 Cor 3:6; 15:45; 1 Tim 6:13: ζωογονέω, with v.l.).

¹⁹⁰ For ζωογόνος see IV.720, 1754; ζωογονεῖν IV.1162, 1282, 1597 (πρὸς Ἥλιον), 1614; VII.529 (Helios); περικεχυμένος has no parallel in the PGM. Cf. also *CH* IX.6 (ζωογονεῖν); XVI.10 (ζωογονία); for περιχέω κτλ. see X:18; Exc. XXIII.34; XXVI.27.

¹⁹¹ Self-presentations are important in the ML; see below, ll. 644–49, 719–24. Cf. also the self-presentations on the Orphic Gold Tablets, and my article, “‘Der Erde Kind bin ich und des gestirnten Himmels’. Zur Lehre vom Menschen in den orphischen Goldplättchen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 222–43; reprinted in my *Antike und Christentum*, 244–66.

The beginning sums up what the suppliant considers the promise which the god will next fulfill: ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεύειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὄμμασι ("for today I am going to envision with immortal eyes"). This announcement recalls the transformation of vision that was the subject of the previous petition (ll. 502–13); the author also presupposes that the prayer has been heard by the deity (ll. 514–15). The time reference σήμερον ("today") occurs elsewhere in magical and ritual contexts as almost a technical term.¹⁹² The verb κατοπτεύειν ("envision"), found also in the exordium (l. 485), is a synonym of ἐποπτεύειν (see on l. 504). The phrase τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὄμμασι explains that the new vision has come about through the transformation of the mortal eyes into immortal ones (see ll. 504–5).¹⁹³ Further information is to be gained from the following section.

The section ll. 517–37 defines the suppliant as an initiate. The subsections of this self-definition form the basis for the following ascension narrative. The summary contains the anthropology of the ML, detailing the relationship between the human and the divine.

Regarding human nature, the initiate defines himself as θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας ("a mortal born from a mortal womb"). He thereby defines human nature by two criteria: mortality and birth from a human mother. This definition appears several times in the ML and elsewhere in the PGM;¹⁹⁴ it conforms to common ideas of ancient anthropology.¹⁹⁵

The benefits of initiation are generally summarized in ll. 518–19, and by a kind of *synthema* in ll. 520–27. The general benefit is characterized as "betterment": βεβελτιωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου ("improved through the exceedingly powerful might and the imperishable right hand"). The verb βελτιοῦν ("improve"), found only here in the PGM, often relates to Hellenistic ethics.¹⁹⁶ The reference to divine power

¹⁹² See also below l. 646, 651, 686, and I.165–66 III.265; IV.1455, 1618–19, 2911, and for further references, Preisendanz, 3.176 (index), s.v. Cf. Luke 2:11; 4:21; 13:32–33; 19:5, 9; 23:43; 2 Cor 3:14; 6:2; ἰδοὺ νῦν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας. See BDAG, s.v. σήμερον.

¹⁹³ Cf. III.215: ὄμμα τέλ[ειον] IV.543–44 πάντα δὲ ὅψη ἀθάνατα. The concept is similar to the Hermetic expression ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ νοῦ (CH V.2; X.4–6; XIII.14, 17; *Def.* (Armenian) 7.3; 9.2 (ed. Mahé, *L'Hermès en Haute-Égypte*, 2.379–80, 391 [German trans. in Holzhausen, 2.495, 497]). In the NT and early Christian literature cf. Eph 1:18: πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας; Justin, *Dial.* 134.5. See BDAG, s.v. ὀφθαλμός, 2; Hans Conzelmann, "φῶς," TDNT 9 (1973) 310–58, sections A.3; D.1–8; E.III.1–2.

¹⁹⁴ See l. 645: γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας, and ll. 529–30, 543, 607, 608–9. Cf. l. 533: φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσις; furthermore IV.2537; V.409, 413; VI.11; VII.674, 677; XX.2–3; LXXII.17.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Gal 4:4–5; for references and bibliography see Betz, *Galatians*, 206–8.

¹⁹⁶ For βελτιοῦν, βελτιώσεις see, e.g., Plutarch, *Virt. prof.* 85C–D; Philo, *Decal.* 17; *Fug.*

is couched in metaphors similar to those above (ll. 496–97). The divine attribute κράτος occurs only here in the ML, but is more frequent elsewhere in the PGM.¹⁹⁷ The attribute μεγαλοδύναμος (“exceedingly powerful”) belongs to hymnic language,¹⁹⁸ just as the attribute δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου (“[by] the imperishable right hand”).¹⁹⁹

The rather elaborate statement in ll. 520–27 seems formulaic in nature and resembles a *synthema*, comparable to formulae in mystery-cult texts.²⁰⁰ The passage defines the benefits of transformation, of which the first is the qualification of immortality: ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι [κατοπτρεύειν] τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα (“by the immortal spirit [envision] the immortal Aion”). While the “immortal spirit” has been dealt with before (ll. 489–90, 505, 510), it reappears here as the force bringing about the vision (κατοπτρεύειν [l. 516; cf. 504]) and immortality. Having acquired immortality, the initiate is able to have a vision of the immortal Aion,²⁰¹ whom the author mentions here for the first time (l. 520).²⁰² This god, whose name means “long period of time,” “eon,” “eternity,” plays an important role in Hellenistic and Roman religions. In the

30; *Det.* 56; *Sacr.* 42; *Mos.* 2.66; and often (see Borgen, *Philo Index*, s.v.). See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 262–65.

¹⁹⁷ See VII.1020; XII.134; XIII.629, 803, 881; XXXV.21; it occurs frequently in biblical literature as well (LXX Deut 8:17; Wis 11.21; Sir 47:5; Acts 19:20; Col 1:11; etc.; see BDAG, s.v., 1.a).

¹⁹⁸ See also ll. 639, 687–88 (μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί); IV.1345–46 (in an invocation: μεγαλοδύναμος, μεγαλόδοξος, μεγαθενής); VII.881; XII.374–75.

¹⁹⁹ See above on ll. 496–97.

²⁰⁰ On this type of formula, see also ll. 644–49, and Dieterich, 213–18, 256–58; for further references see Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 238–39, 243.

²⁰¹ The principle is that of ὅμοιος τῷ ὁμοίῳ. Cf. 1 Cor 2:10–15, esp. 13.

²⁰² The god of eternity, Aion, plays an important role in the PGM; in the ML he is identical with Helios-Mithras (594–95; cf. III.70–95, 100–101, 462; V.4). Cf. also I.164, 200–1 (attributes: αἰωναῖος, αἰωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ), 309; IV.1163, 1169, 1206, 2198, 2314, 3168; V.156, 468; VII.510 (σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγγενοῦς Αἰῶνος), 584; XII.246–47; XIII.71, 299, 329, 582, 996–97. For literature see Arthur Darby Nock, “A Vision of Mandulis Aion,” *HThR* 27 (1934) 53–104; repr. in *Essays*, 1.357–400, esp. 377–396; Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.152–75, 184–85; Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.348, 498–505, 536, 682, 686; Betz, *GMPT*, 331–332; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 192–230; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax*, 2.168–169; 3.56–58 and passim; Daniel & Maltoni, *Supplementum Magicum*, 2.227–228; Kotansky, *Amulets*, 115–16; Michel, *Gemmen*, #114; H. J. W. Drijvers, “Aion,” *DDD* 13–14; Günther Zuntz, “Aion Plutonios (Eine Gründungslegende von Alexandria),” *Hermes* 116 (1988) 291–303; idem, *Aion. Gott des Römerreiches* (AHAW.PH 1989:2; Heidelberg: Winter, 1989); idem, *Αἰὼν im Römerreich. Die archäologischen Zeugnisse* (AHAW.PH 1991:3; Heidelberg: Winter, 1991); idem, *Αἰὼν in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (WSt.B 17; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992). Zuntz does not discuss the PGM, however, but considers a special investigation for it to be necessary (44, n. 66).

ML, Aion is mentioned again in the “third prayer” as the heavenly gatekeeper (l. 594).²⁰³ His attribute is δεσπότης τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων (“lord of the fiery diadems”).²⁰⁴ While δεσπότης is attested only here in the ML (l. 521), seven golden diadems are mentioned in l. 675.²⁰⁵

The second qualification bestowed by the spirit is sanctification (l. 522), ἁγίους ἁγιασθεὶς ἁγιάσμασι (“sanctified through holy consecrations”). The expression is unique in the PGM, a fact that caused commentators to assume influence of the LXX. The translations diverge, because of divergent interpretations of the term ἁγίασμα, with most interpreters taking it to mean “holy consecration.”²⁰⁶ While it is true that the terminology of ἁγιάζω, ἅγιος, ἁγίασμα occurs most frequently in the LXX, the PGM do not necessarily depend on the LXX.²⁰⁷ In Hellenistic-Jewish and early Christian texts the term is mostly used in the singular, referring to “sanctuary,” “temple.” E.g., Philo (*Plant.* 50; LCL edition by Colson, 3.239) interprets ἁγίασμα (Exod 15:17–18): οἷον ἁγίων ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχέτυπου, ἐπεὶ τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ τῶν νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες, τὸ ἡτοιμάσθαι ὑπὸ χειρῶν θεοῦ, τῶν κοσμοποιῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων (“It is a ‘sanctuary,’ an outshining of sanctity, so to speak, a copy of the original; since the objects that are beautiful to the eye of sense are images of those in which the understanding recognizes beauty. Lastly, it has been prepared by the ‘hands’ of god, his world-creating powers”). In the

²⁰³ Some of the hymns in the PGM addressed to Aion are theologically and conceptually similar to the ML: e.g., the χαιρετισμός I.1115–66 (στήλη ἀπόκρυφος); IV.1167–1226 (στήλη); IV.850–929 (Σολομώντος κατάπτωσις); IV.1596–1715 (τελετή); XII.323–50; moreover, the τελετή I.26–37; the prayer called ῥυστική (I.195–222) the prayer to Apollo II.1–15; the cat ritual III.1–164; the στήλη τοῦ Ἰέου V.96–172.

²⁰⁴ According to Jordan (by letter), the pap. seems to read πυρεινων instead of πυρινων.

²⁰⁵ See also IV.675, 1337, 2840; V.483; VII.619; cf. XXXV.26, 40: διαδηματοφόρος. For πύρινος, see ll. 584, 589, 637–38 (πύρινος στέφανος); III.211; IV.1024–25 (φανήθι μοι, κύριε, ὁ ἐν πυρὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχων), 2959; VII.801; XIII.165 (ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πυρός); XIV.8; furthermore CH I.9 (θεὸς τοῦ πυρός καὶ πνεύματος ὧν); X.18; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.7, referring to the demiurge of the Naassenes (see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 48–62; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 118–19, 164). Cf. for διάδημα Rev 12:3; 13:1; 19:12; πύρινος 9:17. See also BDAG, s.v. διάδημα; on the whole topic Marcell Restle, “Herrschaftszeichen,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 937–66, esp. 951–56.

²⁰⁶ So Dieterich: “durch heilige Weihen gereinigt”; Preisendanz: “rein gesühnt durch heilige Reinigungen”; Reitzenstein: “durch heilige Weihen geheiligt”; Festugière: “sainte-ment sanctifié par les purifications saintes”; Meyer: “sanctified through holy consecrations.” Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.236) speculates about influence by the LXX, takes the ἁγιάσματα as referring to the trishagion (Isa 6:3), and translates (3.161): “nachdem ich zum Heiligen geweiht wurde durch ‘Heilig’-Rufe.” Martinez points to his collection of liturgical formulations naming the acclamations of the trishagion ἁγιασμοί (*Baptized*, 70).

²⁰⁷ For ἁγίασμα see LXX Amos 7:13: εἰς δὲ βαιθηλ οὐκ ἐτι μὴ προσθῇς τοῦ προφητεῦσαι, ὅτι ἁγίασμα βασιλέως ἐστὶν καὶ οἶκος βασιλείας ἐστὶν. For references see BDAG, s.v. ἁγίασμα.

PGM the rare plural ἁγιάσματα refers most likely to “consecrations,”²⁰⁸ here specifically to the initiation ritual.²⁰⁹

The following part of the convoluted sentence construction is even more difficult (ll. 522–24): ἁγίας ὑπεστώσης μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως²¹⁰ (“which holy [power] supports for a short while my human soul-power”).²¹¹ The term ὑφίστημι (“support”), a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, appears to come from philosophy, especially Stoicism, where it plays a significant role.²¹² Constructing ὑφίστημι with a genitive object is unusual, which may be due to the comment having been inserted after the preceding formulaic statement, in order to clarify the question of how the consecration affects the human soul. Thus far, the author has not mentioned the soul (ψυχή) in connection with anthropology, so that it makes sense that he wishes to bring it in at this point. He apparently does not share the Platonic doctrine of the immortal soul incorporated in the mortal body; instead the soul shares human weakness and mortality. This is why the soul is in need of support by divine power which by way of consecration injects holiness into the soul. That supportive power, however, lasts only for a short while, after which it wanes and must receive another charge by new consecrations. Therefore, once the initiate has reached the state of holiness, that state cannot last forever, but only for a

²⁰⁸ See PGL, s.v.; Albrecht Dihle, “Heilig,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 1–63; Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 226) refers to Apuleius, *Metam.* XI. 24: *perfectis solemnibus processu duodecim sacratus stolis*.

²⁰⁹ Comparable is the application to Christian baptism; for references see PGL, s.v. ἁγίασμα, listing Gregory of Nyssa, Clement of Alexandria.

²¹⁰ Pap. has ἁγίας ὑπεστώσης; Eitrem corrects to ἁγιος ὑπεξεστώσης, Dieterich (*Abra-xas*, 38; idem, *Mithrasliturgie*, 4, 5) to ὑπερεστώσης; Preisendanz and Henrichs keep ἁγίας, referring also to Eduard Williger, *Hagios. Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen in den hellenisch-hellenistischen Religionen* (RVV 19:1; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1922), 98, n. 1. Cf. III.585–86: καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕλικου σώματος εὐμεν[ῆ] ἀποκ[ατάστασιν].

²¹¹ Translations differ; Dieterich: “da unter mir steht auf ein kleines rein die menschliche Seelenkraft”; Preisendanz: “wobei in Reinheit auf nur kurze Zeit verharret meine menschliche Seelenkraft”; Reitzenstein: “während unversehrt mir bleibt auf ein kleines die menschliche und natürliche (seelische) Kraft”; Festugière: “tandis que se retire un peu de moi, pour un peu de temps, ma nature psychique humaine”; Meyer: “while there subsists within me, holy for a short time, my human soul-might”; Merkelbach: “während mich auf kurze Zeit die Kraft der menschlichen Seele verlassen hat.” Cf. Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.686, n. 4.

²¹² See LSJ, s.v. ὑφίστημι, B.IV.2.a, with references to Aristotle, Epicurus, Stoics. For the Stoics, it is almost technical in physics, referring to διακόσμησις; see Chrysippus, *SVF* II, ## 599 (185.30–186.6), also 187 (61.22–42), 202a (65.4–24), 317 (114.24–29), 509 (164.14–37), 518–19 (165.32–43); Philo, *Leg.* 3.240; *Sacr.* 113; etc.; *CH* I.8; XI.16; Irenaeus (*Haer.* I.i.11 [ed. Harvey, 1.55]) in speaking about the Gnostics refers to their notion of πνευματικὴ ὑπόστασις. Thus, the verb may be related to the concept of ὑπόστασις/*substantia*, for which see Helmut Koester, “ὑπόστασις,” *TDNT* 8 (1969) 572–89, esp. A.3; B.3; D; Hermann Dörrie, *Υπόστασις. Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte*, in his *Platonica Minora* (München: Fink, 1976), 12–69.

finite period. This interpretation agrees with Stoic doctrine, on the one hand, and with other passages in the ML, on the other.²¹³ The soul needs strength especially in view of the impending ascension. In l. 630 the ML speaks of a “recovery of the soul” (ἀποκατασταθῇ ἡ ψυχή) from its being shaken up (ll. 622–23), in ll. 709–10 the suppliant prays that the deity may remain in the soul, and in l. 725 the soul is closed down during the oracular ecstasy.

This situation is confirmed by repeating (cf. ll. 503–4) the formulaic relative clause (ll. 524–27), ἣν ἐγὼ πάλιν μεταπαραλήμφομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ κατεπείγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην ἀχρεοκόπητον (“which I will again receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down on me”). The initiate expresses his confidence that he will regain his soul-power after he has been liberated from the oppressive force of necessity. The term μεταπαραλαμβάνειν provides another instance of the author’s preference for verbs with double prefixes;²¹⁴ we must appreciate, however, the sense of the preposition μετὰ. As a whole, the expression μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ κατεπείγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην ἀχρεοκόπητον parallels ll. 502–4 and 534–35, but there are some new terms as well, associated with ἀνάγκη (“necessity”). This “necessity,” identical with χρεία (“need,” l. 504), has preeminence in the magical texts throughout as Ananke, a personified demonic force.²¹⁵ Ananke is here distinguished by two attributes, one common, and the other unfamiliar: πικρός (“bitter”)²¹⁶ and ἀχρεοκόπητος.²¹⁷ The second (l. 527) attribute may, however, be explainable. LSJ (s.v. χρέος) has references attesting the metaphorical meaning as “the debt that all must pay, fate, death”;²¹⁸

²¹³ For a different interpretation, see Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.236), who thinks, “For a short time the ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχικὴ δύναμις leaves the candidate [scil. for initiation], and only the πνευματικὴ δύναμις remains. In 630 it says that the soul has returned to its former condition, (ἔταν) ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχή.”

²¹⁴ The term occurs only here in the PGM; see l. 501 (μεταπαραδιδόναι); but cf. ll. 483 (μεταδιδόναι), 508–9, 647 (μεταγεννᾶν).

²¹⁵ For the ML, see above on ll. 502–4, moreover l. 606; III.120; VII.302; IX.10; XXXVI.342; etc. See Preisendanz, 3.215 (index VI and index I, s.v.). See Schreckenberg, *Ananke*, 160–63; Wilhelm Gundel, “Heimarmene,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2622–45; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 70–74; Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.506–7; Heinrich Otto Schröder, “Fatum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1967) 524–626, esp. 564–68.

²¹⁶ See l. 605; for the “bitter Ananke” see also VII.302; XV.13; furthermore IV.1406, 2606, 2669.

²¹⁷ *TLG* and *LSJ*, s.v., list only IV.527, with the rendering “free of debt, i.e. undiminished”; Dieterich (p. 5, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) adduces Suda, s.v. χρεωκοπεῖται; Plutarch, *Vit. aer. al.*, 5 (829C); Alciphron, 2.4 (ed. Schepers) and translates, “without cancellation of debt?” Cf. χρεοκοπεῖν, χρεοκοπία.

²¹⁸ See ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 367b: καὶ μὴ τις θᾶπτον ὡς χρέος ἀποδιδῶ τὸ ζῆν, ... Hershbell (in his edition, p. 60, n. 35) refers as a parallel to Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.39.93: life is a loan, without

accordingly, *χρεοκοπεῖν* (“cancel debt”), originally a commercial term, can be used as a metaphor.²¹⁹ If, as according to Diogenianus, the term *τὸ χρεών* played a role for Chrysippus, the term *ἄχρεοκόπητος* in the ML may have originated in a Stoic background,²²⁰ and should thus be translated as “unforgiving, relentless.”²²¹ Merkelbach seems to agree with this interpretation only in part, when he says: “No longer burdened by that ‘debt,’ which one must pay back to *ἀνάγκη*, that is, no longer burdened by death. The initiate has left behind his earlier existence.”²²² The text of the ML, however, does not indicate that the “debt” equals “death,” or that the initiate is beyond death altogether.²²³ Rather, at this point the initiate leaves his mortal nature behind during the ascent (see below, Il. 533–35). A distinction has to be made between the ascension presently in view and the presupposed earlier initiation ritual, which included the experience of death and rebirth.

Next (Il. 527–29) comes the identification by name: *ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, ὃν ἡ δεῖνα, κατὰ δόγμα θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον* (“I, NN, whom NN bore, according to the immutable decree of god”). The statement is formulaic, indicated in the pap. by the symbol Δ.²²⁴ The expression *κατὰ δόγμα θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον* (“according to the immutable decree of god”) represents another formula important

the day for repayment being fixed (*»usuram »vitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die*). See also Alciphron 1.25: οὐκ ἔστι τὸ χρέος φυγεῖν; Vettius Valens, *Anthol.* 9.1.17: ὅποτε εἰς τὸν αἴερα ἀναδράμη τὸ χρέος; LXX Wis 15:8: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρέος.

²¹⁹ See Diodorus Siculus 38/39.8: πολλῶν θανάτων ἐχρεοκόπησεν ὀφειλήματα.

²²⁰ See SVF II, # 914 (265.14), Diogenianus, *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 6, p. 263c: οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ χρεὼν εἰρησθαι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην. For parallels, see CH, Exc. XXIII.46 (Kore Kosmou, eds. Nock & Festugière, 4.16): χρεωκοπεῖσθω τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν τὸ περιεργον ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ φόβοις καὶ λύπαις καὶ ἐλπίσι πλάνοις (“The curiosity of their souls shall be frustrated by desires, fears, troubles, and misguided hopes”). Cf. *Barn.* 2.6: ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὦν.

²²¹ Translations vary widely: Dieterich (p. 5, l. 26): “schuldentrückt” (“removed from debt”); Preisendanz: “ohne Verkürzung” (“without curtailment”); Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 176, n. 2) connects with *με* and translates: “unverkürzt, ungeschädigt” (“uncurtailed, undamaged”); Festugière: “après la contrainte douloureuse de l’imminente Fatalité” (“after the painful constraint of imminent Fate”); Meyer: “relentless”; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.161) translates: “nach dem mir jetzt bevorstehenden und mich sehr bedrängenden bitteren Zwang” (“after the now impending and me strongly oppressing compulsion”).

²²² Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.237): “Nicht mehr von jener ‘Schuld’ beschwert, welche man der ἀνάγκη zurückzahlen muß = nicht mehr vom Tode beschwert. Der Initiierte hat seine frühere Existenz hinter sich gelassen.”

²²³ For a different interpretation see also Morton Smith (“Transformation by Burial [1 Cor 15:35–49; Rom 6:3–5],” *Eranos* 52 [1983] 87–112; repr. in his *Studies*, 2.110–29, esp. 126–27) who assumes that a ritual death and transformation are presupposed here, but there is no evidence for such, at least at this point, because the practitioner expects a return into this life. By comparison, ritual death is part of the ritual in IV.154–285, esp. 210–20.

²²⁴ See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

in Greek religious philosophy.²²⁵ The formula conforms to the Stoic concept known since Zeno and Chrysippus.²²⁶ By contrast, the Hellenistic aretalogies of Isis claim her victory over Heimarmene or Fatum.²²⁷ Plutarch seems to reflect the common opinion of the time, when he reports from his table-talks: “‘Nor should we,’ I continued, ‘be overawed by Olympia, as if its policies with respect to types of competition were as undeviating and immutable as fate.’”²²⁸ This section ends with *voces magicae* (ll. 528–29): εὐη ὕἱα ἐηι αὼ εἴαυ ἵνα ἴσω.²²⁹

Apparently, the author sees the need at this point to add a comment of clarification concerning the anthropological presuppositions for the ascent (ll. 530–32).²³⁰ It begins with stating what appears to be an accepted principle: ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν θνητὸς γεγῶτα συνα<ν>ιέναι χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαργυραῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδόνης (“since it is for me, being mortal,

²²⁵ The pap. reads ἀμετάθετου, corrected by Dieterich (4–5, n.).

²²⁶ See *SVF* II, # 913 (264.26), from Chrysippus (*De fato* [περὶ εἰμαρμένης]) concerning the three Moirai, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos: Ἀτροπον δὲ ὅτι ἀμετάθετος καὶ ἀμετάβλητος ἔστιν ὁ καθ’ ἕκαστα διορισμὸς ἐξ αἰδίων χρόνων. Heimarmene is explained as the divine Logos divided into the three Moirai, doing the διοικοῦν in the cosmos. Similarly, II, # 914 (265, 18–19).

Cf. also the interpretation of ἀμετάθετος in *CH*, Exc. XI.2 (Nock & Festugière, 3.55), item 25: πᾶν <τὸ> ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀμετάθετον, πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς μετάθετον. Ibid. 57 (# 46): πρόνοια θεία τάξις, ἀνάγκη, πρόνοια, ὑπηρετίς. # 48: τίς θεός; ἄτρεπτον ἀγαθόν. τί ἄνθρωπος; τρεπτόν κακόν; Exc. XIII.64 (3.64): Ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ κρίσις βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος δύναμις προνοίας (with n. 2 for further references); *Orph. Hymn*. 59 (To the Moirai), line 10.

²²⁷ Schröder (“Fatum,” *RAC* 7 [1969] 569–70) names Isis as capable of breaking the law of fate: Aretalogy of Kyme, l. 55, where Isis speaks: ἐγὼ τὸ εἰμαρμένον νικῶ, ἐμοῦ τὸ εἰμαρμένον ἀκούει (“I am victorious over Fate, Fate is obedient to me.”) See on this Müller, *Ägypten*, 74–75; Totti, *Texte*, Nr. 1; Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, 113–19. See also Apuleius, *Metam.* XI.15, 21, 25, with the commentary by Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 253–54, 277, 283, 286–87, 288–89, 320–23.

²²⁸ Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.2 (675 B): οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔφην, ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ εἰμαρμένην ἀμετάστατον καὶ ἀμετάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἀθλήμασιν ἐκπεπληχθαι. Text and translation cited according to the LCL edition by Paul A. Clement & Herbert B. Hoffleit, *Plutarch’s Moralia* (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 8.388–89.

²²⁹ It is not certain whether the pap. reads εἴαυ or εἴαν. Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) opts for εἴαν, which he, following Dieterich (5, 221–22), takes to be a corrupted palindrome ωεἴαν | –ῖ | υἱῶ.

²³⁰ The problem behind the discussion is that of “immanence/transcendence” and human identity. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 169–70; Richard Reitzenstein & Hans Heinrich Schaefer, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (Studien zur Bibliothek Warburg 7; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1926; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), 74–76; Abraham P. Bos, “Immanenz und Transzendenz,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92, esp. 1047–48.

out of reach to ascend together with the golden radiances of the immortal brilliance”). The statement looks like a principle quoted from a different context with approval.²³¹ Dieterich’s punctuation connects it by a comma with the previous sentence, while Preisendanz begins a new sentence.²³² Either way, the comment is didactic and offers an answer to an implied question. Indeed, if the principle is accepted, the previous proposition to obtain immortality appears preposterous and requires special explanation. The argument involves two admissions. The first is the suppliant’s present condition of mortality.²³³ The second is that a mortal’s ascension to heaven is “out of reach.”²³⁴ Metaphors describing “ascending together” (συνα<ν>ιέναι)²³⁵ with an astral phenomenon demonstrate the impossibility further.²³⁶ The metaphors seem to reflect poetic, perhaps hymnic language.²³⁷ The term μαρμαρυγή is found only here in the PGM, but similar terms occur elsewhere.²³⁸ The adjective

²³¹ Cf. the parallel in Plato, *Phaed.* 67b: μή καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαρῷ ἐφάπτεσθαι μή οὐ θεμιτὸν ἤ (“For that the impure touch the pure is not at all permissible”). Socrates cites this principle to demonstrate the impossibility for a human being to pass into the afterlife; purity, and therefore passage to the afterlife, can only be achieved by the separation and liberation of the soul from the body. Plutarch cites and interprets the principle in *Is. Os.* 4 (352D); *Cons. Apoll.* 13 (107F–108D); *Sept. sap. conv.* 16 (160C); in *Rom.* 27.3–28.8 he discusses the issue in connection with the deification of Romulus, referring to Pindar and mystery cult initiations. A related principle is cited by Paul in a similar context in 1 Cor 15:50: σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ (“Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor will perishability inherit imperishability”). See for a discussion of these two principles, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 242.

²³² Dieterich (4, 222) translates after a comma: “denn es ist mir nicht erreichbar als dem sterblich geborenen mit dem goldenen Flammenglanz der unsterblichen Leuchte in die Höhe zu steigen.” Preisendanz: “Da ich es nicht erreichen kann, ...”

²³³ For θνητός see ll. 517–18, 543, 614. The verb γεγῶτα is part. perf., contracted γεγώς for γεγονώς. Smyth, *Grammar*, 200 (§ 704b) treats this form as a poetic second perfect participle, “contracted from γεγαῶς.”

²³⁴ The term ἐφικτός is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; cf. IV.68 ἐφικέσθαι with a different meaning.

²³⁵ The pap. reads συναῖεναι, which Dieterich (4–5) corrects to συνανιέναι. The term is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, and rare in Greek literature; see LSJ, s.v., συνάνειμι, “go up together.” Riess (*CIR* 10 [1896] 411) points to σύμπλανος ἄστηρ (l. 574) as confirmation.

²³⁶ On ideas concerning becoming a star see Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” PRE 21st Halbband (1921) 1143–93, esp. 1150–53; idem, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn & Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922), 104–5, 110, 123, 147, 253–54, 313, 348; Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 228.

²³⁷ Cf. the epigram of Ptolemaeus (*Anth. pal.* 9.577), and Franz Boll’s essay of 1894, “Das Epigramm des Ptolemaeus,” reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, 143–55.

²³⁸ Cf. μαρμαρυγή, a *vox magica*, in XIII.111, 195, 535, 669; μαρμαριφεγγή I.260–61 (μαρμαριαωθή); *Orph. Frag.* 100 (ed. Kern, 166), calling it a *vox Orphica* and referring to *Orph. Hymn.* 7.10–11 (αὐγάζοντες ἀεὶ Νυκτὸς ζωφοσιδεᾶ πέπλον, μαρμαργεῖς στίλβοντες); Damascius, *De princ.* 213. See also the references in LSJ, s.v.

χρυσοειδής ("golden bright") is related to crowns,²³⁹ and λαμπηδών ("brilliance")²⁴⁰ is another *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. Where does this language come from? It has some close parallels in the *Orphic Hymns*.²⁴¹ Merkelbach points to the sun rays and the dust particles glimmering in it, which ancient sources thought of as vehicles for the ascension of the souls into heaven.²⁴² The comment concludes with *voces magicae*: *ωηυ αεω ηυα εωη υαε ωιαε*.²⁴³

The section on self-presentation concludes (ll. 533–35) with the suppliant addressing his human nature: *ἔσταθι, φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι, καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ> με ὑγιῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[ί]γουσαν χρεῖαν* ("Stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once <take me back> safe after the inexorable and pressing need"). Because of some textual problems,²⁴⁴ translators differ in restoring and translating the text. The context (cf. ll. 525–26) requires a verb describing the ascent and addressing mortal nature, so that he orders his mortal nature²⁴⁵ to "stand," including the reminder that such a transition is not without danger.²⁴⁶ What the author seems to say closely resembles an explanation in *CH* X.5–6:

"But we are still too weak now for this sight; we are not yet strong enough to open our mind's eyes and look on the incorruptible, incomprehensible beauty of that good. In the moment when you have nothing to say about it, you will see it, for the knowledge of it is divine silence and suppression of all the senses. [6] One who has understood it can understand nothing else, nor can one who has looked on it look on anything else or hear of anything else, nor can he move his body in any way. He stays still, all bodily

²³⁹ Cf. III.486; IV.638, 1027. Cf. Plato's (*Phaed.* 110c) use of the term in a fantastic description of the earth seen from above.

²⁴⁰ Pap. reads *λαμπηδωνος*, corrected by Dieterich (4).

²⁴¹ *Orph. Hymn.* 7.6–7, 11 (To the Stars) 8.15 (To Helios); 59.10, 16–17, 20 (To the Moirai); *CH* X.4; *Hermas, Sim.* 9.2.2. See BDAG, s.v. *λαμπηδών*.

²⁴² See below, on ll. 537–38.

²⁴³ Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) sees a repeating sequence: *ω ηυαεω ηυαεω ηυαεω ηυαεω ιαε*.

²⁴⁴ The pap. reading *φθρατη* must be corrected to *φθαρτή*; pap. *αυτικα με υγιη* is uncertain because a verb is missing; Wessely conjectures *υγιῇ <καθίστη>*; Dieterich (6) takes *ὑπείει* (*ὑφίει*) as the verb; Reitzenstein emends *ἀποδέχου*, Eitrem *ἀνάλαβε*, Preisendanz *ἀνάλαβε*; Jordan sees in the pap. *μα* instead of the editors' *με*.

²⁴⁵ For the expression *φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι* cf. ll. 502, 607; for *βροτοί* see V.409, 413; VI.11; VII.674, 677.

²⁴⁶ Dieterich (6) interprets this to mean: "und sogleich laß mich los..." Most other translators see the reference in regard to the reentering into the body, which, however, is inconsistent with the departure from "the inexorable and pressing need." Cf. Preisendanz: "<übernimm> mich sofort <wieder> wohlbehalten nach der unerbittlichen und bedrängenden Not"; Reitzenstein: "und bald nimm mich wieder heil in Empfang"; Festugière: "et reprends-moi sur-le-champ sain et sauf"; Meyer: "and at once receive me safe and sound"; Merkelbach: "nach dieser unabdingbaren und mich bedrängenden Not sollst du mich wieder gesund in dir aufnehmen."

senses and motions forgotten. Having illuminated all his mind, this beauty kindles his whole soul and by means of body draws it upward, and beauty changes his whole person into essence. For when soul has looked on <the> beauty of the good, my child, it cannot be deified while in a human body.”²⁴⁷

The description of the “inexorable and pressing need” is similar to the preceding parallels (see ll. 502–4, 525–26), with the adjective ἀπαράιτητος (“inexorable”) providing variety.²⁴⁸

The final words of the self-presentation (ll. 517–37) conclude the first prayer (ll. 484–537). Although beset with textual uncertainties, there is again a well-known formula: ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς... (“For I am the son of...”).²⁴⁹ Some kind of divine name should be expected,²⁵⁰ but that name is secret and only *voces magicae* are given: ψυχῶ[ν] δεμου προχῶ πρῶα.²⁵¹ Another formula then follows, perhaps a doublet or variant of the preceding: ἐγὼ εἰμι μαχαρφ[.]ν μου πρῶψυχῶν πρῶε.²⁵²

The problem is whether the writer has simply muddled up his *Vorlage*, or whether he inserted two (defective?) variants of the same formula, or whether the magician by intention obscured his divine name.²⁵³ The latter seems most

²⁴⁷ Translation by Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 31; the edition of Nock & Festugière, 1.124, n. 25 refers to the parallels in CHI.1 and XIII.7; cf. also CH XVI.6–9. For Philo’s similar teaching at this point, see *Vit. Mos.* 2.267: μεταβαλὼν τὰ στοιχεῖα πρὸ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῆς χρείας; *Spec. leg.* 3.1–3, and Peder Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1996), 309–20; idem, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (NovT.S 86; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 18, 194–205, 225–42.

²⁴⁸ For this term see also ll. 605–6; III.37; IV.3, 1787, 2032–33; 3025; XXXVI.342. For interesting demonological parallels see LSJ, s.v.; Pradel, *Gebete*, 59,4. Cf. Wis 16:16 (LXX); Philo often (see Borgen, *Philo Index*, s.v.).

²⁴⁹ This formula occurs frequently in ancient texts, and so also in the PGM; for the ML see ll. 484, 525–27, 535–536, 574–75, 762–63. Cf. also II.126–128; III.145–146; IV.1177–1180; XII.92; XIII.637. See Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 177–201, 214–20; Hartwig Thyen, “Ich-Bin-Worte,” *RAC* 17 (1994) 147–213, esp. 205–209.

²⁵⁰ For divine sonship, see IV.1075–77; XIII.935; XXXVI.317; and often; see also Carsten Colpe, “Gottessohn,” *RAC* 12 (1983) 19–58; Otto Betz, “Isangelie,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 945–76; BDAG, s.v. υἱός, 2.c.α; d.β.

²⁵¹ The pap. has οὗτος ψυχῶ[.], which Dieterich (6) makes out as υἱός, ψύχῳ δὲ (cf. Dieterich, 222); Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*): “son (of Helios).” Hopfner takes ψύχῳ as “deeply I draw in breath” (“tief atme ich ein”); Preisendanz has ψυχῶ[ν] as *vox magica* as in l. 537. Cf. Karl Preisigke, *Die Gotteskraft in der frühchristlichen Zeit* (Leipzig & Berlin: de Gruyter, 1922), 31. Martinez raises the question whether the words could be a Greek translation of an Egyptian epithet “son of souls” (cf. “soul of souls”).

²⁵² Pap. reads μαχαρφ[.]ν. Cf. 672: ἀρᾶρμαχ(ης). See Dieterich (6), *app. crit.*, for conjectures.

²⁵³ So Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.237; Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, 105; cited in Dieterich, 222), however, believes that no divine name is required; while this may be true of the *Hermetica*, it is not necessarily true of the magical texts.

likely not only because of the parallel in l. 724 (ἐγὼ εἶμι with *vox magica*),²⁵⁴ but also because of the magicians' practice generally to keep their divine names secret.²⁵⁵ No doubt, with his final words he reveals himself as a son of a god, but at the same time he hides that name behind *vores magicae*.

B. Prescription of the breathing ritual (ll. 537–38)

Following the conclusion of the prayer and anticipating the ascension narrative, the text moves directly to the ritual. This narrative presupposes an ancient worldview which involves specific ideas about cosmology and anthropology, including the world of the gods and the place of the human being in relation to it.²⁵⁶ Related to these issues is an enormous body of materials connected with ideas on journeys to the heavenly world. These general presuppositions and traditions cannot be discussed at this point, but competent survey literature with bibliographies is available.²⁵⁷

First, then, comes the prescription of a breathing ritual (ll. 537–38): ἔλκε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων πνεῦμα γ' ἀνασπῶν, ὃ δύνα[σ]αι. ("Draw in breath from the rays three times, drawing in as much as you can.") What is drawn in with the breath of air is the divine "spirit" (πνεῦμα).²⁵⁸ As is shown by the preceding

²⁵⁴ For this formula, see the passages and literature in Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 165–70; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 178, 179–84.

²⁵⁵ See on these issues, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 152–74, 175–86.

²⁵⁶ On general cosmology see the comprehensive surveys and bibliographies by Carsten Colpe, Ernst Dassmann, Josef Engemann, Peter Habermehl, Karl Hoheisel, "Jenseits," *RAC* 17 (1996) 246–407.

²⁵⁷ See the comprehensive articles by Carsten Colpe and Peter Habermehl, "Jenseitsfahrt I (Himmelfahrt)," *RAC* 17 (1996) 407–66; and "Jenseitsreise," *ibid.*, 490–543, esp. 504–5 on the ML. Still informative is the article by Wilhelm Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele," *ARW* 4 (1901) 136–69, 229–73; repr. as *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* (Libelli 71; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960); furthermore Cumont, *After Life*; idem, *Lux Perpetua*; Betz, *Lukian*, 38–40, 128, 167–69; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*; idem, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*; Morton Smith, "Ascent into Heaven and the Beginning of Christianity," *Eranos* 50 (1981) 403–29; repr. in his *Studies*, 2.47–67, esp. 52–54; Ioan P. Culianu, *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and Its Relevance* (EPRO 99; Leiden: Brill, 1983); idem, *Out of this World: Otherworldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Einstein* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991); Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Collins & Fishbane, *Death*; Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 105–13.

²⁵⁸ See the parallel in ll. 628–29: στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. For the breathing ritual see Apuleius's (*Metam.* 8.27) description of a similar ecstatic ritual: "In the midst of all this one of them started to rave more wildly than the rest, and producing rapid gasps

prayer, the spirit is a fundamental concept in the ML.²⁵⁹ Since πνεῦμα can mean both “spirit” and “breath,” the spirit is to be drawn in with the breath. Also in accordance with ancient teachings is the idea that the spirit is transmitted by the rays of the sun (αἱ ἀκτῖνες). While the sun rays are important in several ways in the PGM, their role as transmitters of divine spirit and its inhalation is affirmed several times.²⁶⁰ Related are ancient speculations about the role of the “sun dust,” that is, small dust particles hovering in the air and glittering in the sun.²⁶¹ In ancient Egypt they were regarded as means for the soul to climb up to heaven.²⁶² Greek philosophers called the particles ξύσματα, regarding them as souls floating upwards in the air.²⁶³ However, at this point

from deep down in his chest, as though he had been filled with the heavenly inspiration of some deity, he simulated a fit of madness” (Inter haec unus ex illis bacchatur effusius ac de imis praecordiis anhelitus crebros referens, velut numinis divino spiritu repletus, simulabat sauciam vecordiam ...). Cited according to the LCL edition and translation by J. Arthur Hanson, *Apuleius, Metamorphoses* (2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1989), 2.112–13. For the ML, see Sarah I. Johnston, in: Schäfer & Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*, 181–83; Radcliffe Edmonds, “Did the Mithraists Inhale? A Technique for the Theurgic Ascent in the Mithras Liturgy, the Chaldaean Oracles, and Some Mithraic Frescoes,” *Ancient World* 32 (2000) 10–24. Breathing rituals seem to go back to early shamanism; see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (trans. by Willard R. Trask; BollS 76; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 110–44, 412–13. On inspiration as a whole and with further literature, see Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65.

²⁵⁹ See above, on ll. 489–90.

²⁶⁰ On ἀκτῖνες see in the ML ll. 634, 751; also IV.461, 906, 1114, 1129; XIII.142, 447–48; XIV.3. Cf. XII.176: ἀκτινοπ<οι>ών; IV.2286: ἀκτινοχαῖτι; IV.1110: ἀκτινωτὸν θεόν; Hymn 17.37 (Preisendanz, 2.251). See also the gem in Hopfner, *OZ I*, § 733. The epithet of Helios as εχεβουργω (XIII.78, 333, 446–47, 590 [αχεβουργων]) may come from the Egyptian for “splendor of the sun” (see Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 98; Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3581). On Pindar’s 9th Paian, addressed to Ἀκτὶς ἡλίου (“Keen-eyed ray of the Sun”), see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.199–205; 2.150–60.

²⁶¹ See the close parallel in IV.1115–66, which greets the god Aion-Helios as τὸ πᾶν σύστημα τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος, “the whole system of the aerial spirit” (1115–16), who inspires by the spirit εἰσερχόμενόν με καὶ ἀντισπώμενόν μου (“entering into me and drawing me to it” [1121–22]). The god appears as surrounded by sun-rays (1129), sending them down to earth by glittering sun-dust. On this passage see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 200, 208–10.

²⁶² See Eliade, *Shamanism*, 487–94; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 9, n. 48, referring to Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAL.Ä, 7 [Glückstadt: Augustin, 1970]), 25: “Ich steige auf zum Himmel. Ich klimme empor auf den Sonnenstrahlen.” There are also monumental representations showing rays proceeding from the sun. Cf. of Isis in the aretology of Cyme, 44: “I am in the rays of Helios” (Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς). See Müller, *Ägypten*, 73–74. Cf. Heb 1:3: Christ as ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης.

²⁶³ Aristotle, *De an.* I.2 (404a): οἷον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τὰ καλούμενα ξύσματα, ἃ φαίνεται ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῶν θυρίδων ἀκτῖσιν, quoting Leucippus (D.-K. 67 A 28 [II.78.16–29]), and Pythagoreans (D.-K. 58 B 40 [I.462.27–30]). See Rohde, *Psyche*, 2.162, 189–90; Franz-

the ML does not speak of “souls” (ψυχᾶί), but of “you” and the element of “spirit” as bringing about the ascension. This point was already made by Dieterich who explains it as evidence of Stoic influence.²⁶⁴

The ritual is to be performed three times by drawing in the air as hard as possible.²⁶⁵

C. Introduction to the ascension narrative (ll. 539–44)

Before the beginning of the actual ascent narrative, the author includes an instruction about what is going to happen after the performance of the breathing ritual (539–44). This section reveals the author’s own understanding

Joseph Dölger, “Die Apostel als Strahlen der Sonne Jesu,” *AuC* 6 (1950) 30–51; Cumont (*After Life*, 101–1, 159–64) pointing to Diogenes Laertius 8.27; Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.42.99–43.104; Julian, *Or.* 5.172C, and to the Neoplatonists’ concept of “soul-vehicle” (ὄχημα); see also Plutarch, *sera num. vind.* 563F, 565E–566A; the Nag Hammadi “Treatise on the Resurrection” (Epistula ad Rheginum), NHC I, 4, p. 45, 29–40 (Trans. in Robinson, *Library*, 55); furthermore Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 13; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.237. For the whole subject, see Franz Rüsche, *Das Seelenpneuma. Seine Entwicklung von der Hauchseele zur Geistseele, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Pneumalehre* (SGKA 18.3; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1933); Gérard Verbeke, *L’Evolution de la doctrine du pneuma dans stoïcisme à S. Augustin* (Louvain: Editions de l’Institut Supérieur; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945), 321–37: “Les papyrus magiques”; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, chapter 3 and Excursus 8, 177–226, 487–89 (esp. on levitation); Clemens Zintzen, “Bemerkungen zum Aufstiegs-weg der Seele in Jamblichs De mysteriis,” in *Platonismus und Christentum. Festschrift für Hermann Dörrie* (JAC.E 10 [1983], 312–28); John F. Finamore, *Jamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (ACSt 4; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

²⁶⁴ Dieterich (58–59): “If he [scil. the human person] is to be returned to the ἀθάνατος γένεσις and have a vision of the ἀθάνατος ἀρχή, then he can accomplish this only in this way that the immortal πνεῦμα in him, the immortal water, the firm, and the air in him have a vision of the sacred fire, the dawn’s abysmal flood, that in him blows τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα, the holy spirit. Later prescriptions show how this elevation by the πνεῦμα is really to be understood: he must draw in from the sun rays’ πνεῦμα, then he gets lifted up toward the light and enters into the upper region of the air.” (“Wenn er der ἀθάνατος γένεσις wiedergegeben werden und die ἀθάνατος ἀρχή schauen soll, so kann er das eben nur dadurch, daß das unsterbliche πνεῦμα in ihm, das unsterbliche Wasser, das Feste und die Luft in ihm schaut das heilige Feuer, des Aufgangs abgrundtiefe Flut, daß in ihm weht τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα, der heilige Geist. Man sieht aus einigen nachfolgenden Vorschriften, wie eigentlich die Erhebung durch das πνεῦμα gemeint ist: er muß von den Strahlen πνεῦμα einziehen, dann erhebt er sich zum Licht und kommt mitten in die Luftsphäre.”)

Dieterich (59–61; also 232–33) refers to Rohde, *Psyche*; Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, 197. Rohde (2.301–31, esp. 311, 319–24) names as the most important passages, Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.44.105–47.114; *Somn. Scip.*, *Resp.* 6.9–29 (esp. 6.26–29 on the spirit); Seneca, *Marc.* 25.1.2; *Ep.* 93.5.

²⁶⁵ For ἀνασπᾶν and ἀντισπᾶν see IV.1122, 2498; V.322. For ritual acts to be performed three times, see below, l. 747; for the phrase ὁ δύνασαι, see XIII.945: ὅσον δύνασαι.

of the ritual as a whole, which he interprets as levitation, a phenomenon described by several ancient authors.²⁶⁶ An especially close parallel is Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.15–16, reporting about the levitation among the Brahmins in India: “they regard any rites they perform, in thus quitting the earth and walking with the sun” (τῷ Ἡλίῳ ξυναποβαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν) “as acts of homage acceptable to the god.” By “extracting fire from the sun rays” (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐπισπῶνται), “the fire is then seen raised aloft in the air and dancing in the ether” (οὕτω μετέωρόν τε ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ σαλεῦον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι), allowing the Indian sages to levitate (μετεωρεῖν) two cubits in the air.²⁶⁷

First (l. 539), the ascending person is addressed with a term often occurring in the following narrative: ὄψῃ (“you will see”).²⁶⁸ The text interestingly predicts that he will be able to see himself: ὄψῃ σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφίζόμενον [καὶ] ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὕψος, ὥστε σε δοκεῖ[ν μ]έσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι (“and you will see yourself being lifted up and ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in midair”).²⁶⁹ The terminology is known from elsewhere in the PGM; ἀνακουφίζειν is found only here in the PGM, but frequently elsewhere.²⁷⁰

What consequences does this ascension have for sense-perception? – Leaving behind the body means that there will be no physical hearing or seeing

²⁶⁶ See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 21, 27 n. 1; Betz, *Lukian*, 42, 54, 90–99, 167–68; Speyer, *Frühes Christentum*, 1.359–60.

²⁶⁷ Cf. *Vit. Apoll.* 6.10, where the claim is made that levitation is typical for Indians, but not for Greeks (cf. ἀεροβατέω in Lucian, *Icar* 13). On levitation see also Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles* (above, nn. 73, 263); Festugière, *Révélation*, 3.171 (comparing *CH XIII*).

²⁶⁸ Pap. has ὄψῃ, but Dieterich (6), based on Robert Helbing (*Grammatik der Septuaginta* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907], 61), reads ὄψει, noting that both sound the same when read aloud; on p. 222 he points to parallels in early Christian literature. Both forms are frequent in contemporary Koine texts; see Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.357–58. Preisendanz, however, keeps ὄψῃ (see also ll. 544, 555, 565, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702; for the prophetic future see also 485 [κατοπτρεύω], 512–13).

²⁶⁹ Pap. reads δοκεῖ...ε | σον, which Wessely emends as δοκεῖ α[σ]σον, and Kroll as δοκεῖ[ν μ]έσον. See Dieterich (6, *app. crit.*). Regarding δοκεῖν μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι cf. the seven men in *CHI* 16 who are μεταρσοῖοι.

²⁷⁰ For ὑπερβαίνειν εἰς ὕψος cf. ll. 484–85; also III.480; IV.971, 2509; 13.5; for μέσος τοῦ ἀέρος cf. l. 634. For ἀνακουφίζειν see Lucian, *Hermot.* 3; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.1.3; 3.21.4. Philo uses the term in describing intellectual ecstasy (*Spec.* 3.4); cf. also *Deus* 85; *Agr.* 76; Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.7.22; Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.20. For further evidence see *TLG*, s.v.; *LSJ*, s.v.; Jean-Pierre Mahé, “Mental Faculties and Cosmic Levels in the *Eighth* and the *Ninth* (NH VI,6) and Related Hermetic Writings,” in: Søren Giversen, Tage Petersen, Søren Podemanns Sørensen, eds., *The Nag Hammadi Texts in the History of Religions: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen, September 19–24, 1995* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 26 [2002]), 73–83.

(ll. 541–43): οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὔτε ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζώου ἄλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὄψῃ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάντα δὲ ὄψῃ ἀθάνατα.²⁷¹ (“You will hear nothing either of a human or of another living being, nor in that hour will you see any of the mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all immortal things.”) Instead of human sense-perception, there will be higher forms of perception (ll. 543–44), like the way the gods hear and see.²⁷² The ancients understood that during an ecstatic seizure (“in that hour”)²⁷³ normal sense-perception ceases, so that room was made for higher forms of recognition;²⁷⁴ in the ML, specifically, the focus is on vision of the divine world.²⁷⁵ Regarding the suppression of the physical senses so that the inner self can detach, ascend and experience noetic sensory impressions, the similarity to Hermetic doctrines is striking (cf. *CHI* 1.1).

D. Ascension narrative in seven scenarios (ll. 544–731)

As Dieterich has observed, the preparatory sections lead up to a narrative of a ritual consisting of seven scenarios, representing seven stages in the ascension. Their presentation combines ritual elements of prayer and actions with a narrative structure. The ritual elements are prescriptive, the narrative is descriptive. It describes, on the one hand, the stages of the ascension in the future tense (ὄψῃ, “you will see”), so that the author shows the entire journey in terms of a predicted future, conditional, of course, on the correct performance of the ritual acts. On the other hand, at each of the stages he narrates what the practitioner sees, stated in the present tense, like descriptions of pictorial panels. The precise relationship between the distinct elements of

²⁷¹ Pap. reads ἀλλ’, corrected by Preisendanz to ἄλλου; pap. has τηώρα not τηι (Wessely), the ω of ὥρα corrected from η (ἡμέρα?); cf. ll. 544–45. Calhoun suggests that the problem may be the result of a scribal error: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ; the phrase is repeated in the following line. Martinez points to the parallel in Mark 13:11 (Luke 12:12).

²⁷² Cf. the uses of ἀκούειν at ll. 514, 572, 587–88, 621, 734, 745. For an improvement of sight during Menippus’ ascension, effected by Empedocles, see Lucian, *Icarom.* 13–14.

²⁷³ Cf. the reference to time in ll. 544–45 (see also on the textual problem, above n. 14). For ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ see similar expressions in l. 652; III.52; VII.471–72; XI.a.23; XIII.393–94.

²⁷⁴ For the enabling of higher γνῶσις by πνεῦμα/νοῦς and the formula νοῦς λόγος γνῶσις, see III.585–611; IV.510. For Stoic teaching on the subject, see *SVF* II, ## 863–72 (232.30–234.26); Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.83 and Pease, *Cicero*, 2.757 with notes. On the material as a whole, Franz K. Mayr, “Hören,” *RAC* 15 (1991) 1023–1111, esp. on the Platonic and Stoic views, 1023–57.

²⁷⁵ See ll. 484–85, 501, 504, 516–17, 531, 541–42, 609, 620. The term ἀθάνατα forms a kind of conclusion in ll. 516–17, 539–44.

ritual and narrative constitutes the major problem for the analysis, since it determines the reconstruction of the ascension ritual, and thereby effects the understanding of the text as a whole. Two scholars have so far proposed detailed analyses of the composition, which need to be considered first.

Based on literary and archaeological evidence collected by Cumont in his collection (*Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*), Dieterich argues for a formulary of a ritual, which he calls a “liturgy,”²⁷⁶ belonging to the mystery cult of Mithras. Dieterich assumed some kind of Egyptianization of Mithraism in Egypt as part of the general hellenization of the native religion; he thus regarded this “liturgy” as syncretistic in nature, containing also influences of Stoicism as well as traces of ancient Iranian religion.²⁷⁷ At any rate, what can be reconstructed is the world view which results from a confluence of Greek ideas of a “Stoic-Peripatetic provenience,” the cult of Mithras, and Egyptian instructional wisdom.²⁷⁸ “From where and in which form it came into the Mithras mysteries thus developed, we are, of course, no longer able to trace. The world view was needed to this extent and in this specialized application for the construction of a sacramental act of an ascension of the initiates from the earth to the highest god. Those who created this liturgy were Mithras devotees who held fundamentally Greek ideas.”²⁷⁹

Dieterich (82–85) cautiously distinguished between the original “liturgy” itself that can be extracted from the formula, and its secondary reworking by the author who uses the older Mithraic liturgy for his own construction of a magical ritual (“Zauberritual”) designed to obtain oracular revelations. Dieterich also resisted committing himself to determining precise ritual sections which the magician may have omitted; he also repeatedly asked whether there

²⁷⁶ For the problem of using this technical term, see the Introduction above, pp. 2, 28–31, 32–37.

²⁷⁷ Dieterich (80–81): “Es wird uns jetzt noch begreiflicher, daß wir schon mehrfach gerade stoische Termini in dem Texte feststellen mußten. Der Einfluß der Stoa auf die religiösen Gebilde hellenistischer Zeit in Ägypten wird immer häufiger und deutlicher erkannt...” “Wie die teilweise Ägyptisierung des Mithrasdienstes vor sich gegangen ist, werden wir im einzelnen schwerlich noch nachweisen können. Aber ein gut Stück Geschichte des Mithraskultes erfassen wir doch, wenn wir die Schichtung der einzelnen Elemente in unserem Texte erkannt haben.”

²⁷⁸ Dieterich (82): “... hineingestellt in das griechische Weltbild stoisch-peripatetischer Provenienz, und überall ziehen sich die beiderseits parallel vorhandenen Lehren an, wie z. B. die Elementenlehre, die so ähnlich in der Stoa, im Mithrasdienst, in ägyptischer Weisheit vorhanden sind.”

²⁷⁹ Dieterich (82): “Von wo und in welcher Form sie zuerst in das so ausgebildete Mithrasmysterium kam, können wir natürlich nicht mehr erschließen. Das Weltbild in dieser Ausdehnung und Spezialisierung wurde zur Konstituierung des sakramentalen Aktes eines Aufstieges der Mysten von der Erde zum höchsten Gott gebraucht. Die diese Liturgie schufen, waren Mithrasgläubige mit griechischen Grundanschauungen.”

ever was a ritual of descension at the end, whether the whole was merely a sacramental formula to be used repeatedly, and whether the author had a real "Ritualbuch" at his disposal, from which he excerpted parts. Important as these questions are, one cannot offer more than subjective speculations. Dieterich did, however, regard it as certain "that a genuine Mithras liturgy of an ascension of the soul and its immortalization, an ἀπαθανατισμός, has been inserted into a magical ritual for the exploration of the future. Therefore, the attribution of subsidiary sentences or components to one or the other is relatively unimportant. About the major parts of the liturgy there cannot be any doubt."²⁸⁰ Dieterich (88–92) also points to literary and archaeological evidence which testifies that a seven-stage ascension of the soul through the astral world²⁸¹ was part of the Mithraic ritual.²⁸² Thus, he sees seven stages in the ritual of the ML, each introduced by a prayer.

The problem with this part of Dieterich's interpretation is that the seven stages in the ML only partly conform to the Roman Mithraic mosaics from Ostia (Mitreo delle sette sfere). Most important are the representations of the seven gates.²⁸³ On one mosaic (Merkelbach, fig. 24), the symbols of the zodiac, six on each side, frame the seven gates. On the side walls of the room stand the images of the seven planetary gods: Iupiter, Mercurius, Luna, Mars, Venus, Saturnus, perhaps Sol on the back wall. Another mosaic (Becatti, pl. XXIV–XXV; Merkelbach, fig. 22) shows a ladder-type arrangement of seven squares with the symbols of the grades of initiates, together with the seven planets, known also to Celsus (Origen, *Cels.* 6.22).²⁸⁴ (1) *Corax* (raven), cup, herald's

²⁸⁰ Dieterich (85): "Wenn das sicher ist, daß in die zur Erforschung der Zukunft ausgestaltete Zauberhandlung eine echte Mithrasliturgie der Himmelfahrt der Seele und ihrer U n s t e r b l i c h m a c h u n g, ein ἀπαθανατισμός, eingelegt ist, so sind die Zuweisungen einzelner Sätze von verhältnismäßig geringer Wichtigkeit. Über die Hauptstücke der Liturgie wird dann ein Zweifel nicht aufkommen."

²⁸¹ For the seven stages in Mithraism, see Robert Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Recherches de l'Hellenisation philosophique de Mithra* (EPRO 47; Leiden: Brill, 1975); Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 13–21 (fig. 22, 24, 25); idem, *Mithras*, 235–36, 295 (fig. 38). Cf. Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (2nd ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 114–25.

²⁸² Dieterich (89–92) refers to the floor mosaic in the Mithraeum in Ostia (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, figure 77 [2.244; cf. 1.63]), Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 5–6 (Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.39–40), Celsus (Origen, *c. Cels.* 6.21–22; Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.31); and Julian, *Or.* 5, p. 172d (Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.20). See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 313–14; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 65–68.

²⁸³ For the figures and explanations, see Giovanni Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 2: *I Mitrei* (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1954), plates XIX–XXV; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 58–59, 62–63, 64–65 (fig. 22, 24, 25).

²⁸⁴ Origen, *Cels.* 6.22: τοιόνδε τὸ σύμβολον· κλῆμαξ ἐπτάπυλος, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῇ πύλῃ ὄγδω. See Chadwick, *Origen*, 333–36.

wand of Mercurius; (2) *Nymphus* (destroyed), lamp, diadem of Venus; (3) *Miles* (soldier), Persian cap, helmet, spear of Mars; (4) *Leo* (lion), fire shovel, sistrum, thunderbolt of Jupiter; (5) *Perses* (Persian), short-sword, sickle of Luna; (6) *Heliodromus*, torch, wreath rays of the sun-god, and the whip for leading the horses; (7) *Pater*, bowl and wand of the *magos*, cap of the Persian priest, sickle of Saturnus. The upper field shows a mixing-bowl (κρατήρ), surrounded by branches and the donor's inscription: *Felicissimus ex voto f(ecit)*. Finally, another mosaic (fig. 25) shows a front portal with seven gates; the middle gate is higher and wider, with a hanging lamp in the center, while three gates on each side are divided by columns. The large middle field shows a mixing-bowl; on its left side a raven (*corax*), a small sickle of Luna, and the spear of Mars; on the right side a serpent (*nymphus*) and a lion (*leo*). Further upwards are what may be water basins, the image of Jupiter with his thunderbolt, and on top the head of Saturn, veiled, and holding his sickle. The side walls contain images of a torchbearer on each side, and the seven planets.

The iconography of these mosaics clearly reflects Roman Mithraism with its synchronization of the seven grades and the astrological signs. Notably, Mithras is not represented, and the *pater* is identified with Saturn. Also, the three mosaics have been designed considerably differently. Perhaps Helios/Mithras occupied the eighth field which is, however, unfortunately destroyed. The seven spheres are, therefore, different from those in the ML. An identification of Mithras and Saturn reflects Roman adaptation, just as ML shows Egyptian influences when it identifies Helios and Mithras. To be sure, the main difference is that the ML does not parallel the seven scenarios with the seven grades of initiates.²⁸⁵ At least one agreement stands out, however: the sixth grade is that of the “sun-runner” (*heliodromus*), corresponding to the fourth scenario of the ML, and the symbol of the sun-god is at a lower level as compared with a supreme god who may perhaps be Helios/Mithras.

To conclude, Dieterich was right in assuming that at this point there is evidence of some kind of connection between the ML and the Mithras cult. The author must have had some knowledge about Mithraic rituals. Since he was initiated in a mystery cult, it could indeed have been an Egyptian adapta-

²⁸⁵ The question of the relationship between images and cultic functions, which does not need to be discussed here in detail, has been reopened by the discovery of the Mithraic cult vessel in Mainz. The red-colored *krater* shows several cult symbols, especially figures of the seven grades; for description and color representations see Heinz Günter Horn, “Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß,” *Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1994) 21–66; for the interpretation Reinhold Merkelbach, “Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß,” *ZPE* 108 (1995) 1–6; Roger Beck, “Ritual, Myth, Doctrine, and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel,” *JRS* 90 (2000) 145–80.

tion of Mithraism, but it could have been just as well some other mystery cult which had appropriated Mithraic elements. Beyond this, a cosmology of seven spheres or seven heavens was shared by many cosmologies in the Greco-Roman world,²⁸⁶ wherein the number seven as such possessed sacred and magical potency.²⁸⁷

According to Dieterich, the seven stages of the ascension in the ML are set forth in the following manner:

(1) First stage (ll. 544–55), introduced by the (first) prayer to the gods and winds in charge of the day; the initiate rising to midair;

(2) Second stage (ll. 556–69), introduced by the “second” prayer; the initiate rising to before the gates, the opening of the sun disk;

(3) Third stage (ll. 569–85), introduced by the “third” prayer to key-holding Aion and the seven planetary gods; opening of the gates, and vision of the world of the planetary gods;

(4) Fourth stage (ll. 585–628), introduced by the (fourth) prayer to Helios; the appearance of Helios;

(5) Fifth stage (ll. 628–61), introduced by the (fifth) prayer to the Τύχαι; the appearance of the Τύχαι;

(6) Sixth stage (ll. 662–92), introduced by the (sixth) prayer to the pole lords; the appearance of the pole lords;

(7) Seventh stage (ll. 693–732), introduced by the (seventh) prayer to Mithras; the appearance of Mithras.

At each stage the ascending initiate is shown what Dieterich calls “liturgical pictures” (“liturgische Bilder”). The identification of the significance of these

²⁸⁶ For literature and passages, see Franz Boll, “Hebdomas,” PRE 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2552; Bousset, “Himmelsreise der Seele,” passim; Hans Bietenhard and Adolf Lumpe, “Himmel,” RAC 15 (1989) 173–212, esp. 178, 184–85, 202. The apocalyptic and gnostic parallels have been collected by Adela Y. Collins, “The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses,” in Collins & Fishbane, *Death*, 59–93; eadem, “Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature,” ANRW II.21:2 (1984) 1221–87. For Hermetism, see CH I.16, 25–26; *Ascl.* 19; *Orac. Chald.* frag. 164 (ed. Des Places).

It should be noted that Morton Smith was one of the first to connect the ascension through six (or seven) heavens in the Hekhalot literature with the Mithras Liturgy (“Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati,” in Alexander Altman, ed., *Biblical and Other Studies* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963], 142–60). For further literature see Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 58; 120; 152, n. 6. While a dependency of these texts upon each other is unlikely, the connection between them may have come through Hellenistic syncretism or Neoplatonism.

²⁸⁷ Frequent in the PGM. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 33–35, 82–83; for Philo see Karl Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1931), 39–50; cf. 50–52. On the importance of the number seven in philosophy, see Alberto Grilli, *Stoicismo, epicureismo e letteratura* (Brescia: Paideia, 1992).

pictures was one of the major contributions of Dieterich's work (92–95). According to him, intertwined with words and actions, such pictures played a major role in ancient cultic procedures. They are genuine but stylized representations of cultic scenarios, through which the initiate will remember the actual performances he or she participated in. In other words, the seven scenarios constitute a gallery of pictures which together contain the complete program of an ascension for the initiated reader of the text. In this sense one may compare the scenarios with the gallery of pictorial symbols in the mosaics from Ostia, not to mention the cultic program depicted on the Mithraic reliefs and frescoes. At this point (94–95) Dieterich's discussion offers no more than a cautious and suggestive sketch, as he expected forthcoming negative criticism of his daring ideas.²⁸⁸ Today, these ideas can be substantiated by a wealth of material unearthed by archaeologists and interpreted by historians of art and religion. Basically, four ideas deserve to be singled out: (1) the constitutive role of paintings in the performance of rituals, alongside words and actions;²⁸⁹ (2) the conservative function of such pictures, in effect freezing the major parts of a ritual;²⁹⁰ (3) the analogical nature of the pictures showing the unknown through the medium of the known;²⁹¹ (4) the significance of sequences or

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 95: "Man macht sich ja trotz meiner deutlichen Erklärungen vermutlich wieder, wie schon öfter, die Mühe, mich in dem zu widerlegen, was ich nie habe beweisen wollen." Cf. Dieterich's bitter complaint (29–30). Correctly, however, Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 173–74) praises Dieterich's idea concerning cult images as one of his major achievements.

²⁸⁹ Dieterich (94): "Es wird klar sein, was ich unter liturgischen Bildern verstehe. Und jedes solche Bild – das habe ich bereits am Anfang meiner Untersuchungen betont, um die Aufmerksamkeit der Leser auf diese Bilder zu lenken – jedes Bild, mag es noch so sehr nur als Bild in seiner Umgebung erscheinen, war einmal der Ausdruck eigentlicher religiöser Anschauung. Jedes solche Bild ist einmal für eine Zeit volle Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit gewesen." Cf. his remarks at p. 26.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 95: "Wo uns solche Bilder in einem Denkmale einer festen und immer wiederholten Kultaktion vorliegen, da können wir am ersten erwarten, echte und treu bewahrte Formen religiösen Denkens anzutreffen. Nichts ist konservativer, als es die Formeln und Handlungen des Kultus sind: der Kultus bewahrt so viel reiner und ursprünglicher die Tatsachen der wirklichen Religiosität als der Mythos."

²⁹¹ Ibid., 94: "Menschliches Denken kann das Verhältnis des Menschen zur Gottheit nicht anders auffassen denn nach der Analogie menschlicher Verhältnisse. Nur im Bilde ihm bekannter Vorgänge kann er das Unbekannte erschauen, nur nach dem Bilde der Formen irdischer Beziehung der Wesen und Dinge zueinander kann er das ersehnte Unwirkliche gestalten. So geschieht aller Fortschritt des Denkens, auch des religiösen Denkens."

Ibid., 95: "Wenn ich nun die Reihe der Bilder, in denen die Mithrasliturgie die Vereinigung des Menschen mit Gott gestaltet und aufgefaßt zeigt, zu erläutern und zwar hauptsächlich durch Analogien in der eigentlichen Bedeutung und dem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang verständlich zu machen versuche, so muß ich nochmals ausdrücklich bemerken, daß durch Anführung von Analogien und Parallelen keinerlei Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen dem Wesen und dem anderen Kulte auch nur präjudiziert werden soll."

galleries of pictures interpreting each other and the whole.²⁹² In short, Dieterich conceives of the liturgy as an imaginative performance, in which the practitioner ritually produces ecstatic experiences of a visionary nature.

Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, vol. 3) provides in his commentary a rather different analysis, although Dieterich's influence is obvious enough. Although he calls the text a "liturgy," he denies any connection with the Mithras cult and associates it with the Alexandrian god Pschai-Aion.²⁹³ Consequently, what he names the "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie" is interpreted throughout as a text of Egyptian religion, to be sure, stemming from hellenized Egypt and influenced by Platonic and Stoic ideas.²⁹⁴ He then identifies the god Pschai-Aion of this liturgy with Sarapis-Aion, another great god of Alexandria, predominant in the Leiden cosmogony (PGM XIII). Treating the "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie" in the same volume²⁹⁵ alongside the god-of-nine-forms (ἐννεάμορφος),²⁹⁶ Merkelbach obtains a broad comparative basis for his construction of an Alexandrian "synthetic" deity named Abrasax.²⁹⁷ The problem with this combination is that of the divine names assembled only Aion occurs in the ML. Also, both texts, the ML and PGM XIII, are rather different and cannot be harmonized as Merkelbach does.

Other problems concern Merkelbach's theory of the origin of the ML. He describes at length the basic world view of late antique astral religion, which reflects mainly Stoicizing ideas about cosmology and astrology.²⁹⁸ This world view, he argues, has been "transposed into a ritual,"²⁹⁹ which was performed much like a drama in a theater. In other words, Merkelbach accepts Dieterich's idea of a "ritual," but he postulates a realistic performance, including theatrical tricks to bring about "magical" effects.³⁰⁰

²⁹² Ibid., 95: "Es kommt mir nur darauf an, eine Bilderreihe in ihren Zusammenhängen aufzuweisen, mit denen diese und andere antike Liturgien, soweit die möglichst vollständig herangezogenen Fragmente dieser anderen erkennen lassen, ihren religiösen Gedankeninhalt gedeckt haben. Die Probleme, die die einzelnen Gruppen der Bilder stellen, habe ich weder lösen können noch wollen"

²⁹³ On this god, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.59–68: "Pschai-Agathos-Daimon und der Neungestaltige." See also the Introduction, above, 34–35.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 25–28.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 56–58.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 60–65.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 28–29, 66–68. The name occurs in XIII.156, 466. See the glossary in Betz, *GMPT*, 330.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 25–28.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 28: "Diese Gedanken sind in ein Ritual transponiert ..." See also 39–40: "Die religiösen Gedanken werden in heiligem Spiel dargestellt ... In der Zeremonie wird ein Gedanke der stoischen Philosophen übernommen und in ein Kultspiel umgesetzt."

³⁰⁰ For examples of such tricks, see *ibid.*, 29–32. Already Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 173) compares the performance with theatrical and cinematic special effects.

Who then produced this “sacred drama”? Merkelbach offers some suggestive ideas which, however, remain entirely speculative, because they have no basis in the text themselves.

“Even a pious Stoic would not have needed a special ceremony to demonstrate the immortalization of the breath of life; philosophically speaking the immortality of the *πνεῦμα* existed without ceremony. But primitive people had an immense need of bringing their thoughts and hopes to expression by play. They were not satisfied by expressing their ideas through words. Words only would have been to them something merely theoretical and incomprehensible. Thus, they transposed their ideas into performances. What was put before their eyes in a sacred play became a reality to be grasped with one’s own hands; only this was to them clear enough, and what occurred visibly in the play was to them as good as reality.”

For whom was the drama performed? “The drama must have been conceived and composed for a person of high rank....” Originally it was “a ceremony of consecration for a priest of high rank or even a king, which in Egypt was often the same. Later the ritual will have been adapted, so that it could be used for initiations of lower ranks.”³⁰¹

1. First scenario: the planetary deities (ll. 544–55)

The first scenario assumes that the ascent has reached its first stage: “Ὁψη γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θεῖαν θέσιν” (“for you will see the divine constellation on that day and hour”).³⁰² The practitioner has now been elevated to midair (l. 540). The fortuitous day and hour have been determined (ll. 516, 543) by a horoscope,³⁰³ identifying the constellation of the stars of the day and the hour.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Ibid., 39–40. The translation of the quotations is mine.

³⁰² Pap. has *τηωρα*, *ω* from *ώρα* may be corrected from *η* (= *ἡ(μέ)ρα*); so Preisendanz, *app. crit.*

³⁰³ Dieterich (7, *app. crit.*) mentions the technical term *ἀστροθεσία*, “star constellation.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.237) takes this to be the new birth constellation of the initiate, identifying *θέσις* with *γένεσις*; this constellation is to rule over his rebirth and further life, for which see l. 651–52: *τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὠρονόμον*.

³⁰⁴ On the gods of the days and the hours, see III.401–611, IV.1648–96; XXXVII.18–26. For discussion see Dieterich, 61–62; Ernst Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und in den Provinzen: Aus der Kultur des Niederganges der antiken Welt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1902), esp. 271–72; Wilhelm Gundel, “Stundengötter,” *HBVK* 12 (1913) 100–31; Idem, “Horegeneis,” *PRE* 8 (1913) 2411–14; Franz Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2560; Wilhelm and Hans Georg Gundel, “Planeten,” *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185, 2151; idem, *Astrologumena*, 266–74; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 37–41, 47; Otto Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Nilsson, *GGR* 2.497–98; Wolfgang Hübner, “Zwei griechische Texte über

At this point, he is told that he will have his first vision (ὄψη, “you will see”).³⁰⁵ The objects of his vision are described first in a general way: τοὺς πολεύοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοὺς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας (“the presiding gods arising into heaven, and others setting”). In the planetary week, these are the gods who control and fix the days and the hours.³⁰⁶ More specifically, the reader is shown a verbal picture which focuses on two elements. The first of these describes the way of the gods through the sun-disk (ll. 547–49): ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται (“Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of the god, my father.”). According to philosophical cosmology the “visible gods” (οἱ ὁρώμενοι θεοί) are the stars.³⁰⁷ That these gods will appear through the sun-disk is a strange comment,³⁰⁸ unless the author describes a pictorial representation in which the sun illuminates the course of the stars; in ll. 579–82 the sun serves as a kind of gate, through which the stars appear (ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου). The sun-disk is of course Helios,³⁰⁹ addressed here by the epithet “my father” (πατήρ μου).³¹⁰

die Tages- und Stundenherrscher,” *ZPE* 49 (1982) 53–66; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.77–83, 238; Hans Georg Gundel and Alois Kehl, “Horoskop,” *RAC* 16 (1994) 597–662.

³⁰⁵ For this term mostly introducing other stages, see ll. 539, 556, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702.

³⁰⁶ See also XIII.213, 216, 718, 722; cf. IV.676; XIII. 846: πολοκράτωρ; πόλος occurs often in the PGM (see IV.656). See Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2560; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 41, 61.

³⁰⁷ Cf. also IV.1134: χαίρετε, τὰ πάντα ἀερίων εἰδώλων πνεύματα. Dieterich (62) refers to Plato, *Tim.* 40d: θεοὶ ὁρατοί; cf. also *Leg.* 7.821b, 11.931a; Ps.-Plato (Philip of Opus), *Epin.* 984d; Theophrastus, *Piet.*, Frag. 13 (ed. Pötscher, from Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26–28); see Jacob Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über die Frömmigkeit* (Berlin: Hertz, 1866), 44. See also *Wis* 13:1–9. In Philo the terminology is frequent; for the *Hermetica*, see *CH* IV.1; V.10; VII.2; XIV.3; Exc. I.2; XXIII.21; for Christian literature, *Rom* 1:20; *Col* 1:16; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 6:1; *Trall.* 5:2; for further literature Wilhelm Michaelis, *TDNT* 5 (orig. 1954) 368–70, s.v. ὁρατός, ἀόρατος; BDAG, s.v.

Cf. Preisendanz's (*app. crit.*) alternative suggestion to read ὁρ[μ]ωμένων (?) in light of ll. 557, 567, 571.

³⁰⁸ Differently, Dieterich (62): “Unmittelbar danach erwähnt der Papyrus einen merkwürdigen Anblick, der dem Aufsteigenden werden soll. Der Weg der Planeten erscheint durch die Sonne, d. h. man sieht, wie er durch die Sonne geht....” Cf. *1 En.* 36 (*OTP* 1.29): ... and I saw there open gates of heaven, with small gates above them, in the direction of the east. Through one of these small gates pass the stars of heaven and travel westward on the path which is shown to them.” See also *1 En.* 33:3 and the references in the notes by S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6, 569–71.

³⁰⁹ For the δίσκος see ll. 551, 576, 579–80, 583; XIII.142, 152, 252, 461, 515; cf. IV.34–35: ἡλιόδισκος.

³¹⁰ For this epithet of Helios see also ll. 535, 536; and Karl Kerényi, “Vater Helios,” *Erfb* 10 (1943) 81–124; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 6–7.

The second focus of the picture (ll. 549–55) is also strange: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργούντος ἀνέμου. ὅψῃ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον. (“And in a similar way the so-called pipe, the origin of the ministering wind; for you will see it hanging from the disk like a pipe.”) This part of the vision has given rise to much discussion, even to adventurous speculations.³¹¹

Dieterich’s interpretation (62–64), however, is most careful and contains important clues. He recognizes that some sort of image is being described, for which he refers to monuments of ancient art, in particular the winds on Mithraic monuments. Before getting to these monuments, he points to two texts: (1) a fragment of Anaximander; and (2) some lines in a hymn to Helios (PGM IV.436–66).

Regarding (1), the doxographical summary of Anaximander’s cosmology by Aetius contains an expression, αὐλὸς πρηστήρως, “heat pipe.”³¹² According to Aetius, this expression comes from the cosmology of Anaximander which contained a description of the sun as being full of fire, “which in part appears through an opening like through a heat pipe.”³¹³ This pipe is also the source of thunderstorms and winds.³¹⁴ There can hardly be any doubt that Anaximander’s cosmology, transmitted by Stoic sources, is the origin of the mysterious “pipe” in the ML. By implication, the “pipe” became part of the image that the author of the ML describes. Also, the added comment “so-called” (καλούμενος) seems to indicate that “the pipe” has become a kind of traditional image among those familiar with this material.

Regarding (2), it is obvious that the beginning lines of the hymn to Helios shares some language with the ML: ἀεροφοιτῆτων ἀνέμων ἐποχούμενος αὐραῖς,

³¹¹ So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.238) who refers to parallel texts in Lucian, *Icar*. 26, a passage already mentioned by Dieterich (62, n. 3): “One sees ‘pipe’ or ‘flute’, better still a double-flute (δίαυλος), and a hanging wind-bag...” Fantastic is Carl Gustav Jung (*Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens* [Leipzig & Wien: Deuticke, 1912], 93–95), for whom the hanging pipe is – what else? – a phallus.

³¹² Dieterich, 62, n. 2: “Anaximander nahm an der Sonne und dem Monde eine Öffnung an, durch welche das Feuer ströme wie durch einen αὐλὸς πρηστήρως.” He refers to Diels, *Doxographi*, 348; 355.b.21–22: ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοὴν οἷον πρηστήρως αὐλόν. See also D.-K. 12 B 4 (I.90.1), translating it “Glutwindröhre.”

³¹³ Aetius, *Placitis*, II.20.1 (Diels, *Doxographi*, 348.a.7–8: ... διὰ στομίου τὸ πῦρ ὥσπερ διὰ πρηστήρως αὐλοῦ; cf. idem, II.24.2 (354.a.3–4): ... τοῦ στομίου τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς διεκπνοῆς ἀποκλειομένου (D.-K. 12 A 21 [I.87.10–17]); idem, II.25.1 (355.b.21–22): ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοὴν οἷον πρηστήρως αὐλόν (D.-K. 12 A 22 [I.87.20–21]); also Seneca, *Nat.* 2.18 (D.-K. 12 A 23 [I.87.28–34]).

³¹⁴ See Aetius, *Placitis* III.3.1 (Diels, *Doxographi*, 367); III.7.1 (374.a.19–22); Seneca, *Nat.* 2.18 (D.-K. 12 A 23–24 [I.87.24–36]). Cf. Philostratus’ (*Vit. Apoll.* 3.14) report about the Indians that they let out the winds from a jar (ὁ τῶν ἀνέμων πίθος), analogous to the bag (ἀσχός) of Aeolus.

Ἦλιε χρυσοκόμα, διέπων φλογὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ, αἰθερίαισι τριβαῖς μέγαν πόλον ἀμφιελίσσων ... ("Borne on the breezes of the wand'ring winds, golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame's unrelenting fire, who turn in lofty paths around the great pole..."). The hymn states common tradition, but neither this nor other hymn fragments speak about "pipes."³¹⁵

As for the Mithraic monuments, it is evident from the collections by Cumont,³¹⁶ Vermaseren,³¹⁷ and Merkelbach³¹⁸ that the four winds are represented as heads of deities blowing air from the four corners of the world,³¹⁹ but none of the reliefs shows a pipe. This is true especially of the stele of Carnuntum, Dieterich's starting point, where he sees the heads of the wind gods blowing into pipes.³²⁰ The nature of Cumont's explanation is, however, puzzling, because the monuments themselves do not show evidence of heads blowing into pipes.³²¹ Perhaps, he relied on a quotation from Arnobius, which he adduces.³²² Finally, Preisendanz's reference (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) to old world maps showing the windpipes turns out to be inconclusive.³²³

³¹⁵ Trans. by Edward N. O'Neil, in Betz, *GMPT* 46, with parallels. For the winds see also IV.1606–7, 1957–58; VIII.74–75; XII.87, 238. Cf. for the musical instrument of αὐλός XXXVI.159.

³¹⁶ Dieterich (63–64) relied on Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, I.94–95).

³¹⁷ Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, 2.419 (index, s.v. "wind").

³¹⁸ See Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 118, 133, 206–7, 228–29, and figures 74 (pp. 324–25), 90 (p. 336), 91 (p. 337), 101 (p. 342–43); 116 (pp. 354–55). On Helios sending out the winds, see also his *Isis Regina*, 197, 356, 381, 457.

³¹⁹ This view was common in antiquity and the European Middle Ages; see the articles by G. Roeder, "Winde," in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37) 508–11; H. Steuding, "Windgötter," *ibid.*, 511–17; Franz Cumont, "Les vents et les anges psychopompes," in Klauser & Rücker, *Pisciculi*, 70–75; *idem*, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (BAH 35; Paris: Geuthner, 1942), 146–76: "Les vents dans la sculpture funéraire"; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 13–14; Robert Böke, "Winde," *PRE* 2. Reihe, 8 (1958) 2211–2387.

Cf. also the interest by the apocalypticists in the origin of the winds (e.g., *1 En.* 18:2; 34:1; 41:4; 76:1–14; etc.; see S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6 [1984] 547, 653–56; *OTP*, index, s.v. Winds).

³²⁰ Dieterich (63): "... gewöhnlich blasen diese Köpfe in ein Rohr, eine Art Trichter, entonnoir, wie es Cumont mehrfach bezeichnet (I 95). Auf der Stele von Carnuntum (mon. 228^{bis} c) sind es Rundfiguren, die *une trompe allongée* blasen."

³²¹ Also, Franz Cumont's comprehensive essay, "Les vents dans la sculpture funéraire" (see above, n. 319), does not offer evidence of the pipes.

³²² Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, I.94–95): "Le caractère particulier de chacun des Vents est rendu avec une certaine précision... Ils y étaient représentés par quatre personnages nos ... et soufflant dans une trompe allongée." In his notes (94, n. 10; 95, n. 10), Cumont adduces Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 6.10: *Venti... hominum formae sunt bucinarum animantes tortus intestinis et domesticis flatibus*, and Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 26.

³²³ The work named is by Konrad Miller, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten* (6 vols.; Stuttgart: Roth, 1895–98), vol. 3, fig. 68.

In ll. 550–55 the author moves on to explain the functions of “the pipe,” which serves as “the origin of the ministering wind.” It is important to note that there is only one wind, not the usual four, its function being “service” (λειτουργεῖν).³²⁴ The following lines provide more details of that service: εἰς δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβρα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπηλιώτην, ἐὰν ᾗ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ ἐκείνου, ὅψῃ τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὁράματος.³²⁵ (“Toward the regions of the west [it is the source of] the unending east wind, when it is assigned to the regions of the east, and in the same way the other [west wind going] toward the regions of that one [scil., the east], you will see the turn-about of the image [scil., the pipe].”)³²⁶ In view of the importance of the directions of these winds elsewhere in the PGM,³²⁷ the one pipe is their sole source, and changes in the direction of the pipe produces changes in the wind. The meaning of the concluding statement (ll. 555–56) is especially controversial.³²⁸ The term ἀποφορά can mean “turning about,” referring to the change of direction of the image,³²⁹ or to the “removal” of the sight altogether.³³⁰

³²⁴ This term occurs only here in the ML; there is, however, a close parallel in IV.1127: χαῖρε, στοιχείων ἀκοπιάτου λειτουργίας δίνῃσις, “Hail, revolution of untiring service by (the) elements” (my translation). Cf. also 1 En. 34:2–3 (OTP 1.29): “There (also) I saw three open gates of heaven; when it blows cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain, through each one of the (gates) the winds proceed in the northwesterly direction. Through one gate they blow good things, but when they blow with force through the (two) other gates, they blow violence and sorrow upon the earth.” Cf. 1 En. 76 (OTP 1.55–56), where twelve winds and their gates are described. In Heb 1:14 angels are described as λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα.

³²⁵ Cf. E. Riess, “Notes, Critical and Explanatory on the Greek Magical Papyri,” *JEA* 26 (1940) 53, who punctuates οἶον, ἀπη/λιώτην ἐὰν.

³²⁶ Translators differ considerably at this point; my translation follows Festugière: “... dirigée en fait du côté de l’Ouest, à l’infini, en tant que vent d’Est; si la direction assignée est du côté de l’Est, en ce cas le vent opposé (le vent d’Ouest) se portera semblablement vers cette région: tu verras le mouvement tournant de l’image.” (1.304–5).

³²⁷ For the southwest wind (λίβ, Latin *Africus*) see PGM, especially, III.105; IV.552–54, 1605, 2436, 3183; VIII.10; XIII.642, 827, 860; for the east wind (ἀπηλιώτης, Latin *subsolanus*), see II.105, 113; III.28, 137; IV.58, 552, 1603, 3175; VII.541 (ἀπηλιωτικοῦ), 994 (ἀπηλιω[τικά]); VIII.9 XIII.642, 823, 837, 855; XXII.b.26; XXXVI.214. The verb κληροῦν points to the “assigned” station.

³²⁸ In l. 556 pap. reads ὅψῃ συ δε, which Dieterich (7) and Preisendanz take to be a possible dittography of l. 557; thus they omit συ.

³²⁹ So Dieterich: “so wirst du in ähnlicher Weise die Umdrehung (Fortbewegung) des Gesichtes sehen”; Preisendanz: “das Bild (der Aulosröhre) gewendet sehen”; Festugière (see above, n. 326); Meyer: “you will see the reverse of the sight” (9, n.).

³³⁰ So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.163): “dann wirst du sehen, wie diese Vision wieder entschwindet.” Cf. V.332–33: ἀπενέγκας αὐτὸ εἰς ἄωρου μνήμα, “taking it [the package] away to the grave of someone untimely dead.”

2. Second scenario: the threat of the planetary gods (ll. 556–68)

Connected by δέ and the reference to vision (ὄψη), the second scenario presumes the same location as previously: ὄψη δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένους (“And you will see the gods intently staring at you and rushing at you”). In other words, the second scenario takes place at the same cosmic stage of the planetary deities (cf. ll. 544–47). If the author’s vision is informed by iconography, he would merely shift his focus to another part of the picture. What is in focus now is the hostile nature of the planetary gods which are “staring at him” (ἀτενίζειν)³³¹ and “moving against him” (ὀρμᾶσθαι).³³²

The scenario’s brief description of the threatening nature of the planetary deities during ascension refers to a motif known in a variety of forms from ancient Greek religion,³³³ Hellenistic mystery cults³³⁴ and Gnostic literature,³³⁵ and Jewish apocalypticism and mysticism.³³⁶

³³¹ This term is almost technical in the PGM. See in the ML ll. 556, 629, 657, 693, 712; also IV.3218, 3222; XXXVI.268. Cf. CH I.7, where ἀντώπησέ μοι ([the god] “looked at me”) results in an ecstatic vision.

³³² See for this term ll. 547–48, 557, 567, 571.

³³³ See, especially, the Orphic-Dionysiac gold tablets, referring to underworld “guards” attempting to hold up and prevent initiates from entering into the Fields of the Blessed (Texts B 1, lines 5–11; B 2, lines 5–6; B 10, lines 7–9; B 11, lines 9–11). For the texts see Christoph Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen,” in: Fritz Graf, ed., *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 359–98, esp. 392–98; Hans Dieter Betz, “‘Der Erde Kind bin ich und des gestirnten Himmels’. Zur Lehre vom Menschen in den orphischen Goldplättchen,” *ibid.* 399–419, esp. 402–3, repr. in *Antike und Christentum*, esp. 226–27.

³³⁴ See Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.23: *accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia vectus elementa remeavi...* (“I approached the boundary of death and treading on Proserpine’s threshold, I was carried through all the elements, after which I returned...”); cf. Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 296–303; Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.6, and my *Lukian*, 92; also *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 148.

³³⁵ In Gnosticism, the “archons” attack Jesus and the redeemed on their ascension. For passages and literature see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 9–58; Günther Bornkamm, *ThWNT* 4 (1942) 818–20 with notes; Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (trans. Robert McL. Wilson; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977), 171–80, 244; David Aune, “Archon,” *DDD* 82–85.

³³⁶ For texts and interpretation, see Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 33–37 (on 1 Enoch 14–15: passing through fiery flames), 53–58 (on *Asc. Isa.*: threat by angels); 87–89 (on Hekhalot Zutrat, Hekhalot Rabbati), 150–52, 163, 185–86; 191–99 (on 3 Enoch); *Asc. Isa.* 9.1, ed. Enrico Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae* (2 vols.; CChr.SA 7–8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 1.335 (Greek version); 2.449–51 (commentary, bibliography). *Asc. Isa.* 10.23–27 mentions “passwords” for passing through. Schäfer (*Übersetzung*, 1, §§ 1–2, p. 4): “Als die Fürsten der Merkava und die Šerafim der Feuerflamme mich sahen, richteten sie ihre Augen auf mich. Sogleich schreckte ich zurück, erzitterte, fiel lang hin...” See § 39 and Hekhalot Rabbati, § 247–48 (Schäfer, *Übersetzung*, 2.220–22). On the whole motif,

Faced with the threat, the initiate is ordered to perform a protective ritual (ll. 557–58), involving first a gesture: σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθεες δεξιὸν δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα (“but you at once put your right finger on your mouth”). This ritual occurs only here in the PGM. It is Egyptian in origin, having an analogy in the motif of the child Harpocrates with his finger in the mouth.³³⁷ As told in the ML, however, the question is which ritual the text envisions. Does the child have the finger *in* or *on* the mouth? Is the gesture suggesting silence or adoption? The evidence is far from clear. PGM III.707–8 speaks, in an Egyptian context, of Harpocrates having his finger on the mouth (Ἄρποκράτην ἔχοντα ἐπὶ στόματος [τὸ δακτύ]λιν).³³⁸ According to Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 16), however, Isis gave him the finger instead of her breast, supposedly putting the finger *into* his mouth, which suggests a different meaning.³³⁹ Whatever the “original” meaning may be, in the present context the gesture symbolizes silence.³⁴⁰ The right finger is, of course, to be preferred;³⁴¹ that it has to be performed immediately is typical of many other rituals as well.³⁴²

Next (ll. 558–60) comes the recitation of the σιγή-Logos,³⁴³ a prayer cited in full: σιγή σιγή σιγή, σύμβολον θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀφάρτου· φύλαξόν με, σιγή

see Johann Maier, “Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und ‘Gnosis’,” *Kairos* 5 (1963) 18–40.

³³⁷ The child Harpocrates/Horus with the finger in the mouth is shown already in the Pyramid texts; see Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 663c, 1214c, 1320c.

³³⁸ See for representations Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 83; Bonner, *Studies*, index, s.v. Harpocrates; Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 104–35 (Bibl.); Bonnet, *RARG*, 275; Dimitri Meeks, “Harpokrates,” *LÄ* 2 (1977) 1003–11; Tran Tam Tinh, Bertrand Jaeger, Serge Poulin, “Harpokrates,” *LIMC* 4:1 (1988) 415–45; 4:2 (1988) 242–66; Karl Groß, “Finger,” *RAC* 7 (1969) 909–46, esp. 929–930 (with references); William Brashear, “Horus,” *RAC* 16 (1992) 579. Cf. Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 2.122.

³³⁹ Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 327) comments critically on a theory advocated by Maspéro who took this ritual to symbolize adoption.

³⁴⁰ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 238) suggests that the initiate wants to imitate Harpocrates. For Harpocrates’ finger on the mouth as a sign of silence see Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 68 (378B–C): διὸ δὲ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει περικείμενον ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον (“For this reason does he hold his finger fixed on his mouth, as a symbol of reserve and silence”; Trans. Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 224–25; see also his comments, 535–36). This and other attestations show the common understanding of the sign (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.10.57 [LCL 5.57]); Ovid, *Metam.* 9.692; Catullus, 74.4; Apuleius, *Metam.* 4.28). Damascius (*Vit. Isid.* 107; ed. Zintzen, 146–49) reports the story that the theurgist Heraiskos was born with his finger grown into his lip, as with Horos and Helios before him. The finger had to be separated by surgery, but a mark was left for the rest of his life.

³⁴¹ See for the preference of the right side, Betz, *Lukian*, 38, n. 6; BDAG, s.v. δεξιός.

³⁴² See ll. 557, 576, 579, 628, 638, 724, 755–57. Cf. for the significance in miracle stories Bultmann, *HST*, 225; Betz, *Lukian*, 157, nn. 3–4; BDAG, s.v. εὐθέως, εὐθύς.

³⁴³ The σιγή-Logos seems to be the second prayer after ll. 484–537; it occurs also, in slightly different form, in ll. 573–75, 578, 582, 623. See Heinrich Schmidt, *Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus* (RVV 4.1; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1907), 64–65; Odo

νεχθειρ θανμελου. ("Silence! Silence! Silence! Symbol of the living imperishable god. Guard me, Silence! NECHTHEIR THANMELOU.")³⁴⁴ The threefold invocation calls forth a deity by that name. Actually, because there are two invocations, the matter is more complicated. Since in the first invocation no other name is given, Silence is to be thus addressed, because it is the manifestation of the deity's presence, rather than a name.³⁴⁵ For exactly this reason, the epithet σύμβολον ("you are a symbol") indicates the status of silence as that of a "symbol." While the conventional invocation of a deity uses "symbols" and "names,"³⁴⁶ this first invocation is different in that there is no name but only two epithets, the first of which is "silence," classified as "symbol"; the second is a theological formula using two attributes: (ὁ) θεὸς ζῶν ἄφθαρτος ("the living imperishable god").³⁴⁷

Casel, *De philosophorum graecorum silentio mystico* (RVV 16.2; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1919), 105–6; Pieter W. van der Horst, "Silent Prayer in Antiquity," *Numen* 41 (1994) 1–15 (with bibl.).

³⁴⁴ In commenting on this translation, David G. Martinez proposes instead: "symbol of the god who lives incorruptible" (*Baptized for Our Sakes: A Leather Trishagion from Egypt* (P. Mich. 799 [BzA 120; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1999], 13–14, n. 38). His translation, however, turns into a relative clause what is a common epithet (ὁ) θεὸς ζῶν, appended by ἄφθαρτος, so as to explain what "living" means (see below, n. 347).

³⁴⁵ For silence as a deity, see VII.766; for commanding silence III.198, 204; for silence generating silence IV.1782; IX.12; see also I.87; Hymn 5.31 (and passim); III.228. Cf. CH 1.30–31; XIII.2, 8 (λοιπὸν σιώπησον, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ εὐφήμεσον), 16 (ἡσύχασον, ὦ τέκνον), 22; Ascl. 1, 25, 32; NHC VI.6.56.10–15. See also the peculiar passages in Ignatius, *Magn.* 8:2, where Christ is called God's λόγος, ἀπὸ συγῆς προελθὼν; Eph. 19:1, mentions the τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. For gnostic parallels, see Heinrich Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (BZNW 8; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1929), 6–16, 24–28; William Schoedel, *The Epistles of Ignatius* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985), 120–22; BDAG, s.v., συγῆ.

³⁴⁶ According to Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*), Dieterich and Hopfner treat the statement as a gloss, but this is by no means evident. See Dieterich, 64 n. 3; 233. In the PGM, σύμβολα and ὀνόματα are needed in invocations (see III.701; IV.945, 2292, 2304, 2311, 2322; VII.560, 786, 883; LXX.10). The term σύμβολα is now attested on the gold tablet from Western Sicily (3rd c. BCE [?]); see Riedweg, "Initiation," B 11 (397, line 19). On σύμβολον and σύνθημα, see Dieterich, 213–18, 256–58; Walter Müri, "ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ. Wort- und sachsengeschichtliche Studie," in his *Griechische Studien* (ed. Eduard Vischer; SBA 15; Basel: Reinhardt, 1976), 1–44; Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 294–308; Burkert, *Ancient Mysteries*, 18, 45–47, 90, 98, 100; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 150–53; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 238–39, 243.

³⁴⁷ For the epithet ὁ ζῶν θεός, see IV.959, 1038, 1553; VII.823; XII.79; cf. IV.609. Merkelbach (*Abasax*, 3.238) believes that the epithet comes from the LXX (Tobit 13:2; Wis 12:1: τὸ γὰρ ἄφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν); the epithet occurs in the NT as well; see Thomas Gelzer et al., *Lamella Bernensis. Ein spätantikes Goldamulett mit christlichem Exorzismus und verwandte Texte* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 124; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1999), 67–68; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.102; Gustav Stählin, "Beteuerungsformeln im Neuen Testament," *NovT* 5 (1962) 115–43, esp. 142, n. 2; Martinez, *Baptized*, 12–15;

The invocation is followed (l. 560) by the petition, φύλαξόν με (“guard me”),³⁴⁸ and concludes with second address, σιγή (“silence”), and *voces magicae*, νεχθειρ θανμελου,³⁴⁹ which may be intended as the secret name of the deity.³⁵⁰

Further ritual acts in ll. 561–65 mark the climax of the protective ritual and the transition to the next scenario. The practitioner is ordered: ἔπειτα σύρισον μακρόν σ’ σ’, ἔπειτα πόπυσον.³⁵¹ (“Then make the long hissing sound, next make the popping sound.”) As discussed above, these sounds were part of the magical repertoire (see on l. 487). The first is called συριγμός, its performance συρίζειν, a hissing or whistling.³⁵² The second sound is named ποπυσμός, its performance ποπύζειν, a pop-pop sound.³⁵³

Finally, a special formula of *voces magicae* is to be recited (ll. 562–65): λέγων· προπροφεγγῇ μοριος προφυρ προφεγγῇ νεμεθιρε αρφεντεν πιτητσι μεσω εναρθ ευρκεχω ψυριδαριω τυρε φιλβα.³⁵⁴ Peculiar is that in the ML there are three formulae beginning with προπροφεγγη, but otherwise different (see also ll. 603–4, 714–17). Apparently, the author cites three different formulae, rather than variations of the same formula.³⁵⁵ If so, what then is the function of beginning with προπροφεγγη?³⁵⁶ Why are there at least some similar

BDAG, s.v. ζῶω 1.a.ε. Cf. also CH I.9, 21; CI.17; CVIII.14; *Ascl.* 41. – For ἀφθαρτός, see on ll. 497, 519–20.

For the Egyptian background of the epithet “living god” see Martinez, *P. Mich.* XIX, 12–15, esp. p. 13, n. 38, and on the ML passage p. 14, n. 38.

³⁴⁸ For this petition, see also l. 661: φύλαξόν με, with the *vox magica* προσυμηρι. Petitions or orders for protection are, of course, frequent in the PGM. See Preisendanz, 3.198 [index], s.v. φυλάσσω. Cf. 2 Thess 3:3; 1 John 5:21.

³⁴⁹ The *vox magica* is found only here; it is unexplained.

³⁵⁰ See on this point, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 159–62.

³⁵¹ According to Dieterich (6), the pap. reads σ’ σ’, obviously indicating a long hissing sound. Cf. the doubling of the sound see l. 578: σύρισον β’. See also Preisendanz, “Miszellen,” *WSt* 41 (1919) 141–42: “Kürzungen.”

³⁵² There is disagreement: Dieterich (7) and Preisendanz (see his *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) translate it as “pfeifen” (whistle), but others (Meyer, Merkelbach) as “zischen” (hissing); Festugière: “pousse deux longs sifflements.” Merkelbach’s (*Abrasax*, 3.60) hypothesis that ποπύζειν and συρίζειν allude to the name Pschai appears to be rather speculative, especially in the light of the order in l. 561.

³⁵³ Dieterich (7), Preisendanz, Merkelbach translate “schnalzen” (“smack”), Festugière: “fais claquer la langue,” Meyer: “a popping sound.”

³⁵⁴ Cf. Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, who suggests that ιοσπροφυρ may be πορφύριος.

³⁵⁵ So rightly Martinez.

³⁵⁶ The term προπροφεγγῇ has been translated by Preisendanz as “the one who shines before” (“Voranleuchtender”), but Eitrem (“Die vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe,” *SO* 4 [1926] 39–59, esp. 51) prefers “the one who existed prior to light.” Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 27) sees here a possible connection with Mithras the god of fire, for which he cites Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 104; Mary Boyce, “On Mithra, Lord of Fire,” *Acta Iranica* 4 (1975)

(sound-)words, with their spelling and place in the sequences different? Why is the author not concerned about consistency in spelling and order? Is the main concern the chanting of similar sounds? So far nobody seems to have found answers to these questions or, assuming that the word division is correct, to the meaning of the individual words. For the purpose of comparison, the three formulae are put side by side below:³⁵⁷

562–65	603–4	714–17
προπροφεγγη	προπροφεγγη	λαμπροφεγγη
μοριος	εμεθαιρε	προπροφεγγη
προφυρ	μοριομοτυρηφιλβα	εμεθιρι
προφεγγη		αρτεντεπι
νεμεθιρε		θηθ
αρψεντεν		μιμεω
πιτητημι		υεναρω
μεωυ		φυρχεχω
εναρθ		ψηρι
φυρχεχω		δαριω
ψυριδαριω		φρη
τυρηφιλβα		φρηλβα

The result of the various procedures is narrated in ll. 565–68: καὶ τότε ὄψῃ τοὺς θεοὺς σοι εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μηκέτι ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων(ν). (“And then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.”) The gods’ gracious look (εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέπειν) is an obvious contrast to their hostile staring (ἀτενίζειν, l. 556). They return to their normal affairs and to their normal course in accordance with the cosmic order.³⁵⁸ With this change, the second scenario comes to its end.

69–75; Julien Ries, “Le culte de Mithra en Iran,” ANRW II.18:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. 2767–68.

³⁵⁷ The word division follows Preisendanz.

³⁵⁸ For τάξις as a cosmological term see also IV.693; VII.829. This meaning seems to be rooted in Plato, *Tim.* 30a (cf. *Gorg.* 504a); it became technical in Hellenistic cosmology, for which see Ps.-Aristotle, *Mundo* 391b11; *CH* I.26; V.3–5; IX.8; XI.7; XII.14,21; XVIII.8; Exc. XX.1; XXIII.16; XXIV.2; XXV.8,14; XXVI.29; Philo, *Leg.* 2.73; and often (see Borgen, *Philo-Index*, s.v.). See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 107–8; PGL, s.v. 3.e. Also the apocalyptic literature shows interest in the stability and order of the planetary world (see, esp. 1 *En.* 2.1, and the passages in Uhlig, JSRHZ 5:6 [1984] 510–11).

3. Third scenario: the sun disk (ll. 569–85)

After the planetary gods have been pacified, the third scenario begins with the usual orientation (ll. 569–71): ἔταν οὖν ἰδῆς τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὀρ<μ>ώμενον... (“Thus when you see that the world above is pure and agitated, and that none of the gods and angels is threatening....”) The references to time and vision of the objects seen lead to the conclusion that the ascending initiate has moved up to a higher stage above the planetary deities. That stage is called by a strange name: ὁ ἄνω κόσμος καθαρὸς καὶ δονούμενος (“the world above, pure and agitated”). Understandably, the higher cosmos is clear of impurities,³⁵⁹ but the meaning of δονούμενος is puzzling.³⁶⁰ In parallel passages, δονεῖν refers to cosmic shaking and agitating, but this meaning does not seem to fit here,³⁶¹ unless it is related to the following warning that thunder is to occur. If this is assumed, the question arises how it is connected with the preceding καθαρὸς (“pure”), and with the following statement, καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὀρ<μ>ώμενον (“and none of the gods or angels threatening”).³⁶² In the former instance, δονούμενος seems unrelated, unless one adjusts it by translating καὶ δονούμενος as “but agitated.” The latter instance stands in anticipation of ll. 556–57, speaking of the attack by the planetary gods, except that the angels were not previously mentioned.³⁶³ Therefore, the entire comment, καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὀρ<μ>ώμενον, because it interrupts the continu-

³⁵⁹ The expression κόσμος καθαρὸς is *hapax* in the PGM; for κόσμος in the ML, see ll. also 498, 620, 625, 776. In the context of Hellenistic cosmology, “purity” could mean either that the higher regions of the universe are pure because they consist of ether or fire, or, more specifically, that the higher cosmos is free from the threatening planetary gods. See SVF II # 327 (116.36), # 440 (145.1–14); # 558–573 (176–79); Dio Chrysostom 36.42–44; Philo, *Plant.* 20; *Mos.* 1.113; *CH* I.10; VI.4; XI.19; Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 5.34 (ed. Saffrey & Westerink, 5.125,5–10); *Plat. Tim.* 3.142d (ed. Diehl, 2.11.18–24); cf. already Plato, *Phaed.* 111b. See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 108–10.

³⁶⁰ The pap. reads δονουμενον. Dieterich (8–9) proposed μονούμενον, “einsam” (“solitary”), Crönert (*StPP* 4 [1905] 100): δινούμενον (“sich im Kreis bewegend”), Preisendanz keeps δονούμενον, “sich im Kreise bewegen” (“moving in a circle”). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.165) translates “rauschen” (“rustle”); I am adopting Martínez’s proposal of “agitated” (in anticipation of the thunderclap).

³⁶¹ Cf. IV.2533–34, in a prayer to Selene, whose terrifying shout lets the cosmos tremble: τὰ κοσμικά πάντα δονεῖται. In a prayer to Aphrodite (IV.2936–37) the reference is to sexual arousal: στρεφθεῖς τ’ οὐκ ἀνεπαύσατ’ ἑλισσόμενός τε δονεῖται. In the context of cosmic thunder the term occurs also in *Orph. Frag.* 248a5 (265, ed. Kern): θυμῷ πάντα δονεῖται.

³⁶² The pap. reads ὀρωμενον, the correction to ὀρμώμενον is by Wessely, Dieterich (8), and Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) in accordance with ll. 557, 567.

³⁶³ Angels (ἄγγελοι) are mentioned only here in the ML, but they can be compared with hostile angels in Jewish apocalyptic and Hekhalot literature (see above, on l. 556).

ation from δονούμενον to the warning of thunder (l. 570), may be a redactional gloss that has been inserted as a reminder of the change which has taken place since ll. 556–57.

Given this situation, the initiate is forewarned (ll. 571–73), προσδόκα βροντῆς μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκπλαγῆναι. (“Expect a crash of great thunder to be heard, with the result that you are shocked.”). The thunder indicates that the initiate now stands in the sphere where the weather, especially thunderstorms, occur.³⁶⁴ The subject of thunder has fascinated antiquity in many quarters and led to brontology, a department of astrology/astronomy.³⁶⁵

Certainly, therefore, the terror caused by the thunder indicates new danger,³⁶⁶ and a new ritual of protection is required. The formula is set forth in ll. 573–75. First, the σιγή-logos appears again: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή σιγή λό(γος).³⁶⁷ (“But you, say again: ‘Silence! Silence!’ [formula].”) Second, and different from l. 558, a statement of self-identification follows (ll. 574–75): ἐγὼ εἰμι <δ> σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων ὁ Ξυ, ὁ Ξερθευθ. (“I am [the] star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of the deep, the XY, the XERTHEUTH.”)³⁶⁸ Using the formula of self-identification,³⁶⁹ the initiate presents himself as one of the wandering stars of the firmament.³⁷⁰ The idea of becoming a star after death was, however, popular in many quarters of ancient religions, especially ancient Egypt,³⁷¹

³⁶⁴ For references to thunder (βροντή) see below, ll. 621, 681; XXXVI.356; cf. βροντάω V.151; VII.366, 994; XII.60; βροντάζω IV.1039, 1160; VII.235; VIII.93; βρονταγωγός IV.182; βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ IV.3102.

³⁶⁵ See Franz Boll, “Finsternisse,” PRE 6 (1909) 2329–64, esp. section 5; Wolfgang Speyer, “Gewitter,” RAC 10 (1978) 1107–72 (1120–21 on the PGM, 1120 on Mithraism, 1150–53 on apocalypticism); cf. on apocalypticism Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, “Die sieben Donner. Erwägungen zu Offb 10,” SNTU A-17 (1992) 215–29; OTP, index, s.v. Thunder.

³⁶⁶ For the term ἐκπλαγῆναι and its significance for the miraculous, see also VII.921; BDAG, s.v. ἐκπλήσσω. See moreover Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 53–54; *Mithrasliturgie*, 64–65.

³⁶⁷ Pap. reads the symbol Α, meaning λόγος. The question is whether there is importance in the fact that the call to Silence happens twice instead of thrice, as in l. 558.

³⁶⁸ This reading according to Preisendanz supported by Jordan who points to the parallel in XII.297–98: τὸν Ξεριθωθ, ... τὸν Ξεριφωναρ.

³⁶⁹ See for parallels in the ML, above on ll. 535.

³⁷⁰ The term σύμπλανος is unique in the PGM, and rare in Greek (see LSJ, s.v.). See Paul Capelle, *De luna stellis lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* (Diss. Halle; Halae Saxorum: Karras, 1917), 19–36 (especially 32, n. 3; 33–36), who refers to important passages in SVF II # 817 (224–25): *in modum siderum vagari in aëre*; Cicero, *Resp.* 6.16 (*Somn. Scip.*); CHX.7; Meleager, *Anthol. pal.* 5.191.2 (LCL, ed. Paton, 1.222–23); Philostratus, *Ep.* 56; συμπλανόμαι, “roaming around with (erotic),” Plutarch, *Amat.* 3 (750B); *Ant.* 29.2. For ἀστήρ cf. also PGM IV.580, 764 (?).

³⁷¹ The technical term is *synastria*; see Franz Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (ed. Viktor Stegemann; Leipzig: Köhler & Amelang, 1950), 115–24; also Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.239.

Greek religions,³⁷² and Jewish apocalypticism.³⁷³ Dieterich (65) has raised the question about the more precise nature of the stars envisaged. Because they cannot be the planets, he suggests shooting stars, and this may well be correct.³⁷⁴ If so, they would emerge as lights³⁷⁵ out of the depth of the cosmos.³⁷⁶

As a result of performing the preceding formula, the initiate is told that he will view three images related to the sun-disk (576–77): ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται. (“Immediately after you have said this, the sun-disk will be expanded.”) This first image is the sun-disk in its fully expanded form. The meaning of ἀπλωθῆναι, a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, can be established on the basis of the parallel ἀνοίγειν (“open”) in ll. 583–85.³⁷⁷

³⁷² See, in particular, the Orphic gold tablets, which assume that the initiate, “a child of starry heaven,” will after death become a star. See Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 395 (text B 2, line 9: Ἀστέριος ὄνομα [“Asterios is my name”]); Betz, *ibid.*, 405; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 228. Furthermore, see Dieterich, 65; Rohde, *Psyche*, 2.131; Cumont, *After Life*, 160; idem, *Lux Perpetua*, 171–88, 209–18; Martin P. Nilsson, “Die astrale Unsterblichkeit und die kosmische Mystik,” *Opuscula selecta* (SSIA, 3; Lund: Gleerup, 1960), 250–65; Erwin Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ 2; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1916), 113, 129; Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 21. Halbbd. (1921) 1143–93, esp. 1150–53; Franz Boll and Wilhelm Gundel, “Sternbilder, Sternglaube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37) 867–1071, esp. 1062–65; Nilsson, *GGR* 1.692, n. 2; 2.490–91, 494–96; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.369.

³⁷³ See Dan 12:1–3; 1 En. 104:2; As. Mos. 10:9; Ps.-Philo, *L.A.B.* 33:5 (OTP 2.348); Wis 3:7; 4 Macc 17:5 (OTP 2.562); Rev 1:16, 20; 2:1; 3:1. See Volz, *Eschatologie*, 396–401: “Die Lichtnatur der Heiligen”; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 143; George W. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HThS 26; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 144–69; Gruenwald, *Apocalypticism and Gnosticism*, 128–30; Tzvi Abush, “Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,” in Collins & Fishbane, *Death*, 15–39; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 184–85; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 183–84.

³⁷⁴ For a discussion of the options of planets, fixed stars, and shooting stars, see Dieterich, 65; cf. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.239) who seems to think of fixed stars. On fixed stars, see the comprehensive articles by Franz Boll, “Fixsterne,” *PRE* 6 (1909) 2407–31; on shooting stars, Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 11 (1921) 1143–93.

³⁷⁵ ἀναλάμπειν occurs only here in the PGM. The terms ἀναλάμπω, ἀνάλαμψις are known from cosmological contexts (shining of the sun), also as metaphor (light of the mind). See, e.g., Plutarch, *Alex.* 30.3; Ps.-Heraclitus, *Ep.* 6.3; *T. Levi* 18.4; Philo, *Opif.* 33; *Deus* 32; *Agr.* 162; *Plant.* 40; *Migr.* 123; *Somn.* 1.11; *Mos.* 1.212; 2.27; *Spec.* 1.90; 2.140; 4.52; Origen, *Cels.* 5.33.

³⁷⁶ Comparable to the emergence of the seven virgins, see ll. 575, 662–63. Elsewhere in the PGM, βάθος refers to the subterranean sphere, possibly the depth of the sea; see IV.1211; XXXVI.146. See BDAG, s.v. βάθος, 1.

³⁷⁷ Translations, therefore, vary: Dieterich, Preisendanz: “sich entfalten”; Festugière: “le disque se sera ouvert”; Meyer: “will be expanded”; Merkelbach: “sich öffnen.” LSJ (s.v. ἀπλώω, 2) gives some instances for the meaning “to be expanded.” For the sun-disk see ll. 548, 551, 579–80, 583. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 12.

The second image is preceded by a reference to time and the performance of rituals (ll. 577–79): μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν β' λόγον, ὅπου σιγὴ β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ σύρισον β' καὶ π(όπ)υσον β'.³⁷⁸ ("After you have said the second formula, where there is 'silence' twice and what follows, make the hissing twice and the popping sound twice.") As the redactional comment clarifies,³⁷⁹ at the beginning comes the formula elsewhere called the "second logos," that is, the σιγὴ σιγὴ-logos cited in l. 573–75.³⁸⁰ The second ritual is the συριγμός, to be done twice, and third the ποππυσμός, also to be done twice (see ll. 561–62).

The instant result is the vision of the second image (ll. 579–82): καὶ εὐθέως ὄψῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους (πεντα)δακτυλιαίους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὅλον τὸν ἀέρα.³⁸¹ ("And immediately you will see a multitude of five-pronged stars proceeding from the sun-disk and filling all the air.") The adverbial εὐθέως is a reminder that the vision is miraculous, when from the sun-disk a plethora of five-pronged stars comes forth, filling the air. The symbol of the five-pronged stars has been used since ancient Egypt³⁸² and has become part of the cosmology of the ancient world.³⁸³ The air is the sphere above the planetary realm in which the shooting stars are flying about.³⁸⁴

The third image follows in ll. 582–85, again preceded by rituals: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγὴ σιγὴ. ("But you say again 'Silence! Silence!'") Apparently, the σιγὴ-logos of ll. 573–75 is to be repeated. Then the vision occurs (ll. 583–87: καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὄψῃ ἄπειρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκεκλεισμένας.³⁸⁵ ("And when the sun-disk has opened, you will see the

³⁷⁸ Pap. reads the abbreviation β and π'β'' [stroke over β]; cf. l. 488.

³⁷⁹ The wording, ὅπου σιγὴ β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, is typical of redactional commentary.

³⁸⁰ The pap. reads σιγὴ β'. Dieterich (8) assumes that the "second formula" (ll. 558–59), the pronouncement of σιγὴ σιγὴ σιγὴ three times, is identical with the one in ll. 573–75, which has σιγὴ σιγὴ twice.

³⁸¹ Pap. reads ε' δακτυλίων. Cf. the discussion by Wilhelm Kroll, *Ph.* 54 (1895) 562–63. – Eitrem proposes προσερχομένους.

³⁸² The five-fingered star has the phonetic value *sbz* ("star") or *ntr* ("god"). See Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 487, n. 14; Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 2.358. For a later interpretation of the star as θεὸς ἐγκόσμιος, εἰμαρμένη, or number five, see Horapollo, *Hier.* 1.13 (ed. Francesco Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica* [Napoli: Loffredo, 1940], 35–36); see also B. van de Walle and J. Vergote, "Traduction des *Hieroglyphica* d'Horapollon," *CIEg* 18 (1943) 39–89, esp. 54–55. I am indebted for these references to Thomas Dousa.

³⁸³ See W. Drexler, "Horogeneis Theoi," in Roscher, *Lexikon*, vol. I/2, p. 2742–43; Wilhelm Gundel, "Horogeneis," *PRE* 8 (1913) 2411–14, esp. 2412.

³⁸⁴ For the air, see ll. 508, 541, 693. How the air is related to "ether" (αἰθήρ [l. 515]) is unclear. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 89; Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 15–35.

³⁸⁵ Pap. has ἀνοιγέντος, which Dieterich (8) reads as ἀνοιγέντος, but why Preisendanz keeps ἀνοιγέντος is unclear because σι/υ is one of the most common phonetic exchanges

boundless circle and its fiery doors shut tight.”) The opening of the sun-disk means the same as ἀπλωθήσεται (l. 576–77) and must not be confused with the opening of the sun’s doors which is to occur later (ll. 625–26). The question is whether we are to think of two doors or of two wings of one door. The image suggests the latter which has a parallel even in Homer.³⁸⁶ If ἄπυρον is to be read, one would have to conclude that the fire is behind the closed doors;³⁸⁷ thus it is invisible, and the sun-disk appears as fireless.³⁸⁸ If, however, ἄπειρον is correct, as we prefer, it would point to the boundlessness of the κύκλωμα. With this, the third scenario is concluded.

4. Fourth scenario: the opening of the doors to the world of the gods (ll. 585–628)

Compared with the previous scenarios the fourth one is distinguished by several extraordinary features. At the beginning, following a ritual of closing the eyes, stands the recitation of the “third prayer,” addressed to the god Aion: σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δίωκε τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον καμμύων σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, “At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer.” While the com-

(so Martinez, referring to Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.272–73). Also ἀπυρον, read by the pap., is disputed, but Preisendanz (*WSr* 41 [1919] 143) defends it against Dieterich’s (8) correction to ἄπειρον, and Diels’ to διάπυρον; F. Zucker (*ByZ* 31 [1931] 362) ἔμπυρον (“feurig, flammend”). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.168) follows Dieterich; Martinez agrees: “fireless does not make sense here, and υ and ει in the Greek of this period sounded like our long e and were exchanged (not nearly so frequently as οι/υ, however (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.273–73). On the important cosmological term ἄπειρον see Walter Burkert, “Iranisches bei Anaximander,” *RhM* 106 (1963) 97–134; repr. in *Kleine Schriften II: Orientalia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 192–229, esp. 204, 207–11, 213–14, 220, 227.

The pap. reads ἀποκεκλιμένας, corrected by Dieterich (8) to ἀποκεκλιμένας.

³⁸⁶ Homer, *Od.* 24.12: ἡδὲ παρ’ Ἡελίου πύλας. Cf. for the former, i.e. of two doors, the Pythagorean image of the eyes as ἡλίου πύλαι (Diogenes Laertius 8.29); Burkert (see previous note), 203–4 with n. 33, suggests a possible Indo-Iranian background. See Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, II, 44–45; LSJ, s.v. πύλη, II. Cf. Janet Spittler’s question (in a seminar) whether the image may be related to the phenomena of solar eclipses (see also PGM VII.846–60 Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 141–42, 184).

³⁸⁷ Pap. has ἀποκεκλισμένας. For the “fiery doors” (θύραι πυρίνας), see ll. 625–26, 662; cf. 1 *En.* 14:15–22; 71:5–7; 75:4. That the sun consists of fire was the teaching of philosophy since the Presocratics (Anaximenes, Parmenides, Empedocles); see D.-K. 3.384, index s.v. ἥλιος. For πυρίνος as referring to the highest sphere of the deity, see ll. 521, 584, 589, 637, 638. That the sun-disk has doors reminds Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240) of the stage in the theater, but it could just as well a pictorial representation of some kind. For the concept of heavenly doors, see Lucian, *Icar.* 22–27 and the rich collection of material in Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, esp. 239, 343–70.

³⁸⁸ The term ἄπυρον occurs elsewhere in the PGM, but not with reference to the sun-disk; see III.613; IV.2378; VII.168; XXXVI.295. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 12. – κύκλωμα as a cosmological term occurs only here in the PGM; cf. LSJ, s.v.; for κύκλος as “sun-disk” see IV.1326; VII.300, 368; XII.56; as referring to the sun-beetle XII.44.

mand to perform a ritual at once at the beginning of a scenario' is familiar from earlier instances, but the order to close the eyes is new.³⁸⁹

The prayer to be recited is called "third" (λόγος γ').³⁹⁰ It is a petitionary prayer addressed to the god Aion whose name is mentioned in the prayer (l. 594).³⁹¹ The prayer (ll. 587–616) shows the usual composition, opening with an invocation (ll. 587–88), followed by an aretalogical list of epithets (ll. 588–603), a petition (ll. 603–4), a statement of need (ll. 605–6), and a list of secret names (ll. 606–16).

The invocation uses the formula: ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἄκουσόν μου, κύριε, "Give ear to me, hearken to me, O lord." The terms are technical in prayer formulae,³⁹² and, as in the previous prayers, no name is used, but only the divine title κύριος ("lord").³⁹³ Also, the self-identification of the petitioner is offered by way of the symbol Δ, signifying τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, "N.N."³⁹⁴ The aretalogy (ll. 588–602) takes the form of 21 epithets,³⁹⁵ the first being a participle clause revealing the reason for calling this deity: ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κληῖθρα τοῦ (τετρα)λιζώματος ("you who have bound together with your spirit the fiery bars of the fourfold root"). Disputed readings of the papyrus have produced controversy regarding the meaning.³⁹⁶ The problem

³⁸⁹ Further instruction is given below, ll. 617–20 (cf. for the opening of the eyes l. 624). For this gesture see IV.177, 586, 958. It is attested in the LXX, the NT, also in Philo, *Somn.* 1.164–65: καμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα (note the context of mystery-cult language). Cf. *1 En.* 1:2: "... while his eyes were open, and he saw." See BDAG, s.v. καμύω; Thomas Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 44, 101, 188–90.

³⁹⁰ Pap. has γ. The comment belongs to the redactional numbering of the prayers; see ll. 486–537 (first), 558–60, 573–75, 582–85 (second prayer).

³⁹¹ On Aion see above, ll. 520–21.

³⁹² See for other instances, IV.786 (ML), 1064, 1787, 1948, 3064, 3227, 3268, etc.; further instances in Preisendanz, 3.92 (index), s.v. ἐπακούειν; BDAG, s.v. ἐπακούω (with bibliography).

³⁹³ The title κύριος is frequent in the PGM; in the ML it occurs ll. 588, 631, 639, 640, 642, 687, 713, 717, 718, 804. See Preisendanz, 3.126 (index), s.v. κύριος; BDAG, s.v., 2.b (bibliography); Dieter Zeller, "Kyrios," *DDD* 492–97 (bibliography). Cf. δεσπότης, IV.521, 713.

³⁹⁴ Pap. has Δ της Δ. See on this formula above, at l. 495.

³⁹⁵ Perhaps, the number is significant: 3 X 7; see Dieterich, 65.

³⁹⁶ Pap. reads κληῖθρα, which Dieterich (8) reads as κλεῖθρα (followed by Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.166). See also Wilhelm Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculensis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 39, n. 3. Especially difficult has been the reading of the pap. ΤΟΤΑΊΖΩΜΑΤΟΣ, first read by Wessely as ΔΔΙΖΩΜΑΤΟΣ, connected with τετραγώνου; Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 48; *Mithrasliturgie*, 8) reads τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διζώματος ("des Himmels, Zweileibiger," ["of the heaven, of two bodies"]); Kroll and Diels (in Dieterich [8]) read διαζώματος (agreed by Burkert [in Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 84]); Crönert (*StPP* 4 [1905] 100) has τετραδίσματος. Preisendanz (*WSI* 41 [1919] 143–44) reads τετραλιζώματος

may be solved, if the readings relate to the Aion theology in other parts of the ML. Since this theology shows influences of Stoic cosmology, the terminology should be related to this possible background.

The expression δ συνδήσας πνεύματι could be derived from a stoicizing cosmology: συνδεσμός occurs in the cosmology of Chrysippus, but the connection with πνεῦμα is not attested.³⁹⁷ However, the expression might not be only Stoic, since the question of which bond holds the cosmos together was discussed by the Presocratics,³⁹⁸ Plato,³⁹⁹ the Stoics,⁴⁰⁰ Philo,⁴⁰¹ the Hermetica,⁴⁰² and the NT.⁴⁰³ The term τὰ πύρινα κλῆθρα (“the fiery bars”) refers to the bars locking the doors of the sun (l. 584).⁴⁰⁴ The hardest problem for interpretation is the term τοῦ τετραλιζώματος, if that is the right reading. As Eitrem and Merkelbach affirm, the change from the letter ρ to λ can happen easily, so that τετραριζώματος is a strong possibility.⁴⁰⁵ The four roots, how-

and translates “des viermal gebunden Gürtels” (similarly Weinreich [in Dieterich, 223], “viermal gewundener Gürtel” [“belt wound fourfold”]; whereas Hopfner has “des vierfach gestützten Himmels” [“of the heaven supported fourfold”]). Eitrem and Merkelbach correct the spelling to τετραριζώματος, but translate differently: “the roots of the four elements” (Eitrem), “des auf den vier Wurzeln (Säulen) ruhenden Alls” (“of the universe standing on the four roots [pillars]”) (Merkelbach).

³⁹⁷ See SVF II, ## 147 (45.2); 148 (45.10); 174 (50.22); 207 (68.19); 208 (69.6); 216–17 (71.3, 22, 36); 945 (272–73); also for definitions III, # 22 (214.1–2), Diogenes Babylonius; III, # 22 (247.24), Antipater Tarsensis.

³⁹⁸ See Empedocles (D.-K. 31 A 54 [I.293.26–27]): τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας συνδεδέσθαι τῷ χρυστάλλῳ; Democritus (D.-K. 68 A 135 [II.122.7]) concerning the σύνδεσις of the atoms.

³⁹⁹ Plato, *Tim.* 31b–c; 41b; *Resp.* 10.616c; Ps.-Plato, *Epin.* 984b–c; cf. with reference to the city *Leg.* 11.921c; *Resp.* 7.520a.

⁴⁰⁰ For the Stoic doctrine of συνδεσμός, see Karl Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Untersuchungen zu Poseidonios* (München: Beck, 1926), 411–12; idem, “Poseidonios,” PRE 43. Halbbd. (1953) 588–826, esp. 608–11, 659–61; Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 1.74–75; 2.42–43; Walter Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (SBA 9; Basel: Reinhardt, 1959), 97–105.

⁴⁰¹ Philo (*Her.* 197–200) discusses the composition of frankincense out of four ingredients, symbolically representing the four elements; according to *Plant.* 9–10 the binding agent is the λόγος.

⁴⁰² CH I.18; Exc. V.4 (cf. V.6); XXIII.39; XXVI.16.

⁴⁰³ Col 2:19; 3:14; Eph 4:3–6. See BDAG, s.v. συνδεσμός, συνδέω; Gottfried Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1964) 856–59.

⁴⁰⁴ Elsewhere in the PGM, the term κλειθρον is connected with underworld figures like Tartarus, Cerberus, and Hades (IV.1465, 2261, 2294, 2337; cf. κλειστρον XXXVI.317 [cf. 314]). Interesting is Reitzenstein’s (*Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 238) reference to *Sib. Or.* 8:122, where Aion has the epithet κλειδοφύλαξ εἰρκτῆς μεγάλης. See also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 28–29; and below, note 407.

⁴⁰⁵ Eitrem, in Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.240 (with reference to Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.102–7), but he prefers τετραλιζώματος (see above, n. 396).

ever, were a key concept in the cosmology of Empedocles who used the metaphor to explain the function of the four elements:⁴⁰⁶

τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε
 Ζεὺς ἀργῆς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἥδ' Αἰδωνεύς
 Νῆστις θ' ἡ δακρύους τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.

Hear first the four roots of all things;
 shining Zeus, life-bringing Hera,
 Aidoneus and Nestis who with her tears fills the springs
 of mortal men with water.

What appears here in a poetic form became part of Hellenistic cosmologies, in which the fiery sun, the term *συνδεῖν*, and even the *κληδοῦχος* ("key-holder") have their place.⁴⁰⁷ Merkelbach's comment calls attention to their syncretistic nature.⁴⁰⁸ Accepting the reading *τετραλιζώματος* as equalling *τετραριζώματος*, he bases an Egyptian interpretation on the reference to the four pillars (*τέσσαρες στύλισκοι*) in l. 669. "According to the Egyptian viewpoint the world rests on four pillars, and these are rooted in four *ῥιζώματα*."⁴⁰⁹ Indeed, the combination of the older Egyptian worldview with a Hellenistic cosmology would fit as part of the syncretistic Aion-theology of the ML.

Following the first epithet, the remainder of the aretology comprises 20 epithets (ll. 590–602), each of them combining a Greek honorific title with non-Greek *voces magicae*. These epithets, all of them relating to fire (*πῦρ*), light (*φῶς*) and spirit (*πνεῦμα*), when discussed one by one, throw further light on the syncretistic Aion-theology of the ML.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ Empedocles, D.-K. 31 B 6 (I.311.15–312.2), from Aetius 1.3.20; cited according to Kirk & Raven, 323, # 417. See also Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 13–14, 355, 385. Cf. Pythagoras: *ἀέανου φύσεως ῥίζωμα* (D.-K. 58 B 15 [I.455.10]); *CH* XVI.4 refers to fire, water and earth as coming from one root (*ρίζα*).

⁴⁰⁷ See Kirk & Raven, 327–30: "The Four Roots and Love and Strife;" also 332–34, and furthermore 370, 376, 380–81, 383, 399, 432. For Dike and Ananke as *κληδοῦχος* see Parmenides (D.-K. 28 B 1 [I.229.9]; Kirk & Raven, 284, # 359): τῶν δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληίδας ἀμοιβούς. Cf. Matt 16:19 (δώσω σοι τὰς κλείδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν); 23:13 (κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων).

⁴⁰⁸ Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.240.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. As for the Egyptian sources, Merkelbach refers to Dieter Kurth, "Den Himmel stützen". Die 'Tw3pt' Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975), 90–99. See also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 15.

⁴¹⁰ See Dieterich, 65–67. Remarkably, the great encomium to Wisdom (*σοφία*) in Wis 7:22–23 (LXX) contains 20 epithets describing the spirit (*πνεῦμα*); the relationship to philosophical Aion theology is evident from many parallels, especially the formula in v. 18. Cf. furthermore Proclus' Hymn 1 (to Helios), ll. 1–2: Κλυθι, πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ, χρυσήνιε Τιτάν, κλυθι, φάους ταμία...; for commentary see Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*, 491–93; van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 152–56.

πυρίπολε πεντιτερουνη

πυρίπολος (“fire-burning”) is found only here in the PGM. LSJ (s.v.), refers to πυρίπολος as associated with lightning (κεραυνός) in Euripides. *Suppl.* 640.

πεντιτερουνη is corrected by the scribe from πεντετερουνη; it is unexplained and not attested elsewhere in the PGM.

φωτὸς κτίστα (οἱ δέ· συγκλεῖστα) σεμεσιλαμ

φωτὸς κτίστης (“creator of light”) is unique in the PGM, but may be related to Parmenides’ idea that fire created light (D.-K. 28 A 34 [I.223.35–36]; Kirk & Raven, 278–81); there may be a connection with Pythagoras’ “ten opposite principles,” one of which is φῶς-σκότος (cf. Kirk & Raven, 257, # 328). Cf. XIII.334–37. Interesting is the redactional gloss: οἱ δέ· *συνκλεῖστα* (“others have: confiner”); the pap. has *συνκλιστα*. Perhaps this gloss is motivated by κλήθρα l. 589; cf. συγκλείειν, XIII.360.

σεμεσιλαμ is a known Semitic epithet, meaning “eternal sun”; for passages in PGM see Preisendanz, 3.230 (index) s.v.; for further material see Adolf Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930) 269–85, esp. 276–81; Bonner, *Studies*, 58; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*, 328 (index); Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 310, 311, 312 and index; Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 1.27–28 (n. 10.4); Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.209; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 26–27, 29, 73, 77, 85, 115, 176; Maria G. Lancellotti, “ΣΕΜΕΣ(Ε)ΙΛΑΜ. Una messa a punto,” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 248–54 (bibl.).

πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ

The adjective πυρίπνους (“fire-breathing”) occurs also in IV.2559, 2727; VII.831; LXXVII.19; *πυριπνέος* I.34.

ψυρινφευ appears only here in PGM; cf. ψιρινθ, IV.341.

πυρίθυμε ιαω

The adjective πυρίθυμος (“fire-spirited”) occurs only here in the PGM; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

ιαω names Iao, frequently mentioned in the PGM; see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.3–4, 29, 35, 42–44; 213, 214, 215; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 264 (index); David Aune, “Iao,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1–12.

πνευματόφως ωαῖ

The adjective (“spirit-light,” or “shining spirit” [LSJ]) occurs only here.

ωαῖ may be a variation of ιαω (palindrome?); see III.573, 574, 575, 582.

πυριχαρῆ ελουρε

The adjective πυριχαρῆς (“rejoicing in fire” [LSJ]) occurs only here in the PGM; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

Pap. reads ελουρε, a *hapax*, but Martinez considers ερουρε; ερου is attested in combination IV.672, 1589; V.432 and may be related to the decan Ἐρού or Ἐρώ (see below on l. 672; for combinations with ερου see Preisendanz, index, 3.220, 254).

Preisendanz, however, reads ελουρε and takes it to be a vocative ἔλουρε (αἶλουρε, “cat”), assuming an exchange αι/ε. The connection with αἶλουρος (“cat”) was seen already by Wessely and Dieterich (8, *app. crit.*). Dieterich (8, 223) has doubts, however,

whether among all the *voces magicae* suddenly a Greek term should occur; he, therefore, takes it to be a scribal addition. Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.240: "Der Sonnengott ist der große Kater;" so also Harrauer, *Meliouchos*, 13, n. 5, referring to the cat-spells in III.1–164; IV.9–10, 1648; VII.846; XII.107.

Martinez observes that *πυριχαρῆ* could be a vocative as well; -ῆ as a vocative ending is attested for Koine Greek (Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.137).

καλλιφως αἶαι

The attribute occurs only here ("light-beauty"); according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*, but cf. *καλλιφεγγῆ* at PGM IV.1303.

αἶαι is found only here, unexplained. Cf. *αἶαζαεισθαλιχ*, VII.819; for other combinations with αἶα- see Preisendanz, 3.244 (index). Brashear ("Greek Magical Papyri," 3578) calls attention to the Jewish angel named Azza.

αἰών ακβα

αἰών is apparently used here as an epithet (the pap. reads αἰών), but of course the name Aion is known from the ML elsewhere (see at ll. 520–21). Dieterich (66–67, 233) refers to the images of Aion-Kronos, and to bibliography.

Dieterich (8) reads ακβα, now affirmed by Martinez; the epithet occurs only here. Preisendanz reads αχβα, which Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 30) explains as a combination of Egyptian Ah ("Glanz") Ba ("soul").

φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι

This epithet ("ruler of light," LSJ: "lord of light") occurs only here; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι is explained by Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 30) as an anaphorical manipulation of Pre, the Demotic name of the sun-god Re, ending with πιπι, the pseudo-reproduction of the Hebrew tetragrammaton יהוה. See also III.575 (cf. 335); IV.1984–85; XVII.a.1–2. For the problem see Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1942), 120, n. 38; Marc Philonenko, "L'anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAO," *CRAI* (1979) 291–304; Meyer, in Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 85; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240–41) who refers to Jerome, *Ep.* 25 (cited in *Abrasax*, 2.29), and Paul de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra* (repr. of the 1887 ed.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 228–29. Jordan sees here an imperfect palindrome μεπεμερπεμπεμ.

πυρισώματα φνουηνοχ

πυρισώματος ("fire-bodied") occurs only here.

φνουηνοχ is unexplained, and is found only here.

φωτοδῶτα

Pap. reads φωτοδῶτα, corrected by Dieterich (9, 223) to φωτοδότα, but Preisendanz keeps φωτοδῶτα. The attribute φωτοδότης ("light-giver") occurs also in Simplicius, *In Epict.* 1.410 (ed. Hadot). Preisendanz compares IV.3235: πυριδῶτα (pap. has πυριδωρα). The *vox magica* is missing.

πυρισπόρε αρει εἵκιτα

The adjective πυρισπόρος (“fire-sower”) occurs only here in the PGM, but according to the *TLG* it is also attested as attribute of Dionysus in *Hymn. Orph.* 45, line 1; 52, l. 2; Oppianus, *Cyn.* Book 4, l. 304.

αρει εἵκιτα are unexplained *hapaxlegomena*.

πυρίκλονε γαλλαβαλβα

The pap. reads πυριχλone, corrected by Dieterich (8; cf. idem, *Abraxas*, 49: πυριχλone).

The adjective πυρίκλονος (“fire-thronging” [LSJ]) occurs only here; cf. l. 621: κλόνος.

γαλλαβαλβα is found only here.

φωτοβία ιαιαιω

The pap. reads φωτοβία ιαιαιω, corrected by Dieterich to φωτόβιε, αιαιω, Preisendanz-Henrichs to φωτοβίαιε αιω. Martinez takes φωτοβία as a vocative of φωτοβίας (first declension, masc.; see LSJ, s.v. (“powerful of light”), found only here.

αιω may be a variation of ιαω see l. 593; so Crönert, *StPP* 4 (1905) 100; Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 1, 267, 282, 471.

πυριδῖνα πυριχι βοοσηια

The pap. reads πυριδεινα. The adjective πυριδῖνος (“fire-whirling”) is found only here.

πυριχι βοοσηια are unexplained *hapaxlegomena*; Preisendanz suggests πυριχι[τών].

φωτοκινήτα σανχερωβ

The attribute φωτοκινήτης (“light-mover”) is found only here.

σανχερωβ is found only here; Dieterich (223), Jacoby (apud Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, ad loc.) and Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3589) suggest the interpretation σαν Χερουβ.

κεραυνόκλονε ιη ωη ιωηω

The adjective κεραυνόκλονος (“lightning-shaker”) occurs only here; cf. l. 621: κλόνος and above πυρίκλονε.

The vowel sequence ιη ωη ιωηω is unexplained.

φωτός κλέος βεεγένητε

The expression φωτός κλέος (“light-famous”) is found only here. Pap. reads βεεγένητε, which Dieterich (10; also *Abraxas*, 49,5) takes to be βαῖεγέννητε, meaning “Leben-gezeugter” oder “Lebenerzeuger,” “life-begotten or life-begetter” (from Egyptian βαῖ meaning “life” or “soul”), a word inserted by an Egyptian magician-redactor.

Preisendanz keeps βεεγενητε.

αὔξησῖφως σουσινεφι

The attribute αὔξησῖφως (“light-increasing”), with trema in the pap, appears only here. σουσινεφιεν is unexplained; Dieterich (10) reads σουσινεφι as in IV.602; XII.293: σουσηνη; σουσι XLI.3; LXXII.35: [εφε]. According to Dieterich (10), Jordan and Martinez, there is indeed a space between σουσινεφι and εν, which suggests ἐν(for ἐμ)πυρισχησιφως (as in LSJ, s.v. ἐμπυρισχησιφως, “deriving light from the empyrean”).

ἐνπυρισχησίφως σουσίνεφι ἀρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντεν

For the attribute ἐνπυρισχησίφως see above. Preisendanz (see also in Dieterich, 223) prefers σουσινεφιν πυρισχησίφως ("der Licht durch Feuer erhält"), whereupon follows the expansion σουσινεφιαρεν.

σουσίνεφι ἀρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντεν: the *vores magicae* are found only here, but see l. 601 for σουσίνεφι; combinations using μαρμαρ- are found elsewhere.

Thus ends the invocation; the following attribute ἀστροδάμα, without a *vox magica*, belongs to the following petition.⁴¹¹ The prayer to Aion leads to the presentation of the petition (ll. 603–4) and the reason for the petition (ll. 604–6). The transition from the preceding aretology to the petition seems to be provided by the address of the god as ἀστροδάμα ("subduer of stars").⁴¹² The petition itself is brief: ἀνοιξόν μοι ("open [for] me"), referring to the closed doors of the sun (ll. 583–85).⁴¹³ Following the petition is a recitation of the προπροφегγη-formula: προπροφегγη εμεθειρε μδριομοτυρηφιλβα.⁴¹⁴ The question, which, given our present knowledge, cannot be answered, is whether this formula is to be recited here in an abbreviated version, or whether the abbreviation is to be completed in accordance with one of the longer versions (see above, on ll. 562–65).

The reason for the petition is given in a long sentence in ll. 604–10, containing two statements, introduced by: ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης ... ("for I invoke, because of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity ..."). The term ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ("invoke") is technical in prayer language and occurs in the PGM frequently.⁴¹⁵ The subsequent statement is another instance of the "ananke formula" (see ll. 503–4, 526–27, 534–35). The related statement

⁴¹¹ I accept this suggestion made orally by Fritz Graf.

⁴¹² The attribute ἀστροδάμας appears only here in the PGM. Cf. *Orph. Frag.* 47 (ed. Kern; D.-K. I, 18, 6; Zuntz, *Persephone*, 346–47 [tablet C]): τὴν πάντα δαμασά. This tablet C was re-edited by Alberto Bernabé and Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instrucciones para el más allá. Las laminillas órficas de oro* (Madrid 2001), 273–77: παντοδαμάστα; see also Tablet A1–2, line 4, and on it Zuntz, *Persephone*, 313–17. Furthermore, Epimenides B 2 (D.-K. I, 33, 4).

⁴¹³ Cf. in the ML also ll. 662 (opening of doors), 624 (opening of the eyes). Commands to open (ἀνοίγειν) occur often in the PGM (see esp. IV.968, 1180; XIII.327–33; XXXVI.298, 312–20; LXII.27–31). The whole matter is related to the Hellenistic miracle *topos* of door openings; see Otto Weinreich, "Türöffnungswunder bei Zauber und Gebet," in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), esp. 183–89, 201–4; Betz, *Lukian*, 169–71 (with further bibliography).

⁴¹⁴ The pap. reads μδριο; according to Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) the papyri often read 8 (or: oo) for the letter omicron (Jordan offers omega with underscoring). Preisendanz reads the formula as μοριομοτυρηφιλβα. For τυρηφιλβα, see also l. 565.

⁴¹⁵ See Preisendanz, 3.95–96, (index) s.v. ἐπικαλεῖν; BDAG, s.v., 1.

regarding the deity called upon seems well-constructed and looks like a quotation from another context:

τὰ μὴδέπω χωρήσαντα εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν
μὴδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρθρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης
ἢ θνητοῦ φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς
ἀθάνατα ζῶντα καὶ ἐντιμα ὀνόματα.

the immortal names, living and honored,
which have not yet passed into mortal nature
nor have been declared in articulate speech
by human tongue or mortal speech or mortal sound.

This strange statement, which is unique in the PGM,⁴¹⁶ is formulated in parallel lines and contains a theory about the nature of the divine vowel sequence to follow. Accordingly, mortal nature (φύσις)⁴¹⁷ corresponds to articulate speech (γλῶσσα),⁴¹⁸ mortal sound (φθόγγος),⁴¹⁹ and mortal voice (φωνή). Therefore, the truly divine names of the gods must be totally different,⁴²⁰ that is, pure sound as in the vowel sequences (ll. 610–16).

Outside of the PGM, however, there are similar statements reflecting a background in prophecy or mystery-cult ideas.⁴²¹ Especially important is the parallel in 1 Cor 2:9:

⁴¹⁶ Cf., however, XIII.763–64: τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον (ἐν ἀνθρώπου στόματι λαλῆσαι οὐ δύναται). See for discussion and further materials my article, “Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri,” *Antike und Christentum*, 152–74.

⁴¹⁷ On the phrase θνητὴ φύσις, see ll. 502, 533.

⁴¹⁸ The pap. reads διαρθρώσει, corrected by Usener (in Dieterich, 11) and Kroll (*Ph.* 53 [1894] 421) to διαρθρῶσει. The term διάρθρωσις (“articulation”) is technical in discussions of language theory; see Plato, *Prot.* 322a; *Leg.* 12.963b; Aristotle, *Part.* 2.17.660a; LSJ, s.v.. For the use of φράζειν in connection with ὄνομα, see XIII.640–41: ἐφελκυσάμενος πνεῦμα πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι φράσον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ πρῶτον ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἀπηλιώτη; for φράζειν cf. also I.91, 319; IV.198–200, 945, 1971; XIII.641. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241; cf. 1.148) refers to a parallel in the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (2nd c. CE), where he says that the theurgists invoke the gods συγμοῖς τε καὶ πομπυσμοῖς καὶ ἀνὰ ἄνθρωποις (ἐν ἀνθρώποις codd.) καὶ ἀσυμφώνοις ἤχοις (*Musici scriptores Graeci*, ed. K. Jan [BiTeu; Leipzig: Teubner, 1895], 277: Excerpta ex Nicomacho 6). For further material see Willy Theiler, “Die Sprache des Geistes in der Antike,” in: *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung. Festschrift für Albert Debrunner* (Bern: Francke, 1954), 431–40; Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65.

⁴¹⁹ For the use of φθόγγος see ll. 745; also VII.775, 778; XII.253; XIII.393, 545–46, 776; XXI.12.

⁴²⁰ The expression ἐντιμα ὀνόματα occurs in the singular also IV.3272.

⁴²¹ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) points to the parallel in Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich), prooemium, p. 23, line 2; also Totti, *Texte*, 117 (# 45): in the description of a visit with Asclepius, the officiating priest causes the god to appear by invoking him by his secret names: προσαγαγὼν διὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὀνομάτων τὸν θεόν, “bringing forth the god through his ineffable names.”

ἃ ὁφθαλμός οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,
ἃ ἡτοίμασέν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτοῦ.

What the eye has not seen and the ear has not heard,
and in the human heart has not arisen (this is)
what God has provided for those who love him.

The passage, interpreting the revelation of God's wisdom (v. 7–9a), is introduced as a quotation from scripture, but no such scripture verse can be identified in extant texts. This does not mean that such a text could not have existed.⁴²² There are similar but not identical passages in the apocalyptic and gnostic Apocrypha. The origin of the passage constitutes an unresolved problem.⁴²³

With the vowel sequences (ll. 610–16) the prayer to Aion has come its end.⁴²⁴ What follows in ll. 617–20 is an interesting instruction concerning performance of recitation. Several items are stipulated, the first of which is: ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος. ("Recite all of these with fire and spirit.") Apparently, this instruction refers to rhetorical enthusiasm, corresponding to fire and spirit mentioned in the prayer, and comparable to Paul's reference to ἀπόδειξις πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως ("demonstration of spirit and power," 1 Cor 2:4).⁴²⁵

The second rule says that: ... τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτελῶν, εἶτα ὁμοίως τὸ δεύτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἕως ἐκτελέσης τοὺς ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου⁴²⁶ ("... the first time performing to the end; then in the same way when you begin the second time, until you have gone through the seven immortal gods of the universe"). How is this to be understood? Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*)

⁴²² Cf. also the contrasts in 1 Cor 2:4: ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς[ς] σοφίας [λόγοις] ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.

⁴²³ For a collection of parallel passages and discussion of the problems, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHTh 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck], 1986), 36–41; Wolfgang Schrage, *Die Elia-Apokalypse* (JSRZ 5:3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1980), 195–96; idem, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum NT, VII; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 1.238–46. The passage from the ML will have to be added to these collections.

⁴²⁴ David Jordan's observation (letter of December 17, 2002) is important at this point: "Several of the clusters of vowels have diacriticals, again as if to show pronunciation, e.g. 615 ὄηεση or 616 ὠή εὐ ὁό. These marks are faint in the photograph and were probably written in a lighter ink, perhaps even added later by a second scribe. It is sometimes hard to distinguish them from natural discolorations on the fibers. Perhaps they were unrecognizable before the Paris conservators removed the shellac from the papyrus."

⁴²⁵ Cf. also John the Baptist's baptism with the holy spirit and fire (Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; 2:1–4).

⁴²⁶ Pap. reads ζ.

suggests that the 23 times 7 letters refer to 23 epithets in the list ll. 590–605, but this list has only 21 epithets. Or is, more likely, the vowel sequence to be chanted seven times, so that the seven gods of the universe are addressed?

Whatever the answer may be, following the conclusion of the prayer, the text announces its effect (ll. 620–23): ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς καὶ κλόνου τοῦ περιέχοντος. (“When you have said these things, you will hear thunder and shaking in the surrounding realm.”) Claps of shattering thunder⁴²⁷ figure prominently into events in the cosmic realm.⁴²⁸ It certainly will shake up the initiate: ὁμοίως δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσῃ ταρασσόμενον (“in the same way you will experience yourself being shaken”).⁴²⁹

Confronting the terror, the initiate is to repeat the σιγή-logos: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγὴ λό(γος).⁴³⁰ (“But you say again: Silence (prayer).” The prayer so-called has been recited before (see ll. 558–60, 573, 582), but the wording is somewhat different. Which version should then be used? Most likely is the first complete form (ll. 558–60).

Then the practitioner is told to open his eyes and experience the vision (ll. 624–28): εἴτα ἀνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὄψῃ. (“Then open your eyes, and you will see.”) The opening of the eyes ends their closing which had been ordered at ll. 586–87. As usual, the vision is announced by ὄψῃ. Its object is presented as a description of an image: ἀνεωγυῖας τὰς θύρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν,⁴³¹ ὅς ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμά σου συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν. (“You will see the doors opened and the world of the gods, which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends”). The doors in the sun, reported as closed in ll. 584–85, are now open, so that the initiate can take a look inside of heaven, the world of the gods. The opening of the doors of heaven is a *topos* of vision accounts of all kinds, especially in apocalyptic literature.⁴³² Viewing this image turns the previous

⁴²⁷ For βροντή see above, on ll. 571–72; for κλόνος ll. 597, 599–600.

⁴²⁸ The term τὸ περιέχον is technical in cosmologies (PGM VII.508: τὸ περιέχον, ὃ ἐστὶν γῆ καὶ οὐρανός); XIII.139, 163 (θεοὶ ζ', οἵτινες τὸν κόσμον περιέχουσιν), 345, 443–44, 474, 517, 698, etc.). See Plato, *Tim.* 31a; *Crit.* 118a; *CH* Exc. XXIII.11, 67, 69; and LSJ, s.v. περιέχω, 1.b.

⁴²⁹ αἰσθηθήσῃ is a peculiar term, for which Preisendanz refers to Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX*, 98.

⁴³⁰ Pap. has the symbol Δ; see above on l. 573.

⁴³¹ Pap. reads ἀνεωγυῖας and the abbreviation θν with a stroke above for θεῶν; cf. below, l. 648, and Preisendanz, 2.270.

⁴³² Cf. also Homer, *Od.* 24.12ff. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.241) points to the description of the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος in Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b–252c, esp. 246e. See also, e.g., Mark 1:10 // Matt 3:16 // Luke 3:21; John 1:51; Acts 7:56; 10:11; Rev 3:7, 20; 4:1; etc. See BDAG, s.v. ἀνοίγω, 2; *OTP* 2, index s.v. “Heaven, gates of”; Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven*:

fear into pleasure and joy, so that his spirit that he had inhaled before (see ll. 537, 628) runs with him and carries him along on his ascent.⁴³³ With this experience of aesthetic enthusiasm, the fourth scenario has come to an end.

5. Fifth scenario: the encounter with Helios (ll. 628–61)

The fifth scenario shows the initiate at a higher level of the cosmos. He is now ready to encounter the god Helios who has been mentioned before as Helios Mithras (l. 482) as well as the sun disk (548 [πατήρ], 551, 576, 579–80, 583). His relationship with Aion and Mithras appears complicated, but for the author these deities are, in the final analysis, identical.⁴³⁴ As often, the scenario begins with a spatial orientation and commands to perform rituals (ll. 628–29): *στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀτενίζων εἰς σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα*. (“Now stand still and at once draw spirit from the divine into yourself, while you gaze intently [at the god Helios]”).⁴³⁵ The standing still arrests the upward movement (ll. 627–28). The ritual drawing in from the divine refers to the sun as the source of the spirit (cf. ll. 537–38); the gazing (*ἀτενίζειν*) has been mentioned before (see above, on l. 556). This leads to the precondition for the next step: *ὅταν οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχὴ ...* (“Then when your soul has been restored ...”). While the initiate’s self had been shattered because of the thunder (ll. 622–23), an additional inhalation of the divine spirit will now restore his soul (*ψυχὴ*). The concept of the soul as an individual’s self has been mentioned before,⁴³⁶ although not in ll. 622–23. At any rate, the term needs to be taken in a non-Platonic sense as describing the spirit-self (*πνεῦμα*), as

A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity (London: SPCK, 1982), 53, 78, 359, 369, 372, 378, 389, 415; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.279–82.

⁴³³ For *ἀναβαίνειν* see l. 546; for *συντρέχειν*, a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, cf. *σύμπλανος*, l. 574. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.241) calls attention to the parallel in Plato’s *Phaedr.* 248a, where the immortal soul is taken up by the rotation of the cosmos.

⁴³⁴ See for a general discussion the Introduction, above, 34–38.

⁴³⁵ Translations differ at this point: Dieterich: “Tritt nun hin sogleich und ziehe von dem Göttlichen gerade hinblickend in dich den Geisthauch”; Preisendanz: “Nun bleib stehn und ziehe gleich von dem göttlichen Wesen, es unverwandt anblickend, in dich den Geisthauch”; Meyer: “So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently”; Merkelbach: “Stelle dich also auf, blicke auf die Gottheit und ziehe ihren Lebenshauch in dich selbst”; Festugière: “Reste en place cependant, et aussitôt, de ce monde divin, le fixant du regard, attire à toi le souffle.”

The sentence construction is awkward, but it should be clear that what is to be drawn in from the divine (Helios) is the spirit, and what is to be gazed at is the deity (Helios). Cf. *Barn.* 5.10 about the inability of humans to gaze into the sun rays: *ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι*.

⁴³⁶ See ll. 475, 498, 524, 535, 710, 725. For the concept of world-soul see the discussion on l. 475.

having grown weak and in need of another infusion of the divine spirit.⁴³⁷ When this has taken place, the moment for calling forth the god has come: λέγε· πρόσσελθε, κύριε (“speak: come forward, lord”).⁴³⁸ A series of *voes magicae* follows (631–33), most of them unexplained: αρχανδαρα⁴³⁹ φωταζα⁴⁴⁰ πυριφωταζαβυθιζ⁴⁴¹ ετιμενμερο φοραθην⁴⁴² εριη προθρι φοραθι.

After this command, the epiphany of Helios begins: τοῦτο <σοῦ> εἰπόντος στραφήσονται ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτῖνες ...⁴⁴³ (“When you have spoken this, the sun rays will turn themselves upon you ...”). The sun-beams, mentioned before in IV.461, 538, focus on the initiate like a search light. This event can perhaps relate to images in the Mithraic iconography, where Mithras turns around to look at Helios as he slays the bull.⁴⁴⁴ The text then instructs: ἔσειδε αὐτῶν μέσον (“look into the center of them”).⁴⁴⁵

The ritual continues: ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης, ὄψη ... (“Then, when you do this, you will see ...”).⁴⁴⁶ What follows is an iconographic portrait of Helios (ll. 635–37): θεὸν νεώτερον, εὐειδῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ <χ>λαμύδι κοκκίνη ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον⁴⁴⁷ (“a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown”). The portrait is constructed of adjectives and participles typical of Helios. Although the deities are different, there are also remarkable parallels between his and Mithras’ portrait (ll. 696–702).⁴⁴⁸

⁴³⁷ As Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 72–73) notes, ψυχή is not a prominent concept in the ML; in that regard *CH* XIII is similar.

⁴³⁸ For the command λέγε, see l. 623; for πρόσσελθε see also ll. 580, 756 (on the departure see ll. 655–57). For the title κύριος see above, on l. 588. Martinez calls attention to the liturgical call “Lord, come!” (μαράνα θά, 1 Cor 16:22; Did 10:6); cf. ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ (Rev 22:20). See BDAG, s.v. μαράνα θά.

⁴³⁹ Cf. αρχανδαβαρ XII.156, χανδαρα V.433.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. next πυριφωταζα (?), φωσζα πυρι βελια Ἰάω ιαο ευω etc. (l. 962).

⁴⁴¹ So the pap. Adolf Deissmann (*Bible Studies* [trans. Alexander Grieve; Edinburgh: Clark, 1901; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988], 130–32) proposes ζαβυθ, with the remaining πυριφωτα. Or should it perhaps be πυριφωταζα βυθιζ?

⁴⁴² Cf. φοραθι, below.

⁴⁴³ Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) suggests adding σοῦ, cf. l. 655.

⁴⁴⁴ See, e.g., the Mithras reliefs in Cesare Letta, “Helios/Sol,” *LIMC* 4:1–2 (1988), ## 368, 373, 376; Rainer Vollkommer, “Mithras,” *ibid.*, 6:1–2 (1992), ## 113, 132, 135, 136, 153; Merkelbach, *Mithras*, fig. 50, 54, 71, 73, 116.

⁴⁴⁵ Pap. reads εσειδε. Cf. Dieterich (10, l. 27) and Hopfner who read ἔσει: δέ and translate: “und du wirst mitten unter ihnen sein” (“and you will be in their midst”). Riess reads ἔσιδε; Jordan takes it as εἰσιδε.

⁴⁴⁶ For this phrase, cf. ll. 569, 629–30, 692, 757; also IV.634–35, 1431; for ὄψη, see above, on l. 539.

⁴⁴⁷ Jordan reads <χ>λαμύδι; Dieterich, Preisendanz have χλαμύδι.

⁴⁴⁸ For the iconography of Helios, see Dieterich (67–68) who refers to Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, 1.123–24); for representations of the god on Mithraic monuments, see also

The terms θεὸς νεώτερος and ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ are also used of Mithras (ll. 697–98), while εὐηδής, πυρινόθριξ, χλαμὺς κοκκίνη are applied to Helios only;⁴⁴⁹ en lieu of a πύρινος στέφανος Mithras is crowned with a χρυσὸς στέφανος.

At the appearance of Helios, he is to be greeted at once⁴⁵⁰ with a special greeting called πύρινος ἀσπαστικός (l. 638):⁴⁵¹ εὐθέως ἄσπασαι αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἀσπαστικῷ (“At once greet him with the firey greeting”). The prayer so named is contained in ll. 639–55. Beginning with the invocation, it shows the usual composition: the invocation (ll. 639–42), and the presentation of a petition (ll. 642–55). The prayer may even be influenced by court ceremonial.⁴⁵²

The invocation is carefully composed, beginning with the address κύριε (“lord”)⁴⁵³ and χαῖρε (“Greetings!” “Hail”),⁴⁵⁴ and followed by an aretology of three attributes using μεγα-: μεγαλοδύναμις (“great power”),⁴⁵⁵ με<γα>λο-

Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 201; fig. 16b, 25, 33, 49, 50, 62, 70, 88, 103, 139; Cesare Letta, “Helios/Sol,” *LIMC* 4:1–2, s.v.; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 12–13. It is noteworthy that the verbal portrait in *Orph. Hymn.* 8 uses entirely different terms. Cf. the iconography of Christ in Rev 1:12–16, and the collection of parallels in Aune, *Revelation*, 1.71–100.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. of Helios ἐν τῇ πυρίνῃ χλαμύδι, XIV.7–8.

⁴⁵⁰ This scene may be compared to one of the fresco paintings from the Isis temple in Herculaneum. A black dancing figure emerges in the door of the temple and is greeted by worshipers raising their hands or kneeling down, also using the sistrum. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*, 100–102 and plate XXIV; Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, color plate V and description p. 554 (fig. 73). – On εὐθέως in the ML, see on l. 557.

⁴⁵¹ There are no parallels known of this greeting formula, which is apparently the name of the following prayer. Cf. Proclus’ “Fire Song” (*Hymn* 1), discussed by Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 202–203, 491–93; van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 145–89. For ἀσπάξασθαι in the ML, see ll. 666, 677, 712. Cf. the classification of greeting formulae as χαιρετισμός (II.87; IV.1046; cf. χαιρετίζειν I.60–61; IV.1052–53; XIII.117, 673); see Anton Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954) 993–1006; Henrik Zilliakus, “Grußformen,” *RAC* 12 (1983) 1204–32.

⁴⁵² See Karl Hoheisel, “Hofzeremoniell,” *RAC* 16 (1991) 1–4; Rudolf Wachter (“Griechisch χαῖρε. Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes,” *MH* 55 [1998] 65–75) connects the greeting with the giving of gifts and sacrifices. For the hymns to Helios see the reconstructions by Ernst Heitsch, in *Preisendanz*, 2.237–46; also, with commentary, Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 1–2; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 111–12.

⁴⁵³ See also l. 588, with note; for comparative material on addressing persons, see Henrik Zilliakus, “Anredeformen,” *RAC.S*, fasc. 3–4 (1985–86) 465–97.

⁴⁵⁴ This greeting is actually an appeal (“be glad”); it occurs frequently in the ML; see ll. 713–14; also 666, 670–72, 678, 688–91, 1048, 2242; XII.182; XIII.609. Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 19 (ed. Ziegler): ...δε, χαῖρε νύμφε, χαῖρε νέον φῶς (“... Greetings, bridegroom! Greetings, new light!”). See, Dieterich, 214; Rudolf Wachter, “Griechisch χαῖρε. Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes,” *MH* 55 (1998) 65–75; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.61–62; 2.5–6; Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 150–51.

⁴⁵⁵ μεγαλοδύναμος occurs also l. 519; IV. 1345–46; VII.881; XII.374–75.

κράτωρ βασιλεῦ (“great-mighty king”),⁴⁵⁶ μέγιστε θεῶν (“greatest of gods”).⁴⁵⁷ Then comes the god’s name, Helios and two more attributes: ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (“the lord of the heaven and the earth”),⁴⁵⁸ and θεὸς θεῶν (“god of gods”).⁴⁵⁹ Next come two parallel verbal forms: ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνοή (“mighty is your breath”), and ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις⁴⁶⁰ (“mighty is your power”); both of them are *hapaxlegomena* in the PGM. The conclusion (l. 642; cf. l. 639) repeats the address κύριε.

The presentation of the petition (ll. 642–55) is equally elaborate and begins with some formalities: ἐάν σοι δόξῃ, ἀγγελιὸν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι ... (“If it be your will, announce me to the greatest god, the one who begat and made you ...”). The polite formula, “If you please,” or “if you will,” expresses submission to the divine will.⁴⁶¹ The role of Helios as an announcer has an interesting parallel in Acts 12:14 (ἀπαγγέλλειν), showing that it may belong to domestic practices.⁴⁶² Helios functions here as a gate-keeper and messenger to announce visitors to Mithras.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁶ The pap. reads μελοκράτωρ, corrected by Wessely to μεγαλοκράτωρ, here as a vocative, cf. ll. 687–88: μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί. Cf. βασιλεῦ μέγιστε, IV.243, 255; Proclus, *Hymn* 1, line 1: πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ; line 2: φαοὺς ταμία; see van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 152–56.

⁴⁵⁷ The epithet occurs frequently in the PGM; see II.126; IV. 987, 1598; XIII.1019, 1046; and for further references, Preisendanz, index, 3.133–34, s.v. μέγας; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.4.

⁴⁵⁸ The epithet is found only here in the PGM; parallels occur in the LXX and in the NT (Matt 11:25 // Luke 10:21 [Q]; Acts 17:24). See BDAG, s.v. κύριος, II.2.b.

⁴⁵⁹ The pap. reads θε (with superscripted ε) θεων. See for this epithet θεὸς θεῶν PGM II.53; IV.180, 218, 641, 992, 1048, 1195, 1200; XXII.b.20. For other parallels, see BDAG, s.v. θεός.

⁴⁶⁰ Pap. has ἰσχύει.

⁴⁶¹ The petition (in Greek called ἔντευξις) begins with the polite phrase ἐάν σοι δόξῃ, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 4:1 (1944), s.v. δοκέω (cols. 609–10); BDAG, s.v. δοκέω, 2.b.β. See Anna di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re. Studio sul formulario,” *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 5–57, esp. 17–18 on the “formule attentuative.” Cf. Jesus’ prayer in Gethsemane, Matt 26:39, 42, and parr.; Nock (*Essays*, 1.192–93) refers to ML passages on the divine will: ll. 499, 642, 648.

⁴⁶² Eduard Norden (in Dieterich, 233) notes that the visitor had to be announced and points to Seneca, *Apoc.* 5; the question of the Sibyll to Musaeus (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.666–71). See also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.28–29.

⁴⁶³ Dieterich (67–68) raises the question whether this role of Helios has any connection with the *heliodromus*, the second to last grade of the Mithraic mysteries: “Wie weit der vorletzte Grad der Mithrasmythen, der ἡλιοδρόμοι – die Weihe des vorletzten Grades heißt ἡλιακά (C[umont] I 317, 3) – zur Erklärung dieser Rolle dienen könnte, läßt sich schwerlich sagen.” For further literature and discussion see Wünsch’s (Dieterich, 233) reference to René Dussaud, “Notes de mythologie archéologique syrienne,” § 4: “Hélios psychopompe,” *RAr*, 4ème série, t. 1 (1903) 142–48.

To call Mithras ὁ μέγιστος θεός (l. 643) apparently contradicts l. 640, where the epithet belongs to Helios. The epithet which follows clarifies the issue (ll. 643–44): τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι (“[Mithras] who begat and made you”). According to Dieterich (68), Mithras is defined here as the father and Helios as the son, but the title ὁ μέγας θεός “Ἡλῖος Μίθρας (l. 482) means that at least for the author father and son are one. Dieterich observes that “the idea of the *unio mystica* of father and son was not completely alien to ancient religious sentiment.”⁴⁶⁴ In other words, the idea does not result from Christian influence. Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 22–23) argues against Dieterich that Mithras is not called the μέγιστος θεός, but ὁ θεὸς ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθός, that is Agathos Daimon or the Iranian Ahura Mazda. Also, because both are called “young gods,” one can hardly be the father of the other. There is no question, however, that Helios will announce the visitor to Mithras who, he says emphatically, has begotten Helios.⁴⁶⁵ The contradiction seems to be the result of the competition between the two gods.⁴⁶⁶

In ll. 644–49 the initiate asks Helios to pass on to Mithras the self-identification of the initiate, a kind of passport. This self-identification contains important information about the anthropology of the ML.⁴⁶⁷ The section conforms to a *synthema* and has two parts.⁴⁶⁸

On the *heliodromus*, see Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 118–27. For comparable messengers, see Lucian, *Icarom.* 20–22; also Betz, *Lukian*, 109, n. 9. For the handing over of a petition to the Lord of Heaven, see *1 En.* 13:4–6; 14:4–7.

⁴⁶⁴ Dieterich’s (68) detailed discussion rejects the idea that this relationship reflects Christian influence: “Daß eine Vorstellung von der *unio mystica* des Vaters und des Sohnes auch antiken religiösem Empfinden nicht ganz fremd war....” But he still considers it a possibility (n. 2): “Im übrigen denke ich gar nicht daran – auch hier sei das kurz betont – die Möglichkeit der Einwirkungen christlicher Anschauungen auf diejenigen unseres Textes in Abrede stellen zu wollen.” Since there is no real evidence for Christian influences elsewhere in the ML, Dieterich’s skepticism is justified.

⁴⁶⁵ For the fatherhood of Mithras, see Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 6: τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου; and Julian, *Caes.* 336c: τὸν πατέρα Μίθραν. These passages are cited by Dieterich, 68, n. 1; 135, notes 1–3.

⁴⁶⁶ On the competition between Mithras and Helios, see Julien Ries, “Le culte de Mithra en Iran,” *ANRW* II.18:4 (1990) 2728–75, esp. 2767–68: “Le Soleil, Mithra et le Feu.”

⁴⁶⁷ Thus adding to the other self-identifications in the ML in ll. 517–37 and 718–24. See also Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.220–41.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. the parallel self-introduction and its implied anthropology in the *Katharmoi* of Empedocles (D. L. 8.62 and 66; D.-K. 31 B 112 [I, 354, 14–18]; Kirk & Raven, # 478 [p. 354]). Empedocles addresses his friends: ὦ φίλοι, ... χαίρετ’ ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς πωλεῖσθαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος (“Friends, ... Rejoice! To you I am as an immortal god, no longer a mortal, going about honored among all, ...” [my trans.]). For the interpretation, see the quotations of Empedocles in later sources, esp. Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 6.30.3; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.1; Plotinus, *En.* 4.7.10, 38: χαίρετ’, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν

First, the initiate identifies himself as an individual belonging to the human species: ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να),⁴⁶⁹ γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ (“that a human being am I, NN, whose mother is NN, who was born from the mortal womb of NN and the fluid of semen”).⁴⁷⁰ His species is called ἄνθρωπος (“human being”), vis à vis a divine being (ll. 646–48);⁴⁷¹ the individual is identified by the personal name to be inserted as well as, in matrilinear descendance, by the name of the mother. A human being must be from the mortal womb of the mother,⁴⁷² again identified by her name,⁴⁷³ and the semen of the father, not identified by name.⁴⁷⁴

Second, the initiate identifies himself by his divine nature, which is the result of his ritual rebirth (ll. 646–49): καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπαθανατισθῆις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θ(εο)ῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ⁴⁷⁵ (“and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of the exceedingly good god”).

The reference to time (“and today”) implies that the rebirth has taken place on the same day.⁴⁷⁶ The term for “being reborn” (μεταγεννηθῆναι) is almost technical in mystery-cult language.⁴⁷⁷ Such rebirth cannot be enjoyed by every

θεὸς ἄμβροτος πρὸς τὸ ἀναβάς θεῖον καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμοιότητα ἀτενίσας. See also Zuntz, *Persephone*, 189–92. Cf. also the Orphic gold tablets (esp. Pelinna 1–2 [ed. Riedweg, in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 392]). Furthermore, see on ll. 718–24, below; on the *synthema*, see below, p. 190.

⁴⁶⁹ Pap. expresses it with the symbol Δ τῆς Δ; see above, at l. 495.

⁴⁷⁰ Different from Preisendanz, but with Dieterich (12), I am placing no comma after ἄνθρωπος.

⁴⁷¹ See also ll. 523–24, 533, 535, 739–40.

⁴⁷² See also above, on ll. 517–18.

⁴⁷³ The symbol Δ is used again.

⁴⁷⁴ The phrase ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ is *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. See LSJ, s.v. ἰχώρ, “fluid,” used mostly with regard to blood.

⁴⁷⁵ Pap. reads μεγεννηθέντος, corrected by Dieterich (12) and Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) to με<τα>γεννηθέντος; differently Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 104, n. 8): καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ με γεννήσαντος. Preisendanz points to a similar scribal error in l. 639: με<γα>λοκράτωρ. Also, pap. reads an abbreviation θυ for θεοῦ, noted by Dieterich and Preisendanz, *ad loc.*; cf. the abbreviation θν (θεῶν) above, l. 625. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.242) regards the words σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος as a secondary addition.

Preisendanz puts a comma after θεοῦ and translates “nach dem Ratschluß des über-schwänglich guten Gottes.” Dieterich (12) and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.170) have no comma, without change in the translation. Indeed, there is no need for a comma either in l. 648.

⁴⁷⁶ For σήμερον (“today”) see ll. 516, 651, 686. For significant parallels in the NT, see Luke 2:11; 13:32; 19:9; 23:43; 2 Cor 6:2; furthermore BDAG, s.v. σήμερον. For the formula as a whole see above, ll. 516–29.

⁴⁷⁷ For the concept of rebirth, see ll. 487, 501, 508–9, 523–24.

human being, but only a few will be elected “out of the many myriads” of the *massa perditionis*.⁴⁷⁸ The god Helios does this by making the initiate immortal (ἀπαθανατισθείς),⁴⁷⁹ that is, through the ritual called ἀπαθανατισμός.⁴⁸⁰ That this ritual has occurred “at this hour” and “in accordance with the divine will” seems part of the traditional formulae.⁴⁸¹ The resulting rebirth and immortalization is of course a gift of divine beneficence.⁴⁸² The question as to which god is meant remains unclear. Is it Helios, Mithras, or a god even higher than Mithras? Merkelbach suggests that the expression belongs to the author’s conception of one metaphysical deity and that it expresses assimilation to Plato.⁴⁸³

Following the self-presentation, the initiate offers his petition, continuing in the descriptive style appropriate for the occasion (ll. 649–50: ... προσκυνῆσαι σε ἄξιόι καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην (“... requests to worship you, and supplicates with as much power a human being can have”).⁴⁸⁴ He first

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. the self-presentations on the Orphic gold tablets (A 1–3 and 5), where the initiate claims to be “a pure from the pure”; for the texts see Riedweg in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 392–94; Betz, *ibid.*, 412; *Antike und Christentum*, 236.

⁴⁷⁹ The verb ἀπαθανατίζειν occurs only here in the ML. According to TLG and LSJ it is attested since Plato, *Charm.* 156d; in Hellenistic philosophical and religious literature it is more frequent, especially in connection with heroization. See Theophrastus, *Piet.* frag. 2.12–13 (ed. Pötscher); Posidonius, frag. 134, from Diodorus Siculus 1.94.2 (ed. Theiler, *Posidonios*, 1.115): παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοχιν. This equals frag. 133, from Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.39 (762c) (ed. Theiler, 1.114): ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός; frag. 135, from Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.3.4–5 (298a–b) (ed. Theiler, 1.115): παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γέταις ὀνομάζετο θεός; see also Theiler’s commentary, 2.99); Numenius, frag. 46a.2 (ed. Des Places); Philo, *Opif.* 44; *Det.* 111; *Post.* 123; *Conf.* 149; *Somm.* 1.36; *Mos.* 2.228; *Spec.* 4.14; *Virt.* 15; QG 1.51; Aelianus, *Anab.* 1.3.2; Lucian, *Scyth.* 1; *Deor. conc.* 9; Cassius Dio, 45.7.1: τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι [sc. Augustus] αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρον ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατελεγμένῳ ἀνεντίθεσαν; Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.5. For further passages, see TLG, s.v.

⁴⁸⁰ For ἀπαθανατισμός, see below ll. 741, 747, 771.

⁴⁸¹ For ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, see I.212 (ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀνάγκης), 221; III.73–74 (ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὥρᾳ); IV.543 (ἐν ἐκείνῃ ὥρᾳ [cf. 544–45]); 1423. Cf. in the NT Luke 2:38; 24:33; Acts 16:18; 22:13; see BDAG, s.v. ὥρα, 2.c. For κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ, cf. similar expressions in ll. 499, 527–28, 540, 642.

⁴⁸² The formula is ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθοῦ (θεοῦ). The pap. reads ὑπερβαλλοντος, corrected by Dieterich and Preisendanz to ὑπερβαλλόντως, but Jordan keeps ὑπερβάλλοντος; cf. XII.284–85: (θεός) ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν.

⁴⁸³ Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.242): “Angleichung an den e i n e n, jenseitigen Gott Platons. Vgl. z. B. *Phaedr.* 246d: τὸ δὲ θεῖον καλόν, σοφόν, ἀγαθόν.” The author’s tendency of seeing the deity as totally transcendent is stated in the prooemium (the “great god Helios Mithras” [l. 482]), but this tendency may reflect his Stoic orientation, rather than direct assimilation of his ideas to Plato’s.

See also similar expression in the NT: 2 Cor 3:10, 9:14; Eph 1:19; 2:7; 3:19; and, more generally, ὑπερβολή in 2 Cor 4:7, 17; 12:7. See BDAG, s.v. ὑπερβολή.

⁴⁸⁴ My trans., continuing in the descriptive mode; there is no need to assume, as Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) does, a change from the third to the first person.

expresses his devotion by prostration (προσκύνησις),⁴⁸⁵ then his submission by supplication (ἄξιον, δέεσθαι),⁴⁸⁶ commensurate with his limited human power.⁴⁸⁷

In ll. 651–55 the author sees the need to insert a redactional comment which interprets “human power” astrologically: – ἵνα συμπαράλαβης τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὠρονόμον (“that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today”).⁴⁸⁸ That the author interconnects the ritual with astrology can be seen also in ll. 686–87. The initiate is told to carry the horoscope⁴⁸⁹ of the day and the hour along with him, so he can determine the gods of the day and hour.⁴⁹⁰ The name Θραψιαρι μοριροκ occurs only here in the ML.⁴⁹¹

Finally, the request is specified (ll. 653–54): ἵνα φανείς χρηματίσῃ ἐν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις (“that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours”). These words clearly state that the purpose and goal of the ritual is to obtain an oracular session with the god.⁴⁹² The request concludes with a sequence of *voces magicae* (654–55): εωρω ρωρε ωρρι ωριωρ ρωρ ρωι ωρ ρεωρωρι

⁴⁸⁵ For this gesture of prostration, which occurs only here in the ML, see also I.191; III.417, 470, 606; XIa.14; XII.118; XIII.844; LXXVII.10. On prostration as a Persian and Byzantine ritual, see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 24–26; See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Heinrich Greeven, *TDNT* 6 (1959), s.v.; BDAG, s.v. προσκυνέω.

⁴⁸⁶ For the terms ἄξιον καὶ δέεσθαι, see l. 477 and elsewhere in the PGM (I.193, 297; IV.951, 3226, 3239; VII.368; XXX.e.3; LXII.35–36). See moreover BDAG, s.v. ἄξιόω, 2.b.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. ll. 523–24: πρὸς ὅλιγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.242) points out that the phrase κατὰ δυνάμιν ἀνθρωπίνην is a Platonic echo (*Theaet.* 176b; *Phaedr.* 246d; *Resp.* 613b).

⁴⁸⁸ Pap. has ἵνα. The secondary nature of the insertion was seen by Dieterich (12, note in the *app. crit.*). Preisendanz (in Dieterich, 223) understands this to mean: ἵνα συμπαράλαβης τὸν ὠρονόμον, ᾧ ὄνομα Θραψιαρι [he notes what looks like fat letters for Θραψιαρι, the last word on f. 8v of the pap.], <λέγε> μοριροκ, ἵνα ... <λέγε> εωρω etc. The twelve hours are then designated by the *voces magicae* in ll. 654–55.

⁴⁸⁹ The astrological term ὠρονόμος (“marker, divider of the hour” [LSJ]) is mentioned only here in the PGM. Cf. also Damascius, *Princ.* 351: οἱ δεκαδάρχαι καὶ ζωδιοκράτορες καὶ ὠρονόμοι καὶ κραταιοί.

⁴⁹⁰ See on this Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 47, n. 35. He takes it to mean that the planets in their function as lords of time are being asked to assist, and translates: “petition... that you take along with you the regent of the present day and hour, whose name is Thrapsiari.” So also Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.171, 252) who points out the importance of the planetary deity governing the day of the rebirth (cf. also ll. 544–47).

⁴⁹¹ It is otherwise unattested and unexplained. Cf. Coptic *thapsiorie... thapsiorsth, thapsiorinar, thapsior psior...* in Meyer & Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 280 (# 129); Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 1.31. Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3586) refers to *trpsdk* in an Aramaic text, edited by Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 68. For μοριροκ cf. PGM II.179: μοριρωχ (Preisendanz: οζοαμοριρωχ).

⁴⁹² For χρηματίζειν and χρησμός see ll. 717, 724–25, 727, 732; the technical terms are frequent in the PGM.

εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε. The pap. divides these into twelve groups, suggested by Preisendanz as representing the twelve hours of the day, but Gundel questions it.⁴⁹³

After this the god leaves to carry the request to Mithras (ll. 655–57): ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὄψῃ αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ (“After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road”). While the time indicator (“after you have said these things”) marks the progress in the ritual: the initiate will see (ὄψῃ)⁴⁹⁴ Helios on his way to the axis-pole of the world, around which the stars rotate.⁴⁹⁵

The fifth scenario concludes with the performance of protective rituals. First, there is the familiar “gazing” (ἀτενίζειν),⁴⁹⁶ then a strong bellowing sound (μύκωμα μακρόν),⁴⁹⁷ to be performed κερατοειδῶς (“like with a horn”),⁴⁹⁸ and ὅλον ἀποδιδοῦς τὸ πνεῦμα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγόνα, μυκῶ (“by giving off your whole breath and squeezing your loins, bellow”). Finally, καὶ καταφίλει τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δεξιόν· φύλαξόν με προσυμηρι (“kiss the phylacteries and say, first to the right: protect me, PROSYMĒRI”).⁴⁹⁹

6. Sixth scenario: the encounter with the deities of the Bear constellation (ll. 661–92)

The sixth scenario begins, like the others, with an orientation (ll. 661–62): ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὄψῃ θύρας ἀνοιγομένας (“After you have said these things, you

⁴⁹³ Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 47, n. 35. The sequence is attested only here in the PGM. Does it perhaps consist of variations on the term ὥρα?

⁴⁹⁴ On this term, see l. 539.

⁴⁹⁵ The cosmological technical term πόλος occurs only here in the ML, but cf. 676 πολοκράτωρ. For πόλος, see II.93, 120; IV.438, 1026, 1280, 1302, 1305–6, 1307, 1731, 1959, 2327, 2384, 2480; V.284; VIII.15; XIII.34, 76, 538, 588. See Dieterich, 70; Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern Glaube*, 179; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 45–48. – What is meant by the “road” (ὁδός)? Has the phrase anything to do with the *heliadromus*? See above, at l. 642, n. 463).

⁴⁹⁶ For this term, see ll. 556, 629, 693, 711.

⁴⁹⁷ On this ritual, see at ll. 490, 705, 707, 712.

⁴⁹⁸ The term is attested only here, but see Dieterich (41, 69, 228–29, 233) for further material. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 242) points to the ἦχος κερατοειδής, described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 14, ed. Jacoby, Usener & Radermacher, 6.54, lines 15–16; ed. Usher, 2.98–99) as a strong nasal sound by making M and N. For the image cf. also the Jewish shofar.

⁴⁹⁹ For kissing the phylacteries see also ll. 707–8; 813–14. Dieterich (13, *app. crit.*) notes that an element is missing from the text: εἴτα εἰς τὸ ἀριστόν, then to the left.” Cf. l. 819, where both sides occur. Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919] 143, n. 1) wants to write, therefore: καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον.... For the command “protect me” see also l. 560. The name προσυμηρι is unexplained, but cf. l. 819 προσυμηρι; see Preisendanz, *ibidem*.

will see [the] doors opening”).⁵⁰⁰ In terms of time, the preceding protective rituals have ended, and the next visionary episode can begin.⁵⁰¹ The initiate is still at the same level as before (cf. ll. 628–29), except that the gates of the sun are now open (cf. ll. 624–25).

He sees that seven virgins emerge (ll. 662–63): καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ζ' παρθένους⁵⁰² (“and (you will see) seven virgins coming from the deep within”). The expression “from the deep” refers to the world of the gods behind the gates of the sun (cf. l. 625).⁵⁰³ The idea is that they are stepping forward out of the fiery gates. Dieterich’s proposal that one should imagine seven gates finds support in the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia, taking its name from the mosaics and Origen’s reference to the κλῖμαξ ἐπτάπυλος (“seven-gated ladder”).⁵⁰⁴

In ll. 663–65 an iconographic description of the seven virgins follows: ... ἐν βυσσίνους, ἀσπίδων πρόσωπα ἐχούσας. αὗται καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι χρύσεα βραβεῖα⁵⁰⁵ (“... dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called the Fates of heaven, and wield golden wands”).

Who are these seven virgins that occur only here in the PGM? Already Dieterich (69–72) had identified them as seven Hathors, combined with the seven fixed stars of the constellation of the Great Bear.⁵⁰⁶ He argues against their being planetary gods because earlier in his ascension the initiate has passed the planets and has moved to the higher sphere of the gods. At any rate, the

⁵⁰⁰ Since there is no article before “doors,” Dieterich (13, 69, n. 3) raises the question of whether one should imagine seven doors to open. If one follows Dieterich, the translation should be: “you will see seven doors opening.” Cf. the seven flaming altars in the top register of some Mithraic reliefs; see Vermaseren, *Mithriaca III*, plate XVI; Idem, *Mithriaca IV*, plates XII and XVII.

⁵⁰¹ For the stereotypical ὄψη, see at l. 539.

⁵⁰² Pap. has ζ παρθένους.

⁵⁰³ For the term βάθος (“deep,” here meaning “from above,” i.e., the world of the gods), cf. l. 575 (from the astral sphere); XXXVI.146 (the demons coming from below). Cf. 1 Cor 2:10 (T. Job 37:6): τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. See BDAG, s.v. βάθος (with bibliography).

⁵⁰⁴ Origen, *Cels.* 6.22. See Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 2, plate XIX; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, 1.137 (fig. 82); idem, *Mithriaca IV*, plates XII and XIII; Richard L. Gordon, “The Sacred Geography of a *Mithraeum*: The Example of Sette Sfere,” *JMiS* 1:2 (1978) 119–65; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 65; idem, *Mithras*, 78, 83, fig. 34, 37, 38.

⁵⁰⁵ Pap. has βραβεῖα.

⁵⁰⁶ The constellation of the Bear is prominent in the PGM (see IV.1293; VII.687, 862; XII.190; XXII.b.26; LXXII). See Franz Boll, *Sphaera*, 92–95; idem, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 21, 111; idem, “Fixsterne,” *PRE* 6 (1909) 2407–31; Franz Boll & Wilhelm Gundel, “Sternbilder, Sternglaube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37), esp. 869–81; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 59–64; Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” *JMiS* 2:2 (1978) 87–147, esp. 116–26; Wolfgang Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57 (1984) 93–99.

figures are a syncretistic combination of the Fates, the sphere of the fixed stars, of which the constellation of the Great Bear is one, and the Egyptian Hathors; the seven virgins are parallel to the pole lords described next. Further clues come from a formula attested several times in the PGM, which invokes various astral forces: αἱ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαὶ τῶν ἀστέρων εἰσὶν δαίμονες καὶ Τύχαι καὶ Μοῖραι ("the good emanations of the stars, daimons, Fates, and Moirae").⁵⁰⁷

A somewhat different interpretation has been offered by Gundel: "The seven Fates with their asp faces are meant to be the seven stars of the Pleiads; one has rightly called them the seven Hathors. This has been made certain by the seven erect asps, which appear on the tomb painting of Athribis, placed closely behind each other as a group of decanic powers under Orion.... That they are the guards of the four pillars – one may see in them either the personified Kentra or the stars in the square of the Great Bear – can be explained from the eminent importance which in many places is attributed to the seven stars of the Pleiads."⁵⁰⁸

The iconography most certainly has a pictorial background of some kind, although none has been identified with certainty. That the virgins are clothed in fine byssos garments may mean that the material was linen or even silk.⁵⁰⁹ That they have faces (or carry masks) of asps is not attested elsewhere, except on the tomb painting of Athribis.⁵¹⁰ Their identification with the Fates is

⁵⁰⁷ See XII.254–55; XXI.15–16; XIII.780–82, and Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 1.138, 164, 184.

⁵⁰⁸ Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 58–59: "Unter den 7 Tychai mit den Schlangengesichtern sind die sieben Sterne der Pleiaden gemeint; man hat sie mit Recht als die sieben Hathoren angesprochen. Das wird zur Gewißheit erhoben durch die sieben aufgerichteten Schlangen, die eng hintereinander zu einer Gruppe komponiert auf dem Grabgemälde von Athribis als Dekanmächte unter Orion erscheinen, ... Daß sie die Wächterinnen der vier Säulen sind – man darf in ihnen entweder die personifizierten Kentra oder die Sterne im Viereck des Großen Bären sehen –, erklärt sich aus der eminenten Bedeutung, die den sieben Sternen der Pleiaden vielerorts zugesprochen worden ist." (Trans. is mine). On the seven Hathors, see Wolfgang Helck, "Hathoren, sieben," *LÄ* 2 (1977) 1033.

For the tomb of Athribis (Atrepe) see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Athribis* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1908), 12–13, with frontispice and plates XXXVI–XXXVII; Gundel, *Dekane*, 17, plate 12. For the Kentra, see Wilhelm Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos* (München: Beck, 1936), 301–6; on the four pillars, see Kropp, *Zaubertexte*, 3.47–48; for planets and Pleiads, see Wilhelm and Hans Gundel, "Planeten," *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185.

⁵⁰⁹ See also I.277, 293, 332; IV.768–69; VII.208, 338; VIII.84; XII.145. βύσσος may be "fine linen" (LSJ; BDAG), Preisendanz: "in Byssosgewändern"; Merkelbach: "in Seiden-gewändern".

⁵¹⁰ See above, n. 508; cf. IV.2116; XII.159 (ὄφειοπρόσωπος θεός); XIII.249. On snake-shaped deities, see Rom 1:23; Irenaeus' (*Haer.* 1.30.5 [ed. Harvey, 1.232]) reference to the

certainly secondary.⁵¹¹ Their possession of golden wands (βραβεῖα) is a common cultic symbol.⁵¹²

Following the epiphany, a formal ritual of greeting seems to conform to etiquette, first greeting all of them as a group (665–69), and then individually (670–72). The moment of the greeting is set: ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἀσπάζου οὕτως (“When you see these things, greet in this manner ...”), whereupon the greeting is cited: χαίρετε, αἱ ζ΄ Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδαίτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, αἱ ἀγιώταται φυλακίσσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων (“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars”). The exclamatory “Hail” or “Greetings to you,” a form of wish, is followed by the name of the seven Fates, and three divine epithets. (1) This epithet, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι appears to be one of general politeness and has no parallel in the PGM; (2) the second, ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδαίτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, stands in the middle and has an unexplained *vox magica* attached;⁵¹³ (3) the third is special and also without parallel in the PGM, αἱ ἀγιώταται φυλακίσσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων, referring to the four pillars of the Egyptian cosmology, of which the sacred Fates are guardians.⁵¹⁴

The individual greetings are also very formal and exactly parallel, consisting of the exclamatory wish, χαῖρε (“Hail!”), identification by number,⁵¹⁵ and their magical names (cf. ll. 677–78). The magical names are mostly unexplained, but some of them may reflect the names of decans, μεχραν resembling a decan by the name of Μαχράμ,⁵¹⁶ ἀραρμαχης pointing to Ἄραρα,

ὀφιόμορφος god of the Ophite gnostics; ὀφιοειδής Epiphanius, *Haer.* 37.5 (56.15); Athanasius (*Gent.* 9) mentions Egyptian gods as ὀφιοκέφαλος. See with further passages and bibliography, Robert Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteringedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1922–1923 II; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 316–28 (“Die Tiermaskenriten in den mithräischen und in den Kabirenmysterien”); Betz, *Lukian*, 35–37, 104; L. Störk, *LÄ* 5 (1984) 644–52; R. Hendel, “Serpent,” *DDD*, 744–47; BDAG, s.v. ὄφις, 4; *PGL*, 989, s.v. ὄφις and compounds.

⁵¹¹ See below, l. 666; and Dieterich, 51–52, 70–72.

⁵¹² See LSJ and BDAG, s.v. βραβεῖον. In the NT, see 1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14: βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως; 1 Clem. 5:5; *Mart. Pol.* 17:1.

⁵¹³ Cf. l. 632: μενιμεροφορ.

⁵¹⁴ The connection with Egypt was pointed out by Dieterich, 71; idem, *Kleine Schriften*, 27 (with a collection of parallels); Alan H. Gardiner, “Magic, Egyptian,” *ERE* 8 (1915) 266a (referring to Pap. Leyden 348 verso, 3.3.5.410 etc.; Pap. mag. Harris 7.4); Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 58–59; Ritner, in Betz, *GMPT*, 51, n. 92; Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.47–48. How this epithet is to be related to the four roots (τετραλιζώματα [see above, l. 585–90]) is unclear.

⁵¹⁵ Pap. has the numbers as β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, ζ (with strokes over γ, ε, ζ).

⁵¹⁶ See Gundel, *Dekane*, 80 (# 28); cf. Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 141, n. 1.

another decan.⁵¹⁷ ερου and ρομβρης have also been taken to refer to decans: Έροϋ and Ρομβρομάρε.⁵¹⁸

After the seven virgin seven male deities appear (ll. 673–76): προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἑτεροὶ ζ' θεοὶ ταύρων μελάνων πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώμασιν λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ' διαδήματα χρύσεια (“There also come forth another seven gods who have faces of black bulls, in linen loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems”). These deities (θεοί) come forward (προέρχονται) through the same gates as the virgins.⁵¹⁹ There is no parallel for this iconography elsewhere in the PGM. The faces of black bulls are difficult to explain. Figures of bulls stand among Egyptian imagery of stars, but also the initiates of the Mithraic mysteries were under the tutelage of planetary deities.⁵²⁰ The figures wear linen aprons and hold golden diadems in their hands.⁵²¹ Their title is revealed: οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (“These are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven”).⁵²² The greetings must conform to the previous ritual: οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὁμοίως ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι⁵²³ (“You must greet in the same manner each of them with his own name”). Now we learn that the *voces magicae* in ll. 670–72 are actually names. The greeting therefore begins with that of the group first. The exclamatory wish is called out, to be followed by three epithets: (1) οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες (“O warders of the pivot of the celestial sphere” [LSJ]),⁵²⁴ (2) οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ

⁵¹⁷ Gundel, *Dekane*, 58, 79 (# 25). Cf. Ritner (in Betz, *GMPT*, 51, n. 93) compares Egyptian *harmachis* (“Horus who is on the horizon”).

⁵¹⁸ For Έροϋ see also IV.1589: V.432; Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, and Gundel, *Dekane*, 45, 373. For ρομβρης cf. the decan Ρομβρομαρε; see Gundel, *ibid.*, 77; Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 141; Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3585. Jordan prefers Preisendanz’s earlier suggestion (in Roscher, *Lexikon*, 5.963) *αρουρ –ομβρης; cf. PGM IV.3023 ὁ ἐν μέσῃ ἀρούρης καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὁμίχλης.

⁵¹⁹ Is there any significance to the fact that the virgins were not called θεοί or rather, θεαί? Instead of προέρχονται l. 662 has ἐρχομέναις.

⁵²⁰ Dieterich (72–73) confesses puzzlement. Do these figures represent the constellation of the Little Bear? – So Franz Boll, ed. *Griechische Kalender* (5 vols.; SHAW.PH 1910–1920; Heidelberg: Winter 1910–1920), vol. 1 (1910:16): *Das Kalendarium des Antiochos*; idem, *Sphaera*, plate II; Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern Glaube*, plate I/2; Dieterich, 72–73; Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia Zodiac,” *JMiS* 1:1 (1976) 1–19, esp. p. 2, fig. 1; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 13–14; idem, *Mithras*, 77–86; idem, *Abraxas*, 3.243.

⁵²¹ Cf. the fiery crowns in ll. 521–22. Golden diadems are a rather common symbol.

⁵²² The title occurs also in XIII.846: <πο>λοκράτωρ; I.201: αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ. See also IV.701–2, 1358–59, 1372; cf. 678–79: κνωδακοφύλακες. See Dieterich (72–74) who relates them to the Amesha Spentas of ancient Iran, and attributes them to a syncretistic Egyptian Mithras cult; see also idem, *Abraxas*, 106–7; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 79–80.

⁵²³ Pap. reads ὡς, corrected by Dieterich to οὓς; Preisendanz considers ὡς or <οὔτ>ως (cf. l. 666).

⁵²⁴ According to the *TLG*, κνωδακόφυλαξ is a *hapax*. κνώδαξ, a *hapax* in the PGM, is the pin or pivot on which something turns (κνωδακίζειν). See LSJ, s.v. Cf. the Tübingen

ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι (“O sacred and brave youths” – the term ἄλκιμος occurs in hymnic language);⁵²⁵ (3) the final epithet is in fact a longer and detailed aretology describing the work of the pole lords: οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βροντάς καὶ ἀστραπάς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολὰς ἀφιέντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα⁵²⁶ (“who turn at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious tribes”). The cosmic tasks performed by the pole lords cover three areas. First, they are in charge of turning the *axis mundi*, a concern of a number of passages in the PGM.⁵²⁷ Second, they send out thunder, lightning, and cosmic quakes, terms often mentioned in the PGM.⁵²⁸ The third task is distributing punishments to the godless⁵²⁹ and rewards to the godly.

While there is no list of the punishments meted out, the initiate carefully details the benefits for the pious, such as himself (683–87),⁵³⁰ not as a fact but as a petition: ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὄντι <δότε> ὑγείαν καὶ σώματος ὁλοκληρίαν, ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὁράσεως εὐτονίαν, ἀταραξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις⁵³¹ (“but to me, a religious and godfearing man, [give] health and soundness of body, and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day”). Such lists of benefits, as the individual benefits, are found also elsewhere in the PGM.⁵³²

Theosophy, *Orph. Frag.*, # 247.26, concerning the axis of a sphere: κυκλοτερῆς ἴση τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα; Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 10.51–52, 93.

⁵²⁵ See IV.1601, 1697, 2269, 2778; III.134–35; XIII.607; cf. IV.1364: ἄλκιμόβριθος; IV.967; VIII.6, 31: ἄλκῃ. The young men correspond to the virgins (l. 663).

⁵²⁶ In l. 680 the pap. reading of <ἐν> ἐν κέλευσμα is dittography; Sam Eitrem (“Varia,” *NTFi*, 4th ser., 10 [1922]) 112) emends περιδίνητος to περιδείνητος (“terrifying”) because of itacism; for the same reason, the pap. reading of σισμῶν is to be corrected to σεισμῶν.

⁵²⁷ See also IV.1279, 1358 (στρεψηλάκατος, “spindle-turner”); 2936; VII.686–87, 832; XII.60–61; for more instances see Preisendanz, 3.179–80 (index), s.v. στρέφειν. For περιδίνητος (“spin around”) see III.557: περιδινοπλανήτας (Hymn 2, l. 7); IV.2918–20: πυρὸς μεγάλου περιδινήτειρα, ἡ τὸν ἀεικίνητον ἔχεις περιδινέα βαρῖζαν ἄρρηκτον; for ἄξων (“axis”) III.572, 574; VII.688; for κύκλος (“heavenly circle”) III.480; IV.1015; and often; see Preisendanz, 3.124 (index), s.v.; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.243.

⁵²⁸ On this topic, see above at ll. 571, 621. The σεισμοί in this case are not earthquakes but cosmic quakes, since the area is in the upper spheres of the cosmos. Cf. Rev 6:12; 11:19; 16:18; see Aune, *Revelation*, 2.559–60, 627–28.

⁵²⁹ The expression δυσσεβῶν φῦλα is found only here in the PGM.

⁵³⁰ Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; also in Dieterich, 223) suggests that ll. 683–87 may be an addition by the magician, a personal note for the individual application of the practice, as in ll. 651–55. However, the lines 683–87 as well as 651–55 can be applied to any practitioner who should of course be on the side of the pious.

⁵³¹ Pap. reads υγιαν. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.172, 243) adds <δότε> before ὑγείαν.

⁵³² For ὑγεία (“health”) see III.577; XXXVI.223 (in lists); also III.260; IV.2997–3002; VII.333; XIII.802. For ὁλοκληρεῖν, ὁλοκληρία, ὁλόκληρος, IV.136, VII.590; XXVII.3.

The last phrase in the clause “in the present good hours of this day” should be read in connection with the horoscope (see ll. 651–52). Finally (l. 687–88), the pole lords are again hailed: οἱ κύριοί μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί (“O my lords and powerfully ruling gods.”)⁵³³

The sixth scenario ends with the recitation of the individual greetings (688–92). These greetings also follow the previous pattern of the exclamatory wish (χαῖρε), the number,⁵³⁴ and the secret names (ὄνομα), all of them unexplained *hapaxlegomena* in the PGM.

7. Seventh scenario: the encounter with Mithras (ll. 692–732)

The sixth scenario passes over to the seventh with the usual orientation concerning time and place: ὅταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα τῇ τάξει...⁵³⁵ (“Now when they take their place, on the one side and on the other, in their order ...”). The idea is that the two groups of seven form a kind of chorus facing each other, and that all are taking their assigned places.⁵³⁶ This kind of arrangement appears to have been somewhat typical of worship services. Two parallels are especially informative.

One parallel is part of the description of the community of the Therapeutae by Philo of Alexandria.⁵³⁷ He describes their festival of Pentecost, which he says is patterned on the Bacchic rituals;⁵³⁸ it begins with a community prayer, followed by a symposium and an all-night Pannychis. During the initial prayer, “they take their stand in a regular line in an orderly way, their eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, eyes because they have been trained to fix their gaze on things worthy of contemplation, hands in token that they are clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause of the profit-making kind. So standing they pray to God that their feasting may be acceptable and proceed as

The terms play a significant role in the NT; see Acts 3:16; 1 Thess 5:23; and BDAG, s.v. For εὐτονία there is no other reference in the PGM; ἀταραξία, a technical term in Greek ethics, occurs also in IV.69 (ἀτάραχος).

⁵³³ See the parallel in 678–79; for μεγαλοκράτωρ l. 639; for κύριοι θεοί III.171–72. Cf. John 20:28: ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου.

⁵³⁴ Pap. reads the numbers as in ll. 671–72; see above.

⁵³⁵ On the textual questions concerning ἐνστῶσιν, see Preisendanz, *WSt* 42 (1920–21) 24, section 7.

⁵³⁶ So Dieterich, 76; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.243.

⁵³⁷ Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa*, cited according to the edition and translation by F. H. Colson, *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL: London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929–62), 9.112–69.

⁵³⁸ See *Contemp.* 88–89 (cited below, n. 542); also 12; the highly polemical description of pagan banquets in 40–64 does not explicitly focus on the Bacchic ones, but it does include comments on Xenophon’s and Plato’s *Symposia* (57–60); see also *Ebr.* 123, 146; *Her.* 69; *Somm.* 2.205.

He would have it.”⁵³⁹ During the symposium⁵⁴⁰ and the Pannychis, the community is separated in two choir groups: “After the supper they hold the sacred vigil which is conducted in the following way. They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honored amongst them and also the most musical. Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies....”⁵⁴¹ At dawn they reunite on the beach to conclude the celebrations with a greeting of the rising sun.⁵⁴²

The other parallel is pictorial and part of the frescoes from the Isis temple in Herculaneum showing scenes from worship performed there. A chorus of two groups is standing on the steps of the temple, facing each other, with the choir master directing in the middle.⁵⁴³

To return to the text, the command is given: ἀτενίζε τῷ ἀέρι (“gaze in the air”).⁵⁴⁴ Air has been mentioned before, but not as one of the four elements; presumably it is identical with πνεῦμα.⁵⁴⁵ As a result, the initiate will see

⁵³⁹ *Contemp.* 66: ... στάντες ἐξῆς κατὰ στοῖχον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰς θεὰς ἄξια καθορᾶν ἐπαιδευθήσαν, τὰς δὲ ὅτι καθαραὶ λημμάτων εἰσὶν ὑπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μαινόμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμῆρη γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι τὴν εὐωγίαν. (LCL 9.152–55).

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 69: διανενέμῃται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ δεξιά, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπ’ εὐώνυμα. (“The order of reclining is so apportioned that the men sit by themselves on the right and the women by themselves on the left” [LCL 9.154–55]).

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 83–84: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἀνίστανται πάντες ἄθροοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ ἑξαρχος αἰρεῖται καθ’ ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότητος τε καὶ ἐμμελέστατος. εἴτα ἄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοὺς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι... (LCL 9.164–65).

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 85: εἴτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐστιαθῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχεῖαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἰς ἑξ ἁμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἕνεκα τοῦ θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ. (“Then when each choir has separately done its own part in the feast, having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God’s love they mix and both together become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honour of the wonders there wrought” [LCL 9.164–65]). For the reverence toward the sun, see also section 27.

⁵⁴³ See for plates Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, 553 (plate 72) and color plate IV, pp. 324–25; also Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*, 100–102, with plate XXIII.

⁵⁴⁴ For ἀτενίζειν (“gaze,” “stare”) see above, at l. 556, 629, 657, 711. See Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 301–20: “Sursum corda und der Aufblick zum Himmel.” Dölger (1–2) also refers to important Christian polemics against the ritual by Origen (*In Genes. Hom.* XIII.3 [GCS Orig. VI.118, ll. 9–13] and Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem* X.1 [PL 35, 1467]).

⁵⁴⁵ Air appears here without clarification of how it is related to πνεῦμα. For the Stoic doctrine, see above, at ll. 508, 541, 582.

spectacular cosmic phenomena (ll. 693–96):⁵⁴⁶ καὶ ὄψη κατερχομένης ἀστραπᾶς καὶ φῶτα μαρμαίροντα καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ κατερχομένον θ(εὸν)... (“you will see lightening bolts going down, and lights flashing, and the earth shaking, and a god descending...”). While lightnings and earthquakes have been mentioned before (l. 681–82), the stereotypical picture overlooks that the author has left behind the earth some time ago. The “flashing lights” are preferred language in the PGM.⁵⁴⁷ The god emerges out of the interior of the temple and, like the figure on the painting from Herculaneum, walks down the stairs; symbolically this means that he leaves the highest sphere, which is unreachable even for other deities, and descends to the seventh below.

This god is certainly Mithras, although it is peculiar that his name is not mentioned.⁵⁴⁸ His portrait can be confirmed by representational art (ll. 696–704): κατερχόμενον θ(εὸν) ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναξυρίσι... (“and a god descending, immensely great, with a shining face, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers...”). That the highest god is of immense size⁵⁴⁹ is part of the style of the epiphany,⁵⁵⁰ just as

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. for such phenomena in connection with the pole lords, ll. 681–82.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. the flashing lamp in the temple at Jerusalem, IV.1221 (μαρμαίρων), 3069–70 (see Betz, *GMPT*, 97, n. 407 with further references); PDM xiv.490; also Karl Preisendanz, “Zum großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914) 347–48. Cf. also XIII.111, 195, 536, 668: μαρμαραυγὴ (cf. *Orph. Frag.* # 168, line 13 (ed. Kern): ἀστρων μαρμαρέων); I.260–61: μαρμαριφέγγη; IV.531: μαρμαρυγὴ. For the epithet of Apollo, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.325.

⁵⁴⁸ Pap. reads the abbreviation θν.

⁵⁴⁹ The term ὑπερμεγέθης is peculiar; LSJ calls it a Ionic form and notes ὑπερμεγέθης, ὑπέρμεγας. It is, however, a topos, attested in the PGM only here; see also *CH* I.1 regarding the epiphany of Poimandres: ἔδοξά τινα ὑπερμεγέθη μέτρῳ ἀπεριορίστῳ... (“there seemed to appear to me a gigantic figure of immense size...”). Nock & Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, I.8, n. 3 list further instances of the topos.

⁵⁵⁰ In the PGM the immense size of the deity conforms to the attribute of Aion (cf. XII.238–44; XIII.761–94). Cf. the *Homer Hymn to Demeter*, ll. 188–89 regarding the epiphany of Demeter: ἥ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ καὶ ῥά μελάθρου κύρε κάρη, πλῆσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θεῖοιο (“But she stepped on the threshold and her head reached the roof, and she filled the door with divine splendor”); *Orph. Frag.* ## 168 and 169 (ed. Kern). In the LXX cf. Amos 4:13; in Christian literature the cosmic dimensions of Christ (the πλήρωμα, Col 1:15–20; Eph 1:10, 22–23; 4:10, 13); Rev 1:12–16; Gos. Pet. 39–40; Ep. Apos. 16 (27); see Aune, *Revelation*, 1.68–100. Cf. also the enormous measurements of the figure of Metatron in Hekhalot mysticism; see Gershom Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit* (Zürich: Rhein, 1962); Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 94, 203, 204, 214; Peter Schäfer & Klaus Herrmann, eds., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur I* (TSAJ 46; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 29–33 (§§ 12–13); for the detailed description of the immense size of God in *Shi'ur Qomah*, see Peter Schäfer, ed., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur IV* (TSAJ 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 136–65 (§§ 939–950).

his shining face.⁵⁵¹ His youth is analogous to Helios (l. 635), as is his golden hair (cf. l. 636),⁵⁵² white tunic (cf. l. 636), and golden crown (cf. l. 637).⁵⁵³ There are, however, special traits: with the Persian or Phrygian cap missing he looks like a Greek god, namely Helios-Mithras, but he does wear the Persian trousers called ἀναξυρίδες.⁵⁵⁴ This last feature is also present on paintings from Dura Europus (Syria), Capua Vetere, Ponza, and San Marino (Italy).⁵⁵⁵

After the description of the figure attention turns to the mythological insignia, symbolically interpreted as astronomical phenomena (ll. 699–702): κατέχοντα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόνου ὄμου χρύσεον (“and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young calf”). This statement has given rise to extended controversies past and present. While Dieterich rightly saw this to be evidence of Mithraism, now confirmed by subsequently discovered frescoes,⁵⁵⁶ others denied or belittled it.⁵⁵⁷

A symbolic interpretation of this detail is on the one hand in accord with the author’s interest, but on the other hand astronomical interpretations have been

⁵⁵¹ The shining face of the deity is a common element of epiphanies, whether in texts or artistic representations. Cf. the NT in Mark 16:15; Matt 17:2; Luke 9:29; Acts 6:15; 9:1–9; 2 Cor 4:6; Rev 1:14; 10:1; 22:4.

⁵⁵² The epithet χρυσοκόμων is standard for Helios in III.207; IV.437, 1958; VIII.75; for its attribution to Apollo see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.87, 325.

⁵⁵³ For the golden crown, see also III.485; IV.1027–28. Cf. in the NT Rev 4:4; 9:7; 14:14. See Hans-Jürgen Horn, “Gold,” *RAC* 11 (1981) 895–930, esp. 910–12: “Gold in der Magie”; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.172–75.

⁵⁵⁴ This garment worn by eastern peoples is mentioned only here in the PGM; it is attested since Herodotus (1.71; 5.49; 7.61; Lucian, *Hist. cons.* 19; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.25). See also LSJ, s.v. ἀναξυρίδες.

⁵⁵⁵ See Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, vol. 1, fig. 22a and b (Mon. 44); 26 (Mon. 75); 27 (Mon. 76), 52 (Mon. 181), and often; idem, *Mithriaca I. The Mithraeum at Ponza*, plates 3–7, 9–10; idem, *Mithriaca III. The Mithraeum at Marino*, color plate IV; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 34 with plate 2; idem, *Mithras*, plate 25; also figures 16a and b, and 17.

⁵⁵⁶ See Dieterich, 76–78, 234–40. On the evidence, see Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” *JMiS* 2:2 (1978) 87–147, esp. 120–27; Richard Gordon & John R. Hinnells, “Some New Photographs of Well-Known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.*, 213–19 (with plates XV–XVII) on “Mithras’ Rindsschulter”; furthermore, Griffith and Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus*, col. V, 1, with note; van de Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 86–89; Betz, *GMPT*, 52, n. 96; Roger Beck, “Mithraism since Franz Cumont,” *ANRW* II.17:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. pp. 2049, n. 79; 2050; David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 104–5; Ingeborg Huld-Zetsche, “Die Stier-tötung als Sternenkarte. Astralmythologische Hintergründe im Mithraskult,” *Antike Welt* 30:2 (1999) 97–104.

⁵⁵⁷ For a careful analysis of Cumont’s position, see Dieterich, 234–40. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.243–44) admits that the god is Mithras, but for him he is Helios-Mithras; remarkably Merkelbach ignores the newly discovered frescoes. Also, his work on *Mithras*, in the tradition of Cumont, has no comment about the Mithras Liturgy. See Roger Beck, review of Merkelbach, *Mithras*, *Phoe*. 41 (1987) 296–316, esp. 310.

connected with the Mithras cult much earlier.⁵⁵⁸ The text itself presupposes such a connection (ll. 700–1): ὃς ἐστὶν Ἄρκτος ἡ κινουῖσα καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸ οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν ἀναπολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα (“this is the Bear which moves and turns the heavenly vault around in the opposite direction, with its upward and downward seasonal revolutions” [as translated by Martinez]). The conceptuality is technical but has problems. Which Bear does the author have in mind, the Little Bear (*Ursus minor*) or the Great Bear (*Ursus maior*)? Griffiths opts for the Great Bear,⁵⁵⁹ while Merkelbach for the Little Bear.⁵⁶⁰

A decision is difficult to make. The Bear constellations play an important role in the PGM, but this does not necessarily mean that all references point to the same constellation.⁵⁶¹ As far as ll. 700–1 goes, identification with Artemis as well as comparison of the zodiacs from Ponza and Tentyra point to the Great Bear.⁵⁶²

That the Bear “moves and turns the heavenly vault around in the opposite direction” is confirmed in part by parallel references in the PGM, but it is not clear what is meant by ἀντιστρέφειν. One possibility is that the god turns the heavenly vault contrariwise to the motion of the planets.⁵⁶³ Also unclear is the

⁵⁵⁸ See Beck, *Planetary Gods*; idem, “The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Genesis,” *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28.

⁵⁵⁹ According to Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 21, 359D, the Great Bear was identified with Typhon/Seth: τὴν δὲ [ψυχὴν] Τυφῶνος ἄρκτον, which is interpreted by Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 373: “The equation of Seth and the Great Bear is well established...; the Egyptian term was Mshtyw, ‘Bull’s Foreleg’, and a 20th Dynasty text speaks of ‘this Mshtyw of Seth’ as existing in the northern sky.” So also Gundel, *Weltbild*, 59–64, esp. 59–60. He refers to ταυριατὰ (?), perhaps “bull-like” (VII.700), and to secondary sources such as Dieterich, 76–79; Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, 2.64; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 208.

⁵⁶⁰ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.243–44): “The Little Bear is therefore represented in two images, in the seven bull-headed young men and here by the shoulder of the bull. Such pleonasm occurs often in cults, because the idea is joined with the image, and one does not see this as a contradiction, if the same idea is expressed by two images” (my trans.). For the identification of the shoulder of the bull with the constellation of the north pole Merkelbach refers to the zodiac of Tentyra and to lids of coffins; Boll, *Sphaera*, pl. II; Boll, Bezold & Gundel, *Sternglauke*, pl. I, fig. 2 (Tentyra); Gundel, *Dekane*, pl. IIb (coffin lid of Idy, in Tübingen).

⁵⁶¹ For other passages on Bear constellations, see IV.1275–1330; 1331–89; VII.633, 686–702, 861; XII.190–92; XXIII.10; LVII.18. See Betz, *GMPT*, 137–38, esp. nn. 123–28; Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” 120–27.

⁵⁶² Cf. the Bear charm VII.686–702, identifying the constellation with Artemis, but identifications with other deities are made as well. See Beck, *Planetary Gods*, 79; idem, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *JMiS* 1:1 (1976), 2, fig. 1.

⁵⁶³ ἀντιστρέφειν is found only here in the PGM. Cf. IV.1307: στρέφειν τὸν ἱερὸν πόλον; VII.687: ἡ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄξονα; IV.1275–80. See Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” 121–22; LSJ does not list ἀντιστρέφω as a mechanical term, but ἀντίστρεπτος, referring to

astrological comment of “with its upward and downward seasonal revolutions.” Who is causing this revolving? Dieterich suggests the pole lords,⁵⁶⁴ but according to Gundel the text refers to the Bear who moves the gods of the days and hours, causing them to wander up and down along the pole.⁵⁶⁵

Following the interpretative lines 701–2, the text returns to the description of the figure of Mithras (ll. 702–4): ἔπειτα ὄψη αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀστραπὰς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλομένους (“Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body”).⁵⁶⁶ Since the references to time and vision are stereotypical in the ML, the cosmic features seem to reflect dramatic representations.⁵⁶⁷ The author could have seen this feature on representational portraits of Mithras, whose open mantle shows stars on the inside; he therefore imagines that those stars jump out of his body.

When confronted with this awesome vision, the initiate is ordered at once to perform rituals. The first one is the bellowing sound (704–7): σὺ δέ, εὐθέως <μυκῶ> μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα, ἵνα συνκινήσης τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μακρόν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν μυκῶ, καταφιλῶν πάλιν τὰ φυλακτήρια.⁵⁶⁸ (“And at once make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries.”)

This bellowing sound has been mentioned before,⁵⁶⁹ but further intensity is added at this point. Not only must the initiate perform it “at once,” a stereotypical prescription in the ML,⁵⁷⁰ the roaring or bellowing sound is to be loud (μακρόν), achieved by pressing the belly (cf. l. 659) until total exhalation.

“machines that move on a pivot or swivel” (Diodorus Siculus 20.91). See also Aratus, *Phaen.* 26–44; *CH* II.7; V.4; Exc. VI.13 (ed. Nock & Festugière, 3.41–42, n. 27; cf. the commentary by Scott, *Hermetica*, 3.363–86); XXIV.11; Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 110–13 (bibliography).

⁵⁶⁴ Dieterich (61–62) has in mind the *πολεύοντες θεοί*, mentioned in ll. 544–47, 676–92: “the wandering, that is, the planets in control of the days, the gods of the day.” Cf. also Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.175: “indem es [das Bärengestirn] stündlich auf und niedersteigt”; see his commentary 3.243 with parallels (also 3.150–51, 230, 238).

⁵⁶⁵ Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 11, 59–60, 80, n. 14.

⁵⁶⁶ For the eyes emitting lightning, cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1283–84: ὀμματα δαίεται, with the commentary by Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.340.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. for epiphanies Matt 17:2 // Luke 9:28; Acts 6:15; Luke 24:4; Matt 28:3; Rev 1:14 about the epiphany of the heavenly Christ: καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸς πυρός; 1:16: καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὅξεια ἐκπορευομένη καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.

⁵⁶⁸ Eitrem adds a verb <μυκῶ> before μύκωμα; Jordan agrees. The punctuation follows Dieterich (14); Preisendanz has a different punctuation: αἰσθήσεις, μακρόν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν, μυκῶ.... See Preisendanz, *WSI* 42 (1920–21) 24, sec. 8; idem, *app. crit.*, ad loc. Jordan considers *συνκινήσης* but keeps *συνκινήσης*.

⁵⁶⁹ It occurs elsewhere in the ML at ll. 490, 657–59, 712; see also XIII.942, 945.

⁵⁷⁰ See for this reference ll. 557, 576, 579, 585, 628, 638, 724, 755–57.

tion.⁵⁷¹ The purpose of the exercise is to arouse the five senses together, a strange remark, since the mortal body must be left behind (ll. 529–30, 533–34). Rather than postulating an inconsistency on the part of the author, however, one may conclude that he views the five senses not to be a part of the mortal body, but of the reconstituted perceptions of the intellect, sharpened up by the spirit (ll. 502–13, 520–28).

The second ritual is kissing the pylacteries (ll. 707–8), which, the text says, has been mentioned before (πάλιν, “again”).⁵⁷² Together with this ritual, a prayer for protection must be recited (καὶ λέγων, “and saying”). This prayer has the usual structure of invocation, self-identification of the orant, request, identification of the authority. However, there are special features that make this prayer different from others (ll. 708–11).

The invocation (ll. 708–9) begins with what may be a divine name: μοκριμο φερεμο φερερι.⁵⁷³ This divine name is followed by an epithet: ζω<ή> μου (“my life”).⁵⁷⁴ With the symbol Δ (τοῦ δεῦνα) a space is indicated, into which the orant must insert his name.⁵⁷⁵

The reading of ll. 709–10 is contested. According to Preisendanz three commands are presented: μένε σύ, νέμε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου, μὴ με καταλείψης (“Stay! Dwell in my soul! Do not abandon me!”). The first request has many parallels in the PGM.⁵⁷⁶ The second is read by Preisendanz,⁵⁷⁷ but the use of

⁵⁷¹ The expression εἰς ἀπόθεσιν is unclear, and so are translations; cf. Preisendanz: “bis zum Nachlassen”; we follow a suggestion by Martinez. According to Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.244), εἰς ἀπόθεσιν means “Ruhepunkt,” derived from the language of music. This idea is interesting because the various vocal sounds in the ML may be regarded as a kind of music.

⁵⁷² See 659–60, cf. also 789.

⁵⁷³ The name occurs only here in the PGM; it is unexplained.

⁵⁷⁴ Pap. reads φερερι ζων μουτουΔ, but ζων may be a scribal error for ζωή. See Karl Preisendanz, “ΦΕΡΕΡΙΖΩΝ,” *WKP* 32 (1915) 763. For ζων as a divine epithet see Martinez, *Baptized*, 12–15; for ζωή in magical inscriptions, see Erik Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ*. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (FRLANT 41; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), 26; in PGM ζωή occurs also at XII.255–56; XIII.261 (κύριε τῆς ζωῆς), 880–81 (γενοῦ μοι... ζωή); for Jesus as ζωή see John 11:25; 14:6 (see BDAG, s.v., 2.a). Jordan prefers the pap. reading ζων μου.

⁵⁷⁵ On this symbol, see above, l. 495.

⁵⁷⁶ For passages, see Preisendanz, 3.135 (index), s.v. μένω; BDAG, s.v. μένω, 1.a.β (bibliography); Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 44, 73, 177–84, 709. The concept, sometimes called “mystical,” is important especially in the Fourth Gospel (John 6:56; 14:10; 15:4–7; etc.); see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 1–2 (with important passages from Origen and Augustine, in fact agreeing with the Stoic position of the “deity within”); Festugière, *Révélation*, 3.172–73; Jürgen Heise, *Bleiben. Menein in den johanneischen Schriften* (HUTH 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967); Klaus Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben. Die Sprache der Immanenz in den johanneischen Schriften* (HBS 21; Freiburg: Herder, 2000).

⁵⁷⁷ Pap. reads μενεσυνεμε, which Dieterich (14) reads as μένε σὺν ἐμε, Wunsch (in Dieterich, 107) emends to σύναιμε, Kroll to μένε, but Jordan prefers Dieterich. For νέμε

the term νέμω in PGM elsewhere is different.⁵⁷⁸ The final request states the matter with a different term, for which parallels can be adduced as well.⁵⁷⁹

Dieterich has recognized that this prayer is “mystical” and seems to come from a tradition different from the views presented so far in the ML: “We recognize in the background the most massive and ancient concept of the union of the human being and the god: the god comes into the human being physically.”⁵⁸⁰ For the background he refers to parallels in the PGM and elsewhere.⁵⁸¹ It is true that up to now the initiate did not ask for this indwelling of a god. However, if one realizes the fundamental importance of inhaling the divine spirit (πνεῦμα) for generating “enthusiasm,” the idea is not strange at all. We find it not only in the PGM,⁵⁸² but in many other Hellenistic

Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224) has an important comment: “Man hat dann νέμειν (wie Pind. *Ol.* 2.13; Aisch. *Eum.* 971) als νέμεσθαι zu fassen mit dem Sinn des Wohnens: ‘bleibe du, wohne in meiner Seele’. Das entspricht der Auffassung vom Wohnen des Gottes im Menschen und seiner ἐνώσεις mit dem Gläubigen durchaus, vgl. unten S. 110,2. Vielleicht darf man auch weitergehen und das Bild der [sic! des] νέμειν unterstreichen; dann ist das Gleichnis vom Hirten und dem Gotte da.” On νέμω act. as med. see LSJ, s.v., III. If Preisendanz is correct, a play on words may be intended: μένε / νέμε. Cf. also the hymn to Eros IV.1763–64: ὁ ἐπινεμόμενος πάσαις ψυχαῖς (“the one who dwells in all souls”).

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. VII.761–63: ἵνα... πνεῦμα νέμης; XII.247: πᾶσιν ψυχὰς σὺ νέμεις. For the indwelling of the divine πνεῦμα see XIII.761–805; XII.238–57; cf. the NT, where the spirit does not dwell (οἰκέω, ἐνοικέω) in the soul but in the heart or body (e.g., Rom 5:5; 8:9, 11, 15–16; 1 Cor 3:16; Eph 3:17; 2 Tim 1:14).

⁵⁷⁹ Pap. reads καταλιψής, a case of itacism. For parallels, see III.632; XI.a.26. For other instances of this prayer language see LXX Ps 26:10; 37:22; 70:18; 118:8. Ps 21:1–2 (ἐγκαταλείπω) is recited by Jesus in Mark 15:34 // Matt 27:46). See BDAG, s.v. ἐγκαταλείπω, 2; καταλείπω.

⁵⁸⁰ Dieterich (96–97): “Wir erkennen im Hintergrunde deutlich die massivste ursprüngliche Vorstellung von der Vereinigung des Menschen und des Gottes: der Gott kommt körperlich in den Menschen hinein.”

⁵⁸¹ Dieterich (96–97, 116–31, 134–37, 240) refers to Otto Weinreich’s essay on the formula of reciprocal identity (“reziproke Identitätsformel”): “Religiöse Stimmen der Völker,” *ARIW* 19 (1916–1919) 165–68. For the NT see John 10:38; 14:10–11, 20; 17:21.

⁵⁸² See I.20–21: καὶ ἔσται τι ἐνθεον ἐν τῇ σῇ καρδίᾳ; VIII.2–3: ἐλ[θ]έ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῆ, ὡς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰ <ς> κοιλίας τῶν γυναικῶν (“Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses come into the wombs of women” [my trans.]). The formula of mutual identity occurs several times in this papyrus: σὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σὺ, τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σόν· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι τὸ εἰδωλόν σου (“For you are I, and I am you, your name is mine, and mine is yours; for I am your image” [VIII.36–37; see also ll. 49–50; XIII.795]). The erotic connections should be obvious. See Dieterich, 96–98; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 242–46; idem, *HMR*, 245–52; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 48–50, 111–20, 343; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 165–69.

texts.⁵⁸³ Also the ancient theories about the inspiration of the Delphic Pythia are especially important for comparison.⁵⁸⁴

Finally, the nature of the request is stated. It is an order, *ὅτι κελεύει σοι* ("for the [magical name] commands you"),⁵⁸⁵ which, as indicated by the magical names *ενθο φενεν θροπιωθ*, has the divine authority to enforce.⁵⁸⁶

Before making his appearance, however, the god needs to be greeted appropriately. This greeting follows in ll. 712–17, showing the same pattern as the previous greeting before: invocation, self-presentation, and petition (see 639–55, 665–92).

First, however, the necessary rituals have to be performed. They include the gazing (see at l. 556) and the loud roaring or bellowing sound (see ll. 704–7): *καὶ ἀτένιζε τῷ θεῷ μακρὸν μυκώμενος καὶ ἀσπάζου οὕτως* ("and gaze at the god while bellowing loudly, and greet in this manner").

Then the prayer itself is to be recited (713–17), beginning with the address "Lord" (*κύριε*), and followed by three greetings, consisting of the exclamation "Hail!" and a divine attribute: *χαῖρε, δέσποτα ὕδατος, χαῖρε, κατάρχα γῆς, χαῖρε, δυνάστα πνεύματος* ("Hail, O master of the water! Hail, O founder of the earth! Hail, O ruler of the wind!"). The god is called upon as the ruler of the elements of water,⁵⁸⁷ earth,⁵⁸⁸ and wind/air/spirit.⁵⁸⁹ This is complemented by two further attributes: *λαμπροφεγγῇ* and *προπροφεγγῇ*, which are

⁵⁸³ See Johannes Haussleiter, "Deus internus," *RAC* 3 (1957) 794–842, esp. 812–14 (with references); Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 162–70; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 175–86; Klaus Thraede, "Inspiration," *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65; Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, Dietrich-Alex Koch, Werner Brändle, "Inspiration/Theopneustie," *RGK* 4 (2001) 167–75.

⁵⁸⁴ See Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 9, 414E; *Pyth. orac.* 20–21, 404B–405A; for a human man to impregnate a goddess cf. *Quaest. conv.* 8.1.3, 718B; *Num.* 4.4. The various theories regarding the inspiration of the Pythia at Delphi are discussed by Wolfgang Fauth, "Pythia 2," *PRE* 47th Halbband (1963) 515–47, esp. 524–39; Stephan Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift De Pythia Oraculis* (BAK 8; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1990), 25–72, 183–84; idem, "Platon oder Chrysipp? Zur Inspirationstheorie in Plutarchs Schrift 'De Pythiae oraculis,'" *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 20 (1994–95) 233–56, arguing against Jens Holzhausen, "Zur Inspirationslehre Plutarchs in De Pythiae oraculis," *Ph.* 137 (1993) 72–91.

⁵⁸⁵ The terms *κελεύειν* (ll. 482–83, 710) and *κέλευμα* (l. 680) occur also elsewhere in the PGM in connection with issuing orders to deities. See Preisendanz, 3.119 (index), s.v.

⁵⁸⁶ The magical names are found only here in the PGM, and unexplained. Cf. Brashear ("The Greek Magical Papyri," 3584) who points to *εντω* (IV. 711; VIII.7; cf. *εντω* VII.556; XIX.a.1: *ενθι εντω*) as representing Egyptian *ndw*, "Glänzender" (?). Already Preisendanz, 3.253 (index), s.v., adds: "'Sonnenglanz, Glänzender, Voller' (Hermes/Thoth)"; the reference is by K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 1934, 183.

⁵⁸⁷ See ll. 492–93, 506, 513.

⁵⁸⁸ See ll. 494, 543, 641, 695, 800. Cf. IV.2194–95: *ὁ ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν δεσπότης ὑπάρχων*; XIII.331.

⁵⁸⁹ For *πνεῦμα* see ll. 489, 505, 510, 520, 538, 589, 617–18, 627, 629, 658–59; *ἀήρ* 508, 541, 582, 693.

both associated with fire.⁵⁹⁰ The conclusion consists of the string of *vores magicae*, similar to those found in ll. 562–65, 603–4):⁵⁹¹ *εμεθιρι αρτεντεπι θηθ μινεω νεναρω φυρχεχω ψηρι δαριω φρη φρηλβα*.⁵⁹²

The final step is the presentation of the petition (717–24). After the long and arduous ascension, the actual petition is surprisingly brief (cf. the petition to Helios, ll. 642–55). Addressing the god again as “lord” (κύριε),⁵⁹³ the initiate requests an oracular session with the god: *χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος* (“Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter”). The term *χρηματίζειν* is technical and means “to grant an oracular response.”⁵⁹⁴ The subject matter of the inquiry has to be filled in by the petitioner; it is of course not mentioned in the text because every petitioner will want to have his or her own business to present. Merkelbach comments at this point: “This would mean that the oracle inquirer could ask the god for a revelation concerning any subject matter whatsoever. One would then certainly also have to assume that the question would have been submitted in written form the evening or night before. However, it is more likely that the long-winding ceremony was used originally on only a few issues of great importance, and that it was only secondarily applied to all kinds of purposes.”⁵⁹⁵ An ordinary oracular inquiry would indeed proceed as Merkelbach suggests, but then the question arises, Why is such an extensive ascension

⁵⁹⁰ For *λαμπροφεγγής* cf. IV.386; according to *PGL* and *TLG*, the term is attested in patristic and Byzantine literature (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Christus patiens* [PG 38.208]; Germanus I of Constantinople [died 733], *Or.* 3.1 [PG 98.292C]); for *προπροφεγγή*, see the logos in ll. 562–65, 603–4, with proximity of *φιλβα*; according to the *TLG*, there is no other attestation.

⁵⁹¹ See the comparative table above, at l. 562.

⁵⁹² Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224) comments that Preisendanz (*ad loc.*) writes *Φρῆ Φρῆλβα*, which – not uncommonly in magical materials – reflects the name of Ammon Re. Weinreich also calls attention to the name *Φρῆν* on an inscription from Cordoba (see F. Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, E. Littmann, W. Weber & O. Weinreich, “Syrische Gottheiten auf einem Altar aus Cordova,” *ARW* 22 [1923] 117–32, esp. 122). Preisendanz also suggests that *Φρῆλβα* may have been expanded by the last three letters of the well-known palindrome *αβλαναθαναλβα*.

⁵⁹³ See for this title at l. 588 (with references).

⁵⁹⁴ For this request, see ll. 653, 724, 727, 732; furthermore I.297; IV.951, 2502; VII.248, 253, 996; XII.113, 150–51; XXX.a.2–4; LXXVII.20. For oracle divination in Egypt and rich bibliography, see Alexandra von Lieven, “Divination in Egypt,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999) 77–126.

⁵⁹⁵ Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.244: “Dies würde bedeuten, daß der Orakelsucher über jedes beliebige Thema einen Wahrspruch des Gottes erbitten konnte. Man müßte dann sicherlich außerdem annehmen, daß die Anfrage schon am Vorabend oder in der Vornacht schriftlich eingereicht worden ist. Man wird doch eher vermuten, daß die aufwendige Zeremonie ursprünglich nur zu wenigen, ganz besonderen Anlässen benützt worden ist und erst sekundär zu verschiedenen Zwecken herangezogen wurde.”

ritual necessary, if no more than a simple answer is expected? Merkelbach concludes that the ascension ritual must have been put to a secondary usage. In other words, the magician would go through a lot of ritualistic pomp and circumstance, just to give greater status to what in reality could be done in a less spectacular way. This suggestion takes up ideas of Dieterich who sees the redactor as having caused the problem. He "uses the liturgy for obtaining oracular responses." Nobody can of course say what portion of the text he may have excised, or what may have been the content of the omission.⁵⁹⁶

It seems more likely, however, that the reference to the subject matter (πρᾶγμα) of the inquiry was not ordinary but extraordinary. After all, the practitioner is seeking a personal interview with the highest god Helios-Mithras-Aion. It would be odd to assume that the inquirer who exhibits a philosophical interest in cosmological and anthropological questions would approach this god with mundane banalities. Rather, one should remember the highflying aims stated already in the exordium (483–84) of "walking (into) heaven and looking over all things." Consequently, one should assume that the inquirer will seek answers to questions of ultimate concern, including the nature of the cosmos and his own self.⁵⁹⁷ Before the gods grant the request (ll. 724–27), however, the inquirer needs to present himself and his credentials as an initiate.⁵⁹⁸

The great *synthema* in ll. 719–24 appears to be a citation,⁵⁹⁹ by repeating it from an earlier initiation ritual the present inquirer demonstrates his qualifications. This *synthema* has close parallels in the Orphic-Dionysiac gold-tablets,

⁵⁹⁶ Dieterich (82): "... so kommt hier der umarbeitende Magier zu Wort, der die Liturgie benutzt zur Erlangung von Wahrsagungen. Was er etwa abgeschnitten hat an dem Texte, was etwa noch folgte nach dem von uns Herausgehobenen, kann natürlich niemand sagen. Ich habe wohl diese und jene Vermutung, aber da ich nicht einmal Sicherheit geben kann, da ß etwas fehlt, lasse ich sie unausgesprochen."

⁵⁹⁷ Note also PDM xiv.670–74 (Janet H. Johnson, in Betz, *GMPT*, 232): "...the gods never go away without you having questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven, earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water and fields." Cf. the physician Thessalos who has a session with the god Asclepius to learn from him the most effective healing plants. See, also for other parallels, Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.84–85.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. the previous self-presentations to the elements (ll. 516–37), and to Helios (ll. 644–49).

⁵⁹⁹ For the concept of *synthema*, see above, p. 170. Griffiths (*Apuleius*, 294–308) discusses the passage in connection with the famous *synthema* in *Metam.* 11.23, ll. 11–15; cf. also what Firmicus Maternus (*Err. prof. rel.* 18, ed. Ziegler) reports about σύμβολα (*symbola*) in a mystery cult; he cites the tripartite password needed to enter into the inner chambers of the temple: ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως ("I have eaten from the kettle-drum, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have become an initiate of Attis"). Note that the Greek formula and the Latin translation do not conform (*De tympano manducavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici*); that there are other versions as well (see Dieterich, 216–17). Of interest are also his comparisons with analogous Christian formulas.

especially the one from the Thessalian Pelinna (end of the 4th c. BCE):⁶⁰⁰ The tripartite formula, referring in cryptic abbreviations to decisive ritual acts, has so far not been conclusively explained.

νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῷιδε.

εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόνοι σ' ὅτι Βάχ<χ>ιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε.

ταῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες·

αἶψα εἰς γ<ά>λα ἔθορες·

κρίος εἰς γάλα ἔπεσε<ς>.

οἶνον ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα τιμάν.

κάπιμνεναι σ' ὑπὸ γῆν τέλεα ἄσ<σ>απερ ὀλβιοὶ ἄλλοι.

Now you have died, and now you have been born, O thrice blessed one, on this very day.

Tell Persephone that Bakchios himself has set you free.

Bull, you jumped into milk;

Kid, you jumped into milk;

Ram, you fell into milk.

You have wine as your fortuitous honor.

And below the earth there are ready for you the same prizes [or: rites] as for the other blessed ones.

To return to the *synthema* in ll. 718–24, Mithras is addressed again as “lord” (κύριος), after which the initiate offers three fundamental statements of self-understanding:

First, he affirms his human and divine self-understanding by three statements (ll. 718–22):

παλινγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι,

αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ,

ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμενος,

εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι.

Having been born again, I am passing away;

while growing and having grown, I am dying;

Having been born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰⁰ Cited according to Christoph Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 359–98 (the citation, 392; the interpretation, 370–75); Betz, “Zur Lehre vom Menschen,” *ibid.*, 411 (also *Antike und Christentum*, 234–35). The translation follows, with some variation, Fritz Graf, “Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions,” in Thomas H. Carpenter & Christopher A. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 239–58 (the citation and interpretation, 241–50).

⁶⁰¹ Scholars are divided on the translation of the phrase εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς. Clearly, ἀπογενεσία is the opposite of γένεσις, γενόμενος, and παλινγενεσία; ἀναλυθεὶς

The structure of polarity is apparent, although the meaning can only be guessed. If the inquirer speaks as an initiate, which seems an obvious conclusion, what do the self-definitions define, his newly achieved divine status or his human status? Since he states his achievement of rebirth and regeneration as past experiences, the verbs in the present tense must define his imminent condition.⁶⁰² Although the formula is now part of the greeting of Mithras, the words seem to point to a different context, such as that of a formula recited before the initiate's natural death, a kind of "Sterbeformel" comparable to Rom 14:7–9:

οὐδείς γὰρ ἑμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῆ καὶ οὐδείς ἑαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει·
 ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ
 ἀποθνήσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν.

We do not live to ourselves and we do not die to ourselves.
 If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord;
 so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's.⁶⁰³

Second, three further statements affirm the divine authority which supports the initiate's present self-understanding:

ὥς σὺ ἔκτισας
 ὥς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας,
 καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον.

"as you have founded,
 as you have decreed,
 and have authored (the) mystery."

corresponds to τελευτῶ. For a discussion of ἀπογενεσία see Festugière (*Révélation*, 1.307, n. 6) who points to the parallels in PGM V.155 (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ γεννῶν καὶ ἀπογεννῶν) and Plotinus, *En.* III.4.6.12 (εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἀπογένεσιν). Reitzenstein (GGA 185 [1923] 51) renders it as "entferne ich mich" ("I remove myself"); Erwin Rohde (*Psyche*, 2.421–22); Dieterich (15): "werde ich in den Tod erlöst"; Preisendanz: "zum Sterben aufgelöst"; Festugière (*Révélation*, 1.307): "je me dissous pour entrer dans la mort"; Meyer: "I am passing on, released to death"; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.175): "ins Ablegen des Lebens aufgelöst werde(n)."

⁶⁰² As an important parallel, Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.244) refers to the Christian formulation in Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22 (ed. Konrat Ziegler [München: Huber, 1953], 70): *ut sepulto prima homine ex eodem statim homine homo alius felicius <re>nascatur* ("that when the first man is buried, from that same man at once another, happier, man is reborn" [my trans.]).

⁶⁰³ The text is cited according to Nestle–Aland, 27th ed. rev.; the translation is that of NRSV. Cf. also for baptismal formulae Rom 6:1–12, and my essay, "Transferring a Ritual: Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Romans 6," *Paulinische Studien*, 240–71, esp. 261–70.

The precise meaning of this part of the formula seems unclear. It appears originally to belong to a different hymnic context unknown to us.⁶⁰⁴ The object *μυστήριον*, without article, may refer to all three lines; since it names an object known to the practitioner, the article (the) may fit in English. That object seems to be the ritual as a whole.⁶⁰⁵

Third, the resultant self-definition of the initiate is summed up in a very concise statement. The decisive insight gained from his initiation is that he has come to understand himself as an individual self (*ἐγὼ εἰμι*),⁶⁰⁶ identified by his secret name.⁶⁰⁷

ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι.

“I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

Rather arbitrarily, Dieterich believes that the immortalization ritual (*ἀπαθανατισμός*) ends at this point, and that a new section dealing with the granting of an oracular response begins.⁶⁰⁸ “We feel in these last words a kind of conclusion of the consecration, its purpose being the rebirth, the immortalization of the initiate after the needs of the bodily life. This aim is stated in the text time and again with great clarity. When, therefore, in the papyrus the sentence follows: *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοδῆσει (Μίθρας)*, this is the statement by the magician who is reworking the liturgy for the purpose of

⁶⁰⁴ Martinez rightly proposes the sense of a *recusatio*: “not I but you...” He refers to a parallel in an Egyptian charm translated by Borghouts: “it is not I who have said it, it is not I who have repeated it. It is this magic that comes for NN born of NN that has said it, that has repeated it...” Cited and discussed in Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 72–73.

⁶⁰⁵ See also Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 170, n. 75; 224, 258; *Antike und Christentum*, 170, 178). For the term *μυστήριον*, without article, as referring to the mystery ritual as divinely authored (*ποιεῖν*), see also Dieterich (14–15), Preisendanz, *Festugièrè*, Meyer, and Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.175–76, 244); *μυστήριον* (l. 723) can, as instances in ll. 746, 794 show, refer also to things other than the ritual as such (l. 476: plural, *τὰ μυστήρια*). That the mystery cult has been instituted by the deity is a common doctrine. E.g., the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted by Demeter (*Hom. Hymn to Demeter* 473–76: *δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι* (“She showed the conduct of her rites and taught them all her mysteries”). According to *CH*, Frag. XXIII (Kore Kosmou), § 68, the mysteries of Isis and Osiris were revealed by the *νομοθεσεῖται* of Hermes. For more material see Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, Chapter 1. Cf. Col 1:26–27; 2:2–3.

⁶⁰⁶ For this formula, see above at l. 527.

⁶⁰⁷ The name is found only here, and unexplained.

⁶⁰⁸ According to Dieterich (16), the new section, which he calls “Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie” (“Instruction for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy”), begins in l. 724 with the words *ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι*, “I am PHEROURA MIOURI.” One wonders why Dieterich stops translating, when he continues carefully to annotate the text from here on (16–21).

obtaining an oracular response.”⁶⁰⁹ Consequently, he assumes that the words *φρη φρηλβα· χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ Δ πράγματος* (ll. 717–18) have been secondarily inserted by the redactor, in order to coordinate the two sections (15, 16).⁶¹⁰

There is nothing in the text, however, to suggest such a redactional seam. The elements of the phrase, *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοδῆσει* (“after you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation”), have appeared before in different situations to indicate progress in the narrative.⁶¹¹ The term *χρησμοδεῖν* is technical and designates the oracular response.⁶¹² As already mentioned above, the text does not report any material content of questions and answers. Rather, the purpose and aim of the ritual is to bring the inquirer up to the point of meeting the god in person, leaving a space for the consultation to take place and for the issue (*πρᾶγμα*) to be submitted in conversation.⁶¹³

The very next step comments on the condition of the inquirer during the consultation (ll. 725–26): *ὑπέκλυτος δὲ ἔσει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, ὅταν σοι ἀποκρίνηται* (“now you will grow weak in your soul, and you will not be in yourself, when he answers you”). Several parallel passages confirm that this is the typical condition of a person in ecstasy or thereafter.⁶¹⁴

⁶⁰⁹ Dieterich (82): “Wir fühlen in den letzten Worten eine Art Abschluß der Weihe, deren Zweck ja die Neugeburt, die Unsterblichmachung des Mysten nach der Not des Leibeslebens ist. Dies Ziel ist immer wieder mit größter Deutlichkeit im Texte ausgesprochen. Wenn darum nun im Papyrus der Satz folgt: *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοδῆσει* (*Μίθρας*), so kommt hier der umarbeitende Magier zu Wort, der die Liturgie benutzt zur Erlangung von Wahrsagungen.” See also *ibid.*, 84–85.

⁶¹⁰ On the methods of collating sources used by ancient scribes, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.86–90.

⁶¹¹ See the parallels in ll. 576, 620–21, 633, 655–56. For *εὐθέως* (“at once”), see at l. 557.

⁶¹² Pap. reads *χρησμοδῆσει*, corrected by Dieterich (16). For this term, see also VI.46; cf. II.54; VIII.101–2: *χρησμοδὸς θεός*. On *χρησμός* (“oracular response”), see ll. 727, 732; the verb *χρᾶσθαι*, l. 740; *χρηματίζω* l. 717. The terminology and concept of oracular inquiry is frequent in the PGM; see especially the *Ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις* I.263–347.

⁶¹³ A pertinent example of such conversations are the consultations of the god Trophonius in the underground cave in Lebadeia. See my article, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature: The Case of the Oracle of Trophonius,” *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 184–209. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.157) who believes that the specific issue regarding which the oracular response was sought had been submitted in written form on the evening before, probably together with the birth constellation (*γένεσις*).

⁶¹⁴ Actually, “not being in (or: by) yourself” defines ecstasy (*ἔκστασις*), see below, ll. 737–38. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240) points to Thessalos’s encounter with Asclepius (Prooem. 24, ed. Friedrich, p. 53, l. 14; also Totti, *Texte*, 117 [# 45]). When the god appeared, Thessalos almost lost his mind: *καθεζομένου δέ μου καὶ ἐκλυομένου τοῦ σώματος*

Dieterich's comment is to the point: "The phenomenon of ἐνθουσιασμός ["enthusiasm, ecstasy"] in the proper sense is well-known to us. Primarily it is meant to be physically possessed by the god. This idea changes time and again with the other, that the human being, the soul, or the spirit ascends to the sphere of the god. ἔκστασις ['ecstasy'] is derived from this viewpoint."⁶¹⁵

The session with the god then concludes (ll. 727–28): λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμόν καὶ εἰπὼν(ν) ἀπελεύσεται⁶¹⁶ ("he, however, speaks the oracle to you in verses, and after speaking he will depart"). Dieterich's (82–83) astute observation that the session ends rather abruptly is one of the reasons why he assumes that a section at the end may have been excised by the redactor, which in turn supports Dieterich's ideas concerning the composition. He perceives the absence of a narrative of a ritual dealing with the inquirer's return from heaven to earth.⁶¹⁷ It is the case, to be sure, that the ML

καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς θεᾶς, "when I took my seat and my body and soul grew weak because of the miracle of the vision." Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.27–28: "as if, indeed, the gods' presence was not supposed to make humans better than themselves, but rather weak or sick" (*prorsus quasi deum praesentia soleant homines non sui fieri meliores, sed debiles effici uel aegroti*). The opening paragraph of the "Poimandres" (CHI.1) presents a kind of classic statement: Ἐννοίας μοί ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ μετεωρισθείσης μοι τῆς διανοίας σφόδρα, κατασχεθεισῶν μου τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ τῶν ὕπνῳ βεβαρημένοι ἐκ κόρου τροφῆς ἢ ἐκ κόπου σώματος... ("Once when thought came to me about the things that are, and my thinking was lifted up high, while my bodily senses were held down, like those who are heavy with sleep from a fill of food or fatigue of the body..." [my trans.]); see also CH X.5; for the oracle of Trophonius see Pausanias 39.13 (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 186); for the OT and Judaism see Saul's weakness after the consultation with the dead prophet Samuel in the story of the "witch of Endor" (1 Sam 28:20–24); 1 En. 60:3 (OTP 1.40): "(Then) a great trembling and fear seized me and my loins and kidneys lost control. So I fell upon my face." Paul's vision of Christ on the road to Damascus causes his physical collapse, described in Acts 9:3–9; 22:6–11.

⁶¹⁵ Dieterich (97–98): "Die Erscheinung des ἐνθουσιασμός im eigentlichen Sinne ist uns wohlbekannt. Es ist ursprünglich gemeint als ganz körperliches Erfülltsein vom Gotte. Mit dieser Vorstellung wechselt immer und immer wieder die, daß der Mensch oder seine Seele, sein Geist in den Gott körperlich eingeht. ἔκστασις entstammt dieser Anschauung." Dieterich (98) refers to Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed., 1898), 2.18ff.; Wünsch (in Dieterich, 240). On the topic of ecstasy see Friedrich Pfister, "Ekstase," *RAC* 4 (1959) 944–87; idem, "Enthusiasmus," *RAC* 5 (1962) 455–57; Klaus Thraede, "Inspiration," *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65 (with bibliography).

⁶¹⁶ Pap. reads εἰπὼ with the ν expressed by a supralinear stroke; thus, the reading εἰπὼν by Dieterich (16) is correct.

⁶¹⁷ Dieterich (82, 83): "Ob irgendwie der Abstieg des Mysten liturgisch angegeben war, kann ich ebenfalls nicht ausmachen.... Wahrscheinlich ist es mir nicht, daß die Rückkehr des Geweihten in der echten Liturgie irgendwie vorkam; das widerspräche aller Analogie ähnlicher sakramentaler Aktionen." ("Whether somehow the descent of the initiate was liturgically presented, I am unable to make out.... To me it is not probable that the return of the initiate occurred somehow in the liturgy itself; this would be in conflict with all analogies of similar sacramental actions.")

says nothing about a ritual of return⁶¹⁸ or of the god's dismissal.⁶¹⁹ Also, there is no indication of how long the session would last. Rather than being short, the epilogue even presupposes that the revelation could include thousands of verses, which would require a considerably longer time. How then can the missing return of the inquirer be explained?

The conclusion of the ritual again looks at the inquirer and provides several instructions (ll. 728–32). The first of these involves his resulting condition (ll. 728–29): σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεὸς, ὡς ταῦτα πάντα χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως⁶²⁰ (“but you stand speechless, [wondering] how you will by yourself comprehend all these things”).⁶²¹ It appears that after having received the response, the inquirer is faced with two questions, one being comprehension, and the other, recollection.⁶²² Two promises deal with them. The first assures him that he will indeed comprehend everything αὐτομάτως (“by himself, spontaneously”).⁶²³ The other promise assures him unfailing remembrance (ll. 729–30): καὶ τότε μνημονεύσεις ἀπαραβάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα, καὶ ἦν μυρίων στίχων ὁ χρησμός (“for at a later time you will remember

⁶¹⁸ For such narratives of return, see Plutarch, *Gen. Socr.* 22, 592E; Lucian, *Icarom.* 2; 34; 2 Cor 12:2–4.

⁶¹⁹ For such ritual dismissals, see, e.g., I.94–95, 170, 184–86, 334–47; II.176–83; III.258; IV.252–53; XI.a.35; (Demotic) xiv.110, 505, 670.

⁶²⁰ Dieterich reads (16): σὺ δ' ἐστήκεις ἐνεὸς ὡς, agreeing with Usener (in Dieterich, 16, *app. crit.*) that this looks like a hexametric half-verse, and that it may be borrowed from a source. Differently, Wilhelm Crönert (“Zur Kritik,” 100) reads σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεὸς ὡς ταῦτα πάντα χωρήσεις· καὶ τότε μνημονεύσεις, “but you stand there, because of amazement incapacitated to comprehend all of these things...” (“Du aber stehst da, unfähig vor Staunen, dies alles von selbst zu begreifen.”) This reading Preisendanz adopts, also referring to the parallel in IV. 923. Kroll (*Ph.* 53 [1894] 420, n. 6; 54 [1895] 561) refers to parallels for the meaning of χωρεῖν (“comprehend”): Philo, *Sacr.* 8; Matt 19:11; Plutarch, *Cato Min.* 64.4; Ps.–Phoc. 89; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.26.6. Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) cites Hopfner’s reading: ὡς (ὥστε) χωρήσειν. For χωρεῖν (“comprehend”) see also below, n. 623.

⁶²¹ Cf. after Paul’s vision of Christ, the men accompanying him stand speechless, Acts 9:7: οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες... εἰστήκεισαν ἐνεοί.

⁶²² Translations differ at this point because ἐνεὸς can be taken in two ways, either as “speechless and wondering how ...” or “stand in amazement that you will by yourself comprehend all these things” (Preisendanz: “Du aber steh stumm, denn du wirst das alles von selbst verstehen”; Meyer: “But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself”; Merkelbach: “aber du wirst stumm dastehen und darüber staunen, daß Du alles von selbst behältst, was der große Gott gesagt hat”).

⁶²³ For the term χωρεῖν (“comprehend”), see Dieterich (16, *app. crit.*; 83); BDAG, s.v. χωρέω, 3,b,β; αὐτομάτως, an important term in miracle stories, is a *hapax* in the PGM; see BDAG, s.v. αὐτόματος.

Cf. the concern in 1 En. 1:2 (OTP 1.13): “(This is) a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me; and I heard from them everything and I understood.”

infallibly the things spoken by the great god,⁶²⁴ even if the oracle contains myriads of verses”).⁶²⁵ Several things are made known here about the nature of the revelation.

First, ll. 725–26 lead to the conclusion that the journey to heaven as a whole is experienced in ecstasy. According to the worldview expressed in the text, this means that the initiate “left the earth” in a state of trance, which for him is physical, and not only a mental experience. One must be cautious at this point. The experience is, of course, imaginative, but it is nonetheless “real” in the sense that the initiate’s physical as well as mental state is participating. If, however, it appears to us as outsiders that the initiate does not move an inch off the ground and that there is no account of a return, this fact only reveals our lack of understanding of what is implied in an ecstatic experience. Therefore, when the god departs the initiate comes out of his trance, this is the moment when he finds himself “standing speechless” (ll. 728–29).⁶²⁶

Second, the oracular response envisaged is called “the words of the great god,” revealed directly without a mediating interpreter, a mouth-to-mouth (στόμα πρὸς στόμα) or face-to-face (πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον) revelation.⁶²⁷ Furthermore, they are given in verse, as such oracles should be.⁶²⁸ Surprisingly, they add up to a collection of myriads of verses. Regarding this last point, one wonders whether the author has oracle collections, perhaps even a

⁶²⁴ That the problem of remembering the revelation was an important concern is shown by parallels in connection with the oracle of Trophonius (see Pausanias 39.8–14, and Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 185–86, and Plutarch, *Sera* 33, 568A): At his return from the journey to the afterlife, Thespesius is touched with a glowing-hot rod, so as to preserve the memory (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 204). Cf. also the charms in PGM called “memory spells” (μνημονική), I.232–47; II.40–42; III.424–66, 467–78; etc.

⁶²⁵ For *ἔσθ' ἦν* as a common 3rd pers. sing. subj. in non-literary papyri and the NT see Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.405 with n. 1.

⁶²⁶ Cf. also Paul’s intended ambiguity in 2 Cor 12:2–4. Regarding the man snatched up into the third heaven, he confesses “whether in the body I don’t know, whether out of the body I don’t, God knows.”

⁶²⁷ See I.2–3: τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα συνόμιλος τῷ θεῷ (“mouth to mouth he was a companion of the god”). According to ancient views, these oracles had the highest value. Cf. of Moses LXX Num 12:6–8; Deut 5:4; also 1 Cor 13:12, and BDAG, s.v. *πρόσωπον*, 1.b.

⁶²⁸ See Plutarch’s essay “Why oracles are no longer given in verse” (*De Pythiae oraculis*), in which he discusses current theories of decline of the Greek oracles because they are turning to prose. See Schröder, *Plutarch’s Schrift*, 53–55, 67 n. 1; 314.

specific one, in mind.⁶²⁹ At any rate, he names a problem that no doubt has led to such collections.⁶³⁰

With l. 732 the ritual of immortalization (ἀπαθανατισμός) concludes. What follows are supplementary instructions.

III. Supplemental rituals (ll. 732–819)

As the analysis shows, part III (ll. 732–819) contains supplemental rituals. There are two kinds of those supplements: first, three options for including a fellow-initiate in the oracular consultation (ll. 732–50); second, three additional instructions for preparing ingredients to be used in the ritual (ll. 750–819).⁶³¹

A. Optional rituals for including a fellow-initiate in the consultation (ll. 732–50)

The three optional rituals, coordinated by ἐὰν δὲ καὶ..., ἐὰν δὲ καὶ..., ἐὰν δὲ καὶ...,⁶³² concern the oracular consultation presented above (ll. 724–28). These rituals are not to be confused with initiations, because the additional person to be included in the consultation must be someone who, just as the first inquirer, is already an initiate (συμμύστης); the initiations of both consultants are therefore presupposed as having occurred prior to the present ritual text.

1. In the first option (ll. 732–36), the fellow-initiate is to serve as a medium in the consultation: ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς καὶ συμμύστη χρήσασθαι ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἔχεῖνον μόνον σὺν σοι ἀκούειν... (“But if you want to consult the oracle by using a fellow-initiate [as medium], so that he hears only the things spoken together with you...”). The phrase “if you wish” (ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς), stating

⁶²⁹ Such as the “Chaldean Oracles” (see Edouard Des Places, “Les Oracles Chaldaïques,” *ANRW* II.17:4 [1984] 2299–2335); Porphyry, *De philosophia ex oraculis exhaurienda librorum reliquiae* (ed. Gustav Wolff; Berlin: Springer, 1856). See Nilsson, *GGR* 2.478–85; Herbert W. Parke & D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (2 vols.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1966); Aune, *Early Christian Prophecy*, 77–79.

⁶³⁰ Cf. also Apollonius’ consultation of Trophonius, when he reappears from the cave with a book containing the teachings of Pythagoras (Philostratus, *V. Apoll.* 8.19–20; see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 187–88).

⁶³¹ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.156–57) assumes that all the additional rituals refer to passages that were part of the preparatory rituals which the redactor omitted from the beginning of the text. As will be shown below, however, the situation is more complicated.

⁶³² For καὶ almost equalling αὖ (“again,” “once more” *vel sim.*) see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 305.

options, is attested elsewhere in the PGM.⁶³³ The term συμμύστης is technical and indicates that the adept has been initiated, but perhaps at a lower rank or as child medium.⁶³⁴ The verb χρᾶσθαι appears often in the magical literature, but here it seems to have the more specific meaning of “to make use of a medium.”⁶³⁵ The meaning of the ὥστε-sentence is, at first sight, obscure, but appears to become clearer when compared with the two other options. If the role of the fellow-initiate is that of a medium, a limit is imposed on that role: “so that he hears only the things spoken together with you” (ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον μόνον σὺν σοι ἀκούειν).⁶³⁶ In the PGM, as well as in the language of the mystery cults, this term usually refers to the words to be spoken by the practitioner of the ritual, but in this context it is more likely that it signifies the utterances of the god (see ll. 731, 737).⁶³⁷

The following statement specifies the conditions the medium has to meet before performing his role: συναγνεύετω σοι <ζ> ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλανείου (“let him be pure together with you for [seven] days, and abstain from meat and bath”).⁶³⁸ These conditions are typical for prelimi-

⁶³³ See I.124; III.495; IV.1720, 2252, 2257, 2301, 3125; XXXVI.151.

⁶³⁴ Pap. reads συνμυστη (equalling συμμύστη). Jordan considers articulating σὺν μύστη or haplography <σὺν> συνμύστη. For the term, see also XII.94; and Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 44, 149 n. 75; BDAG, s.v. μύστης; for the unassimilated spelling see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.168.

⁶³⁵ For the verb referring to a substance see IV.792–93: εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός· μηκέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι). For child mediums see I.86–87; II.56; III.710; IV.89, 850–51; V.1–53 (title: μαντεῖον Σαραπιακόν [ἐπὶ] παιδός, ἐπὶ λύχνου καὶ φιάλας καὶ β[ά]θρου), 375–76; VII.348–58 (title: μαντεῖον ἐπὶ παιδός), 544, 572; XIII.749; LXII.32; PDM xiv.5–10, 150–55, 285–90, 410–15, 460–65, 480–85, 490–95; 515–20, 530, 695, 815–20, 856, 870–75; see Theodor Hopfner, “Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri,” in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926), 65–74.

⁶³⁶ For such selective participation in revelation, see PDM xiv.285–95, 420–26, 525–30, 815–25. Cf. the differing versions of the reports about Jesus’ baptism (Mark 1:9–11 par.) and about the witnesses of Paul’s vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:7: ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες). For discussion and parallels see Herbert Braun, “Entscheidende Motive in den Berichten über die Taufe Jesu von Markus bis Justin,” in *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967), 168–72.

⁶³⁷ For the term τὰ λεγόμενα, see also I.163, 193–94; II.17; IV.1442; XII.42–43, 52–53; XIII.210–11; cf. IV.246–47: ὅπερ ὄνομα ῥηθὲν θεοῦ καὶ δαίμονας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ βίᾳ φέρει. The term δρώμενα does not occur in the PGM, but cf. δρώ IV.2593, 2655; for δείκνυμι cf. below ll. 738, 772, 785. See George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 261–74; Albert Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 33–71.

⁶³⁸ Dieterich adds [ζ] (“seven”) because of the parallel in IV.52. For the importance of seven days, see also I.41 (ἐν ἡμέρ[αις ζ]); II.141–44; III.425–39, 695–97; IV.767, 3209–10; V.244–45; VII.526–27; XIII.114, 671; XCIV.10; PDM xiv.1040–45.

nary purifications or sanctifications.⁶³⁹ The emphasis on “together with you” indicates the role of the mentor/teacher as supervisor, and that of the fellow-initiate as being of lower status. Abstention from “ensouled” food (ἐμψυχος),⁶⁴⁰ that is meat, as well as from bath⁶⁴¹ are the common requirements for sanctification,⁶⁴² however, a third typical requirement, sexual intercourse, is not mentioned.⁶⁴³ These requirements of purity are preconditional for the person’s function as a medium.⁶⁴⁴

2. The second option applies to prophecy without a medium (ll. 736–38): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μόνος ᾖς καὶ ἐγχειρῇς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημμένα, λέγεις ὥς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος⁶⁴⁵ (“But if you are alone, and you are [directly] engaged with the pronouncements of the god, you speak as inspired in

⁶³⁹ The term συναγνεύειν is rare and found only here in the PGM; cf. συναγνίσθητι ἐπευχῇ, “be sanctified together by prayer,” IV.2997–98 (for other readings, see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*). Cf. προαγνεύειν, IV.52; XIII.113, 671. The simplex ἀγνεύειν (“sanctify”) occurs II.149, 151; IV.3209; VII.334, 846; XIII.347; XXII.b.27. See Jan Bremmer, “‘Religion’, ‘Ritual’ and the Opposition ‘Sacred vs. Profane’: Notes Towards a Terminological ‘Genealogy’,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 9–32, esp. 24–31.

⁶⁴⁰ For ἐμψυχος, see also IV.1766; LXVII.2; cf. ἄψυχος I.23; IV.498; VII.441. Abstention from meat was widespread in antiquity; see also IV.53, 3079–80; LXVII.2. On the whole, see Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, 76–102; Parker, *Miasma*, 357–65.

⁶⁴¹ Strangely, bathing does not effect purification. Abstention from bath (βαλανεῖον) is mentioned only here in the PGM; cf. Kotansky, *Amulets*, 1.298–99. See Julius Jüthner, “Bad,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 1134–43, esp. 1136 (referring to Philo, *Det.* 19; Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 2), and 1141–42. According to Acts 23:21, Paul’s enemies swear that they will neither eat nor drink until they have killed the apostle; for this and other parallels see David Martinez, “‘May she neither eat nor drink’: Love Magic and Vows of Abstinence,” in: Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (RGRW 129; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 349 n. 52.

⁶⁴² See Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, *passim*; Parker, *Miasma*, *passim*; Stengel, *Kultus-altertümer*, 155–70.

⁶⁴³ On abstention from sex, see I.41–42; IV.897–98; XXXVII.1–2; PDM xiv.65–70, 145–50, 765–70, 815–20. On the subject see Eugen Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (RVV 6; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1910); Gerhard Delling, “Geschlechtsverkehr,” *RAC* 10 (1978) 812–29 (bibliography); Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 107–8.

⁶⁴⁴ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) notes that no such requirements are reported at the beginning of the ML, and he concludes that the redactor must have omitted them. This conclusion leaves three possible ways of understanding the matter: Did the redactor omit the requirements as they apply to the author himself from the written source material? Or did he regard them as unwritten preconditions for the practitioner/teacher because they are self-evident and do not need to be written out? Or did he spell them out as preconditions for the medium? A decision is difficult, but the latter option seems to be the more likely answer.

⁶⁴⁵ According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224), Preisendanz apparently later proposed the reading λέγε ὅσως, “speak in the same way as...” Martinez suggests that Preisendanz may be right because also in the other two ἐὰν-clauses the protasis is followed by an imperative apodosis.

ecstasy”).⁶⁴⁶ The absence of a medium means that, like Trophonius, the prophet receives the utterances of the god directly. More complex are the theories concerning the Delphic Pythia’s ecstatic inspiration by Apollo.⁶⁴⁷ The terms ἔκστασις (“ecstasy”) and ἀποφοιβάομαι (“inspired by Phoebus”) occur only here in the PGM.⁶⁴⁸

3. The third option is most difficult to understand because the formulation is ambiguous (ll. 738–40): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλῃς, κρίνας, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ...⁶⁴⁹ (“But again if you wish to show him, after you judge whether his worth as a man is secure ...”).⁶⁵⁰ Depending on the interpretation, translations differ; the problem is the missing object of δεῖξαι αὐτῷ, “to show him” – what? Judging from the context (ll. 741–46), the most likely object would be a revelatory symbol belonging to what in mystery-cult language is called τὰ δεικνύμενα (“things shown”).⁶⁵¹ Before this optional

⁶⁴⁶ The translations differ at this point because of what appear to be misunderstandings of the options. Preisendanz: “Wenn du aber auch allein bist und an dem vom Gott mitgeteilten Zauber dich versuchst, sprich, wie in Ekstase voll prophetischer Begeisterung;” Meyer: “And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy”; Merkelbach: “Wenn du aber allein bist und ihm das vom Gott Gesagte mitteilen willst, dann wirst du es in prophetischer Begeisterung sagen, als wärest du in Ekstase.” In other words, the present option is different from the previous one. For dispensing with a medium, see also PDM xiv.285–95, 420–26, 525–30, 815–25.

Conceivable if unlikely in the present passage is that the expression ὡς ἐν ἔκστασει could be taken as faking the ecstasy (see Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.27–28: *velut numinis divino spiritu repletus*; Lucian, *Alex.* 12; Diodorus Siculus 34/35.2.5–7: καὶ οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα ἀπεφοιβάειν); Origen, *Cels.* 7.9.9–10: κινεῖνται δὴθεν ὡς θεοσίζοντες. (I am indebted for these passages to Cristiano Grottanelli.)

⁶⁴⁷ See also the “Apollonian invocation,” I.262–347 (Betz, *GMPT*, 10–12, with notes); and Sam Eitrem, “Apollon in der Magie,” in his *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike* (AlVi 5; Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947), 47–52. For further bibliography, see above at ll.709–10.

⁶⁴⁸ For ἔκστασις (“ecstasy”), see above, n. 614; also Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 64–101; Friedrich Pfister, “Ekstase,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 944–87; Hartmut Zinser, “Ekstase,” *HRWG* 2 (1990) 253–58 (bibliography); Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 55–57: “Rituelle Ekstase”; BDAG, s.v. ἔκστασις, 2. The rare term ἀποφοιβάομαι (“inspired by Phoebus”) is found only here (LSJ, s.v.), but it shows that this type of prophecy has become part of common religious parlance. Cf. Acts 16:16: ἔχεν πνεῦμα πύθωνα, “having a Python spirit.”

⁶⁴⁹ Wunsch (in Dieterich, 16) regards ὡς as dittography and proposes ὁ; cf. also Crönert’s discussion (“Zur Kritik,” 100–1); but Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach keep ὡς.

⁶⁵⁰ Preisendanz: “Willst du es aber auch ihm (dem Miteingeweihten) zeigen, ...”; Meyer: “And if you also wish to show him ...;” Merkelbach: “Aber wenn du es ihm mitteilen willst, (so tue das) ...”

⁶⁵¹ Cf. the similar phrase ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλω θέλῃς δεικνύειν (l. 772), but there the meaning is clear (cf. above, n. 637).

ritual can be performed, the fellow-initiate has to be evaluated whether he is worthy as a human being.⁶⁵²

If he passes the test, the following procedure should be followed (ll. 740–41): *χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς <σὺ> ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀπαθάν <ατ>ισμῷ*⁶⁵³ (“handling the occasion as though in the immortalization ritual you yourself were being judged in his place”).⁶⁵⁴ This method conforms to the moral standard of fairness, or even to the Golden Rule.⁶⁵⁵

At the beginning, the great “first prayer” should be recited (ll. 741–44): *τὸν πρῶτον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αἰησιουω* (“recite for him the first prayer, of which the beginning is, ‘First origin of my origin, AEEIOYO’”). This “first prayer” is the one fully set out in ll. 486–537; it is to be recited to the fellow-initiate, so that he can repeat it.⁶⁵⁶ What follows after that is to be handled differently: *τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἅ{υ}τόνῳ*⁶⁵⁷ *φθόγγῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ* .. (“And say the successive things as an initiate, over his head, in a soft voice, so that he may not hear ...”). The terms are insider language: *τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς* seems to refer to what comes after the “first prayer,” but it is not clear what exactly is included. There are three possibilities for understanding it: First, it may include the entire ritual of ascension (ll. 539–731); this is, however, least likely since what follows is to be spoken in a special way.⁶⁵⁸ The procedure is further specified as

⁶⁵² For this kind of test of one’s worthiness, which was common in the mystery cults, see also I.131; III.176–77; IV.477; XI.a.15; furthermore II.177; XXX.e.3. See also Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 30–65, 145–52; BDAG, s.v. ἄξιος, 2.a.

⁶⁵³ Pap. reads *τοπω*, emended by Dieterich to *τ<ρ>όπω*; considering this emendation redundant, Martinez convincingly emends *<σὺ>*. The pap. reading *απαθανισμῳ* is obviously a scribal error, corrected by Wessely to *ἀπαθανατισμῷ*, the name for the immortalization ritual as a whole (see ll. 747, 771, also 647–48); for the term, see also Cornutus, *Nat.* 31; Proclus, *Plat. rem. publ.* 1.152.11 (ed. Kroll).

⁶⁵⁴ Following the translation by Martinez. Others differ: Preisendanz: “lege dabei den Maßstab an, als würdest du selbst bei der Verewigung an seiner Statt geprüft”; Merkelbach: “tue das in der Weise, als ob du an seiner Statt bei der Unsterblichkeitsweihe geprüft würdest”; Meyer: “treat him just as if in his place you were judged in the matter of immortalization.”

⁶⁵⁵ See Gal 6:1, and the interpretation in my *Galatians*, 298; for the Golden Rule (Matt 7:12//Luke 6:31), see my *The Sermon on the Mount*, 508–19.

⁶⁵⁶ The verb *ὑποβάλλειν* has the prayer as object; it means “inform” or “instigate,” like a prompter (cf. Preisendanz: “vorsprechen”; Merkelbach: “vorsagen”). See LSJ, BDAG, s.v.

⁶⁵⁷ The pap. reads *αυτονῳ*, corrected to *ἅτόνῳ* by Dieterich (17), Rieß, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411; Kroll, *Ph.* 53 (1894) 421; cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.226–27, and below on l. 749 *παραγγελλμαγῳ*.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) concludes, “therefore silently” (“also schweigend”). However, it is clearly explained by the following remark.

“over the head” of the fellow-initiate, “in a murmuring voice,”⁶⁵⁹ so that he cannot make out the actual words. Second, and most probable, the recitation *sotto voce* includes the second and third prayers (ll. 559–65, 587–616). The final option is that the words are not in the written text at all, but oral and secret; this is unlikely in a written instruction.

At any rate, while the formulae are murmured, the practitioner is told (l. 746): *χρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ*⁶⁶⁰ (“as you are anointing his face with the mystery”). The anointing (*χρίειν*) refers to the iatromagical tradition dealing with salves and ointments of all sorts.⁶⁶¹ This particular ointment is intended to improve vision (cf. ll. 772–75).⁶⁶² The name of the ointment is *μυστήριον* (“mystery”); its preparation is described in ll. 751–78, below. While the term *μυστήριον* can refer to different matters (cf. ll. 476, 723, 794), there seems to be no other such attribution of this name, the purpose of which is, one may conclude, to enable the eyes to see the mystery that is shown (l. 738).

4. After the additional rituals for the participation of a fellow-initiate in the oracular consultation have been presented, a few stipulations bring the section to its conclusion (ll. 746–50). The first stipulation concerns the frequency of usage (ll. 746–48): *γίνεται δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμός οὗτος τρις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* (“This immortalization takes place three times a year”). In other words, the ritual called “immortalization”⁶⁶³ may be performed three times a year, but not more. How this relates to the stipulation in ll. 796–98 is not clear (see below).

Another stipulation concerns defection, apparently by someone who wishes to discontinue the practice (ll. 748–50): *ἐὰν δὲ βουληθῇ τις, ὃ τέκνον, μετὰ*

⁶⁵⁹ For parallels, see Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers [sc. the formula] with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Metam.* 1.3. See Wilhelm Kroll, “Alte Taufgebräuche,” *ARW* 8 (1905) 42–43; Abt, *Die Apologie*, 212; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 28, 40, 121–22, 224, 352–53; Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 58.

⁶⁶⁰ The pap. reads *χρείων* (itacism).

⁶⁶¹ See, esp., 1.255–60; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: *Tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur...* (“Then all who lamented have their throats anointed...”). For further references to anointing, see Preisendanz, 3.203 (index), s.v. *χρίειν*, *χρίσμα*.

⁶⁶² On anointing the eyes, see also V.64–69; VII.335–36; PDM xiv.115–16, 820–25. For further literature, see Wolfgang Westendorf, “Augenheilkunde,” *LA* 1 (1975) 560–62; Wolfgang Helck, “Augenschminke,” *ibid.*, 567; Friedrich Wilhelm Bayer, “Augensalbe (collyrium),” *RAC* 1 (1950) 972–75; Ernst Kind, “κολλύριον,” *PRE* 21. Halbbd. (1921) 1100–6; BDAG, s.v. *κολλούριον* (with reference to Rev 3:18, and further literature). Cf. the healing miracles of Jesus in Mark 8:23; Joh 9:6, 11, 15.

⁶⁶³ For this name, see above, l. 741.

τὸ παράγγελμα {τῷ} παρακοῦσαι, <τῷ> οὐκέτι ὑπάρξει⁶⁶⁴ (“And if anyone, my child, wishes after the instruction to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect.”) The meaning of the statement is disputed, and hence the translations vary.⁶⁶⁵ Apparently, the case envisages a person who has received the instruction of the initiation but wishes to quit, disobey or deviate from the received tradition; for him the ritual is no longer at his disposal or loses its efficaciousness. The παράγγελμα seems to refer to the instruction as a whole.⁶⁶⁶ A statement such as this assures the teacher and warns the student.⁶⁶⁷ With this, the section ends.

B. Additional instruction (ll. 750–819)

A special section of further instructions follows after the “supplemental rituals.” This new section carries an explicit title: διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (“instruction for the performance”). The instruction includes prescriptions for three items to be used in the main ritual. First, a prescription is provided

⁶⁶⁴ Pap. reads παραγγελαγο. Dieterich omits τῷ, but Preisendanz rearranges and puts τῷ before οὐκέτι (so also Jordan); Wünsch reads παράγγελμα αὐτῷ; Ludwig Radermacher (*Ph.* 63 [1904] 4–5; idem, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 56) prefers μετὰ τὸ παραγγέλατον. Dieterich (17) reads οὐκέτι and connects ὑπάρξει (ἀπαθανατισμός); according to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224), Preisendanz later proposed to read: μεταθεῖναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῷ παρακοῦσαι, “if someone wants to bend the prescript by disobedience” (“wollte einer die Vorschrift beugen durch Ungehorsam”). Preisendanz (*ibid.*) also withdrew his proposal of παραγγελά πω (*WSt* 42 [1920–21] 27 no. 10). Martinez comments: “I think that Wünsch’s reading is closest to the truth; in documentary papyri αὐτός etc. are very frequently written ἄτός etc. (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.226–27 with 227 n. 1, noting examples in defixiones; Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 67); cf. above l. 745 αὐ > α. So I would write παραγγελμ’ α <ὀ>τῷ. As to what αὐτῷ is doing here is another issue. Displacement is possible (as Preisendanz supposes with τῷ). We could also interpret the form as a genitive (οὐ > ω(ι), fairly frequent either for phonetic reasons or syntactic confusion between genitive and dative (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.208ff.). In that case the translation would be: ‘If anyone wishes after his instruction to disobey...’”

⁶⁶⁵ Preisendanz: “Wollte aber jemand, mein Kind, nach Empfang der Vorschrift ihr nicht Folge leisten, dem wird sie nicht mehr zu Gebote stehn”; Meyer: “And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect”; Merkelbach: “Mein Kind, wenn jemand, der sich dazu gemeldet, den Anweisungen nicht folgen (und die Weihe versäumen) sollte, für den gibt es keine Möglichkeit mehr.”

⁶⁶⁶ For the term παρακοῦειν, see also IV.290, 367, and Preisendanz; 3.158 (index), s.v. παρακοῦειν.

⁶⁶⁷ It may be related to similar quasi-legal rules; see, e.g., Matt 5:19, and for further material and discussion my commentary, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 184–89. Cf. XIII.379–80: εἰ μὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καλέσῃς, οὐκ ἑπακούουσι ὡς ἀμυστηριάσω σοι ὑπάρχοντι (“For if you do not invoke them [sc. the gods of the hours], they will not hear you, as being uninitiated”). See also BDAG, s.v. ὑπάρχω, 1.

for making the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78); second, the information and preparation of the plant called *kentritis* (ll. 778–813); and third, the preparation of phylacteries (ll. 813–19).

1. The title διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (“instruction for the performance”), most likely given to this section by the final author/redactor may appear surprising, but it should be remembered from the exordium (ll. 475–84) that the overall purpose of the text of the Mithras Liturgy is intended to be didactic.⁶⁶⁸

2. All three items involve rituals as well as alchemical and biological information. The technical terminology used is Greek in origin and often difficult to identify.⁶⁶⁹ The difficulties arise from the fact that the papyrus originated in Egypt and describes Egyptian materials and plants; the terminology, however, is Greek. While alchemical ingredients are often common, plants are geographically specific, so that their identifications by Greek names become difficult to verify. The fact that the author supplements information from Greek plant books shows that even he had difficulties in identifying the Egyptian plants and that he does not seem to know their Egyptian names.

The preparation of the rituals should precede the actual performance of the main ritual, because they have to be ready to be used when their place and time of performance has come, which is mentioned in the main ritual.⁶⁷⁰ Hence, *pace* Merkelbach, the additional instruction does not imply a criticism by the redactor who regards his *Vorlage* to be deficient. Also Dieterich separates the additions as secondary from the “liturgy” proper. He attributes them to the final redactor who uses the earlier “liturgy” as a source for an altogether different magical procedure.⁶⁷¹ However, a distinction has to be kept in mind

⁶⁶⁸ While the terminology of teaching is not frequent in the PGM, this infrequency cannot obscure the fact that much of its content is for instruction. διδασκαλία is *hapax* in the PGM; for διδασχῆ, see XIII.59, 430; for διδάσκειν, see IV.1872 (μηδὲνα δίδασκε).

⁶⁶⁹ For plant biology in connection with rituals and astrology, see the parallels in Thessalos of Tralles, *De virtutibus herbarum* (ed. Friedrich, *passim*); for the text see also Totti, *Texte*, # 45; Armand Delatte, *Herbarius. Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques* (3rd. ed.; Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, 54.4; Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1961); cf. the review by Friedrich Pfister, *ByZ* 37 (1937) 381–90; idem, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19.2 (1938) 1446–56; Heinrich Marzell, “Der Zauber der Heilkräuter in der Antike und Neuzeit,” *SAGM* 29 (1936) 3–26.

⁶⁷⁰ A different view has been stated by Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.156–57, 245), when he sees the “instruction” to refer to passages that were originally placed at the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy, but were omitted from the text by the redactor. There is no need, however, to assume such an omission because references point to places in the extant text before us.

⁶⁷¹ Thus, Dieterich (17–22) omits translating the additions, but he provides valuable notes on the text. See the Introduction, above pp. 11, 26–27.

between textual and ritual sequences. The textual sequences are what is written down, whereas the ritual sequences are known to the practitioner from practice.⁶⁷²

1. First ritual: the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78)

The first item involves a sun-scarab ointment, most likely the same as the one called *μυστήριον* (“mystery,” l. 746).⁶⁷³ The section shows careful composition and has its own little epilogue (ll. 776–78), features indicating that it was taken from a source. The preparation of the ointment has two stages.

The first stage (ll. 751–57) begins with the procurement of the ingredients. The first item is a sun-scarab (ll. 751–53): λαβὼν κἀνθαρὸν ἡλιακὸν τὸν τὰς ὑβ’ ἀκτῖνας ἔχοντα ποίησον εἰς βησίον καλλαῖνον βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι⁶⁷⁴ (“Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at time when the moon is invisible”).⁶⁷⁵ The term λαβὼν (“take!”) is technical and common. As the name indicates, the “sun scarab” (κἀνθαρὸς ἡλιακός)⁶⁷⁶ represents the old solar deity Khepri.⁶⁷⁷ The Greeks were fascinated by the symbolism, which is reflected by Plutarch who theorizes that the beetle is an image (εἰκὼν) of “the power of the gods, like the image of the sun in rain-drops.”⁶⁷⁸ Apparently, the scarab with the

⁶⁷² For the difference between ritual text sequence and performance sequence see the Introduction, above p. 31.

⁶⁷³ For the terms, see ll. 770, χρῆσμα; σύγχρισμα, l. 793; περιχρίειν, ll. 773–74.

⁶⁷⁴ Pap. reads βωσιον, emended by Wessely to βήσιον. Dieterich (17) compares Hesychius (ed. Latte, β, 584), s.v. βησίον· ποτήριον; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 11.784b (ed. Kaibel, BīTeu, 3.96; ed. C. B. Gulick, LCL, 5.52): Βῆσσα ποτήριον παρ’ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πλατύτερον ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν, ἐστενωμένον ἄνωθεν. Cf. 11.497d (ed. Gulick, 5.218) about a drinking vessel (*rhyton*) in the temple of Arsinoe that has the shape of the Egyptian god Besas and gives off a shrill tone when the spout is opened. Cf. Cyranides 1.21.115 (ed. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, 99): ἀπόθου ἐν ὑελίνῳ ἀγγεῖῳ; 1.23.50 (107), etc. Jordan prefers βωσίον (“vessel”).

⁶⁷⁵ As a result of the uncertainties in identifying the technical language, translations of the vessel differ at this point. Preisendanz: “Gefäß aus Goldstein”; Meyer: “turquoise cup”; Merkelbach: “blaugrünes Gefäß.”

⁶⁷⁶ The term is found also in VII.974–75; XII.274 (ἔστω δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ δράκοντος κἀνθαρὸς ἀκτινωτὸς ἱερός); LXI.34; cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 2.41; see Heinz-Josef Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*, vol. 1 (APFB 6; München: Saur, 2001), 8–10 (# 10).

⁶⁷⁷ See Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Trans. John Baines; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 117, with plate IV; also Günther Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im Alten Ägypten* (Zürich & Stuttgart: Artemis, 1960), 384–88 (with figure 32); Jan Assmann, “Chepre,” *LÄ* 1 (1975) 934–40 (bibl.).

⁶⁷⁸ Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 74, 381A: ... ὥσπερ ἐν σταγόσιν ἡλίου τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες. See for commentary Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 554–56; he mentions Manetho and

twelve sun-rays⁶⁷⁹ is a special kind which is attested, as far as I can see, only here.⁶⁸⁰ The preparation involves the killing of the scarab by letting it drop⁶⁸¹ into a deep vessel (βησίον)⁶⁸² made from a natron and sulphur concoction (καλλάϊνον).⁶⁸³ This should take place at the time of the new moon.⁶⁸⁴

Hecataeus of Abdera (according to Diogenes Laertius, prooemium 10); Aelianus, *Nat. an.* 10.15.

⁶⁷⁹ What is precisely meant, is unclear: How are twelve sun-rays connected with a living beetle? Perhaps grooves on the wings were seen as sun-rays. According to Hopfner (*OZ* 2/1, § 122), there are twelve horns on the head of the beetle, and these constitute the relationship to the sun. For the twelve sun-rays, see IV.1109–14. For sun-rays on gemstone amulets see Maryse Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1987), 71, 73.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. V. 212–303 (“Hermes’ ring”), the preparation of a scarabaeus amulet. The scarab is important in the PGM; see I.223–24; II.159; III.207–8 (κάν[θαρε]); IV.65, 68, 71, 78, 767, 943, 1659, 2456–57, 2598, 2660–61, 2688; V.212–303; VII.520, 780, 973–80; XII.45, 57, 274–77, 437; XIII.1066; XXXVI.183; XXXVIII.21 (?); *Suppl. Mag.* # 38, 7–8 (l.118–19; with comments at 121). Cf. the *vox magica* σκανανθαρε, II.33; III.430; IV.2668; V.425–26; XII.184; XIII.924–25; XIX.a.12. For literature, see Hopfner, *OZ*, 2/1, §§ 121–22, 127; Armand Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque, V. ἈΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ,” *BCH* 38:2 (1914) 189–249, esp. 246–48: “Le μυστήριον du Scarabée”; Max Pieper, “Skarabäen,” *PRE* 2. Reihe 5 (1927) 447–59; Sam Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in Klauser & Rücker, *Pisciculi*, 94–101; Franz Joseph Dölger, *AuC* 6 (1950) 49–51; Raphael Givon, “Skarabäus,” *LÄ* 5 (1984) 968–81; Betz, *GMPT*, 338 (with bibliography); Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 82–86; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.14, 44–45, 198, 218; Heinz Josef Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*, vol. 1 (*AFP*, Beiheft 6 [Munich & Leipzig: Saur, 2001], 8–10 (Chapter 10); Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 99–103, 563–84 (with bibl. at # 99); Robert S. Bianchi, “Scarabs,” *OEAE* 3 (2001) 179–81.

⁶⁸¹ The term βάλλειν (βληθήναι) serves the purpose of ritual killing; cf. VII.973–80; furthermore I.4–5 (falcon); XIII.1: cat; IV.2455–57: mouse and scarab; VII.628: lizard; Cyranides 1.21.98–110, ed. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, 98–99: falcon. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) suggests that the scarab is drowned in order to be deified by making it into Osiris, but l. 757 says it dies from the eating of the ingredients.

⁶⁸² Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) thinks of a vessel that looks like the god Besas. For this god, see IV.807; VII.203, 245; VIII.64–65. See Betz, *GMPT*, 333, s.v. Bes; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Bes,” *LÄ* 1 (1975) 720–24. For vases in the form of Bes, see Tran Tam Tinh, “Bes,” *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 98–108, esp. # 24.a–d; # 81.a–e; 3:2, p. 85, # 81.d.

⁶⁸³ So Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 121: “aus Natron und Schwefelmasse.” Meyer has in mind a turquoise-colored glass vessel. For καλλάϊνος see also IV.1090; V.222; XIII.1068–69. Cf. below, l. 758–59.

⁶⁸⁴ The phrase ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης, “when the moon is invisible” (*LSJ*, s.v. ἀρπαγή) is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; it is attested also in Horapollon, *Hier.* 1.14; for the mythological explanation, see Vettius Valens, *Anth.* 2, chpt. 38 (ed. Kroll). See Richard Wünsch, *JCPh.S* 27 (1902) 114, n. 1; 115; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) suggests that this time reference is connected with the notion of rebirth: “Mit diesem Zeitpunkt ist vermutlich eine Vorstellung von der Wiedergeburt verbunden; zur Zeit des Neumonds ist Selene gestorben, aber sie wird nach drei Tagen wieder aufleben. Auch der Tod des Sonnenkäfers wird nicht ewig sein.”

The next ingredients are from plants and serve to make a kind of small cake (ll. 754–55): συνεμβάλων αὐτῷ λωτομῆτρας σπέρμα καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποιήσων μαζίον⁶⁸⁵ (“put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, and after grinding it with honey prepare a cake”). The name λωτομῆτρα refers to the lotus plant.⁶⁸⁶ Honey is a substance often used in magical practices.⁶⁸⁷ The mixture is then ground up⁶⁸⁸ and formed into a small cake.⁶⁸⁹

The purpose of the cake is to cause the death of the scarab (ll. 755–57): καὶ εὐθέως αὐτὸν ὄψῃ προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθίοντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγῃ, εὐθέως θνήσκει (“and at once you will see it [viz. the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies”). Therefore, the sudden death of the scarab is caused by eating from the cake, but not by drowning.⁶⁹⁰

The second stage also begins with the acquisition of the ingredients (ll. 757–59): τοῦτον ἀνελόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει⁶⁹¹ (“Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish”). One will notice that the ingredients are now becoming more expensive. The glass vessel seems more valuable, and rose oil certainly is an expensive perfume, to be used here in quantity.⁶⁹² The vessel needs then to be placed properly (ll. 759–61): καὶ στρώσας καθαρεῖως⁶⁹³ ἄμμον ἱερὰν ἐπίθες τὸ ἀγγεῖον ... (“and spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, and set the vessel on it ...”). What this “sacred sand” is and how one spreads it in a

⁶⁸⁵ Pap. reads λιώσας, corrected by Wessely to λείωσας.

⁶⁸⁶ λωτομῆτρας σπέρμα is the name for the fruitpulp of the lotus plant (LSJ, s.v.). See also III.333; IV.3009; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.245. For λωτός, see II.102–3; IV.1683; XII.87; LXI.32; λωτίνος XIII.25, 355; μελίλωτος IV.941. See Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 216; August Steier, “Lotos,” *PRE* 26. Halbbd. (1927) 1515–32, esp. 1520–21.

⁶⁸⁷ See Preisendanz, 3.134 (index), s.v. μέλι; cf. Thessalos 1, prooemium, section 38 and often (ed. Friedrich, 64). On honey, see Fritz Graf, “Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual,” in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1980), 209–21; Otto Böcher and Adelheid Sallinger, “Honig,” *RAC* 16 (1994) 433–73, esp. 453.

⁶⁸⁸ A technical procedure in ancient pharmacy and alchemy. See also III.189; IV.1880; VII.225; VIII.87; XIII.320.

⁶⁸⁹ The term μαζίον (“amalgam”) occurs only here in the PGM, but it is technical in the language of pharmacy and alchemy; cf. also the role of cakes in sacrifice.

⁶⁹⁰ Pace Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246) who argues that the scarab gets stuck in the honey and thus suffocates and drowns (“erstickt = ertrinkt”).

⁶⁹¹ Pap. reads αγγιον as in l. 761; cf. l. 752. See Delatte, *BCH* 38 (1914) 246. For βάλε, see l. 753; also Thessalos, 1, prooemium, section 38 (ed. Friedrich, 64): βάλλε εἰς ἀγγεῖα ὑέλινα.

⁶⁹² For the rose oil, see below, ll. 789–90; also VII.337–38; VIII.108–9; cf. the costly perfume used by the woman in Mark 14:3 par.

⁶⁹³ Pap. reads καθαριως and αγγιον.

pure manner, seems to have a mythological background known to the magicians.⁶⁹⁴

At any rate, with all done, the consecration can take place. The formula has to be pronounced (ll. 761–62): καὶ λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα)⁶⁹⁵ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ' ἡλίου μεσουρανοῦντος. “and say the name over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven”). The time is during seven days at high noon,⁶⁹⁶ and the formula has to be spoken over the vessel.⁶⁹⁷

The formula (ὄνομα) itself is cited in full in ll. 762–67, addressing the scarab: ἐγὼ σε ἐτέλεσα, ἵνα μοι ἡ σου οὐσία γένῃ χρήσιμος, τῷ δ(ε)ῖ(να) μόνῳ ιε ια η εη ου εια· ἐμοὶ μόνῳ χρησιμεύσης ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι φωρ φορ α φως φοτιζαας – οἱ δέ· φωρ φωρ οφοθειξαας.⁶⁹⁸ (“It is I who have consecrated you, that your substance may be useful to me, NN alone, IE IA E EE OY EIA, that you may prove useful to me alone, for I am PHOR PHOR A PHOS PHOTIZAAS” [others: “PHOR PHOR OPHOTHEIXAAS”]).⁶⁹⁹

The scarab which at its death became associated with the invisible moon (l. 753) becomes deified and related to the sun. Since the beetle is being addressed as a person, one must assume that it is alive, albeit in a divine way. The formulaic ἐγὼ εἰμι (“I am”)⁷⁰⁰ secures emphatically ownership and use of divine beetle. The verb form ἐτέλεσα presupposes, as often in rituals, an ingressive or durative aorist.⁷⁰¹ What the scarab has thus become is called

⁶⁹⁴ See the discussions in Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 130, 219, 257, 260.

⁶⁹⁵ Pap. reads the symbol □ for ὄνομα, “name.” See Preisendanz, 2.269–70.

⁶⁹⁶ On this point, see IV.173, 2992; XII.45; also Thessalos, 1, prooemium, section 39 (ed. Friedrich, 64).

⁶⁹⁷ For λέγειν τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους, cf. III.410–13; IV.223–30; V.197–212; LXI.5–6.

⁶⁹⁸ For Wessely’s reading of ἡ σὴ οὐσία, occasioned by suspicion over the attributive position of σου in the pap., see Dieterich (17) who refers to Georg Benedikt Winer and Paul W. Schmiedel, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (8th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 210; Friedrich Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894–1898), 171; Johann Compernaß, *De sermone graeco vulgari Pisidiae Phrygiaeque meridionalis* (Dissertation Bonn, 1895), 11. Pap. again reads the symbol Δ. Martinez proposes convincingly to read οφοθειξαας to correspond with φοτιζαας.

⁶⁹⁹ The form γένῃ needs explanation. Dieterich (17) points to parallels listed by Georgios Chatzidakis [Hatzidakis], *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), 198. Wessely changed to γένῃ[ται]; see also Ernst Kuhnert, “Feuerzauber,” *RhM* 49 (1894) 37–58, esp. 46. Martinez, however, proposes convincingly to take the form γένῃ just as “the second person sing. of the normal deponent form, written mistakenly because ἡ σου οὐσία, ‘your essence’ becomes in the scribe’s mind simply a collocation for ‘you.’” The same second person sing. is used in the following repetition of the formula, “that you may be useful to me alone.”

⁷⁰⁰ On this formula see above at l. 535, and Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 92–95.

⁷⁰¹ See BDF §§ 318, 331.

οὐσία, a technical term frequent in magical contexts, which means *materia magica*, a substance of divine power.⁷⁰² However, determination of the meaning of οὐσία in the present context is more difficult. Does it refer to the scarab's immaterial divine nature, or to the *materia magica* in the vessel, or to Merkelbach's rendering as "inner being"?⁷⁰³ Although all three possibilities play some role, the author's primary concern is with the handling of sacred substance in the vessel. Therefore, in the present context οὐσία is rather specialized when compared with the usual "property" of a person (such as hair, clothing) affixed to spells. In order to make sure that this substance is useful to the practitioner alone,⁷⁰⁴ he inserts his name twice (l. 764), once by inserting his ordinary name NN,⁷⁰⁵ together with a vowel sequence, and once by repeating the purpose clause (χρησιμύσης) and by self-identification through divine names (ll. 765–67). The latter are obviously related to φῶς ("light"), that is, the sun.⁷⁰⁶ As a redactional comment by the final author/redactor shows, he has carefully compared the names and inserts a variant reading that "others" (plural!) have.⁷⁰⁷

Once the divine substance has been procured, it must be properly preserved and stored (ll. 767–69): τῇ δὲ ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) βαστάξας τὸν κἀνθαρο(ν), θάψας ζμύρνα καὶ οἶνω Μενδησίῳ καὶ βυσσίῳ ἀπόθου ἐν κυαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι.⁷⁰⁸ ("On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen; and deposit it in a flourishing bean field"). The term βαστάξειν ("acquire") appears to be technical,⁷⁰⁹ referring to handling of ingredients. Preservation of the material happens by burial of the scarab, the process of which is briefly described.⁷¹⁰ The ingredients of

⁷⁰² For the many parallels in the PGM, see Preisendanz, 3.154 (index), s.v. οὐσία; Betz, *GMPT*, 336, s.v. "Material, magical." For discussion, see Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, (I)," *WSI* 40 (1918) 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* 1, §§ 667–77; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.246 (who, however, translates οὐσία as "innerstes Wesen"); Martinez, *P. Michigan* XVI, 9 n. 38, 56. See for the larger field, Christopher Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977); idem, "Homousios," *RAC* 16 (1994) 367–73, 991–93.

⁷⁰³ Martinez raises the question whether the Egyptian name for the scarab, *hpr* ("come into being") is of influence and points to "manifestation."

⁷⁰⁴ The formula of exclusivity is found elsewhere in the ML; see ll. 476, 484, 736; XII.37–38; etc.

⁷⁰⁵ The pap. reads the symbol Δ, meaning τῷ δεῖνα. See on this above, on l. 495.

⁷⁰⁶ For other such names in the ML, see the index below.

⁷⁰⁷ For another such insertion, see l. 500.

⁷⁰⁸ Pap. reads the symbol ζ ΗΥ, equalling ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα (see Preisendanz, 2.269); pap. also reads κἀνθαρο (corrected by Dieterich [18]) and θαψας (changed by Dieterich [18] to βάψας); Preisendanz keeps θάψας. Preisendanz reads σμύρνη, Jordan prefers σμύρνα (see n. 711 below).

⁷⁰⁹ For βαστάξειν, see also l. 779.

⁷¹⁰ Interestingly, the *materia magica* is still called "scarab."

myrrh⁷¹¹ and Mendesian wine⁷¹² are used for the embalming and wrapping in linen cloth.⁷¹³ Thus embalmed the scarab is deposited in a sprouting bean field.⁷¹⁴ Why such a place is chosen can only be guessed.⁷¹⁵ Merkelbach's suggestion that κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος ("Egyptian bean") is another name for the Lotus flower may be right, but why would another name be preferred?⁷¹⁶

Another comment relates to proper storage, but its place in the ritual is unclear (ll. 770–71): τὸ δὲ χρῶσμα ἐστιάσας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς ἀπόθου καθαρῶς εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμόν ("then, after you have entertained and feasted together, deposit the ointment in a pure way for the immortalization"). Because of the occurrence of χρῶσμα (ll. 770, 773–74, 793), this comment is concerned with the ointment, the preparation of which is described in ll. 751–78, but the situation envisaged in ll. 770–71 appears out of context in that no common dining has been mentioned before.⁷¹⁷ Merkelbach concludes: "The initiate should entertain the dead scarab in a symbolic fashion, and eat himself a meal together with him (which almost leads to a sacramental communion), and then he should carefully store the oil and the scarab for later use in the consecration."⁷¹⁸

⁷¹¹ Myrrh occurs often in the PGM, spelled in different ways: ζύρνα, μύρνα, σβύρνα, σμύρνα. See Preisendanz, 3.102, 139, 175, 177 (index), s.v.; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.12ff. On myrrh generally, see August Steier, "Myrrha," PRE 31st Halbband (1933) 1134–46; Walter W. Müller, "Weihrauch," PRE.S 15 (1978) 700–77.

⁷¹² Wine from Mendes in the Nile delta is mentioned in I.85; IV.1315, 2681–82. The wine was famous in antiquity; see Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.20.2; *TLG*, s.v. οἶνος Μενδήσιος, for references to the medical writers, esp. Alexander of Tralles, *Theor.* (ed. Puschmann, 2.17; dealing with therapy of the eyes); Galen, *Comp. medic.*, 1 (ed. Kühn 12.444); 4 (12.754); Photius, *Lex.*, s.v. Μένδη. See Hermann Kees, "Mendes," PRE 29th Halbband (1931) 780–84; William J. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (2 vols.; London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977), 2.600.

⁷¹³ Linen cloth (βυσσίνῳ [ῥάκῳ]) is mentioned in I.277, 293, 332; VII.208, 338; VIII.84–85; XII.145.

⁷¹⁴ The aorist imperative form ἀπόθου from ἀποτιθέναι ("deposit") is almost technical in the PGM; see V.228–29; VII.225, 875, 915; XII.315. Cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀποτίθημι, II.3.

⁷¹⁵ Dieterich (18) refers to Richard Wünsch, *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Religion* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), 41 (31–46: "Die Bohnenblüte"); Hopfner, OZ 2/1–2, §§ 121–22, 214–16, 219. For other instances of preservation, see IV.2465–66: ἀποθέμενος εἰς πυξίδα μολιβῆν; XV.17–20; XXXVII.7(?).

⁷¹⁶ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246): "In einem Bohnenbeet. Da mit κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος die Lotusblume bezeichnet wird (vgl. IV 941 und XIII 22), tritt hier der κυαμών einfacher Bohnen vermöge des gleichlautenden Namens an die Stelle der heiligen Lotusblume." See also LSJ, s.v. κύαμος, 2.

⁷¹⁷ For ἐστιᾶν, ἐστία ("winning and dining"), see VII.172; for συνευωχεῖσθαι ("feasting together with") see IV.3150–51.

⁷¹⁸ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246): "Der Myste soll den toten Sonnenkäfer symbolisch bewirten und auch selbst mit ihm eine Mahlzeit einnehmen (was fast auf eine Kommunion

This interpretation is derived from other PGM parallels which mention such meals.⁷¹⁹ According to the text, however, the object to be wined and dined remains unclear; it must be the scarab, now also called ointment (χρῖσμα). The latter is mentioned first in ll. 738–46, then in ll. 772–75, and finally in l. 793; this ointment is the *materia magica*, but in l. 767 it is also called the scarab. If, therefore, the scarab is to be entertained, which is most likely, the question is also whether one should speak, as Merkelbach does, of “the dead scarab” after it has become immortalized.

Another possibility would be to allow for a metatextual reference. Since the presumed meal is without a precedent in the ML, the passage may have been copied from an earlier *Vorlage*. This earlier *Vorlage* may have presupposed a ritual context of a sacramental meal, within which the ointment for the eyes was to be used. Thus, one should not automatically assume a complete homogeneity between literary and ritual sequences. Rather, the case may be that the author/redactor has copied from a *Vorlage* which comprised a broader spectrum of prescriptions, and by copying from it he transposed the passage into the new context of his own practices in the ML.⁷²⁰ This assumption could find support in the author/redactor’s later correction to the effect that the scarab ointment is no longer to be used (see below, on ll. 792–96). At any rate, the *materia magica* is to be safely stored to be ready for future use in the main ritual of immortalization.

A further optional ritual concerning an eye ointment follows in ll. 772–75: ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέλης δεικνύνειν, ἔχε τῆς καλουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν περιχρίων τὴν ὄψιν, οὗ βούλει, μετὰ ὀδίνου, καὶ ὁψεται δηλαυγῶς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν⁷²¹ (“If you want to show this to someone else, get the juice of the

hinausläuft) und dann das Öl und den Käfer sorgfältig aufbewahren, zur späteren Benützung bei der Weihe.”

⁷¹⁹ See I.22–24 on dining with an immortalized falcon; III.424–30: eating the heart of a kakkouphat bird (cf. II.17–20; VII.412). Meals with deities are mentioned I.2–3: a meal with a familial spirit (πάρεδρος δαίμων): [συνόμιλος καὶ συ]ναριστῶν ἔσται σοι καὶ συνκοιμωμένος (“he will be your [companion and] will eat and sleep with you”); I.85–89: a meal with an angel; VII.644–51: consumption of a magical potion. See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/2, §§ 264–66.

⁷²⁰ As an example of this Dieterich (18) refers to a scarab amulet of stone with an inscription which contains *voces magicae* and these words: χρημάτων μοι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἐπ’ ἀληθεία μετὰ μνήμης (see Richard Wünsch, “Sopra uno scarabeo con iscrizione greca,” *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 27 (1899) 294–99 (cf. *IGSI* 2413, 16, ed. Kaibel).

⁷²¹ Pap. reads δηλαυγῶς, emended by Dieterich (18, cf. 224) to τηλαυγῶς. Preisendanz retains δηλαυγῶς because of the parallel in IV.1033; so also Crönert, “Zur Kritik,” 101. For a similar vacillation in the manuscripts between δηλαυγῶς and τηλαυγῶς, see Mark 8:25 and BDAG, *sub vocibus*; for the exchange of δ/τ see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.80ff.

herb called *kentritis*, and smear it, along with the rose oil, around the eyes of whomever you wish; and he [or: she] will see so clearly that you will be amazed”). The relationship of this procedure to the one mentioned before (ll. 738–46) is unclear. Both are introduced in a similar manner as optional: ἐάν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλης (ll. 738–39), and ἐάν δὲ ἄλλω θέλης δεικνύειν (l. 772); both are dealing with eye ointments for the improvement of vision.⁷²² It is this improvement of eye-sight that provides the link with the main ritual’s concern for the transformation of visual sense-perception (see ll. 501–15, 516–27).

In the first instance, however, the ointment is called τὸ μυστήριον (“mystery,” l. 746) and involves the sun scarab (l. 770), while in the second instance the plant *kentritis* is the major ingredient (ll. 773–74).⁷²³ The most likely explanation for what appears to be a conflict is that the author/redactor excerpted two procedures for the preparation of eye-salve from his *Vorlage*. He then explained the preparation of these ointments by drawing on additional iatromagical information. While in the earlier instance, the ointment is explained by the procedure involving the scarab (ll. 751–78), the present procedure is explained by the information about the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–813).

The preparation of the eye ointment (ll. 772–75), since it is parallel to the previous one (ll. 738–46), uses similar terms. The use of “juices” (χυλός) is of course frequent in the PGM.⁷²⁴ The expression περιχρίειν is found only here in the PGM; the meaning can simply be an emphatic χρίειν, or a description of the application of the ointment (“around,” or “covering”) the face or the eyes (ὄψις).⁷²⁵ Rose-oil was mentioned before (l. 790). The phrase stating the success of seeing clearly (καὶ ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς) may explain what is meant by δεικνύειν.⁷²⁶ Who or what is bringing about the amazement (ὥστε σε

⁷²² For δεικνύει see ll. 738, 785, 805; Merkelbach’s (*Abrasax*, 3.246, 248; also 2.156, 164), with references to δεικνύει as a mystery cult term.

⁷²³ According to the *TLG*, κεντρίτις as a plant name (ll. 773, 779, 798) is a *hapax-legenomenon* in Greek literature.

⁷²⁴ For other passages, see below at l. 803.

⁷²⁵ For the meaning of ὄψις, see also above l. 746; XIII.274; and often in PGM. For the terms περιχρίειν and περιχρίστα (“lid salve”), see for references in the medical writers the *TLG*, s.v.; and Kind, *PRE* 21st Halbband (1921) 1105. Cf. V.64; VII.337; Rev 3:18 for ἐνχρίειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς; for ἐπιχρίειν, see following note.

⁷²⁶ Cf. Mark 8:22–26, the story of Jesus’ healing of a blind man, in the course of which Jesus prepares a kind of eye-salve from his own spittle (v. 23). The restoration of the eye-sight is stated in this way: ἐνέβλεψεν τηλαυγῶς (v.l. δηλαυγῶς) ἅπαντα (cf. above on l. 775). According to John 9:1–7, Jesus makes a paste from earth and his spittle: ἐπτυσεν χυμαὶ καὶ ἐποίησεν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος καὶ ἐπέχρισεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς... (v. 6). For further discussion and literature, see BDAG, s.v. ἐπιχρίω, πτύσμα, πτύω.

θαυμαίνειν), is left open; most likely, it is the ointment. The improvement in vision is clearly related to the doctrine discussed at l. 511.

The concluding statement takes the form of a "commercial,"⁷²⁷ typical of many magical procedures in the PGM (ll. 776–77): τούτου μεῖζον' οὐχ εὑρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πραγματεῖαν, "I have not found a greater procedure than this in the world." Which "procedure" (πραγματεῖα) is meant here specifically, is not entirely clear, but it seems to belong to the previous ointment.

The final sentence is a maxim that shows no connection with the context and seems to be of a general nature (l. 778): αἰτοῦ δὲ, ἃ βούλει, τὸν θεὸν, καὶ δώσει σοι ("Ask the god what you want, and he will give it to you"). The maxim has a parallel in IV.2172: αἰτήσας λήμψει, "When you ask, you will receive."⁷²⁸

2. Second ritual: the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–92)

The second ritual is most probably excerpted from a source and included because of the previous mention of the plant *kentritis*. This section provides an excellent opportunity to study how the author/redactor worked. It appears that while reading in his excerpt (ll. 772–75) he came upon the plant name *kentritis* (ll. 773, 779, 798). He did not know, however, what plant it was. The material assembled in ll. 778–813 must therefore be the fruit of his investigations in other sources. He included from these sources excerpts together with his own interpretative comments.⁷²⁹

The earlier context, from which the *kentritis* ritual was derived,⁷³⁰ apparently had section titles which identified and classified the separate items. This ritual has the section title in ll. 778–79: ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις ἐστίν

⁷²⁷ For other instances of such "commercials" see, e.g., I.262: ἔχε<ι> λίαν καλῶς ("This works very well"); III.439: τῆς] πράξεως ταύ[της] μεῖζον οὐκ ἔστιν ("A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has been tested by Manethon [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest" (trans. W. Grese in Betz, *GMPT*, 31).

⁷²⁸ The maxim is well-attested also in the NT; see Matt 7:7–11 // Luke 11:9–13 (Q); Mark 6:22–25; John 11:22; 14:13–14; 15:7, 16; 16:23–24, 26; Jas 1:5; 4:2–3; 1 John 3:22; etc. For parallel passages and bibliography, see Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 500–8.

⁷²⁹ The redactional comment in l. 779, τὴν προκειμένην ("the afore mentioned") distinguishes between the author/redactor and his source.

⁷³⁰ For a different interpretation, see Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247) who assumes that the procedure was derived in a section of text that was omitted from the beginning of the ML: "Diese vorbereitenden Zeremonie bei Sonnenaufgang muß in einer Partie zu Anfang des Textes erwähnt worden sein, welche in der uns vorliegenden Redaktion des Textes weggelassen worden ist." As has been pointed out earlier, this hypothesis is rather unlikely because of the reference in l. 779 to the *kentritis* plant in l. 773.

ἦδε (“The encounter with the great god is as follows”). The term σύστασις is technical in the magical and astrological literature,⁷³¹ but translators differ how they interpret and render it into modern languages.⁷³² The connection with “the great god” does not identify him expressly with Helios-Mithras, but this identity can certainly be assumed as the view of the present author (see l. 482).

The procedure itself begins with the acquisition⁷³³ of the ingredients (ll. 779–80): βασιτάξας κεν’σ’τρῖτιν τὴν προκειμένην(ν) βοτάνην τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένη λέοντι⁷³⁴ (“Having acquired the above mentioned herb kentritis, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion...”).⁷³⁵ The “encounter” (σύστασις) is to be correlated with the “conjunction” (σύνοδος)⁷³⁶ between sun and moon. As Merkelbach points out, it refers to the day of new moon of that month in which the sun comes to stand in the zodiac’s sign of the Lion.⁷³⁷ It “takes place at every day of new moon and full moon, when sun, moon, and earth (or sun, earth, and moon) are positioned at about the same line.”⁷³⁸

⁷³¹ See I.57, 177–81; III.197, 438, 494; IV.209, 220–21, 260, 950; VI.1, 39; VII.505; XIII.38, 346. Cf. Karl Preisendanz, “Miscellen,” *WSt* 40 (1918) 2–5; Betz, *GMPT*, 339, s.v. “Systasis”; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.95, 104, 156, 185, 191 (“Zusammenstehen,” “Audienz”).

⁷³² Preisendanz: “Empfehlung an den großen Gott”; Hopfner: “Erscheinung”; Meyer: “encounter”; LSJ, s.v., A.2: “communication between a man and a god”; Merkelbach: “Zusammentreffen.”

⁷³³ The term βασιτάζειν as in l. 773.

⁷³⁴ Pap. has προκειμένη. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.178, 247) reads <έν> λέοντι, which emphasizes the conjunction taking place in the zodiac sign.

⁷³⁵ There has been a problem with the plant *kentritis*. According to Karl Wessely (“Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale,” *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernald* [Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernald, 1889], 14) the pap. reads κεντριτιν with the letter ζ written above the first ν. Dieterich (18, 21–22), however, in his discussion questions a possible κεστριτις, not the least because of the undisputed κεντρῖτις in ll. 773 and 798.

⁷³⁶ This astronomical term occurs also in III.482; XIII.5, 116, 672. See LSJ, s.v. σύνοδος, II. 2.

⁷³⁷ For the sign of the Lion, see also V.379; VII.299. See also *Orac. Chald.* 147.1 (ed. Des Places, p. 102); Thessalos 1.5 (ed. Friedrich, 108–15); Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern-glaube*, 113 and plates II.3–4; Wilhelm Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn & Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922), 286–87; idem, “Leo, 9) Sternbild des Tierkreises,” *PRE* 24. Halbbd. (1925) 1973–92; Delatte, *Herbarius*, 42–43, 65–66; Gundel, *Astrologumena*, 48 n. 16, 89 n. 43, 111, 117, 127 n. 14; Hans Gundel and Robert Böker, “Zodiakos,” *PRE* 2nd series, 19th Halbband (1972) 462–709, esp. 473, 690, 692, 695; Roger Beck, “In the Place of the Lion: Mithras in the Tauroctony,” in Hinnells, *Studies in Mithraism*, 29–50; Clauss, *Mithras*, 162–67.

⁷³⁸ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247): “Am Neumondstag desjenigen Monats, in welchem die Sonne im Zodiakalzeichen des Löwen steht. Das trifft ziemlich genau auf diejenige Zeit, zu welcher die Sonne am höchsten steht. Gegen das Ende des Monats setzt die Nilflut

The next ingredient to be prepared is the ink (ll. 781–82): ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζιμύρῃ ... (“take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh ...”). Apparently, the author found this recipe for the making of ink and took it up here because of the mentioning of the *kentritis* plant (l. 779).⁷³⁹ Mixture with honey and myrrh was also mentioned before (see l. 768, cf. μέλι l. 755).

Next the leaf from the *persea* tree must be prepared (ll. 782–83): γράψον ἐπὶ φύλλου περσέας τὸ ὀκταγράμματον ὄνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται⁷⁴⁰ (“write on a leaf of the *persea* tree the eight-letter name, as given below”). Writing on leaves is mentioned as part of other procedures in the PGM,⁷⁴¹ and so is the *persea* tree.⁷⁴² The eight-letter name is cited below, l. 788.⁷⁴³

ein; sie fällt zusammen mit dem Aufgang des Sothis-Sterns (des Sirius), und der Tag dieses Aufgangs ist der sakrale Neujahrstag der Ägypter (der 1. Thoth des Sothis-Jahres). – Eine σύνοδος von Sonne und Mond findet an jedem Neumondtag und Vollmondtag statt, wenn Sonne, Mond und Erde (oder Sonne, Erde und Mond) ungefähr auf derselben Linie stehen.” See also ll. 786–87; and Merkelbach, 3.69–76.

⁷³⁹ For ink and recipes of its preparation, see I.233–34, 243–46; III.178 (mostly reconstructed); IV.815, 2237, 3199–3204, 3213, 3248; VII. 468, 521, 940–41; XIII.315, 409; XXXVI.103, 257–58, 265–66; XXXVIII.2. On ink, see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 1.202–17; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/2, §§ 214, 219, 222, 244, 371; Gertrud Herzog-Hauser, “Tinte,” *PRE.S* 7 (1940) 1574–79, esp. 1575–78; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed.; London: Arnold, 1962), 362–64; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, “Tinte,” *LÄ* 6 (1986) 595.

⁷⁴⁰ Pap. reads φύλλου correctly (cf., e.g. IV.304ff.), not φύλλον (Wessely, “Zu den griechischen Papyri,” 14). Also, pap. reads ὀκταγράμματον. There was some discussion, however. Wessely (“Griechische Zauberpapyrus,” 64), saw οκτωγραμματον, but N. Novosadsky wanted οκτωγραμματον ὄνομα (“Ad papyrus magicam bibliothecae parisinae nationalis additiones palaeographicae,” *Journal of the Ministry of National Education* [in Russian], part 302, December 1895 [St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1895, 81–87], 83); in n. 1 he questions whether ὀκτὼ γράμμάτων ὄνομα should be read in light of Dieterich, (*Abbrasax*, p. 194, l. 1): τὸ ἡ γράμμάτων ὄνομα. Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, 18), however, reads ὀκτωγράμματον, but Preisendanz, Wünsch (in Dieterich, 224), Meyer, and Merkelbach (*Abbrasax*, 3.178) prefer the regular ὀκταγράμματον.

⁷⁴¹ See I.269–70; II.32; IV.2205–6; VII.822; XIII.1044; cf. *ML* II. 785, 809.

⁷⁴² See III.504. For information about this tree, see Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 3.3.5; 4.2.5 (with the commentary by K. Sprengel, 2.130–33); Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.187 (ν. l. πέρσειον, fruit of the *persea*); Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 68 (378C), with the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 536–37; for Greek passages, see LSJ, s.v.. On the *persea* tree generally, see August Steier, “Persea,” *PRE* 37th Halbband (1937) 940–44; Renate Germer, “Persea,” *LÄ* 4 (1982) 942–43.

⁷⁴³ The redactional comment ὡς ὑπόκειται, “as (written) below,” has parallels in III.385–86; IV.408; VII.724. See Preisendanz, 3.194 (index), s.v. ὑποκεῖσθαι; also Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum.*, ## 71 (2.95–105); 94 (2.211–21). For the eight-letter name, see also PGM LXII.9: τὰ ὀκτὼ γράμματα Σελήνης, “which are tied to the heart of Helios.” Cf. Preisendanz, 2.192, *app. crit.*

With these preparations completed, their application follows (ll. 783–85): καὶ πρὸ γ' ἡμερῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθὲ πρωίας πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ἀπόλειχε τὸ φυλλὸν δεικνύων ἡλίῳ ...⁷⁴⁴ (“and having kept yourself pure for for three days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise, lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun ...”). Prior to the application there has to be a three-day period of sanctification; what this consists of can be seen from the parallels.⁷⁴⁵ The application begins early in the morning, in order to face the sun rising in the east.⁷⁴⁶ It consists of licking the inscription off from the leaf,⁷⁴⁷ after or while showing it to the sun (Helios).⁷⁴⁸

The result is that the god Helios will listen (ll. 785–86): καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως (“then he will listen attentively”). The question here relates to the possible context of this assurance: Does it refer to the consultation with Helios-Mithras (ll. 724–28)? Or does it originally apply to a source and only secondarily to the present context? It can be taken for granted, however, that for the present author/redactor the god to listen is none other than Helios-Mithras.⁷⁴⁹

Three additional instructions regarding this procedure follow in ll. 786–92. First, regarding the specification of time (ll. 786–87): ἄρχου δὲ αὐτὸν τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι κατὰ θεὸν νομηνίᾳ (“Begin to consecrate him on the new moon in the Lion, according to the god[’s reckoning].”)⁷⁵⁰ The instruction supplements l. 780, but what is meant by αὐτὸν τελεῖν? Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach believe it to be the sun-scarab to be consecrated (cf. l. 779).

⁷⁴⁴ Pap. reads γ for the number three.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. συναγνεύω (l. 734). For ritual sanctification, see Thessalos 1, prooemium, sections 18 and 21 (ed. Friedrich, 51); for the importance of ἀγνεύειν in the PGM, see also II.149, 151; IV.3209; VII. 334 (3 days), 846; XIII.347 (41 days); XXII.b.27; cf. προαγνεύειν III.304; IV.1099–1100 (3 days); IV.26, 52; XIII.114, 671 (7 days); I.54–55; V.226. For the rituals of purification and sanctification, see, especially, Delatte, *Herbarius*, 39–72 (“Temps propice à la récolte”); 73–87 (“Préparation de l’herboliste”); 88–107 (“Rites cathartiques et apotropaiques”).

⁷⁴⁶ For further references, see I.34; VII.524 (πρὸς ἀνατολάς); XII.282.

⁷⁴⁷ The licking off of the sacred eight-letter word has parallels not only in the PGM (see ll. 789–90; XIII.131–34, 434–35, 690), but also elsewhere in ancient religions. See Ritner, *Mechanics*, 92–102; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247) refers to Rev 10:9, where the prophet is ordered to eat the holy book. Cf. Ezek 2:8–3:3.

⁷⁴⁸ For parallels, see PGM VII.524, 915; XIII.1045.

⁷⁴⁹ The terminology is common not only in the PGM: for ἐπακούειν (“listen”), see l. 587.

⁷⁵⁰ Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) raises the question whether, because of the new moon the goddess Selene is meant; in IV.2389, the reference is stated: κατὰ θεὸν νομηνίαν, but no name is given there either. The expression κατὰ θεόν is technical in calendrical procedures; see (with further literature) W. Kendrick Pritchett, “Postscript: The Athenian Calendars,” *ZPE* 128 (1999) 79–93.

Second, the eight-letter name, mentioned in ll. 782–83 is revealed, introduced by a citation formula (l. 788): τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν τοῦτο· ἱ εε οο ἱαῖ (“The name, however, is: I EE OO IAI.”).

Third, a specification of the leaf (cf. l. 785) is added (ll. 788–90): τοῦτο ἐκλειχε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῇς, καὶ τὸ φύλλο(ν) ἐλίξας, ἐμβαλε εἰς τὸ ῥόδινον⁷⁵¹ (“Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, throw it into the rose-oil.”). The purpose of the licking off⁷⁵² is now explained as a *phylacterion*, a measure of protection.⁷⁵³ After having licked it off, the leaf is to be rolled up⁷⁵⁴ and thrown into the rose-oil (l. 759).⁷⁵⁵ The conclusion to the passage (778–92) takes the form of another “commercial” (ll. 790–92): πολλάκις δὲ τῇ πραγματείᾳ χρυσάμενος ὑπερεθαύμασα (“Many times I have used the spell, and have been absolutely amazed”). A similar commercial has occurred before (see on l. 776); doubtless it was taken over from the source.⁷⁵⁶ The “commercial” combines two *topoi*: frequent use as evidence of effectiveness,⁷⁵⁷ and great amazement on the part of the practitioner.⁷⁵⁸

3. Further items of information (ll. 792–813)

Another supplement is added to the previous rituals (ll. 792–813), consisting of three pieces of “information” pertaining to the sun-scarab, the main ritual of the consultation of Mithras, and the plant *kentritis*. Regarding composition, the three items were appended by the author/redactor who derived them

⁷⁵¹ Pap. reads ἐκλειχε ἵνα and φύλλο(ν) (the final ν is written with a supralinear stroke).

⁷⁵² For the term ἐκλείχειν, see also VII.523 (ὄνομα); XIII.889–90, 898, 1051 (φύλλον). Cf. l. 785 ἀπολείχειν.

⁷⁵³ The peculiar term φυλακτηριασθῆναι (“to be furnished with an amulet” [LSJ]) occurs also in IV.2626–27: ἴσθι δὲ πεφυλακτηριασμένος; VII.897–99; Horapollo, *Hier.* 1.24, l. 4.

⁷⁵⁴ For ἐλίσσειν, see also VII.360, 413, 463 (ἐλίξον καὶ βάλε εἰς θάλασσαν); VIII.67; XXXVI.234.

⁷⁵⁵ The rose-oil is simply called τὸ ῥόδινον, a substantive adjective (“made from roses”); see above, ll. 757–59, 774; also I.62; VII.230; XIII.1018; for the adjective ῥόδιος, see I.278 (ἐλαῖον); VII.337–38; VIII.108–9 (μύρον). For rose-oil, see Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 121–22; Franz Olck, “Gartenbau,” PRE 13th Halbband (1910), esp. 774–76.

⁷⁵⁶ ὑπερθαυμάζειν is found only here in the PGM, but it is rather frequent in Hellenistic and Roman period literature; see Aelian, *Var. hist.* 12.49; *Anth. pal.* 15.16.2; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.23 (285d); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.8.5; Lucian, *Macrob.* 24; *Var. hist.* 1.34; *Pro imag.* 18; *Zeux.* 3; *Am.* 52; etc. (see also LSJ, *TLG*, s.v.); for πραγματεία, see l. 776–77; PGM IV.254–55, 853–54, 1954, 2079, 2099, 2628, 2630, 3271.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. for a parallel, see XIII.266–67: πολλάκις ἐποίησα τὴν πράξιν.

⁷⁵⁸ For parallels, see I. 775 and XIII.250; and Preisendanz, 3.105 (index), s.v. θαῦμα, θαυμάζειν, θαυμάσιος, θαυμαστός.

from personal revelation as well as source materials different from the *Vorlage* of the preceding rituals. This shows that when he added the information he had the complete text before him, and that he was careful to preserve the excerpts as they were copied. Forming a kind of appendix, the new information contains the results of further research, in which he noted differences as well as his own judgment, validated by divine revelation.

The first item concerns a correction to be made in the previously recorded ritual. This correction is needed because of a personal revelation of the author (ll. 792–96): εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός· (“But the god spoke to me: ...”) This formula presupposes the author has received a personal revelation from the god (no doubt, Helios-Mithras), which supersedes the previous tradition. Nothing is said about what kind of revelation it was; it could have been a dream or a vision, in which the god appeared to order the change. The revelation concerns the preparation of the ointment as stated in ll. 751–78: μηκέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι, ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντα εἰς ποταμὸν <χρῆ> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος διὰ τῶν κε΄ ζῶων ὄρνεων⁷⁵⁹ (“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds”). Several points are controversial, so that the translations also differ.⁷⁶⁰ Which object is to be thrown into the river? Is it the persea leaf (Preisendanz), or the ointment of the sun scarab (Merkelbach)? Most likely the text refers to the ointment in l. 770 (χρῖσμα), the σύγχρισμα⁷⁶¹ which is no longer to be used, but is to be disposed of by throwing it into the river, presumably the Nile.⁷⁶² Such a disposal, of course, turns it over to Osiris who is identical with the Nile.⁷⁶³ The term χρᾶσθαι refers to the oracular

⁷⁵⁹ The word <χρῆ> has been supplied by Eitrem. Preisendanz assumes the object of ῥίψαντα to be τὸ φύλλον; the pap. reads ποταμο with a supralinear stroke indicating final ν; the number 25 is written in the pap. as κε (meaning εἴκοσι πέντε).

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. Preisendanz: “Verwende die Salbe nicht mehr, sondern <du mußt> befragen, nachdem du sie in den Fluß geworfen hast, der das große Mysterium des durch die 25 Vögel (?) wiederbelebten Skarabäus mit sich trägt...”; Merkelbach: “Gebrauche die Salbe nicht mehr (zum Einreiben), sondern wirf (den Sonnenkäfer) in den Fluß und trage an dir die großartige mystische Salbe des Sonnenkäfers, dem der Lebensfunke wieder verliehen worden ist durch die 29 Lebens-Vögel (?)”.

⁷⁶¹ The noun occurs only here in the PGM, but see for the verb II.75; XXXVI.285. The term is technical in ancient medicine and pharmacy; see Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.16.2; Galen, *Compos. med.* 1 (ed. Kühn, 12.411, l. 8; 12.412, l. 5); Aetius of Amida, *Iatr.* 1.136 (ed. Olivieri, 1.69, lines 13, 17); 4.45 (1.389, l. 1), etc. See LSJ, s.v. σύγχρισμα.

⁷⁶² For things thrown into the river, cf. also IV.40; VII.420, 450.

⁷⁶³ So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247): “Da die Sonnenkäfer-Salbe nun doch einmal bereitet war, sollte sie in den Nil geworfen werden. Damit erleidet das σύγχρισμα dasselbe Schicksal wie Osiris, den Seth-Typhon in den Fluß geworfen hatte. In IV.876 heißt Osiris

consultation described in ll. 717, 724–28 (cf. 732–34), during which the ointment of the sun-scarab was to be used (ll. 770, 773–74). Instead of this ointment, one should wear “the great mystery of the sun-scarab”⁷⁶⁴ (see ll. 746, 750–78) as an amulet; that scarab has been “revitalized through the 25 living birds.” This strange reference seems to allude to an otherwise unattested ritual,⁷⁶⁵ so well known to the author that he does not consider further information to be necessary; unfortunately, there is no other extant attestation of it, so all explanations are necessarily speculative.⁷⁶⁶

The second item is also a correction regarding the times of consultation (ll. 796–98): χρᾶσθαι ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γ', κατὰ πανσέληνον.⁷⁶⁷ (“Consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year.”)⁷⁶⁸ In other words, at the god’s order the time schedule stated in the preceding text is to be changed from three times a year (ll. 747–48) to once a month. It seems that the performances are shifted from a seasonal to an astrological calendar,⁷⁶⁹ and from new moon (l. 753) to full moon.⁷⁷⁰

The third item (ll. 798–804) contains botanical information about the *kentritis* plant, supplementing earlier instructions in ll. 773, 778–86. This

ὁ γενόμενος Ἐσις καὶ ποταμοφόρητος, auf der Bleitafel von Hadrumantum droht eine Magierin *mittam ut a flumine feratur* (Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae*, 270). Da Osiris regeneriert wurde, wird dasselbe auch mit dem Käfer geschehen.” See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 130, 187, 224, 260, 289–90, 294.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. XIII.128: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν κάλθαρρος, “the mystery of the god, which is a scarab” (or: “which is ‘Scarab’”). The question is whether there is a relationship between these rituals.

⁷⁶⁵ For the term ἀναζωπυρεῖν (“rekindle, revitalize”), see also XIII.739: a magical name gives vital power to magical books (τὸ ἀναζωπυροῦν τὰς πάσας βίβλους σου); cf. XII.318: ζωπυρεῖν. For the term ἀναζωπυρέω see also 1 Tim 1:6; 1 Clem 27:3; Ign Eph 1:1, and BDAG, s.v.

⁷⁶⁶ Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 53, n. 105) suggests: “The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) proposes to read the number as κθ', which would increase the birds to 29 and relate them to the 29 days of the lunar month.

⁷⁶⁷ Pap. reads γ for three.

⁷⁶⁸ The infinitive has imperative force, perhaps influenced by <χρῆ>. According to Plutarch, *Pyth. orac.* 8, 398A; *Quaest. Graec.* 9, 292E–F, the consultation of the Pythia should occur during the month of Bysos; see Schröder, *Plutarch's Schrift*, 87, 183–84.

⁷⁶⁹ Weinreich (in Dieterich, 225) refers to Armand Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque, V. ἈΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ,” *BCH* 38 (1914) 246. For another change from a seasonal to an astrological calendar, see the conflict about the Bacchanalia, described in Livy, 39.13.8–10; on this, see Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, index, s.v. Bacchanalia; Henrichs, “Dromena,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 54; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1. 160–61.

⁷⁷⁰ The phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ ... κατὰ πανσέληνον may come from a marginal note (Jordan); cf. IV.52–53.

information is divided into two parts, the first part (798–804) concerns a tradition which likely originates in a herbalist's text:⁷⁷¹ ἡ δὲ κεντρίτις βοτάνη φύεται ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παῦνι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι μελάνης γῆς, ὁμοία δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ ὀρθῷ περιστερεῶνι. ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως γίγνεται· ἴβως πτερόν χρίεται τὸ ἀκρομέλαν χαλασθὲν τῷ χύλῳ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θιγεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερὰ⁷⁷² (“The kentritis plant grows from the month of Pauni, in the regions of the black earth, and is similar to the erect verbenae; this is how to recognize it: the wing of an ibis is smeared, the ‘black edge’ weakened by the juice, and when the feathers are touched, they fall off”). The description follows the established pattern of identifying the species (βοτάνη, “plant”), the seasonal growth: “from the month of Pauni on,” that is, the tenth month of the year (May 26 to June 24),⁷⁷³ and the geographical area: the region called “the black earth” is the arable land of Egypt, in contrast to the “red land” of the desert.⁷⁷⁴

The next step is a comparison with a similar plant, called περιστερεῶν (“upright verbenae,” or “dovecote”).⁷⁷⁵ The method for identifying the plant (γνῶσις) is then described. The black tip of a wing feather of an ibis,⁷⁷⁶ when smeared with the juice of the plant (cf. ll. 773, 781), is thereby weakened and falls off when touched. So far the information gleaned from the herbalist source.

In ll. 804–13, the author adds new information, derived from a personal revelation by the god (ll. 804–7): τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενελαΐτῃ ἐν τῇ Φαλαγρῷ πρὸς τὰς ἀναβολαῖς πλησίον <τῆς> τοῦ

⁷⁷¹ See Hopfner, *OZ* 1, §§ 464–551: “Die sympathisch-symbolischen Pflanzen”; M. Carmela Betrò (“Erbarie nell’ antico Egitto,” *Egitta e Vicino Oriente* 11 [1988] 71–110, esp. 74) mentions the PGM passage as “chiaramente tratta da un erbario.” I owe this last reference to Thomas Dusa.

⁷⁷² Pap. reads ἴβως. For a discussion of the text see Crönert, “Zur Kritik,” 101; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 120–21. For μελάνης instead of μελαίνης, see Dieterich (19) who cites Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, 178; see also, LSJ, BDAG, s.v. μέλας; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 76.

⁷⁷³ See Hopfner, *OZ* 1, § 500; Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 412; also 65 and 492), commenting on Plutarch’s (*Is. Os.* 30, p. 362F) discussion of the festivals of the months of Pauni and Phaophi in Busiris and Lycopolis. The month of Pauni is mentioned also in VII.281.

⁷⁷⁴ See Hopfner (*OZ* 1, § 500), with reference to Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 76–77; Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 425–26), commenting on Plutarch’s *Is. Os.* 33, 364C: “... they call Egypt, since it is mostly black, Khemia, like the black part of the eye.”

⁷⁷⁵ See LSJ (s.v. περιστερεῶν), with references to Pap. Oxy. # 1127, 8 (2nd cent. CE); Thessalos, 1.3 (ed. Friedrich, 93–97); cf. περιστέριον mentioned in Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.59–60 as a “holy plant” (ἐρὰ βοτάνη); Dieterich, 19; Hopfner, *OZ* 1, § 500: “Taubenkraut.”

⁷⁷⁶ On the ibis-wing, see Deines & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 484.

Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης⁷⁷⁷ ("As the lord demonstrated to me, [the plant] is found in the Menelaïtis area near Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant"). Thanks to divine guidance,⁷⁷⁸ the author has actually found the plant at an identifiable place. According to Kees and Calderini, the area called Menelaos (Menelaïtes) was situated in the northwestern Nile Delta, east of Alexandria.⁷⁷⁹ Phalagry is the likely name of a place in the Roman province of Cyrenaica between Kainopolis and Marabina.⁷⁸⁰ The Besas plant is, as the name says,⁷⁸¹ related to the god Bes (Βησᾶς). According to Dioscorides the Syrian name was βήσασα, but different names were used in different localities.⁷⁸²

A more detailed description defines the plant further (ll. 808–13): ἔστιν δὲ μονόκλωνον καὶ πυρρόν ἄχρι τῆς ρίζης καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἔχοντα ὅμοιον τῷ κορύμβῳ ἀσπαράγῳ ἀγρίῳ. ἔστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ καλουμένῳ ταλάπη, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦτλον⁷⁸³ ("It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapes*, like the wild beet").

⁷⁷⁷ Accepting Jordan's reading; see below, 781. Pap. reads ἀναβολαῖς; Dieterich (19) proposes ἀνατολαῖς, but Preisendanz keeps ἀναβολαῖς, "an den Wällen (des Nils)." Merkelbach: "an den Dämmen," that is, "Deiche des Nils" (*Abrasax*, 3.181, 248). Dieterich also reads Φαλαγρῇ (Jordan retains Φαλαγρυ). Cf. l. 752.

⁷⁷⁸ For the term ὑποδεικνύειν, see also VII.592; VIII.65–66; LXII.44.

⁷⁷⁹ Hermann Kees, "Menelaos (Menelaïtes)," PRE 15 (1931) 807–8; Aristide Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano* (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino–La Goliardica, 1980), 3/2.267 (with reference to Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* 4.5.9: Μενελαῖτου μητροπόλις Κάνωβος). The major source is Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.18 (801; ed. Meineke, 1117.19): ὁ Μενελαῖτης νόμος. See also David Bain, "Μελανῖτις γῆ, an unnoticed Greek name for Egypt: New evidence for the origin and etymology of alchemy?" in: *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens* (eds. David R. Jordan, et al.; Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 205–26.

⁷⁸⁰ So according to Hermann Kees, "Phalakra(i), Phalakre 2)," PRE 19/2 (1938) 1614–15; Calderini (*Dizionario* 5 [1987], 54) points to two possible places, Falacro and Phalagry. The main source is Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Φαλάκραι: ἔστι δὲ καὶ κώμη Λιβύης Φαλάκραι. See also Dieterich (19, 225).

⁷⁸¹ Pap. reads του βησαδος βοτανης, "plant of Besas"; Dieterich (19) refers to Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3.46.2: βησασᾶ, *agrestis ruta*; Alexander of Tralles 2 (ed. Puschmann, 134), but the forms βήσασα, βίσασα, βισασά, occur as well (according to Max Wellmann [in Dieterich, 19], βησασᾶ is read by the best Dioscorides manuscripts). Dieterich considers βησαδάδος(?). Jordan prefers <τῆς> τοῦ Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης. See LSJ, s.v. βησασᾶ, "Syrian rue."

⁷⁸² For the identification, see Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3.46.1–2; Hopfner, OZ 1, § 500: some called it πῆγανον ἄγριον, the Egyptians *Epnubu*, the Afrians *Churma*, the Cappadocians *Moly*.

⁷⁸³ Pap. reads ἀσπαράγῳ ἀγρίῳ, emended by Dieterich (20) to ἀσπαράγου ἀγρίου; Jordan retains the pap. reading.

As one would expect, the language of this passage contains terms from botany: *μονόκλωνος* (“with a single stem”),⁷⁸⁴ *πυρρός* (“reddish”),⁷⁸⁵ *τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα* (“crinkled leaves”),⁷⁸⁶ *κορύμβος* (“cluster of fruit” or “flowers”).⁷⁸⁷ The plant names cannot all be identified: *ἀσπάραγος* (“asparagus”),⁷⁸⁸ *τάλαπη*,⁷⁸⁹ and *σεῦτλον* (“wild beet”).⁷⁹⁰

4. Third ritual: the phylacteries (ll. 813–19)

The third ritual concerns the phylacteries to be used during the main ritual. They must of course be prepared before the ritual begins, so that they are ready for use whenever needed (see ll. 659–61, 708, 789).⁷⁹¹ Phylacteries are protective amulets on stone, papyrus, or metal lamellae, with engravings of letters, names, *voces magicae*, symbols, or pictorial representations. Usually worn on the body of a person, they were – and still are – widely used in every religious configuration,⁷⁹² which is why specific regulations for their preparations must be followed.

⁷⁸⁴ See IV.2689, 3201; cf. Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.5; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9.18.8; cf. idem, *Caus. plant.* 2.15.5 (*μονόκλωνος*).

⁷⁸⁵ See also IV.2899; VII.890; XIII.309.

⁷⁸⁶ LSJ (s.v. *οὔλος*) refers to Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9.4.3; cf. 7.4.4: *οὐλόφυλλος*.

⁷⁸⁷ See LSJ, s.v., *κόρυμβος*, III.

⁷⁸⁸ See Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 6.4.1; Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 2.125.

⁷⁸⁹ According to the *TLC* the name of the plant is a *hapaxlegomenon*. See the comments by Dieterich and Wellmann (in Dieterich, 20–21) who point to a plant called *ἄλυπον* (Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.178: *γεννᾶται δὲ ἐν τόποις παραθαλασσίαις, μάλιστα τοῖς τῆς Λιβύης τόποις καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ χωρίοις πλείστον*; Pliny, *Nat.* 27.22), implying that *τάλαπη* is an error. Hopfner (*OZ* 1, § 500) and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) have no explanation to offer.

⁷⁹⁰ See also III.614; cf. (reconstructed) VII.173; LXI.2. LSJ list *τεῦτλον*, with references from the papyri; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 1.6.6 (*beta maritima* L., “wild sea beet,” or “beet”).

⁷⁹¹ Phylacteries play an important role in the PGM, notably in IV. Preisendanz, 3.197–98 (index) notes the following occurrences of *φυλακτήριον*: I.275 (cf. *φυλακτινόν* I.272), 280; III.97, 127; IV.79, 86, 257, 660, 708, 1071, 1253, 1264, 1316–17, 1335–36, 1619–20, 1653–54, 1661, 1670, 1675, 1685–86, 1703, 2358, 2508, 2510–11, 2630, 2694, 2705, 2897, 3014, 3094, 3127; VII.218, 298, 311, 317, 486, 579, 844, 857; XI.a.37; XII.13; XIII.796, 899; XXXVI.159; LXII.23; LXX.2; LXXI.1, 6; LXXII.23; XLVII.10–11 (*νεφελιακτήριον*).

⁷⁹² The literature on phylacteries and amulets is vast and widely dispersed. See for surveys and bibliographies Charles W. King, *The Gnostics and Their Remains: Ancient and Medieval* (2nd ed.; London: Nutt, 1887); Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 291–303; Gerhard Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo* (Gryphiae: Abel, 1907); F. Eckstein & Jan H. Waszink, “Amulett,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 397–411; Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* ## 23 (1.63–66); 28 (1.76–77); 34 (1.99–101); 64 (2.66–67); 92 (2.204–8); 94

The text begins with a kind of section title (ll. 813–14): τὰ δὲ φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον⁷⁹³ (“Then the phylacteries are of this kind”).⁷⁹⁴ The term *τρόπος* refers to a particular type of amulet as well as the method for making it.⁷⁹⁵ The preparation distinguishes between what one should wear on the right and on the left arm, as also what material one should use. First, the amulet for the right arm is treated (ll. 814–17): τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμένα προβάτου μέλανος ζμυρνομέλανι (“Copy the [amulet] for the right [arm] onto the skin of a black sheep, with myrrh ink”). The hide of the black sheep is contrasted to that of the white sheep (l. 818); the preparation of myrrh ink has been described before (ll. 780–81). Then follows the application: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δῆσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου περιάψαι (“and after tying it with the sinews of the same animal, put it on”). Apparently, the formula to be inscribed has been omitted, either by accident, or because it is the same for both arms; the term *περιάπτειν* (“attach [around the arm]”) is technical and occurs elsewhere in the PGM.⁷⁹⁶ The same procedure is to be followed for the left arm (ll. 817–19): τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ (“and that for the left [arm copy] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same method”).

Then the *vox magica* for the left arm is given: εὐωνύμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθυμηρί⁷⁹⁷ (“[the magical name] of the left [arm] is PROSTHYMERI”). Scholars differ

(2.211–21); Merkelbach, *Abrasax* 1–4, indices; Kotansky, *Amulets*, §§ 18; 32; 60; 65; 66; idem, “Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets,” in Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera*, 107–37; Bonner, *Studies* (cf. the review by Karl Preisendanz, *Gnomon* 24 [1952] 340–45); idem, “Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum,” *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 301–45; idem, “A Miscellany of Engraved Stones,” *ibid.* 23 (1954) 138–57; Delatte & Derchain, *Les intailles*; Jean Marquès-Rivière, *Amulettes, Talismans et Pantacles dans la tradition orientales et occidentales* (Paris: Payot, 1938); Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln* (ARWAW.PC 20; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992, with the review and additional bibliography by William Brashear, *Gnomon* 68 [1996] 447–53); Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994); Walter Beltz and Christoph Uehlinger, “Amulett,” *RGK* (4th ed., 1998) 1.442–44; TDNT, BDAG, s.v. *φυλακτήριον*, pointing to the occurrence of Jewish phylacteries in Matt 23:5 (see Schürer, *History*, 2.479–81; 3.342–79).

⁷⁹³ Pap. reads *τροπο* with a supralinear stroke, recognized by Dieterich (20) and Preisendanz.

⁷⁹⁴ The translations differ at this point: Preisendanz: “Die Amulette sind so beschaffen”; Meyer: “Now the phylacteries require this procedure: ...”; Merkelbach: “Die Amulette (die man benützen soll) sehen so aus.”

⁷⁹⁵ For the term *τρόπος*, see IV.740, 819; XII.274; and Preisendanz, 3.190 (index), s.v.

⁷⁹⁶ For *περιάπτω* see IV.1252, 1318, 2155, 3016; VII.197, 207, 214; XXXVI.278, 330; LXIII.26, 29; Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, ## 78 (2.151–54); 80 (2.161–62); cf. 5 (1.16); 94 (2.211–21).

⁷⁹⁷ Pap. reads *θυμηρι*, which Dieterich (20) emends to *θυμήρεις*. Also, the pap. reads *ευωνυμου*, emended by Wessely to *εὐώνυμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθυμηρι*, now supported by

widely in regard to the text and its interpretation. For one, there is the problem that the *vox magica* is given only for the left arm, while the corresponding one for the right arm is omitted; if it were the same as for the right arm, the text would have indicated it. A further question is whether the inscription for the right arm can be restored on the basis of προσυμερι (l. 661). Finally, should the following phrase πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει be part of the sentence or not? Should the following Homer verses be taken as the content of the ὑπόμνημα? Translations, therefore, vary at this point.⁷⁹⁸ However, comparison with the phylactery at ll. 659–61 shows that for the right arm there is only one *vox magica* (PROSYMERI), which corresponds to the other (PROSTHYMERI) for the left arm. Thus, there is no reason to assume a longer inscription for the left arm.

IV. Epilogue (ll. 819–20)

Contrary to most scholars,⁷⁹⁹ the final clause should be taken as a separate statement by the author/redactor: πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει ([With this] the memorandum has [finally] reached its completion’).⁸⁰⁰ Stating that the document is now complete uses the superlative form πληρέστατον because of the many supplements and additions. The term ὑπόμνημα (“memorandum”) refers to legal and literary documents;⁸⁰¹ it refers most likely to the

Jordan. The change to the genitive is only needed because Wessely connects it with with πληρέστατον ὑπόμνημα; this emendation, however, although accepted by Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach, seems to be unconvincing. Cf. also Preisendanz, *WSI* 41 (1919) 142–43.

⁷⁹⁸ Preisendanz: “Das linke is ganz gefüllt mit ‘Prosthymèri’ und hat die Aufschrift...” (The Homer verses are taken to be the content of the ὑπόμνημα); Meyer (translating Preisendanz): “The left one is very full of ‘PROSTHYMERI’, and has this memorandum ...”; Merkelbach: “Das linke mit dem ‘König STHYMERI’ hat auch die vollständigste Erinnerungskraft in sich.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) comments that the left amulet strengthens the memory, and that ὑπόμνημα refers to spells called μνημονική (e.g., I.232; III.424, 467; cf. also II.17, 40).

⁷⁹⁹ According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 225), Preisendanz considered to punctuate: εὐωνύμου· “προσθυμερι”. πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει. This reading keeps what the pap. has. In his edition and translation, however, Preisendanz follows Wessely’s emendation: εὐώνυμο<ν τ>οῦ “προσθυμερι” πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει, “Das linke ist ganz gefüllt mit ‘Prosthymèri’ und hat die Aufschrift”

⁸⁰⁰ According to Wünsch, ll. 819–20 are “a poorly copied marginal gloss to the *Vorlage*.” For this and other speculations, see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.* For similar conclusions, see III.161: καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πράξις...; IV.2078–79: ταῦτά ἐστιν, τὰ ἐπιτελεῖ ἡ μόνη πραγματεία.

⁸⁰¹ The term is used also XIII.725. For references, see LSJ, s.v. ὑπόμνημα (5), and PGL; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 2.667–69; Elias Bickermann, “Beiträge zur antiken Urkunden-

text as a whole, or, less likely, to the supplements alone (ll. 750–819).⁸⁰² After l. 820 there also occurs a colon (:) and a paragraphos sign,⁸⁰³ signifying the end of the section and implying that the Homer verses (ll. 821–34) are not to be taken as a part of the Mithras Liturgy.⁸⁰⁴

forschung, III,” *APF* 9 (1930) 164–65; Franco Montanari, “Hypomnema,” *DNP* 5 (1998) 814–15 (with lit.).

⁸⁰² Cf. the term σύνταγμα in the exordium (ll. 481–82), apparently refers to the text up to l. 750, where the additional instruction (διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως) begins (ll. 750–819). Therefore, the ὑπόμνημα could simply refer to these additional instructions, but since they are mere additions to the whole composition, the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety functions as a memorandum in the same way.

⁸⁰³ See on this Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2.400, 402–3.

⁸⁰⁴ So the evidence of the pap., noted by Wessely (“Zu den griechischen Papyri,” 14) and Preisendanz (*ad loc.*, *apparatus criticus*). Differently, Dieterich (20, 225) is indecisive: on the one hand (20), he takes ὑπόμνημα as the category of “quotation,” meaning the Homer verses (ll. 821–34); on the other hand (21), he observes correctly that the Mithras Liturgy is interpolated between the Homer verses of ll. 467–75 and 821–43: “Es scheint, daß zwischen die Homerverse der große Wahrsagezauber eingeschoben ist, so daß vor und nach ihm noch deren gesprengte Stücke erscheinen.”

Plates

[illegible]

ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΡΑ ΣΥΔΕΣΤΑΛΙ ΜΑ ΕΣΙΓΗΤΗ
 ΚΑΤΟΨΕΙΣ ΚΟΥΔΑΝΥΓΕΙΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΜΑΡΥΡΟΝ
 ΚΥΚΛΩΝΕΣ ΕΙΣΥΡΑΣΤΥΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΟΚΕ
 ΚΛΗΣΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΥΔΕΣΘΕΣ ΤΩ ΚΕΤΟΝΥΝ
 ΚΗΜΕΝΙΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΚΑΜΕΥΜΑΝΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΑΦΟΥ
 ΜΟΥΣΕ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΠΙΔΟΥΣΑΝ ΜΟΥΣΑΚΟΥ
 ΣΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΤΟΥΔ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΟΣΥΝΔΗΝ
 ΠΙΝΕΣ ΜΑΤΑ ΤΥΡΙΝΟΝ ΑΚΗΘΟΡΑΤΟΥ
 ΔΕΣΙΑΣΤΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΝΟΛΕ ΤΤΕΝΙΦΤΕΡΟΝ
 ΦΩΤΕΚΙΣΤΑ ΟΙΔΕ ΣΥΝΚΗΤΑ ΓΕΛΕΣΙΑΝ
 ΤΥΡΙΝΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΝΙΦΟΥ ΤΥΡΙΘΥΛΕ
 ΙΔΩ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΜΕΤΕΣ ΦΩΣ ΕΙΔΗ ΤΥΡΙΧΩΝ
 ΕΛΟΥΡΕ ΚΑΛΙΦΩ ΕΣΤΗ ΑΡΩΝ ΔΕΣΑ
 ΕΡΩΤΕΣ ΔΕΩΡ ΣΤΕΠΟΡ ΠΡΕΠΕΛΠΙΚΙ ΤΥ
 ΡΙΣΕΜΑΤΕ ΦΩΝΥΝΝΙΟΧ ΦΤΕΔΕΜΑΝΟΥ
 ΡΕΩΣΕ ΔΡΕΙ ΕΙΚΤΑ ΤΥΡΙΧΛΩΝΕ

[illegible]

Γ. ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΠΡΟΚΡΙΒΑΙΝΤΟΣ
 ΑΛΛΗΝ ΧΑΛΑΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΧΥΝΟ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΤΕΩΣ
 ΓΕΝΩΝΤΕΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
 ΥΠΟ ΔΕΙΡΕΣΙΝ ΕΥΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΕ
 ΛΑΙΩΝ ΕΝΤΕΦΑΛΑΓΩ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ
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Indices

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Volume 1: Formularies

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*Cum nuper tecum (reverende pater) in cænobio tuo apud Herbipolim
aliquandiu conversatus, multa de chymicis, multa de magicis,
multa de cabalisticis caeterisque; quae adhuc in occulto
delitescunt arcanis scientiis atque artibus una contulissemus:
magna inter cæteras questio erat (...) magia ipsa...*
Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa to Johannes Trithemius (1509/1510)

KD: *Dedicated to the memory of Deirdre Jill McGarry*

MP: *Dedicated to the memory of Jacqueline Trak, who taught me how to learn*

Foreword

It has become increasingly common to see “magic” as a negative word, primarily designating illicit religion and ritual. But while this was often true in antiquity, in the modern day it tends to conjure up different associations—the promise of romance and excitement (“magical adventures”) or of miraculous ease and efficiency (“it works like magic!”). This may be why magical texts are often of such interest, even—and perhaps especially—to non-scholars; they seem to embody the distance between our own mundane present and the past, in its alien distance and possibility. Yet the reality is that magical texts are often inaccessible or obtuse—difficult in their language, and drawing deeply from a reservoir of cultural references unfamiliar to most modern readers.

The present volume is the product of the project *The Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* (2018–2023), whose goal was to make one group of these texts, those written in Coptic, more accessible to scholars and laypeople. This project was funded by, and housed at, the Julius Maximilian University Würzburg through the Excellent Ideas programme. We must in particular thank Martin Stadler and Daniel Schwemer for supporting the initial proposal, made by the project leader Korshi Dosoo; without their advocacy, and later guidance, the project, and this volume, would never have come to be.

When the project began in 2018, Dosoo worked alongside Edward O.D. Love and Markéta Preininger, respectively the post-doctoral and doctoral research fellows. In 2021, Love moved on from the project, while Preininger became the post-doctoral research fellow, and Julia Schwarzer in turn joined the team as doctoral research fellow. Throughout the course of the project, the core team was assisted by numerous co-workers and collaborators, notably Matouš Preininger, who worked as information technician from 2020–2022, and Stella Türker and Selina Schuster, who joined as research assistants in 2020 and 2022 respectively. While we continually received invaluable support from the Coptological, Papyrological, and Egyptological communities, a number of colleagues were recognised as contributors to the project based on their valuable input: Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin, Anne Grons, Krisztina Hevesi, Bill Manley, Ortal-Paz Saar, Anne Sieberichs, Simon St-Arnault Chiasson, and David Tibet.

The initial goal of the project was to develop a database which would facilitate the study of the corpus within its larger context, by including data on magical texts in Coptic, Greek, Demotic, and other relevant languages. This materialised in the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects*, launched online in October 2020. The database initially focused on metadata—that is, physical and bibliographical descriptions of manuscripts—but, over the five years of the

project, we continually edited published and unpublished Coptic texts and made them available through the *Kyprianos* database. From the beginning of the project, we envisaged its culmination in a published volume. It is now clear that the full corpus will require an extensive series of volumes, and it is the first of these which you are reading now.

Our original conception of the volume was of something like a *Sammelbuch*, a volume that would bring together and present editions and translations with minimal commentary. Our reasons for this were simple—while we are confident that we have made significant progress in understanding these texts, major unanswered questions remain, and we thus preferred to separate the presentation of the texts from their interpretation. Consultation with colleagues nonetheless convinced us that something more complete was required. As a result, this volume does contain extensive commentary, and, while we are certain that it will become outdated over time, we nonetheless hope that it will allow readers an initial basis on which to develop their own understandings and interpretations.

This volume offers editions of 37 manuscripts from Egypt, written in Coptic, dating to between the fourth and eleventh centuries of the common era. These are of the type known as formularies, handbooks describing numerous rituals for accomplishing diverse goals, such as obtaining health, love, success, and cursing enemies. In a sense, it is here that we see a link between our modern conceptions of magic as a domain of infinite possibility, and past conceptions, in which ‘magical’ texts offered one way of dealing with the dangers, conflicts, and frustrations of life. While all ancient texts are valuable in providing windows onto the past, our experience has been that magical texts are often particularly rich sources; we find in them everything from the structure of the angelic hierarchy of the highest heavens to names for and descriptions of cooking pots.

Acknowledgments

This project is heavily indebted to the work of previous and contemporary scholars who have worked on Coptic magic, figures such as Angelicus Kropp, Marvin Meyer, Jacques van der Vliet, and David Frankfurter, who have been a great inspiration to us over the last five years, and readers will see their names regularly cited.

Of more immediate relevance for the project, we must thank again Martin Stadler and Daniel Schwemer, as well as Roland Baumhauer, the former dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Alfred Forchel, former president of the Julius Maximilian University Würzburg for financing and supporting the project. Korshi Dosoo would like to thank Malcolm Choat, Rachel Yuen Collingridge, Jennifer Cromwell, and Victor Ghica, his first papyrological and Coptological mentors; Iain Gardner and Jay Johnston, on whose project he first began to explore

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Contributors to this volume

This volume was produced under the direction of Korshi Dosoo, who is also the primary author of the introduction. Both he and Markéta Preininger, the second author, were involved in every aspect of the volume, from initial conception to publication, and are jointly responsible for all of the manuscript introductions, editions, notes, and the glossary. Edward O.D. Love was involved in some way in the work which lies behind all of the manuscript editions in the volume, either collecting their metadata, producing tracings, working on apparatuses, or as one of the primary text editors. Julia Schwarzer participated in the editions of several of the manuscripts, worked extensively as a researcher on various aspects of the volume, including the identification of Biblical passages, produced most of the tracings, and was involved with many of the practical aspects of the volume's creation, including the *index locorum*, the index of Arabic words and, with Markéta Preininger, the indices of Greek words and abbreviations. Selina Schuster was responsible for most of the initial work of layout, as well as the formatting and the bibliography. Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin cooperated with the team externally to produce several editions in this publication. For some of the more complex tracings (those on pp. 310, 320, 366), automatic binarisation was carried out by Raquel Martín Hernández using the techniques described in Martín Hernández/Shaus 2022, before being manually touched up by Julia Schwarzer.

Using this volume

The volume is intended to accommodate a broad audience. For students and enthusiasts without knowledge of Coptic, we provide English translation and commentaries to the texts. For experts in Coptic and papyrology and other specialists, we provide detailed information on acquisition of the manuscripts, hands, dialect, and a detailed apparatus and index of Greek and Coptic words and abbreviations at the end. A glossary at the end of the book gives brief definitions of some of the most common concepts and expressions found in the manuscripts.

This volume exists in a symbiotic relationship with the *Kyprianos* online database. Every manuscript has an ID number in this database, given in the section “other references” in the introduction to each papyrus in the form KYP M(anuscript) followed by the number; each individual textual unit also has a reference, KYPT(ext) + number. These allow the manuscripts and their constituent texts to be consulted online, and doing so will allow readers to see any updates or corrections, or additional bibliography, which has appeared since the publication of this volume.

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List of Critical Signs

[]	Gap due to damage in the writing surface
[...]	Presumed number of lost letters
[[]]	Deletion by copyist
\ΔΒΓ/	Letters written above the line
/ΔΒΓ\	Letters written below the line
{ }	Deletion by the editor
< >	Addition or emendation by editor
()	Resolution of an abbreviation
. . . .	Unreadable letters
ΔΒΓ	Damaged or uncertain letters
⁵	Line change
- - - - -	Papyrus broken
*Iao	Word appears in the glossary
Iao [?]	Translation uncertain
<i>vac.</i>	Vacat (unwritten space)

Introduction

The texts presented in this volume are those defined by scholars as ‘magical’, written in the Coptic language on papyrus and other supports (parchment, paper, wood, ostraca). Both of these terms—“magical” and “Coptic”—require some explanation. This introduction will begin by offering brief presentations of what it means for a text to be defined as “magical” in the context of papyrology, and then give an overview of the Coptic language. This will be followed by a short history of the study of Coptic magical texts. The next part of the introduction will provide a summary of the manuscripts and texts contained in this volume in terms of their materiality and structure, before we end by presenting the volume’s conception and principles—how the editions of texts are organised and how they may be understood.

1. Situating Coptic Magical Texts

1.1. The Christian Magical Tradition in History

In the context of papyrology, the term “magic” refers to manuscripts containing a specific genre of ritual texts. These are texts attesting to a range of private, non-institutional ritual traditions, whose typical features (more fully discussed in 3.5 below) include the use of “magical words” (*voces magicæ*), “magical symbols” (*kharaktēres*), and particular verbal and ritual practices.¹ Likewise, the texts reflect a recurrent set of concerns—they aim to achieve specific goals, including healing disease, casting out demons, protecting their user from hostile magic, cursing enemies, manipulating relationships (gaining social success, separating friends or couples, causing men and women to be attracted to one another), and divining the future through the consultation of superhuman beings.²

The use of the term “magic” to refer to such texts in the context of papyrology began in the early nineteenth century in reference to Greek magical papyri.³ Thus, it predates and does not relate directly to questions of the relationship of magic and religion, magic as marginal religion, or magic as a specific mode of rationality which became key concerns in the wake of the work of late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars such as James Frazer, Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss,

¹ For other introductions to Coptic magical texts and their wider context, see van der Vliet 2014 & 2019b; Bélanger Sarrazin 2017; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 51–56.

² For an overview of the types of rituals found in these texts, see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 58–62.

³ Cf. Dosoo 2021a: 677–679 & forthcoming a.

and Bronisław Malinowski.⁴

These older magical Greek and Demotic papyri are today understood as one piece of evidence for a larger Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition.⁵ Such texts survive from the first century BCE to around the fifth century CE, and seem to represent an innovative textual and ritual tradition which draws upon older Egyptian and Greek, and to a lesser extent Jewish and Mesopotamian, ritual practices. These traditions existed alongside one another in the multi-ethnic Egypt of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, in which the native Egyptian majority lived under the rule of Greek-speaking elites, and alongside large numbers of immigrants from around the Mediterranean, including the Near East.⁶ The earliest examples of Coptic-language magical texts occur in a few of the predominantly Greek manuscripts of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition, but these are generally non-Christian, centred on traditional Egyptian deities, and written in a form of the language different from the standard Coptic used by Christians.⁷

The Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri were produced in a period of dramatic historical changes. Within Egypt, the traditional temple cults show a precipitous decline from the third century onwards, so that few temples lasted beyond the second half of the fourth century CE.⁸ The reasons for this are still imperfectly understood, but seem to be linked to changes in the Roman policy, which restricted the temples' economic base while reducing the amount of direct support that they received from the imperial administration. The second major event was the rise of Christianity; Egyptian Christians claim that their faith arrived in Egypt in the mid-first century CE with Saint Mark, the author of the gospel of the same name. More concretely, Egyptian Christian authors are known from the second century, but the community was likely small, and restricted to the area around Alexandria.

⁴ Cf. Dosoo 2021a: 677–679; Dosoo forthcoming a. The key works associated with each of these authors are Frazer's *Golden Bough* (in particular, the 1925 abridged edition), Hubert/Mauss' *Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie* (1902–1903, translation in Mauss 1972), and Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (1935). Helpful overviews of these theoretical approaches may be found in Tambiah 1990 and Sørensen 2007: 9–28. See also the reflections on the function of the term “magic” in Bohak 2009: 110–112; Sanzo 2020.

⁵ For overviews of the Graeco-Egyptian corpus, see Brashear 1995; Dieleman 2005; Dieleman 2019. For texts from this corpus, see Preisendanz/Henrichs 1973–1974; Betz 1986; Daniel/Maltomini 1990–1992; Faraone/Torallas Tovar 2022a, b.

⁶ Cf. Dieleman 2005: 285–294; Dosoo forthcoming b.

⁷ Magical texts written in Old Coptic script include BM EA 10808/*GEMF* 14 (KYP M545); *PGM* III/*GEMF* 55 (KYP M154) ll. 410–423, 633–731; *PGM* IV/*GEMF* 57 (KYP M3) ll. 1–21, 81–153 (cf. the Egyptian passage written purely in Greek characters in ll. 1231–1239 (cf. n. 13 below)); compare also *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162), which uses Old Coptic script for glosses, and the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus (KYP M524), a letter to a god written in Old Coptic (for which see Love 2022c: 225–456, with further references *ad loc.*). For discussions, see Satzinger 1994; Love 2016.

⁸ On the decline of the Egyptian temples, see Bagnall 1988; Bagnall 2008; Dijkstra 2008; Fournet 2020b; cf. Monson 2012: 131–141; Connor 2022; Sippel 2022.

This changed in the third century, when Demetrius (r. 188–230 CE), the bishop of Alexandria, began to appoint other bishops in the *khōra* (Egypt outside Alexandria), and the first mentions of Christians in surviving papyri occur shortly afterwards.⁹ Christians nonetheless remained a sporadically persecuted minority until the fourth century,¹⁰ when the Emperor Constantine and his successors made Christianity first a licit religion (313 CE), and then the state religion of the Roman Empire. Christians in Egypt went from being a small minority (perhaps *ca.* 10%) at the beginning of the fourth century to a majority (*ca.* 70%) by the end of it, and virtually the entire population of Egypt by the middle of the fifth.¹¹

This had a major consequence for the magical tradition, which had continued to exist and evolve alongside Christianity. Magic, like Christianity, was distrusted and punished by the Roman state; early Christian rituals may often have looked like magic to non-Christians.¹² One of the earliest surviving Christian ritual texts, an exorcism written in a non-standard version of Coptic, is found in a fourth-century magical manual which otherwise primarily consists of texts belonging to the Graeco-Egyptian tradition. The manual's compiler must have considered the exorcism as part of the same broad category of ritual practice.¹³ The pre-existing distrust of magic among some members of the Graeco-Roman elite was taken up by Christians and combined with the Jewish injunction against rituals defined as *kišuf* ("sorcery") to create a strong anti-magic discourse within Christianity.¹⁴ Early canons and council proceedings defining how Christians should behave forbade the baptism of "magicians" (*magoi*) and similar figures, and prescribed penance for those who practiced or made use of magic.¹⁵

By the fourth century, the "Great Church"—that form of Christianity sponsored by the Imperial authorities and headed by bishops—had developed its own suite of rituals, known as the Christian liturgical tradition. This included the regularly-performed anaphora—the consecration of bread and wine for the communion ritual—as well as others for more specific needs, such as exorcising demons and healing illness.¹⁶ These latter practically-oriented rituals could overlap in terms of function with those of the magical tradition and were promoted by bishops as

⁹ See Wipszycka 2015: 60–74. On Christianity in Egypt more generally, see Choat 2012a.

¹⁰ For a recent discussion, see Luijendijk 2008: 155–226.

¹¹ Depauw/Clarysse 2013; *cf.* the reflections in Choat 2006: 52–55; Frankfurter 2014; Depauw/Clarysse 2015.

¹² For the Roman legal measures against the practice of "magic", see Pharr 1932; Phillips 1991; Kippenberg 1997; Rives 2003; Rives 2006; for the association of magic with Christians, see Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.6, 29, 38, 68, 6.38–41; *cf.* Stratton 2007: 117–120; Bremmer 2002: 54–56.

¹³ *PGM* IV/*GEMF* 57.1227–1264; see the discussion in Rist 1938: 289–303.

¹⁴ Harari 2019.

¹⁵ On Christian opposition to magic, see Dickie 2001: 251–272; de Bruyn 2017: 17–42; Sanzo 2019b: 221–223; van der Vliet 2019a; Dosoo 2021b: 49–50, 52–54.

¹⁶ For the Christian liturgical tradition, see Johnson 1995: 111–277; Johnson 2010; Mihálykó 2019, and for the relationship of magic to liturgical texts, see Kropp 1930: III 180–244.

alternatives to them. Yet the magical tradition did not disappear, despite the efforts of the Christian hierarchy; rather it underwent what we can characterise as a series of parallel and overlapping processes of Christianisation.¹⁷

The first way in which the magical tradition might become Christian is simply related to context. A few texts were transmitted with little change for centuries; these included narrative charms containing stories of the traditional Egyptian gods, which circulated in Egypt until the ninth century or so.¹⁸ Yet, merely by virtue of existing in a primarily Christian context, they began to reflect this context—the degree of traditional religious content atrophied, so that the divine protagonists became little more than names, while references to the Christian God began to be incorporated.¹⁹

This changed context likely also led to the preferential survival and transmission of texts which circulated prior to Christianity, but which were already amenable to a Christian audience.²⁰ While many of the magical texts dating to before the fifth century contain mention of the deities of Greek and Egyptian cults (Osiris, Anubis, Selene, Hekate, and so on), this is not true of all of them. The magical tradition also made extensive use of Jewish names—the personal name and titles of the Jewish God, *Iao Sabaoth Adonai, and the names of angels such as Michael and Gabriel.²¹ It is often unclear whether these were used by Jews, Christians, or gentiles—or most likely all three—but they become more frequent in texts from Egypt from around the third century, perhaps as a result of the rise in prominence of Christianity. Likewise, many of the “magical names” were not linked to any real cults and so could be reinterpreted by Jews and Christians. ‘Abraxas’, a name with solar associations within the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, was reinterpreted as the name of the angel of the sun in Jewish and Christian magic.²² Many magical texts which circulated before the Christianisation of the Roman Empire could thus continue to be used in an only slightly modified form.

Another way in which magic could be made Christian is in the composition of new texts, which drew upon the techniques of the magical tradition—the use of *voces magicae*, *kharaktēres*, and so on—but called exclusively upon figures from the Jewish-Christian tradition, and which made use of the ritual techniques of the Christian liturgical tradition.²³ This process seems to have begun in the early centuries CE, when the first stages of the handbook known as the *Testament of Solomon* may have been composed.²⁴ But many of the texts which survive in

¹⁷ Cf. de Bruyn 2017.

¹⁸ These are discussed below at 3.2.3.

¹⁹ Cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 244–250 *et passim*; van der Vliet 2018a: 158–160; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 61–64.

²⁰ On this process, cf. Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a.

²¹ Bohak 2008: 194–214.

²² See *Abraxas in the glossary.

²³ Compare the discussions in de Bruyn 2017; van der Vliet 2020.

²⁴ See the introduction to PCM I 38 for a fuller discussion of the *Testament of Solomon* and

the Coptic magical tradition seem to be later compositions, dating to the period between the fifth and seventh centuries.

In the earlier Graeco-Egyptian tradition, works were often attributed to famous authors—the Persian priests called *magoi*, Egyptian kings and priests, or Greek philosophers and sages²⁵—and this continued in the Christian texts, which could be attributed to Biblical figures, famous saints, and even angels.²⁶ Just as in the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, however, these longer pseudepigraphal texts are complemented by shorter, anonymous recipes of a similar type, which constitute the majority of surviving texts.

The Christian magical tradition seems to originally have been Greek in language, but in Egypt it was translated very quickly into Coptic, the contemporary written form of the native Egyptian language. It is in Coptic that the vast majority of Christian magical texts from the Egypt of the first millennium CE survive. The papyrological evidence from Egypt suggests that Christian magical texts flourished in the centuries following the Christianisation of Egypt, but clerical opposition remained. We continue to find church canons and sermons from bishops from this period denouncing the practice of magic, even when it appeared to be Christian. The sixth-century *Gelasian Decree*, a list of forbidden books from the Western Roman Empire, lists among them “all amulets which have been composed, not by angels, as they pretend, but by the magical arts of demons”.²⁷ Yet the need to repeat bans on magic demonstrates that, like the apocryphal literary works which also appear in the *Decree*, Christian magic continued to enjoy considerable popularity among both laypeople and clerics.

While we have been discussing Christianity as a monolithic object, the textual and material evidence from Egypt demonstrates its great diversity. Relevant for us here is the phenomenon of Sethian Gnosticism, a movement within Christianity which saw Jesus as a revealer sent by the true God to unveil the saving “knowledge” (*gnōsis*) that the world was a creation of the lesser deity of the Hebrew Bible, which could be escaped through secret rituals.²⁸ The only primary sources for Sethian Gnosticism come from Egypt, primarily fourth and fifth-century Coptic codices, including those of the famous Nag Hammadi Library. Another religion related to Christianity, Manichaeism, developed in Mesopotamia in the middle of

further references.

²⁵ See Dieleman 2005: 263–275; Suárez de la Torre 2014.

²⁶ In this volume, see for example the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’* (PCM I 25 pp. 2–9), the *Endoxon of the Archangel Michael* (PCM I 26), the *Love Spell of Cyprian* (PCM I 28), and the texts based on the *Testament of Solomon* (PCM I 30 & PCM I 36 ll. 13–15).

²⁷ *Gelasian Decree* 244–245, in von Dobschütz 1912: 74–75.

²⁸ See Brakke 2010; Burns 2019, for helpful overviews. Note that while here we present ‘Sethian Gnosticism’ as a Christian movement, other scholars see it as having a more complex relationship to Christianity, either being originally derived directly from Jewish sources and only later taking on Christian trappings, or existing in a border space between Christian and Jewish traditions; see *inter alia* Yamauchi 2003; Burns 2014.

the third century, reaching Egypt via missionaries towards the end of that century.²⁹ It saw itself as the culmination of previous revelations by Zoroaster, Moses, the Buddha, and Jesus, and envisaged the world as a battleground between the forces of light and darkness, in which human beings would be reborn until they were able to return to the realm of light through ritual purification and good deeds. Well-attested in Egypt by papyri in Greek, Coptic, and Syriac, Egyptian Manichaeism disappears from the archaeological record in the fifth century, likely a victim to Imperial and Christian hostility.³⁰ Both of these movements have left traces in the papyri published here—the earliest Coptic magical text we publish (*PCM* I 1) comes from a Manichaean household, and many of the others contain names taken from, or reminiscent of, the divinities of Sethian Gnosticism, a feature shared by a few later Coptic apocryphal literary texts.³¹

While these ‘alternative Christianities’ left only traces, a major split in the Christian tradition in Egypt occurred at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, at which the head of the Egyptian Church, Dioscorus I, Patriarch of Alexandria, was deposed. Dioscorus had supported the miaphysite position, that Jesus had one nature, at once human and divine, while the larger Imperial Church supported the dyophysite position that Jesus existed in two natures, one human, one divine.³² This event would ultimately divide the Egyptian Church, creating a situation in which Alexandria has generally had two patriarchs, one Miaphysite, one Chalcedonian. The patriarchates of Peter IV (r. 576–78) and his successor Damian (r. 576–605) created a distinct Miaphysite hierarchy of bishops, existing in parallel to the Chalcedonian hierarchy (and, indeed, other, smaller factions).³³ This miaphysite church is the predecessor to the modern Coptic Orthodox Church, which expanded after the Muslim conquest of Egypt (642 CE), becoming the numerically dominant Christian church in Egypt.³⁴ Whether they were always the majority is unclear; the Chalcedonian Church (whose modern successors include the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches) was supported by the Imperial state and many of the Egyptian elites; it has been suggested that they controlled the cities while the

²⁹ For brief overviews, see BeDuhn 2000; Teigen 2021: 1–21; Brand 2022: 5–12.

³⁰ Cf. the overview in Gardner/Lieu 1996; Gardner 2022: 295–305.

³¹ For the relationship between Sethian Gnosticism and magic, see Burns 2018; Choat 2019; Piwowarczyk 2020.

³² In the past the miaphysite churches were usually referred to as ‘monophysite’, but this term is generally rejected by modern members of non-Chalcedonian churches, who prefer ‘miaphysite’ (cf. Awad/Moawad 1999; Farag 2011). For a fuller discussion of the theological questions, see Farag 2014. The term ‘miaphysite’ has been strongly criticised by Luisier 2014 as being both misleading (since he finds the theological differences with dyophysitism minimal) and an unacceptable Greek formation, but it remains widely used; alternatives include simply ‘non-Chalcedonian’ and ‘henophysite’.

³³ Booth 2017; Dekker 2018: 4–9 *et passim*; cf. Mikhail 2016: 10–15.

³⁴ Mikhail 2016: 60–64.

Miaphysites controlled the countryside.³⁵ It is following the rift at Chalcedon that the Miaphysite Church started to develop a distinctively Egyptian identity—albeit one with close links to their Miaphysite brethren in Syria, Armenia, Nubia, and Ethiopia—and it is in the sixth century, around the time of the patriarchate of Damian that we begin to see major original literary compositions in Coptic rather than translations from Greek; it may be that many of the magical texts contained here belong to this same period of creativity.³⁶

In the seventh century, Egypt would be definitively severed from the Roman Empire when, in 642 CE, it was conquered by the Muslim armies under the successors of Muhammad. But cultural change seems to have been slow. The new rulers initially left much of the Late Roman administration in place, and made no concerted effort to convert the population to Islam.³⁷ It was only in the eighth century that Arabic gradually replaced Greek as the language of administration.³⁸ While an Arabic-Muslim magical tradition would develop—in part through contact with the older Greek tradition³⁹—the Christian magical tradition shows little hint of the changed cultural realities until the ninth century or so, when Arabic loanwords begin to appear, mainly as the names of ingredients, in texts which otherwise belong to the same tradition as those transmitted before the conquest.⁴⁰ This shift in the ninth century is likely due to the larger socio-political forces at work—it was in the ninth century that the last major revolts against Arab-Muslim rule took place, and in their wake, the rate of conversion of Egyptians to Islam increased, and even Christians began to use Arabic in their daily lives.⁴¹ This process culminated during the period of the Bahrī Mamlūks (1250–1382 CE); Christians became a minority of about 10% of the population of Egypt, as they remain to today.⁴² Coptic became a primarily written, rather than spoken language, which had to be learned by priests for recital in the liturgy; no substantial original texts were composed between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴³ This period marks the end of the production of Coptic-language magical texts, which ceased

³⁵ Wipszycka 2015: 140–146 (arguing for the predominance of the Chalcedonians in the cities); Mikhail 2016: 14–15 (arguing for the numerical majority of the Miaphysites), 27–28, 38–39, 55 (on Chalcedonian adherence among elites); Booth 2017: 160 (arguing that whether the Miaphysites were always the majority is unknowable); Dekker 2018: 146–47, 278–279 *et passim* (arguing against the restriction of Miaphysite bishops to the countryside).

³⁶ Orlandi 1998; Orlandi 2005; Buzi 2021.

³⁷ Frantz-Murphy 2004; Sijpesteijn 2013: 48–111.

³⁸ Richter 2010: 214–215 *et passim*; Sijpesteijn 2013: 104.

³⁹ The literature on Arabic-language magic is extensive. For some works offering introductions, see Saif *et al.* 2020; Bsees 2019; Coulon 2017.

⁴⁰ Love 2022a: 182–195.

⁴¹ O’Sullivan 2006; Richter 2009: 417–434; Sijpesteijn 2013: 105–113; Wissa 2020; *cf.* Lev 2012; Mikhail 2016: 118–127.

⁴² Little 1976; Bulliet 1979: 92–99; O’Sullivan 2006.

⁴³ Richter 2009: 426–434; Zakrzewska 2014: 84–87.

to be copied and composed around the twelfth century, like most other types of Coptic-language texts.

Christian Egyptians continued to practice magic, often using texts translated or inspired by older Coptic-language texts, but also increasingly influenced by the Muslim magical tradition which existed around them.⁴⁴ The most prominent of the later texts are the *Guides to the Psalms* which contain ritual instructions for various purposes using the text of the Psalms as the spoken formulae.⁴⁵ Coptic-language magic, however, was just one branch of a larger Christian magical tradition, perhaps originally linguistically Greek, but translated into and then elaborated in many local languages. Magical texts which share close affinities with those in Coptic can be found in Mediaeval and/or early modern texts in languages such as Armenian, Greek, Syriac, Old Nubian, and Ge'ez (the liturgical language of Ethiopia), with a few texts sharing not only specific magical names or practices, but also representing parallel versions of especially popular texts which survive in Coptic.⁴⁶ The Coptic tradition, like all of these others, demonstrates particularities, the result of original composition as well as local Christian and pre-Christian specificities. One important aspect of the Coptic magical corpus is its early date. Thanks to the dry climate of Upper Egypt, many texts survive in Coptic which are many centuries older than the copies preserved in other Christian traditions. These copies allow us a privileged perspective on the complex process by which 'magic' became 'Christian'.

Before leaving behind the history of Coptic magic, it is worth briefly mentioning

⁴⁴ For examples of Copto-Arabic magical texts (*i.e.*, magical texts used by Egyptian Christians and written in Arabic), see Khater 1970; Viaud 1977; Henein/Bianquis 1975, and see the discussions in Fodor 1978; Viaud 1978; Budelli 2014.

⁴⁵ Published *Copto-Arabic examples include Khater 1970; Henein/Bianquis 1975; Viaud 1977; *cf.* Fodor 1978. For Greek examples, see Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a & 2022b, and for Ethiopian examples, see Strelcyn 1981. Earlier Coptic examples exist, but are currently unpublished; an early example on papyrus is P.Duke inv. 460 (KYP M404; *cf.* Zellmann-Rohrer 2022b: 1116 with n. 3), although the best-dated is Collège de France Ms. 3 (KYP M597), with a colophon dating to 1035 CE; *cf.* Pezin 1983.

⁴⁶ For Armenian magical texts, see Wingate 1930; Feydit 1986; Vardanyan 2012, and for a discussion see Russell 2011. For Christian Greek magic, see Delatte 1927; Marathakis 2012; Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a, and for discussions, see Greenfield 1988; Maguire 1995; Zellmann-Rohrer 2016 & 2019; Afentoulidou 2021. For Syriac magical texts, see Hazard 1893; Gollancz 1912; Lyavdansky 2011; Cherkashina (Nurullina) 2012 & 2021; Cherkashina/Kuzin 2022; Cherkashina/Lyavdansky 2021 & 2022; Dickens/Smelova 2021; Cherkashina/Cherkashin/Saar 2022, and for discussions see Hunter 1987 & 1990; Moriggi/Bhayro 2022. For Greek and Old Nubian magical texts from Christian Nubia, see Hägg 1993; Ruffini 2012; Lajtar/van der Vliet 2011 & 2017. For Ge'ez magical texts, see Basset 1892 & 1984; Worrell 1909, 1910 & 1915; Grohmann 1917–1918; Euringer 1928 & 1937; Griaule 1930; Strelcyn 1955; Strelcyn 1981; and for discussions and overviews, see Rodinson 1967; Young 1970 & 1975; Mercier/Mercier 1974; Mercier 1988; Chernetsov 2005 & 2006; Mulugetta 2015; Kebede 2017; de Ménonville 2018a & b; Derillo 2019; Malara 2022.

its complex relationship with medicine.⁴⁷ Coptic magical and medical texts can often be distinguished based on the practices they contain: medical texts aim to heal the body through the application of pharmacological agents or the use of basic surgical interventions. While magical texts for healing may involve such medical techniques as the use of plasters, fumigation, or salves, they often accompany them with other elements, such as spoken formulae and the wearing of amulets.⁴⁸ Coptic magical and medical texts are generally transmitted in different manuscripts, which contain recipes belonging primarily to one genre or the other, and magical healing recipes often occur alongside texts for other purposes, such as love spells, curses, and divination. Yet there is also overlap; as we note below (3.1.1), there is evidence of medical doctors using magical texts, and we do sometimes find magical and medical texts transmitted in the same manuscripts. In these cases, and those of recipes which involve the preparation of pharmacological agents similar to those found in medical texts, but simply add a spoken formula, the theoretical line between magic and medicine may be very fuzzy.

1.2. The Coptic Language

We have described Coptic-language magical texts as part of a larger, primarily Greek-language Christian tradition which developed in Late Antiquity and which existed both within and beyond Egypt. This does not mean that it is without unique characteristics; several texts feature Pharaonic Egyptian deities whom we would not expect to find in non-Coptic texts, while other texts reflect theological details particular to Egyptian Christianity. Furthermore the Coptic-language magical texts show an occasional but recurrent interest in adapting healing prayers into curses and love spells which we do not find in other traditions.⁴⁹

In this volume, “Coptic” is a linguistic designation, describing the written form of the native Egyptian language as it existed in the first millennium CE, descended from its older forms. Pre-Coptic Egyptian texts survive from the third millennium BCE to the fifth century CE, written in the native hieroglyphic, hieratic, and, later, demotic scripts. Coptic is thus the descendant of the older forms of Egyptian in the same way that modern Italian is descended from Latin. But with the arrival of the Greek language in Egypt around the time of the conquest of Alexander (332 BCE),

⁴⁷ For Coptic medical texts, see Till 1951; Richter 2014b; Richter 2016b; Grons 2021; Grons 2022; Grons forthcoming.

⁴⁸ For discussions of the distinction between medical and magical texts in Coptic, see van der Vliet 2019b: 334–335; Dosoo 2021b: 61–2; Grons 2021: 124; Dosoo 2022c: 521–22. Note that we are here making a distinction between textual genres, rather than a larger theoretical point about the difference between ‘magic’ and ‘medicine’ as cross-cultural categories.

⁴⁹ See *PCM* I 28 & 31, as well as the unpublished Montserrat, Abadia Inv. 604 + 1235 (KYP M30), which seems to represent a love spell drawing on the *Prayer of Mary* (for which see *PCM* I 25, pp. 1–9).

Egyptians began experimenting with writing their language in the Greek script, producing early instances of ‘Graeco-Egyptian’ writing, generally short texts such as graffiti or personal names.⁵⁰ By the early centuries CE, Egyptian priests were using mixed systems of Greek supplemented by Demotic signs, first to annotate texts written in older forms of the language, and later to write continuous texts; these various systems are known as ‘Old Coptic’.⁵¹ Sometime around the late third or early fourth century, one of these Old Coptic systems began to be used by Christians for purposes including the translation of the Greek Bible into Egyptian and the writing of private letters, creating the basis for standard Coptic.⁵² This language remained Egyptian in grammar and basic vocabulary, but was written using the Greek alphabet of 24 letters, supplemented by 6–7 letters (depending on the dialect) drawn from Demotic to represent sounds not present in Greek. Coptic also incorporated a significant number of loanwords from Greek, the result of the influence of that language in the spheres of religion (as the language of Christianity) and political power (as the language of the Roman administration).⁵³

It is likely that the Egyptian language was always made up of multiple dialects, but this diversity was concealed by older writing systems which tended to represent single dialectal varieties.⁵⁴ Coptic, by contrast, was very diverse, with different dialects representing standardised versions of the different forms of Egyptian spoken throughout the Nile Valley and the oases. It was also diverse in its use; in the third to fifth centuries, Coptic was also used to write Hermetic, Sethian and Valentinian Gnostic, and Manichaean texts translated from Greek (or, in the case of the Manichaeans, perhaps Syriac). A form of Egyptian is likely to have been the predominant spoken language of Egypt until the ninth century, when it was replaced by Arabic. Written Coptic would have been close, if not identical, to the spoken language of most Egyptians, making it the written language most readily learned and understood.

In both Coptic and Greek, the Coptic language was referred to simply as “Egyptian”, and this holds more or less true for Arabic, in which the term *qubṭ* or *qibṭ* (from Greek Αἰγύπτιος *Aiguptios*) came to refer to non-Arab Egyptians, and thus their language (*al-qibṭiyya*), both contemporary Christians and their non-Christian ancestors.⁵⁵ As Arabic became the spoken language of all Egyptians between the ninth and twelfth centuries, Coptic became restricted in role to the liturgical language of the Miaphysite Egyptian church. Thus, when Europeans began to take an interest in Egyptian Christians from the late fifteenth century,

⁵⁰ On ‘Graeco-Egyptian’ writing, see Quack 2017.

⁵¹ On Old Coptic, see Kasser 1991a; Satzinger 1991; Richter 2009: 406–416; Quack 2017; Love 2021a, 2021b, 2022d.

⁵² Richter 2009: 414–417; Choat 2012b: 586–588; Fournet 2022: 7–16.

⁵³ For Greek loanwords in Coptic magical texts, see Hevesi 2022.

⁵⁴ Allen 2013: 4.

⁵⁵ Lane 1863: 2484a s.v. قبط; Omar 2013; Sijpesteijn 2021: 349, 355–356.

they encountered them as a minority within Egypt, and referred to them not simply as Egyptians, but as (in Latin) *copti*, an adaptation of the Arabic word. This single word thus came to refer simultaneously to the ethnic group, the Church to which they belonged, and the liturgical language of that Church.⁵⁶ Thus, in modern European languages, we often refer to Coptic people, a Coptic Church, and a Coptic language. But when we refer to Coptic magical texts, we are referring only to texts written in the Coptic language, generally at a time when it was the language of almost all Egyptians rather than of a religious minority. Although many of those who used these texts would have considered themselves Christian, and may have belonged to the miaphysite Church, their practices were not generally approved of by the Church hierarchy. In this sense, Coptic magic must be distinguished from the Coptic Church and modern Coptic people, and rather seen as the local Egyptian form of a broader ritual tradition common to contemporary Christians, and shared, to a considerable degree, with their Jewish and Muslim neighbours, who may even have used it at times.⁵⁷ Indeed, hundreds of magical texts produced and used by the Egyptian Jewish community from around the tenth century CE onwards survive in the archive known as the ‘Cairo Genizah’.⁵⁸ Many of these show striking parallels to contemporary Coptic magical texts in their language, structure, and ritual practices. As more Arabic papyri from Egypt are published, we can expect to find comparable similarities with texts produced and used by Muslims.⁵⁹

2. The Study of Coptic Magical Texts

The earliest Coptic magical text to be published by a Western scholar was a short invocation to angels for healing contained in a codex of largely pharmacological medical recipes, published by the Italian scholar Georges Zoega.⁶⁰ The first text

⁵⁶ Hamilton 2006: 24 *et passim*.

⁵⁷ For Arabic Muslim magic, see n. 39 above; for Arabic Christian (‘Copto-Arabic’) magic in Egypt, see n. 44 above. Some Coptic magical texts contain Arabic names, perhaps suggesting Muslim clients; see Love 2022a: 192; Dosoo forthcoming c. Cf. n. 58 below.

⁵⁸ For texts from the Cairo Genizah, see *MTKG* I–III; Schiffmann/Swartz 1992; Naveh/Shaked 1993: Geniza 9–29; Schäfer/Shaked 1994–1999, and for discussions, see Swartz 1990 & 2006; Wasserstrom 1992; Bohak 1999; Bohak 2005; Saar 2014; Bohak/Saar 2015; Bellusci 2016; Saar 2017 & 2019a. The presence of a few Coptic-language texts in the Genizah suggests the involvement of Jewish Egyptians with Coptic-language magic; these include *P.Lond. Copt.* 524 (KYP M359) and Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum 1902; KYP M534).

⁵⁹ Cf. Bsees 2019.

⁶⁰ This is Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli I.B.14.06-07 (KYP M643), edited in Zoega 1810: no. 278; see Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 181 for a more recent translation. A new edition and commentary is in preparation by Anne Grons. For other overviews of the historiography of the study of Christian magic in Egypt, see van der Vliet 2019b: 323–328; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 44–48.

to receive major attention, however, was a long invocation of Gabriel and other angels which came to be known as “Rossi’s Gnostic Tractate”, held in Turin in Italy, and published by Francesco Rossi in 1894 (*PCM* I 12). In describing it as ‘gnostic’, Rossi—following his predecessor Bernardino Peyron—was responding to features such as magical names and *kharaktēres* similar to those known from recently published gnostic texts.⁶¹

At the same time, the developing study of Greek magical texts offered an alternative way of understanding similar Coptic texts. The earliest Greek magical texts arrived in Europe in the 1820s, and were published shortly thereafter by scholars who identified them as “magical”, recognising in them documents of the practices of *mageia* and *theourgia* (“magic” and “theurgy”) described by late antique authors.⁶² While there was a brief, and inconsistent, tendency to understand them as evidence of a particularly ‘gnostic’ magic, this tendency was arrested by the publication of the corpus of the Greek Magical Papyri (*Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1928–1931), led by the scholar Karl Preisendanz, which brought together all the examples then known, allowing them to be referred to conveniently, and conclusively establishing the label of ‘magical’, rather than ‘gnostic’, texts.⁶³

As we have noted, most of the Coptic magical papyri seem to represent a Christian variety of the magical tradition represented by the Greek and Demotic magical texts, and scholars, recognising this, began to refer to Coptic magical texts as such, abandoning the label ‘gnostic’. Over the next seventy years, most of the publications relating to Coptic magical texts consisted of editions of individual manuscripts, primarily in the context of larger publications of Coptic papyri from various European and American collections. Notable among these was Adolf Erman’s publication of the Coptic manuscripts of the (then) Royal Museums of Berlin, which contained a large group of magical papyri, discussed further by him in a series of separate articles.⁶⁴

The major exception to the practice of publication by collection was the work of Angelicus Kropp, a scholar who extensively studied Coptic magical texts as part of his 1930 doctoral dissertation in which he explored their relationship to the Christian liturgy. Kropp published the results of his thesis in the three volume *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* (“Selected Coptic Magical Texts”, 1930–1931), containing one volume each of texts, translations, and interpretation. To

⁶¹ These were the Bruce and Askew Codices, held in the United Kingdom, and containing texts from a variety of Gnostic literary traditions, for which see Schwartze/Petermann 1851; Amélineau 1891; cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 44–45.

⁶² See, e.g., Reuvens 1830: 1^{ère} lettre 16–20, 25–27; Goodwin 1852: iii–vi; cf. the discussion in Dosoo forthcoming a.

⁶³ Preisendanz/Henrichs 1973–1974; Dosoo 2014: 43–44, 47–48; Choat 2019: 217–220.

⁶⁴ Erman 1904 (= *BKU* I), of which nos. 1–20, 22–28; no. 22 is republished in this volume as *PCMI* 9. The magical texts published in *BKU* I are discussed in more detail in Erman 1895 & 1917.

this day, this remains the only real full study of the corpus. Kropp would later go on to publish studies of two major Coptic magical texts republished in this volume, the *Endoxon of Michael* (PCM I 26) and the *Prayer of Mary 'in Bartos'* (PCM I 25 pp. 2–9).⁶⁵ Alongside Kropp, mention should be made of Friedrich Bibabel and Adolf Grohmann, who in 1934 published many of the magical texts belonging to the Heidelberg University collection republished here, in part a result of Grohmann's interest in the story of Cyprian the repentant magician.⁶⁶ Another major editor was Walter Beltz, who, in a series of articles in the 1980s published most of the Coptic magical texts held in the German National Museum in Berlin.⁶⁷ Despite the interest of these manuscripts, the editions of Bilabel, Grohmann,⁶⁸ and Beltz⁶⁹ are often insufficiently accurate, and the original manuscripts generally need to be consulted to correct them. Other editors and commentators on Coptic magical texts represent a “who's who” of famous Coptologists, among them William H. Worrell (1879–1952), whose interest in Egyptian magic extended into the practical;⁷⁰ Walter E. Crum (1865–1944), who edited the definitive Coptic dictionary;⁷¹ James Drescher (1902–1985), who wrote extensive corrections to that dictionary;⁷² and Hans Jakob Polotsky (1905–1991), whose work revolutionised our knowledge of Coptic-Egyptian grammar.⁷³

The study of Greek magic saw a renaissance in the late 1970s and 1980s. This was in part linked to a resurgence in interest in the study of the Graeco-Roman religious context of the New Testament, one of the original impetuses for the study of the Greek magical papyri at the turn of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ This saw the republication of the Preisendanz edition of the *Greek Magical Papyri*, and then a project of translation of these texts into English in the 1980s, led by Hans Dieter Betz.⁷⁵ Sensing a lacuna in the study of the later Christian magical texts, Marvin Meyer led the *Coptic Magical Texts* project in the 1990s,⁷⁶ which resulted in the publication—amongst other works—of *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of*

⁶⁵ Kropp 1966 & 1965 respectively.

⁶⁶ Grohmann 1917–1918.

⁶⁷ Beltz 1980, 1983, 1984 & 1985.

⁶⁸ On the deficiencies of Bilabel and Grohmann's publication, see Polotsky 1935: 416, a prelude to a masterful series of corrections. His comments take on additional significance when one notes that Polotsky, born in Switzerland to Russian-speaking Jewish parents, was writing the year after fleeing Germany for Palestine as a result of Nazi persecution (Shisha-Halevy 1992: 208). On Bilabel's active membership in the Nazi party, see p. 325. On Grohmann, a member of the Nazi party from 1938 and a collaborator during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, see Reinfandt 2013.

⁶⁹ On Beltz, cf. the comments of van der Vliet 2019b: 325.

⁷⁰ Worrell 1930, 1935a & b; for Worrell's practical interest in magic, see Worrell 1916.

⁷¹ Crum 1896, 1902, 1922b, 1934a & b.

⁷² Drescher 1948, 1950, 1958.

⁷³ Polotsky 1935 & 1937.

⁷⁴ Cf. Dosoo forthcoming a.

⁷⁵ Betz 1986.

⁷⁶ Cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 46.

Ritual Power (1994), which to this day remains the most consulted volume on Coptic magic, containing texts in Greek, Old Coptic, and standard Coptic, and a mixture of magical texts, Sethian Gnostic literature, oracle tickets, and other genres.

Since the publication of *Ancient Christian Magic*, much of the important work on Coptic magic has been carried out by Meyer's younger contemporaries, David Frankfurter and Jacques van der Vliet, who have contributed significantly to our understanding of these texts, both in terms of questions of basic comprehension, and of larger socio-historical and theoretical context.⁷⁷ The last decade has seen another wave of major work; we can see the beginning of this in the 2013 publication by Malcolm Choat and Iain Gardner of the Macquarie codex (*P.Macq. I 1*). Along with Jay Johnston, Iain Gardner subsequently launched an Australian Research Council Project focusing on magical images, which has enriched our understanding of the archive of texts known as the Heidelberg Library (*PCM I 21–29*).⁷⁸ In recent years, Joseph Sanzo has examined the boundary between licit and illicit ritual, beginning with his 2014 study of scriptural amulets, and continuing in his European Research Council project exploring the relationship between Jewish and Christian magical traditions.⁷⁹ The work of Edward Love has focused attention on Old Coptic—including, but not limited to, magical texts—confirming that it represents not a single dialect or chaotic blend of features, but rather a similar dialectal diversity to standard Coptic.⁸⁰ Of direct relevance to this volume is Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin's 2017 checklist of published Coptic magical texts,⁸¹ which took inspiration from a similar checklist of Christian Greek texts established by Jitse Dijkstra and Theodore van Bruyn to provide, for the first time, a synoptic view of magical material in Coptic.⁸² Two forthcoming works by Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin and Markéta Preininger—respectively on non-Christian divinities and conceptions of the body—will represent the first synthetic monographs on Coptic magic since that of Kropp.⁸³

The project which lies behind this volume, *Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* (2018–2023) at the University of

⁷⁷ See, e.g., Frankfurter 1995, 1998, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2012, 2017, 2022; van der Vliet 1991, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2005a & b, 2011, 2014, 2018, 2019a & b, 2020.

⁷⁸ This project was titled *The Function of Images in Magical Papyri and Artefacts of Ritual Power from Late Antiquity* (ARC DP120102952). The project's research is published in Johnston/Gardner 2018, 2023; Gardner/Johnston 2019.

⁷⁹ *Early Jewish and Christian Magical Traditions in Comparison and Contact* (EJCM-851466; 2020–2025). Cf. Sanzo 2017, 2019a & 2020.

⁸⁰ Love 2016; cf. Love 2021a, b, d; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022. Magical texts written partially in Old Coptic script include *GEMF* 14/BM EA 10808 (II CE); *GEMF* 16/PDM xiv (II CE); *GEMF* 55/*PGM* III (III–IV CE); *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV (IV CE).

⁸¹ Bélanger Sarrazin 2017a.

⁸² De Bruyn/Dijkstra 2011.

⁸³ Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a; Preininger forthcoming c.

Würzburg, owes a deep debt to the work done by these scholars, and many others. Our work has attempted to record and describe the full corpus of surviving Coptic magical texts, and to develop deeper understandings of them, focusing in particular on questions of materiality and philology. In these goals, it has significant overlap with the project *The Transmission of Magical Knowledge* led by Christopher Faraone and Sofia Torallas Tovar, which aims to publish the corpus of Greek and Demotic formularies in the series *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies (GEMF)*. In a way, our project begins where theirs ends.⁸⁴

3. The Corpus of Coptic Magical Texts

This volume contains texts drawn from 37 manuscripts of the approximately 600 known to us which have traditionally been classified as magical.⁸⁵ The texts and our principles of selection are discussed in more detail below (§5), but here we present the larger corpus from the perspectives of context, typology, materiality, and structure.

3.1. Contexts of Production and Deposition

3.1.1. Users and Findspots

A major question in the study of Coptic-language magical texts is that of their users. Literary texts which describe similar practices use terms such as μάγος (*magos*, “magician”), φάρμακος (*pharmakos*, “sorcerer”), and ρεφμοῦτε (*refmoute*, “enchanter”) to describe practitioners, but also mention the possibility that clerics might learn from these figures.⁸⁶ But do these terms refer to full-time ‘magical’ professionals? Something of a consensus has developed among many scholars that the primary practitioners of Coptic magic were monks.⁸⁷ There are indeed some literary texts mentioning monks as practitioners of something that looks like ‘magic’, and certain magical manuscripts have been found in monastic

⁸⁴ On this project, see the project website, <https://voices.uchicago.edu/magicalpapyri/>. Products of this project to date include Faraone/Torallas Tovar 2022a & b.

⁸⁵ The full corpus exists within the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects*, created by the Coptic Magical Papyri project, online at <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/>

⁸⁶ For discussions of terms for magician in Coptic, see van der Vliet 2019a: 242–244; Dosoo 2021b: 49–51; cf. the discussion of terms in Greek and Latin in Dickie 2001: 12–17, 224–229 *et passim*.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., Frankfurter 1997: 125–130; Frankfurter 1998: 257–264; Frankfurter 2017: 192–211; van der Vliet 2019b: 348.

contexts, such as hermitages.⁸⁸ Some of the manuscripts in this volume fall into this category: *PCM* I 10 was reused for an account of deliveries of wine to a monastery, perhaps the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit in Middle Egypt, while the copyist of *PCM* I 15 seems to have been a monk from the Monastery of Apa Paulos near Thebes, who also copied a surviving liturgical prayer. Some of the later manuscripts are written on parchments which were originally used for literary or even Biblical texts of the type found in the monastic libraries of the Faiyum, and one of these magical texts even has a colophon of the type found in such monastic codices, in which the copyist identifies himself as the “Deacon Iōhannēs”.⁸⁹ These manuscripts clearly demonstrate the implication of religious professionals, including monks, in the production and use of magical texts. Parallels can be drawn to other Christian cultures—in Syriac and Ethiopian Christianity, and the Mediaeval Latin West, magical texts seem to have been primarily owned and copied by clerics, who were the only figures with the skills in literacy required to produce and use them.⁹⁰ These “clerics” were not necessarily active members of the Church hierarchy, though; often “cleric” in these contexts had a relatively informal meaning, referring to someone who had acquired the skill of literacy, creating a somewhat circular relationship between clerical status and literacy.⁹¹

At the same time, we should be wary of assuming that all magical texts were produced, owned, or used by religious professionals affiliated with the church. Literacy in Egypt, at least before the decline of written Coptic between the tenth and twelfth centuries, seems to have been broader than it may have been in other Christian cultures; there were administrative scribes as well as artisans, including doctors, and small businessmen, who were also literate in Coptic.⁹² The use of magical texts by, for example, doctors, is well attested in the Greek-speaking

⁸⁸ Examples include BnF Copte 129.20 fol. 178 (Preininger 2022; KYP M108), from the library of the White Monastery; Cairo JdE 45060 (Kropp 1931: I no. K; KYP M303), found in a jar buried in the floor of a monastic cell in Thebes; and Naqlun N. 78/93 (Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; KYP M1135), from the Monastery of the Archangel Gabriel in Naqlun.

⁸⁹ See the introduction to the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ on pp. 259–263

⁹⁰ For priests as practitioners in Syriac Christianity, see Moriggi 2018; Bhayro 2021, and the prominence of priests among owners and copyists of the *Books of Protection* in Zellmann-Rohrer 2021: 81–99. The Ge’ez word *dābtāra* is often translated as “cleric”, but the figures it refers to, including magical practitioners, are not necessarily ordained, and may not exercise any ecclesiastical function; see Young 1970 & 1975; Milkias 1976; de Ménonville 2018a & b; Malara 2022. For the Latin West, see Kieckhefer 2014: 151–156; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 74–75.

⁹¹ Milkias 1976; Mercier 1988: 461–462; Kieckhefer 2014: 154; Malara 2022.

⁹² Cf. de Bruyn 2017: 7–8, 238–245; pace Frankfurter 1997: 128. For a discussion of professional scribes writing in Coptic, see Cromwell 2017: 14–21 *et passim*; Fournet 2022: 82–89 *et passim*; compare the discussion of official scribes under the Umayyad administration in Richter 2010: 211–218. Well-known dossiers produced by lay Coptic writers include the Kellis House A House 3 Archive (IV CE, discussed in the introduction to *PCM* I 1), and the Archive of Dioscorus of Aphroditō (see Vanderheyden 2012; Papaconstantinou 2015, with further references).

world,⁹³ and, as we have noted, we sometimes find medical and magical texts transmitted together in Coptic.⁹⁴ The Coptic magical text with the best understood context, *PCM* I 1, was owned by a lay Manichaean, whose family operated a small business involving weaving and the exploitation of fruit trees.⁹⁵ There is a similar case of a modern Christian Egyptian tailor who possessed and used one of the Arabic books of magic using the Psalms which derive ultimately from the Coptic-language tradition.⁹⁶ Some of the hands, and scribal features, found in the corpus here resemble those of scribes of the Roman and later Arab administration; others seem to have had very little training, and while these could be the hands of monks, they also resemble those of laypeople who had acquired basic literacy for their own particular needs.

A final point concerns the manner in which texts from Egypt are found and made accessible to scholars. The archaeological record of Late Antique Egypt is biased towards monastic settlements; these tended to be in the desert, where the dry sands preserve organic materials, rather than in the more densely populated towns in or on the border of the Nile Valley, which were annually flooded until the building of the Aswan High Dam, and have often been continuously inhabited down to the present day, destroying fragile texts and preventing archaeological excavation. Archaeology in Egypt has also historically focused on monumental Pharaonic sites—tombs and temples—and these were typically the same sites re-used by Christian monks as hermitages, monasteries, and churches.

A still more fundamental problem is that, for the vast majority of papyri from Egypt, there is no record of their circumstances of discovery. While the situation has, fortunately changed, historically most of them were found in informal excavations—either by native Egyptians looking for artefacts to sell, or early European or North American archaeologists who did not value questions of materiality and context enough to record where their papyri came from. It is to be deeply regretted that, of the 37 manuscripts in this volume, only one has a well-recorded context, but this is not unusual in the case of Egyptian papyri. We have managed to recover, or propose, approximate provenances for 31 of the remaining 36, but we invite readers to compare the introduction to *PCM* I 1 to those of the other manuscripts to see how much precious information has been lost in the process of what was, essentially, looting.

⁹³ Bohak 2016: 367–368; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 70–73.

⁹⁴ Dosoo 2021b: 61–62. In the checklist of medical texts provided in Richter 2014b: 189–191, at least nos. 11, 12, 16, 24, 27, 31 (of a total of 38 manuscripts) can be considered to contain magical recipes.

⁹⁵ For discussions of known historical owners and users of magical texts, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 25–26; Dosoo forthcoming c.

⁹⁶ Henein/Bianquis 1975: x–xii.

3.1.2. Temporal Distribution

Coptic magical texts generally date to between the fourth and twelfth centuries CE, with peaks in the sixth to eighth and ninth to eleventh centuries, corresponding respectively to the peaks of surviving Coptic documentary and literary manuscripts.⁹⁷ Earlier Old Coptic magical texts date to the first to fourth centuries CE, and short Coptic phrases may be found in later, predominantly Arabic, Christian magical texts from Egypt.⁹⁸

The dating of Coptic papyri is a major problem in Coptology; because most of them come from informal or illegal excavations, there is usually no archaeological context to help with dating, and, with the exception of a few notable manuscripts, there is insufficient interest and funding to use scientific dating techniques, such as radiocarbon dating, on papyri—which in any case, rely on destroying pieces of manuscripts as part of the process.⁹⁹ Coptic manuscripts very rarely contain internal absolute dates, and this is particularly true of magical texts; in a corpus of about 600 manuscripts, we are only aware of three which provide a date of production.¹⁰⁰ As a result, in most cases palaeography—the study of changes in handwriting—is the only means to date manuscripts. While this is generally accepted as broadly accurate for Greek papyri—within approximately fifty years to a century—Coptic palaeography remains poorly understood.¹⁰¹ Similar styles may continue to be used for centuries,¹⁰² and existing palaeographical tools are insufficient.¹⁰³ As a result, manuscripts may be dated very differently by different scholars, with discrepancies of hundreds of years. The association of magic with the “primitive” and “pagan” may have often led magical texts to be dated to inappropriately early dates; the carbon dating of the manuscripts purchased by Robert Hay has established an eighth or ninth century date for Coptic magical

⁹⁷ For overviews of the temporal distribution of Coptic magical texts, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 66–67; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 63–65; Bélanger Sarrazin 2017a: 373–374.

⁹⁸ For a striking example, see Schulz/Kolta 1998, an amulet against a scorpion bite created in 1932 containing a mixture of Coptic and Arabic text. Shorter fragments of Coptic are often found among the *kharaktêres* of the Psalm guides discussed at n. 44.

⁹⁹ Carbon-dated Coptic papyri include the leather cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I (Lundhaug 2021); the Hay manuscripts, discussed at n. 104 below; Codex Tchacos, containing the *Gospel of Judas*, for which see Kasser *et al.* 2008: 134, 184; and a leaf from a medical codex, cat.no. 137 (98:Ms4) from excavations at the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea, discussed in Blid *et al.* 2016: 191–193. The modern forgery generally known as the *Gospel of Jesus' Wife* was also subject to carbon dating; see Tuross 2014; *cf.* the comments of Mazza 2019.

¹⁰⁰ These include the amuletic wall inscriptions in the ‘Anchorite’s Grotto’ at Pachoras (Griffith 1927; KYP M91), datable by a graffito to ca. 739 CE, as well as PCM I 23 and the unpublished Collège de France Ms. 3 (KYP M597), dated by colophons to 967 and 1035 CE respectively.

¹⁰¹ *Cf.* the works listed at n. 201 below.

¹⁰² Askeland 2018.

¹⁰³ The primary reference work for Coptic palaeography remains Stegemann 1936.

texts previously dated by palaeographic estimates to the sixth or seventh century.¹⁰⁴

In this volume, we have endeavoured to propose dates for all of the manuscripts. We generally propose two or even three century ranges, reflecting our uncertainty, although in a few cases, we propose single centuries, if the parallels seem to cluster towards the middle of a particular century. We regularly indicate uncertainty with a question mark and here, as elsewhere in this volume, these question marks should be taken seriously as signs that more work needs to be done to definitively establish these points. Wherever possible, we have tried to find explicitly dated parallels for the hands of our manuscripts. We have also attempted to use parallels from geographical contexts close to the origin of the manuscripts, since hands may have varied considerably regionally, and we have also used broader criteria of manuscript formats (see below) to propose datings.

With these provisos in mind, the manuscripts in this volume can be dated to most of the span of the production of Coptic manuscripts—the fourth to eleventh centuries—although there is a slight bias towards the later end of the range, due to the inclusion of many texts from the Heidelberg University papyrus collection (*PCM* I 21–33, 35), which can be dated to the tenth to eleventh centuries. The earliest manuscript, *PCM* I 1, is dated to the late fourth century, while the intervening texts have been dated to between the fifth and ninth centuries.

3.1.3. Geographical Distribution

Like most papyrological manuscripts, all of the documents in this collection come from Egypt. Of the 32 for which a geographical origin can be proposed with certainty or likelihood (see fig. 1), 18 come from the Faiyum, a large, oasis-like depression fed by the canal Bahr Yussef emptying into Lake Moeris, to the west of the Nile Valley. In particular from the Ptolemaic onwards, this area was heavily populated, and became the site of numerous monasteries, whose remains provide many of the surviving Coptic literary manuscripts. The Faiyum has also been heavily excavated by treasure-hunters and archaeologists since the nineteenth century, when Egyptian farmers in search of fertiliser often visited the abandoned Roman-era cities to gather decaying mud-brick. While manuscripts from the Faiyum are generally well-represented in papyrology, they are somewhat over-represented here, as a result again of the many manuscripts from the University of Heidelberg collection.

Six texts come from Middle Egypt, defined here as the region south of the Faiyum, from Oxyrhynchus to Bawit. Again, these areas were the sites of several major towns (Hermopolis, Antinoopolis) and monasteries (Apa Apollo) which

¹⁰⁴ See Lucy-Anne Skinner, Rebecca Stacey, Caroline R. Cartwright, Craig Williams and Barbara Willshay in O'Connell 2022: 49–53.

were abandoned in late antiquity, leaving their remains to be preserved for later excavators. The area further south, notably containing Abydos, may have yielded another manuscript for this volume. From still further south, around Thebes (modern Luxor), we find another six. The Theban region, one of the richest in terms of surviving tombs and temples for excavation, has consistently yielded large quantities of artefacts for excavators. The final text with a known origin is again *PCMI* 1, from Kellis in the Dakhla Oasis, 350 kilometres west of the Nile valley; abandoned at the end of the fourth century, it is one of a small number of very well-preserved Egyptian urban settlements from the Roman Period.

3.2. Categories of Texts

3.2.1. The Formulary-Applied Text Distinction

Magical texts, almost without exception, fall into one of two types. The first is that of *formularies* (also known as ‘handbooks’, or ‘models’), texts containing the information necessary for practitioners to carry out rituals.¹⁰⁵ The second type is the *applied text* (also known as the ‘finished product’, ‘activated text’, or ‘documentary’ magical text), which represents an object created in the course of a ritual for a specific purpose. These serve as protective and healing amulets, or as curses or love spells, which, depending on their function, would be worn on the body, deposited in a particular place, or used in other ways. There is some overlap—applied texts could be used as models for other applied texts, essentially serving as formularies. We also have examples of ‘personalised formularies’,¹⁰⁶ that is, formularies in which the generic name marker (see 3.5.3) is replaced by a personal name, so that the owner of the formulary could read it out loud more easily (an example of this probably lies behind *PCMI* 25 p. 13).

This volume contains only formularies, or manuscripts likely to have been formularies. At times it is difficult to distinguish the two categories; although they were quite different in the way in which they were used, they often contain the same types of texts (since applied texts were, at least theoretically, copied from formularies) and may both demonstrate other typical genre features, such as *kharaktēres* and *voces magicae*. Signs that a manuscript is a formulary rather than an applied text include the addition of titles, ritual instructions, the generic name marker, and multiple texts for different purposes (*cf.* 3.5.3 below). But formularies may also lack these features, and there are a few cases of applied texts including them—copyists creating applied texts might accidentally copy titles or instructions from formularies, or fail to include personal names in applied

¹⁰⁵ On this distinction, see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 56–58; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 66.

¹⁰⁶ On this format, see Saar 2007: 103–104 *et passim*.

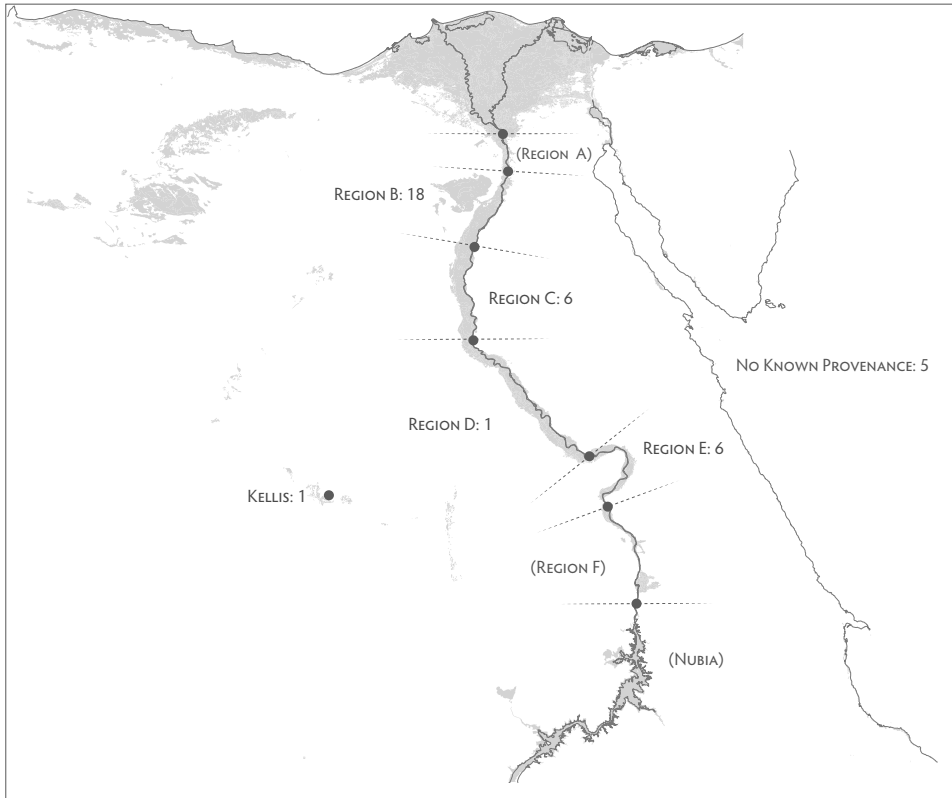


Fig. 1: Origins of manuscripts in PCM I (regions after Kahle 1954: 51). Figure by Davide Galli.

texts. Formularies might have been re-used as amulets by being worn or carried by individuals who attributed them a power of their own.¹⁰⁷ As a result, it may be that some of the manuscripts in this volume—although they contain features associated with formularies—served primarily or secondarily as applied texts.

3.2.2. Manuscript Structures

Formularies contain one or more recipes, thus the simplest kind of manuscript is a *single-text formulary*, which contains the information (formula to be spoken and/or ritual procedure) for only one goal. Within the Coptic magical corpus, there are about 200 formularies, of which about half only contain one recipe. The remainder are *multiple-text formularies* containing two or more recipes.¹⁰⁸ Graeco-Egyptian formularies with multiple texts tend to represent collections of recipes

¹⁰⁷ See the case of *P.Lond.Copt.* I 524 (KYP M359).

¹⁰⁸ For this terminology, compare Buzi 2016 & 2019 on single and multi-unit Coptic literary manuscripts.

from originally diverse sources, which circulated among and were collected by copyist-practitioners.¹⁰⁹ While some of the manuscripts in this collection represent similar collections (*e.g.*, *PCM* I 4, 11 & 25), Coptic multi-text collections more often represent groups of closely related recipes. These are often of a type which may be referred to as “polypractical texts”, which contain a single spoken formula which can be used for multiple purposes depending on the ritual performed with them.¹¹⁰ The beginnings of this format can be found among the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus, but there are many more examples in Coptic, and it seems to have been a common format, to the extent that we have evidence of formulae originally intended for one purpose being adapted to serve multiple purposes by the addition of multiple additional recipes at the end.¹¹¹

3.2.3. Genres

We distinguish three major genres or traditions within the larger category of ‘magical texts’—invocations, narrative charms, and scriptural amulets—the first two of which are well-represented in this collection.¹¹²

The first category, *invocations*, represents the most common and prototypical type of text found in the Coptic magical corpus. This is likely the kind of text that most ancient authors had in mind when discussing terms translated as magic, such as *mageia* or *hik*.¹¹³ These are centred on speech acts calling upon or commanding superhuman beings through direct addresses, which may make extensive use of features such as *voces magicae* and *kharaktēres*.

We should distinguish two further categories, which may be considered either sub-types of invocations, or related but separate genres. The first are what Jacques van der Vliet has described as “magical liturgies”, long and complex invocations which show clear influence from the liturgical tradition of rituals such as the anaphora, which transforms the liturgical bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ.¹¹⁴ The Coptic magical liturgies are likewise generally used to activate oil, wine and/or water to be used in healing, a process sometimes referred to

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 9–11.

¹¹⁰ For this terminology, see Dosoo 2014: 137; cf. Gordon 2022. Published Coptic examples include P.Mich.Inv. 593 (KYP M9; Worrell 1930); P.Mich.Inv. 594–599 (KYP M15; Worrell 1930); Cairo JdE 45060 (KYP M303; Kropp 1931: I no. K); *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167); BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302); *PCM* I 26; *PCM* I 37.

¹¹¹ See Choat/Gardner 2013: 36; cf. the introduction to *PCM* I 26 for the case of the *Endoxon of Michael*.

¹¹² Cf. the discussion in Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 54–55.

¹¹³ Cf. Dosoo 2021b: 51–56.

¹¹⁴ For the concept of the “magical liturgy”, see van der Vliet 2019b: 340–343; van der Vliet 2020. On the relationship of magic to the anaphora, see Kropp 1930: III 217–244. For the anaphora in Egypt more generally, see Johnson 2010: 17–34; Mihálykó 2019: 60–64.

as “sealing”.¹¹⁵ The surviving examples show clear interdependence upon one another, using recurrent phraseology and references, suggesting that they belong to a single, narrower tradition—they may derive from the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’*, which seems to be the earliest and most widely-diffused of the surviving examples.¹¹⁶

The second sub-type of invocation is the ‘first-person exorcistic prayer’.¹¹⁷ This is a type of text best preserved in mediaeval and early modern Greek manuscripts,¹¹⁸ although related texts also exist in other languages, such as Armenian, Arabic, Ge’ez, and Syriac.¹¹⁹ The only clear example in this volume is the *Prayer of Gregory* (PCMI 11 p. 1 l. 1–p. 14 l. 14), although the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’* (PCMI 25 pp. 2–9) and the *Love Spell of Cyprian* (PCMI 28) could be considered related texts. First-person exorcistic prayers are intended to provide healing and protection from demons and hostile magic, and are attributed to saints who speak in the first-person, often explicitly mentioning their own names in the prayer. They contain an interesting divergence from other invocations in that they often address harmful forces—acts of violence, magic, or demons—and command and adjure them to depart, rather than adjuring superhuman beings (God or the angels) to cast out these harmful forces. For this reason, they may have been more acceptable to the church hierarchy, and are often found in manuscripts with liturgical prayers.¹²⁰ The Coptic manuscript containing the *Prayer of Gregory* contains several canonical and apocryphal texts (the Jesus-Abgar correspondence, the incipits of the Gospels and Psalm 90 (91), two lists of saint names) rather than more markedly magical texts of the invocation-type, and so may not have been considered as “magical” either by its users or by Church authorities at the time.

Invocations—particularly the magical liturgies and exorcistic prayers—offer some of the best evidence for the transmission of magical texts over long periods and across languages; several of the examples contained in this volume can be attested as having been transmitted for over a thousand years, and across many of the languages of Christianity; as well as Coptic, and Greek (the original language of many of them), we find close parallels in, for example, Armenian, Ge’ez, and

¹¹⁵ For references to this process as “sealing” (σφραγίζειν), see e.g., PCMI 25 p. 8 l. 22; *P.Lond. Copt.* 1007 (KYP M361) l. 8. As noted in Mihálykó 2018b: 146, this refers specifically to the act of tracing the sign of the cross over the material. For a recent general discussion of liturgical healing practices, see Mihálykó 2021.

¹¹⁶ See the introduction to PCMI 25 on pp. 288–289

¹¹⁷ See the note to PCMI 11 p. 1 l. 1–p. 14 l. 14 on p. 113.

¹¹⁸ See Delatte 1927: 125, 230–263; Nesseris 2021: 91–97.

¹¹⁹ For Armenian, see, for example, Feydit 1986: nos. LXXXVIII–XCI; for *Copto-Arabic texts, see Viaud 1978: 78–80; for a discussion of a similar Ge’ez genre, see Strelcyn 1955; for Syriac, see the discussions of the genre of *Anathema* in Hunter 1987 & 1990.

¹²⁰ Cf. Nesseris 2021: 91–97. This is not to say, of course, that other types of “magical” texts did not sometimes find their way into prayer books (*euchologia*); see Afentoulidou 2021.

Syriac.¹²¹

The next category is that of the ‘narrative charm’. Within folklore studies, the term “charm” refers to spoken formulae used in popular ritual practices—usually for healing—which often have a primarily oral mode of transmission, but which are frequently preserved in written copies. These texts may demonstrate very extensive transmission in time—over periods of millennia—and between languages.¹²² “Narrative charms” are a particular sub-group which, as their name suggests, are built around narratives, often called *historiolae* (‘little stories’).¹²³ These narratives serve as mythic precedents which both parallel the present problem, and offer a resolution of that problem.

The most common example in the Pharaonic tradition consists of the story of the infant god Horus being injured while he has been left alone, and his mother Isis rushing to help him in response to his cries.¹²⁴ These texts are used to heal injuries or illness, and so set up a parallel between events in the mythic past and the present. The resolution of the mythic past works to resolve the events of the present: just as Horus was healed, so should the patient be healed. Texts following this structure can be found in Egypt as early as the Middle Kingdom, but are relatively rare in the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition.¹²⁵ In Coptic, by contrast, many examples survive. Most of them, like the older Pharaonic texts, centre on the adventures of the pre-Christian deities Horus and Isis, although several later examples instead involve Jesus as the primary protagonist.¹²⁶

¹²¹ See the notes for *PCMI* 11, p. 1 l.1–p. 14 l. 14; *PCMI* 25 pp. 2–9; & *PCMI* 28.

¹²² For overviews of charms, see Gaster 1900; Roper 2004, 2005 & 2009; Kapaló/Pócs/Ryan 2013. The term “charm” largely overlaps with the use of the term “incantation” in Zellmann-Rohrer 2016 (cf. 4 n. 16), 2019 & forthcoming.

¹²³ See Frankfurter 1995 for the classic study, and on narrative charms more generally, Roper 2005: 13–28; Bozóký 2013. For critiques of the term, see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020: 59; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 186–197. Note that the overview in Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 187–189 is rather misleading; the term was already in use by Egyptologists before Frankfurter’s study, and continues to be widely used within Egyptology; see e.g., Sørensen 1984: 7, 9; Ritner 1993: 76, 96; Fischer-Elfert 2005: 120, 133.

¹²⁴ For discussions of these, see Sørensen 1984: 7–9; Ritner 1998; Fischer-Elfert 2005: 19; Frankfurter 2009: 231–232; Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 241–243; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 1 and appendix a.

¹²⁵ For a list of examples, see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 243–244.

¹²⁶ Standard Coptic examples of narrative charms, with the principal protagonists in brackets, include *PCMI* 6 (Horus-Isis); *PCMI* 7 (Horus-Isis); *PCMI* 15 (pupil(?)-Jesus); *PCMI* 16 (Horus-Isis); *PCM* I 20 (Horus-Isis); *PCM* I 29 front (Jesus-worm); *P.Herm.Copt.* 67 (KYP M57, NN-Jesus); *BKU* I 1 (KYP M76; doe-Jesus & Horus-Isis); Mich.Ms. 136 pp. 5–6 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128; Amun-Isis); Naqlun N. 78/93 (Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; NN-Jesus; parallel in *P.Herm.Copt.* 67, republished in Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; KYP M57); a possible fragmentary narrative charm involving the Archangel Michael is *P.Herm.Copt.* 59 (KYP M49), and examples of texts with similarities to the narrative charms, without strictly following their structure, include *PCMI* 4 pp. 4–6; *PCMI* 9; BM EA 10391 front ll. 12–27 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302); *BKU* I 7 (KYP M88).

A key event in all of the Coptic, and many of the European examples, is the *meeting*—the protagonist encounters another figure, which prompts the crisis in the narrative and then its resolution. In European examples, this second figure is often a harmful being who causes disease, and who is commanded to leave,¹²⁷ but in the Coptic examples the figure is usually either a beautiful woman whom Horus meets (in love spells), or else the encounter may be between an individual in need of healing and the healer. In German folklore studies, such texts are known specifically as *Begegnungssegen* (“encounter charms”).¹²⁸

Coptic narrative charms are often quite different from invocations—they do not typically contain *voces magicae* or *kharaktēres*, but at times show signs of interaction with them. They often end with one character speaking an invocation, and there are a few examples of narrative charms which include *voces magicae*.¹²⁹ Although narrative charms may be seen as a cross-cultural tradition, the Coptic examples may represent a rare case of the transmission of textual culture from pre-Coptic Egyptian to Coptic without a Greek intermediary.¹³⁰

The next genre of text often studied as magical is the ‘scriptural amulet’.¹³¹ These are typically small papyrus amulets onto which passages from the Bible, or related apocryphal literature (such as the Jesus-Abgar correspondence) has been copied; the most common texts are the incipits of the canonical gospels and of Psalm 90 (91). Distinguishing these amulets from texts intended for other purposes can be difficult, but features indicating use (such as folding or piercing to allow them to be worn or carried), or the presence of common amuletic texts, may serve as criteria.¹³² The earliest Christian examples of scriptural amulets appear in the papyrological record around the third century CE, but their use may derive from older Jewish practices of wearing passages of scripture as amulets,

¹²⁷ Compare the Sisinnios charms, well-attested in Armenian, Ge’ez, Greek, and Syriac, in which Saint Sisinnios meets and banishes a child-killing demoness; see Basset 1894: 351–353; Gaster 1900: 153–162; Worrell 1909: 158–173; Viaud 1978: 112–117; Feydit 1986: no. 107; Greenfield 1989; Schwartz 1996; Passalis 2014; Nurullina (Cherkashina)/Lyavdanskyy 2017. A now lost text from Karanog in Nubia apparently contained an example of a Coptic Sisinnios text, which may have been a charm of this type (see Woolley 1911: 4–5), and there is an unpublished Greek and Old Nubian example from Nubia (Qasr Ibrim 80.3.11/2 (NI 113), see DBMNT no. 2880). These examples from Nubia and Ethiopia imply the tradition also existed in Egypt in Coptic. Compare the fourteenth-century *Copto-Arabic exorcistic prayer of Sisinnios, published in Winkler 1931: 97–100.

¹²⁸ On the *encounter charm*, see Ohrt 1936; van der Vliet 2019b: 345–346; Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022: 231, with further references. On the translation “charm” for *Segen*, see Roper 2005: 13–14.

¹²⁹ Cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 254–255.

¹³⁰ On verbal parallels suggestive of such a transmission, see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 240 n. 98; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 184–264.

¹³¹ For scriptural amulets, see Sanzo 2014; Jones 2016; de Bruyn 2017: 139–183; Bélanger Sarrazin 2020.

¹³² See de Bruyn/Dijkstra 2011: 172–173; Jones 2016: 27–34.

attested as early as the seventh or sixth century BCE.¹³³ The use of scriptural amulets shows a clear parallel to the kinds of ‘magical’ amulets attested in the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus and among Coptic invocation-type texts; all of these practices involve wearing a powerful written text as a means of protection. But it seems that scriptural amulets were not generally considered to belong to the category of *mageia* by most Christians; bishops such as Augustine and John Chrysostom considered them an acceptable Christian alternative to the wearing of ‘magical’ amulets.¹³⁴ Scriptural amulets are almost without exception applied texts, and we only find a single example of a formulary containing incipits to be copied as amulets.¹³⁵ They do not usually demonstrate the typical features of other categories of magical texts, such as *kharaktēres* or *voces magicae*, suggesting that they were conceived of in different terms, although there are a few exceptional cases which do display *kharaktēres*, and which thus draw upon what we call here the ‘invocation’ tradition.¹³⁶

3.3. Materiality

We refer to the manuscripts in this collection generically as “papyri”, following the papyrological usage in which the term can be used to refer to any movable support for writing. In practical terms, this means that the manuscripts in this volume are written not only on papyrus, but also on parchment, paper, ostraca, and wooden tablets.

In terms of temporal distribution, papyrus was used in Egypt from at least the Old Kingdom (*ca.* XXVI BCE), and continued to be used until the early to mid tenth century CE,¹³⁷ although the details of its use changed. Sheets of papyrus are produced by laying strips of the fibres of the plant over one another at ninety degrees, so that one side of each sheet has horizontal fibres, and the other vertical fibres.¹³⁸ For most of Egyptian history, papyrus was usually written with the text running parallel to the horizontal fibres, but in the fifth century CE it became common (for some kinds of texts) to rotate the roll so that the fibres on the side

¹³³ Barkay *et al.* 2004; Bohak 2008: 30, 114–15.

¹³⁴ Sanzo 2014: 159–165; de Bruyn 2017: 29–30.

¹³⁵ The incipits of the Gospels and Psalm 90 (91) are found in *PCMI* 11 p. 29 l. 23–p. 30 l. 28. As noted above, though, the contents of the codex are unusual within the corpus; only the second text (p. 14 l. 13–p. 20) clearly belongs to the invocation tradition, while the other texts include a first-person exorcistic prayer attributed to Saint Gregory (p. 1 l. 1–p. 14 l. 14), a prayer attributed to Judas Cyriacus drawn from the *Finding of the Holy Cross* (*Inventio sanctae crucis*) (p. 25 l. 24–p. 28 l. 21), and two lists of the names of saints (p. 28 l. 22–p. 29 l. 22).

¹³⁶ See, for example, *Sud.Pal.* 20 294 (KYP M544); *P.Mich.Copt.* 18 (KYP M681).

¹³⁷ Karabacek 1887: 89–100 (Anne Grons is thanked for this reference); Grob 2010: 11–14; Legendre 2014: 326–330.

¹³⁸ On the production of papyrus, see Bülow-Jacobsen 2009: 4–10.

prepared for writing were vertical, a format known as *transversa charta*. In all periods, though, copyists might choose to turn the papyrus over and continue writing on the less favoured side.¹³⁹

Parchment is a writing surface created by preparing the skin of domestic animals, the techniques for whose preparation developed in the second half of the first millennium BCE; examples from Egypt tend to appear around the third century CE.¹⁴⁰ Like papyrus, the process of creating parchment resulted in two distinct surfaces—the ‘hair’ side, generally darker, and showing signs of hair follicles, and the smoother, lighter ‘flesh’ side. Paper—more specifically, rag paper—was invented in China in the second century BCE, but did not arrive in Egypt until the ninth century, and did not come into widespread use until the tenth, when it replaced papyrus.¹⁴¹ Finally, the word ‘ostrakon’ in the context of Egyptian papyrology refers to two different objects—the first, pottery fragments, the second limestone flakes—both of which could be found lying on the ground in Egypt, and were often used as readily available writing supports.¹⁴²

In addition to the material they are made from, manuscripts can also be categorised based on their format.¹⁴³ Papyrus was produced in long rolls, typically 20–30 cm high and several metres wide; these rolls were produced by glueing together multiple smaller sheets, with the join between individual sheets being referred to as *kollēsis* (“glueing”).¹⁴⁴ These could be written from right to left or left to right (depending on the writing system) in multiple columns to produce the format of the horizontal *book-roll* (*volumen* or simply, *roll*).

The roll could also be cut into smaller widths to produce individual sheets, which could also be used to write shorter texts, such as letters. Individual sheets are in fact the most common format of magical formularies, and of almost all applied texts.¹⁴⁵ An important point to mention in the context of sheets is that of folding. The presence of folding in the case of Biblical texts is often used as a criterion for classification as an amulet, since papyri which were folded could then be pierced with a thread or placed in a holder in order to be worn as amulets.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ See Fournet 2009: 28–32; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 101–107, and Sarri 2017: 91–95 for the use of this format in the Ptolemaic period.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Bülow-Jacobsen 2009: 11.

¹⁴¹ See the references at n. 137 above, Boud’hors 1999: 75–84; Bloom 2001: 74–85 *et passim*; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 69; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 69.

¹⁴² Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014b; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 108–109; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 69–70.

¹⁴³ On manuscript formats, cf. the discussions in Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 71–73.

¹⁴⁴ On the book roll format, see Turner 1978; Johnson 2004: 85–152; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 79–86.

¹⁴⁵ On sheets, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 72–73, 101–108; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 73; Faraone 2022.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. n. 132 above.

Yet there are cases of manuscripts which are clearly formularies being extensively folded. While it is possible that these are formularies which were re-used as applied texts, there are so many that we suspect that folding was simply a way to make formularies written on sheets easier to store and transport; folding is thus not always an indicator of use as an amulet.¹⁴⁷

As we have noted, from the fifth century it became increasingly common in Egypt to rotate the papyrus roll 90° to write across the horizontal fibres (*transversa charta*). This produced a new format, the vertical book-roll, or *rotulus*.¹⁴⁸ Although horizontal rolls do not disappear, they become far less common after the fourth century CE.

The last major format to be discussed here is the codex, produced by folding and binding together sheets of papyrus, parchment, or, later paper, to produce a book with a spine and individual pages of the type we know today.¹⁴⁹ This format was likely developed by Romans around the first century BCE or CE and adopted gradually in Egypt, finally becoming the predominant format for long texts by the fourth century. The use of the codex is often linked to Christianity, but, although Christians do seem to have favoured the use of the codex over the book-roll, codices become more popular even for non-Christian texts over the course of the third to fourth centuries.¹⁵⁰ There are some interesting cases in this volume of codices without hard covers which seem to have been folded to make them smaller; again, this may indicate re-use as an applied text, but more likely, it served as way to make them smaller for transport and storage.¹⁵¹

As this brief overview suggests, materiality offers additional criteria for dating; the use of a codex suggests a post-fourth century date, *transversa charta* writing suggests a post-fifth century date, the use of papyrus suggests a pre-tenth century date, and the use of paper a date in the tenth century at the earliest.

A final question is that of inks.¹⁵² While we have not been able to obtain information on inks for all manuscripts, we are able to describe the probable composition of inks in the case of some of them, largely thanks to the work of Krisztina Hevesi on the papyrus collections of the Heidelberg University Library and Strasbourg National Library;¹⁵³ we also thank Tea Ghigo for her invaluable

¹⁴⁷ Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 103, 107.

¹⁴⁸ Turner 1978: 26–53; Stroppa 2013; Mihálykó 2019: 164–166; Torallas Tovar 2021; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 83–86. Compare the practice of writing against the fibres of sheets, which became common at around the same time, discussed above (cf. n. 139 above).

¹⁴⁹ Turner 1977; Roberts/Skeat 1983; Skeat 1994; Bagnall 2009a: 70–90; Harnett 2017; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 76–79, 86–101.

¹⁵⁰ Roberts/Skeat 1983: 67–74; Bagnall 2009a: 70–90; Harnett 2017; Nongbri 2018: 21–46.

¹⁵¹ These are PCMI 4, 28 & 34.

¹⁵² The overview of inks given here is based on Rabin/Binetti 2014; Rabin 2015; Rabin/Krutsch 2019: 776–779; Ghigo/Rabin/Buzi 2020; Ghigo/Albarrán Martínez 2021.

¹⁵³ Krisztina Hevesi's work will be published in her forthcoming thesis, *Continuity and Discontinuity of Scribal Traditions in Coptic Magical Texts* (Freie Universität Berlin).

help in interpreting the evidence and accurately describing the results. For our purposes, inks can be classified as belonging to one of three types. The first, carbon ink, was produced by burning organic matter to produce a soot which would be mixed with gum arabic suspended in water; carbon ink was the most common, and oldest, type of ink in antiquity. The second type, iron-gall ink, was produced by mixing a source of iron (such as vitriol or iron filings) with tannins extracted from gall nuts. The earliest written evidence for this type of ink seems to be found in a recipe dating to the early fourth century CE, and it became established in the fifth century, at least for literary texts. The third type is plant ink, a heterogeneous range of inks made from tannins obtained by boiling vegetable matter, such as gall nuts or tree barks. In this work, we identify inks by examining manuscripts using light of different wavelengths, in most cases using a Dino Lite AD4113T-I2V digital microscope. We compare the appearance of ink in the range of visible light, near-infrared (~940nm), and ultraviolet (~395nm). We base our interpretations on the fact that carbon inks are equally visible under all three wavelengths, iron gall ink is visible, but lighter, under infrared, and plant inks are visible in ultraviolet light, but disappear in the infrared spectrum.¹⁵⁴ We may also note that carbon inks tend to be very black, whereas plant inks are generally brown; degraded iron gall ink also tends to be brown, but is typically darker than plant inks, except where the superficial pigment layer has flaked or been rubbed off.

3.4. Language

The Coptic language is divided into a number of varieties, usually referred to as ‘dialects’, which likely originally represented the standardised written forms of local varieties, but which sometimes spread beyond their original range;¹⁵⁵ this is likely true both of Sahidic, the most common and widespread dialect until the ninth century, and of Lycopolitan, which was used for Manichaean texts in areas in which non-Manichaeans seem to have used Sahidic.¹⁵⁶ Coptic magical texts, like documentary texts, are often highly divergent from the literary standards used to define dialects, and so only a few manuscripts in this volume can be clearly defined as belonging to a standard dialect.¹⁵⁷ These are Lycopolitan (L4 or L*, originally from the region of Lycopolis or Assiut), and Faiyumic (F4/5), the

¹⁵⁴ Rabin/Binetti 2014: 467; Rabin 2015: 28; Ghigo/Rabin/Buzi 2020: 70.

¹⁵⁵ In popular usage the term ‘dialect’ may be associated with non-standard or non-prestigious language varieties, but we use it here in the neutral, strictly linguistic sense which has become established in Coptic studies; cf. Boberg/Nerbonne/Watt 2018. On Coptic dialectology, see, for example, Kasser 1980a & b; Funk 1988; Funk 1991; Kasser 1990; Kasser 1991a, c–e.

¹⁵⁶ On Sahidic, see Funk 1988; Shisha-Halevy 1991: 195; on Lycopolitan at Kellis, see Zakrzewska 2015.

¹⁵⁷ On dialects in the corpus of magical papyri, see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 74–78.

dialect associated with the region of the Faiyum.¹⁵⁸ Most of the manuscripts are written in a more or (usually) less standard form of Sahidic (S). In this volume, we usually describe such manuscripts as “Sahidic (non-standard)” and then provide a fuller description in the accompanying introduction, noting any features which may suggest a particular dialectal affiliation and hence geographical origin. We must note that the study of non-standard Sahidic is not deeply developed. We usually rely on the work of Paul Kahle (1954), who extensively described non-standard features and the geographical regions in which they are found. Despite the value of his work, however, his survey does not explicitly take into account statistical information on regional diversity, which often makes it seem as if nearly all non-standard features were equally common in most of Egypt. In a few cases, we define manuscripts simply as “Sahidic”; this is generally in the rare cases in which the surviving text does not show more divergence from the standard than would be expected in a contemporary literary text.

All of the manuscripts presented in this volume are primarily or exclusively Coptic in language. A few contain whole Greek phrases; in two cases, we do treat this as Greek text, printing it in Greek rather than in Coptic. In most instances, though, short passages of syntactic Greek seem to represent fixed phrases embedded within Coptic text, and so we print them in Coptic font, and give the Greek form in the apparatus at the foot of the page. The later manuscripts also contain the regular use of Arabic loanwords, particularly in the descriptions of ingredients.¹⁵⁹ In the larger corpus, there are a few cases of mixed Coptic-Arabic texts, but we do not have any examples in this volume.¹⁶⁰

3.5. Structure

3.5.1. The Structure of Magical Rituals

The basic structure of a ritual (at least, within the context of the invocation tradition) seems to have consisted of three essential acts—the *recitation of a formula*, the *burning of an offering* (usually resins and other aromatics), and the *production of an applied object* which manifested the power of the ritual in an ongoing manner.¹⁶¹ This process of activation may be described in a manner analogous to the liturgical *epiclesis* (“summoning”), the procedure in which the celebrant calls upon God to send his power (sometimes in the form of the Holy Spirit) upon the bread and wine—or, in the context of healing, exorcism, and baptism rituals,

¹⁵⁸ Lycopolitan: *PCMI* 1; Faiyunic: *PCMI* 2.

¹⁵⁹ On Arabic loanwords in Coptic, see Richter 2009: 422–426; Richter 2015b; Richter 2016a; Richter 2017a.

¹⁶⁰ Love 2022a: 182–192.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 62–63.

other liquids such as water and oil. In the same way, within the magical tradition, verbal formulae may call upon angels to descend and seal water or other liquids, or alight upon their images, thus creating applied objects.¹⁶² The form of applied object most apparent in the archaeological record is the applied text—copies of formulae, images, and *kharaktēres* written onto supports such as papyrus in the course of rituals, often worn as amulets or deposited to serve as curses or love spells. These written texts might be transformed into liquids by being washed, so that the liquid would take on the power previously inherent in the applied text.

The use of the applied object depends upon the goal of the ritual; for rituals of healing, protection, exorcism, or favour, applied texts are typically worn by the patient or displayed in the home, or liquids may be drunk by patients, or used to anoint or wash them. In curses or love spells, applied texts are usually deposited at particular sites (a path which the target may use, or a crossroads; at the target's door or in a grave) or cast into fires, while liquid may be poured at the victim's door. In divinatory procedures, the activated object may be the bowl of water or oil used in divination, or else an object (usually a piece of salt) placed by the head when the practitioner goes to sleep in order to provoke a divinatory dream.

In this volume, we usually distinguish between the practitioner (who carries out the ritual) and the beneficiary or client (for whom the ritual is carried out), and, in the case of curses and love spells, the target(s), the people whom the ritual aims to effect. The situation was likely more complex, however; individuals who owned formularies could carry out rituals for themselves, and literary evidence in Coptic and parallels from modern Ethiopia suggest that ritual experts may have at times explained to their clients what to do, so that (parts of) the actual ritual performance would be carried out by the beneficiaries themselves.¹⁶³

3.5.2. The Structure of Magical Texts

The basic structure of a Coptic magical formulary is highly practical, generally consisting of the following elements: *title*, *formula*, *ritual instruction*, and *tableau*. *Titles* are typically placed at the beginnings of texts, and specify the purpose of the ritual, often in highly abbreviated terms (such as ογμε “love” for a love spell), sometimes prefixed by the word “for” (ε- or ετβε). In a few texts we also find the use of section titles such as “the procedure” (πσινπζωβ) to label other parts of the recipe, in this case, the ritual instructions (for instance, for the production of an applied object), or “offering” (εγχα) to introduce lists of objects to be burned as offerings. The *formula* represents the text to be copied, and/or pronounced, and in many cases is the only information to be contained in Coptic formularies.

¹⁶² Dosoo 2021d: 425–428.

¹⁶³ For Coptic evidence, see, for example, the passage from the *Canons of Basil* discussed in Dosoo 2021b: 53–54; for Ethiopia, see e.g., Young 1970: 201.

Ritual instructions are usually highly abbreviated in comparison to those found in the earlier Graeco-Egyptian tradition.¹⁶⁴ They often consist simply of subheadings followed by lists of ingredients, which therefore require some knowledge of the basic ritual processes to decipher. The final elements are the image constructions referred to here as *tableaux*. These consist both of figurative drawings (of human beings, angels, demons, and so on), *kharaktēres*, and associated text—usually combinations of all three. These images are intended to be copied as part of the process of creating applied texts, which may consist only of such tableaux.

3.5.3. Elements of Magical Texts

Magical texts belonging to the invocation tradition (and sometimes those from other traditions) contain a range of recurrent features worth briefly explaining here.¹⁶⁵

Spoken formulae are primarily structured around ‘speech acts’,¹⁶⁶ of which the most common are *invocations*, *adjurations*, and *requests*, representing different ways of addressing superhuman beings. Invocations are speech acts which call upon the addressed being to be present, and which may also request some specific action; they are translated in English as “I call upon you” or “I invoke you”.¹⁶⁷ Adjurations are stronger speech acts which likewise call upon the addressed being to carry out an action, but do so by binding them in a process comparable to an oath; they are translated in English as “I adjure you”.¹⁶⁸ Requests call upon the addressed being to carry out a specific act, but do so in a way which assumes less power, or demonstrates greater deference, on the part of the speaker than either invocations or adjurations; they are translated in English as by forms such as “I

¹⁶⁴ For a description of these text formats, see Dieleman 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Compare the discussion of the structure of Jewish magical texts from the Cairo Genizah in Swartz 1990.

¹⁶⁶ For the theory of speech acts, see Austin 1962; Searle 1969 & 1989; Sadock 2006; House/Kádár 2021. For the application of speech act theory to ancient magic, see, for example, Lesses 1995; Dosoo 2014: 321–325, 402–405; Frankfurter 2019; Janowitz 2019.

¹⁶⁷ The typical structures in Coptic for invocations are ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ, ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ, ⲧⲱⲱ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, translated in this volume respectively as “I invoke you”, “I invoke you”, and “I call upon you”. The verb ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ poses problems for classification, since it might also be understood as a verb of request (see LSJ, Lampe s.v. *παρακαλέω*), and translated as “beseech” or “entreat”, as is usually done in liturgical contexts. The occurrence of ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ in contexts where no specific request is made (see, e.g., *PCM* I 5 front l. 1) suggests that it is better translated as “invoke”, as we do in this volume, but further research on this point would be desirable. For further discussions of the relationship between the verbs of invocation, *ἐπικαλέω* and *παρακαλέω*, cf. Mihálykó 2015: 188; Dosoo 2018: 21–22; Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 141 n. 146.

¹⁶⁸ Adjurations in Coptic magical texts typically take the form ⲧⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ or ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ; much rarer are ⲧ(ⲡ) ⲉⲗⲟⲣⲕⲓⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ (*PCM* I 2 l. 1) and ⲧⲡ ⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ (*PCM* I 4 p. 2 l. 3–4). These are all translated as “I adjure you”. On adjurations in general, see Shauf 2005: 202–211.

entreat you” or “I beseech you”.¹⁶⁹ These speech acts may be strengthened by the use of ‘authorities’, or *horkōmotoi*,¹⁷⁰ upon which the speaker calls during the speech act in the same way that modern legal witnesses might swear on the Bible: “I adjure you by your great name...” (*PCM* I 10 ll. 19–20).

Formulae may also include other recurrent phrases, such as “yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”, usually found at the end of texts or speech acts. The injunction that the requested act be carried out “quickly” is found already in Egyptian ritual texts of the Late Period, and continues into the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition before being taken up by other textual traditions dependent on it.¹⁷¹ “Yea, yea” seems to have a similar effect; it translates the Coptic word (ϣ)ⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ (*haeio*) repeated twice, an interjection used to call for attention and insist upon what is being requested.¹⁷²

Formularies usually contain places in which the names of particular individuals—the beneficiary and/or target(s)—should be named; these are marked with a placeholder which we refer to here as the “generic name marker”, translated into English as NN, generally derived from the Latin *nomen nescio* (“I do not know the name”).¹⁷³ In Coptic, the most common way of writing the generic name marker is with the Greek δεινα (“so and so”), usually abbreviated to its first letter, delta (Δ), often given a supralinear stroke indicating abbreviation, and a tail representing the vowel iota (ι, thus Δ_ι); the sequence ει was not phonologically distinct from ι by the Roman period.¹⁷⁴ This is usually doubled to represent the Greek δεινα της δεινα—“NN (child) of (the woman) NN”. The tradition of identifying individuals in magic based on their mother’s names derives once again from older Egyptian ritual practice.¹⁷⁵ Although the abbreviation is Greek, it is likely that Coptic readers

¹⁶⁹ The most common structures for requests are ⲧⲥⲟⲛⲉ (“I entreat”) and ⲧⲣⲱⲃⲉ (“I beseech”). The common speech acts of the form ⲧⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ (“I invoke and I entreat”) are modelled on the liturgical pattern ⲧⲡⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ, from the Greek δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν (“we invoke and we entreat”); see Mihálykó 2019: 31. For the translation of παρακαλεῖ, cf. n. 167 above.

¹⁷⁰ For this term, see Shauf 2005: 203, and the glossary, at **horkōmotos*.

¹⁷¹ Dieleman 2019: 306–307.

¹⁷² Crum CD 636b–637a.

¹⁷³ *Nomen nescio* (alternatively *nomen nominandum*, “name to be named”, or *nomen notetur* “name may be noted”) may itself represent a later, and perhaps originally German, reinterpretation of the original Latin *Numerius Negidius*, used in Roman jurisprudence to refer to the defendants in hypothetical lawsuits (see Berger 1968: 596; Hamann 1871: 26). Perhaps because of the German influence on the modern study of ancient magic, the term was in use to translate δεινα by at least the time of Albrecht Dieterich (1903: 5 *et passim*). In mediaeval Latin magical texts, N for *nomen* (“name”) on its own seems more common (e.g., CLM 849 in Kieckhefer 1998: 199), although NN is also found by at least the eighteenth century (e.g., Skemer 2021: 40).

¹⁷⁴ Dieleman 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Curbera 1999; Dieleman 2010. In some cases, Coptic copyists act as if the doubled NN (ⲁⲃⲱⲁ) is a single NN (see e.g., *PCM* I 24 l. 16; *PCM* I 28 p. 7 l. 10); for consistency, we translate this as “NN, child of NN” too. On the different forms of the δεινα-sign in Coptic, cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 83.

would have understood—and probably read it—as the Coptic equivalent $\text{NIM } \Pi/\tau\alpha\epsilon$ $\overline{\text{NIM}}$.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the word “child of” is sometimes replaced in later texts by the sign $\overline{\Sigma}$, derived from a ligature of upsilon (υ) and iota (ι), an abbreviation of the Greek word $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (“son”), but used both for men and women; it was likely also read as $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$. Both abbreviations— $\overline{\Delta}$ and $\overline{\Sigma}$ —are found in non-magical texts: $\overline{\Delta}$ most often in liturgical texts,¹⁷⁷ in which it likewise indicates where the name of an individual is to be inserted in prayers, and $\overline{\Sigma}$ most often in documentary texts following the Arab conquest in which individuals are identified by their fathers’ names.¹⁷⁸

Related to the generic name marker are the words “usual” ($\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$) and “request” ($\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$). The former word is usually abbreviated ($\kappa\omicron\iota$), and has typically been misread in the past as $\kappa\omicron\chi$ (*kokh*). The two words would seem to be generally equivalent, and both have been typically translated in the past as “spell”.¹⁷⁹ The word $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$ is well-known from Graeco-Egyptian magic as an abbreviation for “(add the) usual”, and both seem to serve as paratextual notes to the reader to fill in missing information as required.¹⁸⁰ This seems usually to have referred to the specific name to replace NN, or the specific goals of the ritual, which may not be given elsewhere in the formula.

Ritual procedures may be marked by the title $\text{NIM } \overline{\Sigma}\omega\beta$ (“the procedure”). The term $\text{NIM } \overline{\Sigma}\omega\beta$ $\overline{\text{NT}}\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\tau$ (“the preparation of the pot”) may be used to refer more specifically to the preparation of liquids in a *pot in certain rituals.¹⁸¹ Within the procedures, the term $\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ (“(burnt) offering”, usually abbreviated to $\overline{\Theta}\Upsilon$) is used to introduce lists of objects to be burned. Tableaux are referred to as “images” ($\zeta\phi\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, often abbreviated), and may be referred to as such either in the formula or in the ritual instructions. Many texts end with the phrase “it is complete” ($\alpha\chi\chi\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\omega\lambda$), to let the reader know that they possess the full recipe or formula.

The final elements we note here are *voces magicae* and *kharaktēres*, two characteristic features of magical texts in Coptic and other traditions dependent on Graeco-Egyptian magic. Since Betz’s translation of the *Greek Magical Papyri*, it has been common to print *voces magicae* in small caps, but they are not usually marked out in a comparable way in the manuscripts themselves. It is similarly difficult to decide what should be treated as a *vox magica* and what as simply a

¹⁷⁶ Cf. the comments of Crum CD 584b s.v. $\omega\mu\epsilon$ on the abbreviation for $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$.

¹⁷⁷ See, e.g., Budde 2004: 166, 188; we thank Ágnes Mihálykó for providing us with this reference.

¹⁷⁸ See, e.g., CPR IV 174b l. 12; CPR IV 4 l. 1. For a brief discussion of the form and origin of this abbreviation, see Berkes/Delattre/Vanthieghem 2021: 169. We thank Vincent Walter and Lajos Berkes for discussing this abbreviation with us.

¹⁷⁹ See Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 84, with further references.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Daniel/Maltomini 1992: II 225, and the note to PCM I 12 p. 9 l. 7.

¹⁸¹ See, e.g., BL Ms Or. 6796 (4) + 6796 (Kropp 1931: I no. J; KYP M308) l. 49. For a fuller list of occurrences, see the discussion in Choat/Gardner 2013: 100, but note that their own proposal to read $\sigma\sigma$ as $\sigma\omega\beta$ $\overline{\text{NT}}\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\tau$ should be corrected to $\delta\delta$, to be read as ($\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$) “days”; see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 84.

divine name, so we do not mark *voces magicae* differently from other text in this volume. We do attempt to break them up following the procedure of the copyist and normally add commas between them. As far as we can tell, *voces magicae* were usually understood as the secret names of superhuman beings, such as the Jewish-Christian god, although at times they are clearly understood as syntactic phrases in a special language—often divine, but at other times a sacred human language, such as Hebrew, or that of animals.¹⁸² *Voces magicae* are generally understood to be phrases whose perceived power derived from their lack of comprehensibility, even if some of the words, or at least their elements, were ultimately derived from real words in real languages. Equally, they often show poetic qualities such as the repetition of sounds (such as *hrix hrax* in *PCM* I 16 ostracon 1 ll. 1–5), and sometimes form palindromes (such as *Ablanathanalba*, known in both Greek and Coptic magic), showing that they may have been valued for their aural and visual qualities. Editors of magical texts often spend considerable time gathering comparanda for *voces magicae* in an attempt to interpret them. We generally do not do this here, both because the meanings of most *voces magicae* are very uncertain, and because we believe that compiling such parallels is best carried out in the context of a dedicated project. Related to *voces magicae* are vowel sequences (repetitions of the seven Greek vowels) and *tekhnopaignia*, or text formations—these latter are shapes, such as squares and triangles, formed from names or letters, found in Greek magical texts, and in some of the traditions dependent on them, including those in Coptic, albeit not in the texts of this volume.¹⁸³

Lastly, *kharaktēres* are magical signs which seem to represent a written form of the divine language, whose spoken form would likely be *voces magicae*.¹⁸⁴ While these may take many forms, in Coptic magic they are typically based on simple shapes: the letters of the Greek (and more rarely, Coptic) alphabet as well as geometric shapes such as crosses, circles, and squares. These are usually decorated with circles at their corners and terminal points, leading to them being known by names such as *signes pommetés* (“signs with ‘little apples’”)¹⁸⁵ or *Brillenbuchstaben* (“spectacle letters”). In this volume, we reproduce *kharaktēres* as tracings, and in the translations of the texts we generally provide the basic shapes upon which they are based in brackets. Coptic texts are somewhat different from the earlier Graeco-Egyptian magical texts in their use of *kharaktēres*. In Coptic manuscripts we sometimes find them simply used as Coptic letters to write

¹⁸² On *voces magicae*, see Versnel 2002; Bohak 2003; Dosoo 2014: 108–110, 423–426. For *voces magicae* which supposedly represent Hebrew, see *PCM* 11 p. 25 l. 24–p. 26 l. 7.

¹⁸³ See Gordon 2002: 85–90; Bohak 2008: 265–270.

¹⁸⁴ See Gordon 2011; Mastrocinque 2012; Gordon 2014; Dosoo 2022a: 121–122, 132.

¹⁸⁵ The term ‘pommeté’ derives from heraldry, in which it usually describes a type of cross whose bars terminate in rounded balls, the ‘croix pommetée’ or ‘bourdonnée’ (from ‘bourdon’, a type of knobbed staff); see Geliot 1664: 103–104, 550. As noted in Gordon 2011: 18 n. 16, the term seems to have originated in Derchain 1964: 193.

words (often, but not always, divine names), the addition of circles simply serving to stylise or in some sense ‘empower’ the text.¹⁸⁶

3.5.4. Paratextual Signs

The structure of Coptic magical texts is apparent both in the specialist vocabulary used to designate particular textual or ritual components of the practices and in the range of paratextual signs used in the texts.

Many of the manuscripts begin with an initial cross (+) or staurogram (⌞). This was a frequent practice in texts produced in Christian contexts from the fourth century CE onwards, although, by the fifth century, it was not necessarily a clear sign of strong personal faith.¹⁸⁷ From the eighth century, this sign may be replaced by two strokes (/); this seems to have been a practice which emerged among scribes writing in Greek and Coptic for the Umayyad administration, and so may have represented a way to avoid writing the cross out of sensitivity to the new Muslim ruling class.¹⁸⁸ Such slashes are found in one manuscript in this volume (*PCMI* 17), and offer an additional dating criterion.

At a higher level, texts may be divided by horizontal strokes, which may be simple, or decorated. Decorated dividers may consist of two parallel strokes and/or be broken with dots, among other strategies for decoration. The *diple* is a wedge shape (>), usually drawn in the left margin, and marking breaks in textual units.

Coptic script is generally written continuously (*scriptio continua*), although scribes may (inconsistently) leave small spaces between words or word groups. Individual copyists may also use various signs—such as the mid dot (·), colon (:), tricolon (;), or two oblique strokes (z)—to mark breaks between words and word groups. These may sometimes break up units that we consider to be single groups.

Coptic also makes extensive use of supralineation, the practice of writing supralinear strokes above certain letters. In standard Sahidic Coptic, these are usually used above abbreviations, as well as consonants which were either pronounced with a preceding short vowel (*schwa*) or were autosyllabic, *i.e.*, the syllable to which they belonged may not have had any true vowel sound.¹⁸⁹ Supralinear strokes are used in this way (albeit inconsistently, as in other genres) in Coptic magical texts, but they are also used to mark the names of superhuman beings, and in particular, *voces magicae*. This practice continues that found in some Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, although it seems to ultimately derive from a non-magical context, in which Greek-literate scribes marked non-Greek words with a supralinear stroke in order to clearly mark where they began and ended

¹⁸⁶ Sanzo 2015: 79–82; Dosoo 2022a: 121–122.

¹⁸⁷ Choat 2006: 116–118; Blumell 2012: 43–46; de Bruyn 2017: 62–64; Carlig 2020.

¹⁸⁸ Richter 2003: 223–230; Cromwell 2023: 234–235; Amory 2023: 65–66.

¹⁸⁹ Peust 1999: 61–65; Layton 2000: 28–30, 31–32.

to aid in reading.¹⁹⁰ In this volume, we do not generally attempt to reproduce supralinear strokes exactly; if a stroke is partially above a letter, we mark it as being above that letter, rather than rendering a smaller stroke between two letters. Likewise, we do not generally indicate in transliteration if a supralinear stroke was rounded or flat, although in cases in which they are closer to sign known as the djinkim (Ɀ, used in the Bohairic dialect), we do reproduce this form schematically. We encourage readers to consult photographs of the original manuscripts—either in the plates, or at the links provided in the introductions to each entry—if the exact form of paratextual markers is of interest to them.

4. The Presentation of Texts in this Volume

4.1. Principles of Edition

The goal of this volume is to present Coptic magical texts in a way which enables readers—professional scholars but also students and interested laypeople—to access them as directly as possible. We provide basic notes to aid in the interpretation of these texts and to explain our decisions as translators, signalling uncertainties as clearly as possible using question marks. These uncertainties—of the meaning or interpretation of words, phrases and practices—should not be taken as admissions of defeat, but rather as signposts marking the extensive work that remains to be done on these understudied texts.

We have sought to follow modern papyrological norms, specifically those proposed by the Association of Papyrology in 2022,¹⁹¹ but with some important deviations from these based on the particular features of magical texts. First, we understand the *mise en page* (layout) of magical texts to be significant:¹⁹² the decision of copyists of where to place different text sections in relation to one another or to images, and the way in which they subsequently correct or add text provides us with important information as to their conceptions of the work, and the way in which they used and interacted with it. This means that, generally, each manuscript page or sheet side is reproduced on one printed page, schematically reproducing the original document as clearly as possible. Where there are two or more manuscript pages to a printed page, these are clearly signalled, and separated by a horizontal line which goes across the full width of the printed column (as opposed to shorter lines reproducing dividing lines in the original manuscripts). Translations of these texts are reproduced on facing pages. With the exception of common abbreviations, we avoid Latin in the apparatus, instead using English to

¹⁹⁰ Fournet 2020a: 154–157.

¹⁹¹ See Fournet *et al.* 2022, online at https://aip.ulb.be/PDF/Guidelines_for_editing_papyri.pdf

¹⁹² We use the term “significant” here as the equivalent of the French *signifiant* (“signifying”), inspired by the usage of Fournet 2007.

make the volume accessible to the largest number of readers.

In the past, the contexts of manuscripts have often been neglected; although, as explained above (3.1.1) we usually have no precise information on the circumstances of discovery of manuscripts, we have attempted to reconstruct these as accurately as possible from surviving records, and we have likewise attempted to date the manuscripts as precisely as possible based on the analysis of palaeography and other features. These processes are rarely conclusive, but we think that they are worth carrying out in order to ground texts in place and time. For this reason, we are occasionally quite daring in our proposals, but, as in other cases, we signal our uncertainty with the use of question marks; again, these question marks should be taken seriously, and readers should be sure to consult the rationales provided in the introductions to decide for themselves how plausible they find our suggestions. For reasons of space, only images of manuscripts which have not been published in the past, or which are not readily available online, are published in this volume.

4.2. Layout, Notes and Apparatus

Each manuscript begins with its number in this publication, followed by a modern title briefly describing its form and/or content. This is followed by basic information in the form of bullet points, and then an introduction. The following pages provide the text, accompanied by an apparatus below the text, with facing translation, below which are notes.

4.2.1. Basic information and Introduction

Each manuscript begins with a section of basic information, which first gives the provenance, dimensions (height, width, and where relevant, depth, in centimetres (cm)) and then proposed date. Edited volumes are referenced according to the standard *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*,¹⁹³ with the sigla italicised. We indicate the URL of the official online photo of the manuscript, the plate number for this volume, or in another printed publication. If the image is no longer accessible at the online address given, we advise readers to consult the *Kyprianos* or *Trismegistos* databases, where a more up-to-date link may be available. The linguistic description briefly discusses the dialect (or language, if the text contains more than simply Coptic text). The contents provide a list of the texts contained in the manuscript, numbered in order of writing, along with the *Kyprianos* text number associated with each entry.

¹⁹³ For the checklist, see <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>

The basic information is followed by a discursive introduction, which provides further information on questions of materiality, including manuscript format, *kollēsis*, folding (described in terms of the number of visible creases), inks, and so on. This also includes information on provenance and acquisition, and then a description of the hand and a discussion of dating. In general, we do not discuss the contents of the manuscripts here, but rather in the notes accompanying the translation, although we make an exception in a few cases, notably those in which the manuscript contains texts with a complex history which cannot be adequately discussed in the notes printed below the translation.

4.2.2. Text and Apparatus

The text field contains the original language form of the text, with minimal interventions. At the top of each page or column, the fibre direction (↓/→) is noted for papyrus, and the same signs are used on ostraca to indicate the direction of wheel marks. Side (hair/flesh) is noted for parchment, as well as curvature (concave/convex) for ostraca, where we have access to this information.

Coptic words are generally divided following the scheme of Walter Till.¹⁹⁴ In Greek text, accents and breathings are added, but the transliteration contains only punctuation present in the original manuscript. We attempt to represent any text added above or below the line of text in a schematic manner which allows its relative position to the line to be appreciated without compromising legibility. *Eisthesis* and *ekthesis* (indentation and extension into the margin), as well as notably enlarged letters, may also be represented visually, with the format being described in the apparatus. Abbreviations are resolved in the apparatus, and any non-Coptic (Greek or Arabic) words are also noted in their original language form. For Greek verbs, we give the present infinitive form, which usually seems to have been that borrowed into Coptic, although in the case of a few verbs, we should probably understand them as imperatives.¹⁹⁵

A solid horizontal line across the entire column marks a new page or side, but a shorter horizontal line marks dividers from the original text. A dashed line at the end of a page or side indicates a break in the writing surface, suggesting lost text.

Variant readings by previous editors are indicated in the apparatus according to line number, but only when these diverge from our own readings or interpretations. The previous editors' readings are indicated by providing their reading followed

¹⁹⁴ Till 1960; note that in a few cases we diverge from his schema for reasons of clarity.

¹⁹⁵ This is the case for γράφε and βοήθει, which appear as imperatives at the equivalent points in Greek magical texts. For γράφε, see e.g., *GEMF* 15/*PGM* XII (KYP M160) l. 127 (78); *GEMF* 30/*PGM* II (KYP M152) l. 77 (30). For βοήθει, see *PGM* VI b (KYP M424) l. 3; cf. *PGM* XIII/*GEMF* 60 (KYP M161) l. 289; *PGM* LXXXIX/*SM* 13 (KYP M813) l. 5. On the general borrowing of infinitive forms of verbs, see Grossmann/Richter 2017: 221–223.

by their surname, at times abbreviated for space. The editors can be identified by consulting the list of editions and translations at the beginning of the introduction, where any abbreviations are also introduced. Alternative translations may also be noted, where they diverge significantly from those we offer, by giving the translation in inverted commas, followed by the translator's name. Coptic words which appear in a form not found in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* (1939) are given in their standard Sahidic form in the apparatus,¹⁹⁶ prefixed by a superscript ^s,¹⁹⁷ and broken into morphemes by dashes (the sign $\neq$ precedes suffix pronouns). The apparatus also notes corrections and deletions made by the copyists, including a brief description of how the deletion or correction has been made. A full list of critical signs is available on p. xv.

4.2.3. Translation, Notes, and Glossary

Translations are largely continuous, although we indicate line breaks in the translation to aid in the comprehension of text structure. Paragraph breaks are used to indicate separate texts or text sections (such as the passage from formula to ritual instructions). We generally indicate line breaks in the original text at every five lines of the translation by a vertical stroke followed by the line number (|⁵) but further line breaks are sometimes indicated where these aid in understanding the structure of the text. Words broken across lines, or which survive only partially, are not broken up either across line divisions or by square brackets in order to maximise legibility and searchability. Words broken across lines are assigned to the line which contains most of their letters, and if both lines have an equal number of letters, they are usually assigned to the first of the lines on which they appear. Words whose translation is uncertain, either because of damage, or for other reasons, are marked with a superscript question mark. Words marked by an asterisk appear in the glossary at the end of the volume (pp. 471–488).

For deities and culturally significant figures who are well known, we use the standard English (or at times Latin) equivalent, thus 'Jesus' (ⲓⲥⲟⲩⲥ), 'Isis' (ⲏⲥⲉ), and 'John' (ⲓⲱⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ, in the case of the Apostle or Evangelist). For historical people who were not famous, and superhuman beings whose names do not have a standard English form, we use a standard transliteration scheme, based on but modified from the Leipzig-Jerusalem transliteration system (fig. 2).¹⁹⁸ Thus, for example, the copyist responsible for *PCM* I 21–26, who has the same name as the Apostle John, is called in this work the Deacon Iōhannēs (ⲓⲱⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ).

¹⁹⁶ In this case, we use *i.e.* ("that is") rather than *l.* ("read"), that is, we understand our intervention as an interpretation rather than a correction.

¹⁹⁷ Comparable signs are used when, more rarely, we compare forms in other dialects, such as Bohairic (^B) and Faiyumic (^F).

¹⁹⁸ Grossmann/Haspelmath 2015.

Letter	Name ¹⁹⁹	Transl.	Value ²⁰⁰
ⲁ	<i>alpha</i>	a	/a/
ⲃ	<i>beta</i>	b	/β/
Ⲅ	<i>gamma</i>	g	/k/ or /g/
ⲅ	<i>delta</i>	d	/t/ or /d/
Ⲇ	<i>epsilon</i>	e	/ε/
Ⲉ	<i>zeta</i>	z	/z/
Ⲋ	<i>eta</i>	ē	/e/
Ⲍ	<i>theta</i>	th	/tʰ/
Ⲏ	<i>iota</i>	i	/i/ or /j/
Ⲑ	<i>kappa</i>	k	/k/
Ⲓ	<i>lambda</i>	l	/l/
Ⲕ	<i>mu</i>	m	/m/
Ⲗ	<i>nu</i>	n	/n/
Ⲙ	<i>xi</i>	x	/ks/
Ⲛ	<i>omicron</i>	o	/ɔ/
Ⲝ	<i>pi</i>	p	/p/

Letter	Name	Transl.	Value
Ⲟ	<i>rho</i>	r	/r/
Ⲡ	<i>sigma</i>	s	/s/
Ⲣ	<i>tau</i>	t	/t/
Ⲥ	<i>upsilon</i>	u	/u/ or /w/
Ⲧ	<i>phi</i>	ph	/pʰ/
Ⲩ	<i>chi</i>	kh	/kʰ/
Ⲫ	<i>psi</i>	ps	/ps/
Ⲭ	<i>omega</i>	ō	/o/
Ⲯ	<i>shai</i>	š	/ʃ/
Ⲱ	<i>fai</i>	f	/f/
Ⲳ	<i>khai</i>	ḥ	/x/
Ⲵ	<i>barred hori</i>	ḥ	/x/
Ⲷ	<i>hori</i>	h	/h/
Ⲹ	<i>djandja</i>	č	/tʃ/
Ⲻ	<i>kjima</i>	c	/k/ or /tʃʰ/
Ⲽ	<i>ti</i>	ti	/ti/

Fig. 2: Transliteration scheme used in this volume

Each translation ends with a list of the editors' initials (for which see the list of abbreviations), and a description of how the manuscript was examined, either via photograph alone or also through in-person inspection ('autopsy'), and who was responsible for producing tracings of tableaux, where relevant.

4.3. Palaeographical Descriptions

In our palaeographical descriptions, we try to make use of a regular vocabulary in order to standardise these as much as possible, despite the uniqueness of every hand.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ The names of the Coptic letters here are those used by modern Coptacists, corresponding to the Greek names in the cases where the alphabets overlap; for the Coptic names, see the initial entries for each letter in Crum CD; Peust 1999: 58–60.

²⁰⁰ Given here are the approximate values for these letters in classical Sahidic; the actual pronunciation changed considerably across dialect and over time, and likely also depended upon their position in words and phrases. For discussions of Coptic phonology, see Sobhy 1915; Worrell 1934; Peust 1999: 56–65 *et passim*; Casey 2022.

²⁰¹ For discussions of Coptic palaeography, and the terminology used here, see Boud'hors 1997;

The term *majuscule* (generally equivalent to *uncial*) refers to the ‘capital’ forms of letters in which each has, in principle, the same height; these letterforms may also be referred to as *bilinear*, that is, they can be understood as being written between two lines, an upper line marking the height of all or nearly all letters, and a lower line, marking the lowest point of all letters. The term *minuscule* refers to letterforms similar to those of modern Greek lowercase letters. These may also be referred to as *quadrilinear*, since the letters can be understood as being written between four lines, with their bodies generally resting between two central lines, and the ascendant or descendant parts of certain letters reaching higher or lower boundary lines. The concept of *modus* refers to letter width; early majuscules tend to give all letters (with a few exceptions, such as *i*) equal width, and are thus referred to as *unimodular*. By contrast, later *bimodular* hands, used from the sixth century or so, vary the width of letters, with *e*, *o*, and *c* usually being markedly narrower than other letters.

A further point of description is *slope*; hands may be described as *upright*, or *slanting* or *inclined* to one side. *Cursivity* describes the degree to which hands make use of ligatures—if letters regularly join together, they may be described as cursive, or as making use of ligatures. Hands may furthermore be described more vaguely in terms of *regularity*, *formality*, and *training*. Regular hands consistently produce letters with the same shapes, sizes, and spacing. Formal hands are by definition regular, but also seem to consciously reproduce particular canonical styles, often associated with high-prestige texts, and aim for a high degree of legibility.²⁰² Informal or irregular hands tend to be more idiosyncratic, with more variation in letterform, sizing, spacing, and so on. While trained scribes might deliberately produce informal texts, some informal hands may be described as ‘untrained’, as ‘literates with specific competences’, or as ‘functional semi-literates’.²⁰³ In these cases we sometimes make use of Raffaella Criobiore’s categories of learner hands, in particular the *alphabetic* and *evolving* hands.²⁰⁴ Alphabetic hands describe writers who know the alphabet and the letterforms, but can only write individual letters slowly and with some difficulty, while evolving hands seem to write with more frequency, but are not able to write with absolute regularity or in a canonical style. *Shading* refers to the thickness of the

MacCoull 1997 (note that some of the dates given are incorrect); Delattre 2007: 127–132; Gardner/Choat 2004; Askeland 2018; Mihálykó 2019: 83–92; Boud’hors 2020; Krueger 2020: 166–183; Amory forthcoming. We also thank Yasmine Amory for her helpful advice on this section, and for her many invaluable comments on our palaeographical descriptions.

²⁰² Here we follow the definitions of formality and informality offered in Crisci/Degni 2011: 25–6. We thank Yasmine Amory for this reference.

²⁰³ For this term, see Petrucci 2002: 20–21; Amory forthcoming.

²⁰⁴ Criobiore 1996: 33, 112. As Yasmine Amory points out, the terminology is not ideal, since ‘evolving’, for example, implies a stage in training, whereas here we use it to describe an established writer. Nonetheless, the categories identified by Criobiore are useful in more narrowly defining types of non-expert writing, and may imply the highest level of scribal training attained by particular writers.

strokes which make up the letters, and whether there is variation in line thickness. *Flourishes* and *serifs* are terms which refer to decorative extensions or ticks which may be used at the ends of strokes.

In general, the hands contained in this collection are usually either highly informal, or represent the right-sloping majuscule common in *Kleinliteratur* (“minor literature”)—technical texts such as medical, magical, and alchemical works—as well as in the colophons of literary texts.²⁰⁵ Occasionally, we see examples of cursive documentary-type hands which evolve from the sixth century onwards. There are relatively few letterforms which we consider absolutely diagnostic of a date; one exception to this is the so-called “flat mu”, which almost resembles an inverted π (Π); this form seems to appear only in the tenth century.²⁰⁶

Where more than one hand writes a single manuscript, we mark changes of hand by adding *m(anus)* + number in the left margin of the Coptic text. Where individual copyists use markedly different styles for different sections, we likewise mark *s(tyle)* + number in the left margin.²⁰⁷

5. The Contents of *Papyri Copticae Magicae I*

In choosing texts for this volume, it has been necessary to be selective, but we have been unable to use entirely objective criteria. The corpus as a whole is not yet well enough studied to propose a purely chronological arrangement, as is done for the *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies*; the work of dating the manuscripts is best carried out alongside their publication. We also see the Coptic magical papyri as an open corpus, which will grow as more texts are discovered or published. As a result, a strictly chronological arrangement would become incoherent over time. Instead, we divide the corpus first by basic type—formularies and applied texts (see 3.2)—then divide the latter category into texts which are ‘aggressive’ (broadly, curses and love spells) and ‘amuletic’ (healing, exorcistic, protective, and for gaining favour). This first volume contains formularies.

For this volume of formularies, we aim to provide a selection which gives readers a good idea of the general nature of the corpus, mixing long texts whose histories can be traced for centuries across multiple languages (*e.g.*, *PCM* I 11 & 25) with shorter and more idiosyncratic examples (*e.g.*, *PCM* I 2 & 35). We have deliberately picked some which we judge to be particularly important—*PCM* I 1, for example, is the earliest well-dated magical text in a standard Coptic dialect, and its archaeological context provides a rich idea of *Sitz im Leben* (“lived context”) not possible for the other manuscripts.

We have also selected many texts which benefitted significantly from re-edition,

²⁰⁵ Till 1942: 101; Boud’hors 1997; Mihálykó 2019: 85–92.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Mihálykó 2019: 16–18.

²⁰⁷ For the concept of ‘style’ in papyrology, see Fournet 2019: 572–575, 581.

including several from the University of Heidelberg papyrus collection (*PCM* I 21–33, 35), all of which date to the tenth or eleventh centuries CE. Nine of these (*PCM* I 21–29) provide us with an example of an archive containing magical texts, and even those which do not belong to this archive show striking similarities of format, content, and language. This is also true of three other manuscripts from other modern collections dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries (*PCM* I 34, 36, 37). Presenting these texts together has allowed us to bring out these shared features. We nonetheless exclude texts, including those from Heidelberg, with significant Arabic-language content, reserved for a future volume.

The Heidelberg group also includes some of the longest surviving texts, several belonging to the category of the ‘magical liturgies’; for this reason we include other extensive exemplars, including the Leiden Anastasy Codex (*PCM* I 11) and Rossi’s ‘Gnostic’ Tractate (*PCM* I 12), which offer both notable similarities and contrasts with the Heidelberg material. The inclusion of Rossi’s famous ‘tractate’ suggested to us the inclusion of its largely forgotten sibling, the much more fragmentary second ‘tractate’, perhaps found with it (*PCM* I 13).

We also include in this volume most of the ‘narrative charms’ (*PCM* I 6, 7, 15, 16, 20, 29), and the related texts featuring Pharaonic deities (*PCM* I 4, 8, 9); these have attracted considerable attention in past research, and so we hope that presenting new editions of them will prove useful to their ongoing study.²⁰⁸

The remaining manuscripts contain the briefer and more idiosyncratic texts which constitute the majority of the corpus. *PCM* 2, 3 & 10 demonstrate the important place accorded to female reproductive health in magical texts: respectively, a procedure for healing uterine bleeding, a curse to cause it, and a prayer to allow a woman to become pregnant.²⁰⁹ In the other texts of this volume we see a still wider range of purposes: *PCM* I 5 represents a typical example of a short healing recipe, which may be found both alone in individual sheets and as part of larger collections (*cf.* *PCM* I 33 & 36); *PCM* I 14, perhaps a love spell, demonstrates the use of figural images reminiscent of those on later and more complex formularies. *PCM* I 17 & 19 have more idiosyncratic goals—acquiring a good singing voice and maintaining the virginity of a woman. Finally, *PCM* I 18 contains a curse whose vivid description of the sickness it aims to bring about is accompanied by a brief but evocative account of the workings of the celestial hierarchy reminiscent of those found in a more extensive form in the ‘magical liturgies’.

²⁰⁸ Excluded manuscripts which could be counted among these include *BKU* I 1 (KYP M76), to be published with the other manuscripts of its archive (KYP A14); and four recently (re-) published manuscripts: Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128); Saqqara F.17.10 (SA.03/141) (van der Vliet 2018a; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M716); Naqlun N. 78/93 (KYP M1135) and *P.Herm.Copt.* 67 (KYP M57) (both Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022).

²⁰⁹ For another recently-published recipe to treat a gynaecological problem, see BnF Copte 129.20 fol. 178 (Preininger 2022; KYP M108) ll. 1–5.

Text Editions

PCM I 1. Letter of Oualēs to Psais containing separation spell

Kellis (Ismant al-Kharab)

23.7 (H) × 7.7 (W) cm

Late IV CE

Other references: Kellis Excavation no. P88 + P77B + P79 + P92.49; TM 85886; *P.Kell.* V *Copt.* 35; KYP M176; Bélanger Sarrazin #189.

Editions: Mirecki *et al.* 1997 (*ed. pr.*); Gardner *et al.* 1999.

Translations: Mirecki *et al.* 1997; Gardner *et al.* 1999; van der Vliet 2019b: 332–334; Hope/Bowen 2022: 423–424.

Additional commentary: Shisha-Halevy 2002; Mirecki 2013; Love 2016: 273–276; van der Vliet 2020: 263–265; Teigen 2021: 205–206, 248, 280; Brand 2022: 102, 104–105, 280–281; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 42–54; Love 2022a: 180–181.

Present location: Ismant al-Kharab magazine, Egypt.

Image: Gardner *et al.* 1999: plate 27.

Linguistic description: Written in Lycopolitan (L4); initial 3 lines of the formula (front ll. 1–3) and address (back ll. 11–12) in Greek.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–22: Separation spell (KYP T350)
2. Front ll. 23–42, back ll. 1–8: Letter from Oualēs to Psais (KYP T1506)
3. Back ll. 9–10: Address formula (KYP T1505)

A complete papyrus sheet with some damage along the folds. The text is a formulary copied as part of a letter from a man named Oualēs to another named Psais, found in room 6 of House 3 of Area A during the Dakhleh Oasis Project excavation of Kellis, with various fragments being found in the years between 1977 and 1992.¹ The letter begins with instructions for a separation spell taking up 22 lines on the front (→), followed by the contents of the letter—a resumé of the request which led to the sending of the letter, an apology for not finding the text requested, and a counter request that the addressee copy and send other texts in return. This letter takes up the remaining 20 lines of the front, and then 8 lines on the back, written at 90° counterclockwise to the text of the front. Finally, the address is written in Greek on the back in 2 lines on the opposite corner from the end of the letter, with the point where the seal would be attached (*locus sigilli*) indicated by a cross, broken where the string tying the letter closed would have been. 5 horizontal and 3 vertical creases are apparent (from the perspective of the front), indicating that it was folded before being sent. The tall, narrow format is typical of Greek and Coptic letters dating to before the fifth century, including examples from Kellis.²

¹ Specifically deposit 3 + deposit 4 north-west corner, east wall + deposit 5 west wall; see Gardner *et al.* 1999: 118.

² For the formats of Greek letters, see Fournet 2009; Sarri 2017. For similar letters from Kellis,

At several points, the scribe has left blank spaces (*vacats*) between words or lines, presumably to avoid imperfections in the papyrus' writing surface.³

The site of Kellis, modern Ismant al-Kharab, is in the Dakhla Oasis, 350 kilometres west of the Nile Valley. Area A House 3 is a particularly rich site, containing over 200 texts written in Coptic, Greek, and to a lesser extent, Syriac, testifying to the lives of one or more extended families who seem to have been Manichaean Hearers.⁴ Alongside various epistolary, business, and administrative documents, the preserved manuscripts contain a number of ritual texts, including hymns, a prayer for the unction of the sick known from other Christian liturgical sources, a Greek magical formulary containing healing prescriptions, and three amulets against disease.⁵ The texts document a period from the end of the third century into the 390s, at which point the house, along with the rest of the village, was abandoned, perhaps due to the encroachment of the desert. The inhabitants of the house at this period were involved in various businesses, primarily weaving, trading cloth and finished clothing as far as the Nile Valley, but also the maintenance of fruit trees (olive and perhaps jujube), some of which were leased out.⁶ The house appears to have been stripped of valuable items when it was abandoned, so that the remaining texts are apparently those left behind in storage jars on the roof, which subsequently collapsed and fell into the ground-floor rooms.⁷

The writer of the letter, Oualēs (the Greek writing of the Latin *Valens*) lived outside Kellis, and is responsible for one other letter to the inhabitants of House 3 (*P.Kell.* V *Copt.* 36); it has been suggested that he was a member of the Manichaean monastic and clerical group known as the Elect, but this remains uncertain.⁸ Psais (the Greek form of the Egyptian *Pšai*) was one of the younger members of the household of House 3, known from several other texts in the archive, and identified by Klaas Worp as Psais III, since this name was a recurrent one within the family.⁹

The hand of Oualēs is an accomplished, largely bilinear majuscule, inclined to the right and rather cursive; α, ε, and τ are regularly ligatured to the following letter. Bilinearity is broken by β, ρ, χ, q, and †, which descend below the lower line,

cf. *P.Kell.* V *Copt.* 20, 25, 26, 31, 36, 39, 43, 50.

³ E.g., at front ll. 22, 29, 40–43; back ll. 4–5; cf. Jones 2015 for scribes avoiding damaged areas of papyrus.

⁴ For recent overviews, see Teigen 2021: 53–80; Brand 2022: 40–90; Hope/Bowen 2022: 42–48.

⁵ Prayer for the unction of the sick: *P.Kell.* I *Gr.* 88 (KYP M1105); Greek formulary: *.Kell.* I 85 (KYP M185); published Greek amulets: *P.Kell.* I 86 (KYP M2114) & *P.Kell.* I 87 (KYP M184). For a discussions of the magical and other ritual/technical texts, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar: 2022a; Brand 2022: 98–105.

⁶ For a recent overview, see Teigen 2021: 75–79.

⁷ Bowen 2015: 235.

⁸ For this proposal see Gardner *et al.* 1999: 34–35, Mirecki *et al.* 1997: 5–6; Teigen 2021: 248–249; cf. Brand 2022: 280–281.

⁹ Worp 1995: 50–54; Gardner *et al.* 1999: 41, 57–58; cf. Mirecki *et al.* 1997: 6; Teigen 2021: 66–67; Brand 2022: 341.

and ʒ which ascends above it. Most of the Demotic-derived letters (ϣ, ϥ, ϧ, Ϩ), are compact, respecting the overall bilinearity. There are marked flourishes on many letters at the ends of the lines. The oblique stroke of ϧ is short and considerably raised; the bulb often gives the impression of hanging from it. Ϩ is formed in two strokes: the rounded vertical followed by the horizontal. ϩ generally takes its majuscule form, more rarely being written in a single stroke, in which it resembles a mirrored ϩ (e.g., front l. 33). ϩ is rounded, as is the suprelinear stroke. ϫ is written in a single stroke, without a distinct horizontal bar. ϣ is in the form of a Latin V, also written in a single stroke. Letters are generally undecorated, although there are occasionally slight serifs, as on the vertical stroke of ϫ. As noted by Gardner and Choat, the degree of cursivity in this manuscript, and others from Kellis, is unusual in a Coptic text of the fourth century, as is the fact that Greek and Coptic text are not visually distinguished.¹⁰ Similar hands are nonetheless common in the papyri from Kellis; see for example *P.Kell. VII Copt. 78* and *P.Kell. I Gr. 44*, both by Pekusis (Pecoš), apparently the brother of Psais, as well as *P.Kell. Copt. V 15, 17 & 22*.¹¹ Similar features (albeit with less cursivity and greater formality) may also be seen in some of the literary manuscripts, such as *P.Kell. II Copt. 53*.

The circumstances behind the letter have been discussed numerous times. Briefly, Psais seems to have requested a specific separation procedure from Oualēs; Oualēs was unable to find it, but instead copied another he had access to in the present letter, noting that he would send the originally requested text if he found it. He specifies that the text should not be shown to a “Brother Kalliklēs”—perhaps suggesting the necessity of secrecy in the transmission of this text¹²—and asks, in return, that Psais copy for him some quaternions (cf. the note to front l. 37). The larger context of the letter allows it to be dated with some precision to the second half of the fourth century, when Psais III was active, between the years 351 and 390 CE; this is thus one of the earliest magical texts to be written in one of the standard Coptic dialects, as opposed to one of the forms of Old Coptic.

The magical text consists primarily of an invocation to the Jewish-Christian god. The ritual, alluded to in the invocation, and briefly described in the instructions which follow, seems to have consisted of burning mustard, which was mixed with Arabian natron, over which the formula was spoken before being deposited at the door of the house of the intended victims of the separation spell. Similar rituals are known from later Greek and Coptic-language sources.¹³

¹⁰ Gardner/Choat 2004: 505–07.

¹¹ Brand 2022: 338, 341.

¹² Cf. Mirecki 2001.

¹³ These include *SM II 95/PGM CXXXVI* (V CE) and *BM EA 10391* (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302; back ll. 76–78, 79–80, 82–84, 94–95; VIII–IX CE); cf. the discussion in Mirecki *et al.* 1997: 25–28.

front (→)

- Ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς
 ὄντα τὸν καθήμενον ἐπάνω
 χερουβὶν καὶ σαρουφὶν πεταραρετϣ
 5 αχῆ ἡμῶε μῆ ἡ-τ-των πεταρω-
 χ[π] ἡῆτ-του ρῆ τῆμας ἡεζογσια ἡ-
 θ[ε ε]τακρ̄ πκαρ̄ ἡκῆμε ἡχαῖς ἀκνογ-
 [χε] ἡρῆ-τ-των αχῆ ἡχαλλᾶιος ἡτω-
 [τη] ἡε-τ-τεογο ἡῆρεν αχωτῆ ἡτο-
 . . ἡρ̄ ετχπο ετκῆμ · ἡαρεῆμ πωῆρε
 10 ρε ἡῆμ ἡαρεπογρητ κῆμ ἡῆ νογ-
 ερηογ · ἡεαςβ̄ ἡῆπῆε ἡταραβια ἡ-
 θε ετῆναῖωε ἡρῆνο ἡῆμ αβαλ ἐκα-
 ῖωε ἡπογωφε ετογτωογ ωα νογ-
 ερηογ ἡτακ δε πχωρ̄ ἡπωλτεμ
 15 ἐκατ̄ πχωρ̄ μῆ πρωρ̄ ἀπογρητ
 ωα νογερηογ πῆῆ ε-τ-νακακ ἡρῆ-
 τη ἡῆρει αβαλ ἡρητη εμῆκ-
 τῶγνογς ἡογμῶε μῆ ογ-τ-
 των μῆ ογβεραγνος μῆ Δ
 20 ἡῆν Δ ἡτας Δ ὄν Δ ἐκατεογ-
 ο ἡωεχε αχωογ
 αφχωκ

2 ὄντα Pap : + ὄντα Mirecki *et al.* : ὄντα Gardner *et al.* || 3 πεταρεϣ ἀρετϣ Mirecki *et al.* || 4–5 *i.e.* ὡ-ε-τ-α-ρ-ω-χ-π : πεταρωχ[π] Mirecki *et al.*, Gardner *et al.* || 5 *i.e.* ὡεζογσια || 7 *i.e.* Χαλδαῖος || 8 *i.e.* ὡ(ε)-ε-τ-τ-ταογο || 8–9 “you (s.) [are the one who makes (?)] what is generated black (?)” Mirecki *et al.* : “by (?) ... who generates (?) , who is black” Gardner *et al.* : “you, O dung (?) (*i.e.* ὡ-ροειρε) of the black ...” van der Vliet || 10 *l.* ἡῆμ ἡῆμ ἡῆμ τῶερε ἡῆμ ? : [ρε ἡ] ἡῆμ Mirecki *et al.* || 11 *i.e.* ὡρομ̄ | *i.e.* ὡ-π-εῖνε ? : ἡῆμ *i.e.* ὡ-πῆ-ναγ Mirecki *et al.*, Shisha-Halevy : *i.e.* πῖνος, πιναρός, less likely πῖνη/πινάριον or πῖνινος (λίθος) “dirt”, “dirty”, “pearl”, less likely “pearl” or “mother of pearl” Gardner *et al.* || 13 *i.e.* ὡε-ογ-τω ? | ετογτωογ/εταρτωογ Mirecki *et al.* || 14 *i.e.* δέ | *i.e.* ὡλβον || 15 πρωρ̄ Mirecki *et al.*, Gardner *et al.* || 17 corrected from ἡῆπῆε Mirecki *et al.* | *i.e.* ὡῆπατεκ- || 19 *i.e.* κεραυνός : *l.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) *cf.* van der Vliet : Δ Mirecki *et al.*, Gardner *et al.* || 20 *l.* ἡῆν (ἔτεκεν ἡ) δ(ε)ῖ(να) ἡτας δ(ε)ῖ(να) ὄν (ἔτεκεν ἡ) δ(ε)ῖ(να) *cf.* van der Vliet : κε Δ ἡτας Δ ὡν Δ Mirecki *et al.*, Gardner *et al.* || 21 αχωογ ω corrected from unclear letter by overwriting : αχ[[ω]] μογ Mirecki *et al.* : αχωογ corrected from αχ . . ογ Gardner *et al.*

^{|Greek} “I invoke you who have existed from the beginning, who sit over *cherubim and *seraphim, ^{|Coptic} who stand over the conflicts and the strifes, who shut up ^{|5} the winds through your great *authority; just as you made the land of Egypt lord and you cast strifes upon the Chaldaeans. It is you (pl.) upon whom I pronounce these *names, O ... that give birth[?], that are black, may NN son ^{|10} of NN, may their heart become black with one another! O natron in the likeness[?] of Arabia, just as you will wash away all things, may you wash <away> their desire that they have for one another! And you, O scorching of the mustard, ^{|15} may you put scorching and burning in their hearts towards one another! The house in which I shall place you, do not leave it before you have awoken a conflict and a strife and a thunderbolt with NN, ^{|20} daughter of NN, she <and> NN, son of NN!”

You should pronounce these words over them. It is finished.

1. τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς : “you who have existed from the beginning” Mirecki *et al.* 1997 translate “the one who rules” (cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπί sense I.2; s.v. ἀρχή sense II); Gardner *et al.* 1999 translate “who has been from the beginning” (likewise van der Vliet 2019b); Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 277 translate “the one who presides over rule”, comparing the aulic titles of officials of the Hellenistic monarchies which designate them as “the one responsible for” (ὁ ἐπὶ) various domains (Zellmann-Rohrer 2018b: 110; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020: 74); cf. e.g., *Shepherd of Hermas* 23.4–5 (II CE), in which the angel Thegri is “set over the beasts” (ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων); *GEMF* 16/PDM (KYP M162) ll. 497–8: “the one who sits upon the mountain of Gabaon” (p3 nt hms=k hr p3 tw n G3b3.ʿ3.n). The question hinges on the ambiguity of ἐπί (“upon” and various metaphorical extensions) and ἀρχή (“beginning” or “sovereignty”). Here we follow the translation of Gardner *et al.* 1999, apparently the usual sense in the Septuagint (Ezekiel 16.25, 21.24; Lamentations 2.19, 4.1; cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 31.5.2 in Holl 1915: 390.10).

4–5. πεταρω[η] ἡντιου : “who shut up the winds” Mirecki *et al.* 1997 compare Jesus’ miracle of *Calming the Storm* (Matthew 8.26; Mark 4.39; Luke 8.24). Cf. the references to the Jewish deity keeping the winds in storehouses in Psalm 134 (135) 7; Jeremiah 10.13, 51.16, perhaps more apposite here given the references elsewhere to the Hebrew Bible rather than the New Testament.

6. [ε]τακρ̄ πκαε̄ ἡκνε̄ η̄χαίε : “you made the land of Egypt lord” Mirecki *et al.* 1997 compare the image of Egypt as the liberator of Israel from Chaldaea in Jeremiah 41 (37) 1–21; perhaps also consider the enslavement Israel by Egypt described in the book of Exodus (we thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for this suggestion).

6–7. ακνογ[χε] ἡντ̄των̄ ᾱχ̄ ἡχαλλαιος : “you cast strifes upon the Chaldaeans” Cf. the prophecy of the destruction of Chaldaea in Jeremiah 27 (50) 1–46. Mirecki *et al.* 1997 compare Jeremiah 44 (37) 5.

9–10. μαρενῑ πωρε̄ ρε̄ η̄νῑ : “may NN son of NN” As noted in Mirecki *et al.* 1997 and Gardner *et al.* 1999, something has almost certainly dropped out here, since we would expect two names; perhaps restore “NN, son <of NN, and NN, daughter> of NN” (η̄νῑ πωρε̄ ἡνῑ ἡ̄νῑ τωρε̄ ρε̄ ἡ̄νῑ); Oualēs probably inadvertently skipped a line while copying.

19–20. ἡ̄ν̄ Δ̄ ἡ̄ν̄ Δ̄ ἡ̄τ̄ας̄ Δ̄ δ̄ν̄ Δ̄ : “NN daughter of NN, she <and> NN, son of NN” Mirecki *et al.* 1997 and Gardiner *et al.* 1999 understand the Δ̄ sign, standing for “NN”, as the Greek numeral δ̄ (“4”), interpreting this as a series of commands to speak the name of the male victim, then the female victim, the full text, and then another sequence of words four times each over the ingredients.

front (→) (continued)

- †ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ †ϣⲗⲏⲗ ϣⲁ
 ⲛⲕⲟϥⲭⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲟϥⲁⲓⲱ
 25 ⲱⲁ†ⲟϥⲁⲱⲧⲕ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲛ ϣⲛ ⲛⲥⲱⲛⲁ
 ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ †ϣⲣⲕ ⲛⲉⲕ
 ⲙⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲁϥⲛⲉ
 ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟⲛⲧϥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣϣⲏⲛ
 ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲭϥ ⲁⲓⲥⲁⲣϥ ⲁⲓⲧⲛⲏⲁϥϥ
 30 ⲛⲉⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲕⲉⲟϥⲉ ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁϥ[ⲕⲟ]ϥⲓ ⲛⲗⲉⲕ-
 ⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲛⲧϥ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲟⲛⲧϥ
 †ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲏⲁϥϥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲉⲓⲥⲁϥ^{vac} ⲣⲱⲧ ⲟ
 ⲭⲉ ⲛⲏⲟϥⲛⲧϥ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲗ^{vac} ⲗⲓⲕⲗⲏ-
 ⲧⲉⲓ †ⲧⲛⲏⲁϥϥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲉⲣ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ
 35 ⲧⲟⲧ ⲁⲓⲧⲛⲏⲁϥϥ ⲉⲓⲭⲱ ⲛⲏⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ
 ⲧⲁⲭⲁ ⲧⲕⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ †ⲣ ⲁⲛⲓⲟϥ ⲙⲏⲁⲕ
 ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥ
 ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲛⲏⲁϥⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ †ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲟϥⲛ
 ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲏⲣ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ-
 40 ⲧⲁϥⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲧⲟ ⲁⲛⲟ ⲁ^{vac} ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ-
 ⲛⲣⲣ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲁ^{vac} ⲭϥ ⲕⲧⲏ-
 ⲛⲁϥⲥⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲟϥⲉ^{vac} ⲉⲣⲥⲙⲁⲛ[ⲁ]
 ⲧ

back (↓) written at 90 degrees counterclockwise to front

- ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉϥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲟϥⲱⲱ ⲧⲣⲉⲕⲉⲟϥⲉ ⲥⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉϥⲉ †ⲛⲟϥ ⲙ-
 ⲛⲣⲣ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲁⲧⲛⲏⲁϥⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲓⲉⲧϥ ⲛⲏⲁⲟ ⲛⲥⲣⲉⲓ ⲭⲉ
 ⲡⲁⲭⲉϥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲭⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ ⲟϥⲱ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟϥⲥⲣⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲣ ⲱⲉϥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲉⲕ-
 ⲥⲁⲣⲟϥ †ⲛⲁⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲣⲱⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟϥⲥⲉⲟⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ
 5 ⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲉⲧ† ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ϣⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲕ ϣⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲃ
 ϣⲱⲃ ⲉⲕⲟϥⲁⲱⲱ ⲛⲏⲏⲓⲁ ⲕⲉⲗⲉϥⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ †ⲛⲁⲉϥ ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲱⲏⲣ
 ⲛⲕⲟϥⲭⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ-
 ⲟϥⲁⲓⲱ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ
 50

written 90 degrees clockwise to recto

- ⲧⲱ ⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲏ ⲙⲟⲩ Ψⲁⲓⲧⲓ
 ✕
 10 ⲁⲉⲗⲉⲡⲱ Ⲑⲱⲁⲗⲓⲥ ⲟ ⲁⲉⲗⲉⲡⲱⲥ ⲥⲟⲓ

front 25 i.e. σῶμα || 27 i.e. παράκλητος || 29 i.e. τᾱχύνειν || 36 i.e. τάχα | i.e. χρεία | i.e. ἄξιον || 37 i.e. τετράς || 40 ⲁ vac. ⲃⲁⲗ pap. || 41–43 vacats to avoid pre-existing damage || 41 ἄμελιν | i.e. τᾱχύ || *back* 10 ἀδελφῶι Mirecki *et al.*, Gardner *et al.* | ⲓ σου : omitted in Mirecki *et al.*

I greet you warmly, I pray for your wellbeing for a long time, ²⁵ until I embrace you again in the body, and my joy is completed. I swear to you by our Lord Paraclete and the Knowledge of the Truth that this is what I found close to me, and I hurried, I wrote it, and I sent it ³⁰ to you, because the other one is written on a small piece of papyrus, and I did not find it. If I find it, I will send it to you, for I know for my part that it will not be taken to Brother Kalliklēs. I send it to you for it is with my own hand that I wrote it, ³⁵ and I wrote it saying, “Perhaps it is what you need”.

I ask you, lord brother, that you write these quaternions for me that I sent to you. I will also have them bring what is written to you so that you will know ⁴⁰ where they have reached <and> to see <that> he has not been neglectful in writing them, and quickly send them to me through a blessed one ^{back} for they said, “We want someone else to write others!” Now, do not be neglectful to send them in haste. Please do not make it a long text, for they have said that the papyrus is finished, but rather a useful text, and if you write them, I will find your recompense myself—I am not an idiot!

Greet for me ⁵ warmly those who give your heart rest by word and deed. Anything you need, tell me and I will do it happily. Live and be well for a long time, my lord, my brother.

⁹, at 180° to the other text on the back To my lord brother, Psais, from Oualēs, your brother.

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph.

23–24. ⲥⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲭⲉⲓⲧⲉ : “I pray for your wellbeing” Compare the similar phrase in *P.Kell. VII Copt.* 97.5–8: “I pray to the Father, the God of Truth for your wellbeing” (ⲥⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲓⲱⲭⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲓⲱⲭⲉⲓⲧⲉ; 19.68–69; 50.2–3; *VII Copt.* 72.4–5). This is likely a calque of the common Greek phrase “I pray for your health for many years” (ἐπρωσθαί σε εὖχμαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις; cf. Sarri 2017: 48–49), usually used as a farewell greeting, and found in several letters from Kellis, including *P.Kell. V Copt.* 12.17–18; 21.30–31; 22.51–52; *VII Copt.* 72 ll. 7–8; 103 ll. 50–51.

27. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ : “Paraclete” “The Intercessor”, a title of Mani, the prophet of Manichaeism.

37. ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥ : “quaternions” Quaternion here likely refers to a small codex made of four bifolios, which often served as standardised notebooks. The contents of the texts to be copied are unspecified, but we see no reason to assume that they were magical; cf. Teigen 2021: 206; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a. Gardner *et al.* note the possibility of a reference to quaternions, but prefer to understand a “4-fold spell”, based on their interpretation of front ll. 19–20, where they read ⲁ as the numeral four.

40–41. ⲡⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲓⲁⲓⲧ : “a blessed one” This term does not appear elsewhere in the corpus, but may refer to a member of the Manichaean monastic order, the Elect; see Mirecki *et al.* 1997: 32.

back 2 ⲙⲓⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲓⲉⲧⲩ ⲡⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓ : “please do not make it a long text” Mirecki *et al.* & Gardner *et al.* translate this difficult passage as “by no means! I did it for the great texts...”. We understand ⲙⲓⲡⲱⲣ ⲉⲁⲁⲥⲩ, an emotive negative imperative (Layton 2000: 294; for the absent indefinite article before the following noun, cf. Shisha-Halevy 2002: 305–306). ⲉⲩⲉⲓ in this corpus generally has the sense of “letter”, but here it may translate the Greek γραφή, in the sense of “religious writing” (cf. Gardner/BeDuhn/Dilley 2018: 74–75, 167–170; Crum CD 383a). On this reading, Oualēs is asking Psais to select a short, useful text to copy into the quaternions since papyrus is scarce.

9–10. This is the address, giving the name of the sender and the intended recipient. The x-shape is the *locus sigilli*, “the place of the seal”. In this case, the letter was not sealed with wax, but, after the letter was folded and tied with string, the x was written across it so that any tampering would be apparent; see Vandorpe 1996: 241–243.

PCM I 2. Healing prescription to stop uterine bleeding

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

4.5 (H) × 23.5 (W) cm

V–VI CE

Other references: P.Vindob. K 5520 Pap; TM 91401; KYP M241; Bélanger Sarrazin #289.

Editions: Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 8 (*ed. pr.*); Till 1935: no. 8.

Translations: Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 8 (German); Till 1935: no. 8 (German).

Present location: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.

Image: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004836>

Linguistic description: Faiyumic.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–5: Healing prescription to stop uterine bleeding (KYP T443)

Completely preserved healing formulary written on a rectangular papyrus sheet. The papyrus is very damaged, and the lower part is missing. The 5 surviving lines are written in black ink in a single column on the front (↓). The manuscript has no clearly visible folds, although some of the damage patterns may have been caused by folding. The provenance of this manuscript, now kept in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, is not recorded, although the dialectal features suggest an origin in the Faiyum. The majority of manuscripts in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek were acquired in the Faiyum, so that such a provenance would be unsurprising.¹

The script is an informal and irregular upright majuscule whose idiosyncracies pose considerable problems for palaeographical dating. Notably, the ε varies between a two stroke form consisting of a C with a middle stroke, and a form which resembles two Latin C written on top of each other, while μ is deeply curved, the α pointed, and the γ resembles Latin Y, written in a single stroke. Ligatures are used with certain letter combinations (τϛ, ετ, *etc.*). The η occasionally has a dot above it where a supralinear stroke might be expected. The σ displays a typically Faiyumic form, in which the ascender is written last, rising from the lower part of the bowl, something like the printed form of the Old Nubian *shima* (ϫ).² The hand's irregularity, showing some features typical of more highly trained scribes (the ligatures and elaborate serifs and flourishes), may imply that the copyist was working from a model written in a more formal hand.³ Stegemann dated this hand to the fourth century,⁴ while Till dated it to the seventh century, noting the

¹ Loebenstein 1983.

² Cf. Krall 1886–1887: 111.

³ We are grateful to Yasmine Amory for this suggestion.

⁴ Stegemann 1933–1934: 16, no. 8.

recurved tail of the ϖ as typical of older Faiyumic hands.⁵ The angularity of the alpha would seem to argue for an earlier date than that envisaged by Till, while the initial writing perpendicular to the fibres would suggest a fifth century date at the earliest.⁶ We thus tentatively propose a fifth to sixth century date for this piece.

The text is written in a fairly standard form of Faiyumic (F4/F5), although it is too fragmentary to determine which subdialect it should be assigned to. The text demonstrates $\text{c}\alpha\text{n}/\text{p}\epsilon\text{n}$ vocalism, lambdacism, the writing of the unstressed final vowel as ɪ , and lexical forms peculiar to this dialect (e.g., $\varpi\epsilon\varpi\tau\epsilon$ for ${}^s\text{c}\epsilon\varpi\tau\epsilon$; $\text{m}\epsilon\text{z}\text{ɪ}$ for ${}^s\alpha\text{m}\alpha\text{z}\tau\epsilon$).

Stegemann, reading only a few words, tentatively classified the text as a “Dämonenbeschwörung” (“demon adjuration”), but it belongs to the category of formularies treating uterine bleeding, as indicated by the first legible passage of the manuscript, “blood under her.”⁷ The putative title is followed by an invocation of a being named “great Baōth”, and ends with instructions for the production of an amulet.

⁵ Till 1935: 203, no. 8.

⁶ For the practice of writing on the vertical fibres first, see the introduction (p. 26–28). For the shape of the α , compare the examples in Stegemann 1936: 4–7 with those on later pages.

⁷ Cf. the discussion in the apparatus to l. 1 of this text.

front (↓)

- [. ?] ϣⲛⲁϥ ϣⲁⲗⲁϥ ⲱⲉⲱⲧⲥ ϣⲏ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ ⲧⲓⲉⲗⲉⲃⲟⲣⲕⲓⲥⲓⲛ [ⲙⲁⲕ] ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲟ ⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲓ[. ?]
 [. ?] ⲉⲧⲣ[ⲙ]ⲁϣ ⲉⲣⲗⲏⲓ ϣⲏ ⲧⲡⲏ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲙⲁϥ ϣⲓⲕⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲉ[ϣⲓ] ⲙⲏ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲛ . [. ?]
 [. ?] . ⲫⲉⲣ / ⲫⲉϥ // ⲙⲟⲱⲣⲏⲏϥ /// ⲡⲏ [ca. 16]
 [. ?] ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲏⲃⲓ . . . ⲛⲡⲱⲧⲥ ⲡⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟϥ ca. 14]
 5 [. ?] ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲕⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲗⲃ ⲉⲗⲁϥ // ⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ . . [. ?]

1]ⲁϥ ϣⲁⲗⲁϥ Till | *L. ⲉ-ⲱⲉⲱⲧⲥ ? : ⲱⲉⲱ ⲧⲏⲧⲏ Till | ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲕⲓⲥⲓⲛ ⲉ modified from o i.e. ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲕⲓⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛ : ca. 6 ⲧⲓⲉⲗⲉⲃⲟⲣⲕⲓⲥⲓ ⲡⲏⲁ Stegemann : ⲙ[. ?]ⲡⲏⲁϥ [ⲓ]ⲁⲱ ⲙⲓⲧⲓ[?] Till | nothing lost at the end of the line ? || 2 .]ⲉⲣⲗⲏⲓ ϣⲏ ⲧⲡⲏ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲙ ⲡⲕⲉⲣⲓ ca. 5 Stegemann :]ⲉⲣⲗⲏⲓ ϣⲏ ⲧⲡⲏ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲙⲁϥ ϣⲓⲕⲉⲛ ⲡⲕ[] . . . ⲉⲙⲉⲣ . . ⲟⲃⲏ . [Till || 3 .]ⲫⲉⲣ ⲫⲉϥ . ⲟⲱⲣⲏⲏϥ Stegemann :]ⲫⲉⲣ - ⲫⲉϥ = ⲙⲟⲱⲣⲏⲏϥ ⲉⲡⲏ . ⲉ . . . [Till || 4 Stegemann does not transliterate this line :]ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲏⲃⲓ ⲛⲉϥ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲱⲧⲥ . . ⲧⲉⲧ[Till | *i.e. τύπος ? || 5 i.e. πιττάκιον :]ⲁⲕⲓⲱⲓ Till | i.e. ⲉⲙⲟⲣⲥⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ : ⲙⲁⲗⲃ ⲉ ca. 9 [Till | Stegemann does not transliterate this line.**

[...] blood under her, <to³> stop it in her womb. “I adjure [you] O great Baōth and the [... who] sits up in heaven and he who sits upon the earth and he who rules over [...]pher, Pheu, Moōrēēs, he³ ... [...] this grief³ ... depict the model³ [...]⁵ [...] sheet, bind it to her. ⲡⲣⲣⲣⲣⲣⲣ [...]

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph, with notes from autopsy by Ágnes Mihálykó.

1. [ϥ]ⲛⲁϥ ϣⲗⲗⲁϥ : “blood under her” Perhaps restore “For a woman with blood under her” (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲗⲉⲡⲉϥⲛⲁϥ ϣⲗⲗⲁϥ) cf. *PCM* I 33 front l. 7: “a [woman] who has blood under her” (ⲟⲩⲩⲣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲗⲣⲟϥ; *PCM* I 36 col. 1 l. 1: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩϥⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲗⲣⲟϥ; *BKU* I 25 (KYP M174) front l. 13: [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ] ⲟⲩϣⲣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲗⲣⲟϥ; P.Mich.Inv. 593 (Worrell 1930; KYP M9) p. 9 l. 3: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲗⲣⲟϥ (likewise P.Mich.Inv. 594 back l. 3, Worrell 1930; KYP M15). For another recipe with the goal of preventing uterine bleeding, see P.Vindob. K 11088 B ll. 4–7 (Hevesi 2015; KYP M374). For the description of blood being “under” someone as a way to express uterine bleeding, cf. e.g. Matthew 9.20 (Horner 1911: I 78) and Luke 8.43 (Horner 1911: II 160) “a woman with blood under her for twelve years” (ⲟⲩϣⲣⲓⲛⲓ ⲗⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲣⲟⲡ ϣⲗⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲏⲛⲧϥⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲛⲛⲉ). The same construction is used in Demotic, e.g., *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162) ll. 1197–1198: “a woman... whose blood is under her” (*šhm.t... iw p3 snf hr-rs-s*). For uterine bleeding and menstrual blood in Coptic magical papyri, see Preininger 2022; Preininger forthcoming a; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 4, and compare curses to cause menstrual bleeding, discussed in the notes to *PCM* I 3 front col. 1 l. 1–34.

1. ⲃⲁⲟⲓⲥ : “Baōth” The initial ⲃ is very uncertain. The name Baōth occurs also in *P.Bad.* V 123 (KYP M315) front ll. 34, 49, although in the latter case it may be understood as as continuation of the previous name which ends at the end of the preceding line (i.e., ⲃⲗⲗⲁⲃⲁⲟⲓⲥ). The name is reminiscent of, and probably derived from, *Sabaoth.

2. [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ]ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲗⲗⲓⲛ ϣⲛ ⲧⲡⲏ ⲛⲏ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲁϥ ϣⲓⲗⲉⲛ ⲛⲕⲉ[ϣⲓ] : “[who] sits up in heaven and he who sits upon the earth” This passage finds conceptual parallels in two different textual traditions. The first is that of descriptions of deities sitting upon or set over various locations or abstract concepts (for which see the notes to *PCM* I 1 l. 1). The second conception is that of descriptions of cosmic beings whose magnitude is expressed in terms of stretching from heaven to earth. For further discussions of the first phenomenon, see Robert 1981: 9–14; Zellmann-Rohrer 2018b: 107–112; Dosoo 2022c: 524 n. 175. For discussions of the second, see Dosoo 2022c: 502.

4. ⲛⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛ[ⲟϥ] : “depict the model?” We are grateful to Ágnes Mihálykó for this suggestion, which would seem to fit the traces. This may mark an instruction to the reader to copy the amulet onto the sheet mentioned in l. 5, but the apparent use of the verb ⲛⲱⲧⲣⲉ (“to carve, depict”) for the action is surprising; more often we find ϣⲗⲁⲓ or γράφειν (both “to write, draw”).

5. [ⲓⲛ]ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲟⲛ : “sheet” The use of a sheet (ⲛⲓⲧⲧⲁⲕⲓⲟⲛ) as the support for an amulet is attested in *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167), at p. 13 ll. 7, 9, 15, p. 15 ll. 12–13; in the first two cases it is bound (ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲣ) to the beneficiary, as is the case here.

5. ⲙⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲗⲁϥ : “Bind it to her” “It” here refers to an amulet, probably consisting of the formula and the staurograms, which is to be bound to the woman’s body to treat her.

5. ⲡⲣⲣⲣⲣⲣⲣⲣⲣ : Traces of two letters are visible after the seven staurograms; although they are not sufficiently well-preserved to be certain, it is possible that there was a sequence of another seven shapes afterwards, such as 6-pointed stars; compare the seven five-pointed stars found at the ends of fewer amulets, such as P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 564a (Quecke 1963b: 255–256; KYP M513) l. 11; *P.Stras. Copt.* 6a (KYP M102) ll. 7–8; *P.Stras. Copt.* 6b (KYP M103) ll. 7–8.

PCM I 3. Two aggressive procedures targeting women

Abydos

29.9 (H) × 29.6 (W) cm

V–VI CE ?

Other references: P.Mich.Inv. 1190; TM 98058; KYP M72; Bélanger Sarrazin #162.

Editions: Worrell 1934: 145–150 (*ed. pr.*); Worrell 1935a: no. 2 [W]; van der Vliet 2000: 335–337.

Translations: Worrell 1935a: no. 2 [W]; Skiles in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 66 [S]; Pernigotti 1995: no. 23 [P] (Italian); van der Vliet 2000: 335–337 [V].

Additional commentary: Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 4.

Present location: Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library.

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1328/1190v.tif>

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front col. 1 ll. 1–34: Curse to make a woman bleed (KYP T610)
2. Front col. 1 ll. 35–36, col. 2 ll. 1–38, back col. 1 ll. 1–19, col. 2 ll. 1–10: Love spell to fill a woman with fire (KYP T1705)

Complete papyrus roll, with significant damage in the middle of the height. According to the report of Harold I. Bell, the manuscript was bought through the antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman in July 1922 and acquired by the University of Michigan in the same year.¹ In the same report, Walter E. Crum gives a brief description of the manuscript and dates it to the fifth, perhaps even fourth century, noting that it came from El-Araba el-Madfuna (Abydos).²

The sheet is large and square, with generous margins, particularly on the left hand side, where *kollēsis* is visible in the margin. The front (→) is written in two columns, the first of 36 lines, the second of 38 lines, divided by a vertical line. The back is written in two further columns, one of 19 lines, the other of 10 lines, with the second column written at 90° clockwise to the first, on the lower right part of the papyrus. The extensive damage in the middle may be the result of a horizontal crease resulting from folding, but no other creases are clearly visible; the mirrored damage patterns rather indicate that it may have been rolled four times on the horizontal axis. Here we assume that no full lines are lost in the break, but this must be considered uncertain.

The hand is an informal alphabetic majuscule, rather regular, the script bilinear, unimodal and upright. ⲃ is pointed, and respects the bilinearity of the script, while

¹ Bell 1922: 1; Crum 1922: 8, no. 115 B IV. On Maurice Nahman, see Hagen/Ryholt 2016: 253–255.

² Bell 1922: 2 (Lot IV). The manuscript was described by Crum as being two leaves (“2 cols. to a page”) from a Coptic papyrus codex, apparently misinterpreting what is in fact a single leaf broken in half.

Δ, ζ, † and sometimes τ have simple serifs. μ has a deep curve, γ consistently resembles a Latin capital Y. Letters such as ϣ do not have elongated descenders, respecting the bilinearity of the script. The ascender of ϭ seems to rise from the lower part of the bowl, as is common in hands from the Faiyum (*cf.* the introduction to *PCM I 2*). The copyist makes extensive use of diaeresis on ι, and sometimes uses supralineation to mark numerals, abbreviations and names; a colon is used to separate clauses and morphemes. Crum's dating to the fourth or fifth century seems too early.³ A fifth-century date at the latest might be suggested by the initial writing on the horizontal fibres,⁴ but the fact that the manuscript takes the form of a short horizontal roll—which continued to be used in some contexts until the eighth century—might explain this unusual choice in a later text.⁵ A manuscript with a very similar hand, P.MMA 34.1.226 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2017; KYP M506), is likewise written on a short roll, dated by its editor to the sixth century, noting the absence of bimodularity (narrowing of letters such as ε, ø, o, c).⁶ A few of the graffiti and ostraca from the Osireion at Abydos show similar hands;⁷ these can be loosely dated to between the sixth and ninth centuries.⁸ We thus tentatively propose a fifth, or more likely, sixth century date, but note that the hands of writers with little formal training may display striking similarities over long periods of time.

The dialect is a non-standard form of Sahidic; alongside common features—such as ϣ for ^sq, ε for the Sahidic supralinear stroke, haplography (in particular of ε and μ), and the writing of ι in place of ^sei—we see some more idiosyncratic divergences. Most notably, the sequence *vowel-ζ* is regularly written in reverse (*e.g.*, πζω, front col. 1, l. 3; ζζαμ, front col. 1 l. 24). We also see the interchange of voiced/unvoiced and aspirated/unaspirated consonants: ζ for c, ø for τ, x for ϭ; this last likely suggests that ϭ was treated as the aspirated phoneme corresponding to the unaspirated x, as in Bohairic.

We treat the initial staurogram of col. 1 as an independent line, so that in front col. 1, our l. 2 corresponds to l. 1 in Worrell and other editions. Where the date of Worrell is not noted in the apparatus, his reading is the same in both publications.

³ Bell 1922: 2 (Lot IV).

⁴ For the post-fifth century practice of writing on the vertical fibres first (*transversa charta*), see the introduction, pp. 26–28

⁵ For magical rolls, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 73, 79–83.

⁶ Zellmann-Rohrer 2017: 242; *cf.* the similar hand of Cairo JdE 49547 (Girard 1927; KYP M297), undated by its editor, but assigned by Trismegistos (TM 102068; accessed 7/3/2023) to the ninth to eleventh centuries. Despite the striking similarity between *PCM I 3* and P.MMA 34.1.226 in hand and format, we hesitate to suggest a single copyist, based on the different apparent findspot (Abydos vs. Saqqara), and notable differences in the formation of certain letters (*e.g.*, α, γ, ϭ).

⁷ See *e.g.*, Murray 1904: 41, pl. 34, no. 36; 43, pl. 37 *ostrakon*; *cf.* also BM EA58928 (TM 393509).

⁸ For the dates of the inscriptions from Abydos, see Delattre 2003: 134. The mention of Shenoute and perhaps Severus of Antioch in Murray 1904: 41, pl. 34, no. 36 would suggest a sixth century date at the earliest for this text.

front, column I (→)

- ⲡ
ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲟⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲟϭ
ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲱⲟϩ
ⲛⲁⲙ̄ ⲛⲡⲣⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲕⲥⲟϩⲓⲁ ⲧⲏ-
5 ϣⲟϩ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ · ⲉϥⲓⲛⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ϭⲉⲓ-
ⲩⲱⲛⲥⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲡⲛⲟϩⲏ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲙⲟⲟϩⲧⲩ
ⲡⲓⲁⲧ ϭⲉⲕⲉⲙⲟⲟϩⲧⲩ : ⲡⲗⲁⲓⲛ ϭⲉ-
ⲕⲉⲟϩⲟⲗⲡⲩ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲗ
ⲉⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ · ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲡⲟⲥⲩ ⲡⲉ-
10 ⲟⲟϩ ⲛⲏⲟⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ-
ⲟⲟϩⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲟϩ ⲛⲕⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲕⲓⲛ ·
ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ · ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ :
ⲟϩⲥⲓⲙⲉ · ⲥⲉⲧ · ⲉⲕⲉⲡⲓⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲡⲓ-
ⲣ ⲛⲟϩⲛⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉ-
15 ⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ : ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲗⲓ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲟϩ-
ⲗⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲟϩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗ[ⲁ *ca.* 6]
ⲕ[*ca.* 6 ⲥ]ⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ[*ca.* 7]
[*ca.* 10]ⲉ ⲡⲧ[*ca.* 10]
[*ca.* 10]ⲡⲗⲁⲓ · [*ca.* 11]
20 [*ca.* 10]ⲟϩⲏⲛ ⲉ[*ca.* 7]
· [*ca.* 7]ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ : ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲡⲓⲓⲣ : ⲉⲕ-
ⲟϩⲏ ⲓϥⲥⲓⲛ ⲥⲓⲱⲟϩ ⲛⲟⲱⲥ : ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏ-
ⲧ · ⲉⲓⲃ ⲛⲉⲥⲟϩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ : ⲛⲕⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃ-
ⲟⲗ ϭⲁⲣⲟⲥ : ⲛⲟϩⲥⲛⲟⲩ : ⲉⲃⲭⲭⲁⲙ
25 ⲙⲏ ⲟϩⲙⲟⲟϩ : ⲉⲃⲟⲕⲉⲙ · ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ-
ⲉⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛⲟϩⲛⲁⲙ : ⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲓⲣ : ⲛ-
ⲉⲣⲃⲟϥⲣ : ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉⲃⲉⲣⲟⲩ : ⲉⲣⲟⲥ :
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲟϩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲓⲕⲉ : ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲱ-
ⲕ ϭⲁⲣⲟⲥ : ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲩ-

1 ⲡ in *ekthesis* || 2 *i.e.* ἐπικαλεῖν | *i.e.* ⲡⲛⲟⲥⲕ || 3 *i.e.* ἄγγελος | *i.e.* ⲡⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥⲩ || 3–4 *i.e.* ⲡⲟϩⲛⲁⲙ || 4 *i.e.* ἐξουσία : ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲟϩⲓⲁ W | ⲧⲏ- ⲧ corrected from unclear letter by overwriting || 5 corrected from ϣⲏⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲉ by erasure, overwriting *i.e.* ὑποτάσσειν | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ W, P, S || 5–6 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ : ⲩⲱⲛⲥⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲡⲛⲟϩⲏ : ⲩⲱ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲕⲏ ⲡⲛⲟϩⲏ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲙⲟⲟϩⲏ W, P, S || 6 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲙⲟⲟϩⲏ || 7 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ || 7–8 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ see CD 477b cf. CED 211 : *l.* ⲥⲟⲗⲡ W, P, S || 8 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ || 8–9 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲃⲟⲗⲥⲩ : ⲓⲱⲗ deleted by erasure || 9–10 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲙⲟⲟϩ || 10 *i.e.* θάλασσα || 11 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ : ⲛⲕⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲕⲓⲛ W || 12 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲁ | *l.* ⲃⲟⲗⲥⲩ || 13 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ ⲉⲥⲉⲧ (haplography) | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲱ || 13–14 *l.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 14–15 *l.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ W, P, V || 15 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ W || 15–16 *i.e.* ⲟⲩⲧⲉ : “it is not I who ask you, nor [other] (humans)” S || 16 ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩ : [*ca.* 4]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ W | *i.e.* ἄλλ[ά] || 17 [ⲥⲁ]ⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ W || 18]ⲉ ⲡⲧ[: [ⲧⲧⲧ] W || 19 : .]ⲁⲓ[W || 21 *i.e.* ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ :]ⲡⲣⲁ W || 22 *i.e.* ⲃⲓⲥⲭⲉⲛ : [. . .] ⲥⲓⲛ W | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 22–23 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 23 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 24 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 25 ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ W | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 25–26 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 26 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 27 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 28 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 28–29 *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲩⲕⲓⲛ || 29 *i.e.* ἄρχη

ⲡ I invoke you Athrak, the great *angel who stands at the right side of the sun, he to whom all the *authorities ⁵ of the sun are subject, for if I sent you to the *abyss, you would destroy it; silver, that you would destroy it; steel, that you would break it; iron, you would melt it; stone, you would break it; ¹⁰ the waters of the seas, you would make them go dry; the mountains, you make them move; the rocks, you would make them dissolve; a pregnant woman, you would tear open her right side and you would bring out the ¹⁵ child. It is not these things that I ask you, nor other things, but [...] *Sabaoth [...] ²⁰ [...] womb to her side, opening from the crown of her head down to the nails of her feet, may⁷ you draw out from under her polluted blood ²⁵ and darkened water from her right side to her left side. May you cause it to weigh upon her like a millstone! May it flow under her like the source of the

1–34. Curse to cause menstrual bleeding: Worrell understands this as a ritual to cause childbirth through a caesarian section, while Skiles suggests that it is rather a call for angelic protection during childbirth. Ritner (in Meyer/Smith 1994: 126) suggests that it is a spell to induce abortion. All understand the whole manuscript as a single ritual. The description of a child being torn out of a pregnant woman in ll. 13–15 is explicitly not requested (*cf.* note to ll. 15–16), and instead the request is for “polluted blood and water” to come out of the woman. The negative force of this is clear: it is to weigh upon her like a millstone (*cf.* the imagery of a millstone as punishment in Matthew 18.6, Mark 9.42, Luke 17.2), the blood is to come from her entire body (ll. 21–22), and it is to be of an extreme quantity, compared to the source of the four rivers of Eden (*cf.* Genesis 2.10). For other curses to cause a woman to bleed, see *Crum ST 399* (KYP M536); *P.Lond.Copt.* 1223 (KYP M533); *GEMF 34/PGM LXII* (KYP M526) ll. 75–105, perhaps also *BKU I 11* (KYP M78). *Cf.* the curses to make a woman bleed pus in *PCM I 35* front ll. 7–17, 21–23. Compare also the recipes to heal menstrual bleeding, discussed in the note to *PCM I 2 l. 1*; *cf.* Preininger forthcoming c: ch. 4.

5–6. ⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛ : “for if I sent you to the abyss” Worrell and Pernigotti translate “go even to the shore of the abyss” (“va’ sulla riva dell’Abisso”), understanding ⲕⲉ as ⲕⲏ “shore (?)” (*Crum CD 92a*), and parsing the first part as ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉⲓ. Skiles understands ⲱⲁ ⲛⲁⲁ ⲧⲕⲉ “to the other”, referring to a female client. For our reading, *cf.* *Crum CD 360b*; van der Vliet 2000: 336.

6, 7. ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲩⲧⲩ : “you would destroy it” Worrell (1934, 1935a) mistakenly understands this as redundant. As noted in *Crum CD 201a*, ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲧ here may be equivalent to ⲧⲁⲕⲟ/ἀπόλλυμαι, “destroy”.

7–9. Destruction of stone and metals: This represents a prototypical feat which demonstrates the power of a being or ritual. In the Coptic magical corpus *cf.* *PCM I 26* p. 12 ll. 4–5, p. 15 ll. 5–7; *BKU I 3* (KYP M77) ll. 21–24; *BKU I 7* (KYP M88) ll. 20–21; 21–24; *BM EA 10391* (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) front ll. 23–24. Several instances are found in copies of the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’*: *PCM I 25* p. 2 l. 23–p. 3 l. 1; *P.Lond.Copt.* 368 (KYP M117) p. 4 ll. 4–6; *cf.* the brief discussion in Lajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 148–149; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: ch. 4.

13. ⲛⲱⲉ : “tear” Worrell and Pernigotti translate “to break”, whereas Skiles prefers “to reach”. The context, and the use of ⲛⲉ/ⲛⲛⲟⲩ to indicate the object of the verb suggests the former to be correct.

15–16. ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ : “it is not these things that I ask you, nor [other things]” *Cf.* *PCM I 9* ll. 3–4; *BKU I 7* (KYP M88) ll. 10–11: “for I do not ask for [these things], nor other things” (ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲓ [ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟ[ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ); *BM EA 10391* (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) front l. 24: “I do not ask you for these things, nor...” (ⲉⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲛ[ⲉ]). This represents a rhetorical structure in which the speaker initially lists difficult or impossible things which could be requested, only to deny them and ask instead for something which is claimed to be simpler; see the discussions in Bell *et al.* 1932: 30–31. In addition to the two Coptic examples given above, we find the same structure in the Greek texts *GEMF 18/PGM LXI* (KYP M183) col. 3 ll. 174–177; *GEMF 42* (KYP M410) col. 1 ll. 10–11; *GEMF 57/PGM IV* (KYP M3) ll. 1505–1508.

- 30 τοοῦ νiero : ἰδε μακος : ἰδε
 φαρμακος : ιδε πογρανιον
 ἰδε καταπτονιον : ἰδε χις
 νρωμε σεμσον εωλ μπ-
 ιςνοῦ : ετ²α νιμ Δ εμιτε ανο^κ
 35 ⲙⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲙⲟⲕ : ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲗ :
 παγγελος

front column 2 (→)

- ετδεραϣ : νσα ογναμ μπῖωτ
 χεκεῖ · εχ · ⲥⲉⲡ : ⲓⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ πα-
 γγελος : ετδερατϣ σαβοϣ ρ μ-
 πωτ χεκεῖ ναῖ μν τεκσηϣ-
 5 ε κρῶτ · εχεν πῖς : ⲥⲉⲡ : μο- ·
 κ : αδωνε πνοσ παγγελος
 ετδερατϣ : ρῖχεν τμεῖβ · νογ-
 νογ μπεροογ · χεκεῖ ναῖ εχεν
 πῖς : ⲥⲉⲡ : ογρῖ πνοσ παγγελο^ς
 10 ετδερατϣ ρῖχεν : ἰβ : νογνογ
 ντεγῶν : χεκεῖ ναῖ εχεν πῖς :
 ⲥⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲃⲟⲣ . . . ω :
 προ νωδρ κρῶτ χεκεῖ ν-
 α[ι] εχεν : ⲥⲉⲡ ⲙⲟⲕ : . [ca. 5]
 15 ηλ παρ[γγελος ca. 8]
 [τ]οργ[η ca. 13]
 [.] . β[ca. 14]
 . χ . [ca. 14]
 πεβς . [ca. 14]
 20 ρη τα . [. .] . ηπτα[ρ]ταρογ-
 χος : ναμεντε : πετεπλο-

col. 1, 30 i.e. εἴτε (twice) | i.e. μάγος || *31* i.e. εἴτε | i.e. φάρμακος | i.e. ἐπουράνιον || *32* i.e. εἴτε (twice) | i.e. καταχθόνιον | i.e. σεῖχ || *33* εωλ ω corrected by washing and overwriting? | *l.* εβολ ρι ? W || *34* i.e. δεῖ(ν)α | i.e. εἰ μήτε : εἰμί τε “(NN) am I” W, P, S || *35* i.e. ἐπικαλεῖν | i.e. σεμσον | ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲗ : W omits in translation || *36* i.e. ἄγγελος || *col. 2, 1* i.e. σετ-αρερατϣ || *2* i.e. σε εκ-ε-εῖ | *l.* εχ(μ πι-ζώδιον) : *l.* εχμ πσπρ W, P, S | *l.* τ-ἐπ(ικαλεῖν σεμκ) || *3* i.e. ἄγγελος | i.e. σετ-αρερατϣ | *l.* νσα || *4* i.e. σε εκ-ε-εῖ || *5* i.e. σκωρτ | i.e. ζ(ώδιον) : *l.* πσπρ W, P, S | i.e. ἐπ(ικαλεῖν) | i.e. σεμκ || *6* i.e. ἄγγελος || *7* *l.* τ-μῖτ-σνοογς || *8* i.e. σε εκ-ε-εῖ || *9* i.e. ζ(ώδιον) : *l.* πσπρ W, P, S | *l.* τ-ἐπ(ικαλεῖν σεμκ) | *l.* ογρῖ(ηλ), cf. back col. 1 l. 3 | i.e. ἄγγελος || *10* ετδερατϣ | Worrell || *11* i.e. σε εκ-ε-εῖ | i.e. ζ(ώδιον) : *l.* πσπρ W, P, S || *12* i.e. ἐπικαλεῖν | i.e. σεμκ | ⲃⲟⲣῖ | ηλ πω i.e. σπα- W, P, S || *13* i.e. σε εκ-ε-εῖ || *14* *l.* εχμ (πι-ζώδιον) : *l.* πσπρ W | *l.* ἐπ(ικαλεῖν) || *15* i.e. ἄγγελος : πα[γγελος ετ] W, P, S || *16* i.e. ὀργ[ή] || *19* τεβς W || *20–21* i.e. τα[ρ]ταροῦχος :]πτα[ρ]ταρογχος W

four rivers!

Neither magician nor sorcerer nor heavenly <being> nor underworld <being> nor <the> hand of man will be able to contain this blood which is under NN <child of> NN, except me!

^{|35} ⲙ I invoke you, *Michael, the *angel, ^{|col. 2} who stands at the right side of the Father, that you come upon <this image>!

I invoke <you>, *Gabriel, the angel who stands at the left side of the Father that you come for me with your fiery sword ^{|5} upon this image!

I invoke you, *Adonai, the great angel who stands over the twelve hours of the day that you come for me upon this *image!

I invoke you Uriel?, the great angel ^{|10} who stands over <the> twelve hours of the night, that you come for me upon this image!

I invoke you, Bor...ō, the face of fiery flame, that you come for me upon <this image>!

I invoke you, [...]ēl, ^{|15} the angel [...] the wrath? [...] ^{|20} in the? [...] of? the *Tartaruchus of *hell, he

front, col. 1

30–32. ⲓⲁⲉ : “neither ... nor” Although ⲉῖτε (“whether”) is used, the sense, and parallels (see note to ll. 31–33 below) require us to understand οὔτε (“neither”). It is possible that an original structure of the form “whether magician *etc.* ... <no-one> will be able to...” has been miscopied; we thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for this suggestion. For the *topos* of magicians being unable to heal, compare *PCM I* 18 ll. 15–16, and see Dosoo 2021b: 51 for a brief discussion.

31–33. ⲓⲁⲉ πνυρᾶνιον... ⲁῖⲥ νρῶμε : “nor heavenly <being> nor underworld <being> nor <the> hand of man” Skiles translates “whether heavenly or infernal or human hand”, but this is not possible grammatically, since the genitive ᾶ indicating the possessor of ⲁῖⲥ can only apply to νρῶμε.

33–34. ⲉⲙⲉⲟⲙ ⲉⲱⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ : “be able to contain this blood” Worrell, Pernigotti, and Skiles translate “find strength from this blood”, but this seems unlikely. For the trope of magicians and sorcerers being unable to undo curses, see *PCM I* 8 ll. 15–16.

front, col. 2

2, 5, 8–9, etc. ⲉⲱ, ⲉⲱⲉⲛ, ⲉⲱⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥ etc. : “upon this image” Worrell, Pernigotti, and Skiles understand these as abbreviations for Standard Sahidic ⲉⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲥ “upon this side” (*cf.* col. 1 ll. 12–13), but this is a different invocation, and it seems more likely that the powers are being invoked to descend upon an image; ζῳδιον is commonly found written with devoiced consonants (*e.g.*, ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲟⲛ), and appears in a variety of abbreviations; the closest to that here is ⲙⲟⲗⲓⲟⲛ in *PCM I* 27 front l. 15. This invocation is an example of an *epiclesis*, a call to God or an angelic being to descend in order to empower a physical object, a ritual act likely inspired by the *epicleses* of liturgical rituals such as the *anaphora* and the blessing of the oil to anoint the sick; *cf.* the discussion in Dosoo 2021d: 426–428.

12–14. ⲃⲟⲣ . . . ⲱ : ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲱⲁⲗ ⲛⲕⲱⲧ : “Bor...ō, the face of fiery flame” Worrell, Pernigotti, and Skiles translate “Boriel, thou of the face of fiery flame” (“Boriel, tu che hai il volto fiammeggiante”), *i.e.* ⲡⲁ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲱⲁⲗ ⲛⲕⲱⲧⲧ, but ⲡⲱ for ⲡⲁ would be unexpected, and the traces do not obviously suggest ⲃⲟⲣⲛⲗ, although the angel names here do typically end in ⲛⲗ. Perhaps compare rather names such as ⲃⲟⲣⲁⲱ (*PCM I* 11 p. 26 ll. 1–2) and ⲃⲟⲣⲁⲩ (Mich.Ms. 136 p. 2 l. 4 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128)), and for the whole phrase “Sabaho, the face of flaming fire” (ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲃⲟ ⲡⲣⲱⲁ ⲛⲕⲱⲧⲧ (*P.Macq.* I 1; KYP M167)).

- 25 ο[γ] ηπερω πορω εβολ : εχ-
 η τκογμνην τηρε : ετε π-
 εφραν πε : cīcīnai pāmīn · χε-
 30 κεϊ naī : εχ̄ε : τε μο теспарт-
 н · τφере мпπιαβολос тента-
 сφωκ επеснт εαменте асин-
 ε мпπартароуχος наменте
 ερραї · χερεї naī εχ̄ен = τε мω-
 35 тен īb : наρχнаггелос : ере-
 теγм̄īb : мпале мзи м̄ооу
 ρнеуχ̄ιϑ мпнау ет̄īnaсї-
 те моу : ερογн επκρωт · ет-
 етнеμροу нте īb · мпале
 35 нкρωт · нтетноуχε мооу
 ερογн επερнт : песо̄уоу : пе-
 сзнт пезнпарон песїкоу-
 тон пеоу мхес тн мелос

back column I (↓)

- τεπ : мωтен п̄з наρχн-
 аггелос ете naī не миханл :
 гаврїнл = оγρїнл = ρακογнл :
 соγρїнл = асоγнл = саλαφογнл =
 5 нгї ρωκ миханл ερραї = εχ̄ε : ет-
 етмсωтем nca наρωї нте-
 те̄сωκ εвол мпоуωу мп-
 азнт · петнма нтаγγхн
 τ̄наχωте мп̄зαωу нiero
 10 нкρωт : нтапωт εεραї · е-

22 i.e. ^см-περω-ρω | i.e. ^сπαρω | [εβο]λ W || 23 i.e. οἰκουμένη || 25 l. εχ(м пи-ζφδιον) :
 εχ̄ l. εχ(м писпр) W, P, S | l. ἐ(πικαλείν) | i.e. ^сμνοκ || 26 i.e. διάβολος || 27 i.e. ^сωκ :
 ωκε i.e. ^сωσε W, S || 28 i.e. тартароуχος || 29 i.e. ^схе ереθ-(ε)и | l. εχн (пи-ζφδιον) :
 l. εχен писпр W, P, S | l. ἐ(πικαλείν) || 30 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 31 l. т-м̄пт-снооус | i.e. φιάλη ||
 31–32 i.e. ^стеγ-м̄пт-снооус м-φιαлн мнз м̄мооу ρ̄н неγ-сїх || 33 i.e. ^сμνοу | i.e. ^сκωрт ||
 34 i.e. ^смоγз | i.e. φιάλη || 35 i.e. ^сκωрт н perhaps corrected from unclear letter by overwriting ||
 36 l. е-πεс-знт || 37 i.e. пес-ηпар || 37–38 i.e. ^спес-συκωτόν : i.e. пескогте он W 1934 ||
 38 i.e. ^спес-ωе оу-сос м̄п̄ те̄н-мелос ? : i.e. ^спес-ωе м̄-χογтн м̄-мелос Polotsky in W, S | i.e. μέλος ||
 back col. 1, 1 l. ἐπ(ικαλείν) || 2–3 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 5 i.e. ^сεχ̄н (пи-ζφδιον) : l. εχ̄ε(н писпр) W, P, S |
 ет- W || 5–6 i.e. ^сε̄тег̄н-т̄н-ωт̄н̄ : ет̄ тмсωтем “to give – not to hear” (“dare, non per ascoltare
 (altro)”) W, P : “to give, without hearing” S || 7 i.e. ^сχωк || 8 i.e. αἵτημα | i.e. ψυχή || 9 l. м-тн-саωу
 : мпзαωу W || 10 i.e. ^сκωрт

whose lock of hair is spread out over the entire world, whose name is Sisinaei Pamin, that ²⁵ you come for me upon <this image>!

I invoke you, Espartē, the daughter of the Devil, she who went down to *hell and brought up the *Tartaruchus of hell, that you come for me upon <this image>!

I invoke you, ³⁰ twelve *archangels, your twelve bowls filled with water in your hands, in the moment I cast it into the fire, may you fill the twelve bowls ³⁵ with fire and may you cast them into her heart, her lung, her heart, her liver, her one hundred and fifty-five⁷ parts! ^[back, col. 1] I invoke you, O seven *archangels, who are *Michael, *Gabriel, Uriel, Raguel, *Suriel, Asouēl, Salaphouēl, ⁵ that you (s.), yourself, Michael, come down!

If you (pl.) do not obey the <words> of my mouth and fulfill the desire of my heart, the demand of my soul, I will traverse the seven rivers of fire, ¹⁰ and I will run up to

front, col. 2 24. παμιν : “Pamin” Worrell translates “the amin”, understanding a word of Syriac or Arabic origin meaning “trustworthy”, presumably *ܥܡܝܢ* (?*amīn*) or *أمن* (*amin*).

25–26. τεςπαρτη : *Espartē* As noted by Worrell (1934: 12 n. 7), the name of the Devil’s daughter is likely derived from Astarte (Ἀστάρτη in Judges 2.13), a Levantine goddess who is mentioned several times in the Hebrew Bible, reinterpreted here as a demonic figure. The form here is likely the result of a visual confusion of τ and π in the name’s transmission, and the change of the initial (likely unstressed) vowel. For the initial definite article τ- with the names of divinities in Coptic, see Shisha-Halevy 1989: 13–15; Emmel 1994. The same figure appears in *P.Bad.* V 123 (KYP M315) front l. 76, a curse in which the victim is to be left without company, except “Devil and Spartē” (τῆσθεος εἰσπαρτη). In this case the initial ε has apparently been reanalysed as part of the definite article (τε-) and removed; note the comparable absence of article before τῆσθεος.

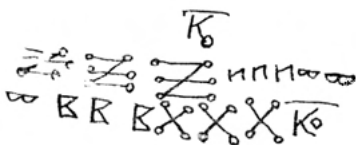
30–32. ερετεγμητβ : ηπαλε μην μοογ ενεγχις : “your 12 bowls filled with water in your hands” The Coptic here uses the third-person plural suffix pronoun, but a second-person translation seems more natural here (cf. Shisha-Halevy 1989: 52–53). The image is likely inspired by Revelation 16, in which seven angels carry bowls, in particular Revelation 16.1, in which the fourth angel has a bowl which is poured onto the sun in order to scorch men with fire. The twelve angels here may be those described in Cairo JdE 49547 (Girard 1927; KYP M297) ll. 29–32: “twelve small boys who watch over the body of the sun... twelve bowls which are filled with water; they filled their hands and threw (it) into the rays so that the sun would not burn the fruits” (ἵβ κοῦῖ ἡλλογ εἰςκεπασε νοβ πσωνε πρη... ἵβ πριαλε εἰτμεζ μοογ ἀγμογ εἰνεγχις ἀγμογχε εἰογν πακτῖν τῇ πρη χε νογρωκε νεκαπωσ). The image seems to be of the angels who regulate the heat of the sun replacing the water of their bowls with fire, and directing the heat they usually moderate at the spell’s victim; cf. the discussion in Dosoo 2021d: 423–433.

33–38. ερογν επκερωτ : “into the fire ...” This is an example of the motif identified by Ortal-Paz Saar as LOVE IS FIRE, in which the burning of love is analogised to the burning of a fire; see Saar 2017: 194–195; Saar 2019b; Cherkashina/Lyavdanský 2021: 79–80, 86; Cherkashina/Lyavdanský 2022: 25, 35; and cf. *PCM I* 20 ll. 13–16; *PCM I* 28; *PCM I* 32; *PCM I* 37 front l. 22; and among Greek texts, e.g., *SM I* 45 (KYP M822); *SM I* 48 (KYP M874). The ritual described here involves copying an image onto an object which is then cast into the fire while the formula is being spoken; the same ritual is described in, e.g., *PCM I* 28 p. 9 ll. 10–13, *PCM I* 32 p. 1 ll. 16–17, 24–25, p. 2 ll. 11–12. While the object to be inscribed here is unspecified, other recipes often prescribe the use of an ostrakon. Naveh/Shaked 1998: amulet 10 (V–VI CE), a series of fired shards written in Aramaic, represents a rare example of a surviving applied object from such a ritual; its text is paralleled in a later recipe from the Cairo Genizah (Naveh/Shaked 1993: Geniza 22 p. 1 ll. 1–6); for discussions see Bohak 2008: 156–157; Saar 2017: 116–120.

τμερζαωρε нπε пма ετ-
 ερεϊαω σαβαωθ ερμωρς
 нгн[т]ϥ †на.χινε μιχαηλ ≠
 εβρ[α]ερατϥ η[σα ου]ηαμ [мп-]
 15 ερω[т са. 11] . сн[. .]
 [са. 15]ηпκ[. . .]
 [са. 14]ε нπε-
 [са. 15]пма
 [са. 5] . τὰχη тахн

back, column 2 (at 90° to column 1)

[. ?]ωωωх ωωωωх
 [. ?]ωωωωх ωωωωх
 [. ?]ωωωωх ωωωωх
 [. ?]ωωωωх ωωωωх
 5 [. ?]ωωωωх ωωωωх
 [. ?]φωωωх
 [. ?]ωωωωх

10 

11 *i.e.* ^sσαωρ || *col.* 1, 12 ρн[o]с W || 13 *i.e.* ^sοινε || 15]сн W || 16]η[W || 17]нπε W || 18 *l.* περμα ? :
]пма[. . .] W || 19 *i.e.* τὰχύ (twice) || *col.* 2, 8, 10 *i.e.* κο(ινά) ? : understood as *kharaktēr* by W, P, S

the seventh heaven, the place in which *Iao *Sabaoth sits; I will find *Michael, standing [at the right] of [the] |¹⁵ Father [...] of the[?] [...] his[?] place[?] [...] Quickly, quickly!

|^{col. 2} [...]ōōōkh ōōōōkh, ōōōōkh ōōōōkh, ōōōōkh ōōōōkh, ōōōōkh ōōōōkh, ōōōōkh ōōōōkh,
|⁵ ōōōōkh ōōōōkh, ōōōōkh, [ō]ōōōkh. <Add the> usual[?].

(*kharaktēres*: ZZZHHH 𐤆 𐤆)

|¹⁰ (*kharaktēres*: 𐤆BBBXXX) <Add the> usual[?].

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph, tracing by KD.

PCM I 4. Miniature codex

Middle Egypt ?

9.5 (H) × 9.1 (W) cm

V–VI CE

Other references: P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. 16; TM 102252; KYP M126; Bélanger Sarrazin #230.

Editions: Pernigotti 1979 (*ed. pr.*) [P 1979]; Pernigotti 1993 [P 1993]; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 4, no. 5 [B-S].

Translations: Pernigotti 1995: 3707–3708: no. 9 (Italian) [P 1995]; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 4, no. 5 (French).

Additional commentary: Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 3.

Present location: Milan, Università Statale.

Image: Pernigotti 1979: plates I–III; Pernigotti 1993: 100, 101, 107–109.

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. p. 1 ll. 1–10: Amulet (?) consisting of letters, *kharaktēres*, and *voces magicae* (KYP T1254)
2. p. 2 l. 1–17 – p. 3 ll. 1–5: Invocation of Prabaoth (KYP T1255)
3. p. 4 l. 1–17 – p. 6 ll. 1–2: Love spell mentioning Isis, Osiris, Apis, and Petbe (KYP T341)

Incomplete papyrus codex, originally of 12 pages (3 bifolios, all broken into individual sheets), of which two are now lost. Pernigotti's descriptions assume that the lost folio is the second part of the outermost,¹ corresponding to pages 11–12, but more recent photographs, demonstrating continuities across the fibres, show that it is in fact the second half of the innermost folio (corresponding to pages 7–8) which is lost. The text is written only on the first six pages, with the rest of the codex blank. The damage patterns of the codex, resembling a vertical crease, suggest that it may have been folded in half before deposition.²

The manuscript was purchased by the Università Statale in Milan through the antiquities market in the early 1960s.³ The purchase of the manuscript as part of a larger group of magical texts, written in Greek and Aramaic, suggests that it may have belonged to an ancient archive, which was deposited, discovered, and then sold together, known as the 'Multilingual Library' (KYP A17; TM Arch ID 380).⁴ A drawing identical to that of page 3 of this codex is found in one of the Greek

¹ Pernigotti 1979: 19; Pernigotti 1993: 95.

² Pernigotti 1993: 96 n. 10; *cf.* PCM I 28 & 34, codices which also seem to have been folded before deposition.

³ Gallazzi/Piacentini 1998: 5–6; Pernigotti 1979: 21.

⁴ Daniel/Maltomini 1992: 231–232; Bohak 2008: 167–168. The archive consists of two Greek rotuli (*GEMF* 82, 84, 85=*PGM* CXXIII, CXXIV, CXXVa=KYP M180, M840, M902), and several fragments in Greek, Coptic and Aramaic (*PGM* CXXIIIb–f, *PGM* CXXVb–f). Some of these fragments may be applied texts, and repeat text found in the formularies.

manuscripts, *GEMF* 84/*PGM* CXXIV (KYP M840), strengthening the hypothesis of the existence of an archive (see notes to page 3).

The longest pages of the codex have 17 lines (pp. 2 & 4), the shortest, the final written page, only 2 (p. 6). A decorated horizontal line marks the end of a text on page 1, but the rest of the page is left blank; similarly long spaces are left at the ends of pages 3 and 5.⁵

The hand is an informal, trained bilinear, generally unimodal and upright majuscule. Ligature of ε with π, τ and other letters is common. The μ is deeply curved, the γ resembles Latin Y, written in one stroke. Letter size is somewhat variable, with β, κ, θ, and φ in particular at times larger than the other letters, and ζ, χ, ω, σ tending towards quadrilinearity. The hand is generally undecorated, with the exception of notable serifs on τ, and marked loops on α and φ (which takes the form often described as “treble clef”). The writing on the last page is notably lighter in shading than on the other pages, suggesting the use of a different writing implement. A colon, sometimes extended into two short oblique strokes, marks paratextual divisions. The Greek manuscripts of the archive are dated to the fifth or sixth centuries,⁶ and Pernigotti (1979: 21) suggested a similar date for this manuscript.⁷ We note similarities to the Greek hands, in particular that of *PGM* CXXIIIa/*GEMF* 82 (KYP M180); although the single ς (l. 17) in that manuscript is quite different from that of *PCM* I 4, the forms of the ϣ and Ϸ do seem close to those of *PGM* CXXVc/*SM* II 98.3 (KYP M540). We thus tentatively agree with Pernigotti’s fifth to sixth century dating of this manuscript.

The dialect is Sahidic, with some inconsistent yet significant divergences from the literary standard. As well as common features such as the writing of schwa as ε, of doubled vowels as single vowels, of ^sq as β, of τϣ as χ (purely graphic), the lack of ν > μ assimilation, and the use of the strong article (μ- for expected ^sπ(ε)-), we find indications of cαμ/peμ vocalism typical of the more conservative dialects (*i.e.*, those other than Sahidic and Bohairic)—^sε as α, ^sο as α, and the final tonic vowel written as -ι rather than -^sε. Pernigotti understood these as a mixture of dialectal influences, principally Faiyumic and Lycopolitan. He thus suggested a possible origin in the region of Beni Suef (Heracleopolis), comparing Cairo JdE 49547 (Girard 1927; KYP M297), found in Mazura, near Beni Suef,⁸ but we find this assessment overly optimistic; this latter text is not notably closer to *PCM* I 4 than many other non-standard manuscripts. Kahle does note that the lack of ν > μ assimilation is generally found north of Thebes, so we may cautiously suggest a more general Middle Egyptian provenance.⁹

⁵ Extensive blank spaces occur in other manuscripts of this archive; see Daniel/Maltomini 1992: 231.

⁶ See *SM* II nos. 96–98.

⁷ Pernigotti 1979: 19 (V CE); Pernigotti 1993: 96 (V–VI CE).

⁸ Pernigotti 1979: 45–46; Pernigotti 1993: 119–120.

⁹ Kahle 1954: I 99–100.

^{p. 1}	ō ō ō ō ō ō ō ō ō ō ō ō	
	ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ	
	Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ Ⲕ	
	Abinikhokh	Abououkh
⁵	Thabobukh	Amōmikh
	Orisekthrub	Tharsoukh
	Emoubik	Thenepthim
	N.nar	A phylactery
	Oukhōthōmikh	Ndep
¹⁰	Prōthēmas	Psenaiō

^{|p. 2} “I invoke you, Prabaoth, he who dwells in the prayer of all the *powers! I invoke your forms, I adjure you by your twelve chariots ^{|5} that you ride upon! Listen to me *Abra, I invoke you today, for I am NN (<add the> usual)!”

I invoke Thōrath! I invoke Laelamth! I invoke Ōrōmaē! I invoke Tharabkh! I invoke Lalath! I invoke Niēl Korathoth! I invoke ^{|10} Akramakhamari! I invoke Ariōma! I invoke Koraniē! I invoke Bōrabōē! I invoke Soukhōrabth! I invoke Kouē! I invoke Saramiē! I invoke Saē!

Awaken yourselves so that you come to me ^{|15} today, Bal⁹, O *angel, you who are not honoured among us! Amen! ... I call⁹ [...]

Note: In the apparatus, ‘Pernigotti’ [P] refers to his editions of 1979, 1993, and his translation of 1995; the date is only specified when these diverge from one another.

page 1

2–3. The ⲡ signs which occupy l. 2 and the Ⲕ which occupy l. 3 are touching, and each pair might therefore be considered a single symbol.

page 2

7–13. *Voces magicae*: Pernigotti 1993 notes several parallels to the names here, including ⲑⲟⲩⲣⲁⲕ (*P.Lond.Copt.* 1008 l. 50; KYP M282); λαλαμ (several Greek magical papyri; see Brashear 1995: 3590); ἀρωμανηλ (*PCM* I 22 l. 15, 27), ὅρακαί, ὠρωωνηλ, σαηλ (*PCM* I 12, p. 11 l. 13, p. 39 page l. 17, p. 41 l. 10); σαχωρακ (BL Ms Or. 6795 l. 36; Kropp 1931: I no. F; KYP M307).

15. ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲃⲁⲗ : “today, Bal?” Pernigotti (1979, 1993) understands this to have the sense of “from today forward” (Crum CD 731a), but this would not seem to make sense in a context in which the being is commanded to come to the practitioner. For ⲃⲁⲗ as the name of a superhuman being, cf. Cairo JdE 45060 l. 3 (Kropp 1931: I no. K; KYP M303); *PCM* I 33 l. 4 (ⲃⲁⲣ). It is tempting to see here a link to the Northwest Semitic deity (or divine title) Ba’al (בעל “lord”), who appears at numerous points in the Hebrew Bible, but the normal Coptic writing would be ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲗ; see, e.g., Jeremiah 7.9 (Feder 2002: 122).

15–16. ⲡⲁⲩⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲩⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲏ : “O angel, you who are not honoured among us” Pernigotti 1979 translates “the angel of the village (or “in possession of justice”) is in our midst?” (“l’angelo del villaggio/possessore della giustizia è in mezzo a noi”). Pernigotti 1993 translates “the ignominious angel is among us” (“l’angelo ignominiosa è tra di noi”).

page 3 (→)

ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΠΑ ΝΙΒΔΛ ΝΚΩΖΤ
ΚΟΛ : ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙ ΤΑΧΥ Β : ΖΝ ΒΟΗ :
ΔΣΩΤΩΘ : ΔΜΙΩΗΛ : ΒΩΧΩΧ

Τ Χ Ξ Η Α Γ Ν

5



page 4 (↓)

ΤΣΟΤΕ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΡΗ ΤΧΑΛΟΟΥ
ΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΟΟΖ ΤΣΙΜΟΥΤ ΖΝ Τ-
ΜΗΤΙ ΝΠΚΩΤΖ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΟΥ-
ΩΗ ΝΣΑ ΠΩΜΤ ΕΤΗΡ ΣΟΥΣΑΖ-
5 ΤΕ ΖΑ ΝΚΕΕΣ ΝΖΑΠΕ ΜΝ ΗΣΕ ΜΝ
ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΤΣΟΤΕ ΛΟ ΕΣΚΩΤΕ
ΕΠΡΗ ΝΗΧΑΛΟΟΥ ΛΩ ΕΣΚΩΤΕ
ΕΠΟΟΖ ΝΝΕΤΣΙΜΟΥΤ ΛΟ ΖΝ ΤΜΗ-
ΤΕ ΝΠΚΩΖΤ ΝΠΚΩΖΤ ΛΟ : Ε-
10 ΒΟΥΟΗ ΝΣΑ ΠΩΜΤ ΕΤΗΡ ΝΝ-
ΕΥΛΟ Ε[ΥΣ]ΔΖΤΕ ΖΑ ΝΚΕΕΣ
ΝΖΑΠΕ ΜΝ ΗΣΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ
ΝΕΑΒΡΑΣΑΖ ΛΟ ΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ Ν-
ΠΚΩΖΤ ΕΧΩΡΗ ΝΣΩΣ ΕΒΩΩ
15 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΤΙΝΑΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΝ
ΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΠΚΩΖΤ ΕΙΧΩ-
ΡΗ ΝΣΑ ΔΔ ΩΔ[. . .] . .

page 3, 1 i.e. ^ΣΜ-βενίπε | πανί[.] || 2 i.e. κοι(νά) : κοχ i.e. “ἀπολογία” P | i.e. ἤδη (twice) | i.e. ταχύ | i.e. ^ΣΖΝ Τ-βον ^Ν- || page 4, 1 [κ]ωτε P 1979 | i.e. ^ΣΤ-φαλοογ || 3 i.e. ^ΣΗΗΤΕ | i.e. ^ΣΜ-Π-κωζτ || 4 εφ-τηρ P 1979 | i.e. ^Σσε- || 5 ησε P 1979 || 7 i.e. ^ΣΠτε-τ-φαλοογ | i.e. ^Σλο || 9 i.e. ^ΣΜ-Π-κωζτ : ^ΝΠκωζ[τ] P 1979 | i.e. ^ΣΠνε- || 10 πωμτ εφ-τηρ P 1979 || 13 i.e. ^ΣΠνε- || 14 εφ-χωρη || 15 i.e. ^Σαν || 16 ^ΝΠκ[ω]ζ[τ] P 1979 || 17 i.e. δ(ε)ί(να) δ(ε)ί(να) | l. e.g. φαντεςβακ ? : ωδ[ca. 4]... P

|^{p. 3} of iron, he with eyes² of fire—<add the> usual—now, now, quickly (twice), by <the> power of Asōtōth, Amiōēl, Bōkhōkh!”

^{above tableau} (*kharaktēres*: ΠΙΧΚΗΑΓΝ) |⁵ ὀδὸ iii sss

|^{p. 4} The arrow goes around the sun, the water-wheel goes around the moon, the Pleiades are in the midst of the fire. The fire consumes the three deities, a fire is being kindled |⁵ under the bones of *Apis and *Isis and *Osiris. The arrow will not stop going around the sun, the water-wheel will not stop going around the moon, the Pleiades will not cease to be in the midst of the fire. The fire will not |¹⁰ stop consuming the three deities, they will not stop kindling fire under the bones of Apis, Isis, and Osiris. *Abraxas will not cease to be in the midst of the fire, driving it on, calling |¹⁵ out, “I am not going to come out from the midst of this fire, driving on NN until [she² goes?”]

page 3 1. ΠΠΠΠΠ ΠΑ ΝΙΒΑΛ ΝΚΩΖΤ : “of iron, he with eyes² of fire” We thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for suggesting this reading. The oblique stroke of the α curls upwards more than expected, but perhaps the scribe anticipated a ligature (cf. ερραι on p. 5 l. 7). “Iron” presumably describes another attribute (perhaps a body part) of the invoked being. For similar descriptions of superhuman beings, compare *GEMF 57/PGM IV* (KYP M3) l. 109 “he of the bronze feet, he of the iron heels” (Π[Α] ΤΙΒΑΛΛΥΒ ΠΩΗΝΤ ΠΑ ΝΙΤΙΒΣ ΝΒΕΝΙΠΕ); *BKU I 1* (KYP M76) front col. 2 l. 19: “(Isis) with an head of iron upon her” (ερεογκεφαλη νβινιβε ριζος); BM EA 10376 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 2; KYP M286) l. 1 “he of the iron staff, he of the ... face” (ΠΑ ΠΕΒΕΡΩΒ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΠΑ ΠΕΡΟ .[.]); BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) l. 13: “this one who stands upon the iron legs” (ΠΑΙ ΕΤΑΡΕ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΚΕΛΕ ΒΙΝΙΠΕ); P.Carlsberg 52 (Lange 1932; KYP M125) p. ll. 2–3 “he of the bronze head, he of the iron teeth” (ΠΑ ΤΑΠΗ ΝΡΔΜΕΤ ΠΑ ΝΙΔΒΑΖ ΝΒΕΝΙΠΙ).

2. ρΗ ΣΟΜ : “by <the> power” For this phrase, cf. the notes to *PCM I 16* o. 3 ll. 7–8.

4–6. Image: The figure of a man and the associated *kharaktēres* and vowels above it are identical to those at *GEMF 84/PGM CXXIV* (KYP M840) front ll. 10–33. This Greek recipe, though, seems to be a binding curse, and the image may depict an effigy to be made out of wax. Here, by contrast, it is associated with an invocation with no clear link to cursing or the use of effigies.

page 4 1, 6. ΤΣΟΤΕ : “the arrow” Here we follow the translation “the arrow” (Crum CD 361b) proposed by Pernigotti (1979: 36; 1993: 112–113), although it is also possible to translate “the fire” (Crum CD 360a s.v. κατε). Pernigotti 1979 understands it as the constellation of the same name (Sagitta, Greek Οίστός, although Pernigotti refers to τόξον “the bow”); cf. *PCM I 9* ll. 7–8.

1, 7. ΤΧΑΛΟΥΥ : “water wheel” For this translation, see Crum CD 561a s.v. φαλλουυ. Pernigotti (1979: 36) proposes “scorpion”, i.e. the constellation Scorpio, attested in Coptic as τβλην (Spiegelberg 1911: 147). Pernigotti (1993: 113) later decided against this earlier interpretation, instead proposing to understand “water wheel” as the constellation Aquarius; cf. *PCM I 9* ll. 7–8.

4–6. Fire consumes the bones of the three deities: For the “three deities” cf. Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: commentary 125–126, 129; KYP M128) p. 5 ll. 3–4, but there apparently referring to the triune deity Amun. Threats against gods or the cosmic order are a common way of compelling deities in Pharaonic ritual and later Graeco-Egyptian magic (Sauneron 1951; Altenmüller 1977; Merkelbach/Totti 1991, 83–88; Maravela in Faraone/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 39 nn. 24–25). Threats are often against the vulnerable mummy of Osiris (e.g., *GEMF 8/PGM LVII* (KYP M788) l. 47; *GEMF 16/PDM xiv* (KYP M162) ll. 451–458; *GEMF 70/PGM V* (KYP M141) l. 266; Audollent 1904: no. 270 ll. 21–24), here paralleled by the threat against his bones. Threats against the corpses of Apis and Isis do not seem to be otherwise attested; perhaps the composer of this formula was attempting to amplify the threat by adding other Pharaonic deities known to them.

15. ΝΠΠΑΒΙ ΕΡΡΑΙ ΕΝ : “I am not going to come out from” More strictly “come up/down”, but the implied meaning seems to be “come up/down out of”. Pernigotti renders “come down” (“scendere”).

page 5 (→)

- 5 ερατϣ ⒶⒶ εικατῖχε ντ-
 σoм нснθ ѡανтевер паоу-
 ωω ζнθ ιω снθ ιω пакер-
 внθ ιω φениζ ιω паφγλαζ
 10 βαωτωρ петве нза нсеи
 петволвел нса нснте нпказ
 ким нмоκ νερсе нмоκ εзраι
 εχн ним тѡери ним вѣтс ераτϣ
 нⒶⒶ хε εκѡδηκим нмоκ ѡαϣ-
 15 ѡторτρ н̄си нснте н̄пказ ек-
 ѡанким нмоκ ѡαϣѡторτρ
 н̄си нестерεγμα н̄тпе н̄н
 νεθρονос нн νετζμοос ζιχo[οϣ]
 нсеογωωп ne τηροϣ нсеπωτ
 15 епесн[τ . . .]α νεγαρнoϣ н̄-
 сеωω [εβο]λ ζн ογнoс нснн

page 6 (↓)

хε ζαρπα[с]се нⒶⒶ аниτϣ ераτϣ
 нⒶⒶ ζн σoм ιαω саваωθ κοι

page 5, 1 i.e. κατέχειν : κα[τ]ῖχε P 1979 | i.e. [§]н̄-δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) || **5** βαωτωρ P 1979 | i.e. [§]сам || **6** i.e. [§]βολβα | i.e. [§]н̄-п-καз || **7–8** i.e. [§]н̄моз || **8** нι[н] P || **9** i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) | εκѡδηκим n corrected from κ by overwriting : εκѡанким P 1979 | i.e. [§]н̄моз | ѡαϣ P 1979 || **10** ѡторτρ P | i.e. [§]н̄-п-καз || **11** i.e. [§]н̄моз || **12** i.e. στερέωμα || **13** i.e. θρόνος || **14** нсеογωωп ne corrected from нφογωωп ne by overwriting ? i.e. [§]ογωεπῖ ναι ? : нсеογωω [.]ε “and they desire...” (“ed essi vogliono...”) P || **16** ω[ω] P || *page 6, 1* i.e. ἀρπάζειν | i.e. δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) || **2** i.e. [§]н̄-δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) | i.e. [§]ζн τ-σoм | i.e. κοι(νά) : κοх i.e. “ἀπολογία” P

^{|p. 5} to NN! I restrain the power of *Seth until he does my desire!” Seth, Iō Seth, Iō Pakerbeth, Iō Phenix, Iō Paphulax, ^{|5} Baōtōr! Bull-faced *Petbe, he who uproots the foundations of the earth, move yourself, awaken yourself against NN, the daughter of NN, carry her to NN, for if you move yourself, ^{|10} the foundations of the earth will shake; if you move yourself the firmaments of the heaven and the *thrones and those who sit upon them will be shaken and they will break[?], all of these[?], and they will go ^{|15} down ... one another, and they will call out in a great voice, ^{|p. 6} “Seize NN, bring her to NN by <the> power of *Iao *Sabaoth!”
 <Add the> usual.

RBS, KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph; tracing by KD.

page 5

3–5. ⲕⲏⲓⲱ ⲕⲏⲓⲱ : “Seth Iō Seth...” This is a variant of the *Ērbeth*-logos, a sequence whose opening part, “Iō Seth”, can perhaps be translated “Hail Seth!” (Dosoo 2021c: 209). The formula is associated with the god Seth-Typhon in the older Graeco-Egyptian corpus, and typically occurs in curses and love spells, where it is a compulsive formula intended to force the target or invoked beings to obey; cf. PCM I 14 l. 5; Martín Hernández 2019. The initial writing of Seth with a z rather than a c (*i.e.*, *Zēth*) is unlikely to be significant, since Coptic does not distinguish between voiced and unvoiced consonants.

4. ⲓⲱ ⲫⲉⲛⲓⲱ ⲓⲱ ⲫⲁⲫⲓⲕⲁⲱ : “Iō Phenix, Iō Paphulax” The recurrent Iō indicates that this is part of the *Ērbeth*-logos (see notes to ll. 3–5 above). Phenix resembles the Greek φοῖνιξ (“phoenix”), and Paphulax could be understood as “my guardian” (ⲫⲁ-ⲫⲓⲕⲁⲱ), but both seem to function simply as *voces magicae* here.

page 6

2. ⲕⲏⲓⲱ ⲕⲏⲓⲱ : “by <the> power” For this phrase, cf. the notes to PCM I p. 3 ll. 17–18.

PCM I 5. Procedure for the healing of internal organs

Hermopolis (El-Ashmunein)

9 (H) × 7.5 (W) cm

VI–VII CE

Other references: P.Berol. 11918; TM 107301; KYP M213; Bélanger Sarrazin #31.

Editions: Beltz 1984: no. III 26 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Beltz 1984: no. III 26 (German).

Present location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–12, back ll. 1–3: Procedure for the healing of internal organs (KYP T419)

Complete parchment sheet, inscribed in black ink on the front (flesh) and back (hair), containing a recipe for the healing of the internal organs. The sheet was rolled or folded multiple times on its vertical axis; approximately 10 horizontal creases are visible. The manuscript was excavated in 1902 in Hermopolis by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft under the supervision of Otto Rubensohn,¹ and the manuscript is now kept in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

The hand is regular, bilinear, and unimodal, largely upright, but nonetheless occasionally sloping to the right, and displaying elongated descenders (on ⲁ, ⲕ, ⲗ, ⲛ, ⲣ, Ⲯ, Ⲕ, ⲕ) which descend below the baseline. The rounded letters, Ⲑ and ⲑ, are sometimes written in such a way that the two strokes forming the circle do not meet, leaving gaps at the top and bottom. Likewise, ⲕ, ⲣ, and Ⲗ are written in multiple strokes which often do not touch. Short vertical serifs are found on both sides of the horizontal stroke of the ⲧ and Ⲕ, while curved serifs are apparent on the ⲛ. Very fine supralinear strokes are used regularly, and the copyist marks word divisions with an apostrophe, a single stroke, or two oblique lines.

The closest parallels we have been able to find are in the hand of the priest Mark of the *Topos* of Saint Mark in Thebes, whose activity can be dated to the late sixth to early seventh centuries. Mark's hand is more clearly inclined to the right, and has bimodular traits not present in this manuscript, but the letterforms, in particular the notable serifs on Ⲕ and ⲛ, are strikingly close.²

The dialect is Sahidic, albeit with a few common non-standard features, such as haplography of ⲛ, and the use of Ⲗ for ⲥ.

¹ Beltz 1984: 100. Rubensohn 1903: 79 gives a brief mention of the excavation, but not of this particular piece.

² Cf. in particular *P.Mon.Epiph.* 592+49; cf. Boud'hors 2008: 154–155; Mihálykó 2019: 79. On Mark and his career, see Heurtel 2007 & 2010; Boud'hors/Heurtel 2015: 9–10, 19–22.

front (flesh)

†παλακαλι ημωτ̄ν
 νετ̄ννοσ̄ νραν̄ νχω-
 ωρε̄ ετε ναϊ νε ≠
 αςβιητ̄ - αχιηλ -
 5 αςφογηλ ≠ καμογς
 αμτατ̄ ≠ αqλι-
 βηλιζε ≠ μαρμαρῑω^θ
 †ωρκ̄ ερωτ̄ν̄ νετ̄ν-
 νοσ̄ νραν̄ μ̄ν νετ̄ν-
 10 μα νωωπε̄ ετετ̄ν-
 ογηζ̄ ν̄ζητογ̄ - χεκας
 ετετ̄νωλ̄ μημαζτ̄

back (hair)

1 Δ.Δ. μ̄ν νεqσλοτε
 χαλβανει ≠ βωτε
 ναβ̄ νεβιω̄ ≠ κεντα^p

front 1 *i.e.* παρακαλῆν || 2 *i.e.* ^sν-νε-τ̄ν-νοσ̄ || 5 αφογηλ Beltz || 8-9 *i.e.* ^sν-νε-τ̄ν-νοσ̄ || 12 ετετ̄νωχ Beltz : μημα ζτ Beltz || *back* 1 *i.e.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) : . η Beltz || 2 *i.e.* χαλβάνη : . χαλβ̄ ακιη Beltz || 3 *i.e.* ^sν-αq : . . αβ̄ . νεραγ Beltz | *i.e.* κεντάριον ? : κες . . . Beltz

^{|front} I invoke you (pl.) <by> your great, mighty *names, which are these: Asbiēt, Akhiēl, ^{|5} Asphouēl, Kamous, Amtatth, Aflibēlize, Marmariōth! I adjure you <by> your great names and your ^{|10} *dwelling places in which you dwell, that you contain the bowels <of> ^{|back} NN, son of NN, and his innards!

Galbanum, sweat of a honey-bee, centaury[?].

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy.

front

12. εἰσέτινωλ' : “contain” This word seems unexpected in reference to internal organs; it is usually used in the context of the prevention of bleeding by “gathering it in”, and so may refer to healing internal bleeding or diarrhoea (cf. *PCM* I 25 p. 16 l. 24; *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167) p. 16 l. 1). We might alternatively understand a metathesis of λο (“heal”).

back

2–3. χαλβανει = βωτε ἡλβ' ηεβια' : “galbanum, sweat of a honey-bee” Galbanum is the resin produced by the stem of the Galbanum plant (perhaps *Ferula gummosa* Boiss.). Dioscorides (*De materia medica* III.83) describes it as being used as a medicinal substance for various complaints, either inhaled, applied externally, or ingested, so that any of these may be the intended use here (cf. Lev/Amar 2008: 171–172; Macomber 2020: I 135 s.v. χαλβανη). The meaning of “sweat of a honey-bee” here is uncertain; presumably it refers to some kind of secretion from the insect, such as honey or wax (although this would not be the usual term for either of these), or else royal jelly or the pollen gathered on their legs.

3. κενταρ : “centaury?” The spiny plant centaury (perhaps *Centaurea centaurium* L. or *Erythraea centaurium* L.; André 1985: 55) is mentioned by Dioscorides (*De materia medica* III.6–7), as well as mediaeval Arabic and Hebrew works, as suitable for various medical problems, including internal diseases (Lev/Amar 2008: 377–378). The plant seems to also be mentioned in a fragmentary recipe from the unpublished magico-medical handbook Collège de France Ms. 1 (KYP M572; XI CE?), where it appears as κενταρος (p. 1 l. 3) and its juice is used to anoint the patient for an unclear complaint; in a recipe from the Cairo Genizah we find the drinking of centaury prescribed to provoke an abortion (*MTKG* I: T-S NS 322.10 p. 2b l. 13).

PCM I 6–8. The Schmidt Coptic Magical Dossier

Provenance unknown

VI–VII CE

Other references: Hs. Schmidt 1 & 2; P.Mich.Inv. 4932f; KYP A4.

Bibliography: Kropp 1931: I no. A, B; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: 159 n. 95, 236 n. 5, 264 n. 20.

Present location: Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library; Berlin, Private collection of Carl Schmidt (?).

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Manuscripts belonging to the archive: *PCM* I 6–8.

The putative ‘Schmidt Coptic Magical Dossier’ consists of three manuscripts; two sheets of parchment and one sheet of papyrus recognised by Bélanger Sarrazin as having been written in a very similar, if not the same, hand by a single copyist.¹ The manuscripts *PCM* I 6 & 7 were acquired together from a dealer in Cairo some time before 1931,² the date from which they are known to have belonged to the private collection of Carl Schmidt (1836–1938).³ *PCM* I 8 was acquired from the Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman by Harold I. Bell and William L. Westermann at some point between 1926 and 1927;⁴ it is therefore quite possible that Schmidt also acquired his pieces from Nahman. The role of Cairo as a hub for antiquities from all over Egypt prevents us from drawing any conclusions about provenance.

The ‘Schmidt scribe’ hand writes in a largely bilinear, bimodular majuscule, inclined slightly to the right. There are occasional serifs: τ and † consistently have serifs on the left side of their horizontal bar, while Δ has a left facing serif at its apex, and usually a broad flat base. γ, ϣ, and ϥ usually, but do not always, descend below the baseline of the bilinear letters, and may have flourishes on their descenders. Overall, the hand is irregular; while the μ is consistently curved—the curve may be either shallow or deep—and the γ varies between forms resembling the Latin Y and V, with the most common form being a two-stroke form with an oblique stem resembling a lowercase Latin y. The scribe’s use of supralinear

¹ Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: 159 n. 95, 264 n. 20.

² Kropp 1931: I 11.

³ On Carl Schmidt, see Marksches 2009. We thank Vincent Walter for this reference.

⁴ Bell 1927 describes the acquisition as follows: “The third lot consists of the papyri bought by Prof. Westermann and myself from Nahman. These were acquired in one lot but consist of very various papyri purchased by Nahman at different times and of different vendors. Some had arrived recently; others were selected by me from boxes of fragments which had apparently been in stock for a long time”. On Maurice Nahman, see Hagen/Ryholt 2016: 253–255.

strokes is limited to the letters ⲙ and ⲛ, and the stroke is gently curved downwards. Occasionally, ⲛ resembles ⲣ due to its short vertical stroke on the right (e.g., *PCM* I 7 l. 18 ⲡⲉⲛⲡⲉ; *PCM* I 8 front l. 1 ⲡⲛⲉⲗ, back l. 8 ⲡⲁⲙⲉ), while the ⲛ may in turn resemble a ⲡ due to the high horizontal bar sloping upwards to the right (e.g., *PCM* I 6 l. 4 ⲩⲱⲛ; *PCM* I 8 front l. 9 ⲗⲏⲧ). Ligatures, in particular of ⲁ and ⲉ to the following letter (especially ⲓ) are common, but not consistent. The copyist begins all three texts by writing a staurogram, uses mid-points as paratextual markers, as well as an occasional rounded supralinear stroke. Diaeresis is used on ⲓ. The writing of *PCM* I 6 is noticeably thicker; presumably it was written using a larger or blunter pen.

Tonio Sebastian Richter tentatively dated the manuscript *PCM* I 8 to between the fifth and sixth centuries,⁵ while Walter E. Crum suggested the seventh century at the latest for the other two manuscripts.⁶ Parallels for the hand are difficult to come by, but we can see some similar features in *SB Kopt.* I 36 (TM 87781)—the rounded ⲁ and supralinear stroke, ⲕ with large, curved upper leg, the distinctive forms of the ⲛ, ⲧ and ⲩ. This text, a verbal process recording a dispute over the ownership of part of a house, mentions the Sasanian Persian conquest of Egypt (619–630 CE), and individuals known to have been active as late as 647 CE,⁷ allowing it to be dated with some precision to between these dates. We thus propose a sixth to seventh century date for this copyist.

The texts are written in a form of Sahidic with only minor, and relatively common, divergences from the literary standard, such as the interchange of ⲉ/ⲏ and ⲟ/ⲱ (e.g., *PCM* I 6 l. 7 ⲕⲉⲧ for ⲉⲕⲏⲧ; *PCM* I 8 front l. 10 ⲥⲱⲛ for ⲉⲥⲟⲛ), occasional haplography, and the writing of ⲛⲧ as ⲧ.⁸ None of these are clearly suggestive of a geographical origin or of particular dialectal influence.

In terms of content, all three manuscripts are remarkable for mentioning Pharaonic Egyptian deities—Isis, Horus, and Osiris. *PCM* I 6 & 7 take the form of narrative charms of the common Horus-Isis type, while *PCM* I 8 is an invocation which simply mentions Isis and Osiris alongside Jewish-Christian figures. *PCM* I 7 & 8 are love spells, while *PCM* I 6 is either a narrative charm for causing sleep, or yet another love spell.

⁵ Richter 2015a: 99.

⁶ Crum in Kropp 1931: I x–xi.

⁷ For the question of date, cf. Schiller 1968: 117–118. Several of the same individuals are mentioned in *SB* VI 8988 (TM 17841), dated to 16 July 647; cf. Schiller 1968: 113–116.

⁸ Cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 75.

PCM I 6. Horus-Isis narrative charm for sleep or love

Provenance unknown

15 (H) × 15 (W) cm

VI–VII CE

Other references: Hs. Schmidt 1; Private collection Carl Schmidt 1; TM 98043; KYP M120; Bélanger Sarrazin #43.

Editions: Kropp 1931: I no. A (*ed. pr.*); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3, no. 1.

Translations: Kropp 1931: II no. 1 (German); Kelsey in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 48; Pernigotti 1995: no. 1 (Italian); Pernigotti 2000: no. 17 (Italian); Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2012; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3, no. 1 (French).

Additional commentary: Frankfurter 2009; Blumell/Dosoo 2018; Hevesi 2019; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 2.

Last known location: Berlin, private collection of Carl Schmidt.

Image: Kropp 1931: I Tafel I (A).

Linguistic description: Sahidic

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–25: Horus-Isis narrative charm for sleep or love (KYP T74)

Completely preserved papyrus sheet containing 25 lines written in a single column (↓). The papyrus was folded into a square of 3.5×4 cm.¹ The low quality of the surviving image of the manuscript does not allow us determine the precise number of folds, but at least 4 vertical and 6 horizontal creases seem to be visible. The manuscript was acquired by Carl Schmidt from a dealer in Cairo before 1931;² its present location is unknown. The papyrus seems to be written in the same hand as *PCM I 7 & 8*, thus forming part of the group referred to here as the ‘Schmidt Coptic Magical Dossier’; a full description of the copyist’s palaeographic and linguistic tendencies may be found in the introduction to the dossier (pp. 80–81).

There have been two suggestions as to the goal of this formula. The instructions to send the target to sleep implies that the purpose is to treat insomnia—it would be comparable perhaps to *PCM I 9*, a formula for sleep which also mentions the characters Horus, Isis, and Abdemelech. On the other hand, the text follows the narrative structure of love spells (*cf. PCM I 7, 20, 24*), perhaps implying that the goal is to cause the target to sleep so that they will be unable to resist the sexual advances of the user.³ One point against this second possibility may be the

¹ Kropp 1931: I 11.

² Kropp 1931: I 11.

³ Frankfurter 2009: 239 considers this a formula for sleep, suggesting a link to the genre of the lullaby. Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2012 argue it to be a formulary against insomnia caused by lovesickness. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 230–231 note both the possibility of a formula for sleep and of a love spell, albeit based on reading $\rho\tau\tau\epsilon = \overline{\text{nkot}}\overline{\text{k}}$ “lie down” in *PCM I 16* (ostrakon 2 ll. 1, 11)

masculine gender of the target, since the generic targets of love spells are usually female, but there are exceptions in which the generic target is male.⁴

(not followed in this volume). Kelsey (in Meyer/Smith 1994: 94) hesitates between the insomnia and erotic readings of the text, while Kropp 1931: II 3–6, Pernigotti 2000: 52–53 and Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: 109–111 follow the latter understanding. Kropp specifically suggests it may be a formula for insomnia adapted as a love spell, although the larger pattern of this narrative being used primarily for love spells makes this seem unlikely.

⁴ On gender in love spells, see Pachoumi 2013: 301–303 *et passim*.

front (↓)

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2 i.e. ^s𐩇𐩇𐩇𐩇 l. 𐩇𐩇-𐩇𐩇𐩇 ? cf. l. 12 : “desiring” ? (“indem ich begehre”, “di desiderio”) l. 𐩇𐩇𐩇 or
 𐩇𐩇 ? Kropp, Pernigotti : l. 𐩇𐩇𐩇 Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar : l. 𐩇𐩇𐩇 Blumell/Dosoo ||
 2–3 l. 𐩢-𐩇𐩇𐩇 ? (dittography) || 3 l. 𐩇𐩢 𐩇-𐩢-𐩇𐩇𐩇𐩇 cf. the same in l. 11 | i.e. ^s𐩢-𐩢-𐩇𐩇𐩇 ||
 5 i.e. ^s𐩢𐩇-𐩇𐩇𐩇 || 7 i.e. ^s𐩇𐩇𐩇 || 11 l. 𐩇𐩢 𐩇𐩇𐩇𐩇𐩇 Kropp || 12 i.e. ^s𐩢-𐩢-𐩇𐩇𐩇 | l. 𐩇𐩇𐩇 or 𐩇𐩇 ?
 “I desire” ? (“ich begehre”, “io desiderio”) Kropp, Pernigotti : l. 𐩇𐩇 Martín Hernández/Torallas
 Tovar || 14 i.e. 𐩇𐩇 ? || 17 𐩇𐩇[𐩇] Kropp || 18 𐩢𐩇𐩇𐩇[l. 𐩢𐩇𐩇𐩇𐩇 𐩇 ? Kropp || 19 i.e. 𐩇𐩇𐩇𐩇 ||
 19–20 i.e. ^s𐩇-(𐩇)-𐩇𐩇𐩇 || 20 i.e. ^s𐩢-𐩢𐩇𐩇𐩇 || 21 i.e. 𐩇(𐩇)𐩇(𐩇) 𐩇(𐩇)𐩇(𐩇) || 22 i.e. ^s𐩇𐩇𐩇-𐩇𐩇 | i.e. ^s𐩢𐩇𐩇-
 24 i.e. 𐩇𐩇𐩇 || 25 i.e. 𐩇𐩇 (twice) | i.e. 𐩇𐩇 (twice).

‡ Listen to *Horus, crying, listen to Horus, groaning:

“I have suffered, melting for seven women[?] from the third ⟨hour⟩ of the day until the fourth hour of the night. Not one of them sleeps, |⁵ not one of them dozes.”

*Isis, his mother, replied to him from within the temple of Habin, her face turned towards seven women[?], seven women[?] turned towards her face:

“Horus, why are you crying? Horus, why are you |¹⁰ groaning?”

“Do you want me not to cry? Do you want me not to groan from the third hour of the day to the fourth hour of the night? I am melting for seven women[?]. Not one of them sleeps, not one of them dozes.”

“Even if[?] [you] did not [find me], |¹⁵ and you did not find my name, take a *cup [and] a little water, whether a little breath or a breath of your mouth or a breath of [your nose], and recite down over them, ‘O ... O two *angels through whom |²⁰ sleep was set upon Abdemelech for seventy-two [years], set sleep upon NN, child of NN; make his head heavy like a millstone, upon his eyes like a sack of sand, until I complete my demand, and I fulfil the desire of my heart, |²⁵ now, now, quickly quickly!’”

RBS, KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph, incorporating Kropp’s edition.

Horus-Isis Narrative Charms: This text represents an example of a narrative charm in which the main protagonists are Horus and Isis; see the notes to *PCM I 7* front.

2. ογωε : “melting” Kropp and Pernigotti translate “desiring” (ογωω), Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar “tied” (ωττ), and Blumell and Dosoo “alone” (ογαατ). Here we understand the stative form of the verb ογωττ (Crum CD 498b), following Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a. For the motif of LOVE IS FIRE, upon which this would seem to draw, see the notes to *PCM I 3* front col. 2 ll. 33–38.

3, 7, 8, 13. νογσε : “women[?]” This word does not seem to be otherwise attested in Coptic. It may derive from the Demotic *nsy* (“prostitute (?)”); see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 228–229, n. 76), or else represent a contraction of the Greek παρθένος (“maiden”). We here choose the neutral translation “women”. Ritner (1998) suggests that the seven women derive from the seven scorpion wives of Horus who appear in earlier Egyptian healing charms, which seem to draw upon a myth in which Horus is stung by his wife during intercourse, and must be healed; here the drama of Horus’ healing would be replaced by a narrative of his infatuation with the scorpion-women (cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 229–231).

6. επ̄ρηε η̄ραβιν : “Habin” This is the temple of Hebenu, Alabastron Polis, modern Kom el-Ahmar (TM Geo ID 2684), where there was a temple to Isis (see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 233 n. 89).

14. και επ̄ε[κοντ] : “even if[?] [you] did not [find me]” For this construction, see the notes to *PCM I 16* o. 2 ll. 15–16.

16. υωγ · ει : “water, whether” There is a large space between the two words; from the only image available to us it is impossible to know if there is erased or damaged text here; there are traces of what might have been a vertical stroke approximately in the middle of the space, printed here as a mid-point.

20. αβιμελεχ : “Abdemelech” Abdemelech (Αβδεμέλεχ) is a Kushite official who appears in Jeremiah 45–46 (38–39), and in 4 Baruch/*Paraleipomena Ieremioi* and the *History of the Captivity in Babylon* (CAVT 227 (=CC 576?); see Kuhn 1970; Piovaneli 2000) as Abimelech (Αβιμέλεχ). In the latter works he is said to have been put to sleep for 66 or 70 years in order to be spared the destruction of Jerusalem; cf. Martín Hernández/Sofia Torallas Tovar 2012: 311. Abdemelech also appears in *PCM I 9* ll. 11–12.

PCM I 7. Love spell using Horus-Isis narrative charm

Provenance unknown

26 (H) × 10.5 (W) cm

VI–VII CE

Other references: Hs. Schmidt 2; Private collection Karl Schmidt 2; TM 98063; KYP M121; Bélanger Sarrazin #44.

Editions: Kropp 1931: I no. B (*ed. pr.*); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3 no. 2.

Translations: Kropp 1931: II no. 2 (German); Kelsey in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 72; Pernigotti 1995: no. 2 (Italian); Pernigotti 2000: no. 18 (Italian); Richter 2005: no. 98 (German); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3 no. 2 (French).

Additional commentary: Frankfurter 2009; Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2012; Blumell/Dosoo 2018; Hevesi 2019; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 2.

Last known location: Berlin, Private collection of Carl Schmidt.

Image: Kropp 1931: I Tafel I (B).

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–38: Horus and Isis narrative love charm (KYP T340)

Complete formulary written on a parchment sheet, inscribed on the front in a single column of 38 lines. The shape of the sheet and the folding pattern is unclear, due to the low quality of the only surviving incomplete photograph of the manuscript.¹ The manuscript was acquired from a dealer in Cairo,² and belonged to Carl Schmidt's private collection by 1931. The manuscript seems to have been written by the same scribe as *PCMI* 6 & 8, thus forming part of the part 'Schmidt Magical Dossier', an archive of three manuscripts; the hand and linguistic characteristics of the group are more fully described in its introduction (pp. 80–81).

The present location of this manuscript is unknown. The only surviving image is printed in Kropp 1931, vol. I, as Tafel I (B), and shows only ll. 1–20, with the leftmost parts of ll. 15–20 hidden by the overlapping Hs. Schmidt 1. We accept Kropp's readings in all cases for parts not visible in the image, except where he has restored text.

¹ Kropp 1931: I Tafel I (B). Kropp does not provide any details on folding, or on whether the manuscript is written on the hair or flesh side.

² Kropp 1931: I 11.

ⲡ “I, NN, child of NN, went in through a door of stone, I came out through a door of iron. I went in headfirst, I came out feet first. I found seven ¹⁵ maidens sitting by a well of water. I desired, <but> they did not desire. I was seduced <but> they were not seduced. I wanted to love NN, the daughter of NN, but she, she did not want me to kiss her. I fortified myself, I ¹⁰ stood, I cried and I groaned until the tears of my eyes covered <the> soles of my feet.”

*Isis replied, “What is wrong with you, O man, O child of the sun, crying and groaning until the tears of your eyes cover ¹⁵ the soles of your feet?”

“Why, Isis, do you not want me to cry? I went in through a door of stone, I came out through a door of iron. I went in headfirst, I came out feet first. I found ²⁰ seven maidens by a well of water. I desired <but> they did not desire. I was seduced <but> they were not seduced. I wanted to love NN, the daughter of NN, but she, she did not want me to kiss her.”

“Why did you go in through a door of ²⁵ stone, and come out through a door of

Horus-Isis Narrative Charms: This text represents an example of a narrative charm in which the main characters are *Horus and Isis; for other examples in Coptic, see *PCM* I 6, *PCM* I 16, *PCM* I 20; *BKU* I 1 (KYP M76) col. 2, and cf. *PCM* I 9, *BKU* I 7 (KYP M88) and BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) ll. 12–16, which incorporate aspects of these charms. For discussions of these texts, see Frankfurter 2009; Blumell/Dosoo 2018; Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: 97–99; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a. The basic structure of the texts consists of the sequence *encounter between protagonist and antagonist* (A), *protagonist turns to helper* (B), *protagonist recites initial events* (A'), *helper provides solution* (C) (Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022: 216–217; Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 221–241). In the variants included in this volume, the primary protagonist is the young god Horus, who travels into *hell where he encounters the antagonist(s) in the form of one or more women (cf. the notes to *PCM* I 6 l. 3 for their identity) who refuse his attempts at seduction. He turns to his mother Isis as a helper, who provides ritual instructions which may be carried out both in the mythic narrative past and in the ritual present.

2–3. ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲟⲛⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ : “a door of stone... a door of iron” This passage describes a descent to hell; the door of stone would be the tomb, or the door to the underworld depicted on late antique funerary stelae. *Tartarus in the *Iliad* 8.15 is said to have “gates of iron iron and a bronze threshold” (σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός), while the description of the Lord shattering “bronze gates and iron bars” (τὰς πύλας τὰς χαλκὰς καὶ τοὺς μοχλοὺς τοὺς σιδηροῦς; Psalm 106 (107) 14–16) was taken by Christians as referring to Jesus’ destruction of the gates of hell prior to his resurrection (see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 222–227). For parallels, cf. *PCM* I 16 p. 1 ll. 5–9; *PCM* I 20 l. 1 (in which the destination is explicitly hell); *BKU* I 7 (KYP M88), and BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) ll. 14–15 (πελλωνια likely from πύλη ἰωνε). The “doors of iron” (ⲛⲉⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ) recur in *BKU* I 3 (KYP M77), a love spell in which a being threatens to destroy them.

7. ⲁⲓⲡⲉⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲡⲉⲉ : “I was seduced, but they were not seduced” For ⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉⲓⲛ with the sense of “be seduced” cf. Pseudo-Chrysostom, *On Susannah* 26 (CC 178): “be seduced, then; it is good for you to sleep with us” (ⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲱⲣⲟⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲁⲛ; Budge 1910: 51 l. 17; cf. Crum CD 578b).

13. ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲉ : “O child of the sun” Kropp and Richter translate “son of Re” (“Sohn des Re”).

24. ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲃⲱⲕ : “did you go” We translate this as a first perfect, understanding ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲃⲱⲕ, since this is the tense used throughout for this narrative section, which recurs in the juxtaposed negative first perfect in ll. 29–30 (ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲕ), and used in the texts which offer the closest parallels to this narrative (see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 234–235 *et passim*). The form however resembles a third future (l. ⲭⲉⲛ ⲉⲕ(ⲛ)ⲁⲃⲱⲕ); this is how it is translated in Richter. It is possible that the discrepancy is caused by a typo in Kropp, since he also translates this in the past tense.

iron, and find seven maidens, and desire, and they did not desire, want to love NN, the daughter of NN, but she did not want you to kiss her, <why> did you not ^[30] fortify yourself and stand up and cast out seven tongues, saying ‘Thētf’ (seven <times>), O great one among the spirits, I want to make NN, the daughter of NN, spend forty nights and forty days clinging ^[35] to me like a female dog under a male dog, like a sow under a boar, for it is I who recites, you who [does] the wish!”

RBS, KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and readings of Kropp.

31. ⲑⲏⲧⲧⲓ : “thētf” Usually understood as a *vox magica*, perhaps understand instead a writing of the archaic phrase *ti hz.tꜣf* “give/cause his heart”; compare *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162) l. 772: “a procedure to put the heart of a woman after a man” (*wꜥ ky r ti hz.tꜣ shm.t m-sꜣ hwt*). The form *τ-* for *ⲧ* is well attested from Coptic causative verbs (cf. Vycichl DELC 209). We would expect *ⲑⲏⲧⲧ* rather than *ⲑⲏⲧⲧ* for “his heart”, although note the Akhmimic form *ⲏⲧⲧ* in Crum CD 714a.

35–36. Animal Analogies: For similar references to animal behaviour as a metaphor for passionate love and desire, compare *PCM* I 17 back l. 17–front l. 1; *PCM* I 28 p. 6 ll. 3–14; *PCM* I 32 back ll. 16–18; *BKU* I 3 ll. 8–9 (KYP M77): “the desire... of a black dog, whose children he is about to take away before her eyes” (ⲡⲟϣⲱⲩ... ⲡⲟϣⲟϣⲟⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲏⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲓⲁⲧⲥ); London Hay 10414a (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 3; KYP M287) ll. 11–13: “... (may) she cling to me like a drop of water clinging to a jar, and may she become a (honey-)bee seeking, a female dog wandering, a female cat going from house to house, a mare going under mad (horses)” (ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲃⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲧⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲏⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲟϥⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲟϥⲃⲱⲩ ⲉⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲟϥⲣⲟⲣ ⲉⲥⲗⲉⲗⲉ ⲟϥⲉⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲟϥⲏ ⲁϥⲏ ⲉⲛ ⲟϥⲣⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲃⲗⲉ). Some of these extend the analogies to inanimate objects: *P.Herm.Copt.* 55 + 71 (KYP M45) p. 5 ll. 2–5: “and may they love him like a drop of water clinging to the edge of a jar” (ⲁϥⲱ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲉⲣ[ⲓⲧⲥ ⲛⲟⲩ] ⲛⲟϥⲧⲉⲗⲧⲓⲗⲉ ⲛ[ⲏⲟⲟϥ] ⲉⲥⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲃⲓⲧ [ⲏ]ⲟϥⲕⲁⲧⲟϥ). For these analogies, cf. Frankfurter 2001; Saar 2017: 36–37, 39; Dosoo 2020: 266–267 (noting that the common reference to female horses is due to the belief that they were “the most sexually eager of all animals”); Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: 137–138; Dosoo 2022c: 531–533. A similar analogy is found in the Demotic *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162) ll. 1029–1031: “the desire which a female cat feels for a male cat, desire which a female wolf feels for a male wolf, desire that a female dog feels for a male dog, the desire which the god, the son of Sothis², felt for Moses...” (*pꜣꜥ whꜣe iw hr ire im(y).tꜣ y.tꜣf r im (y)-mw whꜣe iw hr ire wnꜣe.t iy r wnꜣe whꜣe iw hr ire whꜣr.t iy.tꜣf pꜣ whꜣe r whꜣr nt r pꜣ nꜣr šꜣ Spt.tꜣ iy.ytꜣf r Mw.s.t.s*).

36–37. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲏⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲧⲓ : “it is I who recites, you who [does] the wish!” Compare *PCM* I 8 back ll. 9–10; *BKU* I 1 (KYP M76) front col. 1 ll. 17–18: “it is I who speaks, the Lord Jesus is the one who gives healing” (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲓⲧⲧⲁⲗⲟⲓ), col. 2 back l. 8: “it is I who recites, the Lord Jesus is the one who gives healing” (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲏⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲓⲧⲧⲁⲗⲟⲓ).

PCM I 8. Love spell invoking oil

Provenance unknown

14.4 (H) × 13.2 (W) cm

V–VI CE

Other references: P.Mich.Inv. 4932f; TM 99569; KYP M129; Bélanger Sarrazin #165.

Editions: Worrell 1935b: no. 5 (*ed. pr.*); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 4, no. 6.

Translations: Worrell 1935b: no. 5; Polotsky 1937: 127–130 (German); Skiles in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 82; Pernigotti 1995: no. 18 (Italian); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 4, no. 6.

Additional commentary: Frankfurter 2009: 230, n. 7; Richter 2015a: 99; Hevesi 2019: 45; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 3.

Present location: Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library.

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-2349/4932fr.tif>

Linguistic description: Sahidic.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–20, back ll. 1–10: Love spell invoking oil (KYP T343)

Parchment sheet with its lower margin lost and some damage to the left margin. The text nonetheless seems to be complete, since it continues and ends in the middle of the back; the manuscript contains a single formula. The rounded corner of the surviving upper right part of the sheet suggests that it may be a leaf from a codex. The parchment is very fine, and the text on one side can be seen through the other. The manuscript was acquired between 1926 and 1927 by Harold I. Bell and William L. Westermann from the Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman,¹ and is currently kept in the University of Michigan Library.

The text is written in black ink in a single column of 20 lines on the front (hair side), and in a single column of 10 lines on the back (flesh side). 1 vertical and 5 horizontal creases are visible; it is probable that the manuscript broke at the bottom along a fold, suggesting that the original manuscript was at least *ca.* 2.5 cm taller. The hand of the text seems to belong to the same copyist responsible for PCM I 6–7, making it part of the group designated here as the ‘Schmidt Coptic Magical Dossier’ (see pp. 80–81).

¹ Bell 1927. On Maurice Nahman, see Hagen/Ryholt 2016: 253–255.

front (hair)

- 𐩢 𐩢𐩆𐩣 𐩢𐩆𐩣 𐩢𐩆𐩣 · 𐩢𐩆𐩣 ⲉⲧⲟϣⲁⲁⲃ
 𐩢𐩆𐩣 ⲉⲧϣⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁ 𐩢ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ 𐩢ⲓⲁⲱ
 ⲥⲁⲃⲁ^{vac}ⲱⲑ · 𐩢𐩆𐩣 𐩢ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲉ ⲧⲁϣϣ 𐩢ⲕⲉ-
 ⲉⲥ 𐩢ⲉϥⲥⲓⲣ · 𐩡𐩓ⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 𐩢𐩆𐩣 · 𐩢ⲣⲏ 𐩢ⲏ
 5 𐩢ⲟⲟϣ · 𐩡𐩓ⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ · 𐩢ⲥⲓⲟϥ 𐩢ⲧⲣⲉ 𐩡𐩓ⲟϥⲧⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲟⲕ · 𐩢ⲣⲉϥ𐩱ⲱⲛ 𐩢ⲣⲏ 𐩡𐩓ⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ
 𐩡𐩓ⲱⲱ ⲉϥⲟⲟϥⲕ ⲉⲕⲉⲃⲱⲕ · ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲕ 𐩢ⲕ-
 ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁ ⲛⲧⲣⲉⲡⲁⲛⲏ
 10 ⲱⲱ[𐩢ⲉ] ϣⲏ 𐩢ⲉⲥϣⲏⲧ 𐩢ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲥ ⲱⲱⲣⲉ ϣⲏ 𐩢ⲱ
 [𐩢ⲉ] 𐩢ⲟϥⲥⲱⲛ 𐩢ⲏ ⲟϥⲥⲱⲛⲉ · 𐩢ⲏ ⲟϥⲗⲁⲃⲟⲓ
 [ⲉⲥⲟϥ]ⲱⲱ ⲉⲧ ⲁⲓ 𐩢ⲉⲥⲱⲛⲣⲉ · ⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲓⲟ 𐩡-
 [ⲧⲁⲣ]ⲕⲁ 𐩢𐩓ⲟⲕ 𐩢ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲱⲱ ϣⲏ ⲧⲣⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧϣ ϣⲏ 𐩢𐩢ⲟϥⲏ ⲉⲣⲉϣⲏ 𐩢𐩓ⲟⲕ ⲟ 𐩢ⲕⲁ
 𐩢ⲉⲥⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁϣⲟϥ 𐩢𐩓ⲟⲕ ⲟ 𐩢ⲕⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱ
 15 𐩢ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲧⲏ 𐩢ⲕⲁ ⲕⲓ 𐩢ⲓⲛ ⲁⲱⲉ 𐩢ⲥⲟϥ
 ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉ 𐩢ⲉ[.] . [*ca.* 17]
 𐩢ⲉϣⲓⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ[*ca.* 18]
 [.] . ⲥ ⲉⲧϣⲓϥ[𐩢 *ca.* 17]
 [. .]ⲟϥⲃⲁ . [*ca.* 18]
 20 [. . . .] . . [*ca.* 20]
-

2 *i.e.* θρόνος || 3 ⲥⲁⲃ ⲁⲱⲑ *pap. vacat* due to hole in parchment || 3–4 *i.e.* ⲥ𐩢-𐩢-ⲕⲉⲉⲥ || 4 𐩢 *i.e.* ⲥ𐩢
 Worrell || 8 *i.e.* δ(ε)ῖ(ν)α δ(ε)ῖ(ν)α (twice) || 9 ⲱ[ⲱⲣⲉ] Worrell || 11 [ⲉⲥⲟϥ]ⲱⲱ Crum CD 752a :
 [𐩡𐩓ⲟϥ]ⲱⲱ Worrell | *l.* 𐩢𐩢ⲉⲥⲱⲛⲣⲉ (haplography) || 12 [𐩢ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲕⲁ *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν Worrell || 13 ⲉⲣⲉϣⲏ
 corrected from ⲉⲣⲉϣⲏ by overwriting | ⲟⲛⲕⲁ Worrell, Skiles || 14 ⲟⲛⲕⲁ Worrell, Skiles | *l.* 𐩢-δράκω(v) ||
 15 *l.* 𐩢ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 𐩢𐩢 ⲕⲁⲕⲉ ? : *i.e.* 𐩢ⲧⲉ Worrell : *i.e.* Old Coptic ⲧⲏ “underworld” Crum CD
 392a, Polotsky | 𐩢ⲕⲁⲕⲓ Worrell | *i.e.* ⲥ𐩢ⲱⲥⲕ but 𐩢ⲥⲱⲥⲕ expected : 𐩢𐩢[ⲁⲣⲁⲕ] : Worrell || 17 [.]
 ⲉϣⲓⲟⲛⲉ Worrell || 19 ⲟϥⲃⲁ corrected from ⲃⲟϥⲃⲁ by overwriting

ⲡ O oil, O oil, O oil, O holy oil! O oil which flows from beneath the throne of *Iao
 *Sabaoth! O oil with which *Isis anointed the bones of *Osiris! I call to you, O oil!
 The sun and ¹⁵ the moon call to you. The stars of the sky call to you. The servants
 of the sun call to you. I want to send you; you will go and I will bring you so that
 you will bring NN, child of NN, to me, I, NN, child of NN, and you will cause my
 love to be in her heart, and hers to be in mine ¹⁰ [like] a brother and a sister, and
 <like> a she-bear [who] wants to suckle her offspring, yea, yea!

I adjure you, he whose head is in heaven, whose feet are in the *abyss, whose
 forepart has the appearance of a sheep, whose hindpart has the appearance of a
 serpent, ¹⁵ he from whom the whole⁷ sky and⁷ of all darkness hangs, while the
 turning ... the women who ... which is upon [...] ... khouba ...

2–3. ⲡⲛⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲁ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ : “O oil which flows from beneath the throne of Iao Sabaoth” Cf. Gessel 1988, discussing stone reliquaries from Apamea (Syria) constructed so that oil poured into the top flows out of the bottom, sanctified by proximity to the saint. For formulae directly addressing materia, compare *GEMF 4/PGM CXXII* (KYP M488) ll. 31–52; *GEMF 57/PGM IV* (KYP M3) ll. 1496–1595; *GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI* (KYP M181) ll. 333–360 (all addressing myrrh burnt in offerings); *BKU I 3* (KYP M77); *GEMF 18/PGM LXI* (KYP M183) ll. 159–196 (both oil); *GEMF 156/PGM VII* (KYP M156) ll. 643–651 (wine).

3–4. ⲡⲛⲉⲗ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲓ ⲛⲕⲉⲥ ⲛⲉϥⲓⲣ : “oil with which Isis anointed the bones of Osiris” The love of Isis and Osiris serves as a paradigm in many Graeco-Egyptian love spells, as does the claim that Isis used a particular procedure (Dosoo 2021c: 212 nn. 93, 94). The reference here seems to be to the resurrection of Osiris by Isis and Anubis, god of embalming, followed by her conception of their son *Horus. The oil used to anoint Osiris’ bones is implicitly powerful enough both to raise the dead, and to ensure love beyond death. Compare *GEMF 4/PGM CXXII* (KYP M488) ll. 31–32, addressing myrrh as that with which Isis anointed herself when she went to Osiris; *GEMF 16/PDM xiv* (KYP M162) ll. 610–620 in which Isis addresses oil in order to anoint and heal her son Anubis. In the Coptic magical corpus, Isis is also mentioned in *PCM I 4* p. 4; *PCM I 6*, 7, 9, 16, 20; *BKU I 1* front col. 2 & back; Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellman-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128) p. 5 l. 1–p. 6 l. 5.

10. ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲃⲟⲓ : “and <like> a she-bear” Worrell (following Youtie) sees a translation of an originally Greek καὶ γὰρ οὕτως (“and indeed thus”) miscopied as καὶ ἄρκτος; he reconstructs ll. 9–11 as “and make my love arise in her heart and hers in mine, in the manner of a brother and a sister, and indeed thus I desire to beget (ⲉⲧⲁⲓ) her children”. This seems unnecessary, however, given the frequent use of animal metaphors to describe emotion; cf. the notes to *PCM I 7* ll. 35–36. Polotsky proposes “a lioness whose children one wants to take” (“eine Löwin, deren Junge man [sic] wegnehmen will”, [ⲉϥⲟϥ]ⲱⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲛⲣⲉ). Here we translate “she-bear”, but the word λᾶβοι originally, and still, had the alternative meaning of “lioness”.

13–14. ⲉⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲟ ⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲟ ⲛⲉⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱ : “whose forepart has the appearance of a sheep, whose hindpart has the appearance of a serpent” Worrell translates “in front of him being (what is) under the Sheep, behind him being (what is) under Draco”, with Skiles following him (“before whom is (what) is also under the Sheep (pl.), behind whom is (what) is also under Draco”). Both understand “the Sheep” to be a constellation, paralleling Draco. This seems unnecessary, since descriptions of such polymorphic cosmic beings are common in Coptic magical texts; see Dosoo 2022c: 501–503; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 4.

16. ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ : “while the turning” Polotsky and Pernigotti read ⲡⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲧⲁⲗ and translate “while the winking of his eyes...” (“mentre l’ammiccare dei suoi occhi...”).

back (flesh)

ⲡ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲣⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲗⲉ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁϭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲁⲁⲧ
 ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟϭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲓ
 ⲉϭⲛ ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲧ-
 5 ϣⲉⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲱ-
 ⲣⲕ ⲛⲙⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲃⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ
 ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϭⲛ ⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁⲁⲁ ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉ
 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲛⲧⲏⲧⲧ
 ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲱⲥ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲱⲓ ϭⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲕ
 10 ⲡⲓⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ

1 *l.* ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ Worrell, Skiles || 4 *i.e.* κρίσις | *i.e.* ἀλλά || 6 *i.e.* διάβολος || 7 *l.* ⲡⲱⲱⲉ ⲛ-δ(ε)ἰ(να) {δ(ε)ἰ(να)} || 8 ⲛⲧⲣⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉ corrected from ⲛⲧⲣⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉ by overwriting || 10 [ⲡⲉ]ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ Worrell | *i.e.* ^sⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲣ : *l.* ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ Worrell | *l.* ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ Worrell.

† I will tear it out; iron, I will dissolve it”.

“No, my lord, do not hand me over to *Temeluchus, he who is set over the judgement, rather I want ⁵ you to go down to *hell and tear out all the thoughts of the Devil concerning NN, the <child of> NN and cause my love to be in her [heart] and hers to be in mine, for it is I ¹⁰ who recites, <and> you are the one who does the wish.”

RBS, KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph.

1–2. οὐπενίπε †ναβολῇ ἐβολ : “iron, I will dissolve it” For the *topos* of destroying stone and metal, cf. the notes to PCM I 3 front col. 1 ll. 7–9.

3. ἡδαιμελοχός : “Temeluchus” For this figure, see *hell in the glossary, and cf. P.Berol. 10587 (Beltz 1983: no. I 555; KYP M510) ll. 3–7: “send Temeluchus to me, he who is over the punishment of the (pl.)... he who tortures the lawless and the liars and those who swear falsely, that he wreak vengeance for me upon them!” (ἡατηροῦ ἡναῖ τεμελοχός πετρίχην ἡκολασις ἡν . . . λ πετβασανίσε ἡἡανονος ἡἡ ἡρεφχίσιολ : ἡἡ ἡἡρεφωρκ ἡἡογχ ετρεφρ πακβα ἡἡἡαγ).

4. ἀλλὰ †οὔωω : “rather I want...” Compare the rhetorical device described in the notes to PCM I 3 front col. 1 ll. 15–16, although the construction of the argument here is less clear. The example here may rather represent a threat in which the speakers have become confused; we might expect (i) the first speaker to threaten to hand the second to Temeluchus, (ii) the second to beg for this not to happen, and (iii) the first to reply with a command based upon the threat. Here parts ii and iii of this hypothetical dialogue seem to have been merged together.

5–7. ἡἡωρκ ἡἡεεγε τηροῦ ἡἡαἡβολός ἐραῖ ἐχἡ ἡεωε ἡἡἡ παἡ : “tear out all the thoughts of the Devil concerning NN, the <child of> NN” Polotsky understands this phrase to mean something like “fill NN, child of NN, with thoughts snatched from the Devil”, comparing PCM I 28 p. 5, ll. 22–23: “her mind will have devilish thoughts” (πεσπογς ἐρ ἡεωγε ἡἡαἡωλίκων), but this would seem to require the addition of another verb, such as † (“give”) rather than “tear out”. As Michael Zellmann-Rohrer points out (private communication), this passage may imply that the goal of the ritual is not to create a new sexual or romantic relationship, but rather to maintain an existing one, in this passage by preventing one partner from having negative thoughts concerning the other. This would correspond to the Greek rituals identified by Faraone (2009: 27–30 *et passim*) which have the goal of “maintain[ing] or increas[ing] affection” used by social inferiors (including women) on higher status men.

9–10. ἀἡ[οκ] ἡἡετἡωγτε ἡτοκ πετρε ποῡωω : “for it is I who recites, <and> you are the one who does the wish” For parallels, see the notes to PCM I 7 ll. 36–37.

PCM I 9. Formula for sleep

Thebes

18 (H) × 31 (W) cm

VI–VIII CE

Other references: P.Berol. 5565; TM 98042; *BKU* I 22; KYP M122; Bélanger Sarrazin #73.

Editions: Erman 1904: no. 22 (*ed. pr.*); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3, no. 3.

Translations: Erman 1895: 50–51 (German); Kropp 1931: II no. 4 (German); Meyer in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 47; Pernigotti 2000: no. 22 (Italian); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3, no. 3 (French).

Additional commentary: Hevesi 2019; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 2.

Present location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

Image: Plate I.

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–13: Formula for sleep mentioning Isis, Nephthys, and Horus (KYP T179)

Complete papyrus sheet, generally well-preserved but slightly damaged on the edges and along the folds. The manuscript was likely folded to form a small package; approximately 6 horizontal and 11 vertical folds are visible. The sheet was acquired in 1887 in Thebes,¹ and is held in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

The text is written in black ink on the vertical fibres in a highly informal and irregular hand. The writing is bimodular, largely bilinear, and right-sloping, with significant variation in letter height and shading. The γ varies in shape between Υ , $\vee$, and y , with the last being the most common. γ , q , and $\wp$ have long descenders, while x and 𐤭 have flourishes on the upper part of the left oblique stroke. The supralinear stroke is either curved, or resembles an accute accent or later djinkim, and the scribe makes use of diaeresis on 𐤓 . Erman noted that the hand's idiosyncracies prevented a precise dating.² We may note some approximate parallels to manuscripts from the Monastery of Epiphanius in Thebes— 𐤀 with a closed, rounded bulb but straight oblique stem; bilinear 𐤁 and 𐤂 , narrow 𐤃 and 𐤄 , rounded 𐤅 , rounded 𐤆 with serifs, y -shaped γ , some decoration of x and 𐤭 (*P.Mon. Epiph.* 164, 230, 436, 482), datable to the seventh century—although we propose a more cautious sixth to eighth century date for this text.

The dialect is Sahidic, but with some highly idiosyncratic features; alongside frequent haplography and dittography (especially of 𐤂), we occasionally find 𐤀 for Sahidic 𐤄 or 𐤅 (e.g., ll. 2, 8), as well as more unexpected substitutions, such as $\text{𐤓} \text{𐤅}$ (l. 2) and $\text{𐤅} \text{𐤃}$ (l. 12).

¹ Erman 1904: 21.

² Erman 1895: 50.

front (↓)

- αϥβοϥρε αϥβοϥρε εις παπατ ννωϥν ντοοτκ ειχοογκ νπαρωβ κναει δει επωωτ
 κναμμοϥρς ετβε παϊ εκχοογτ επιμοοϥ ταπαγκωϥ απρειο ταειν πϥλϥρζε
 мπε мπειχοογκ нса наї мпейзавк нса нкооϥе ειμχοογκ εροϥν ενιμ
 5 πωη ννιμ хε екανт ките αχωϥ мн πφινнв ωανтеπρη νπχοϥσι ει ερραї
 хе пран ммнт папληγ пе αхе ессе те [тв] : сβωω те таї таїснтε нсωне
 ετμοογк нзнт етλϥпе нзнт етаωϥε ερραї за тпе мн пκαз етз̄м πноϥн
 хе ει^c зωρ πωηре ε̄ннеїсе зϥ н̄аδ̄н̄оϥ ει^cε соγοϥе ιμοϥ азρω та тс̄.^c
 κωτε αποз
 ескωте апри ехалаз н̄тмнте н̄тпе · етк̄н̄моγт н̄тмн̄те н̄тпе ессе
 мн сβωω тес̄^cн̄те н ^{vac.} сωне етмоογкз̄ н̄знт етλϥпн н̄знт
 10 етз̄м πноϥн хе н̄ток пе аз̄ н̄ток пе авразах παγγίλος
 етз̄н̄моос з̄х̄н̄ πωηн ιппараδїсος етаρзе нтките хн автнμελ-
 λех̄ нсз̄βγтн н̄рмпе екаειν тките ех̄н̄ нιμ πωη нιμ
^{vac.} етн [.] етн тахн тахн

1 αϥβοϥρε unidentified verb ? Erman 1904 : -βοϥρε *l.* πωωρε “he dreamed” ? Crum CD 42a |
 εις Erman 1904 | παπατ Erman 1904 | *l.* ντοοτ[κ] ? : *l.* ντοοτκ “your hand” Erman, Meyer,
 Pernigotti | ε . χοογк Erman 1904 | νπαρωβ Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^sκ-на-ει ειε or dittography ? :
 κ̄н̄а̄εῑа̄εῑ Erman 1904 : {а̄εῑ} Bélanger Sarrazin | επωωτ or correct to τ-ωωτε “the well” ? :
l. επωοι Erman 1904 || 2 *i.e.* ^sμαρ=с Bélanger Sarrazin : *l.* змоос Erman 1895 : ιμοοс
 Erman 1904 : “stay” (“sitzen”, “niedersetzen”) Kropp, Meyer | παї Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^sпонк= |
i.e. ^sе-п-(е)iero : απρειο Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^s(е)iero | *i.e.* ^sπεϥ-λοιρε || 3 ειμχοογк γ resembling ϥ, or
 small raised o added before (suggestion of Michael Zellmann-Rohrer) ? : *i.e.* χοογк Erman 1904 |
i.e. ^sει-на- || 4 πωη π corrected from н by overwriting ? | *l.* π-ρινнв | *i.e.* Χουσί ? *cf.* note ||
 5 пран or *l.* паран ? | *cf.* παπλεοϥ in *P.Lond.Copt.* 524 (KYP M359) l. 132 | *l.* нсе | *l.* αχι ? |
 [тв] deleted with strokes : *l.* таї ? Kropp : тв̄а Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^sτει-с̄н̄те || 6 *i.e.* ^sмоκз̄^o *cf.*
 моογкз̄ in l. 9 | н̄знт Erman 1904 | *i.e.* λυπειν | *i.e.* ^sн̄та-γ-ωε || 7 ει^c/ ī corrected from с and
 с added subsequently : εс Erman 1904 | \ε̄/н̄неїсе ι corrected from с : \ο̄/н̄н̄εсс̄е Erman 1904 |
 αϥ *vac.* н . ϥ̄ н̄οϥρїсе Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^sсоγ-οϥн(н)γ (haplography) | ιμο . Erman 1904 :
 ιμοϥ Crum 1904 | *i.e.* ^sαρρο=∅ Kropp, Crum | *l.* {тса} \тсаге/ or \тсоте/ ? *cf.* PCMI 4 p. 4 l. 1 ||
 8 *i.e.* ^sе-пρη | *i.e.* ^sе-т-ωαλαγ : *l.* е-хωле-γ “to confine them” ? Crum CD 769a, Meyer |
i.e. ^sвинмоγт | н̄тмн̄те Erman 1904 | *l.* нсе || 9 м̄н̄ Erman 1904 | сβωω Erman 1904 |
i.e. ^sмоκз̄^o | н̄знт Erman 1904 | *i.e.* λυπειν || 10 етз̄[н̄] Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 11 *i.e.* ^sε-т-
 змоос | *i.e.* παράδεισος : ν̄παρатоїсος Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^sент-α=ϥ-ογωε *cf.* PCMI 6 ll. 19, 21 :
 Erman does not translate : “who sent” (“der... sandte”, “che invio”) Kropp, Meyer, Pernigotti |
i.e. ^sεх̄н̄ (haplography) || 12 *i.e.* ^sωϥетн ? | *i.e.* ^sромпе : н̄εппе Erman 1904 | *i.e.* ^sεκεεїне н̄н̄котк |
 н̄[ι]н̄ Erman 1904 || 13 *i.e.* н̄δн̄ (twice) | [.] erased by wiping | *i.e.* таχύ (twice).

“Afboure, Afboure! Look, the golden *cup is in my[?] hand! If I send you on my work, you will go, yea[?], to <my> need, you will fulfil it.”

“Because of this, if you send me to the water, I will draw it, <if> to the river, I will bring its mud.”

“No, I did not send you concerning those things, I did not send you concerning those other things; I shall send you to NN, the son of NN, so that you might bring sleep upon him and slumber until the sun of the Kushite[?] rises, |⁵ because the true name is Paplēu.”

Say, “It is *Isis [the two], this is *Sephthys, these two sisters who are afflicted within, who are grieved within, who have gone up to heaven and earth, who are in the *abyss, for, behold, *Horus, the son of Isis ... find them[?], behold, they are far from him. What is wrong with you (f.s.)? ... The arrow goes around the sun, the water-wheel goes around the moon in the midst of the sky, as the Pleiades are in the midst of the sky, Isis and Sephthys, the two sisters who are afflicted within, who are grieved within, |¹⁰ who are in the abyss, for you are *Ax, you are *Abrazakh, the *angel who sits upon the Tree of Paradise, who set sleep upon Abdemelech for seventy-five[?] years; you will bring sleep upon NN, the son of NN, now, now, quickly, quickly!”

RBS, KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy.

1–2. Erman 1895, Kropp, and Pernigotti understand this first phrase as a question “If I send you to my work, will you go...?”; Meyer notes this as a possibility. Previous editors translate “your hand”; here we propose that the inserted τ represents a correction. On this understanding, possession of the “golden cup” permits the first speaker to command the second. Alternatively, if we translate “your hand”, the second speaker may be implicitly requested to fill it with water or mud.

3. **ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲗⲟⲟⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ** : “I did not send you concerning those things” For this rhetorical construction, see PCM I 3 front col. 1 15–16 and the accompanying note.

4. **ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ** : “Kushite?” Previous translators have understood ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ as a *vox magica*, although we may note two more concrete possibilities. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ is the Coptic spelling of Hushai the Archite, the friend of King David who appears in 2 Samuel. The meaning of the phrase “sun of Hushai” is not clear, however, and the definite article before ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ would imply another word. Χουϛ is the Greek writing of Cush, the eldest son of Ham in (*inter alia*) Genesis 10.6, and Χουϛⲓ is the transliteration of Hebrew כּוּשִׁי (*kūšī*), “Kushite”, generally translated in Greek as Αἰθίοψ. Awareness of this meaning among Greek-language authors appears in *e.g.* John Chrysostom, *Exposition of Psalm 7* (καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Χουϛⲓ, Αἰθίοπός φησιν). Alternatively we might understand χοῦς (“soil”, “dust”), or in Psalm 21 (22) 16 “the grave” (as χοῦς θανάτου) as a masculine noun.

7–8. **ⲁⲅⲣⲱ...** : “What is wrong with you...” Bélanger Sarrazin suggests to understand ⲁⲅⲣⲱⲧⲁⲣⲥ and ⲭⲁⲗⲁⲅ as constellations, by analogy with the Pleiades mentioned later, with the later as ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲅ (“water wheel”), perhaps “Aquarius”, although Aquarius in Demotic was “the water” (*pꜣ mw i.e.* ⲥⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ); an alternative might be Scorpio, attested in Coptic as ⲧⲉⲗⲏ (Spiegelberg 1910: 147). If it were a stellar body, ⲁⲅⲣⲱⲧⲁⲣⲥ might refer to one of the planets or constellations identified with Horus, whose name might be found in -ⲅⲣ-. Here we interpret ⲁⲅⲣⲱ as a question, and propose to read the following word as ⲧⲟⲣⲉ (*cf.* PCM I 4 p. 4 l. 1), “arrow”, which, if a constellation, might refer to Sagittarius (Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a).

11–12. **ⲁⲃⲧⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉⲭ** : “Abdemelech” Perhaps the “Kushite” referred to in l. 4; the target of the spell is to sleep until the sun of the Kushite (*i.e.*, Abdemelech) rises, that is, until he awakens; *cf.* the note to PCM I 6 l. 20.

PCM I 10. Prayer for pregnancy

Bawit ?

28.6 (H) × 21.7 (W) cm

VII CE

Other references: Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.662B.22; Pierpont Morgan Library B1 363 D MS M.0662 Box 3; TM 99570; *P. Morgan Copt.* 10; *SB Kopt.* V 2356; KYP M290; Bélanger Sarrazin #83.

Editions: MacCoull 1982: no. 10 (*ed. pr.*); Hasitzka 2020: no. 2356.

Translations: MacCoull 1982: no. 10; Meyer in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 83.

Additional commentary: Friedman 1989: no. 108; Depuydt 1993: no. 306; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 4.

Present location: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

Image: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=351423>

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard); first line in Greek.

Contents:

Original use:

1. Front ll. 1–22: Prayer for pregnancy (KYP T482)

Re-use:

2. Back ll. 1–20: Account of wine (KYP T1563; TM 85366)

A well-preserved papyrus sheet, with some damage to the lower left, containing a prayer for pregnancy on the front and an account of wine on the back. The manuscript was part of a lot bought from the Cairo-based dealer Maurice Nahman by Francis Willey Kelsey, who brought it to Rome in 1920. It was then purchased by Henri Hyvernât on behalf of John Pierpont Morgan (Jr.), and is now kept in the Pierpont Morgan Museum.¹

The prayer is written in black ink, with crosses marking the beginning and the end of the text. The account on the back is written in two different hands at 180° to the front. The rough surface of the manuscript led the copyists on both sides to jump across sections of pre-existing damage,² and makes it difficult to be sure of the extend of folding; 10 horizontal creases may be visible. *Kollēsis* is apparent on the left side of the sheet (viewed from the front). The order of the writing of the two sides is not immediately apparent; the writing of the accounts on the vertical fibres does not follow the normal practice for such documents, and suggests that this was the later re-use. In this case, it may be that the copyist of the prayer

¹ *The Morgan Library and Museum*, <http://corsair.themorgan.org/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=351423> (accessed 10/7/2023; additional bibliography concerning the manuscript is accessible through this link); MacCoull 1982: 1. On Maurice Nahman, see Hagen/Ryholt 2016: 253–255.

² *Cf.* Jones 2015.

decided to begin on the horizontal fibres of this sheet since the damaged surface, worse on the vertical fibres, made this the more sensible choice.

The hand is fairly, but not entirely, regular, with varying letterforms and sizes, a right-sloping bimodal majuscule, with ⲃ, ⲕ, ⲣ, ⲧ, and ⲉ showing a tendency towards quadrilinearity. Letters are sometimes deliberately enlarged, as where one marks a divine name at the beginning of l. 18. ⲁ has a rounded bowl, with a short oblique stroke, sometimes with a slight serif at its lower end. ⲃ and ⲕ are large, and ⲁ, ⲕ, and ⲁ have curling serifs at their tips. The points of ⲙ are rounded, the central downward point clearly marked rather than flattened. ⲧ is highly mannered, with a right-facing serif on its descender, and often another on the left side of its horizontal bar, so that it can at times resemble a ⲉ. ⲧ is also regularly ligatured to the following letter, as is ⲉ. ⲥ is very small, shaped like a Latin minuscule y. ⲟ has a flattened central apex, at times resembling q. Parallels to this hands can be found in manuscripts dated by their editors to the seventh or eighth centuries,³ although we cannot point to any specific dated parallels. Alain Delattre suggests that the account on the back shows features typical of seventh-century examples, suggesting that the earlier magical text should also be dated to this century.⁴

The dialect is a non-standard Sahidic, with some common features—haplography of ⲛ & ⲙ, and the writing of ⲃ for ⲙ. The absence of ⲛ > ⲙ assimilation before labial consonants is perhaps indicative of a broadly Middle Egyptian origin,⁵ and we find occasional aphaeresis of an initial ⲉ (e.g., l. 22), doubling of consonants, with the unmarked consonant preceding the aspirated or voiced variant (ⲭ > ⲕⲭ, ⲙ > ⲙⲙ in ll. 8, 12), and omission of a nasal before a stop (ⲛⲧ > ⲧ, ll. 15, 16).

The account on the back is of considerable interest for determining the context of the earlier prayer;⁶ it consists of a series of records of deliveries and payments of wine made on the 9th and 10th Koiak (6th & 7th December), written on the left in one hand, with a second hand copying the figures and writing totals and additions to the right. Similar accounts have been found at the monasteries of Apa Apollo at Bawit and Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga.⁷ Two monks are mentioned as recipients of wine in ll. 16–17, Ounobre and Apollō, both referred to by the title “my brother” (ⲡⲁⲕⲟⲛ) typical of texts from Bawit,⁸ and Apollō is described as coming from the

³ Cf. *CPR* II 226 (VII CE); *CPR* II 233 (VIII).

⁴ Personal communication 15/2/2023.

⁵ Cf. Kahle 1954: 199–100.

⁶ Republished recently as *SB Kopt.* V 2344. We are very grateful to Alain Delattre for reading this text with us during a seminar, aiding us in understanding its content and context; we are equally grateful for corrections suggested by him to l. 11 of the magical text.

⁷ For similar accounts, see e.g., *O.Bawit/FAO* 31, 33–37, 40, 42; *P.Brux.Bawit* 5, 9, 22, 28, 30; *P.Mon.Apollo* I 47 (Bawit); *SB XVIII* 13422, 13423, 13448, 13477, 13478, 13504, 13505, 13542, 13371 (Wadi Sarga). For these sites, see Wipszycka 2009: 86–87, 90, 143–150, 155–157; Wegner 2016.

⁸ Delattre 2007: 147–148.

nearby city of Assiut. The prayer therefore likely belonged to one of the inhabitants of the monastery of Bawit, and was re-used for accounts when it was no longer needed; papyri from Bawit are known to be among those acquired by the Pierpont Morgan from Nahman in 1920.⁹

⁹ Delattre/Pilette/Vanthieghem 2015: 33–34.

front (→)

- + δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ κύριου ὁ θεός ντοκ
 γαρ χιν εωορν ακτανιο πρῶμε κατα
 πεκνινε αγω κατα τεκρικων ντοκ ον
 ακταιει ταθνην μη τετμισε ντοκ
 5 ακχοοc ετενμααυ σααα χε ρν ποειω
 ντκερομπε ογν ογωρηε ναωωπε νε
 ντιρε ον τισοποc αγω τιπαρακαλι μοκ
 πετρημοοc ερραι εχн некхреpивн етρεк-
 cωтн епатωβη^h нпооу анок ннм пωе ннм
 10 εχн пиапот нер^hп етρη таβιχ χεкас
 еωανтaав нмewe ннм тwe нннм еке-
 харисе нас нoγcпepнa нpωмe αω πχc
 πεтсωтн еoγoн ннм етωω ерραι еpoγ
 αλωне ελωη саваωθ ппоуге неноуге
 15 αγω пχoεic неχoεic γαν таγpωмe мoγp
 нoγφγλaктнpиoн epoc γан таoγa тн нас
 нoγaпoт мoγтe γан oγ eвoλ зитooтк пe
 мapесqωλ eвoλ σι тнepе нтecoote мн
 [тeс]нepнл мн [тeс]калaзe eиωpк epoк
 20 нпекнoс нpан мн nepice нтaкωпoγ
 зичн пeстaγpoc eкeχoк eвoλ нωaχe н[нм]
 нтaγxooγ εχн пиапoт тpи таβιχ +

1 δεσποτα παντοκράτωρ κύριος ὁ θεός *pap. i.e.* δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ κύριος ὁ θεός || 2 *i.e.* γάρ | *i.e.* κατά || 3 *i.e.* ^hпек-εине : текνине MacCoull, Hasitzka | *i.e.* εἰκόν || 4 *i.e.* ^hταειε : *i.e.* ^hαθρηн || 5 *i.e.* ^hογοειω || 7 *сoпoпc* corrected from *сoпocc* by overwriting *i.e.* ^hсoпc : τισοп o εic MacCoull | *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν | *i.e.* ^hμнo-к || 8 *i.e.* не-χεpουβίμ || 9 *i.e.* ^hн-пооγ : нпооγ MacCoull, Hasitzka || 10 *нepн* πεтρη MacCoull : *нepн* Hasitzka || 11 *ειωανтa.ав* нмew *енин* тwe ннм MacCoull : *ειωανтa.ав* нмewe ннм Hasitzka || 12 *i.e.* χαρίζειν : харисе MacCoull | *i.e.* σπέρμα | αγω MacCoull, Hasitzka | *l.* χ(οει)c || 14 *or* ελωη ? : ελωη нxaвaωθ MacCoull : ελωη нcaвaωθ Hasitzka | *i.e.* ^hн-н-ноуге || 15 *i.e.* ^hн-н-χοεic | *i.e.* кáν : γa *i.e.* ^hxe Hasitzka | *i.e.* ^hнта-ρωме : нтаγpωме Hasitzka || 16 *i.e.* φυλακτήριον | *i.e.* кáν : γa *i.e.* ^hxe Hasitzka | *i.e.* ^hнта-ογα : нтаoγa Hasitzka | *тинoc* MacCoull || 17 *i.e.* ^hн-моуге | *i.e.* кáн : γa *i.e.* ^hxe Hasitzka | *ноγ* eвoλ Hasitzka || 18 *i.e.* ^hвoλ | *l.* нoи | σι тнepе нтecoote translate “through redeeming love” MacCoull, Meyer || 19 . . . пeмaλнн MacCoull, Hasitzka | *i.e.* ^hκαλαзη : [. ?] MacCoull : . . . αλaзe Hasitzka | epoк [MacCoull || 20 *i.e.* ^hн-пe-к-нос | нтaкωпoγ [Hasitzka || 21 *i.e.* σтаυρός | н[MacCoull, Hasitzka || 22 *нтeγxooγ* MacCoull | *i.e.* ^heт-ρн та-βιχ : пpиtaβιχ MacCoull : [e]тpи таβιχ Hasitzka

|^{Greek} + O Master, Almighty Lord God, |^{Coptic} since from the beginning, you created man according to your likeness and according to your image, and you also honoured the barren woman and the one who gives birth, you |⁵ yourself said to our mother Sarah: “By this time next year you will have a child”. Again in this way, I entreat you and I invoke you, you who sit upon the *cherubim, that you listen to my prayer today, I, NN, son of NN, |¹⁰ over this *cup of wine that is in my hand, so that when I give it to NN, the daughter of NN, you will grace her with a seed of man! Yea, Lord, you who listen to anyone who calls upon you, *Adonai Elon *Sabaoth, god of gods |¹⁵ and lord of lords, even if a man has bound a phylactery to her, even if someone has given her an enchanted cup, even if it is from you, may the *binding of her womb be released, and [of her] navel? and of her belly!

I adjure you |²⁰ by your great name and by the sufferings you received upon the cross, that you accomplish every word which has been spoken over this cup which is in my hand! +

KD, EL, MP & SVS, edited from photograph.

2–3. ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΙΝΕ ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΚΡΙΚΩΝ : “according to your likeness and according to your image” An allusion to Genesis 1.26: “God said, “Let us make a man according to our image and according to our likeness” (ΠΕΧΔΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΝΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΡΩΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΝΚΡΙΚΩΝ · ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΝΕΙΝΕ; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. or. fol. 1605 fol. 1v col. 1 ll. 10–15). For other references to this passage, see *PCM I* 26 p. 3 ll. 25–26, p. 4 l. 12, p. 5 l. 1, p. 9 31–32, p. 11 l. 17, p. 15 ll. 19–20.

5. ΔΚΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΕΝΜΑΔΥ ΣΑΡΑ : “(you), yourself said to our mother Sarah” A reference to Genesis 17.15–18.15, 21.1–3, in which God promises Abraham that his wife Sarah will bear a child, Isaac, despite the fact that Abraham is one hundred years old and Sarah ninety; the miraculous pregnancy of Sarah serves as a model for God’s capacity to allow women to conceive. For a similar Jewish text from the Cairo Genizah intended to make a woman give birth quickly, drawing upon the prototype of Sarah and other Biblical mothers (including Eve, Hagar, Rebecca, Lea, Rachel, and Zipporah), see *MTKG I* T.-S. NS 322.10 1a ll. 12–28.

14. ΕΛΩΝ : “Elon” Cf. *PCM I* 34 p. 3 l. 3 [.]¹ΩΝ, and *Eloei in the glossary.

15. ΝΟΥΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ : “a phylactery” The reference to “binding a phylactery” as a possible cause of infertility is surprising; normally a “phylactery” refers to an amulet which would itself represent a source of healing. It is possible that this therefore represents a case in which anti-‘magic’ discourse is being deployed; the woman may have previously sought out the use of a phylactery which has harmed her and may itself constitute the source of the problem. Compare the story reported in Augustine, *City of God* 22.8, in which a woman receives a miraculous cure from a long illness when she throws away an amuletic belt which she had been given by a Jewish practitioner. The other possible causes for infertility envisaged here are clearer—that someone has given her a curse in the form of a potion (cf. note to *PCM I* 26 p. 16 l. 9), or that God himself has caused it.

19. [ΤΕΣ]ΝΕΠΗΛ : “navel?” Perhaps understand ⁵ελπε, “navel” with a loss of the initial ε and λ-π metathesis; compare the additional η added in ll. 3, 4 (ΠΕΚΝΙΝΕ, ΤΑΘΗΝΗ).

PCM I 11. Leiden Anastasy Codex

Thebes ?

22 (H) × 14.5 (W) × 5.3 (D) cm

late VI–VIII CE

Other references: P.Leiden I 385; AMS 9; Leiden Anastasy 9 (1828); TM 100023; CML 3355; KYP M171; Bélanger Sarrazin #139.

Editions: Pleyte/Boeser 1897: 441–479 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Boeser 1922 (French); Lexa 1925: nos. XVIII–XXI (French); Kropp 1931: II nos. 22–23, 27, 45–46, 63B, 64A (German); Smith in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 134; Pernigotti 1995: nos. 4, 5, 7 (Italian); Pernigotti 2000: nos. 37–38 (Italian).

Additional commentary: Crum 1899: 17–21; Raven 1982: no. 25; Geerard 1992; Raven 1996: 13, plate 6; Szirmai 1999: 34, 37, 41, 43, fig. 3.3, 3.8; Raven 2010: plate 137; Sanzo 2014: 82–83; Given 2016: 177–222; Boud'hors 2017a: 175–212; de Bruyn 2017: 87, 219; Sanzo 2019a: 230–254; Bélanger Sarrazin 2020: 192; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming c; Jacobi/Scheper/Menei forthcoming; Preininger forthcoming b.

Present location: Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden).

Image: <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12126/21319>

Linguistic description: Sahidic.

Contents:

1. p. 1 l. 1 – p. 14 l. 13: Prayer of Gregory (KYP T61)
2. p. 14 l. 14 – p. 20 l. 5: Prayer for protection (KYP T1478)
3. p. 20 l. 6 – p. 23 l. 26: Letter of Abgar to Jesus (KYP T1479)
4. p. 24 l. 1 – p. 25 l. 23: Letter of Jesus to Abgar (KYP T1606)
5. p. 25 l. 24 – p. 28 l. 21: Prayer of Judas Cyriacus (KYP T991)
6. p. 28 ll. 22–27: Names of Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (KYP T1480)
7. p. 29 ll. 1–22: Names of Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (KYP T1481)
8. p. 29 l. 23 – p. 30 l. 28: Incipits of the canonical gospels and Psalm 90 (91) (KYP T1482)

Complete papyrus codex with binding intact, consisting of 30 pages (15 folios), each page inscribed in single columns of 27–30 lines in black ink. The codex consists of 3 quires: quire 1 is a ternion (folios 1–6), quire 2 a quaternion (folios 7–14), quire 3 a singleton (folio 15). The folios are numbered on the verso (even pages), except for folio 1, which is numbered on both sides; the numbering goes directly from ς (6, p. 12) to η (8, p. 14) so that the final folio is numbered 16 (ις) instead of 15.¹ The quires are likewise numbered from 1–3 on their rectos (odd pages). The stitching was reinforced by slim parchment guards, visible along the spines of pages 6–7 and 20 (*i.e.*, between quires 1 and 2); the parchment can be identified as the remains of a Psalter, preserving portions of Psalms 96 (97) 7 and

¹ The manuscript is described as 16 folios on the collection website (*Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12126/21319>; accessed 14/10/2022) as a result of the error in folio numbering; *cf.* Sanzo 2019a: 232 n. 8.

93 (94) 8.² There is considerable damage to the lower right parts of the first two folios (pp. 1–4, viewed from the front), as well as to the eighth folio (pp. 15–16) perhaps caused by worms. Damage on the other pages is generally restricted to the margins (as on fol. 3, 14–15=pp. 5–6, 27–30), or to abrasion of the ink.

The covers are intact, formed by a papyrus leaf wrapped around chunks of papyrus and other organic material to form thick boards, then covered by two separate pieces of leather. A light coloured parchment strip was interleaved through slits cut in the leather to create decoration on the front and back cover—a circle inside a square inside a rectangle. Four loops of leather on the back (one each at top and bottom, two on the outside edge), probably corresponding to lost clasps on the front, would have served to close the codex when it was not in use; a surviving leather strand on the upper outside corner of the back cover may be the remains of a bookmark.³

The manuscript was acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden as part of the 1828 purchase from Jean d’Anastasy (1765–1860), Consul General of Sweden and Norway in Egypt.⁴ It appears in the sale catalogue (RMO inv. 3.1.6), on p. 95 as no. 9. In their edition, Pleyte and Boeser state that that it was found in Thebes by d’Anastasy in January 1829, but this is impossible based on the timeline of the sale; the catalogue was prepared in 1827, and January 1829 is in fact the date of the shipment’s arrival in Leiden.⁵ Although no provenance is given in the catalogue, many of the manuscripts from this sale did come from Thebes,⁶ and its format closely resembles that of other codices from the Theban region.⁷

The manuscript is written in a very consistent formal literary hand, an upright unimodular, bilinear Coptic majuscule characterised by PATHs as a “mixed” hand, and by Boud’hors as tending towards the Biblical majuscule.⁸ Supralinear strokes are short and curved, and diaeresis is often written as a single flattened dot. *Ekthesis* and enlargement of the first letter occurs at the beginning of certain texts, often also marked by dashed horizontal lines and diplai in the margins; on several

² We are grateful to Anne Boud’hors and Frank Feder for their help in identifying these passages. For similar parchment fragments likely used as guards, see Boud’hors/Garel 2016: 48–49.

³ For discussions of the binding, see Jacobi/Scheper/Menei forthcoming; Petersen 1954: 60 n. 18, 61; Szirmai 1999: 40–43 with n. 6.

⁴ For Jean d’Anastasy, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 5 n. 5; Chrysikopoulos 2015. For an overview of the sale with further references, see Dosoo 2016: 252–253.

⁵ Pleyte/Boeser 1897: v; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 98.

⁶ Notably three of the texts of the famous ‘Theban Magical Library’, nos. 65, 66, and 75 in the catalogue; cf. Dosoo 2016. Other manuscripts are noted in the catalogue as coming not only from Thebes, but also from Memphis, Philae, and Elephantine.

⁷ Boud’hors 2017a; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 98. The closest parallels of format and hand seem to be found in BM EA 71005 (CLM 860), *P.Lond.Copt.* 275 (CLM 852), *P.Lond.Copt.* 279 (CLM 854; also owned by Anastasy), *P.Lond.Copt.* 325 (CLM 844); cf. the discussion in O’Connell 2018: 86–88.

⁸ Boud’hors 2017a: 189.

pages more elaborate decoration divides texts and marks titles. Before writing, the scribe marked the corners of the textblock with pinpricks to serve as guides.⁹ The ink, very opaque under ultraviolet light but less so under near-infrared light, may be identified as an iron gall ink (a mixture of iron and tannins).¹⁰

Trismegistos and Sanzo 2014 (82) date the text to the sixth century, while PATHs, following Proverbio (1997: 161–162) date it to the fifth to sixth centuries. Sanzo 2019a (236) has more recently followed a later, sixth to eighth century dating. The dating of the closest parallels, from Thebes, rests uncertain, but we follow Sanzo 2019a in proposing a date from the late sixth to eighth centuries, based on the analysis of the best studied of the manuscripts with similar hands and formats, and the archaeological context of other Theban codices.¹¹

The dialect is a form of Sahidic very close to the literary standard. The non-standard forms we find are generally the most common—haplography, dittography, and the occasional exchange of schwa/ε, ε/η, β/ϕ.

The manuscript contains a number of amuletic texts, most known from other contexts. The first text of the manuscript is the *Prayer of Gregory*, a protective prayer with later parallels in Greek.¹² The second text is likewise an amuletic prayer, without a title or known parallels. The third and fourth texts consist of the well-known Jesus-Abgar correspondence, while the fifth is a prayer attributed to Judas Cyriacus taken from the literary text known as the *Finding of the Holy Cross*. The sixth and seventh texts are lists of the names of saints, while the final text consists of the incipits of the canonical gospels and Psalm 90 (91). These texts are more fully discussed in the accompanying notes, in particular those of their first pages.

Note that Pleyte and Boeser use the sign = in their edition to indicate words which continue over multiple lines, but this is not present in the codex.

⁹ Jacobi/Scheper/Menei forthcoming.

¹⁰ Jacobi/Scheper/Menei forthcoming.

¹¹ Cf. n. 6 above for close parallels. Behlmer/Alcock (1996: 3) date BM EA 71005 to the seventh century, without excluding a late sixth century date; on the larger context see Boud'hors 2008; Boud'hors 2017a, who notes that most papyrus codices from the Theban region date to the seventh or eighth centuries.

¹² Strittmatter 1930: 169–178; Strittmatter 1932: 125–144.

page 1 (1r) (↓)

- /:ḏ:/ /:ḏ:/
 ΟΥΕΥΧΗ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΖΟΡΓΙ-
 ΜΟΣ : ΕΔΙΣΖΑΪΕϞ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΡΗ-
 ΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΠΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ
 ΕΤΟΝΞ ΕΤΡΕΣΩΩΠΕ Μ-
 5 ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΤΝΑΧΙΤΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΣΕΟΩΣ
 ΕΤΡΕΣΩΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ
 ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΩΔΑΥΩΠΕ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ : Ε-
 10 ΤΕ ΜΜΗΤΡΕϞΖΙΚ ΝΕ :
 ΜΝ ΜΜΗΤΡΕϞΜΟΥΓΤΕ : ΜΝ
 ΖΕΝΜΗΤΡΕϞΜΟΥΡ ΝΖΕΝ-
 ΡΩΜΕ ΞΗ ΖΕΝΩΩΜΕ ΕΥ-
 ΩΩΒΕ : ΜΝ ΖΕΝΦΘΟΝΟΣ
 15 ΜΝ ΖΕΝΚΩΞ : ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΗΤ-
 ΑΠΡΑΚΤΟΣ : ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ
 ΕΤΜΤΡΕΥΘΗ ΖΩΒ ΕΕΪΡΕ
 ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΛΩΣ ΠΡ[ΑΓΜΑ]
 ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΝΣΟΟΥΝ [ΕΡΟΥ]
 20 ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΡΟ-]
 ΟΥ ΔΗ ΜΝ ΖΩΒ Ν[ΙΜ ΕΤ-]
 ΩΩΠΕ ΖΙΤΝ Ζ[ΝΡΩΜΕ Μ-]
 ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΟΣ · Μ[Ν ΖΗΡΩΜΕ Ν-]
 ΣΑΝΚΟΤΣ ΝΤ[ca. 5]
 25 ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ : †[ΠΑΡΑΚΑ-]
 ΛΕΪ ΜΝΟΚ ΠΧΟ[ΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΓ-]
 ΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΩ[ΚΡΑΤΩΡ]
 ΑΝΟΚ ΓΡΗΓΟΡ[ΙΟΣ ΠΕΚ-]

1 *i.e.* εὐχή || 1–2 *i.e.* ἐξορκισμός || 5 *i.e.* φυλακτήριον || 7 *i.e.* ἐνέργεια || 9 *i.e.* πονηρός ||
 14 *i.e.* φθόνος || 16 *i.e.* ἄπρακτος || 18 *i.e.* ἅπαξ ἀπλῶς πρ[ᾶγμα] : π[ερωβ] Pleyte/Boeser, Kropp,
 Smith || 21 [ετ-] : [. . .] Pleyte/Boeser || 23 *i.e.* περίεργος | [ν-] : Boeser does not restore ||
 25 *i.e.* πονηρός || 25–26 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 26 πχ[οεῖς] Pleyte/Boeser || 27 *i.e.* παντο[κράτωρ] ||
 28 γρηγο[ριος] Pleyte/Boeser | [πεκ-] : Pleyte/Boeser, Boeser, Kropp, Smith do not restore anything
 here : “servant of God” (“serviteur du Dieu”) Lexa

A prayer and an adjuration which I wrote, I, Gregory, the servant of the living God, so that it might be a |⁵ phylactery to all who will take it and read it, that it might undo every working that comes about through evil men, |¹⁰ that is sorceries and enchantments and *bindings of men through terrible sicknesses, and jealousy |¹⁵ and envy and idleness, that is not finding any work to do, and in general every [matter] that we know about |²⁰ and that we do not know about, and every thing [that] comes about through meddlesome men and cunning [men ...] |²⁵ evil.

I invoke you, O Lord God almighty, I, Gregory, [your]

p. 1 l.1–p. 14 l. 14. Prayer of Gregory: As first noted by Crum (1899), parallel versions of the *Prayer of Gregory* are attested in several Greek codices dating from at least the eleventh to sixteenth centuries CE, suggesting that this was its original language (Strittmatter 1930: 178; Strittmatter 1932: 141–144; Nesseris 2021: 93–94 with n. 12; Kropp 1931: II 169). This text belongs to a larger genre of exorcistic prayers attributed to saints which are common in Greek magical and liturgical handbooks; parallels exist in other languages, notably Syriac (see the discussion on p. 23). Other examples are attributed to figures such as John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria, and Ephraim the Syrian (Delatte 1927: 125, 230–263; Nesseris 2021: 91–97). Like the later Greek examples, the *Prayer of Gregory* makes extensive use of adjurations (“I adjure you...”), but only against negative external forces (demons, diseases, and evil acts), unlike many of the other magical texts in this collection, which also adjure God and his subordinate beings, such as the saints and the angels. The Gregory to whom the prayer is attributed is unclear; the versions published by Strittmatter (1932: 141–144) are attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus (ca. 213–270 CE), while that first noted by Crum (Kropp 1931: II 169) is attributed to Gregory the Theologian, i.e., Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390 CE).

24–25. ⲛⲧⲓ ca. 5 | ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ : “[...] evil” Boeser translates “depraved men” (“hommes dépravés”), Lexa “cowardly” (“lâches”), and Kropp “bad [men?]” (“böse [Menschen?]”).

page 2 (1v) (→)

- ^Δ
 𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩤𐩠 : ἀγὼ †σοπ̄c̄ ḿ-
 მოკ पेईवट णपेनखोईc
 ἰc̄ पेखc̄ · पनोय्ते नेन-
 नोय्ते प̄र̄पो न̄र̄पोय् तη-
 5 ροय् : παττακο : παττω-
 λем · πατcontq̄ : πατ-
 σ̄ḿḥωmεq̄ : πcoय् न̄r̄to-
 oय् · τσιx̄ εταμαρτε ·
 αλωḿαῑ ελωεἰ̄ ελεμαc̄
 10 cαβαωθ̄ · पनोय्ते ने- —
 नोय्ते प̄र̄पो ετσḿḥωm
 ρ̄n̄ ρωβ̄ n̄m̄ · पेτρ̄α εο-
 οय् : पेईवट̄ n̄tmē : पेते-
 नाωε̄ नेq̄m̄n̄tαan̄r̄-
 15 τηq̄ · पेταρχεἰ̄ μαγααq̄
 εx̄n̄ cαp̄z̄ n̄m̄ : αγ̄ω̄ εx̄n̄
 εzoय्ciā n̄m̄ π̄ωτ̄ ḿ-
 [πε]n̄x̄oεἰc̄ ἰc̄ पेख̄c̄ : еке-
 [ταν]ρ̄ε oय̄on̄ n̄m̄ ετνα-
 20 [ταoय̄o] ḿt̄īproceय̄xn̄ : ḿ
 [ετνα]k̄aaс̄ naq̄ ḿφγ-
 [λακτη]p̄ion̄ : †παρακα-
 [λει ḿmo]k̄ πx̄oεἰc̄ पनोय्-
 [ते ππα]n̄tωκρατωρ
 25 [εκε†] noγoय̄x̄aἰ̄ : ḿn̄
 [oγταλc̄]o : ḿn̄ oγt̄bbo
 [επmā ε]τογnaκω̄ t̄īπ-
 [proceय̄x̄]ḿ n̄r̄h̄tq̄ : εἵτε

1 n̄m̄aa Pleyte/Boeser : *l.* «𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩤𐩠 «ḿn̄noȳtē εton̄r̄», “(the) servant (of the God almighty)” (“der Diener des allmächtigen Gottes”) Kropp, Boeser, Smith || 3 *l.* ἰ(nc̄o)γc̄ पे-χ(ριστό)c̄ : ἰc̄ पेख̄c̄ Pleyte/Boeser || 10–11 नेननोय्ते Pleyte/Boeser || 15 *i.e.* ἄρχειν | μαγααq̄ · Pleyte/Boeser || 16 *i.e.* σάρξ : cαp̄z̄ Pleyte/Boeser || 17 *i.e.* ἐξουσία || 17–18 π̄ωτ̄ ḿ[π̄n̄γε̄ π]x̄oεἰc̄ Pleyte/Boeser : “Father in the heavens” (“Père aux cieux”) Boeser : “father of the heavens” (père des cieux”) Lexa : “father of our Lord Jesus Christ” (“Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi”) Kropp || 18 [π̄n̄γε̄ π]x̄oεἰc̄ Pleyte/Boeser | *l.* ἰ(nc̄o)γc̄ पे-χ(ριστό)c̄ || 20 *i.e.* προσευχή : n̄†proceय̄xn̄ Pleyte/Boeser | *i.e.* ἦ || 21 [ετnaκ]aaс̄ Pleyte/Boeser || 21–22 *i.e.* φυ[λακτή]p̄ion̄ : φγ[λακτηp̄]ion̄ Pleyte/Boeser || 22–23 *i.e.* παρακα[λείν] || 24 *i.e.* [πα]ντοκράτωρ || 25 [εκε†] : [. . .] Pleyte/Boeser || 26 [oγταλc̄]o : [. . .]o Pleyte/Boeser || 27 [επmā] : [. . .] Pleyte/Boeser : “the body” (“le corps”) restores Lexa | ετογnaκω̄ Pleyte/Boeser | t̄īπ- Pleyte/Boeser || 27–28 *i.e.* [προσευχ]ή || 28 *i.e.* εἵτε

servant, and I entreat you, O Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, god of gods, king of all kings, |⁵ the imperishable, unpolluted, uncreated, untouchable, the morningstar, the hand that rules, *Adonai *Eloei *Elemas |¹⁰ *Sabaoth, god of gods, the king who is mighty in every work, the glorious one, the father of truth, he whose mercies are many, |¹⁵ who rules alone over all flesh and over every *authority, the Father of [our] Lord Jesus Christ, may you preserve all who will |²⁰ [recite] this prayer or who will place it for themselves as a phylactery!

I invoke [you], O Lord God almighty |²⁵ [may you give] salvation and [healing] and purity [to the place in] which this [prayer] is placed, whether

7–8. **πρωι ηγετοος** : “the morningstar” Here a reference not to the Devil as the morningstar (*cf.* Isaiah 14.12), but rather Jesus’ self-identification as such in Revelation 22.16.

8. **τοις εταμαρτε** : “the hand that rules” Lexa translates “elusive hand” (“main insaisissable”).

page 3 (2r) (→)

- 200γτ εἴτε ⲉⲓⲙⲉ :
 ⲡⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲗⲙⲉⲗ : ⲛⲉ-
 ⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲕⲟγἰ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲭἰ ⲉ-
 ⲕἰⲃⲉ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟγⲉ
 5 ⲧⲏⲣⲟγ : ⲉⲕⲉⲗⲁⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲉ-
 ⲗἰⲛ ⲛἰ ⲉⲗⲟγⲛ : ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲗἰⲛ
 ⲛἰ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁ ⲛⲱⲱ-
 ⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟγ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟγ-
 ⲱⲧ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲗⲏ : ⲙⲛ
 10 ⲛⲉⲙⲕⲟἱⲧⲱⲛ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ-
 ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲗⲉⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ : ⲙⲛ
 ⲛⲉⲙⲭⲱⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲉ-
 ⲣⲟⲙ · ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲕⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ
 ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛⲏ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛἰ
 15 ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲧἰ ⲕⲁⲣ-
 ⲣⲟⲥ : ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲧ
 ⲕⲁⲣⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ : †ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ-
 ⲗⲉἰ ⲛⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲛⲟγⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ-
 ⲛⲟγⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲙ
 20 ⲧⲏⲣⲟγ : ⲡⲉⲧⲗⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲗ-
 ⲣⲁἰ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲛⲉⲭⲉⲣⲟγβἰⲛ ⲙ[ⲛ]
 ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲣⲁϕἰⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲃⲱ[λ]
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲭἰⲛⲟⲛⲥ ⲛἰⲙ [ⲉⲧ-]
 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲟγⲙⲏ ⲉⲙⲁ ⲙ[ⲙ ⲉ-]
 25 ⲧⲟγⲛⲁⲧⲁⲟγⲟ ⲛⲉⲗ[ⲧⲙ]
 ⲛ†ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲗⲏ : ⲏ : [ⲉⲧ-]
 ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲙⲱⲡⲉ : ⲙ ⲉ[ⲧ-]

1 *i.e.* εἴτε || 9 *i.e.* αὐλή || 10 *i.e.* κοιτών || 12 *i.e.* χώρα || 15–17 *i.e.* καρπός (twice) ||
 17–18 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 21 *i.e.* χειροβίμ | [ⲙⲛ] Pleyte/Boeser || 22 *i.e.* σεραφίμ | ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲃⲱ Pleyte/
 Boeser || 24 *i.e.* ὁγβε | ⲙ[ⲙ] Pleyte/Boeser || 25 ⲛⲉ[ⲏⲧⲙ] Pleyte/Boeser || 26 *i.e.* προσευχή ||
 26, 28 *i.e.* ἡ

male or female, free and slave, the little children and those who are suckling, and also all livestock, |⁵ may you watch over the entrance and the exit and all its dwelling places and its windows and its courtyards and |¹⁰ its bedrooms and its open places and and its lands that belong to it and its foundations and its gardens and its wells |¹⁵ and its trees which bear fruit and its trees which do not bear fruit!

I invoke you, O god of gods, O king of all the powers, |²⁰ the one who sits upon the *cherubim and the *seraphim, that you undo every act of violence that has been done against every place |²⁵ in which this prayer will be recited, or that has yet to happen, or that

5–7. κεχαρεξ ετεριη νι ερουν : μη τεριη νι εβολ : “may you watch over the entrance and the exit” Compare Psalm 120 (121).8: “He (the Lord) will watch over your coming and going forever and ever” (κηχαρεξ ετεκσινει ερουν μη τεκσινει εβολ ца енез ꙗеуеz; Budge 1898: 135); Anna Cherkashina is thanked for identifying this allusion.

10–13. ηεχηα ετσολεπ εβολ : μη ηεχηωρημα ετηπ εροϋ : “its open places and and its lands that belong to it” Boeser translates, “its fields and lands, with their surrounding areas” (“ses champs et ses terres, avec leurs dépendances”). Lexa translates “their visible and hidden places, their fields and gardens” (“leurs lieux visibles et leurs lieux cachés, leurs champs et leurs jardins”).

23–24. ηχιησους νιη [ετ]ωροп ογχι ηε/μα νι[μ] : “every act of violence that has been done against every place” Here and elsewhere, Boeser translates “malicious spirits, which are (hidden everywhere) in the place” (“esprit malins qui sont, (cachés partout) en l’endroit”). Lexa translates “violence that could arise at any location” (“violence qui pourrait naître à n’importe quel lieu”). The term “acts of violence” (ηχιησους) translates the Greek ἀδικήματα, and seems to refer broadly to any intentional evil carried out against the text’s beneficiary (*cf.* Strittmatter 1932: 141.20 *et passim*).

page 4 (2v) (↓)

-: B :-

- τηω εωωπε : η̄ εωχε
 λογα μογρ νογμα : εαφ-
 κω η̄ζητῳ̄ η̄τῳ̄ρε η̄-
 πεκροφ : εφρηπ η̄ν νεφ-
 5 снте : η̄ η̄ν̄ νεφμα ετογ-
оус εβολ : η̄ η̄ν̄ τεφρη η̄-
 βωκ ερογн : η̄ η̄ν̄ τεφρη
 η̄ν̄ εβολ : η̄ η̄м̄ про : η̄ η̄м̄ п-
 ωογῳ̄т : η̄ η̄м̄ пма нен-
 10 котк : η̄ η̄м̄ πορε : η̄ η̄м̄
 πετρίκλινον · η̄ η̄ν̄ таγ-
 λη εтῳ̄н̄ τηηте : η̄ η̄н̄ т-
 сωωε : η̄ η̄н̄ некарпос
 η̄ η̄н̄ нкнпос : η̄ η̄н̄ оγρε
 15 εсо нсн̄те : η̄ ωомте
 η̄ρη : η̄ η̄н̄ нωнн̄ ннат-
 карпос : η̄ η̄н̄ немоγνει-
 ооγε εтῳ̄н̄ неіерωογ :
 η̄ η̄н̄ η̄ροї : η̄ η̄н̄ н̄соом : η̄
 20 η̄ топос η̄н̄м̄ н̄х̄н̄со-
 [н]с : оγон η̄н̄м̄ н̄таγωω-
 [п]ε : η̄ η̄нетτηω εωωπε
 [†та]рко η̄н̄ωтῳ̄ анок
 [грн]горіос η̄η̄μαλ η̄н̄с̄
 25 [пех]ῳ̄ · пноб̄ н̄ран̄ εт-
 [ра̄ ро]те : αγω εтμεз̄ η̄-
 [с]тωт̄ η̄ї̄ негωελῳ̄ пет-

5–22 *i.e.* ἡ || 11 *i.e.* τρίκλινον/τρικλίνιον || 11–12 *i.e.* αὐλή || 13 *i.e.* καρπός || 14 *i.e.* κήπος ||
 14–15 *i.e.* ^сογ-ρηп̄ ε=с-о *cf.* ρη for ρηп̄ Kasser CDC 95a *cf.* note : *l.* ρεво *i.e.* ^сρεво Boeser, Kropp,
 Lexa, Smith || 15 ^нсн̄те *i.e.* ἡ сн̄те Pleyte/Boeser, Boeser, Kropp, Lexa, Smith || 16 *i.e.* ^нн̄-ρηп̄ ?
cf. note : *l.* η̄ η̄н̄ н̄ωнн̄ нкарпос Boeser, Kropp, Lexa, Smith || 17 *i.e.* καρπός || 20 *i.e.* τόπος ||
 22 *i.e.* ^сη̄н̄ н-εт-τηω (haplography) ? || 24–25 *l.* ι(ηсоγ)с̄ пе-χ(ριστός) || 26 [ρᾱ ро]те
cf. p. 8 ll. 4–5 || [. . .]те Pleyte/Boeser || 27 . тωт̄ Pleyte/Boeser, Boeser | *i.e.* ^нн̄-ωλρηῳ̄

is ordained to happen, or if someone *bound a place, having placed in it the bond of deceit, hidden in its ^{|5} foundations, or in its extended places, or in its entrance or in its exit, or in the door, or in the window, or in the ^{|10} bedroom or in the yard, or in the dining-room or in the courtyard in the middle of it, or in the field, or among the fruits, or in the garden, or at a ^{|15} forked road or crossroad, or in a fruitless tree, or in the waters that are in the rivers or in the canals, or in vineyards, or ^{|20} in any place!

O acts of violence, every one that has happened, or that is among those ordained to happen, [I] adjure you, I, Gregory, the servant of Jesus ^{|25} Christ?, the great name that [is fearful] and that is filled with trembling and terror, that is

3–20. The “bond of deceit” and list of sites: The “bond of deceit” here seems to refer to a binding curse (Greek κατάδεσμος, “binding, bond”) which has been buried either somewhere in the home of the victim, or in one of the common sites of deposition, in a body of water or a crossroad; not mentioned here, but present in one of the partial Greek parallels (Reitzenstein 294 n. 3, *cf.* note to ll. 14–16) is a grave, another common site for depositing curses. In the Classical Greek tradition which was transmitted to Egypt, curses were often written on lead tablets and folded before deposition, but in Egypt papyrus and other supports, such as ostraca, were also often used. For a discussion of depositing curses, *cf.* Gager 1992: 18–21, and *cf.* *Binding and Releasing in the glossary. In addition to the mediaeval Greek parallels, similar lists of potential means of cursing are found in Syriac Christian and mediaeval Jewish magic; for a Syriac example see Dickens/Smelova 2021: 120, 127–130; for Jewish magic, see T-S K 1.168, ll. 108–112, in Schiffmann/Swartz 1992: 143–159. In comments published in Dickens/Smelova 2021, Gideon Bohak compares such lists to those found in the “Spell-loosener of Hanina ben Dosa”, a late antique Jewish Aramaic text which continued to be used into the 20th century, in which he sees a Judaised version of older Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft texts, such as the *Maqlû* (“burning”) series, attested by the ninth century BCE. For the “spell-loosener”, see Bohak 2019, and for similar lists in the *Maqlû*, see Abusch 2015: esp. tablet iv 10–73 (317–323), with discussions in Abusch 2011; Schwemer 2014: 274–276.

10. ܡܳܕܳܝܳܬܳܐ : “yard” Respectively, Boeser, Lexa, and Kropp translate “stable” (“écurie”, “Stall”).

14–16. ܳܘܳܕܳܝܳܬܳܐ ܳܥܳܘ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ : ܳܦ ܳܩܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ : “or in a forked road or crossroad” Previous translators (Boeser, Kropp, Lexa, Pernigotti, Smith) have translated as “in two or three items of clothing”, but there is no tradition of placing curses in items of clothing. The solution is provided by a partial Greek parallel in BnF Gr. 2316 (KYP M3784) fol. 435v l. 14, which gives ἐν διοδία ἢ ἐν τριοδία (“at a fork or crossroads”; Reitzenstein 294 n. 3), these terms literally referring to a place where three or four roads meet, a common place to leave curses in the Greek binding tradition and its successors. The putative ܳܠ read by previous editors seems rather to be an ܳܥ. Compare also the instructions to bury a curse at “a crossroads” (ܳܘܳܕܳܝܳܬܳܐ ܳܥܳܘ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ) in P.Vindob. K 880 (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 3; KYP M239) l. 49. For the form, *cf.* ܳܕܳܠ for ܳܕܳܠ Kasser CDC 95a.

16. ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ : “road” We understand this as part of the preceding clause (ܳܩܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ). Previous translators have read ܳܦ ܳܕܳܠ with Boeser, and restored ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ afterwards, *i.e.* “fruit trees”, assuming that the scribe forgot to copy the clause. The traces do not seem to fit this, however, and the text already includes “fruits and gardens/orchards” (ܳܦ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ) in ll. 13–14.

19. ܳܕܳܠ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ : ܳܡ ܳܕܳܠ ܳܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ : “or in the canals, or in vineyards” Kropp and Lexa translate “in the fields or in the gardens” (“dans les champs ou dans les jardins”, “in den Wiesen oder in den Gärten”). Boeser translates “or in the terrains” (“soit dans les terrains”).

page 5 (3r) (↓)

2 ⲁ ⲉⲟⲟϣ : ⲁϣⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁ-
 ἰⲛϣ̅ ⲛⲱⲟϣ̅ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕϣ̅ⲛⲉἰ
 ⲛⲁϣ : ⲡⲁⲧⲧⲁϣⲟϣ : ⲡⲁⲧⲭⲟ-
 ⲟⲛϣ̅ : ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟϣⲁⲁⲃ : ⲁϣ-
 5 ⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ : ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲁἰ
 ⲉⲗⲱⲉἰ : ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁⲥ · ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟ
 ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲉ-
 ⲃⲟⲗ : ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣἡ
 ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟϣⲟⲛ ⲛἰⲙ ⲉⲧⲟϣ-
 10 ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲟϣⲟ ⲛⲉⲛⲧϣ̅ ⲛⲧⲉἰⲡ-
 ⲣⲟⲥⲉϣⲭἡ : ἡ ⲙⲁ ⲛἰⲙ ⲉⲧⲟϣ-
 ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲧϣ̅ ⲙἡ ⲛⲉ-
 ⲧἡⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϣ̅ ⲧἡⲣⲟϣ̅ · ⲁϣⲱ ⲛ-
 ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲡⲟϣⲁ ⲡⲟϣⲁ
 15 ⲙἡⲱⲧἡ̅ ⲉⲭἡ̅ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ἡ-
 ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϣ̅ⲧⲛⲉϣ̅ⲧἡϣ̅ⲧἡ̅
 ⲉἑἰⲣⲉ ⲛἡⲛⲉἰⲃⲟⲧⲉ : ⲁϣⲱ ⲉ-
 ⲭἡ̅ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲛἡⲛⲉⲧⲥϣ̅ⲛⲉϣ̅-
 ⲗⲟⲕⲉἰ ⲛἡⲙⲁϣ̅ : ⲉἰⲧⲉ ⲟϣ̅-
 20 ⲱἡⲙⲟ ⲡⲉ : ⲉἰⲧⲉ ⲟϣⲁ ⲡⲉ
 ⲛἡⲛⲉⲧἡⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϣ̅ : ⲉἰⲧⲉ ⲟϣⲁ
 ⲡⲉ ⲉϣ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉ : ⲉἰⲧⲉ ⲟϣ̅-
 ϣ̅ⲙⲉⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ : ἡ ⲟϣ̅ⲙⲉⲁⲣⲉ
 ⲡⲉ : ἡ ⲟϣ̅ⲙⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ : ἡ ⲟϣ̅-
 25 ⲙⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲓⲙⲉ̅ ⲧⲉ : ἡ ⲟϣ̅-
 ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ̅ ⲛⲉⲣⲟⲟϣ̅ⲧ ⲡⲉ :
 ἡ ⲟϣ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ̅ ⲛⲥⲉⲓⲙⲉ̅ ⲧⲉ :

2 *i.e.* προσκυνεῖν || 3–4 *i.e.* ^sⲁⲧⲭⲱ ? Boeser : *i.e.* ^sⲁⲧⲭⲱⲛⲁ Smith : “not succumbing to chance” (“ne succumbant au hasard”) Lexa : “unreachable” (“unerreichbar”) Kropp || 8 *i.e.* ἀναχωρεῖν || 10–11 *i.e.* προσευχή || 11 *i.e.* ἡ || 18–19 *i.e.* συνευδοκεῖν || 19–22 *i.e.* εἴτε || 20–22 εἴτε οὐγαπε ἡⲛⲉⲧἡⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϣ̅ : εἴτε οὐγαπε ⲉϣ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉ Pleyte/Boeser: “whether the person is ... a boss of those belonging to him, or is one who leads” Smith : “whether it be the head of those who belong to him, or the head of one who dwells beside him” (“sei es ein Haupt der zu ihm Gehörigen, sei es das Haupt eines, der daneben wohnt”) Kropp || 22 *i.e.* παράγειν : *i.e.* παροικεῖν or παράγειν Kropp || 23–27 *i.e.* ἡ || 25 *i.e.* μάγος || 26–27 *i.e.* Πέρσης

glorious, and the honoured one, worthy of prostration, the indescribable one, the ..., the name that is holy and [|]⁵ blessed, *Adonai *Eloei *Elemas *Sabaoth, that you release and you withdraw from everyone who [|]¹⁰ will recite in themselves this prayer, and every place in which it will be put, and all those belonging to it, and that you go, each one [|]¹⁵ of you, upon the head of the one who sent you to do these abominations, and upon the head of the ones who consented to them, whether it is a [|]²⁰ foreigner, or it is someone who is related to him, or a it is someone who is passing by, or a slave, or a free person, or it is a magician, or a [|]²⁵ female magician, or a Persian man, or a Persian woman,

3–4. **ⲁⲧⲭⲟⲟⲛⲓ** : “ ... ” The meaning of this word is unclear; Boeser suggested either reading **ⲁⲧⲭⲱ** (“ineffable”), or the (unattested) **ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲛⲓ** (cf. Crum CD 776b–777a), which he translates as “inaccessible” (“inabordable”), followed by Kropp as “unreachable” (“unerreichbar”), and Smith as “unencounterable”. One of the Greek parallel texts has ἀχράντου in this place (Strittmatter 1932: 142 n. ll. 1–2), so it is possible that this is an error for **ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲛⲓ** (“undefiled”), its Coptic equivalent (cf. Crum CD 798b).

8–12. **ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲭⲟⲣⲓ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲟϥⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉϥⲭⲏ : ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲛⲁⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲓ** : “and you withdraw from everyone who will recite in themselves this prayer, and every place in which it will be put” Smith translates “withdraw from every one near whom this prayer shall be recited”. Kropp translates “from every ‘place’ where this prayer is said, or from every prayer, or from any place where it is laid down” (“zurückweichet von einem jeden ‘Orte’ an dem man dieses Gebet aussprechen wird, oder von einem jeden Orte, an dem man es niederlegt”).

p. 51. 17–p. 61. 7. List of Potential Culprits: A list of all potential enemies who might have harmed the beneficiary of the ritual through magic, the evil eye, or some other means, expressed in terms of relationship to the beneficiary (foreigner/relation/passers-by), social status (enslaved/free person), socio-ethnic identity (magician, Persian, Chaldaean, Hebrew, Egyptian), and gender (male/female). Our translation of the initial lines, which posed problems for previous translators (see apparatus) is confirmed by the Greek versions gathered in Strittmatter 1932 (142.4–8); these later lists give different socio-ethnic options—magician, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Anatolian, Hebrew, Indian, French, and African (μάγος/μάγισσα, Πέρσης/Πέρσις, Σύρος/Σύραινα Αἰγύπτιος/Αἰγυπτία, Ἀσιανός/Ασιανή, Ἑβραῖος/Ἑβραία, Ἰνδός, Γάλλος, Ἀφρός/Ἀφρά)—demonstrating the tendency of such lists to expand according to the horizons of the redactor. Similar lists of ethnic identities appear in other Christian amuletic texts, with many of the most striking examples in Ge’ez: “undo the spells of Arabs and of Romans... of Jews and Ethiopians... of Muslims and Christians... of foreign Muslims and Europeans...” (Streclyn 1955: 119, cf. pp. xix–xx, 13, 37, 55, 119 *etc.*). Similar lists of potential enemies can be found in older Egyptian ritual texts, such as the execration texts listing national enemies (e.g., Fischer-Elfert 2005: 60, cf. the discussion of lists in amulets on pp. 22–23), and in the amulet P.Berol. 3027 ro col. 2 ll. 6–10, against a female enemy who may be a Levantine (*zm.t*), Nubian (*nhsy.t*), slave (*hm.t*), or noble (*šps.t*; Borghouts 1978: no. 66; XVIII Dynasty). Similar lists also appear in the Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft *Maqlû* (“burning”) series (cf. note to p. 4 ll. 3–20); see Abusch 2015: tablet iv 80–92 (324), which likewise lists possible adversaries in terms of relationship to the beneficiary, ethnic identity, and profession. For the listing of both genders of each ethnic group, cf. the note to PCMI 12 p. 37 ll. 18–20.

page 6 (3v) (→)

-.:Γ:-

- Η ΟΥΧΑΛΔΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ : Η ΟΥ-
 ΧΑΛΔΑΙΟΣ ΝΕΖΙΜΕ : Η ΟΥ-
 ΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ : Η ΟΥΖΕΒΡΑΙ-
 ΟΣ ΝΕΖΙΜΕ ΠΕ : Η ΟΥΡΜ-
 5 ΝΚΗΜΕ ΠΕ : Η ΟΥΡΜΗΚΗ-
 ΜΕ ΝΕΖΙΜΕ ΖΑΠΑΖ ΖΑΠ-
 ΛΩΣ ΠΕΤΕΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΜΑ-
 ΡΕΧΙΝΣΟΝΣ ΝΙΜ ΒΩΛ Ε-
 ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ ΠΕΖΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ
 10 ΑΥΩ ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ Ε-
 ΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΠΕΤΗΝΗ ΕΚ-
 ΡΙΝΕ ΝΕΤΟΝΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΤ-
 ΜΟΟΥΤ : ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ
 ΠΡΡΟ : ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 15 ΝΤΑΥΣΡΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΑ-
 ΡΟΝ : ΜΙΧΑΗΛ : ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
 ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΝΑΓ-
 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΤΑΖΕ-
 ΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 20 ΜΠΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΝΕΜ-
 ΠΗΓΕ : ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΧΟΣΕ : ΖΑΡΕΖ
 ΕΜΜΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕ-
 ΤΕΟΥΕΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ
 25 ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΝΕΤ-
 ΤΑΟΥΟ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΗ ΜΜΑ-
 ΤΕ : ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΕΣΕΝΤΟ-

1-5 i.e. ἡ || 1-2 i.e. Χαλδαῖος || 3-4 i.e. Ἑβραῖος || 4 l. τε || 6-7 i.e. ἅπαξ ἀπλῶς || 9 i.e. ἐξορκισμός ||
 10 i.e. σφραγίς || 15 i.e. σ(αυρ)οὺν || 17-18 i.e. ἄγγελος || 23 i.e. μέλος || 25 i.e. προσευχή ||
 27 i.e. ἀλλά

or a Chaldaean, or a Chaldaean woman, or a Hebrew, or a Hebrew woman, or an
|⁵ Egyptian, or an Egyptian woman, and in short whoever it is!

Let all violence be undone through this adjuration |¹⁰ and through the holy seal
of the one who is coming to judge the living and the dead, who is King and God,
|¹⁵ who was crucified for us!

*Michael, *Gabriel, *Raphael, Uriel, O holy *angels standing before |²⁰ the one
who dwells in the heavens, the holy and exalted one, guard all the body parts of
the ones who possess |²⁵ this prayer, not only those who recite it, but those who

11–13. **ἡ ΠΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΚΡΙΝΕ ἡ ΝΕΤΟΝῚ ἡ Νῆ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ** : “the one who is coming to judge the living and the dead” Cf. e.g., 2 Timothy 4.1 “Christ Jesus the one who will judge the living and the dead” (πᾶς ὁ ἐν τῇ κρινεῖ ἡ ΝΕΤΟΝῚ ἡ Νῆ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ; Thompson 1932: 243).

page 7 (4r) (→)

- ΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ ΜΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙ-
 ΟΝ ΝΓΤΟΥΧΟΟΥ ΕΞΩΒ
 ΝΙΜ ΜΠΩΝΗΡΟΣ · ΑΥΩ
 ΕΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ : ΠΑΛΙΝ Ο
 5 †ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΝΧΙΝ-
 ΟΝΣ ΝΙΜ ΜΠΝΟΘ ΝΡΑΝ
 ΕΤΖΑ ΕΘΟΥ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · Π-
 ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ : ΠΕΝ-
 ΤΑΦΕΝ ΠΕΦΛΑΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ
 10 ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΖΝ ΟΥ-
 ΟΪΧ ΕΣΧΟΟΡ ΜΝ ΟΥΒΟΪ
 ΕΦΧΟΕ : ΠΕΝΤΑΦΠΑ-
 ΤΑΣΣΕ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΜΝ ΤΥ-
 ΟΜ ΤΗΡΣ : ΠΕΝΤΑΦ-
 15 ΦΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΜΩΥΧΗΣ ΖΜ
 ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΣΙΝΑ : ΕΑΦ†
 ΜΠΕΦΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΦ-
 ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΕΝΩΗ-
 ΡΕ ΜΠΗΛ : ΑΥΩ ΔΥΤΡΕΦ-
 20 ΟΥΩΜ ΜΠΜΑΝΝΑ : ΧΕ-
 ΚΑΣ ΕΤΕΤΝΕΠΩΤ Ε-
 ΠΟΥΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΜΟΥΩΖ
 ΕΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΑΖΕ-
 ΡΑΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΖΟΛΩΣ :
 25 ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΚΑ
 ΤΕΪΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΝΖΗΤΥ
 ΑΪΤΙ ΟΝ : ΔΝΟΚ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ

p. 6 l. 27–p. 7 l. 1 ΝΕΤΕΝΤΟΟΥ : l. ΝΕΤΕΝΤΟΟΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΖΙΧΩΣ Boeser || 1–2 i.e. φυλακτήριον ||
 3 i.e. πονηρός || 4 i.e. πάλιν | l. ο(ν) : ον Pleyte/Boeser || 8 i.e. παντοκράτωρ || 9 i.e. λαός ||
 12–13 i.e. πατάσσειν || 13 i.e. Φαραώ || 17 i.e. νόμος || 19 l. ι(σρα)ηλ || 18 i.e. πρόσταγμα || 20 i.e. μάνα ||
 22–23 ΝΤΕΤΝΤΜΟΥΩΖ ΕΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ for the sense of ούωζ ετοοτ as “to repeat”, cf. Crum CD 506 ||
 24 i.e. ὅλως || 26 i.e. προσευχή || 27 i.e. ἔτι : αἴτιον i.e. αἴτιον Pleyte/Boeser, Smith.

have it in their hand as a phylactery, and save them again from every evil thing and every evil!

Again, ¹⁵ I adjure you, every act of violence, by the great name that is glorious, God Almighty—the one who brought his people out from ¹⁰ the land of Egypt with a strong hand and an exalted arm, the one who struck Pharaoh and all his power, the one who ¹⁵ spoke with Moses on the mountain of Sinai as he gave his law and his ordinance to the children of Israel, and he caused him to ²⁰ eat manna—that you flee far away, and you do not return at all to stand ²⁵ in the place in which is placed this prayer!

Yet again, I, Gregory,

10–12. οὐσίχ εσχοορ ἡν οὐσβοῖ εφχοσε : “a strong hand and an exalted arm” These are recurrent phrases in the Hebrew Bible; cf. Exodus 13.16 “For with a strong hand the Lord brought you out of the land of Egypt” (εἰραι εἰν οὐσίχ εσχοορ ἀπχοεῖς ἡτῆν εβολ εἰν πκαε ἡκῆμε; Kasser 1961: 164); Exodus 32.11 “you brought them (*i.e.*, the Israelites) out of the land of Egypt with your great power and your exalted arm” (ἡτκακῆτοῦ εβολ εἰν πκαε ἡκῆμε εἰραι εἰν τεκνοσ ἡβον ἡν πεκβοῖ ετχοσε; Maspero 1892: 46).

the servant of the living God, I invoke you, you, every act of violence, by the great name that ^{|5} is fearful of the Father of our Lord, Jesus Christ, the god of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, just as you acted together, whether ^{|10} it was magic, or idols, or from places of worship, or any place you were sent from to cause ^{|15} terror and torments and dumbness and deafness and speechlessness and disgrace of his face? ^{|20} and all types of pain, whether you have come near or are far away, be afraid before the name of the Lord, ^{|25} and withdraw yourselves from every place in which this prayer will be read

8–9. ἵκε ἐτετῆνο ἡμος εἰ ὄντων : “just as you acted together” Smith translates “all at once.” Kropp translates “according to what you all are” (“gemäss dessen, was ihr allzumal seid”). For our translation, *cf.* Crum CD 350a.

10. ἡντμαγος : “a magic” Boeser translates “magic objects” (“objets magiques”).

12–13. ἡταγνεγτηγῆν ἡρητογ : “you were sent from” Smith translates “to which you have been sent” Smith but *cf.* Crum CD 420a.

19. γενῆνταῖς εἶρα : “disgrace of his face” We are unable to find a parallel for this phrase; the literal translation is “disgrace/ugliness of his face/voice” (εἶρα from either γο or γροογ), and in the past the phrase has been translated by Boeser as “deformity of the face” (“la difformité de face”), by Smith as “disgrace”, by Kropp as “ugliness of the speech” (“Hässlichkeit der Sprache”), and by Lexa as “paralysis of the face” (“la paralysie de face”). The phrase probably refers to something specific. We might understand a concept inversely related to that of the “favour of the face” (παρις ἡρη), the quality that makes one socially popular and successful; in this case, this would be a reference to a curse to make someone hated, for examples of which see *PCM I 22 ll. 27–50; PCM I 27; P.Bad. V 123 (KYP M315) front ll. 52–84; and cf.* Dosoo 2018: 21; Dosoo 2023a: 174–176. See also Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 2.

page 9 (5r) (↓)

- ̄N̄ZHT̄Q · H ̄N̄CEKAC ̄N̄-
 ZHT̄Q : ̄MN̄ NEṬHTP EP-
 OY THPOY : ̄NTET̄NBWK
 5 POYA POYA EZ̄N̄ TAPE
 NOYN N̄IM̄ N̄TAQEINE
 ̄MMW̄TN̄ H̄ PENTAQTE-
 NEYTHYT̄N̄ : ̄NTOOY
 M̄N̄ NETCYNEYΔOKEÏ
 N̄M̄M̄AY : PNOYTE PE
 10 TP̄HHN̄ : PNOYTE PE P-
 TALBO : PNOYTE PE T-
 ΔIKAIOSYNN̄ · PNOYTE
 - PE POYOEÏN̄ : PXOEÏC
 PNOYTE NENBOM̄ : M̄-
 15 XAN̄L PE QAYOYAZMEQ
 ZE TP̄HHN̄ · ETE PAÏ PE P-
 NOYTE POYOEÏN̄ : GAB-
 P̄IH̄L ZE NOYTE Z̄Ī POME
 Z̄PAΦAN̄L ZE PTALBO
 20 OYR̄IH̄L ZE TBOH̄ : CEΔE-
 K̄IH̄L ZE TΔIKAIOSYNN̄ ·
 ANAN̄L ZE TMHT̄CT̄MH̄T
 AZAN̄L ZE TM̄NT̄QAN̄Z̄-
 THQ : ETE NAÏ THPOY NE
 25 N̄PAN̄ M̄PNOYTE : AYΩ
 NAÏ THPOY NE N̄PAN̄ NAR-
 vac. XAGTELOS : AYΩ

1 i.e. ̄N̄ : ̄N̄ Pleyte/Boeser || 6 i.e. ̄N̄ || 6–7 i.e. ^Sπ-εντα-q-τ̄nn̄ey-τ̄nȳt̄n̄ || 8 i.e. συνευδοκεῖν ||
 10 i.e. εἰρήνη || 12 i.e. δικαιοσύνη || 14 l. ̄N̄-̄N̄-BOH̄ || 15 i.e. ^Sε-ϣα-z-y-ογαζμεzq || 16–17 l. πνογτε πε
 πογοειν cf. Strittmatter 1932: 143 ll. 9–10: φῶς ὁ θεός : l. πνογτε ἵπογοεῖν Boeser, Kropp, Smith,
 Lexa || 21 i.e. δικαιοσύνη || 22 i.e. ^SHN̄T̄-CT̄MH̄T || 26–27 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 27 vac. of ca. 4 letters
 at beginning of line.

or placed in, and all those belonging to them, and go, each of you, upon the head
|⁵ of every one who brought you, or that sent you, them and those who consented
to them!

God is |¹⁰ peace. God is healing. God is justice. God is light, the Lord God of
powers. |¹⁵ *Michael is interpreted as “peace”, that is “God is light”, *Gabriel as
“god and man”, *Raphael as “healing”, |²⁰ Uriel as “power”, Sedekiël as “justice”,
Anaël as “obedience”, Azael as “mercy”; these are all |²⁵ the names of God and
these are all the names of *archangels, and

5–6. ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ : “who brought you” Smith translates “who is like you.”

12–24. **List of angel names and interpretations:** Several of the interpretations here demonstrate genuine knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the composer (*cf.* Davidson 1967: 117, 240, 324). Gabriel’s name is indeed composed of the Hebrew elements “man” (גִּבֹּר *geber*) and “god” (אֱלֹהִים *’ēl*); compare the *Scala Magna*, whose definition of Gabriel is likewise “Man and God” (φρῶμι οὐροϕϱ; Macomber 2020: 198). See also PCMI 26 p. 3 l. 20, in which Michael claims “my name is God and man” (ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲙⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲛⲱⲙⲉ). The first element of Raphael similarly derives from the root “to heal” (רָפָא *rāpā*), while that of Sedekiël is “justice” (צֶדֶק *sedeq*). Anaël may be derived here from the verb “to answer, respond” (עָנָה *’ānāh*; we thank Ortal-Paz Saar for this suggestion). The rationale behind the other derivations given here is less obvious to us. A similar list of angel names and their interpretations may be found in *PGMP* 14 (KYP M435; we thank Michel Zellmann-Rohrer for the reference). For other Coptic lists of angels and their associated attributes, see *The Book of Bartholomew* (CC 27; ed. Westerhoff 1999: 136–139); *P.Lond.Copt.* 524 (KYP M359) front ll. 116–19.

everyone who has these with them, carrying them, have with them a great help, which is filled |⁵ with every good thing, for God is with us.

Listen, you <who come> from the end of the earth, for God is with us, for when you |¹⁰ are strong, again, you will be defeated, for God is with us, and the scheme that you prepare, the Lord will bring it to naught, |¹⁵ and the words that you will say, they shall not remain within you, for God is with us. A stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, |²⁰ do not permit them to dare approach those who have this prayer with them, for God is with us, for everyone who |²⁵ will bring this prayer to the place within which the prayer will be put will not fear

6, 8, 11–12, 17, 23–24. πνογτε νῆμαν : “God is with us” A citation of Matthew 1.23 (Horner 1911: I 8) and Isaiah 7.14 (Bak 2020: 536); cf. the note to PCM I 25 p. 11 l. 7.

18–19. ογωνε νχροπ ην ογπετρα νσκαταλον : “A stone of stumbling and a rock of offence” Cf. I Peter 2.8: “And a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to those who stumble in the word, being unbelieving, since they have been delivered to this” (αγω ογωνε νχροπ ην ογπετρα νσκαναλλον νῆμαι ετχι χροπ επωρε εγο νατναρτε εαγκαδγ επαι; Horner 1924: 20).

page 11 (6r) (→)

1 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$: $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$ -
 2 $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}$ $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\chi}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ -
 3 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{E}}$
 4 $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}$
 5 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{M}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$ -
 6 $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\Lambda}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}$ -
 7 $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}$ -
 8 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\Lambda}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}$ -
 9 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}$ -
 10 $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Z}}$
 11 $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}$ -
 12 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}$: $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}$
 13 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\Delta}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}$ -
 14 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}$: $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}$ -
 15 $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}$
 16 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Q}}$: $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ -
 17 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ -
 18 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\chi}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{M}}$.
 19 $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$: $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}$ -
 20 $\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$
 21 $\overline{\chi}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{K}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}$
 22 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{M}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{P}}$ -
 23 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{I}}$: $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Delta}$ -
 24 $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{E}}$
 25 $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{N}}$
 26 $\overline{\chi}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$:
 27 $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}$: $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$ -
 28 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Q}}$:-

1 i.e. οὐδέ || 2 $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}$ $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}$ added in *ekthesis* at the beginning of the line || 3 i.e. δέ ||
 6–7 i.e. προσευχή || 8 l. $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\Lambda}$ || 11–12 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$: $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ Pleyte/Boeser ||
 13 i.e. ἐνέργεια || 13–14 i.e. δαιμόνιον || 21 $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}$ Pleyte/Boeser || 23–24 i.e. λάός || 27 l. $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$ -
 χ(ριστός)ς ι(ησογ)ς

your fear, nor will they be disturbed, for God is with us.

But you, yourselves, every one [|]⁵ who has with them this prayer of this entreaty, the Lord God will purify him of you, and he will be [|]¹⁰ with us as a guardian and he will deliver us from the fears of the Enemy and his demonic works, and if we are [|]¹⁵ faithful in all our heart, the Lord God will be a purification for us, for God is with us. For this reason, we will [|]²⁰ speak the word of the Lord: “Behold, I am with the children of God whom he gave to me. The people that dwell in darkness [|]²⁵ saw a great light, for God is with us”. Christ Jesus is with us, the one of whom they wrote concerning him,

1. **ἡτέτῃς ὅτε : οὐδὲ :** “your fear, nor” Smith translates “they shall (neither) be afraid....”
 2–3, 18–19, 25–26. **πνοῦτε ἡμῶν :** “God is with us” Cf. the note to p. 10 ll. 6, 8, 11–12, 17, 23–24.
 7–9. **πλοῖς πνοῦτε ματῶν ἡετῃς :** “the Lord God will purify him of you” Smith translates “the Lord god purifies it in you”. For our translation, see Crum CD 400a.
 19–20. **τεναχὼ ἡπορχε ἡπλοῖς :** “we will speak the word of the Lord” Kropp compares Joshua 24: “But I and my household, we will serve the Lord” (ἀνοκ δε μν πανι ενναφμρε μπλοῖς; Thompson 1911: 124).
 21–23. **εἰς ῥητε ἀνοκ μν νεφρε φημ ἡταπνοῦτε ταυ ναῖ :** “behold, I am with the children of God whom he gave to me” This is a direct citation of Isaiah 8.18/Hebrews 2.13 (Horner 1920: 14).
 23–25. **πλοῖς εἰς φῶς ἡ πκακε ἀφναγ εἰνος νογοῖν :** “the people that dwell in darkness saw a great light” A direct citation of Isaiah 9.2, quoted in Matthew 4.16: “The people that dwell in the darkness saw a great light” (πλοῖς εἰς φῶς ῥη πκακε ἀφναγ εἰνος νογοῖν; Horner 1911: I 26).

“For they will call his name the *angel of great counsel, God who is strong, God of ⁵ great and wondrous counsel.”

Let us lift our eyes up to heaven and bless him with joy in our souls, crying out, saying, ¹⁰ “Glory and adoration and greatness are fitting for you, O Father and Son and Holy Spirit who exist in unity, ¹⁵ and a unity in a trinity; he is a single divinity in three hypostases and a single lordship and ²⁰ a single rule and a single power and a single energy and every authority, and a single person, and ²⁵ a single baptism, a single lord, a single god, the Father, and the Son and the Spirit!”

1–4. σενανογτε επεφραν δε παγγελος ηπνος νωρονης : πνογτε ετσησμον : “they will call his name the angel of great counsel, God who is strong” Cf. Isaiah 9.6–7: “they will call his name the angel of great counsel” (εγνανογτε επεφραν δε παγγελος ηπνος νωρονης; Bak 2020: 544), cf. the addition “wondrous counsellor, mighty god” (θαυμαστος συμβουλος θεος ισχυρος) found in some copies of the Septuagint (Rahlfs 1935: 574 note to l. 5).

12–26. Credal Statement: We have been unable to find an exact parallel for this credal statement, but it seems to be an adaptated citation of the Greek pseudopigraph known as the *Instruction of the 318 Nicene Fathers* (*Didascalica CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*), which claims to be the doctrinal teaching of the bishops present at the Council of Nicaea (325 CE). The work existed by ca. 435/436 CE, when it was cited by the Armenian Catholikos Sahak (Blumell 2017: 613 *et passim*). Specifically, it draws from the passage anathematising the Sabellian claim that God had a single hypostasis: “for we know Father is Father, and Son, Son, and Holy Spirit, Holy Spirit: one essence, one kingdom, one divinity (πατέρα γαρ οἶδαμεν πατέρα και υἱον υἱον και πνευμα ἅγιον πνευμα ἅγιον, μίαν βασιλειαν, μίαν οὐσίαν, μίαν θεότητα; Riedinger/Thurn 1985: 84). Compare the similar passage in the fourth century *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius of Salamis, which adds “a single baptism” (βάπτισμα μία; Holl 1915: 146 (118.3–4)), also present here (cf. Ephesians 4.5). One of the surviving Coptic versions of the *Instruction* (CC 19; CLM 359, 1002–1003 CE) records the variant: “We confess the Father is the Father, the Son is the Son, and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, three names, three hypostases, a single kingdom, a single essence, a single divinity, a single energy” (τῷονολογει ἡπειωτ επειωτ πε αγω παρηρ επωρηρ πε αγω πεπῖνᾶ ετογααβ επεπῖνᾶ ετογααβ πε ωρηῖτ ἡραν ωρηῖτε ἡγποστασις οἷμητερο ἡγωτ ογογσιᾶ ἡγωτ ογῖετῶτ ἡγωτ ογτριᾶς εσρεν ογμετογαι; Hyvernāt 1886: 254.9–13). “Energy” (ἐνέργεια/ἐνεργεια *energeia*) here refers the activity of the divinity; the term might be seen to point to a seventh-century date of composition or redaction for this text, linked to the Emperor Heraclius’ (r. 610–641) attempt to resolve the Chalcedonian schism with the compromise of Christ’s single energy (‘monoenergism’), but we consider this uncertain, since the teaching was already present in the sixth century. A letter from the miaphysite patriarch Damian of Alexandria (r. 578–605 CE) preserved in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (Patriarch of Antioch, r. 1166–1199) proclaims “one single Son and one single nature of the incarnate Word, one single hypostasis, one single person, and one single activity” (Hovorun 2008: 50 *et passim*).

A slanderous thought, a thought of envy and hate and enmity and arrogance and pride [|]⁵ and disobedience and gluttony and greed, the root of every evil, and boastfulness and every slander [|]¹⁰ and every defiled thought and every bitterness! The Holy Trinity spares everyone, the Holy Trinity, purifies the man [|]¹⁵ from within and from without, it brings us to itself from every temptation that is difficult to get out of, and every work of the Devil [|]²⁰ and every work of evil and every treachery of evil men. The Holy Trinity spares everyone who [|]²⁵ has with them this seal, and those who have with them this prayer, and every place in which it will be affixed,

12–13. †ϥϥ ϥϥϥϥ ϥϥϥ : “spares everyone” Lexa translates “turns them away from everyone (“les détourne de chacun”). Kropp translates this passage up to p. 14 l. 5 as a series of imperatives, “spare each one <...>!” (“verschone einen jeden <...>!”).

17–18. ϥϥ ϥϥ ϥϥ : “that is difficult to get out of” Boeser assumes something is missing here. Kropp translates “that we come out of it” (“dass wir aus ihr hervorgehen”), Smith “from them”. Πειρασμός is apparently treated as a feminine noun in l. 18, perhaps a mistake conditioned by the same preposition with feminine pronoun in l. 16 (ϥϥ, referring to the grammatically feminine word τρία “Trinity”).

23–24. ϥϥϥ ϥϥϥ ϥϥ : “the Holy Trinity spares” Smith translates “Holy trinity, spare ...”

so that it will be for them a phylactery and a remedy and every healing in⁷ every pain of every sort. |⁵ Let the Holy Trinity be with us, the glory and honour and greatness |⁸ and the power of the consubstantial and life-giving Holy Trinity, now and |¹¹ at all times, forever and ever, amen!

The Prayer of Saint Gregory.

O creatures rising |¹⁵ with the moon, come to me! Listen to my adjuration which is their great names, Aram, Aram, Arimatha, Aioutha, Athaēl! O great |²⁰ shining *cherubim, rising with the sun, come to me! Listen to my adjuration, Arakha, Arakha, Arakhaēl! O |²⁵ creatures rising up with the stars of heaven in the

13. προσεῦχη ἁγίου γρηγορίου : “The Prayer of Saint Gregory” This is an end title, referring to the preceding text, as is clear from the parallels discussed in the notes to p. 1. Pleyte/Boeser, Boeser, Kropp, Pernigotti (1995), and Smith, mistakenly consider this line and the decorative lines surrounding it to be the title of the next prayer, which is in fact without a title.

page 15 (8r) (→)

- ΝΤΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ ΑΜΗ-
 ΤΗ ΦΑΡΟΙ ΝΠΟΟΥ ΣΩ-
 ΤΗ ΕΠΑΕΞΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ
 ΑΡΑΗΛ : ΑΡΑΗΛ : ΑΡΑΤΑΧΑ-
 5 ΗΛ : ΟΥΡΙΗΛ : ΑΡΑΧΑΗΛ
 ΝΙΣΩΩΝΤ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΞ-
 ΡΑΙ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ : ΑΜΗ-
 ΤΗ ΦΑΡΟΙ ΣΩΤΗ ΕΠΑ-
 ΕΞΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ : ΑΜΑΝΑ-
 10 ΗΛ : ΑΜΑΡΑΗΛ : ΝΑΝΘΗΛ :
 [. .] . ΑΗΛ : ΑΝΑΝΗΛ : ΝΙΣΩ-
 [Ν]Τ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΜΝ Π-
 ΡΗ : ΑΜΗΗΤΗ ΣΩΤΗ ΕΠΑ-
 ΕΞΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ : ΑΘΑ : ΑΘΑ
 15 ΑΘΑΗΛ : ΝΙΣΩΝΤ ΕΤ-
 ΝΗΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΜΝ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΪ-
 ΟΥ : ΑΜΗΗΤΗ ΦΑΡΟΙ ΣΩ-
 ΤΗ ΕΠΑΕΞΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ : ΗΡ
 ΗΡ : ΗΡ : ΗΡ : ΗΡ : ΗΡ : ΗΡ : ΝΙ-
 20 ΣΩΝΤ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΥ-
 ΖΥΠΟΥΡΓΙΕ ΠΣΑΩΡ Ν-
 ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ : ΑΜΗ-
 ΤΗ ΦΑΡΟΙ ΣΩΤΗ ΕΠΑ-
 ΕΞΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ : ΑΡΙΜΑΘΑ
 25 ΜΑΡΙΝΘΑΗΛ : ΕΔΕΚΗΛ :
 ΝΙΣΩΝΤ ΕΤΝΙ ΖΗ ΤΠΕ
 ΕΥΩΟΡΠ ΖΑ ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ

1 *i.e.* ἀνατολή || 3 *i.e.* ἐξορκισμός || 6 *i.e.* ^sωωντ : σωωντ Pleyte/Boeser || 9 *i.e.* ἐξορκισμός ||
 11 [. .] . ΗΛ : ΑΝΑΗΛ Pleyte/Boeser, Pleyte, Kropp, Smith, Lexa || 11–12 σωωντ Pleyte/Boeser ||
 13 ΑΜΗΗΤΗ ΦΑΡΟΙ Pleyte || 14 *i.e.* ἐξορκισμός || 15 ΑΘΑΗΛ Pleyte/Boeser || 21 *i.e.* ὑπουργεῖν ||
 22 *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || 24 *i.e.* ἐξορκισμός || 27 ΕΥΩΟΡΠ =γ- expected, but resembles ϣ : ΕΥΩΟΡΤ
 Pleyte/Boeser | *i.e.* ἐξουσία

east, come to me today! Listen to my adjuration, Araēl, Araēl, Aratakhaēl,
^{|5} Ouriēl, Arakhaēl! O creatures rising up with the light, come to me!
 Listen to my adjuration, Amanaēl, ^{|10} Amaraēl, Nanoēl, ...ēl, Ananiēl! O
 creatures rising up with the sun, come! Listen to my adjuration, Atha, Atha,
^{|15} Athaēl! O creatures rising up with the great star, come to me! Listen to my
 adjuration, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr! O ^{|20} creatures rising up, serving the seven
 *archangels, come to me! Listen to my adjuration, Arimatha, ^{|25} Marinhaēl,
 Edekiēl! O creatures who come through heaven, being under the authority

14. **ⲁⲑⲁ · ⲁⲑⲁ** : “Atha Atha” Pleyte translates “Atha” only once.

25. **ⲉⲃⲉⲕⲓⲏⲗ** : “Edekiēl” Understood as “Sedekiel” by Pleyte/Boeser, Pleyte, Kropp, Smith, and Lexa.

26–27. **ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲱⲣⲱⲛ ⲉⲗ ⲧⲉⲃⲱⲥⲓⲁ** : “O creatures who come through heaven, being under the authority” Pleyte translates “O Beings who are in heaven ... under the power of” (“O Êtres qui êtes au ciel ... sous la puissance”), Smith translates “O creatures who ... in heaven, who ... under the authority”, Kropp translates “You creatures, you ... in heaven, slaughtered?, under the power” (“Ihr Geschöpfe, die ihr ... in den Himmel, geschlachtet?, unter der Macht”), and Lexa translates “beings, who are in heaven, being accredited with the power” (“êtres, qui êtes au ciel, étant accrédités de la puissance”).

of the Father, listen to my adjuration, Manouēl, Manouēl, Semanouēl, Manouēl, the four gates |⁵ of the Heavenly Jerusalem! Come to me today, listen to my adjuration!

I adjure you by the first gate of heaven, that |¹⁰ of the north, with all the creatures who stand praising the name [of] the Lord, the Father of the whole world, *Adonai |¹⁵ *Eloei *Elemas *Sabaoth! These are their names: Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr, Ēr. O creatures rising in the gate of the south, come to me and to my |²⁰ adjuration, Maroutha, Maroutha, Marouthaēl! O creatures rising up in the gate of the east, come to me today! |²⁵ Listen to my humble word, Aratha, Aratha, Arathaēl, Anatēl, Manouēl, Edekiēl! O creatures rising in the

2–4. ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ : ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ · ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ : “Manouēl, Manouēl, Semanouēl, Manouēl”
 These names are probably to be understood as deriving from Emmanuel, from Hebrew עִמָּנוּאֵל (*Īmmānū’ēl*, “God is with us”), from Isaiah 7.14: “Behold, the virgin will become pregnant and she will give birth to a boy, and they will call him ‘Emmanuel’ (εἰς τὴν παρθένον ἡ σὺν τοῦ υἱοῦ γεννητὴν ἡ τέκνη μὲν οὖν ἐπεφραν καὶ ἐμμανουήλ; Bāk 2020: 536). In Matthew 1.22–23 this prophecy is explicitly made to refer to Jesus, so that ‘Emmanuel’ can be understood as another name of Jesus. The form ‘Manouēl’ may have arisen from a reanalysis in Coptic in which the initial e is understood as part of ⲭⲉ. Manouēl is also found as a name of Jesus in p. 17 l. 4 of this manuscript, as well as *PCM* I 12 p. 31 l. 8, p. 37 l. 8; *PCM* I 25 p. 17 ll. 34–35; *PCM* I 26 p. 12 l. 13; BL Ms Or. 6796 (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118) l. 21; *P.Bad.* V 123 (KYP M315) front l. 41; EES 39 5B.125/A (Alcock 1982; KYP M280) l. 19; *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167) p. 2 l. 16; P.Vindob K 8301 (Stegemann 1934: no. 45; KYP M 364) l. 6. ‘Emmanuel’ also appears in full in e.g., *PCM* I 25 p. 11 l. 6; *P.Lond.Copt.* 1223 (KYP M553) l. 10; *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167) p. 1 l. 14; P.Stras. K 204 + 205 + 282 §2.27 l. 8 (Hevesi 2018; KYP M92). Compare also the name ‘Methemōn’, based on the Greek translation of the name in Matthew 1.23, for which see *PCM* I 25 p. 11 l. 6. Ortal-Paz Saar points out that Semanouēl might be understood as a writing of the Hebrew שְׁמַעֲנוּ אֵל (*šəməā’ēnū’ēl* “hear us, God”).

22. ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ : “rising up” Lexa hesitantly translates “descend” (“descendez en bas(?)”).

page 17 (9r) (→)

- πγλη ἡπεῖντ : ἀμ-
 μνῖτν φαροῖ σωτῆ ε-
 παφάχε νελαχῖστον :
 5 ἀχαῖνλ · ἀῖνλ · ἡανοῖνλ
 εδεκῖνλ · σῖταῖνλ : χε-
 ροῦβῖν : χερῖναῖνλ : σαρί-
 ναῖνλ · ἀρίναταῖνλ · νε-
 χεροῦβῖν ἡν νεσερα-
 φῖν εταξερατοῦ ρα π-
 10 ρο ἡπεχς : ἀμνῖτν φα-
 ροῖ ἡποοῦ · σωτῆ επα-
 εξοργῖσμος : νῖσωντ
 ἡτεναρχαγγελος : μῖ-
 χαῖνλ · γαβρῖνλ · ῥαφα-
 15 ῖνλ · οὔρῖνλ · σεδεκῖνλ
 ἀναῖνλ · σετῖνλ · ἀζαῖνλ :
 ναῖ εταξερατοῦ ἡπρστ
 εβολ · πετοῦνρ ρν νεμ-
 πνγε · παφῶρ ἡραν ἡ-
 20 φου σωτῆ εροοῦ · ναῖ
 εφареоуон нῖн ρн наг-
 гелос ἡῖ νεφсωон тн-
 роῦ · ονομαζε ἡμοῦ :
 φарепкаρ στωт : ἡ-
 25 тентооῦ ноεῖн · нтем-
 мооῦ εὔφране · εῡῡ π-
 ноῖ ноуоеῖн ἡῖφερан :
 αἰωναῖ : ελωεῖ · αλφα
 μῖνλ

1 i.e. πύλη || 1–2 l. ἀμνῖτν || 3 i.e. ἐλάχιστος || 5 l. σεδεκῖνλ Pleyte/Boeser || 8 i.e. χερουβίμ ||
 8–9 i.e. σεραφίμ || 10 i.e. ἡπε-χ(ριστός) || 12 i.e. ἐξορκισμός || 13 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος ||
 18–19 i.e. ὁ-π-πνγε || 21–22 i.e. ἄγγελος || 22 i.e. ζῶον : l. σωнт Pleyte/Boeser, Pleyte ||
 23 i.e. ὀνομάζειν || 26 i.e. εὐφραίνειν || 28–29 l. αλφαῖνλ, line below ἡνλ in papyrus : “Miel,
 Alpha” Boeser, Lexa, Kropp, Smith, Pernigotti 1995

gate of the west, come to me, listen to my humble word, Akhaēl, Aēl, Manouēl, |⁵ Edekiēl, Sntaēl, Kheroubin, Kherinaēl, Sarinaēl, Arinataēl! O *cherubim and *seraphim who stand before the |¹⁰ face of Christ, come to me today!

Listen to my adjuration, O creatures of the archangels, *Michael, *Gabriel, *Raphael, |¹⁵ Uriel, Sedekiēl, Arael, Setēl, Azael, those who stand in the presence of he who dwells in heavens, the seven names |²⁰ worthy of hearing, they that, when any among the *angels and all his living creatures name them, the earth trembles, |²⁵ the mountains shake, the waters rejoice on account of the great light of his name: *Adonai *Eloei Alphamiēl,

28–29. αλφ~~α~~μη~~η~~λ : “Alphamiēl” We are grateful to Agnes Mihálykó for her suggestion to understand this as a single angelic name built upon the Greek word “alpha”, in reference to the Lord God’s self-identification as alpha and omega in Revelation 1.8; cf. p. 19 ll. 14–15 of this manuscript.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ | \\ -\text{:}\overline{\text{I}}\text{:}- \\ | \\ \text{I} \end{array}$$

25

6 *i.e.* καταλύειν || 7 *i.e.* διάβολος || 10–11 *i.e.* αἵτημα || 12 *i.e.* ἐξορκισμός || 14 *i.e.* ἔτι || 15 *i.e.* ⁸νε-νογνε || 15–16 *i.e.* σατανᾶς || 17 *i.e.* διάβολος || 25–26 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 26–27 *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || 28 *i.e.* ἅγιος (twice)

I adjure you by his great name, every creature which will pronounce ⁵ this adjuration, so that you will destroy the whole power of the Devil, and you will undo every *bond and violence that has come about ¹⁰ through them! Let my demand be fulfilled when my adjuration will be read, before <the> hour comes, furthermore, after this, I will pluck out ¹⁵ the roots of Satan and all the bonds of the Devil, and my prayer will be accomplished through your name, O Lord *Sabaoth ²⁰ *Eloei Eloei Eloei *Iao Eiaōh Eiaō Sabaoth Hrabounēi—which is interpreted as “teacher”—the one in whom all ²⁵ creatures of the *angels and the *archangels rejoice, saying: “*Holy, holy,

22–24. ῥαββουνη πετωδουγαρμεν δε παρ : “Hrabounē—which is interpreted as ‘teacher’” Cf. John 20.16: “she (Mary Magdalene) said in Hebrew, ‘Rabbounēi’, which is interpreted as ‘teacher’” (πεχας μνητρεβραιος δε ραββουνη πετωδουγαρμεν δε παρ; Quecke 1984: 213).

page 19 (10r) (→)

- ἀγῖος · κγῖρος · σαβαωθ :
 ἡπῆγε ἡν πκαρ μερ εβολ
 ἕμ πεκεοογ · ἡν πεκτ-
 ἡογ : ραωε νητῆ νεσω-
 5 ἡτ τηρογ δε απχοεῖς
 τωογν εβολ ἕν νετμο-
 ογτ · ἕμ πμερωομητ
 ἡροογ : αφελεγθερογ
 ἡπκενος τηρῆ νααδαν :-
 10 αρωωλ ἡνῖογδαῖ ἡταγ-
 χῖ ωῖπε εχῆ πενταγ-
 ααφ · αφαπαντα ενεφ-
 μαθητης · αφτ ναγ ἡπ-
 ωῖνογχε · πνοσ ἡναλ-
 15 φα ετταχρηγ εχῆ ναῖ
 τηρογ : †παρακαλεῖ ἡ-
 ἡνωτῆ · ἡτετῆαρε-
 ραττηγτῆ ἡἡμαῖ ἡ-
 ποογ · ἡτετῆαωκ ε-
 20 βολ ἡἡπετῆανογογ
 ἡπαρητ · μαρογχι ωῖ-
 πε ἡοῖ νετμε ἡπδῖα-
 βολος : αγω ἡσερε ρα-
 ρατς ἡτεῖπορσεγχι
 25 ἡἡα ἡἡμ ἡπονῆρον ·
 ἡἡα ἡἡμ ναγαθαρτον :
 ρῖκ ἡἡμ · ωαγτε ἡἡμ
 αναχωρεῖ νητῆ πεχς
 ἡς πετδῖωκει

1 *i.e.* ἅγιος κύριος || 8 *i.e.* ἐλευθεροῦν || 9 *i.e.* γένος || 12 *i.e.* ἀπαντᾶν || 13 *i.e.* μαθητής ||
 14–15 *i.e.* ὁ-ἄλφα || 16 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || *l.* ἡἡνωτῆ (dittography) || 22–23 *i.e.* διάβολος ||
 24 *i.e.* προσευχή || 25 *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α | *i.e.* πονηρόν || 26 *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α | *i.e.* ἀκάθαρτον ||
 28 *i.e.* ἀναχωρεῖν | *l.* πε-χ(ριστός)ς ι(ησοῦ)ς | *i.e.* διώκειν || 29 line below in *par.*

holy, Lord *Sabaoth, the heavens and the earth are full of your glory and your blessing!”

Rejoice, |⁵ all you creatures, for the Lord rose from the dead on the third day and he freed the entire race of Adam, |¹⁰ and he despoiled the Jews, who were ashamed of what they had done, and he met his disciples and gave them the good news, the great Alpha |¹⁵ who is established by all these things. I invoke you that you stand with me today and fulfil |²⁰ that which is good in my heart! Let them be ashamed, those who love the Devil, and fall down before this prayer. |²⁵ Every evil spirit, every unclean spirit, every sorcery, every impiety, withdraw yourselves; it is Christ Jesus who chases

3–4. ̒ⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲟϥ · ̒ⲙ̅̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲥ̅ⲙⲟϥ : “your glory and your blessing” The *Sanctus usually ends with the phrase “your glory” (Greek δόξης σου, Coptic ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲟϥ). The ending “your blessing” added here seems to attest to a variant also found in the sixth/seventh century BM EA 54036 (Quecke 1971; for the date see Mihálykó 2019: 294), a Coptic copy of the Anaphora of Mark containing the end of the reprise of the Sanctus by the priest. In this reprise “your blessing” (ⲡⲉⲕⲥ̅ⲙⲟϥ) replaces “your glory” (ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲟϥ) at the end of the Sanctus, perhaps anticipating the following request to “fill this offering too... with your blessing” (ⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲉἰ̅ϥⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩ : ⲙⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ̒ⲙ̅̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲥ̅ⲙⲟϥ). The inclusion of both here may imply that the composer of this text was aware of this variant and chose to harmonise it with the more common “your glory”. Note that the version here combines the Greek and Coptic versions of the Sanctus. We are very grateful to Ágnes Mihálykó for suggesting this possibility to us.

14–15. ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ̒ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲁ : “the great Alpha” Pleyte translates “he, the great Alpha”, Lexa translates similarly (“lui le grand Alpha”).

15–16. ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲭⲣⲛϥ ⲉⲭ̅ⲛ ⲛⲁἰ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ : “who is established by all these things” Smith translates “that is stronger than anything”, but the comparative would be expressed with ⲉ-/ⲉⲣⲟⲥ; cf. Crum CD 463a, and, for example, Sirach 22.18: “a heart established by a wise thought will never be afraid” (ⲟϥⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲭⲣⲛϥ ⲉⲭ̅ⲛ ⲟϥⲙⲉⲉϥⲉ ̒ⲙ̅̅ⲛⲧⲣ̅ⲛⲛⲧ ⲉⲛⲙⲁⲣ̅ⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉ; de Lagarde 1883: 144).

27. Pleyte omits this line in his translation.

page 20 (10v) (↓)

·: ἰḁ :-

μηωτῆ · πεσνοϋ ἡπε-
 χς ῥαρεῖ εογον ἡμ ετ-
 φορῖ ἡτῖπροσεχῆ ·
 5 τετρίας ετογααβ νε-
 μαν τηρῖ ῥαμην -

=====

- ΔΥΚΑΡΟΣ ἡρρο νετες-
 σα τπολῖς · εφςῥαῖ ἡπ-
 νος ἡρρο · πωηρε ἡπνοϋ-
 τε ετοῖῥ · ἰς πεχς χερε
 10 ἀγαναγαγε ναῖ ετβη-
 ητκ ἡσῖ ῥενρωμε εγτα-
 ιηγ : ἀγω ἡωοϋ · πιστευ-
 ε ναγ · χε ἀπκοσμος εμ-
 πωα ῥῖ πενογοςειω ἡ-
 15 ματε : ἡπεκῶἡπωῖ-
 νε ετνανογϋ ῥῖτῖ πε-
 κογῶῡῥ εβολ · παῖ ν-
 τακῶἡπενωῖνε ἡρητῖ
 ῥῖν τενγενεα ετσοχῖ
 20 ῥῖτῖ τεκῖἡτῖμαῖρω-
 με ετωοοπ χῖν ενεῖ
 εγογχαῖ ἡπτηρῖ · ἡ-
 τερῖςωτῖ δε εναῖ αῖ-
 πιστευε ῥῖ ογωρῖχ :
 25 χωρῖς τῖσταζε : ῥαμα
 δε ἀγχοσε χε κειρε ν-
 ῥῖννος ἡταλλσο : χωρῖς

2 i.e. χ(ριστός) || 3 i.e. φορεῖν | i.e. προσευχή || 4 i.e. τρίας || 5 i.e. ἀμήν || 6 ἀγκαρὸς enlarged capital α in *ekthesis* || 7 i.e. πόλις || 9 l. ι(ησοϋ)ς πε-χ(ριστός) | i.e. χαῖρε || 10 i.e. ἀναγαγεῖν cf. LBG s.v. ἀναγάγω : i.e. ἀνάγειν Kopp || 12–13 i.e. πιστεύειν || 13 i.e. κόσμος || 19 i.e. γενεά || 23 i.e. δέ || 24 i.e. πιστεύειν || 25 i.e. χωρίς | i.e. διστάζειν | i.e. ἄμα || 26 i.e. δέ | i.e. ὁμοῦς || 27 i.e. χωρίς

you away!

O blood of Christ, guard everyone who carries this prayer! The Holy Trinity is
|⁵ with us all, amen.

Abgar, the king of the city of Edessa writes to the great king, the son of the living God, Jesus Christ, greetings! |¹⁰ Some people, honoured and worthy of belief, have reported about you saying that the world has been most worthy in our time |¹⁵ of your good coming through your appearance, that in which you have come to us, in our humble generation |²⁰ through your love of humanity which has existed since eternity, all enduring. So, when I heard these things, I believed firmly, |²⁵ without hesitation. And also they said that you perform great healings without

1–2 **ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲛⲉ-ⲭⲥ** : “O blood of Christ” The ‘blood of Christ’ (sometimes mentioned alongside his ‘body’) is commonly invoked in both amuletic and liturgical texts, referring simultaneously to the blood spilled during the crucifixion and its representation in the eucharistic ritual; for a recently discussion see Chepel 2017.

p. 20 l. 6–p. 25 l. 23. The Jesus-Abgar Correspondence: The pseudepigraphal letter of King Abgar of Edessa to Jesus, and Jesus’ response, are first recorded in the early fourth century *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius (13.1–20), while the evidence of Etheria (*Itinerary* 17.1, 19.19), a pilgrim from the Western Roman Empire, suggests the text was in circulation, perhaps as an amulet, by the 380s (Bradshaw 2020: 9–11). The version here, found in most Coptic witnesses, represents a variant adapted to be used as an amulet, as is clear from the promise that it will protect anyone who wears it or puts it in their house (p. 25 ll. 10–21). The incipit of the Jesus-Abgar correspondence is the only non-Biblical text commonly attested on scriptural amulets, demonstrating its importance as the sole text attributed directly to Jesus himself, and it is often juxtaposed with the incipits of the Gospels and Psalm 90 (91), as is the case here; cf. Sanzo 2014: 77–131, nos. 1, 4, 5, 59, 153–154, 174. For further discussion of these texts as amulets, see von Dobschütz 1900; Given 2016; Henry 2016; Polański 2016; Bélanger Sarrazin 2020; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming c; Preininger forthcoming b. Other attestations of the correspondence in Coptic include: *O.Crum* 22 (KYP M670); *O.Crum ST* 36 (KYP M671); *O.Gurna Górecki* 108 (KYP M2135); *O.Saint-Marc* 398 (KYP M2136); *P.Lond.Copt.* 316 (KYP M739); *P.Lond.Copt.* 317 (KYP M411); *P.Mon.Epiph.* 50 (KYP M598); *P.MoscowCopt.* 88 (KYP M644); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4469 (KYP M654); *P.PalauRib.Copt.* 5 (KYP M509); Al-Suryan MS 383/Al-Suryan MS 266 Lit. (‘Abd Al-Masih 1947; KYP M3782); ‘Anchorite’s Grotto’ texts 25–26 (Griffith 1927: no. 25–26; KYP M91); Bawit, Courtyard 47, East wall, text IV. (Clédat 1999: 98–100; KYP M3783); BM EA 19967 (von Lemm 1910: no. 11; KYP M695); Mich.Ms.Copt. 166 (‘Abd Al-Masih 1954: 21–28; KYP M3780); P.Mich.Inv. 6213 (‘Abd Al-Masih 1954: 25–26; KYP M543); P.Vindob. K 78 (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 50; KYP M278); P.Vindob. K 3151a (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 46; KYP M274); P.Ryl.Copt.Suppl.No. 50 (Giversen 1959: 71–82; KYP M734); PSI inv. C 55 (Proverbio 1997: 1170; KYP M3756); P.Vindob. K 8302 (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 45; KYP M364); P.Vindob.K 8636 Pap (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 26; KYP M257); P.Antinoopolis 1966–224 (to be published by Alain Delattre); P.Vindob. G 1329 back (unpublished). We are grateful to Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin for her assistance in finding these references.

19. ⲧⲉⲛⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲧ : “our humble generation” Smith translates “our inferior race”.

page 21 (11r) (↓)

- παρρε ρῖ βητανια : αγω
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩСК ρῖ · ΠΕΧ-
 ΡΟΝΟС · ΝΒΕΛΕΕΥΕ · ΜΝ
 ΝΕΘΑΛΕΕΥΕ · ΜΝ ΝΕΜΠΟ
 5 ΜΝ ΝΑΛ · ΑΓΩ ΝΕΤСО-
 ВΕΖ КΤΒВО ΜΜΟΟΥ ρῖ
 ΠΩΔ.ΧΕ ΝΡΩК ΜΜΑΤΕ : —
 ΑΓΩ ΝΕΔΔΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ СЕ-
 ΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ρῖ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ ΜΝ
 10 ΟΥСΤΩТ ΕΥΕΖΟΜΟΛΟ-
 ΓΙ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΤΖΑ ΕООΥ
 ΔΗΜΟСΙΑ : ΑΓΩ ΚΟΥΕΖ-
 САЗНЕ ΜΝΕΤΜΟΟΥТ
 ρῖ ΟΥΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΑ СΕΝΗΥ
 15 ΕΒΟΛ ρῖ ΝΕΜΖΑΔΥ ΜΝ-
 НСА ТРЕΥТОМСΟΥ :
 ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ ΟΥΩΝῆ ΜΜΟК
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤРЕСАῤῥῆ ΜΝ СОУ-
 ΩНГ : ΧΕ ΝТОК ΠΕ ΠМО-
 20 ΝΟГЕННС ΝΩНРЕ ΝТЕП-
 ΝΟΥТЕ ΜΝ ΚΕΟΥΔ ΝΒΛ-
 ΛΑК : ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΔΙΑΖΙΟΥ
 ΜΜΟК : ΠΧΟΕΙС ρῖТῖН ΟΥС-
 ΖΑΙ ΕΤРЕКЕР ΠΜΕΕΥΕ
 25 ΖΩΩС ΝΑΙΔЕССА ρῖТῖН
 ΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΝТЕКМῖТНОУ-
 ТЕ ΜΝ ТЕКМῖТРΩМЕ :

1 *i.e.* βοτάνια || 2–3 *i.e.* χρόνος || 3 *i.e.* ⁸βῆλεεγ || 4 ΝΕΜΠΟ Pleyte/Boeser || 5–6 *i.e.* ⁸σωνε ||
 8 *i.e.* δαιμόνιον || 10–11 *i.e.* ἐξομολογεῖν || 12 *i.e.* δημοσία || 14 *i.e.* αὐθεντία || 18 *i.e.* σάρξ ||
 19–20 *i.e.* μονογενής || 21–22 *i.e.* prepronominal form of ⁸ΝΒΛ- || 22 *i.e.* ἄξιον || 25 *i.e.* Ἔδεσσα

medicines or herbs and that those who have for a long time been blind, and the lame and the mute |⁵ and the deaf and the lepers, you purify them greatly by the word of your mouth, and the demons leave in fear and |¹⁰ trembling, confessing your glorious name publicly. And you command the dead with authority, and they |¹⁵ depart the tombs after having been buried. These deeds reveal you, so that all flesh might know you, that you are the |²⁰ only-begotten son of God, there is no other except you. Because of this, I have asked of you, O Lord, in writing, that you remember |²⁵ for its part Edessa in the care of your divinity and your humanity,

for indeed, all the nations are your concern and no one is able to escape from you. We |⁵ entreat you, therefore, I and the people, prostrating ourselves before you, that you trouble yourself and come to us for the sake of our salvation and the |¹⁰ healing <of> our numerous illnesses, and so that your name will be pronounced over us, O Lord, and my city will serve |¹⁵ your throne for all the days of its life. I heard that your nation rejected your lordship, being |²⁰ wicked and envious, and they persecute you, and they do not want to let you reign over them, being ignorant of this: |²⁵ that you are the king <of> those in the heavens and those upon the earth, who gives

2 *i.e.* λαός | *i.e.* Ἰ(σρα)ήλ || 5 *i.e.* καί | *i.e.* γάρ || 6–7 *i.e.* δωρεά || 7 *i.e.* δέ || 9 *i.e.* καταξιούν || 10 *i.e.* σκύλλειν || 11 *i.e.* πόλις | *i.e.* ^sετ- || 12 *i.e.* ἄρχειν || 13 *i.e.* ἀγάπη || 14 *i.e.* χωρίς | *i.e.* φθόνος || 16 *i.e.* λαός || 17 τῆνιαχα Pleyte/Boeser || 18 *i.e.* ὑποπόδιον || 20 *i.e.* ὁρόνος || 21 πεοοχ νακ Kropp does not translate || 22–23 *i.e.* ὀροατον || 25 *i.e.* πν(εύμ)α || 26 *i.e.* ἀμήν

life to everyone. And what indeed is the people of Israel? The dead dog, because they have rejected the living God. |⁵ For indeed, they are not worthy of your holy gift. But I tell you, my Lord, that if indeed we are ever deemed worthy |¹⁰ for you to trouble ⟨yourself⟩ and come to me, to the small city which I rule, it is enough for us together, and in love without envy or jealousy, |¹⁵ that you be king over us. I, and the people, we shall remain beneath you, worshipping the footstool of your feet, and |²⁰ serving your holy throne. Glory to you! Glory to your invisible father who sent you to us! Glory to your |²⁵ Holy Spirit, which is mighty forever! Amen.

3. πογγορ ετμοογτ : “the dead dog” As noted by Sanzo (2017: 241), this piece of anti-Jewish invective is absent from the other known versions of the Abgar letter. It may draw upon a tradition of associating Jews with dogs based on an interpretation of Paul’s warning to “beware the dogs” (†ετμητῆ ἐνεγγοορ) in Philippians 3.2, already understood by John Chrysostom as referring to Jews and Judaizing Christians (Sanzo 2017: 241; Nanos 2009: 454–455 *et passim*). This in turn draws upon the general Near Eastern use of “dog” as an insult or term of self-abasement (Thomas 1960: 416–417 *et passim*); the phrase “dead dog” specifically appears in, for example, 2 Samuel 16.9: “Who is this dead dog that he should curse my lord the king? I will go to him and take his head” (ογ πε πογγορ ετμοογτ δε εφεσαρογ ἡπαχοεις ἡρρο ἡναβωκ ερογ ἡταφι ἡτεφανε; Drescher 1970: 153).

page 24 (12v) (→)

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 -· ἰΓ· :-

 ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΝ-
 ΧΟΕΙΣ ΩΑ ΔΥΚΑΡΟΣ ΖΑΜΗΝ

 / ΠΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΙΣ-
 ΤΟΛΗ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ
 5 ΜΠΠΟΥΓΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΞ : ΕΥΣ-
 ΖΑΙ ΠΝΑΥΚΑΡΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ
 ΝΕΤΕССΑ : ΧΑΪΡΕΤΕ :
 ΝΑΪΔΤΚ ΑΥΩ ΠΠΕΤΝΑ-
 ΝΟΥΥ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΜΝΟΚ :
 10 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪΔΤΣ ΝΤΕΚΠΟ-
 ΛΙΣ · ΤΑΪ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ Ε-
 ΤΕССΑ · ΕΠΛΗ ΜΠΕΚ-
 ΝΑΥ ΑΚΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ · ΚΝΑ-
 ΧΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΚΠΙΣΤΙC
 15 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΚΠΡΟΞΕ-
 ΡΗCΙC : ΝΕΚ-
 ΩΩΝΕ CΕΝΑΤΑΛCΟΟΥ :
 ΑΥΩ ΕΩΧΕ ΑΚΕΡ ΖΑΖ ΝΝΟ-
 ΒΕ ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ CΕΝΑΚΑ-
 20 ΑΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ · ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕC-
 CΑ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΕCΜΑΝΑ-
 ΑΤ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΞ · ΝΤΕΠΕΟ-
 ΟΥ ΜΠΠΟΥΓΤΕ ΔΩΑΪ ΞΗ
 ΠΕCΛΑΟC · ΑΥΩ ΤΠΙC-
 25 ΤΙC ΜΝ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΑΕΡ
 ΟΥΟΕΪΝ ΞΗ ΝΕCΠΛΑΤΙΑ
 ΑΝΟΚ ΙC ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΩΩΝ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΩΩΧΕ ·
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΚΜΕ ΕΝΑΤΕ

1 *i.e.* ἐπιστολή || 1. ι(ησυ)ς πε-χ(ριστός) || 2–3 *diple* in margin | 2 *i.e.* ἀμὴν || 3 *i.e.* ἀντίγραφον ||
 3–4 *i.e.* ἐπιστολή || 4 *l.* ι(ησυ)ς πε-χ(ριστός) || 7 *i.e.* χαίρετε || 10–11 *i.e.* πόλις || 12 *i.e.* ἐπειδή ||
 13 *i.e.* πιστεύειν || 14 *i.e.* κατά || *i.e.* πίστις || 15–16 *i.e.* προαίρεσις || 19 *i.e.* ὥς || 24 *i.e.* λαός : “your
 people” Smith || 24–25 *i.e.* πίστις || 25 *i.e.* ἀγάπη || 26 *i.e.* πλατεῖα

The letter of Jesus Christ our Lord to Abgar. Amen.

The copy of the letter of Jesus Christ, the son [|]⁵ of the living God, writing to Abgar, the king of Edessa:

Greetings! You are blessed, and that which is good will happen to you, [|]¹⁰ and blessed is your city, whose name is Edessa, for you have not seen <but> you have believed, you will receive according to your faith [|]¹⁵ and according to your good intention. Your illnesses will be healed, and if you have committed many sins as <a> man, they will be forgiven [|]²⁰ for you, and Edessa will be blessed forever, and the glory of God will multiply among its people, and faith [|]²⁵ and love will shine in its streets. I, Jesus, it is I who commands and it is I who speak. Because you have loved greatly,

12–13. **ἐπιδὼν ἡπεκνᾶς ἀκρίστευε** : “for you have not seen <but> you have believed” A reference to John 20.29: “blessed are those who have not seen (me) and who have believed” (καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡπιστεῖν ποῦναι ἀκριστευε; Quecke 1984: 216).

page 25 (13r) (↓)

- †νακω μπεκραν εγερ-
πμεεγε νωα ενεζ αγ-
ω ογ†μη μν ογμογ
ζν νγενα ετνηγ μν-
5 νσωκ · ζν τεκπατρία
τηρς · αγω νσεсот-
μεφ ωα αρηχq μπ-
καζ · ανοκ ις πενταίς-
ζαί ντεϊεπίστολη ζν
10 τασῖχ μμήνε μμοι · π-
μα ετογνατωδε εβολ
νζητq ντῖσῖχ νςζαι
ννελααγ νδηνναμῖς
ντεπαντῖκῖμενος
15 ογδε λααγ μπνα νακα-
θαρτον · εωσμεσom ε-
ζωνε εζογν · ογδε ε-
χωζ εζογν επτοπος
ετῖμαγ · αγω νωα ε-
20 νεζ · ογχαῖ ζν ογεῖρη-
νη ζαμνη · _____ : _____
†επίστολη μπενχοεῖς
ις πεχς ωα αγκαρος ζαμνη :
αqqῖ ντεqςμη εζραι μ-
25 μντζεβραῖος αqωληλ
ν†ζε εqχω μμος : χε
ακραβῖ : ακpαβεῖ : μιλὰς
φῖναΔων : αεῖρ : ελωεῖ : —

3 i.e. τιμή || 4 i.e. γενεά || 5 i.e. πατριά || 9 i.e. ἐπιστολή || 13 i.e. δύναμις || 14 i.e. ἀντικείμενος ||
 15 i.e. οὐδέ | i.e. πν(εῦμ)α || 15–16 i.e. ἀκάθαρτον || 17 i.e. οὐδέ || 18 i.e. τόπος || 20–21 i.e. εἰρήνη ||
 21 i.e. ἀμήν || 22 i.e. ἐπιστολή || 23 l. ι(ησογ)ς πε-χ(ριστός)ς | i.e. ἀμήν || 25 i.e. Ἐβραῖος

I shall preserve your name as an eternal memory and an honour and a blessing among the generations who come after |⁵ you through your entire lineage, and they will hear it to the end of the earth. It is I, Jesus, who has written this letter with |¹⁰ my very own hand. The place to which this manuscript will be affixed, no power of the Adversary |¹⁵ nor unclean spirit will be able to approach nor to reach into that place, and forever. |²⁰ Be well in peace, amen!

The letter of our Lord Jesus Christ to Abgar. Amen.

He raised his voice in |²⁵ Hebrew and he prayed in this way, saying:

“Akrabi, Akrahei, Milas, Phinadōn, Aeir, *Eloei,

p. 25 l. 24–p. 28 l. 21. The Prayer of Judas Cyriacus: No title is given in this manuscript, but the text is recognisable as an extract from the fifth-century *Finding of the Holy Cross* (*Inventio sanctae crucis*), in which the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great (r. 306–337 CE), travels to Jerusalem to find the remains of the True Cross on which Jesus had been crucified. She enlists the help of the local Jewish population, torturing one particularly learned man named Judas Cyriacus by having him thrown into a dry well to starve until after seven days he prays to God to reveal the cross. This prayer is said to be in Hebrew, and causes the place where the cross is to make a loud sound and let forth the smell of incense. The prayer alone is excerpted here; a second Coptic copy is found on *T.Varie* 13 (KYP M107). The relationship between the two versions is unclear; some of the divergences between the copies are replicated in the Greek tradition, leading Pernigotti to propose that they represent independent translations of different Greek recensions (Pernigotti 1983: 86–87; Pernigotti 1989: 67). But as Ivan Miroshnikov (forthcoming) points out, the two Coptic versions begin and end at the same points, show agreements not found in the Greek witnesses, and contain some divergences best explained as miscopying from a Coptic model resembling the other copy, so that it is more likely that they represent two independent branches of a single Coptic translation. Below we provide some notes highlighting divergences between the published Coptic and Greek copies, but these are not exhaustive; a synoptic critical edition of all manuscripts is a desideratum. The text of the prayer is given first in ‘Hebrew’—in reality, a series of words resembling *voces magicae* with little genuine Hebrew vocabulary—followed by its translation (here, Coptic). The function of the prayer in this manuscript is unclear; it may be intended to be copied as an amulet or recited for another purpose, or it may be included simply because the opening Hebrew words could be used in other ritual contexts. Note that the Syriac version and some of the Greek manuscripts (e.g., Athens, National Library of Greece, 343 fol. 15v–25r; Delatte 1927: 289–298, at 295) lack the initial ‘Hebrew’ words, which are also absent in a re-telling of the story in the hymn found in the Coptic *Difnar* (XVIII CE, perhaps copy of XIV CE manuscript; O’Leary 1927: 15b); these omissions may indicate a discomfort with their potentially ‘magical’ associations. For the *Finding of the Holy Cross* and its textual history, see Borgehammar 1991: 145–303; Drijvers 1992: 165–180; Drijvers/Drijvers 1997: 44–45, 64; de Bruyn 2017: 87. A fragmentary Faiyumic Coptic version of the *Finding of the Holy Cross*, preserved as P.Berol. 5731 + 5732 (VI–VIII CE?), is under preparation for publication by Ivan Miroshnikov (forthcoming), whom we thank for discussing this text with us and helping us to improve our translation.

p. 25 l. 27–p. 28 l. 7. ‘Hebrew’ Version of the Prayer: For variants of the opening ‘Hebrew’ words in the Latin and Greek manuscripts, see Borgehammar 1991: 272–278. The words and their divisions vary significantly; most versions (including *T.Varie* 13 ll. 5–6) contain the genuine Hebrew sequence *baroukh aththa Adonai* (ברוך אתה אדני; “blessed are you, Lord”). The version here, however, retains only *Adonai, split between adjacent words to give “Phinadōn Aeir” (the second Baroukh below is a different part of the sequence). The version here is also unusually short, preserving only 24 words compared to 26 in *T.Varie* 13 and Sinai gr. 493 (Nestle 1895: 328).

Aamektōl, Azasēl, Boraō, Abraxiō, Athēthal, Baroukh, Ziamour, Mlmouth, Akhle, Biroba, Ermou, Kathadō, ¹⁵ Daula, Melmōn, Sesēn, Gēmnan, Jerusalem, Israel, Amen!”—whose interpretation is this:

“O God who is seated upon the cherubim, ¹⁰ *Four Living Creatures beneath him, and it is they who fly fearfully in the course of the air! O God who is in the limitless light, ¹⁵ that in which no human nature shall be able to dwell, for you, that is, you have created them for yourself as servants for your, four ²⁰ living, four-winged⁷ creatures, they who serve at every moment, calling out in an unceasing voice, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy!’, ²⁵ but the hands of two have been assigned⁷ to Paradise that they might guard Paradise, that they might guard the

p. 26 p. 8–p. 27 l. 3. Description of God, the Cherubim, and Seraphim: There are numerous divergences between the Greek and Coptic versions of the prayer (for a discussion of the manuscripts and some of the variation presented below, see Miroshnikov forthcoming, who is thanked for his observations). The Greek versions begin by addressing God as creator of heaven, earth, and/or humankind, and describe his act of measuring heaven (Gretser 1734: 428a; Wotke 1891: 307–308; Nestle 1895: 329; Olivieri 1898: 417–418; Delatte 1927: 295; references below by name alone) *T.Varie* 13 (front l. 12) and several of the Greek versions refer to God being seated on the chariot of the cherubim rather than the cherubim themselves (ἐξ ἡν ἡραρυ[α]; ἐπὶ ἄρματος, Nestle, Olivieri; ἄρματι in Wotke). The Greek texts describe the cherubim as “swimming in the airy courses in limitless light” (νηχόμενα ἀερίοις δρόμοις φωτὶ ἀμετρήτῳ in Wotke, Nestle, Olivieri, variations in Gretser, Delatte); in the two Coptic versions this clause is split, so that God is said to be in the limitless light, and while *T.Varie* 13 (l. 13) retains the description of the cherubim swimming (ἐγνήνῃς), the version in this manuscript has been emended to the more expected “fly”. The Greek versions also describe the limitless light as unreachable for human nature (ὅπου ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις παρελθεῖν οὐ δύναται in Wotke, Nestle, Olivieri, Delatte; παρέρχεται in Gretser), with *T.Varie* 13 (l. 15) following (ἡν φησὶς ἡρώμε ἡαυ πάρ ὡ[αροϋ]). As Miroshnikov notes, “dwell” (οἶκος) in this manuscript edited here likely derives from a visual miscopying of an earlier πάρ. The Greek versions describe God as having created six six-winged creatures (ἕξ ζῶα ἑξαπτέρυγα; absent in Delatte), of whom four, the cherubim, carry the throne of God, and two, the seraphim, have been assigned to guard the Tree of Life (“the path of the Tree of Life” (τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς) in Gretser). *T.Varie* 13 (ll. 16–17) likewise describes “six creatures with six wings each” (σοὺ ἡ[ζ]ωῶν ἐγν σο[οϋ] ἡτῆς ἡμοοϋ εποῦα ποῦα), but does not specify that four of them carry the chariot. The manuscript here describes four creatures with four ζωῶ; here we translate this as τῆς (“wing”), but it may also represent a confused copying of ἡτοοϋ ἡζωων (“four creatures”), paralleling the Greek ἅτινα μὲν τέσσαρα ζῶα (Wotke; Gretser, Nestle, Olivieri without ζῶα; absent in Nestle). *T.Varie* 13 (ll. 19–20) and the Greek texts note that they are called cherubim (ἡαῖ ετοῦμοϋτε εροοϋ χε χαίροϋν; χερουβὶμ καλεῖται Wotke; καλοῦνται Nestle, Delatte; λαβοῦνται Olivieri). The repetition for the ‘seraphim’ is present in this manuscript (p. 27 ll. 1–3), suggesting that the first instance simply dropped out in the process of transmission. *T.Varie* 13 (front ll. 20–21) and the Greek versions have “you placed (them) in Paradise” (ἀκκαῶγ ἡῖ ππαρῶδικοϋ; ἔθου ἐν (τῷ) παρῶδεῖσῳ), but the version here uses the phrase ἀγκα τοοτοϋ, literally “their hands have been placed”. Kropp translates “they who have not ceased” (“die nicht aufgehört haben”), but this makes the sentence negative, and would normally require the adverb εβολ to follow (cf. Crum 426a–b). As suggested by Ivan Miroshnikov, this is likely another error in transmission, originating in the ἀκκαῶγ of *T.Varie* 13. Finally, all of the other Coptic and Greek versions note simply that the seraphim were placed in Paradise to protect the (path leading to) the Tree of Life; it is likely that the repetition of “that they might guard” (ετρεϋποεῖς) in ll. 27 & 28 here is an instance of dittography.

page 27 (14r) (↓)

- ωΗΝ ΜΠΩΝΞ · ΝΑΙ ΕΩΔΥ-
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΣΕΡΑ-
 ΦΙΝ · ΝΤΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΟ ΝΧΟ-
 ΕΙΣ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ · ΑΝΟΝ
 5 ΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΚ · ΑΥΩ ΠΕΚ-
 ΤΑΜΙΟ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΠΕΝ-
 ΤΑΥΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ ΝΝΑΓ-
 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΑΥΠΑΡΑΒΕ
 ΕΠΩΙΚ ΜΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΣ
 10 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΟΥΖΑ-
 ΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΟΥ : ΖΝ ΜΜΟΥΧΛΟΣ
 ΝΑΜΝΤΕ · ΕΥΚΟΛΑCΙC
 ΝΑΥ ΩΔ ΕΝΕΖ · ΕΩΧΕ
 ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΤ-
 15 ΡΕΡΕΡ ΕΡΟ ΝΟΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ
 ΜΝΑΡΙΑ ΤΕCΡΟΟΜΠΕ
 ΜΜΕ · ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΚΧΟ-
 ΟΥΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ · ΕΤ-
 ΡΕΦΟΥΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΚ-
 20 ΩΠΗΡΕ · ΤCΟΟΥΝ ΠΧΟ-
 ΕΙC ΧΕ ΝCΑΒΗΛΧΕ ΝΤΑ-
 ΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ : Ε-
 ΝΕΦΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΑΝ ΝΝΕΙΩ-
 ΠΗΡΕ · ΑΥΩ ΝCΑΒΗΛΧΕ
 25 ΠΕΚΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ
 ΝΦΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ Ε-
 ΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ · ÷

2–3 *i.e.* σεραφίμ || 3 *i.e.* γάρ || 7 *i.e.* παραδιδόναι || 7–8 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 8 *i.e.* παραβαίνειν *v* corrected from Δ, by overwriting || 9 τάρταρος corrected by overwriting from ταρορος *i.e.* τάρταρος || 11 *i.e.* μοχλός || 12 *i.e.* κόλασις

Tree of Life, they who are called *seraphim. For you are Lord over all, we are |⁵ those who are yours, and your creation, God, you who handed over the angels who transgressed to the depth of *Tartarus, |¹⁰ and they are those who are guarded by the bolts of *hell as a punishment for them forever. If this is your will, |¹⁵ that the son of Mary, the true dove, rule, the one whom you sent by your hand to have him reveal your |²⁰ wonders—I know, O Lord, that unless he had come from you, he would not have performed these wonders, and unless |²⁵ he was your beloved son, he would not have arisen from the dead—

8–13. The Punishment of the Fallen Angels: We find again here minor differences between the different Coptic and Greek versions of the *Prayer*. In this version and the Greek versions, the fallen angels are said to be in the “depths of Tartarus” (βυθῷ ταρτάρῳ Gretser 1734, Wotke 1891, Delatte 1927; βυθῷ ταρτάρου Nestle 1895, Olivieri 1898; following references by name only), but *T.Varie* 13 (front l. 25) has “the depths of hell” (πῶς καὶ καὶ καὶ). In this version they are “guarded by the bolts of hell”, while the Greek versions and *T.Varie* 13 (front ll. 26–27) have “the abyss” (αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τὰ ἐνθυρώματα τῶν μοχλῶν τῆς ἀβύσσου Wotke, Nestle; τῶν μοχλῶν absent in Gretser, Olivieri; ὀχυρώματα τῶν μοχλευμάτων in Delatte). *T.Varie* 13 (front ll. 27–28) and some of the Greek versions end this section by noting that the fallen angels are “unable to gainsay to your command” (ἐμὴν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντιῶναι τῇ ἐντολῇ σου; τῷ σὺ προστάγματι ἀντειπεῖν οὐ δύνανται, Wotke, Olivieri, Delatte; δυνάμενοι in Nestle; absent in Gretser), a passage absent in the copy here. Again, these differences demonstrate the fluidity of the text; cf. the first notes to pp. 25 & 26.

13–21. Address to God concerning Jesus: Before “if this is your will”, *T.Varie* 13 (front l. 29) and the published Greek versions include the address “now, O Lord” (τενοῦ ὦν παροῦς καὶ τανῦν κύριε Gretser 1734, Nestle 1895; νῦν in Wotke 1891; δέσποτα κύριε in Delatte 1927); these versions also describe Mary as the “beautiful” rather than “true” dove, as in this text (καλῆς περιστερᾶς; Wotke 1891, Nestle 1895, Delatte 1927; absent in Gretser 1734, Olivieri 1898; τερροοῖπτε τῆς αἰῶνος; *T.Varie* 13 front l. 30). The specification that Jesus came in order to reveal God’s wonders is absent in *T.Varie* 13 and all of the published Greek versions. The following parenthetical note (“I know, O Lord, that”) is likewise absent in all of the other published Greek and Coptic versions, who instead begin directly with “unless he had come”; cf. the first note to pp. 25 & 26.

page 28 (14v) (→)

-· ⲓⲉ ·- -· ⲃ ·-
 ⲁⲣⲓⲣⲉ ϣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲓ-
 ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ
 ⲁγω κατὰ θε̅ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲱ-
 ⲧⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲗⲓⲗ ⲙⲱγ-
 5 ⲥⲏⲥ · ⲁⲕⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲕⲉⲉⲥ
 ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏϥ : ⲧⲉ-
 ⲛⲟγ ϣⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲟγⲱⲛⲗ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲕⲏ ⲛ-
 ϣⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ-
 10 ⲭⲥ : ⲁγω ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲗⲉγⲉ ⲛⲟγ-
 ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲱ-
 ⲡⲉ : ϣⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥ-
 ⲧⲉγⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲥ
 ⲁγω ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲗⲉγⲉ ⲛⲟγⲕⲁⲓⲛ-
 15 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϣⲉ-
 ⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉγⲉ ⲉ-
 ⲡⲉⲥⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲥ · ϣⲉ ⲛ-
 ⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲗ :
 ⲁγω ⲡⲟγϣⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥ-
 20 ⲙⲟⲥ · ⲙⲓ ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϣ
 ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϣ ϣⲁⲙⲏⲛ :
 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲱϥ
 ⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ⲛⲛⲉⲙⲑⲉⲥⲟⲥ
 ⲁⲣϥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲟⲥ · ⲁⲓⲟⲙⲏⲧⲟⲥ ·
 25 ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ · ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ·
 ⲥⲧⲉⲑⲁⲛⲟⲥ · ⲕϣⲓⲁⲕⲟⲥ :
 ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ·

3 *i.e.* κατά || 8 ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲕⲏ corrected by overwriting from ⲉⲧⲧⲉⲣⲕⲏ || 9 *i.e.* ⲥ(ταυ)ρός ||
 10 *i.e.* ϣ(ρι)στός || *i.e.* ⲕⲉⲗⲉύⲉⲓⲛ || 11 *i.e.* ⲕⲁⲡⲛός || 12–13 *i.e.* ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉύⲉⲓⲛ || 13 *i.e.* ⲥ(ταυ)ρός ||
i.e. ϣ(ρι)στός || 14 *i.e.* ⲕⲉⲗⲉύⲉⲓⲛ || 14–15 *i.e.* ⲕⲁⲡⲛός || 16 *i.e.* ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉύⲉⲓⲛ || 17 *i.e.* ⲥ(ταυ)ρός ||
i.e. ϣ(ρι)στός || 18 *i.e.* Ἰ(σρα)ήλ || 19–20 *i.e.* κόσμος || 20 *i.e.* Ἰ(εϣⲟⲩⲥⲁ)λήμ || 21 *i.e.* ἀμήν ||
 23 *i.e.* ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ : ⲛⲛⲉⲙⲑⲉⲥⲟⲥ Pleyte/Boeser || 24 ⲁⲣϥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲟⲥ enlarged capital ⲁ in *ekthesis*

then perform your signs and show them to us, O Lord, and just as you listened to your servant Moses, ¹⁵ and you showed him the bones of our brother Joseph, now, therefore, O Lord, reveal the place in which the cross of Christ lies, ¹⁰ and command that there be smoke so that I shall believe in the cross of Christ, {and command that there be smoke ¹⁵ so that I shall believe in the cross of Christ} because he is the King of Israel and the salvation of the world ²⁰ and Jerusalem forever and ever, amen.”

¹²² These are the names of the seven children of Ephesus: Archillides, Diomedes,

¹²⁵ Allatios, Probatios, Stephanos, Cyriacus, Sabbatios.

1. ἀρίρε σε ἡνεκμαεῖν ἡγταβον εροου πλοεῖς : “then perform your signs and show them to us, O Lord” *T.Varie* 13 (front ll. 33–34) has the similar “perform then, your great wonders” (εἰρε οὐν ἡνεκμοσ ἡωηρε). The Greek versions, by contrast, have “perform for us this sign” (ποίησον ἡμῖν τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, Gretser 1734; τὸ τεράστιον τοῦτο in Wotke 1891, Nestle 1895, Delatte 1927; τὸ τέρας τοῦτο in Olivieri 1898). As Ivan Miroshnikov suggests (personal communication), the vaguer, plural reference in the Coptic versions, modified from the singular, more specific, and deictic Greek original, may indicate light editing to allow this prayer to be used in a more general, and recurrent, ritual context.

3–6. κατὰ θε ἡτακωτῇ επεξεῖραλ μωυσις ἄκταβοϋ ενκεεσ ἡπενσον ἰωσηφ : “just as you listened to your servant Moses, and you showed him the bones of our brother Joseph” A reference to a tradition recorded in the *Book of Mary’s Repose* 32–35, extant in Ge’ez and partially in Syriac (see the translation in Shoemaker 2002: 306–309). According to this tradition, Joseph’s bones had been hidden by Pharaoh so that when the Israelites wished to leave Egypt they could not find them (*cf.* Exodus 13.19). Moses and the people of Israel reproach God, who causes the Archangel Michael to strike the river, causing the water to part to reveal a box in which he finds the bones of Joseph. Similar traditions appear in the Babylonian Talmud; see Borgehammar 1991: 176–77.

17–18. ἄε ντοϋ πε πῆρρο : “he is the king” Smith translates “you are the king.”

19–20. πογχαῖ ἡπκοσμοσ : “the salvation of the world” This title is absent in *T.Varie* 13, and all but one of the published Greek texts, which has “saviour of the world” (σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου; Olivieri 1898).

22–27. The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus are a group of third-century Christians said to have been put into a miraculous sleep by God to save them from the persecution of Decius (249–251 CE), awakening nearly two hundred years later during the reign of Theodosius II (401–450 CE); they testify before the emperor before passing away and having a church built over the cave in which they slept. The earliest attestations of the legend are found in the Syriac writings of Jacob of Sarug (*ca.* 450–521 CE), dependent upon an older, likely Greek, source (Honigmann 1953: 125–168; van der Horst 2015). These names here were probably intended to be copied onto an amulet to protect the wearer or the place; *cf.* the walls of the eighth-century anchorite’s grotto in Pachora, Nubia, whose walls are decorated with several of the texts included in this manuscript, including the names of the Sleepers of Ephesus (see Griffith 1927: no. 29; Sanzo 2014: 77–78: no. 1). Compare the different tradition of the names of the Sleepers alluded to in *PCMI* 21 p. 9 ll. 24–25.

The Forty Martyrs of the city of Sebaste: Domitian, Valens, Hesychius, Smaragdus, ^{|5} Sisinnius, Severianus, Philoctimon, Heraclius, Cyrion, Alexander, Valerius, Eutychius, Vibianus, Lysimachus, ^{|10} Cyril, Eutychius, Eunoicus, Flavius, Xantheas, Leontius, Meton, Aggus, Ecdicius, Acacius, ^{|15} Aetius, Nicholas, John, Chudion, Gaius, Claudius, Ulitomos, Athanasius, Priscus, Candidus, ^{|20} Sacerdon, Gorgonius, Theodulus, Theophilus, Domnus, Aglaius.

This is the order of the beginning of the four Gospels.

^{|25} Gospel <of> Matthew.

The book of the birth of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.

p. 29 ll. 1–22. The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste: The Martyrs of Sebaste were forty Christian soldiers belonging to the *Legio XII Fulminata* said to have been martyred by Licinius around the year 320 by being abandoned on a frozen lake. The earliest mention of the Martyrs is in the homily on them by Basil of Caesarea dating to 373 CE (*PG* XXXI: 508–525); see Karlin-Hayter 1991. Their names appear in several contexts as amulets; in addition to the hermitage at Pachora (see note to p. 28 ll. 22–27), they are found in three manuscripts belonging to the ‘Berlin Library’ (KYP A14; VIII CE)—*BKU* I 8, 19 front, & 20—as well as *O. Eleph. Wagner* 322 (KYP M1122; IV–V CE); *P. Lat. Bat.* XIII 25 (KYP M1072); *P. Ryl. Copt.* 101 (KYP M323), *SB* VI 9615 (KYP M1056), *SB* XXVIII 17249 (KYP M1076); none of these seems to preserve the same sequence of names as that present here. Cf. de Bruyn 2017: 218–220; Dosoo 2023b: 75–76.

3. σΥΛΛΗC : “Valens” Smith misreads as “Onalles.”

5. CΕΥΗΡΙΔΗC : “Severianus” Smith misreads as “Seuepianos.”

8. σΥΛΛΗΡΙC : “Valerius” Smith misreads as “Onallerios.”

p. 29 l. 23–p. 30 l. 28. Incipits of the Four Gospels and Psalm 90 (91): The incipits of the four canonical gospels and of Psalm 90 (91) are the most common texts copied onto scriptural amulets. Their arrangement here follows the ‘canonical order’, found in most, but far from all, incipit amulets with multiple gospels; see Sanzo 2014: 102–104 *et passim*. The amuletic use of Psalm 90 (91) seems to pre-date Christianity, being found in a first-century CE text from Qumran (11QP^aAp^a; see Puech 1990; Kraus 2005; Chapa 2011; Sanzo 2014: 106–130). These incipits, like the other texts in this manuscript, were likely intended to be copied as amulets.

25–26. i.e. Matthew 1.1 (Horner 1911: 12).

page 30 (15v) (↓)

-: ΙΣ :-
 Ι ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡ-
 ΚΟΣ — . —————
 ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
 ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ-
 5 ΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΕ · ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤ-
 ΣΗΕ ΕΝ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ : ΠΕΠΡΟ-
 ΦΗΤΗΣ : ——— ———
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥ-
 ΚΑΣ — . —————
 10 Ι ΕΠΙΔΗΠΕΡ ΕΞΑΕ ΕΓΓΟΟ-
 ΤΟΥ ΕΣΑΙ ΝΕΝΩΑΧΕ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΖΒΗΓΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΩΤ
 ΝΖΗΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΗ : ———
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ-
 15 ΖΑΝΝΗΣ : — . —————
 Ι ΖΕΝ ΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΕΝΕΦΩΟ-
 ΟΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΑΥΩ Π-
 ΩΑΧΕ ΕΝΕΦΩΟΟΠ ΝΝΑΖ-
 ΡΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕΥ-
 20 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΩΑΧΕ : ———
 -: Ϛ ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΝΔΩΔΗ ΝΔΑΥ-
 ΕΙΔ ΠΕΤΟΥΗΕ ΖΑ ΤΒΟΗ-
 ΘΙΑ ΜΠΕΤΧΟСЕ · ϚΝΑ-
 ΩΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΘΑΙΒΕΣ ΜΠ-
 25 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ · ϚΝΑ-
 ΧΟΟΣ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ Ν-
 ΤΕΚ ΠΑΡΕΦΩΟΠΤ Ε-
 ΕΡΟΚ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΜΑ ΝΠΩΤ :-

1, 10, 16 diplai in margin || 1 i.e. εὐαγγέλιον | i.e. κατά || 3 i.e. ἀρχή | i.e. εὐαγγέλιον ||
 4 l. ι(ησοῦ)ς πε-χ(ριστός) || 5 i.e. κατά || 6–7 i.e. προφήτης || 8 i.e. εὐαγγέλιον | i.e. κατά ||
 10 i.e. ἐπειδήπερ enlarged ε in *ekthesis* || 14 i.e. εὐαγγέλιον | i.e. κατά || 16 Ϛ enlarged and in
ekthesis || 21 Ϛ enlarged and in *ekthesis* | l. τ-ωΔΗ i.e. ὥδή || 22–23 i.e. βοήθεια || 27–28 l. εροκ
 (dittography)

The Gospel according to Mark.

The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the son of the |⁵ living God, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet...

The Gospel according to Luke.

|¹⁰ Inasmuch as many have undertaken to write the words concerning the things which have been agreed among us...

The Gospel according to |¹⁵ John.

In the beginning was the word and the word was in the presence of God and |²⁰ the word was a god...

Ninety, the blessing of the song of David.

The one who dwells in the help of the exalted one will be in the shade of |²⁵ God of heaven. He will say to the Lord, "You are my helper and my refuge"...

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy.

1–7. *i.e.* Mark 1.1 (Horner 1911: I 354).

10–13. *i.e.* Luke 1.1 (Horner 1911: II 2).

16–20. *i.e.* John 1.1 (Förster *et al.* 2021: 35).

21–28. *i.e.* Psalm 90 (91) 1–2 (Budge 1898: 98–99).

PCM I 12. Rossi's Tractate

Theban region

16 (H) × 16 (W) cm

VII–VIII CE ?

Other references: P.Biblioteca Nazionale Turin, a.IV.27; TM 98062; CLM 5754; KYP M283; Bélanger Sarrazin #140.

Editions: Rossi 1894 (*ed. pr.*); von Lemm 1901: 306–307 (p. 1 ll. 1–5); Kropp 1931: I no. R; Meyer 1988.

Translations: Rossi 1894 (Italian); Amélineau 1895 (French); von Lemm 1901: 306–307 (p. 1 ll. 1–5; German); Kropp 1931: II no. 47 (German); Müller 1959: no. 211 (German); Meyer in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 71.

Additional commentary: Rossi 1899; Gabrieli 1930; Orlandi 1974; Peyron 1876: 65–66; Sperber 1985; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 7.

Present location: Lost.

Image: Kropp 1931: I 87 (R) (hand sample).

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. pp. 1–45: Invocation of God and the Archangel Gabriel for protection from demons (KYP T359)

Papyrus codex, lost in a fire in 1904.¹ The earliest description of the codex, by Bernardino Peyron in 1876, describes it as consisting of 46 pages, of which two (the second folio) were blank.² The next description, by Francesco Rossi, describes it as consisting of 44 pages, implying that the second folio had been lost.³ Both authors note its very unusual format, with the folios inscribed on the right-hand side only.⁴ Kropp (1931), who had never seen the manuscript, misunderstood the two pages as being missing between the second and third surviving pages (corresponding to our pp. 5 & 7), but this is not noted by Rossi, and the text that survives does not imply lost pages. Kropp does not seem to have realised that the codex consisted of 44 pages of which only 22 were written, instead understanding it to have 22 surviving pages.

The codex was acquired by Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852), consul general

¹ Kropp 1931: I 63.

² Peyron 1876: 65.

³ Peyron 1876: 65 notes that they are written on only one side (“una sola facciata”). Rossi 1894: 22 (*cf.* Rossi 1899: 121) is more explicit, saying they are written on the “diritto”. As noted in Turner 1978: 8–13, the papyrological concept of the recto as the horizontal fibres only began to develop in the work of Ulrich Wilcken from the late 1880s, and so “diritto” here certainly refers to the right-hand page of the codex (*i.e.*, the recto of the folio). We would like to thank Alin Suciu for discussing this question with us.

⁴ Rossi 1894: 22.

of France in Egypt, likely between 1804 and 1818, and sometime between then and 1821 his collection was sent to Livorno in Italy for sale.⁵ Drovetti donated the Tractate to the philologist Amedeo Peyron (1785–1870) at some point after 1841, and after Peyron's death his nephew, Bernardino Peyron (1818–1903), donated it to the Biblioteca Nazionale ("National Library") in Turin.⁶ Rossi published the manuscript in 1894, and in 1896 Carl Schmidt examined and transcribed it; this transcription was used as the basis of the edition of his student, Kropp.⁷ The manuscript was lost in the fire, of unknown causes, of the night of 25th to 26th January 1904, which resulted in the destruction of 67% of the Library's manuscripts, and 78% of its printed volumes.⁸

Prior to the manuscript's loss, a handwriting sample was produced by Crum, which Kropp published alongside his edition.⁹ This is the only surviving image of the manuscript known to us, posing considerable challenges to palaeographic dating. The sample demonstrates a bilinear, largely unimodal hand with a rounded α , slightly enlarged and angular β , slight serifs on z and τ , curved μ , slightly narrow c , and γ shaped like a Latin Y . Very similar letterforms may be seen in the literary codex Turin cat. 63000, codex 3 (CLM 47) from the This (or *Thinis*) group (TM Arch ID 498), purchased by Drovetti at around the same time as the Tractate.¹⁰ This codex, and the other *ca.* 16 codices of the archive, were sold by Drovetti to the Egyptian Museum in Turin on the 24th January 1824,¹¹ but at least one leaf from the archive was among those given by him to Peyron as part of his later gift to the scholar along with the Tractate,¹² making a link between them more likely. Based on material considerations, the This group can be dated to the late seventh or eighth century,¹³ and evidence from two codices (a book-list and a colophon) suggest that the group belonged to the church of the *topos* ("place", probably monastery) of John the Baptist in This.¹⁴ These seem to have been the only other Coptic papyrus codices in Drovetti's collection. We thus tentatively

⁵ Marro 1952: 124; Buzi 2015–2016: 71; Orlandi 1974: 115.

⁶ Peyron 1876: 64 notes that Drovetti donated the manuscript to his uncle Amedeo after the completion of his lexicon and grammar (Peyron 1835 & 1841 respectively); *cf.* Rossi 1899: 121.

⁷ Kropp 1931: I 5, 192.

⁸ Gorrini 1904: 18, 21, 26, 29, 34, 38, 41; 1,500 of a total of 4,500 manuscripts were saved; of printed volumes, 6,800 were saved, and 23,711 destroyed. Gabrieli 1930: 51 does not list the Tractate among the manuscripts rescued, and Kropp 1931: I 63 confirms that it was destroyed.

⁹ Kropp 1931: I 5, 87 (R). Crum seems to have begun by copying the letters from p. 23 l. 16, before continuing with a sequence of random letters chosen to provide a wide range of letterforms; unfortunately the sample does not constitute a full alphabet.

¹⁰ On this group, see Orlandi 1974; Orlandi 2013; Buzi 2018; Buzi 2023; *cf.* the comment in Rossi 1899: 121 that the manuscripts in the Library and Museum constitute a single collection ("una sola Raccolta"). We thank Alin Suciu for this suggestion; *cf.* Suciu 2012.

¹¹ Marro 1952: 125; Buzi 2015–2016: 70; Buzi 2018: 39.

¹² Buzi 2015–2016: 78.

¹³ Orlandi 2013: 525; Buzi 2018: 47.

¹⁴ Orlandi 1974: 116; Buzi 2018: 42.

propose a similar, seventh or eighth century date for the Tractate, and note that it too may have come from This, perhaps even the collection of the church. While this is highly speculative, it is almost certain that the manuscript derives from the general region of Thebes, to which This belongs, and from where nearly all of Drovetti's manuscripts derive.¹⁵ Among the other manuscripts given by Drovetti to Peyron were a sheet of papyrus containing a formulary, perhaps for favour (PCMI 13, also lost in the fire),¹⁶ and an unpublished Coptic magical rotulus. This latter was sold by his family to the National Library in Turin in 1969, and the hand is different to that of the Tractate.¹⁷

The scribe uses supralineation to mark names, *voces magicae*, and autosyllabic consonants. The dialect is a highly standard but not entirely consistent form of Sahidic, with occasional common non-standard features, such as haplography, and the interchange of β/q. More unusual is the occasional interchange of z/c and x/ϣ, and the presence of a single Faiyumic form (ⲱⲛⲁⲗ, p. 35 l. 5)

The text consists of long invocation of God and (from p. 13) the archangel Gabriel, with notable similarities to other extensive 'magical liturgies' such as the *Prayer of Mary 'in Bartos'* (see PCMI 25 pp. 2–9), the *Endoxon of the Archangel Michael* (see PCM I 26), and the prayer to the Baktiotha preserved in three manuscripts.¹⁸ Peyron described it as a "gnostic tractate on the particular virtues which the celestial spirits possess from God" ("trattato gnostico delle particolari virtù, che hanno da Dio gli spiriti celesti"), referring specifically to the content on p. 7 l. 1–p. 9 l. 6.¹⁹ This title was taken up by Rossi, so that it has become traditional to refer to the text as as 'Rossi's "Gnostic" Tractate'. While the text is neither meaningfully 'gnostic' nor a tractate, we retain the distinctive name of 'Tractate' here in deference to history, removing the word 'gnostic', which is liable to mislead those encountering the text for the first time.

Since the manuscript is lost, our edition makes use of the edition of Rossi as the base text, sometimes preferring the readings of Schmidt (in Kropp) where these seem more plausible. At places we suggest alternative readings, marked 'CMPT' (for *Coptic Magical Papyri Team*). Since the text is written only on the recto of each sheet, we number the pages first by their ordinal number of writing (*first*, *second*, and so on), corresponding to folio numbers in Rossi and page numbers in Kropp, followed by the actual page number, including blank pages in the count, thus, the second page written is the fifth page of the codex: "*second page*

¹⁵ Peyron 1824: 7–8; Töpfer 2018: 74–75. Of the forty papyri from Drovetti on the online Turin catalogue (<https://collezioni.museoegizio.it>; accessed 10/3/2023) all are listed as certainly or probably from Thebes ("Tebe" or "Deir el-Medina").

¹⁶ Rossi 1894: 24 says that this fragment was "united with this papyrus" ("unito a questo papiro").

¹⁷ Mss. Peyron 158–159 (KYP M3761); cf. Buzi 2015–2016: 76; Buzi 2018: 43.

¹⁸ BKUI 23 (KYP M194); *P.Lond.Copt.* 1008 (KYP M282); *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167); cf. Choat/Gardner 2013. For the concept of 'magical liturgies', see van der Vliet 2019b: 342–343 and pp. 22–23 of this volume.

¹⁹ Peyron 1876: 66; cf. Rossi 1894: 21; Rossi 1899: 121.

(page 5)”. Since earlier publications do not count the first page, which contains the ritual instructions, our ‘second page’ corresponds to earlier folio/page 1, and so on. In cross-references throughout this volume, we refer to the absolute page number, *i.e.*, p. 5 for the *second page*.

first page (page 1)

+ ϣϣᾶ ᄃε πεϣτοοϣ ᄃαγγελοϣ ϣιϑη ᄃη-
καταπεταϣηᾶ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ εκφορι
ᄃοϣκλον ᄃοϣερτ ερεοϣκ[λ]ατοϣ
ᄃᄃορϣηηη ϣᄃ τε[κ]χιᄃ ερεο[ϣ]αμοϣηη-
5 ᄃκοϣ ϣᄃ ϣωκ

vac.

ϑ λι/ . . . ϣτη/ - ϣτακ/ ᄃαϣ/
ωτᄃεϣ - ο . . . ϣᄃᄃᄃᄃ · κᄃᄃᄃ[ᄃ]ωμον . .
ᄃεϣ ᄃοϣειτ/ . . . ϣ/ καρβωᄃε τ . . ϣηλ[ον] .
ᄃλεϣκο[ᄃ] . [ϣη]λοᄃ ᄃᄃοειτ/

1 † Rossi, Lemm : ϣ Kropp, Meyer 1988 | *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 2 *i.e.* καταπέτασμα | *i.e.* φορεῖν ||
3 *i.e.* κ[λ]ᾶδος : κ . . ατοϣ Rossi : κλ[α]τοϣ Lemm || 4 *i.e.* μυρσίνη Kropp : ᄃᄃορϣ . . . Rossi : ᄃορϣ[ϣηᄃ]
Lemm | *i.e.* ᄃᄃᄃ || 4–5 *i.e.* ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ : ο . . αμοϣ ᄃκακοϣ Rossi || 6 *i.e.* θ(υσία) : ᄃ Kropp, Meyer |
i.e. λί(βανοϣ) | [κᄃ]ᄃτη Lemm : omitted by Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 | *i.e.* στύ(ραᄃ) | *i.e.* στακ(τή) :
“stac(te)” Meyer 1988, 1994 | ᄃαϣ/ Rossi : *l.* ᄃαϣ/ *i.e.* μασ(τήχη) ? CMPT : *l.* ᄃαϣβαλ “(dove
nest)” (“[Tauben]nest”) Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 || 7 ωτ ᄃε ϣᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ? CMPT : ωτᄃεϣοοϣ
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ “butcher the (?) six doves” (“Schlachte die (?) sechs Tauben”) Schmidt in Kropp, Meyer
1988, 1994 *cf.* note | *i.e.* κᄃᄃᄃᄃ[μ]ωμον || 8 *l.* ᄃοϣερτ ? CMPT, Kropp, Meyer : ᄃᄃοειτ Lemm |
ᄃᄃ Schmidt in Kropp, Meyer 1988 : *l.* [ωϣᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ]ᄃ “brazier” (“Rauchfaß”) Kropp ? | *i.e.* κάρβων |
τ . . ϣηλ . . . Rossi : ϣηλ[ον] Kropp, Meyer : [κ]λοᄃ ᄃ- Lemm | *i.e.* ᄃύλ[ον] || 9 *i.e.* λευκόν |
i.e. [ᄃύ]λον : ϣηλ[ο]ᄃ Meyer 1988

Draw the four *angels in front of the *veil of the Father while wearing a crown of roses, with a branch of myrtle in your hand and some ammoniac |⁵ in your mouth.

Offering: *frankincense, flea-wort?, *styrax, oil of *myrrh, *mastic?, fat? and blood? of a dove?, cinnamon, rose? oil ... charcoal ... white wood, olive wood.

First page: This page is not given a folio or page number in Rossi, Kropp, or Meyer. It seems possible that this page should be placed at the end of the manuscript, rather than the beginning; compare the similar invocations in *PCM* I 25, 26 & 28, which have illustrations and ritual instructions after the spoken formulae. The initial cross may suggest, however, that this is indeed the beginning.

2–5. κφορι ἡογκλον ἡογερτ ερεογκ[λ]ατος ἡμορσνην εἴ τε[κ]χις ερεο[γ]αμογνιάκογ εἴ ρωκ “while wearing a crown of roses, with a branch of myrtle in your hand and some ammoniac in your mouth” As Lemm 1901: 306–307 points out, a close parallel to this passage may be found in chapter 47 of the Gnostic text known as the ‘Second Book of Ieou’: “and Jesus performed this mystery (baptism with the Holy Spirit) while all his disciples were wearing linen garments, crowned with myrtle, with a *kunokephalon* of *kristē* in their mouths, and a branch of artemisia in their two hands” (Ἦ ΔΕ ΑΓΓΕΙΡΕ ἸΠΕΙΡ ΕΡΕΝΕΦΜΑΘΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΒΟΟΛΕ ἸΖΕΡΒΟΟΣ ἸΕΙΔΑΓ ΕΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ἡΜΟΡΣΝΗ ΕΡΕΟΓΚΗΝΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΝ ἸΤΕΤΕΚΗΡΗΤΗ ἸΖΟΥΝ ἸΡΩΟΥ · ΕΡΕΟΓΗΜΟΝΟΚΛΑΔΟΣ ἸΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑΣ Εἴ ΤΕΥΣΙΧ ΕἴΤΕ; Créghur 2019: 218.23–28, 219 (trans.), 373 (commentary)). *Kunokephalon* seems to refer to some kind of plant; cf. Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 4.69, perhaps referring to fleawort (*Plantago indica* L.; cf. LSJ s.v. ψόλλιον) or weasel’s-snout (*Antirrhinum orontium* L.; see André 1985: 83). The meaning of *kristē* is similarly difficult, although Dioscorides notes that another name for the *kunokephalon* is κρυστάλλιον (cf. André 1985: 79), so that this may simply be a construction that combines the two names. Créghur (2019: 373), following Amélineau (1891: 192), notes that it might refer to the island of Crete (Κρήτης ?), giving “Cretan *kunokephanon*”. Lemm suggests reading κριστη (his reading of κρηστη) in l. 6 of our manuscript, and so we tentatively follow him.

6. . . . στη : “fleawort” Cf. the note to ll. 2–5 above.

7. ωτνεσ - ο . . . ρωἡπε : “fat? and blood? of a dove” Kropp and Meyer translate “butcher the six (?) doves”, but this kind of animal sacrifice would be otherwise unattested in the Coptic magical corpus. Instead we suggest that the blood (and perhaps fat) of a dove is offered up; dove blood is often used in rituals for positive purposes, such as favour, or as in the case here, protection; cf. the note to *PCM* I 17 back ll. 1–5, and Dosoo 2022c: 517–519.

9. καρβωνε τ . . . χηλ[ον] . κλεγκο[ν] . [χη]λοῦ ἡχοειτ/ : “charcoal ... white wood, olive wood” Perhaps understand “charcoal from white wood or olive wood”; the incenses listed above were probably intended to be placed on the burning charcoals.

1 *i.e.* [παρακαλ]εῖν *cf.* Dosoo 2018: 21–22 on verbs of invocation : or †[επικα]λι Kropp | †[π]οογ[] Kropp, Meyer 1988 : †[π]οογ[. . .] Rossi || **1–2** *i.e.* δι(οικεῖν) Schmidt in Kropp, Meyer 1988 : τεταῖ . . . Rossi || **2–3** σιν επτε φα π . . . σιν ε . . . Rossi : σιν επτε φα πκαζ σιν ε[πκα]ζ Kropp, Meyer 1988 || **3–4** *i.e.* μονογενής || **4** *i.e.* ^sσωτη || **6** *i.e.* παντοκράτωρ | *i.e.* νοῦς || **7** *l.* π-φερπ-ησε || **8** *i.e.* αἰών || **9** ἀβλαῶν[. . .] ἀνῶ ἀλῶ Rossi : ἀβλαηθῶναφα Kropp, Meyer 1988 : ἀβλαῶν[αφ]ἀνααααα CMPT | *i.e.* ^sσωτη : ζωτῆ Meyer 1988 || **11** *i.e.* αἰών || **11–12** πωερπησε νηραῶν ἡαγγελος “the firstborn of all the angels” (“le premier né de tous les anges”) Amélineau || **12** *i.e.* ^sἡ-νη-ραν ἡ-ἡ-αγγελος τηρ=ογ : νηρα ἡἡαγγελος Rossi, Kropp : “of the names of all the angels!” Meyer 1988, 1994 | *i.e.* ἄγγελος || **13** *i.e.* ^sσωτη || **13–14** *i.e.* ἄγγελος | *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || **15** *i.e.* ὑποτάσσειν || **15–16** *i.e.* φύσις : *l.* φύσεις Kropp | φησις νημ πῶα “all, physical and spiritual” (“tutte, fisiche e spirituali”) Rossi || **16** *i.e.* ^sνημ ἡ-νη(εγ)ηα (haplography) *i.e.* πνεῦμα | *i.e.* τόπος : “aions” (“Æons”) Amélineau || **17** *i.e.* γάρ || **18** *i.e.* βο[ή]θεια || **19** *i.e.* ἄγιος | *i.e.* ^sἡ-αγ[γ]ελος *i.e.* ἄγγελος

I invoke you today, you who govern from heaven to the [earth], from the [earth] to heaven, the great Only-Begotten One, listen to me today as I call |⁵ upon you, the only Father, Almighty, the mind that is hidden in the Father, the Firstborn of every creature and every aion, Ablanathaanaafla!

Listen |¹⁰ to me today, as I call upon you, you who are over every aion, the Firstborn, <by> the names of all <the> angels! Let all the *angels and *archangels listen to me, |¹⁵ and let every being <of> spirit that is in this place be subjected to me quickly, for this is the wish of *Sabaoth!

Help me, O holy angels; |²⁰ let them flee from me, all my enemies and...

7–8. πωρπμισε ν̄σωντ̄ νιμ̄ μ̄ν̄ σων̄ νιμ̄ Ἀβλᾶν[αθ]ᾶνᾶαφλᾶ : “the Firstborn of every creature and every aion, Ablanathaanaafla” A reference to and an expansion of the description of the Son in Colossians 1.15 as the “firstborn of every creature” (πωρπ̄μισε ν̄σωντ̄ νιμ̄; Horner 1920: 324, we are grateful to Ágnes Mihálykó for recognising this citation). The following name is a variant of Ablanathanalba, a palindromic name common in Graeco-Egyptian and Coptic magic; see Brashear 1995: 3577.

third page (page 7)

- [... $\overline{\xi\eta}$ ο] γ $\overline{\sigma\epsilon\pi\eta}$ · μα $\overline{\rho\epsilon\gamma\pi\omega}$ -
 [τ εβολ ε] πα $\overline{\rho\omega}$ $\overline{\xi\eta}$ ο $\overline{\gamma\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\eta}$
 μι $\overline{\chi[\alpha]\eta\lambda}$ πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\beta\omicron\sigma\eta}$ τη-
 ρο $\overline{\gamma}$ ετ $\overline{\tau\alpha\chi\rho\eta\gamma}$ · ζ $\overline{\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\eta\lambda}$
 5 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ πε $\overline{\gamma\chi\alpha\iota}$ · γ $\overline{\alpha\beta\rho\iota\eta\lambda}$
 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\beta\omicron\sigma\eta}$ · α $\overline{\rho\eta\alpha\eta\lambda}$
 πετ $\overline{\alpha\iota}$ μ $\overline{\psi\omega\tau\eta}$ · ο $\overline{\gamma\rho\iota\eta\lambda}$ πε-
 θ $\overline{\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\kappa\lambda\omicron\eta}$ · νε $\overline{\phi\alpha\eta\lambda}$ ·
 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ τ $\overline{\nu\omicron\eta\theta\iota\alpha}$ · α $\overline{\kappa\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\eta\lambda}$
 10 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma}$ · α $\overline{\sigma\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\eta\lambda}$
 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ π $\overline{\rho\eta}$ · η $\overline{\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\eta\lambda}$
 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ πε $\overline{\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma}$ · ι $\overline{\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\eta\lambda}$
 πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\kappa\rho\eta\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta}$ ·
 η $\overline{\rho\iota\eta\lambda}$ πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma}$
 15 φ $\overline{\alpha\eta\eta\gamma\eta\lambda}$ πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\gamma\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\sigma}$
 α $\overline{\phi\alpha\eta\lambda}$ πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ πε $\overline{\chi[\iota]\omega\eta}$
 α $\overline{\kappa\rho\alpha\eta\lambda}$ πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ θ $\overline{\alpha\lambda\alpha}$ [c]ca
 · ε $\overline{\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\lambda}$ · πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\mu[\omicron\omicron\gamma]}$ η $\overline{\rho\omega\omicron\gamma}$
 · · α $\overline{\beta\omicron\gamma\eta\lambda}$ · πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ νε $\overline{\lambda\eta[\mu]\eta\eta}$ · ·
 20 · · · α $\overline{\theta\iota\eta\lambda}$ · πε $\overline{\theta\iota\chi\eta}$ η $\overline{\alpha\pi\alpha}$ · · · · ·
 · · · · · πε $\overline{[\theta\iota\chi\eta]}$ π · · · · ·

2 ο $\overline{\gamma}$ κα $\overline{\rho}$ Rossi : “pain” (“douleur”) Amélineau || 3 ω $\overline{\chi\iota\eta\lambda}$ Rossi || 7 *i.e.* $\overline{\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\text{---}\eta\pi\text{---}\sigma\omega\tau\eta}$ Kropp : “the one who is over hearing” Meyer || 9 *i.e.* βοήθεια || 12 ι $\overline{\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\eta\lambda}$ Kropp : ι $\overline{\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\eta\lambda}$ Rossi || 13 *i.e.* $\overline{\sigma\eta\text{---}\nu\kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\eta}$? (haplography?) suggestion of Ágnes Mihálykó : *i.e.* κρατήριον “(mixing) bowls” (“die Mischkrüge”) Kropp, Meyer : “volcanoes” (“vulcani”) Rossi : κρηστήριον Schmidt in Kropp || 14 *i.e.* $\overline{\sigma\eta\text{---}(\epsilon)\text{---}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma}$ || 15 *i.e.* καρπός || 16 *i.e.* χ[ι]ών || 17 [α $\overline{\kappa}$] $\overline{\rho\alpha\eta\lambda}$ Rossi | *i.e.* θάλα(σ)σα || 18 · · ι $\overline{\lambda\alpha\eta\lambda}$ Rossi | η $\overline{\epsilon[\eta\omega\gamma]}$ Rossi || 19 *i.e.* λί[μ]νη ? : νε $\overline{\lambda\eta}$ · · · η $\overline{\eta}$ · · Rossi, Kropp, Meyer : *l.* λη[κα]νη [η $\overline{\alpha\lambda}$] “the vessels of hail” (“die Gefäße des Hagels”) *i.e.* λεκάνη Kropp : *l.* λη[κα]νη *i.e.* λεκάνη “vessels” ? Meyer 1988, 1994 || 20 η $\overline{\alpha\pi\alpha}$ Kropp : *l.* ἀπαρχη *i.e.* ἀπαρχή ? CMPT : η $\overline{\alpha\tau\alpha}$ Rossi

... [in] haste! Let them flee [from] my face in silence!

*Michael, the one who is over all the powers that are strong! *Raphael, |⁵ the one who is over salvation! *Gabriel, the one who is over the powers! Arnaēl, the one who gives obedience! Uriel, the one who is over the crowns! Nephaēl, the one who is over help! Akentaēl, |¹⁰ the one who is over the stars! Asentaēl, the one who is over the sun! Ēraphaēl, the one who is over the day! Ieremiēl, the one who is over the nocturnal? <matters>! Ēriēl, the one who is over the waters! |¹⁵ Phanouēl, the one who is over the fruits! Aphaēl, the one who is over the snow! Akraēl, the one who is over the sea! .eilaēl, the one who is over the rainwaters! ..abouēl, the one who is over the lakes?! |²⁰ ...athiēl, the one who is over the first-fruits?! ... who is over the ...

third page l. 3–fourth page l. 7. Angels and their spheres of competence: For the concept of *angels being set “over” various phenomena, cf. the note to *PCM I* front l. 1.

fourth page (page 9)

- χα . . . η θαγρογηνλ · πεοιχλ νεκ-
λο[ολε] ααπρασαζαηλ · πεοιχλ
ννεβ[ρ]ηχε · ιδωηλ · πεοιχλ
 τοπος νιμ · σαβαηλ · πεοιχμ
 5 πιπετνανογϣ · ααωη[α]ηλ
πεοιχμ πι ερογν μπιωτ μν
πεχει εβολ · απολ_ο / χεκα_ς
ετετννεει ναι · ντετνδρε-
ραττηγτη νεμαι · ντετν-
 10 νογχ εβολ χιον [μ] παρο μπνα
νιμ νακαθαρτον · μαρεγα-
ναχωρι εβολ χιον μπαρο
τηρογ χε ννεγχοος χε εφ-
των πεφνογτε · μαρεγ-
 15 στωτ νσεπωτ μπαντο
εβολ τηρογ · ζμ πραν μπωθ
μν πωηρε μν πεπνα ετογ-
ααβ αααααααααααα · αγιος
αγιος αγιος · κγριος σα[βαω]θ
 20 [πλ] ηρος ο ουρανος κη ε κρ · της ζα-
γιας δοξης ς ογ [τν]† εοογ νακ [τ]† εοογ

1 χα . . . η Kropp, Meyer : Rossi || 2 λο[μ . . .] Rossi | ααπρασαζαηλ Rossi : αβρασαζαηλ Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 || 4 *i.e.* τόπος : “aion” (“Æon”) Amélineau || 3 *i.e.* σεβρησε || 6 *i.e.* π-ει ερογν : “the entrance” (“den Eingang”) Kropp || 7 *i.e.* απο(λογία) : *l.* απολ(ων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note || 10 *i.e.* πν(εὐμ)α || 11 *i.e.* ἀκάθαρτον || 11–12 *i.e.* ἀναχωρεῖν || 16 *i.e.* σειωτ || 17 *i.e.* πν(εὐμ)α || 18 “Amen. 12 times” Kropp || 18–21 *i.e.* ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σα[βαω]θ [πλ] ήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀ[γίας] δόξης σ]ου || 20 . . ηρος Rossi | κη ε κη Kropp || 21 [γιος δοξης ς] ογ Kropp : ογ Rossi

... Thaurouēl, the one who is over the clouds! Adrasaxaēl, the one who is over the flashes of lightning! Iaōēl, the one who is over every place! Sabaēl, the one who is over [|]⁵ what is good! Adōnaēl, the one who is over the coming in of the Father and his coming out—request—so that you (pl.) will come to me and you will stand with me and you will [|]¹⁰ cast away before my face every unclean spirit! Let them all withdraw before my face so that they will not say, “Where is his God?” Let them all [|]¹⁵ tremble and flee from my presence, in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit!

AAAAAAAAAAAAA, [|]^{Greek} *holy, holy, holy, Lord *Sabaoth, [|]²⁰ the heaven and the earth are full of your holy glory! [|]^{Coptic} [We] give glory to you, we give glory

7. ἀπόλο/ : “request” This abbreviation likely indicates the point at which the reader was to insert specific information. Rossi understood it as an abbreviation of the name of the god Apollo (ἀπολλων), while Amélineau (1895: 15) prints *Apolo* in italics and suggests that it indicates the responses to be made by assistants, presumably imagining a call and response situation akin to a liturgy. We instead understand a writing of ἀπολογία (usually “defence”) whose nuances we still do not fully understand (cf. p. 34), but translate as “request”. This text displays some of the most extensive use of this word. We propose that, like κοινά, it marks where the recipe is to be personalised, although its position—often breaking running text—might seem to challenge this theory. In most cases, such as p. 21 ll. 15–16, it would nonetheless fit well: “let them all flee before my face—mine, NN”, allowing the formula to be personalised (cf. e.g., PCM I 17 l. 21 for this very common construction). On this page our interpretation faces greater difficulties, since the nearest first person pronoun which it could supplement is in the following line, rather than before it, as we might expect. It is possible that ἀπολογία here does indeed supplement the ἐμὴ (“to me”) in l. 8. More probably, perhaps, it may stand in this case for a fuller formula, such as “I, NN, invoke you”. This would work quite well given that the following “so that” (ὥστε) is not otherwise preceded by a verb of invocation or adjuration, as we would generally expect.

13–14. ἡγεῖσθός σε ἐγὼν περνοῦτε : “so that they will not say, ‘Where is his God?’” Cf. Psalm 113 (115) 10: “... lest the nations say “Where is their god?” (μή ποτε ᾤτε ἡγεῖσθός σε ἐγὼν περνοῦτε; Budge 1898: 123).

fifth page (page 11)

- ̄N[NE]K̄ZAGIOS THPOY · ̄IAΩ ̄TN† E-
 OO[Υ] NAK ΠIΞAKIOS CABAΩΘ ·
 ΠΩOP[Π] ̄NTΠE M̄N ΠKAZ · ̄TN† E-
 OOU NAK · ̄ΔΔΩNΔI · ̄EΛΘEI ΠΠAN-
 5 ̄ΔΩKPAΤΩP · ΠΩOPΠ ENEXE-
 POYBIN M̄N NECEPAPHIN · ̄TN-
 † EOOU NAK M̄APMAPAΩΘ ·
 PETΩOOP ZATH NAGTELOS
 M̄N NAPHAGTELOS · ̄TN† E-
 10 OOU NAK · XAMAPMAPIAΩ
 PETZATH M̄ΠIMNTAQTE
 ̄NSTEPETHA · ̄TN† EOOU NAK
 ΘPAKAI · ΠEHTAQZΩBC MΠ-
 KAZ ZIXM ΠNOYN · ΔQAW [TΠE]
 15 ̄NΘE ̄NOYKAMAPA · ̄TN† EOOU
 NAK M̄ANAXΩΘ · ΠEHTAQ-
 CMN C̄NTE ̄NTΠE M̄N ΠKAZ
 AQTAXP O M̄ΠIMNTAQTE NC-
 TEPETHA · ZIXM ΠBTOOU ̄NC-
 20 [T]HΛLOS · ̄TN† EOOU N[AK .]N
 . . . P̄AΩM · ΠEHTAQEI N[XΩ]λ

1 *i.e.* ἅγιος | ̄N[NE]K̄ZAGIOS THPOY : “all your holinesses” Meyer 1994 || 2 *i.e.* ἅγιος ||
 4–5 *i.e.* παντοκράτωρ : ΠIΔΔΩKPAΤΩP Kropf, Meyer || 5–6 *i.e.* χειρουβίμ || 6 *i.e.* σεραφίμ ||
 8 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 9 *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || 12 *i.e.* στερέωμα || 15 *i.e.* καμάρα || 17 C̄NEC̄NTE Kropf, Meyer ||
 18–19 *i.e.* στερέωμα || 19 *i.e.* σφτοού || 19–20 *i.e.* στῦλος || 20 [̄M]N Rossi : ΔN Kropf, Meyer ||
 21 P̄AΩM Rossi : B̄AΩM Kropf, Meyer | ̄N[XΩ]λ “gird” (“gürten”) Kropf, Meyer 1988, 1994 :
i.e. ὡς ? CMPT : N . . . Rossi

to all your saints, *Iao! We give glory to you, O holy *Sabaoth, the first of heaven and earth! We give glory to you, *Adonai *Eloei Almighty |⁵ the first of the *cherubim and *seraphim! We give glory to you, Marmaraōth, the one who existed before *angels and *archangels! We give |¹⁰ glory to you Khamarmariaō, the one who existed before the fourteen firmaments! We give glory to you Thrakai, the one who covered the *abyss with the earth, and suspended [heaven] |¹⁵ like a vault! We give glory to you Manakhōth, the one who established <the> foundations of heaven and earth and made fast the fourteen firmaments upon the four |²⁰ pillars! We give glory to [you] ...raōm, the one who has come to sharpen?

14–15. ⲁϣⲁⲱ [ⲧⲡⲉ] ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲕⲁⲙⲁⲣⲁ : “suspended [heaven] like a vault” A reference to Isaiah 40.22: “he who erected heaven like a vault” (πενταγταρε τⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲕⲡⲉ; Bak 2019: 82). Note that ⲕⲡⲉ in this version translates καμάρα from the Septuagint, so that *PCM* I 12 may either be relying directly on the Greek text, or on a different Coptic translation.

21. ⲛ[ⲁⲱ]ⲗ : “sharpen” We might expect here a verb meaning “sheath” or “gird”, but we have been unable to find any word which would fit the reported traces.

sixth page (page 13)

- ̄ⲛⲧ[ⲉϣ]ϣⲛⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ̄ⲙⲡⲉϣⲁⲗⲟⲥ
 ϣⲛⲁϥ ̄ⲛⲁⲣϣⲏⲧⲟϥ · ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ
 ̄ⲑⲣⲁⲕⲁⲓⲙ · ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥϣⲓ ̄ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟ-
 ϣⲟⲡⲟⲛ ̄ⲛⲉⲁϥⲣⲏⲛⲗ · ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ
 5 λⲁϥⲣⲏⲛⲗ · ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ̄ⲛⲛⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ
 ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲉ · ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ
 ⲡⲕⲁⲛ ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲣⲏ · ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ
 ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲟⲛ ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ϣⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟ
 ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉϣⲓⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ · ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ
 10 ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲟⲥ ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲓⲁⲱ
 ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ · ⲡⲓⲁ-
 ⲗⲱⲕⲣⲁⲗⲱⲣ ϣⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ · ⲁⲙⲟϥ
 ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲣⲏⲛⲗ · ϣⲱⲥ-
 ⲗⲉ ̄ⲛⲕϣⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲡⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
 15 ⲧⲉⲓϣⲣⲁⲕⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲁⲓ · ⲡⲓⲱⲟ
 ⲙⲏ ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ ̄ⲙⲡⲏⲗⲁⲕⲧⲏ-
 ϣⲟⲡⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲗ ⲛⲟϥⲛⲁⲙ ·
 ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ̄ⲛⲉ-
 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲣⲟϣⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ · ⲛⲉ-
 20 [ⲕⲟ]ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ · ̄ⲛⲃⲟⲛⲑⲓⲁ ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ
 [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟϥ ̄ⲛⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ ·
 [̄ⲛⲉⲛ]ⲱϥⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲏⲗ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ ⲙⲡⲟ]ⲛⲏ[ⲣⲟⲛ]

2 *i.e.* ἄρρητος ? Kropp || 3–4 *i.e.* πρόσωπον || 5 *i.e.* οἰκονόμος | *l.* ̄ⲛ-ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ : *l.* ̄ⲛ-ⲛ-
 ̄ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ “of the Raphaels” (“dei ̄ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ”) Rossi || 6 *i.e.* ̄ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ || 10 *i.e.* ἄρκτος “Bear,
 Wagon” *i.e.* Ursa Major (“Bär, Wagen”) ? Kropp *cf.* note | ⲓⲁⲱ Kropp, Meyer 1988,
 1994 : ⲁⲗⲱ Rossi || 11–12 *i.e.* πα(ν)τοκράτωρ : πανⲗⲱⲕⲣⲁⲗⲱⲣ Rossi || 12 *i.e.* ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ||
 13 *i.e.* ἀγαθός || 13–14 *i.e.* ὅστε || 15 *i.e.* σφραγίς || 16–17 *i.e.* φυλακτήριον || 18 *i.e.* τόπος ||
 19 *i.e.* προστάτης || 19–20 *i.e.* οἰ[ⲕⲟ]νόμος || 20 *i.e.* βοήθεια : “and (a) help” (“und Hilfe”) Kropp : “and
 help” Meyer 1988, 1994 || 21 ⲁ[.] at the end of the line Kropp, Meyer || 22 *i.e.* ̄ⲛⲟϥⲁⲥ : ... ⲱϥⲥ Rossi :
 [. . . ⲛ]ⲟϥⲥ Schmidt in Kropp : [̄ⲛⲉⲛ]ⲟϥⲥ Kropp, Meyer | *i.e.* πν(εῦμα) | *i.e.* πονηρόν CMPT :
 ⲛⲓ[̄ⲛⲡⲟ]/ⲛⲏ[ⲣⲟⲥ] Rossi : ⲛⲓ[ⲙ ⲙⲡⲟ]ⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ Kropp, Meyer

[his] sword in the middle of his two thighs. We give glory to you Thrakaim, the one who received the appearance of *Gabriel! We give glory to you today, |⁵ Lauriel, the steward of *Raphael! We give glory to heaven! We give glory to you, O earth! We give glory to you, O sun! We give glory to you, O moon! We give glory to you, *Sabaoth, and all the stars! We give glory to you, |¹⁰ Araktos! We give glory to you, *Iao! We give glory to you, *Adonai *Eloei Almighty!

Listen to me! Come to me, O good Gabriel, so that you listen to me today because of |¹⁵ this seal of Adonai, the Father, and the fourteen phylacteries that are in my right hand, so that you come to me, to this place, so that you become for me a benefactor <and> |²⁰ <a> helping steward for all the days of my life, [and you?] cast out? every evil

10. ἈΡΑΚΤΟΣ : “Araktos” Kropp understands a reference to ἄρκτος, that is, Ursa Major, or the constellation of the Great Bear, which would make sense in the context of the mention of several other celestial bodies. In Egyptian astrology, Ursa Major is called the Foreleg ( *msh.tyw*) and is associated with the god *Seth (Neugebauer/Parker 1969: 190–191). It is frequently invoked in association with Seth-Typhon in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (Gundel 1968: 59–64), although the context here would seem to be rather different, mentioning it simply as part of the natural world created by the Christian god.

seventh page (page 15)

- ρι [α]κ[αθα]ρτον · εἴτε ροογτ
 εἴτε ρῑμε · εἴτε πογρα[η]ιον ·
 εἴτε να πκαρ · εἴτε να πανρ
 νεγεω σῑςομ εαρερατογ ἡπαν-
 5 το εβολ ογτε ἡπεμτο εβολ
 ντεκνοσ νβομ πνογτε · ρδμη[η] γ
 †† εοογ νακ · πεπρος[ω]πον
 ναδωναἰ ελοει · ππανδωκ-
 ραδωρ ρωσδε ἡγσωτῑ εροι
 10 ἡπειροογ ἡγτενοογ ναἰ ἡ-
 γαφῑηλ · παγγελος ἡτδι-
 καιοσῑηη · ἡβι ωαροι · ετβε τει-
 σφρακῑς · ἡτεπωθ ππανδωκ-
 ραδωρ εθεῑ τασιχ νογῑαμ · ἡγ-
 15 αρερατκ σα ογῑαμ μοι · ἡγβο-
 ηοια εροι · σοογτῑ εβολ ἡπεκ-
 σοτε εχῑ παρῑηπλασμα ἡη
 νεφτῑηαμῑς τῑηρογ · ἡη νεφ-
 [τ]εμονῑοἰ ἡακαθαρτον ἡη ἡπο-
 20 [ῑηρ]ον · ογωναρ τεκσιχ εροι ἡ-
 [ποογ · ἡγ]ογωναρ ναἰ [εβολ] ἡποογ

1 *i.e.* [ᾱ]κ[άθα]ρτον : [ἡακαθα]ρτον Rossi || 1–3 *i.e.* εἴτε || 2 *i.e.* οὐρά[ν]ιον || 3 *i.e.* ἀήρ ||
 4 *i.e.* ἡνεργ-ω σῑςομ || 5 *i.e.* οὔτε || 6 *i.e.* ἀμή[ν] || 7 *i.e.* πρόσ[ω]πον || 8–9 *i.e.* παντοκράτωρ ||
i.e. ὥστε || 11 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 11–12 *i.e.* δικαιοσύνη || 12 *i.e.* ἡε-ει || 13 *i.e.* σφραγίς | *i.e.* ἡπ-ειωτ ||
 13–14 *i.e.* παντοκράτωρ || 15 αρερατκ Rossi || *i.e.* ἡσα | *i.e.* ἡημοι || 15–16 *i.e.* βοηθεῖν ||
 17 *i.e.* ἀρχίπλασμα || 18 *i.e.* δύναις || 19 *i.e.* [δ]αιμόνιον | *i.e.* ἀκάθαρτον | ἡη omitted Kropp,
 Meyer 1988 || 19–20 ἡη πο[ῑηρ]ον Rossi | *i.e.* πο[ν]ηρόν || 21 ἡγ]ογωναρ νακ [εβολ] Rossi

and unclean spirit, whether male or female, whether heavenly or those of the earth or those of the air! They will not be able to stand in my |⁵ presence nor in the presence of your great power, God! Amen (thrice)!

I give glory to you, O countenance of *Adonai *Eloei Almighty, so that you listen to me |¹⁰ in this day and you send to me *Gabriel, the angel of righteousness and he comes to me because of this seal of the Father Almighty that is in my right hand, and you |¹⁵ stand <at> my right side, and you help me!

Draw your bow against the First-Formed One and all his powers and his unclean and evil demons! |²⁰ Reveal your hand to me [today] and reveal to me today

17. παρχηπλάσμα : “the First-Formed One” A reference to the Devil, understood to have been the first and foremost of all created beings, inspired by the description of the Behemoth as the first created being (ἀρχὴ πλάσματος) in Job 40.19; see van der Vliet 1995: 402, 406, 410.

eighth page (page 17)

- ΝΤ[ΕΚΤΗΝ]ΔΜΙΣ ΜΝ ΠΕΚΕΟΟΥ · ΕΙ-
 ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΓΑΦΡΙΗΛ
 ΝΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΒΕΡ · ΒΛΑΡΑΡΟ ΠΩΟ-
 ΜΝΤ ΜΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ · ΕΤΞΝ ΤΗΝ-
 5 ΤΕ ΜΠΙΓΤΟΟΥ ΝΣΤΗΛΛΟΣ ΕΤ-
 ΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ
 ΘΑΛΑΜΩΡΑ · ΘΗΣΟΖΑ ΘΑΙΣΑΡΑ
 †ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΟΚ ΓΑΦΡΙΗΛ · ΜΠΕΙ-
 ΓΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΑΖΕ-
 10 ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΠΙΓΤΟΟΥ ΝΣΤΗΛ-
 ΛΟΣ · ΕΡΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΤΑΧΡΗΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΕ-
 ΣΝΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΝ · ΠΕΤΟΥΔΑΦ ΕΤ-
 ΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΤΠΕ · ΘΗΡΙΗΛ ·
 ΘΡΟΗΛ · ΒΑΗΛ · †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ Μ-
 15 ΜΩΤΝ ΠΕΓΤΟΟΥ ΝΟΣ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
 ΝΤΕΤΑΠΕ ΜΠΩΘ · ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΤΕ-
 ΤΗΝΕΤΕΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΓΑΦΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓ-
 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΗΝΗ · ΝΒΙ ΩΔ-
 [Ρ]ΟΙ ΝΒΟΥΩΝΑΖ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΓ-
 20 [ΣΟ]Ν ΜΝ ΠΕΚΕΟΟΥ · ΑΠΟΛΟ/ ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ
 [ΠΟΥ]ΩΩ ΜΠΠΑΝΔΩΚΡΑΔΩΡ · ΣΑ-
 [ΒΑΩΘ] · ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΒΕΕΙ ΩΔΡ[ΟΙ ΜΠΟ]ΟΥ
 †ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΟΚ [ΓΑΦΡ]ΙΗΛ

1 *i.e.* δύναμις : [ΔΥΝ]ΔΜΙΣ Rossi || 3 *i.e.* κατά : “by Katasaber” (“par Katasaber”) Amélineau ||
 ΒΛΑΡΑΡΟ : “remove from me” (“éloigne de moi”) Amélineau || 3–4 *l.* Μ-ΠΙ-ΩΟΜΝΤ ||
 4 *i.e.* πρόσωπον || 5 *i.e.* στύλος || 9 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 9–10 *i.e.* ΣΕΤ-ΔΡΕ-ΡΑΤ=ΟΥ (dittography) ||
 10 π[ε]ΓΤΟΟΥ Rossi || 10–11 *i.e.* στύλος || 12 *i.e.* ΣΠ-ΕΤ-ΟΥΔΑΒ : “the saints” (“die Heiligen”) ?
 Kropp : “the holy one(s?)” Meyer 1994 || 14 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 15 ΠΕΓΤΟΟΥ Rossi : ΠΙΓΤΟΟΥ Kropp ||
i.e. ΣΠ-ΝΟΣ | *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 16 *i.e.* ΣΠ-ΕΙΩΤ || 16–17 *i.e.* ΣΕ=ΤΕΤΝ-Ε-ΤΠΝΟΥ : ΕΤΕΤΠΗΝΕΤΤΕΝΟΟΥ Kropp ||
 17–18 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 18 *i.e.* δικαιοσύνη | *i.e.* ΣΠ=ΕΙ || 19 *i.e.* ΣΠ=ΕΙ-ΟΥΩΝΗ || 20 *i.e.* ἀπο(λογία) |
i.e. γάρ || 21 *i.e.* παντοκράτωρ || 22 *i.e.* ΣΕ=ΕΙ

your *power and your glory!

I adjure you today, *Gabriel, by Saber, Blararo, the three countenances that are in the |⁵ midst of the four pillars that bear the heaven and the earth, Thalamōra, Thēsoha, Thaisara! I adjure you Gabriel, by these four *angels who |¹⁰ stand upon the four pillars, whose feet are firmly planted upon the foundations of the *abyss, the holy one who bears heaven, Thēriēl, Throēl, Baēl!

I invoke |¹⁵ you, O four great angels by the head of the Father, that you send to me Gabriel, the angel of righteousness, so that he comes to me and he reveals to me his |²⁰ power and his glory—request— for this <is> [the] wish of Almighty *Sabaoth, that he come to [me] today [...]

I adjure you Gabriel,

ninth page (page 19)

- ̄ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲛⲉ ̄ⲛⲃ]̄ⲁⲑ[ⲟ]̄ϣ̄ⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ ⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ
 ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ[ⲉⲓ ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲕⲟϣⲱⲛⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲧⲁϫⲏ
 †ⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲛⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ · ⲙⲡⲉϣⲧⲟⲟϣ
 ̄ⲛⲕⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲓⲛⲧⲁϣⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉϣⲙⲁ
 5 ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲓ · ̄ϣ̄ⲛ
 ⲛⲉⲓⲗⲟⲟϣ ⲛ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲟϣⲛⲟϣ · ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲟⲛⲑⲓⲁ
 ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ̄ϣ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲟⲟϣ ̄ϣ̄ⲛ ⲟϣ-
 ⲧⲁϫⲏ †ⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲛⲙⲟⲕ ⲓⲱⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ ⲕⲁ-
 ⲧⲁ †ⲥⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲟϣⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲧⲛ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ
 10 ⲉϣⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲧⲟϣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲉϣⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ
 ⲗⲁⲁϣ · ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲙⲁⲣⲁⲙⲓ
 ⲛⲛⲟⲥ · ⲛⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲁ · ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲱⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ · ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲁⲱⲕⲣⲁⲗⲱⲣ · ⲉⲕⲉ-
 ⲟϣⲱⲛⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲟϣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϣ-
 15 ⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲏⲛⲏ
 ⲙⲡⲟⲟϣ ⲛ̄ϣⲗⲱⲱⲣ ⲉⲱⲟⲗ ⲗⲁⲑⲏ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁ
 ⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ · ⲛⲧⲁϣⲧⲁ-
 ⲙⲓⲟⲟϣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϣ ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲛⲟϣⲗⲟⲟϣ ⲛ̄-
 [ⲟ]ϣⲱⲧ · ⲛⲗⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲟϣⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲁⲱⲕ-
 20 [ⲣ]ⲁⲗⲱⲣ ⲟϣⲱⲛⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲱⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲧⲏ-
 ⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲟϣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ ⲛⲁ-
 ⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲏⲛⲏ · ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲓ
 [ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ] ̄ϣ̄ⲛ ⲟϣⲥⲉⲛⲏ ⲗⲁ[̄ⲙⲏⲛ] ⲓ̄ ·

1 ̄ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲛⲉ ̄ⲛⲃ]̄ⲁⲑ[ⲟ]̄ϣ̄ⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ ⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ Kopp *cf.* p. 20 ll. 6–7, p. 35 l. 16 : [̄ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲙ] . . . ̄ⲁ . ̄ϣ̄ⲣ̄ⲓⲛⲗ ⲛ
 . . . Rossi || 2 *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲁⲉⲕⲉⲉⲓ} | *i.e.* ^{ⲧⲁϣύ} || 4 *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲧⲉⲣέωμα} || 5 *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲁⲉⲕⲉⲉⲓ} || 6 *i.e.* ^{βοηθεῖν} ||
 8 *i.e.* ^{ⲧⲁϣύ} || 8–9 *i.e.* ^{κατά} || 10 *l.* ^{̄ⲛⲗⲏⲧⲥ̄} ? || 12 *i.e.* ^{πν(εὺμ)α} || 13 *i.e.* ^{παντοκράτωρ} ||
 15 *i.e.* ^{ἄγγελος} | *i.e.* ^{δικαιοσύνη} || 16 ^{ⲗⲁⲑⲏ} corrected from ^{ⲗⲓⲑⲏ} by overwriting Kopp ||
i.e. ^{πν(εὺμ)α} || 17 *i.e.* ^{Σατανᾶς} || 19–20 *i.e.* ^{παντοκράτωρ} || 20–21 *i.e.* ^{δύναμις} ||
 21–22 *i.e.* ^{ἄγγελος} || 22 *i.e.* ^{δικαιοσύνη} : ^{Δικαιοσύνη} Kopp : ^{Δικαίος[γνῆ]} Rossi | *i.e.* ^{ⲥ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲓ} ||
 23 *i.e.* ^{ἀ[μῆν]}

by the head [of] Bathouriel, the great father, that you come to me and appear to me, quickly! I adjure you, *Gabriel, by the four corners of the fourteen firmaments, |⁵ that you come to me and you be with me, in this day and this hour, and you help me, in your power and your glory, quickly!

I adjure you Iōiriēl, by the cloud of light that is beside the Father, |¹⁰ in which he was hidden before he had created anything—that whose name is Marmarami, the great, the place of the spirit of *Adonai *Eloei Almighty—may you appear to me, and send me Gabriel, |¹⁵ the *angel of righteousness today, so that he will annihilate before me every spirit of Satan, all of which were created together in a single day!

O Lord God Almighty, |²⁰ reveal to me your power, send to me Gabriel, the angel of righteousness, so that he comes [to me] in haste, amen (three <times>),

18. 𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌺𐌴𐌹𐌸 : “together” For this translation cf. Crum CD 347a.

tenth page (page 21)

- ετβ[ε τσο]η ἡπεκραν ετογααβ
 ἰαω · σ[αβ]αωθ · ααωναί · ελοει
 ππαηαωκρααωρ · ἡποογ ειωω
 5 εζραι εροκ · ἰαω ααβαωθ · ααωναί
 ελοει πνοσ νογτε μαγααα ετσα-
 ρογν ἡπσαωρ ἡκατα-πετασμα
 πετρμοος ριχῆ πεφθρονος
 ηνεοογ ετογααβ · εκετενοογ
 ηαι ἡγαφρηλ παγγελος ἡτ-
 10 δικαιοσνη · ερετεφσνη
 βηω ἡτοοτγ · εςζῆ τεφσιχ
 νογναμ ἡβνογχ σαβολ ἡοῖ ἡπ-
 ἡα ηημ ἡακαθαρτον · νεγω α-
 αζερατογ ἡπαῆτο εβολ · αλ-
 15 λα ἡαρογπωτ ριθ ηπαρο τηρογ
 απολγ / · †παρακαλι ἡμοκ ἡπεκραν
 ετταινη · ααωναί ελοει · ελεμα
ααβακταῆ · πεωαααωωτ εχῆ
 ηνεμπηγε ἡσεστωτ · ωαρε-
 20 πκαρ ποοηεγ · ααβα · ααβαβ · ααβα-
ωθ ἰαω · ἰαωθ · να · φηρ παι πε
 πεκραν εθηπ · πνογτε ετρ-
 μοος ρῆ νετχοσε εσαεσ
αβ[ca. 7] ἡμογ ἡμογ ·

1 ετβ[ε τσο]η Kropp : ετβ Rossi || 3 i.e. παντοκράτωρ || 5 i.e. ὁπ-νοσ ἡ-νογτε (haplography) || 6 i.e. καταπέτασμα || 7 i.e. θρόνος || 8 i.e. ὁπ-εοογ (dittography) || 9 i.e. ἄγγελος || 10 i.e. δικαιοσύνη | i.e. ὁσνε || 12 i.e. ὁπ-ε-νογχε | i.e. ὁπ-μοα || 12–13 i.e. πν(εῦμα) || 13 i.e. ἀκάθαρτον || 13–14 i.e. ὁπ-ε-γ-ω-αζερατογ || 14–15 i.e. ἀλλά || 16 i.e. ἀπολο(γία) : l. απολ(λων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau cf. note to p. 9 l. 7 | i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 18 i.e. ὁπ-ετ-ωα-α-ωωτ || 19 i.e. ὁπ-η-πηγε || 20 ποοηεγ : “moves” Meyer 1988, 1994 || 23 νετχοσε : “the heights” (“in den Höhen”) Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 || 24 . [. π]ἡμογ Kropp

because of [the] power of your holy name, *Iao *Sabaoth *Adonai *Eloei Almighty!

Today I call upon you, Iao Sabaoth Adonai |⁵ Eloei, the great, only god, who is within the seven *veils, you who sit upon your glorious, holy *throne; may you send to me *Gabriel, the *angel of |¹⁰ righteousness with his sword unsheathed in his right hand, so that he casts away from me every unclean spirit! May they be unable to stand in my presence, |¹⁵ but rather let them all flee before my face—request!

I invoke you by your honoured names, Adonai Eloei *Elema Sabaktani, you who look upon the heavens and they tremble |²⁰ <and> the earth is overturned; Saba Sabab Sabaoth Iao Iaōth Naphēr: this is your hidden name, O God who sits over the exalted ones, Esaes Ab... mou, Pmou,

17–18. ΕΛΘΕΙ · ΕΛΕΜΑ ΣΑΒΑΚΤΑΝΙ : “Eloei Elema Sabaktani” *Cf.* words of Jesus on the cross found in Matthew 27.46 (ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι) and Mark 15.34 (ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι); *cf.* Kropp 1930: III p. 128 (§218).

eleventh page (page 23)

- ΟΝΟΕΡΟΣ · ΤΟΥΩΡΑ [Δ]ΚΑΘΟ[С]
 ϣΠΑΚΑΛΕ · ΧΕΒΟΥΘΑΝΙΕ Δ[Μ]ΔΜΗΛ
 ΤΑΜΑΧ · ΜΔΜΗΛ · ΜΔΡΙΗΚ ΤΩΔΚ
 ΕΤΩΔΚ · ΔΦΡΑΚ · ΙΟΔΚ · ΠΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ
 5 ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ
 ΜΜΟΚ ΝΤΑΠΕ ΝΒΔΘΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΠΝΟΣ
 ΝΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΤΕΦΣΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΤΑΙ
 ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΤΗΡС · ΖΩСΔΕ ΝΓСΩΤМ ΕΡΟΙ ΔΝΟΚ
 10 Δ Δ · ΝΓΤΕΝΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ ΝΑΙ
 ΝΔΘΩΝΔΘΔΘΩΝΔΘ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΦΡΑΝ
 ΓΔΦΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΙΤΙΚΑΙ-
 ΟСННН ΝΦΙ ΩΔΡΟΙ ΝΦΙΡΕ ΜΠΑΖΩΦ
 Ε†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΒΗΤΨ · ΑΠΟΛΟ/
 15 ΧΩΛΚ ΝΤΕΚΠΙΤΕ ΕΧМ ПΑΡΧΗ-
 ΠΛΑСМА ΜН ΝΕΦΤΗΝΔΜΙС ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΤΩΚМ ΝΤΕΚСНВН ΕΧМ ПΑΡΧΗ-
 ΠΛΑСМА ΜН ΝΕΦСОН ТΗΡΟΥ ·
 ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΝСΕ
 20 ΝТВА МΔΖΕ · ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ
 ΜΠΠΟΥΝ ΝСΕ ΝТВА МΔΖΕ
 ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΙΕВТ ΝСΕ
 ΝТВА МΔΖΕ ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ
 ΜΠЕМЗ[Ι]Т ΝСЕ ΝТВА [МΔΖΕ] ·

1 cf. ἀγαθός (?) || 2 ϣΠΑΚΑΛΕ : “Efpakale” Meyer 1994 | ΧΕΒΟΥΘΑΝΙΕ Rossi : ΧΕΒΟΥΘΑΝΙС Kropp, Meyer | Δ[Μ]ΔΜΗΛ Kropp : . . ΔМНЛ Rossi || 5 i.e. χερουβίμ | i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 9 i.e. ὥστε || 10 i.e. δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 11 “Athonas Athonas” Kropp : “Athonath Athonath” Meyer 1988, 1994 | i.e. ὅτε πε=φ-ραν πε || 12 i.e. ἄγγελος || 12–13 i.e. δικαιοσύνη || 14 i.e. ὅτε-†-παρακαλεῖ i.e. παρακαλεῖν | i.e. ἀπολογία || 15–16 i.e. ἀρχίπλασμα cf. note || 16 i.e. δύναμις || 17 i.e. ὁснφ || 17–18 i.e. ἀρχίπλασμα cf. note || 19, 20, 22, 23 i.e. καθαρίζειν || 19 i.e. τόπος

Onoeros, Touōra, Akathos, Fpakale, Khebouthanie, Amamiēl, Tamakh, Mamiēl, Mariēk, Tōak, Etōak, Afrak, Ioak, the one who sits [|]⁵ upon the *cherubim!

I invoke you by the head of Bathouriēl, the great father, and his right hand, that which possesses all your divinity, that you listen to me, me, [|]¹⁰ NN, and that you send forth from heaven to me Athōnathathōnath, whose name <is> *Gabriel, the *angel of righteousness, so that he comes to me and does my work concerning that which I am invoking you—request!

[|]¹⁵ Draw your bow against the First-Formed One and all his powers! Draw your sword against the First-Formed One and all his powers! Purify for me this place for six [|]²⁰ hundred thousand cubits! Purify for me the *abyss for six hundred thousand cubits! Purify for me the east for six hundred thousand cubits! Purify for me the north for six hundred thousand cubits!

15–16, 17–18. παρχηπλασμα : “the First-Formed One” *cf.* the note to p. 15 l. 17.

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- καθαριζε και μπρ[η]ς $\overline{\text{N}}[\text{ce } \overline{\text{NT}}]\text{ba ma-}$
 ξε · καθαριζε και $\overline{\text{M}}\text{pem}[\text{h}]\text{T } \overline{\text{N}}\text{ce}$
 $\overline{\text{NT}}\text{ba mmaze} \cdot \text{καθαριζε και } \overline{\text{M}}\text{pa-}$
 ηρ $\overline{\text{N}}\text{ce } \overline{\text{NT}}\text{ba mmaze xe neyei e-}$
 5 ροι · $\overline{\text{A}}\text{πολ} \overline{\text{O}} / \overline{\text{A}}\text{IO } \overline{\text{A}}\text{IO xe } \overline{\text{T}}\text{παρακα-}$
 λι $\overline{\text{M}}\text{moK } \overline{\Gamma}\text{A}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{IN}}\overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{N}}\text{TaPe } \overline{\text{N}}\text{ba-}$
 $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{IN}}\overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$
 και $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{TAT}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{S}} \cdot \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}}$
 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Theta}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}} \cdot \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{IM}} \cdot \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{C}}$
 10 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$
 $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\Theta}}$
 $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}$
 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{-}}$
 $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}$
 15 $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{-}}$
 $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\Delta} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{-}}$
 $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}$
 $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}} \cdot \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}} \cdot \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}[\overline{\text{K}}]$
 20 $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{IN}}\overline{\text{L}} \cdot \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}$
 $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{-}}$
 $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{L}}$
 $\overline{\Delta}[\overline{\Theta}]\overline{\text{O}}[\overline{\text{N}}]\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{C}} \cdot \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{K}} \cdot \overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{C}} \cdot \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{B}} \cdot \overline{\text{K}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{C}} \cdot \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}} \cdot \dots \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{-}}$

1 i.e. καθαρίζειν || 1–2 i.e. $\overline{\text{N}}\text{-maze}$ || 2, 3 i.e. καθαρίζειν || 3–4 i.e. ἀήρ || 5 i.e. ἀπολο(γία) : l. ἀπολ(λων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau cf. note to p. 91. 7 || 5–6 i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 4 i.e. $\overline{\text{N}}\text{ne=γ-ει}$ || 8 i.e. προστάτης | i.e. οἰκονόμος || 9 i.e. βοηθός || 10 i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 11 i.e. πρόσωπον || 12 i.e. παντοκράτωρ || 14 i.e. σφραγίς || 15 i.e. φυλακτήριον || 16 πχογταqτε Rossi : πιχογταqτε Kopp || 17 i.e. φυλακτήριον || 18 i.e. ὥς || 19 i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 21–22 i.e. $\overline{\text{N}}\text{-netaze epatoy}$

Purify for me the south for six hundred thousand cubits! Purify for me the west for six hundred thousand cubits! Purify for me the air for six hundred thousand cubits, so that they will not come to |⁵ me—request—yea, yea, for I entreat you *Gabriel, by the head of Bathouriēl, the great father, that you become for me a benefactor, a steward, a helper in every matter! I entreat you, |¹⁰ I invoke you—I am the countenance of *Iao *Sabaoth *Adonai Almighty—that you listen to me and come to me today because of the seal of the Father |¹⁵ which is on this phylactery in my right hand, the twenty-four letters which are on the phylactery of the Father, so that you listen to me, quickly!

I invoke you, |²⁰ Gabriel, by the great name of the Father and his holy glory and those who stand before him, Athōnas, Siak, Ksas, Sabak, Kaab, Kaēsas, Ekōe ... I

thirteenth page (page 27)

- πακαλι нмок γαϥρινλ [нт]απε
 μηιχαηλ · ραφαηλ · ανηηλ σαρινλ
 γαϥρινλ · αϥρινλ · φαρινλ · σασαηλ
 νεχιηλ · αδοηηλ · θρινλ · αθηνλ
 5 ακουγτανλ ναι εταξερατου μπκω-
 τε μπωτ νατναγ εροϥ μν τεϥ-
 καθετρα · κεεεε ωαροι νκροис
 εροι νεροοϥ τηροϥ μπαωναξ
 απολο/ · †παρακαλι νκαϥρινλ
 10 μπεϥσαωϥ ναρхнаггелос
 τοφοϥ · μν ραφαηλ · μν βαρινλ
 αρθαμηνλ · αρωφτηβηνλ · λαναχ
 εφνιξ ναι εταξεερατ μπμ-
 το εβολ μπιωτ εϥσωτμ ενет-
 15 нηϥ εβολ ξν ρωϥ · ται τε ταξε
 ζω ζωτμ ενетνηϥ εβολ ξν
 ρωι · χαμην ζ αιο αιο κε †-
 παρακαλι нмок γαϥρινλ
 πακαθος μπεοοϥ μπποσ
 20 νθορο[нос] μππωθ κε οϥωα[ρ]
 νκω[ρ]т ενεϥτροχοϥ

1 *i.e.* παρακαλῆν | [нт]απε Kropp or *l.* [нн]απε ? CMPT : [нт]ап[ε] Rossi || 2 ανηηλ *l.* ανηηλ ? Kropp : ανη[η]λ Rossi || 7 *i.e.* καθέδρα | *i.e.* ^sεκ-ε-εϊ | *i.e.* ^sροεис || 8 *i.e.* ^sν-η-ροοϥ || 9 *i.e.* απολο(γία) | *i.e.* παρακαλῆν || 10 *i.e.* αρχάγγελος || 16 *i.e.* ^sσωτμ || 17 *i.e.* αμην || 18 *i.e.* παρακαλῆν || 19 *i.e.* αγαθος || 20 *i.e.* θρό[νος] | *i.e.* ^sεωτ | οϥωα[ρ] Kropp : οϥωα Rossi || 21 *l.* ν-κωρτ πε εϥ-τ[?] : νκω νεϥт Rossi : νκω[ρ]т †νε νεϥт[ροχος] Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994

invoke you, *Gabriel, [by the] head of *Michael, *Raphael, Anlēl, Sariēl, Gabriel, Auriēl, Phariēl, Sasaēl, Nekhiēl, Adoniēl, Thriēl, Athiēl, |⁵ Akoutaēl, they who stand around the invisible Father and his seat, that you come to me and protect me for all the days of my life—request!

I invoke you Gabriel, |¹⁰ by his seven *archangels, Tophou and Raphael and Bariēl, Arthamiēl, Arōphtēbēl, Lanax, Ephnix, they who stand before the Father, listening to the <words> that |¹⁵ come out of his mouth; this is my manner, too—listen to the <words> that come out from my mouth!

Amen (seven <times>), yea, yea, for I invoke you, Gabriel, the good one, by the glory of the great |²⁰ *throne of the Father—<it is> a flaming fire whose wheels

p. 27 l. 20–p. 29 l. 3. The Throne of God and the River of Fire: A reference to the vision of God as the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7.9–10: “his throne was a flaming fire, its wheels were flaming fires which burned, there was a river of fire which flowed from his presence” (πεφθρονος νεογυαζ ἡκωζτ πε · ερενεφτροχος ὁ ἡκωζτ ετιμογλ λγω νερεογείερο ἡκωζτ ετσακ ἡπεφῆτο ἔβολ; Ciasca 1889: 317). In Coptic apocryphal texts the river of fire surrounding the judgement throne of God had to be crossed by the human dead before they were judged, and would burn sinners but not the just; see Zandee 1960: 307–309.

fourteenth page (page 29)

- 29ϣⲁⲗ ϣⲕⲱⲅⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲉϣⲙⲟϥⲗ ϣⲛ̄-
 ⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲱⲅⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲗⲛ ϣⲉⲕⲉⲉⲓ
 ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲧⲁϣⲛ ⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲗⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ ϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁ-
 5 ϣⲁⲕⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛ-
 ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ · ⲟϥⲗⲟ ⲙⲟϥ̄ⲓ
 ⲟϥⲗⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲉ · ⲟϥⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ · ⲟϥⲗⲟ ⲛ̄-
 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ · ϣⲉ ⲕⲉⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟϥ · ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ/
 ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟϥ ⲁⲗⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ
 10 ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲡⲛⲗⲁⲕⲧⲛⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ
 ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲗⲛ̄ⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ
 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲥⲧⲱⲧ ϣⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲗⲛ · ϣⲉ-
 ⲕⲉⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ/ · ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲗⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲁ-
 15 ⲡⲓⲛ · ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲟⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲗ ϣⲓ ⲡⲟϥⲁ ⲡⲟϥⲁ
 ⲙⲙⲟϥ · ⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲉϥⲗⲱⲃⲥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲗⲟ
 ⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲉϥⲗⲱⲃⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ · ⲉϥⲗⲛⲗ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲟϥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲟϥⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟϥ
 ⲉϥⲱⲱⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϣⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲉ
 20 ϣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲕϥ̄[ⲣⲓⲟⲥ]
 ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱ[ⲑ] [ⲡ]ⲗⲛⲣⲟⲥ ⲟϥⲣⲁⲛⲟⲥ [ⲕⲁⲓ ⲛ]
 ⲕⲛ [ⲧⲛⲥ ϣⲁⲓ]ⲁⲥ ⲉϥ ⲧⲁ[ϣⲛⲥ]
 . . . ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ]

1 *i.e.* ^{ⲗⲉⲛ}ⲱⲁⲗ | ⲛⲕⲱⲅⲧ Kropp : ⲛⲕ . . . ⲧ Rossi | ⲉϣⲙⲟϥⲗ ϣⲛ̄ Kropp : ⲉϣⲙⲟϥ . . . ϣⲛ̄ Rossi |
i.e. ^{ⲗⲉⲛ} - || 2 *i.e.* ⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲟⲥ || 3 ⲉϥⲥⲱⲕ Kropp : ⲉϥ[ⲥ]ⲱⲕ Rossi | *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲉ}ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲉⲓ || 3–5 ⲕⲉⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲗⲁ
 . . . ⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲗⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ [ⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲓ Rossi : ⲕⲉⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲧⲁϣⲛ ⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲗⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ ϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲓ Kropp ||
 4 *i.e.* ⲧⲁϣ̄ : ⲁⲗⲁ Rossi || 4–5 *i.e.* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓⲛ || 6 ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ : “that draw it” Meyer 1988,
 1994 | *i.e.* ^{ⲡⲓ}ⲙⲟϥ̄ⲓ (haplography) || 7 *i.e.* ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ || 8 *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲉ}ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲉⲓ | *i.e.* ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ(γία) : *l.* ⲁⲡⲟⲗ(ⲗⲱⲛ)
 Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note to p. 9 l. 7 || 9 *i.e.* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓⲛ || 10 *l.* ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ-ⲡⲛⲗⲁⲕⲧⲛⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ
i.e. ⲡⲛⲗⲁⲕⲧⲛⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ || 11 ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ Kropp : ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲧ Rossi : “wheel (?)” (“roue (?)”) Amélineau | *i.e.* ^{ⲗⲉⲛ} - ||
 12 ⲥⲧⲱⲧ Kropp : . . . ⲙⲧ Rossi || 13 *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲉ}ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲉⲓ | *i.e.* ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ(γία) | *i.e.* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓⲛ ||
 14–15 *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲣⲁⲡⲓⲙ || 17 *i.e.* ^{ⲡⲓ}ⲛⲉⲗⲱⲃⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ || 19 *i.e.* ^{ⲥⲉ}ⲗⲱⲃⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ || 20–22 *i.e.* ⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲥ
 ⲕϥ̄ⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱ[ⲑ] [ⲡ]ⲗⲛⲣⲟⲥ ⲟϥⲣⲁⲛⲟⲥ [ⲕⲁⲓ ⲛ] ⲕⲛ [ⲧⲛⲥ ϣⲁⲓ]ⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲧⲁ[ⲃ] Kropp : *l.* . . . [ⲗⲁⲓ]ⲁⲥ ⲁⲟⲗⲛⲥ ⲥⲟϥ ? Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 : ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱ[ⲑ]
 . . . ⲗⲛⲣⲟⲥ] ⲟϥⲣⲁⲛⲟⲥ . . . ⲕⲛ *ca.* 7 ⲉϥⲧⲁ *ca.* 5 Rossi || 23 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] CMPT : *ca.* 10 ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲗ
ca. 5] Kropp : *ca.* 13 Rossi

are flaming fires which burn, it is rivers of fire which surround it, flowing beneath it—that you come to me, quickly, yea, *Gabriel, for I |⁵ invoke you by the *Four Creatures which fly beneath him—one lion-faced, one calf-faced, one eagle-faced, one human-faced—that you come to me today—request—!

I invoke you today, Gabriel, |¹⁰ <by> these *phylacteries that are under the feet of the Father, those before which thousands of thousands of the heaven and <of> the earth tremble, that you come to me—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the two great |¹⁵ *seraphim, each one of them having six wings, two covering their face, two covering their feet, flying with two, one after the other, crying out, saying: |^{20, Greek} “*Holy, holy, holy, Lord *Sabaoth, the heaven and the earth are full [of] your [holy glory, truly] |^{Coptic} the heaven and the earth [are full]

1 χε κ[ε]ει Kropp *i.e.* ^Sχε ε-κ-ε-εϊ (haplography) : χεε[κε]ει Rossi || 2 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) : *l.* απολ(ων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note p. 9 l. 7 | *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 3 *i.e.* σῶμα || 6 *i.e.* χριστός | *i.e.* ^Sχε ε-κ-ε-εϊ (haplography) | *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) : *l.* απολ(ων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note to p. 9 l. 7 || 7 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 8 *i.e.* δύναμις || 9 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 10 *l.* π-ο-γαν π-π-ιατ (haplography) | *i.e.* σφραγίς || 12 *i.e.* φυλακτήριον || 12–13 *i.e.* ^Sμεσεντ, *cf.* μεστηρητ || 13 *i.e.* ^Sχε ε-κ-ε-εϊ (haplography) || 14 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) : *l.* απολ(ων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note to p. 9 l. 7 || 16 *i.e.* φωνή || 17 εβ[ολ] Kropp : [εβολ] Rossi || 18 *l.* μῆ (dittography) | τεμνητ- Kropp : τεμν. . Rossi || 18–19 τεμνηττακαδσος : “the goodness” Meyer || 19 *i.e.* ^Sδασος *i.e.* ἀγαθός || 20 *i.e.* ^Sχε ε-κ-ε-εϊ (haplography) | ἡποσγ Kropp : ἡπο[ογ] Rossi || 19 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) || 21 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 22 *i.e.* [ς]τῦλς | ἡπο[ο]ς ἡ[ς]τῖλλος ἡο[ς]οειν : ἡπ . . . τῖλλος ἡογ . . . Rossi || 23 *l.* ετ[ι] ρα τκτῖς τηρ *i.e.* κτίσις CMPT : Rossi dots entire line

of your holy glory!”, that you come to me—request!

I invoke you, *Gabriel, in the name of Orpha, the whole body of the Father, and Orphamiēl, the great finger which is on ^{|5} the right hand of the Father and the head of Christ, that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the power of Manouēl *Sabaoth! I invoke you, Gabriel, by the right hand ^{|10} <of> the Father and the seal which is on the bosom of the Father and these *phylacteries which are written on the chest of the Father, that you come to me today, quickly—request!

I ^{|15} invoke you, Gabriel, by the first sound which came forth from the mouth of the Father, and the breath which came forth from his nostrils, and his goodness and the glory which surrounds ^{|20} him, that you come today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel by the great pillar of light, that [supports all] creation?

3–6. The body of God: Descriptions of the body of God the Father are recurrent in the ‘magical liturgies’; compare *PCM I* 25 p. 14 ll. 11–24, *PCM I* 26 p. 7 l. 12–p. 8 l. 17. These descriptions are reminiscent of the Jewish *Shi'ur Qomah* (“Measure of the Body”) literature, which seems to have existed by the sixth century CE. In these texts the body of God is described in detail in terms of its enormous size, the names of the different body parts, and the ministering angels assigned to each of them. A systematic comparison between the *Shi'ur Qomah* and the descriptions in Coptic magical texts remains a desideratum. On the body of God in Coptic literature, cf. Fauth 2014: 72; Dosoo 2021d: 418, Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 7, and on the *Shi'ur Qomah*, see Fossum 1983; Cohen 1983 & 1985; Bohak 2008: 328–329; Gruenwald 2014: 245–248.

4–5. ὀρφामीηλ πινος ντιηβε ετην τοιχ νογναμ : “Orphamiēl, the great finger which is on the right hand” Orphamiel, the “finger of the Father”, is mentioned several times in the Coptic magical corpus; the reference is likely to the “finger of God” (δάκτυλος Θεοῦ) by which Jesus claims to cast out demons in Luke 11.20, drawing upon the language of Exodus 8.15 (8.19). For other mentions of Orphamiel, see *PCM I* 25 p. 14 ll. 11–13, p. 15 ll. 18–19; *PCM I* 26 p. 8 ll. 11–12; ‘Nahman’ Amulet (Drescher 1950; KYP M 529) ll. 14–15; BL Ms Or 6796 (Kropp 1931: I no. J; KYP M308) ll. 41–42; Fribourg AeT 2006.5 (Müller 2009; KYP M398) front col. 2 ll. 18–21; Moen Inv. no 34/607 (Clarysse 1986; KYP M4), and cf. Dosoo 2021d: 418.

11–13. νειφλακτηριον ετσε ετηνητρητ ἡπωτ : “phylacteries which are written on the chest of the Father” This likely refers to a breastplate worn by God the Father, upon which a vowel sequence is written. The breastplate is comparable to that of the Jewish high priest Aaron described from Exodus 28:15–21. This is made most explicit in BL Ms. Or. 6794 (Kropp 1931: I no. E; KYP M 306), in which seven rows of seven letters decorate the chest of God; in the Exodus, the breastplate is described as having four rows of stones. See Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 7.

13. ἡμανουήλ : “of Manouēl” Likely a name for Jesus, specifically a variant writing of Emmanuel; cf. *PCM I* 11 p. 16 ll. 2–4 and accompanying note.

23–24. ἡπο[ς νε]τῆλλος νογ[οειν] παι ηςις ... : “by the great pillar of light, that [supports all] creation?” We are grateful to Frederic Krueger for suggesting this reading. For the concept of pillars (usually four) supporting parts of the cosmos, cf. p. 17 ll. 5–6 & p. 43 ll. 1–3 of this manuscript, and *PCM I* 25 p. 14 ll. 25–26; *PCM I* 26 p. 6 ll. 17–18. As these examples show, we would expect τωογν εα rather than ηι εα, but there does not seem to be space for the former. The concept of a singular pillar of light is reminiscent of the pillars of cloud and fire which guided the Israelites by day and night respectively (Exodus 13.21–22), described in Christian sources as a pillar of light (στόλος φωτός/ετγλλος νογοειν) by at least the second century (e.g. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 131.3; *History of the Captivity in Babylon* (Kuhn 1970: 108; CAVT 227 (=CC 576?)); cf. Krueger forthcoming for ‘pillar of light’ as an epithet for monastic leaders.

and the golden capital on which the name of the Father is written, that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, *Gabriel, by the light of the Father, in which shine the [|]⁵ *cherubim and the *seraphim and all the heavens and the entire world, that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the garment which is white as snow [|]¹⁰ with which the Father is clothed, and the hair of his head, which is like pure white wool and the garment[?] of the crown <of> pearls which is upon the head of the Father, [|]¹⁵ that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the rainwater which flows from from the head of the Father and the great eagle whose wings are spread [|]²⁰ out over the head of the Father, that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the [...] of light [...]

1. **τκηφαλis** : “capital” The Greek word κεφαλis may refer to either the capital of a column, or a chapter or scroll of a book. Here we opt for the former meaning, since a column has been mentioned shortly before; cf. Exodus 26.32, which describes the pillars of the *tabernacle as having gold capitals.

8–12. **ἡ τκεστολη εσογοῦῃ ἡε νογχιων ερεπιωτ χοολε ἡμος · ἡἡ πβο ἡτεφαπε εβο ἡε νογορτ νογωφῳ ἡκαθαρον** : “by the garment which is white as snow, with which the Father is clothed, and the hair of his head, which is like pure white wool” Cf. Daniel 7.9: “the ancient of days was sitting; his garment was white like snow, and his hair was like pure wool” (ἡερεπαπας εἰν ἡεγοοῦ γμοος ἡε τεφρῆσῳ Δε ἡεσογῳβῳ ἡε νογχιων λγω ἡερεπῳ ἡτεφαπε ο ἡε νογορτ εφτῆβνη; Ciasca 1889: 317); Revelation 1.14: “his head was white and his hair was like white wool and like snow, and his eyes were like a burning flame” (ερετεφαπε ογῳβῳ ἡἡ ἡεφῳ ἡε νογορτ νογοβῳ λγω ἡε νογχιων ερενεφβαλ ο ἡε νογῳλῳ ἡκωλῳ; Budge 1912: 273).

that you do everything which [comes] forth from my mouth—request!

I invoke you, *Gabriel, by the great honoured virgin, in whom the Father was hidden from the beginning, |⁵ before he had created anything, that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the three days which the Father spent standing before he set all creation in motion—request!

|¹⁰ I invoke you, Gabriel, by the bath which the Father took when he was about to mould Adam, and the flower which sprouted in his left hand and the *cup which is in |¹⁵ his right hand, from which he had his *angels drink, and <the> entire world, that you come to me today—request!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the spittle |²⁰ which came from the mouth of the Father and became a spring of water of life, that you come to me today! I [invoke] you, Gabriel, ... his first

14–16. **παποτ ετ̣ε̣ν̣ τε̣φ̣σι̣λ̣ νο̣γ̣να̣μ̣ · ἡ̣τα̣φ̣τ̣σο̣ ἡ̣νε̣φ̣α̣γγ̣ε̣λο̣ς̣ ἡ̣ρη̣τ̣ϩ̣ :** “the cup which is in his right hand, from which he had his angels drink” For the concept of a eucharistic ritual carried out by the angels in heaven, cf. *PCM I* 25 p. 7 ll. 23–24 and the accompanying note.

tear which came forth from the [eyes] of the Father over his son upon the cross, that you come to me today—request—!

I invoke you, *Gabriel, because of these |⁵ holy names of the Father: Mari, Nab, Marmarou, Babam, Phiōou, Bathouriēl, *Iao *Sabaoth, *Adonai, Almighty, Manouēl, Sabaoth, Abathou, Iakhaoi, Ikhaof, |¹⁰ Sabbathō, these in which Daniel was hidden, that you come to me at this place in which I am, concerning everything about which I have invoked you! You shall strengthen me in all of them |¹⁵ all the days of my life, amen (12 <times>)! Let my body be purified of every unclean spirit, whether a male demonic spirit |²⁰ or female demonic spirit or angelic spirit of ... or spirit of the First-Formed One! Do not allow them to be able to stand [in] my presence

8. מַנּוּעֵל : “**Manouēl**” Likely a name for Jesus derived from Emmanuel; *cf.* PCM I 11 p. 16 ll. 2–4 and accompanying note.

18–20. עִיֵּט פִּנָּא נְטֶמּוֹנִיּוֹן נְרֻוּיֵּט • עִיֵּט פִּנָּא נְטֶמּוֹנִיּוֹן נְרֻיֵּט : “**whether a male demonic spirit or female demonic spirit**” As noted by Frankfurter (in Meyer/Smith 1994: 108), such lists of possible demonic attackers, listing both male and female variants, find echoes in older Pharaonic Egyptian amuletic texts. See, for examples, Pap.Athen.Nat.-Bibl. 1826 ro col. x + 5 l. 12: “Book for driving off... male and female revenants” (*md3.t n.t dr... mwt mwt.t*; XIX–XX Dynasty; Fischer-Elfert 2005: no. 15); P.BM EA 10688 vo. col. 4.1–2: “every male revenant, every female revenant, every male enemy, every female enemy, every male opponent, every female opponent, every male *akh*-spirit, every female *akh*-spirit” (*mwt nb mwt.t nb.t hft.y nb hft.t nb.t d3y nb d3y.t nb.t 3h nb 3h.t nb.t*; XIX–XX Dynasty; Fischer-Elfert 2005: no. 18). Similar listing of potential male and female witches is also a principle in Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft rituals; see, for example, the *Maqlû* (“burning”) series (*cf.* note to PCM I 11 p. 4 ll. 3–20) edited in Abusch 2015: tablet I 78–86 (288–289), tablet II 42–50 (294–295), tablet IV 86 (324).

22–23. פֶּאֶרְחִיפּוֹלָסְמָא : “**the First-Formed One**” *Cf.* the note to p. 15 l. 17.

nineteenth page (page 39)

- αλλα μαρεγπωτ ρα[θη μοι] τηρου
 ραμην ιβ εκεκαθαρ[ιζε μ]πει-
 τοπος επνα nim ακαθαρτον
 ροεις εροι ενεθοου τηρου νεροου
 5 τηρου μπωμναρ καθαριζε
 και μπεφτοου σα ετκωτε
 εροι νεε ντβα μμαρε εκωτε
 καθαριζε και μπινουν νεε ν-
 τβα μμαρε ρι τπε μοι ν-
 10 σε ντβα μμαρε δε νεγει ε-
 πεснт εροι απολο/ τπαρακα-
 λι μμοκ γαφρινλ · μπсаϣη n-
 νβαλ μπωτ · σερνεγω
 παβαωθου · αφριτων · αμιτων
 15 θεωθαναγτηρι · ρα ρα ρα ρα ρα ρα ρα
 βαθογρινλ πνοσ πιωτ βαθογρινλ
 саваωθ · βωβωνλ · αθαωρ μαγε
 πνουτε νενουτε εκετενοου και
 нγαφρινλ · παγγελος ντ.δικαι-
 20 очннн · χεβεειρε νρωq nim
 ετπαρακαλι μμοκ ετβητοу
 ραμην α ζ ε ζ η ζ ι ζ ο ζ γ ζ ω ζ
 μ ζ x ζ [π ζ] τπαρακαλι μμοκ
 γαφρι[ηλ μ]πνοσ νραν να . . .
 25 ετζ

1 *i.e.* ἀλλά | μαρεγπωτ ρα[θη μοι] Kropp : μαρ[ογ]πωτ ρ[ι]θη μοι παρσο Rossi || 2 *i.e.* ἀμὴν |
i.e. καθαρ[ί]ζειν || 3 *i.e.* τόπος | *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α | *i.e.* ἀκάθαρτον || 5 *i.e.* καθαρίζειν || 5–7 καθαριζε
 και μπεφτοου/ σα ετκωτε εροι : “purify for me this place that surrounds me” (“purificchi per me
 questo luogo che mi circonda”) Rossi || 6 μπεφτοу/оса ετκωτε Kropp : μπεφτοπος αετκωτε
 Rossi || 8 *i.e.* καθαρίζειν || 9 ριτπε μοι : “heaven above me” Meyer 1988, 1994 || 10 *i.e.* ἑπνε-γ-ει
 (haplography) || 10–11 χε νεγει επεснт εροι “beneath me” (“sotto di me”) Rossi || 11 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) ||
 11–12 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 12–13 *l.* ν-βαλ (dittography over the line) || 15 *l.* ἀ(μὴν) (seven times)
 Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 || 18 *i.e.* ἑπ-νουτε ν-ν-νουτε || 19 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 19–20 *i.e.* δικαιοσύνη ||
 20 *i.e.* ἑε-φ-ε-ειρε (haplography) || 21 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 22 *i.e.* ἀμὴν || 23 [πζ] Kropp : . . . Rossi |
i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 24 γαφρι[ηλ μ]πνοσ νραν να . . . Kropp : γα[φρινλ] . . . πνοσ νραννα . . . Rossi ||
 25 *ca.* 13 ετζ *ca.* 10 Kropp : *ca.* 14 Rossi

but rather let them all flee before [me,] amen (12 <times>)! May you purify this place of every unclean spirit! Protect me from all evil, all of the days |⁵ of my life!

Purify for me the four sides around me, for six hundred thousand cubits around! Purify for me the *abyss for six hundred thousand cubits, above me for |¹⁰ six hundred thousand cubits, so that they will not come down upon me—request!

I invoke you, *Gabriel, by the seven eyes of the Father, Serneuō, Pabaōthou, Afritōn, Amitōn, |¹⁵ Theōthanautēri, Ha Ha Ha Ha Ha Ha Ha! Bathouriel, the great Father, Bathouriel *Sabaoth Bōbōēl Athaōr Maue, God of gods, may you send to me Gabriel, the *angel of righteousness, |²⁰ so that he does every work concerning which I invoke him, amen! A (7 <times>) E (7 <times>) Ē (7 <times>) I (7 <times>) O (7 <times>) U (7 <times>) Ō (7 <times>) M (7 <times>) Kh (7 <times>) [P (7 <times>)]!

I invoke you, Gabriel, by the great *name of? |²⁵ ... which is ...

12–13. **ἡπκαῶϥ ἡῃῃῃ ἡῃῃῃ** : “by the seven eyes of the Father” Cf. Revelation 5.6: “there was a lamb standing there who had been slain, who had seven horns and seven eyes” (ἐγχεῖς ἐφαῖρατῃ ἑαγκονεῖ ἐογντῃ καῶϥ ἡῃῃ ἁγῶ καῶϥ ἡῃῃ; Budge 1912: 283).

15. **Ḥa Ḥa Ḥa Ḥa Ḥa Ḥa Ḥa** : “Ha Ha Ha Ha Ha Ha Ha” Or understand seven ‘amens’ with Kropp and Meyer; cf. p. 27 l. 17.

twentieth page (page 41)

5 $\overline{\text{CABAD}\Theta} \cdot \overline{\text{BA}\Theta\text{OYPIH}\Lambda} \dots \overline{\text{MA}\chi\text{A}}$
 $\overline{\text{MAPIH}\Lambda} \chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\text{OY} \text{NAI}$
 $\overline{\text{N}\Gamma\text{AQPIH}\Lambda} \text{PA}\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\text{LOS} \overline{\text{N}\Gamma\text{TIKAI-}}$
 $\text{OCHNH} \cdot \epsilon\text{PE}\tau\epsilon\text{QC}\eta\text{BE} \text{BH}\Omega \epsilon\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}$
 10 $\tau\epsilon\text{QC}\epsilon\text{I}\Theta \text{NOYNA}\overline{\text{M}} \cdot \epsilon\chi\overline{\text{M}} \text{PNEYMA}$
 $\text{NIH} \text{NAKATHARTON} \cdot \epsilon\text{ITE} \text{TEMON}$
 $\overline{\text{N}\epsilon\text{ZOY}\Gamma\text{E}} \epsilon\text{ITE} \text{TEMON} \overline{\text{N}\epsilon\text{ZIME}}$
 $\epsilon\text{ITE} \epsilon\text{NTHP} \overline{\text{N}\epsilon\text{ZOY}\Gamma\text{E}} \epsilon\text{ITE} \epsilon\text{N-}$
 $\text{THP} \overline{\text{N}\epsilon\text{ZIME}} \cdot \overline{\text{A}\text{POL}\Omega} / \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{AN}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{I}\omega\text{H}\Lambda}$
 15 $\overline{\Theta\text{AN}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{PON}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{CAN}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{BAN}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{OK}}$
 $\overline{\Theta\text{H}\Lambda} \overline{\Theta\text{ABOYH}\Lambda} \overline{\Theta\text{AQPIH}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{CAPOAH}\Lambda}$
 $\overline{\text{ABO}\Theta\text{H}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{AMINH}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{AYH}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{OYH}\Lambda}$
 $\overline{\text{TAMBN}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{APOIE}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{AXE}} \overline{\text{AXH}} \overline{\text{TAXAH}\Lambda}$
 $\overline{\text{CAPCAH}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{CAPCOM}\omega\text{H}\Lambda} \cdot \overline{\text{CAP-}}$
 20 $\overline{\text{CABAH}\Lambda} \cdot \text{PXOYTA}\chi\tau\epsilon \overline{\text{NA}\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon-}$
 $\text{LOS} \epsilon\text{TAZEPATOY} \epsilon\text{PEXOYTA}\chi\tau\epsilon$
 $\overline{\text{M}\text{PNHCBNTEPOC}} \text{BON}\Theta\text{I} \epsilon\text{POI}$
 $\text{TACHH} \text{TACHH} \cdot \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\epsilon} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{Z}}$
 $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Z}} \cdot \text{TWOY}\overline{\text{N}} \chi\omega\overline{\text{LK}} \text{NTEK-}$
 $\text{PI}\tau\epsilon \epsilon\chi\overline{\text{M}} \text{PARXHIPLASMA} [\text{MN}]$
 $\text{PECTH}[\text{NA}]\text{MIS} \text{THPOY} \dots \dots \dots$
 $\overline{\Theta\epsilon\text{W}\omega\text{H}\Lambda} \dots \overline{\omega\text{H}\Lambda} \dots \dots \dots$

1–2 $\overline{\text{MA}\chi\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{MAPIH}\Lambda}$ Kropp : $\overline{\text{MAPIH}\Lambda}$ Rossi | $[\text{A}\Gamma\text{PA}]\overline{\text{MA}} \chi\overline{\text{AMAPIH}\Lambda}$? parse Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 || 2 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{C}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\text{OY}}$ || 3 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{A}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\text{LOS}}$ || 3–4 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{D}\text{IKAIOSY}\eta\text{NH}}$ || 5 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{C}\epsilon\text{I}\chi}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{PNEYMA}}$ || 6 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{AKATHARTON}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\epsilon\text{ITE}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{DAIMON}}$ || 7 *i.e.* $\overline{\epsilon\text{ITE}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{DAIMON}}$ || 8 *i.e.* $\overline{\epsilon\text{ITE}}$ || 9 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{A}\text{POLO}(YIA)}$: *l.* $\overline{\text{A}\text{POL}(XON)}$ Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note to p. 9 l. 7 || 15–16 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{A}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\text{LOS}}$ || 17 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{PRECBYTEROC}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{BOH}\Theta\epsilon\text{IN}}$ || 18 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{TACHY}}$ (twice) || 20 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{ARXIPLASMA}}$ || 21 $\text{TH}[\text{NA}]\text{MIS}$ Kropp *i.e.* $\overline{\text{DYNA}\mu\text{IS}}$: $\text{TH}[\text{NA}]\text{MIS}$ Rossi | *ca.* 8 Kropp : *ca.* 5 Rossi || 22 $\overline{\Theta\epsilon\text{W}\omega\text{H}\Lambda}$. . $\overline{\omega\text{H}\Lambda}$ *ca.* 13 Kropp : $\overline{\Theta\epsilon\text{W}\omega\text{H}\Lambda}$ *ca.* 7 $\overline{\text{H}\Lambda}$ *ca.* 5 Rossi

*Sabaoth Bathouriel ... Makha Mariēl, that you (pl.) send to me *Gabriel the *angel of righteousness, with his sword drawn in |⁵ his right hand against every unclean spirit, whether a male demon or a female demon, whether a male deity or a female deity—request!

Thaēl, Iōēl, |¹⁰ Thaēl, Throēl, Saēl, Baēl, Thok, Thēl, Thabouēl, Thafriēl, Saroaēl, Abothēl, Thamiēl, Thauēl, Ouēl, Tambēl, Tharoiel, Ače, Ačē, Takhaēl, Sarsaēl, Sarsomōēl, |¹⁵ Sarsabaēl, the twenty-four angels who stand by the *Twenty-Four Presbyters, help me, quickly, quickly! A (7 <times>) E (7 <times>) Ē (7 <times>) I (7 <times>) O (7 <times>) U (7 <times>) Ō (7 <times>) M (7 <times>) Kh (7 <times>) P (7 <times>)!

Arise, draw your |²⁰ bow against the First-Formed One [and] all of his power ... Thebōēl ... ōēl ...

8–9. εἴτε ἐντὴρ ἄρσούτ εἴτε ἐντὴρ ἄρσινε : “whether a male deity or a female deity” For the word ἐντὴρ, translated here as “deity”, cf. the note to *PCM I* 25 p. 4 l. 25.

20. παρχηλασμα : “the First-Formed One” cf. the note to p. 15 l. 17.

twenty-first page (page 43)

- επεφτοογ $\overline{\text{NCTHLLOC}}$ $\overline{\text{H[ΠNO]YH}}$ ·
 ετβε τεγχοτο $\overline{\text{Nape}}$ · εττωογν
 ρα τωορπε $\overline{\text{Hpe}}$ απολο/ · $\overline{\text{Γαφρηνλ}}$
 παγγελος $\overline{\text{NTΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΗΗΗ}}$ τωκμ
 5 $\overline{\text{NTEKCHBE}}$ $\overline{\text{ZH}}$ $\overline{\text{TEKCHX}}$ $\overline{\text{NOYHAM}}$
 πωτ $\overline{\text{Nca}}$ $\overline{\text{PNA}}$ $\overline{\text{NIM}}$ $\overline{\text{PONHPON}}$
 απολο/ $\overline{\text{BAHL}}$ $\overline{\text{ΦΩΗΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΑΗΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΡΟΗΛ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΘΑΒΑΗΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΩΗΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{BAKOWΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘIHΛ}}$
 $\overline{\text{APONHΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{AQPHΛ}}$ · $\overline{\text{APOPYONHΛ}}$ · $\overline{\text{CAMIHΛ}}$
 10 $\overline{\text{AYHΛ}}$ · $\overline{\text{OYHΛ}}$ · $\overline{\text{OBMIHΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘAPIMIHΛ}}$
 $\overline{\text{AXHΛ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΔAPΘABΔHΛ}}$ · $\overline{\text{COTM}}$ εροι
 παγγελος $\overline{\text{NAXOWPE}}$ · $\overline{\text{XE}}$ †πα-
 ρακαλι $\overline{\text{NMOTN}}$ $\overline{\text{HΠXOEIC}}$ $\overline{\text{ΠI-}}$
 $\overline{\text{XOYTAQTN}}$ $\overline{\text{NAPXNAGGELOC}}$
 15 $\overline{\text{NTEPCOMA}}$ $\overline{\text{NIAW}}$ $\overline{\text{TEHA}}$ ρωc
 $\overline{\text{NTEPTNCOTM}}$ εροι $\overline{\text{NTEPTN-}}$
 $\overline{\text{TENOOC}}$ $\overline{\text{NAI}}$ $\overline{\text{NATHONAO}}$ $\overline{\text{ATHONAO}}$
 ετε παι πε $\overline{\text{Γαφρηνλ}}$ παγγε-
 λος $\overline{\text{NTΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΗΗΗ}}$ $\overline{\text{NQI}}$ $\overline{\text{TPAPOI}}$
 20 $\overline{\text{NBIRE}}$ $\overline{\text{HNAZOW}}$ απολο/ $\overline{\text{ZAMHN}}$ Γ

1 *i.e.* στῦλος || 2 · [ετ]ττωογν Rossi || 3 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) : *l.* απολ(λων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* p. 9 l. 7 || 4 *i.e.* ἄγγελος | *i.e.* δικαιοσύνη || 6 *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α | *i.e.* πονηρόν || 7 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) : *l.* απολ(λων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note to p. 9 l. 7 || 9 $\overline{\text{CAMIHΛ}}$ Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 : $\overline{\text{CAWHΛ}}$ Rossi || 10 $\overline{\text{OBMIHΛ}}$ Kropp, Meyer 1988, 1994 : $\overline{\text{OBWHΛ}}$ Rossi || 12 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 12–13 *i.e.* παρακαλεῖν || 14 *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || 15 *i.e.* σῶμα | *i.e.* ὥς || 18–19 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 19 *i.e.* δικαιοσύνη || 20 *i.e.* ἀπολο(γία) : *l.* απολ(λων) Rossi : “Apolo” Amélineau *cf.* note p. 9 l. 7 | *i.e.* ἀμήν | Γ or ι Rossi || 21 Kropp notes a line here, Rossi does not

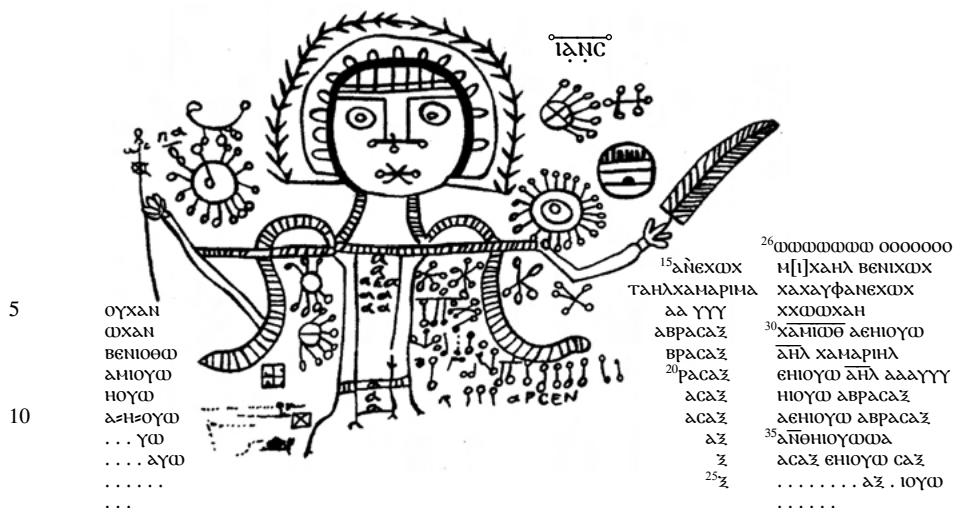
to the four pillars of the *abyss, because of their four heads which support the first heaven—request!

*Gabriel, O *angel of righteousness, draw |⁵ your sword in your right hand, pursue every evil spirit—request!

Baēl, Phoēl, Thaēl, Throēl, Thabaēl, Thōēl, Bakhōōl, Thiēl, Aroēl, Afphēl, Arouōēl, Samiēl, |¹⁰ Auēl, Ouēl, Obmiēl, Tharimiēl, Akhēl, Aaroabdēl, listen to me, O mighty angels, for I invoke you by the Lord, O twenty-four *archangels |¹⁵ of the body of Iao Iekha, that you listen to me and send to me Athōnath Athōnath, that is Gabriel, the angel of righteousness, so that he comes to me |²⁰ and he does my work—request—amen (3 <times>)! [...]

twenty-second page (page 45)

..... ic ... παρω ..
 мгра ... αμωθαμ в · θα · C ανωω
 αμαι · · ραμωθαμ · αφρωμωθαμ
 γαφρινλ αθωναθ αθωναθ



1 ic ... παρω .. Kropp : ic ... παρω .. Rossi || 3 αμαι · Rossi : αμαι · Kropp ||
 11 σαζ Meyer 1988 || Above figure ιαηε Kropp does not note || 27 χαχαγφανεχωχ Kropp :
 [χα]χαγφανεχωχ Rossi || 35 αηηιογωα Kropp : αη ηιογωα Rossi || 36 ασαζ εηιογω ασαζ
 Rossi : ασαζ εηιογω σαζ Kropp

... is ... paōō ... mgra ... amōtham, b, Tha, [*kharaktēr*: C]anōō Amai., Ramōtham, Afrōmōtham, *Gabriel, Athōnath, Athōnath.

|*above figure* Ians

|*5, left of figure* Oukhan, Ōkhan, Beniothō, Amiouō, Ēouō, |¹⁰ aēouō, ...uō, ...auō, ..., ...

|*15, right of figure* Anekhōkh, Taēlkhamarima, Aauuu,

*Abrasax,

brasax, |²⁰

rasax,

asax,

asax,

ax,

x, |²⁵

x

|*26, far right of figure* ōōōōōōō, ooooooooo,

*Michael, Benikhōkh,

Khakhauphanekhōkh,

Khkhōōkhaē,

|³⁰ Khamiōth, aeēiouō,

Aēl, Khamariēl,

eēiouō, Aēl, aaauuu,

ēiouō, Abrasax,

aeēiouō, Abrasax,

|³⁵ Anthēiouōōa,

Asax, eēiouō, sax,

...ax, ...iouō,

...

KD, EL & MP, edited from Rossi and Kropp; tracing after Rossi 1894.

Image: Since the manuscript no longer survives, we are dependent on the copy made by Rossi, whose general accuracy is nonetheless suggested by its strong resemblance to similar images from surviving Coptic magical manuscripts. The figure is of an angel, holding in his right hand a staff surmounted by a cross or staurogram, and in his left hand a sword or palm branch. His head is surmounted by curly hair and a halo, and two wings, represented as striated tubes, emerge from his shoulders. See Dosoo 2022a: 139–151 for images of angels in Coptic magical manuscripts, and for superhuman beings carrying palm branches in the context of Babylonian incantation bowls (VI–VIII CE) see Viložny 2015: 147–150, who notes that the motif denotes “positive or protective entities”. This image was perhaps to be copied four times to represent the four angels described on p. 1 ll. 1–2, likely to be worn as an amulet during the performance of the ritual and thereafter.

PCM I 13. Rossi's Fragmentary Tractate

Theban region ?

33 (H) × 12 (W) cm

VII–VIII CE ?

Other references: P. Biblioteca Nazionale Turin [number unknown]; KYP M3723.

Editions: Rossi 1894: 44 (*ed. pr.*).

Additional commentary: Amélineau 1895: 26; Peyron 1876: 66.

Present location: Lost.

Linguistic description: Sahidic (?).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–29: Invocation for favour (?) (KYP T6571)

Papyrus sheet, now presumably lost. The sheet was found with the text described by Peyron and, following him, Rossi, as a “Gnostic” Tractate (*PCM I 12*). Peyron (1876: 66) describes this as a second, fragmentary, “Gnostic Tractate” (*Trattato gnostico*); as with the larger and better-known manuscript, this is not really an appropriate name for text that is neither a tractate nor ‘gnostic’, but again we retain the name in deference to this history. Rossi’s somewhat confusing presentation of the manuscripts led Amélineau (1895: 26) to mistakenly understand this manuscript as the last page of the larger Tractate codex (*PCM I 12*).

The manuscript was likely acquired along with the larger Tractate codex by Bernardino Drovetti between 1804 and 1818, then sent to Egyptian Museum in 1821. Drovetti would have gifted it to Amedeo Peyron between 1841 and 1870, before his nephew, Bernardino Peyron, gave it to the National Library in Turin prior to 1876. Like the larger Tractate, it seems to have been lost in the fire of 1904.¹

Rossi (1894: 24) describes it as being “united with” (*unito a*) the Tractate codex, implying that the two belonged together; we thus tentatively propose that it, too, may come from the Theban region, and be dated to the seventh or eighth century. Nothing in its content would speak against this, but both points must be understood as extremely speculative. The dialect of the manuscript, as far as can be determined given its fragmentary state, is Sahidic; in l. 1 *ne* for *smē* may suggest the influence of a Middle Egyptian dialect of the type demonstrated in the ‘Heidelberg Library’ (see pp. 261–262).

Since the manuscript has been lost, we reproduce here the edition of Rossi, suggesting alternative readings based on parallels where appropriate.

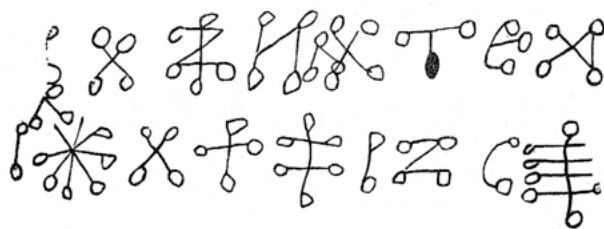
¹ Cf. the discussion of the origin of *PCM I 12* (pp. 171–174) for fuller details and references.

front

- ΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΙΑΩ ΜΕ ΤΕΚΟΜ . . .
 ΤΕΚΧΑΡ . Δ ΔΔΩΝΑΙ . . .
 ΕΛΟΕΙ . . . ΜΠΕΚΟΜ . . .
 ΝΤΑΖΩΒ Ε . . .
 5 ΦΗΝΕΥΝ . . . ΧΕ . . .
 ΝΤΕ . . . Ε . . .

 ΒΩΛ . . .
 10 ΝΕ . . . ΔΥΩ ΤΟΥΜΕΡ . Τ ΘΕ . . .
 . . . ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΦΕΕΡΕ ΔΥΩ ΤΑ . . ΔΡ . . ΝΑ
 . ΔΚ . . ΧΑΡΙΣ . . . ΝΕΚΑΓΔΘΟΣ ΜΝ Ν
 ΔΥΩ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ . . ΣΩ ΕΒΟΛ . . .
 . . . ΝΕΤΝ ΤΝ
 15 ΔΩΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΙ ΟΥΣΟΠ Ν . . .
 ΧΕ †ΟΥΚΕ . . ΚΝ . . .
 ΔΝ [*ca.* 14] ΕΡΧΙ

 Β . Β . . Κ
 20 Ε . ΙΩ ΙΩ ΔΞ . . .
 ΣΑΞ ΙΩΔ ΙΩΔ
 †ΣΑΞ . Ε ΤΕΝΕΤ . . ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕ . . .
 . . . Ν . . Ο ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΤΩ . . .
 . . . Ν . ΕΙΚΑ . . ΧΕ ΕΜ . Τ . . ΕΠ . . .
 25 ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΥ . . .
 ΟΟΥΖ . . . Δ . ΕΝΟ . ΜΝ Χ . . .
 ΜΝ Ν . ΩΠΡΕ . . . ΚΕ ΝΩ . . .



1 l. ἀμογ ? || 2 l. τεκ-χάρις ? || 10 l. τογμεριτ | i.e. ^{SN}τ-ζε || 12 i.e. χάρις | i.e. ἀγαθός ||
 13 l. ^{SE}τ-να-σω εβολ ^{NR}ητ-τ ? || 15 l. ^{SN}-σε-ογδω-τ ? || 16 i.e. διώκειν ? || 22 l. †ωω ερραι εροκ
 ντετενραν ΜΝ νετεν... ? || 23 l. νετενφυλακτηριον ετογδαβ ? || 26 i.e. ^{SC}ωογζ ? || 27 l. ωηρε ?

... come? to me, *Iao with your *power ... your favour? ... *Adonai ... *Eloei ... of your power ... my? work? ... |⁵ ... |¹⁰ ... and they love me like ... beloved daughter and ... favour ... your good ones and ... and everyone who will? drink [from? it?] your (pl.)... |¹⁵ ... [and they will all] desire? me? at once... drive away? ... |²⁰ Iō Iō Ah ... Iōa Iōa ... and your? ... the holy ... that ... |²⁵ everyone who sees ... and ... and ... child? ...

(*kharaktēres*: IXⲭⲓⲙⲧⲉⲗⲓ)

(*kharaktēres*: Iⲙⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓⲥⲁⲓⲛⲓ)

KD, EL & MP, edited from Rossi 1894; tracing after Rossi 1894.

1–3. “... come? to me, Iao with your power ... your favour? ... Adonai ... Eloei ... of your power” Cf. the love spell in P.Köln Inv. 1470 (Weber 1975; KYP M353) ll. 1–2 “Come to me, come to me, O holy unique one! Come to me Iao in his power, Adonai in his beauty, king in his grace, *Sabaoth in his peace!” (αμοϋ ναϊ αμοϋ ναϊ πηδαγῖος παθανατος μνηααϋ αμοϋ ναϊ ἰαω ρη- τεϋβοη ααωνη ρη πεϋσα περο ρη τεϋχαρις σαβαωθ ρη τεϋειρηνη). Compare the similar, earlier (fourth century) Greek and Coptic favour spells discussed in Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 272–274.

27. ⲙⲛⲏⲛ . ⲟⲩⲣⲉ : “and ... child?” Perhaps restore something like “the entire race of Adam and all the children of Zoe”; cf. the note to PCM 25 p. 7 ll. 12–14.

PCM I 14. Invocation for unclear purposes

Provenance unknown

18.8 (H) × 7.5 (W) cm

VII–VIII CE ?

Other references: LACMA MA 80.202.214;¹ TM 642006;² KYP M8; Bélanger Sarrazain #88.

Editions: Dieleman 2006 (*ed. pr.*); Bélanger Sarrazain forthcoming a: appendix 4, no. 9.

Translations: Dieleman 2006; Bélanger Sarrazain forthcoming a: appendix 4, no. 9.

Additional commentary: Martín-Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014: 796, no. 10; Dosoo 2022a: 142; Love 2022c: 630, n. 44.

Present location: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA).

Image: <https://collections.lacma.org/node/245077>.

Linguistic description: Sahidic.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–14: Invocation (KYP T617)

Incomplete oblong fragment of a pottery plate. The top, bottom, and right side are missing and the faded text is written along the remaining surface, with the right and upper margin lost. The plate was of high quality craftsmanship, likely flat, with a red, polished surface.³ The ostrakon's fragmentary state makes it unclear if it should be considered a recipe or an applied text. The object was a gift of Jerome F. Snyder to the LACMA, acquired by the collection on the 31st December 1980.⁴

The script, written in a faded black ink, is an undecorated, alphabetic, largely bilinear uncial, at times sloping to the right. γ resembles a Latin V; the α is rounded, with the upper part of the bowl somewhat separated from the stalk, and the μ very wide and curved; the β is enlarged, with a very flat base. The highly informal nature of the hand makes dating difficult; Dieleman does not attempt to date the piece. The combination of the rounded α and enlarged, flat-bottomed β leads us to tentatively suggest a seventh or eighth century date for this piece, since these are both typical of documentary texts from this period.⁵ The text would seem to be written in standard Sahidic; no dialectal irregularities are present in the surviving text.

¹ On the LACMA website, the photograph of the manuscript can be found under the siglum MA 80.202.213. This siglum and the description of the object, however, belong to another object than the one depicted.

² The siglum provided by TM, MA 80.202.192, is invalid.

³ Dieleman 2006: 20.

⁴ Personal communication with the LACMA, information from internal museum database, 27/9/2022; *cf.* Dieleman 2006: 20.

⁵ See the plates in Stegemann 1936: 9–13; *cf.* *P.Pisentius* 35 (late VI–early VII CE) for an example of a broadly similar hand.

front

- 3 $\overline{\text{COYX}} \overline{\text{M}}[\dots ?]$
 $\overline{\text{ΦΡΙΞ}} : \overline{\text{ΦΡΩ}}[\dots ?]$
 $\overline{\text{AP}} \overline{\text{AΘA}} \overline{\text{Φ}}[\dots ?]$
 $\overline{\text{CAPHATAP}} \overline{\text{AΘA}}[\dots ?]$
 5 $\overline{\text{IΩBHΘ}} \overline{\text{IΩΦ}}[\dots ?]$
 $\text{OC} \dagger \text{ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛ[ΕΙ} \dots ?]$
 $\text{XEXAAS} \text{ZN} \text{T[ΕΥΝΟΥ} \dots ?]$
 $\text{PE} \text{PKYBAK}[\dots ?]$
 $\overline{\text{CΩ}} \overline{\text{MΠΑΠAT}}[\dots ?]$
 10 $\text{MOOY} \dagger \text{NOY}[\dots ?]$
 $\text{ZHT} \text{XOYΕ} \dots [\dots ?]$
 $[\dots ?]$
 $[\dots ?]$
 $\dots \text{NHZE}$



3 $\overline{\text{AP}}$. Dieleman || 5 $\overline{\text{IΩΦ}}$ [$\overline{\text{OBNΘ}}$] cf. *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I.253–254 Dieleman || 6 i.e. παρακαλεῖν : l. $\dagger$ παρακαλ[ει $\overline{\text{MHOX/MHWTN}}$] Dieleman || 7 l. $\text{XE KAA=Σ ZN T-... ?}$ Dieleman || 8 or $\overline{\text{PKYBAK}}$? κ very narrow: l. PEΠ-KYΡΙ(ΟΥ) or PEΠ-KY(ΡΙE) Dieleman || 9 $\overline{\text{CΩ}} \overline{\text{MΠΑΠAT}}$ or i.e. ζώ(διον) : CΩH . $\overline{\text{APAT}}$ i.e. Ζωή Dieleman || 10 l. $\dagger \text{H-OY-}$: or $\dagger$ - HOYXΕ εβολ Dieleman || 11 XOYΕ or XOYΕ Dieleman.

Soukh M[...] Phrix Phrō[...] ar Atha Ph[...] Sarmatar Atha[...] |⁵ Iōbēth Iōph[...]os,
 I invoke [you ...] that as [soon as ...] ... drinks from the *cup ... |¹⁰ water? give a...
 (*kharaktēres*: ✱✱ H...)

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph; tracing by KD and JS.

1. σογχ : “Soukh” The name Soukh also appears in the curse *PCM I 27* front l. 24, 26, back l. 4.

3. αρ αθα : “|ar Atha” There is a dark spot in the gap between the two words, noted by Dieleman as an unidentified letter. We interpret it as a smudge, but it may be a small letter, such as an o or an α, or else a mid-point.

5. ιωβη ιωφ : “Iōbeth Iōph|” Perhaps the opening of the *Ērbeth*-logos, for which see the notes to *PCM I 4* p. 5 ll. 3–5; this may suggest this is a curse or love spell. The reference to someone drinking water in ll. 9–10 may suggest a love spell in which the target is to drink empowered water.

9–10. ιπαπατ [. ?] μοογ : “from the cup ... water” Perhaps restore, for example, “the cup that is filled with water” (ιπαπατ [ετμηε ι]μοογ); *cf.* *PCM I 3* front col. 2 l. 31: “their twelve bowls filled with water” (τεγμηιβ : ιπαλε ηζη ιμοογ).

12–13. Dieleman describes these lines as “washed out”.

Image: The damaged image here is of an angel, holding a staff topped with a cross in its right hand, one wing and one foot visible before the break; *cf.* Dosoo 2022a: 139–151.

PCM I 15. Narrative charm for healing the eye

Deir el Bakhit, Thebes ?

8.6 (H) × 25.2 (W) × 0.9 (D) cm

VII–VIII CE

Other references: BM EA 29528; TM 82864; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 27; *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* (MPER N.S. 18) 198; KYP M335; Bélanger Sarrazin #153.

Editions: Hall 1905: no. 27; von Lemm 1908: no. LIV; Kosack 1974: no. 68; Hasitzka 1990: no. 198; Zellmann-Rohrer forthcoming.

Translations: Hall 1905: no. 27; Kropp 1931: II no. 18 (German); Zellmann-Rohrer forthcoming.

Additional commentary: Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 2.

Present location: London, British Museum.

Image: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA29528

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–8, back ll. 1–5: Jesus-pupil narrative charm for healing the eye (KYP T392)

Broken wooden tablet with a narrative charm written as a palimpsest. At most half of the original height remains; the breakage took place prior to the writing of the charm, which seems to be complete. The manuscript was acquired by the British Museum from Jean d’Anastasy in 1839. The tablet has raised edges, and one remaining drilled hole each on the left and right-hand sides for binding it to other tablets to form a codex. Three hands are discernible (m^{1-3}): m^1 is responsible for line 5 of the back (presumably the only surviving line of the original text), m^2 wrote the charm, and m^3 wrote line 8 of the front, perhaps in an attempt to copy the contents of line 7.

M^2 is a right-sloping bimodal majuscule with some tendencies towards quadrilinearity. h has its minuscule form, while m is angular, with a shallow vertex. ϵ is often ligatured to preceding and following letters, with a distinctive, enlarged form where ligatured to a previous letter. b is very large, and the oblique strokes of κ are separated from the vertical. Supralineation is used inconsistently for abbreviations and autosyllabic consonants.

We accept the proposal of Agnes Mihálykó¹ that the hand of this manuscript is identical to that found on a liturgical prayer for the vesting of a monk from the Monastery of Apa Paulos (Deir el-Bakhīt) on the west bank of Thebes.² Alongside

¹ Private communication (11/5/2023).

² This manuscript is an ostrakon made up of BM EA 5892 + EA14241 + *O.Bachit.* 929. The British Museum pieces are published in Hall 1905: 23, plate 17 no. 2, with a translation in Winlock/Crum 1929: 139–140. *O.Bachit.* 929 may be consulted online at <https://www.koptolys.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/showOstraka.php?id=520>. A publication of both pieces is in preparation by Agnes Mihálykó; cf. Mihálykó 2019: 130, 148, 293, 304. As noted by Winlock and Crum, the prayer for

the general similarity of letterforms, we note the specific $\epsilon+\iota$ and $\Delta/\Sigma+\epsilon$ ligatures found in both manuscripts.³ This shared scribal hand strongly implies that this manuscript also comes from that site, although this cannot be proven through what remains of the acquisition history of the two pieces.⁴ It is therefore likely that the copyist was a monk belonging to the monastery.

The pottery from Deir el-Bakhit can be dated to between the sixth and tenth centuries,⁵ but the ostrakon in the same hand as *PCM I 15* has been dated more narrowly to the seventh to eighth centuries. We likewise propose the same range for this manuscript, noting similar hands in dated or dateable manuscripts from this range.⁶

The text is Sahidic with some common deviations from the literary standard, such as $\mathfrak{B}$ for $\mathfrak{q}$; there are a few surprising or unattested writings of words which would not seem to be dialectal, but rather idiosyncracies of the copyist. The use of the word $\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ with the sense “to heal” in back l. 2, if read correctly, may imply specifically southern dialectal influence (*cf.* Crum CD 151b).

Note that Hall & Hasitzka incorrectly begin l. 6 at the word $\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron$, assigning earlier words to l. 5. Hasitzka numbers the lines continuously, so that our verso l. 1 corresponds to her l. 9.

We note with particular gratitude the comments of Michael Zellmann-Rohrer on an earlier draft of this edition.

vesting finds a close parallel in the Bohairic prayer published in Tuki 1761: $\mu\mathfrak{q}-\mu\mathfrak{q}\alpha$. On ostraca from Deir el-Bakhīt more generally, see Hodak 2012.

³ $\epsilon+\iota$: *PCM I 15* front ll. 2, 3, back ll. 2, 4; BM EA 5892 + EA142411. 13; $\Delta/\Sigma+\epsilon$: *PCM I 15* front ll. 1, 2, 7, back l. 3; *O.Bachit.* 929 l. 3.

⁴ Anastasy’s sale catalogue, held in the British Museum (AES Ar.246), records provenances only for papyri, and thus not for *PCM I 15*; *cf.* Zellmann-Rohrer forthcoming, who nonetheless proposes a Theban origin for this piece. For Anastasy’s sale, *cf.* Dosoo 2016: 253 (with further references). *O.Bachit.* 929 was excavated in situ at Deir el-Bakhīt in 2008 (*cf.* n. 2 above), while BM EA 5892 + EA14241 was acquired by the British Museum from the dealer Joseph Sams (1784–1860) in 1934; Sams himself likely purchased it in Egypt during his visit of 1832–1833 (*cf.* Bierbrier 2012: 485).

⁵ Hodak 2012: 735.

⁶ *Cf.* *P.Pisentius* 21 (ca. 590–632 CE); *P.Mon.Phoib.Test.* 2 (634 CE); IFAO P.Edfou Jarre 13, 19 (both late VII CE; TM 900981 & 874490).

front 1 *i.e.* παράγειν δέ : Hasitzka : “stepped out” Hall : *i.e.* παραβαίνειν Kropp :παρ... von Lemm : [α]κπαρακε Zellmann-Rohrer | *l.* ι(κοϋ)ς | *i.e.* παράδεισος || **2** [ακν]αγ Hasitzka : [ακναγ] von Lemm | ογελοολε Hall, Hasitzka : *i.e.* ^sογ-ειογλ Kropp, von Lemm, Zellmann-Rohrer | *i.e.* ^sρμειν : ρμε[ε] Hall, Hasitzka : ρμε[ε] von Lemm || **3** [ρρ] von Lemm | τελοολε *cf.* note : “vine (or grape)” Hall : *l.* τ-ειογλ von Lemm, Kropp, Zellmann-Rohrer : [τελοολε] von Lemm | τερινε Zellmann-Rohrer | *i.e.* ^sντε⁰-†^sρμειν : ρμεει Hall : ρμεει von Lemm || **4** *i.e.* ^sαγ-ντε∅ ? *cf.* νταε in Kasser CDC p. 177a *s.v.* εινε : αγντ[...] “cast down” Hall : αγν η[coτε] ? “... was cast upon the earth” (“... auf die Erde herabgeworfen”) Kropp ? : *l.* αγν πχι “they cast down a splinter (“ein Splitter wurde hinabgeworfen”) Hasitzka : [αγντ . . .] von Lemm : αγν πχι “the mote was kicked (up)” Zellmann-Rohrer | *i.e.* ^sαε-κ-ααε-τ (κ ιωε) ε-πα-βαλ : “he pierced my eye” (“Er durchbohrte mein Auge”) Hall, Kropp | πρωρ γε : πρωμε Hall, Hasitzka, Kropp, von Lemm, Zellmann-Rohrer || **4–5** *i.e.* ^sελν ? || **5** *i.e.* ^sειατ∅ τακο ? : νειτταεω : *i.e.* -ταλσο Hall : *l.* νεσι-ταλσο “I healed” (“ich heilte”) Hasitzka : [νειτταεω] von Lemm : *i.e.* ^sνεε-κ-ταλσο (he) could not heal” Zellmann-Rohrer | *i.e.* ^sμι-πα-οαωτν “in my wound” Hall, Hasitzka : μιαοαωτν von Lemm || **6** [χαϊ χε] von Lemm | *i.e.* ^sηπρ-ταρω *cf.* Crum CD 432b : “set” Hall || **7** *i.e.* γραμματεύς || **8** μιρηογχε (“followed by confused letters”) Hall, Hasitzka : μιρηε αηοκ σαε von Lemm : μιρηογχο κσαας επεκημελα Zellmann-Rohrer

back 1 *i.e.* μέλαν | λασε *cf.* Crum CD 151b : *l.* ταλσο “healed” (“heilte”) Hall, Kropp, Hasitzka : ηκταλσο Zellmann-Rohrer | επα- : επ[α] von Lemm || **2** [βαλ] von Lemm || **3** πχι *cf.* Crum CD 747b *s.v.* χν : “wound” (Wunde) Kropp : Hall does not translate || **4** *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α | ετογααβ corrected from ετργααβ || **5** Hall, Hasitzka, von Lemm do not transcribe

^{|m2} ⲡ And Jesus went out from the door of Paradise. He saw a pupil[?] crying, shedding tears. He said, “What is wrong with you, O pupil[?], that you are crying, that you are shedding tears?”

She said, “My Lord, I was brought down upon the earth. He struck me in my eye, the *binding[?] in ^{|5} my eye destroys[?] my light. I raised my eyes up to heaven, I said, ‘O sun, do not redden[?]; O moon, do not rise; Enoch the scribe, do not put your pen in your ^{|8, m3} {do not put} ... ^{|back, m2} ink until *Michael comes out from heaven and heals my eye!’ At that moment, Michael came out from heaven. He said, ‘The mote will heal, the darkness will be undone, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit!’”

^{|5, m1} [erased passage] ⲡ ... in the name.

RBS, KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph.

front 2. ⲉϥϥⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ : “a pupil?” Hall and Hasitzka opt for the translation “vine” or “grape” (Crum CD 54b). Here we translate “pupil” (ⲕⲟⲣⲏ), a sense attested in the unpublished glossary P.Mich. inv. 4949 (Crum CD 55a); the word may be a metaphorical extension of the sense “grape”, or else related to (or an error for) ⲁⲗⲱ (“pupil”), literally “maiden”. Von Lemm understands ⲉⲓⲟϥⲗ (“deer”, Crum CD 77a), cf. the similar story in *BKU I 1* (KYP M76) front col. 1 ll. 1–18 in which Jesus heals a doe in labour. Vycichl (CED 41a) understands this specifically as a hypothetical female form, ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲗⲉ, with *ι* replaced by (miscopied as?) *λ*. Kropp and Zellmann-Rohrer follow him. Given this parallel, it is possible that ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ represents a transmission error.

4–5. ⲁϥⲙⲁϥⲧ ⲉⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲣⲱⲡ ϣⲉ : “he struck me in my eye, the binding?” This passage presents several difficulties of comprehension. Hall translates “it has pierced my eye; the man ...”. Kropp translates likewise, suggesting that “the man” here refers to a hunter who has left the deer injured. Hasitzka translates “O Man, I healed my piercing” (“O Mensch, ich heilte meine Durchbohrung”). Zellmann-Rohrer translates “mankind (could not heal my sight)” (i.e., ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲗⲟ), suggesting that the praeterite has a negative sense here. The word ⲡⲱⲡ, which we translate as “binding”, is attested as a verb in Kasser CDC 49a s.v. ⲡⲱⲡ, and also in Westendorf HWB p. 534 s.v. ⲡⲱⲡ.

6. ⲙⲡⲣⲓⲧⲱⲡⲉ : “redden” Probably implying “to set” (that is, the sun reddens as it sets).

6–7. ⲉⲛⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲣⲁⲛⲙⲁⲧⲉϥ : “Enoch the scribe” Enoch is often referred to as the “scribe of righteousness” (ⲡⲉⲣⲁⲛⲙⲁⲧⲉϥ ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲓⲟϥⲛⲏ) in Coptic literature, a title which first appears in 1 Enoch 12.4 (Isaac in Charlesworth 1983: 19). Pseudo-Chrysostom, *On the Four Bodiless Living Creatures* 11, 27 (CC 177; Wasink 1991: 30, 34 (text), 30–31, 34–35 (trans.)) describes how God translated Enoch into an immortal being (cf. Genesis 5.24), giving him the “pen-case of salvation” and the books of the angel Mefriel, his predecessor as scribe, which he copied in six days (cf. 2 Enoch 22.8–23.6, in which Mefriel is named ‘Vrevoil’; Isaac in Charlesworth 1983: 138–141) before returning to heaven, where he has since recorded the deeds of humankind. Pseudo-Theodosius of Alexandria, *On Saint Michael* (CC 387; Budge 1915: 345, 909 (trans.)) repeats this outline, noting in addition that the Archangel Michael presents the record to God; cf. Pearson 2000: 226–228.

7. ⲉⲡⲉⲕ : “in your” There are traces of one or two letters at the end of this line, perhaps belonging to an underlying text over which the present one is written as a palimpsest.

8. ⲙⲡⲣⲟϥϣⲉ ⲟⲕⲥⲁⲟⲓ . ⲁⲛ... : “{do not put} ...” This line seems to have been added after the writing of the preceding by a different, less regular hand. It apparently copies the text in the line above it, although the letters following ⲙⲡⲣⲟϥϣⲉ are too idiosyncratic to be certain that this is the case.

back 5. ⲡⲧⲥ . . . ⲓⲗⲡ ⲡⲧⲥ . . . ⲉⲛⲟϥ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ : “[erased passage] ⲡ ... in the name” This seems to be written in a different hand, and partially erased, in parts by washing, in parts by striking through the text. This may have been the original text of the tablet, before the current main text (in *m2*) was added, likely after the tablet was broken.

PCM I 16. Ostraca containing Horus-Isis narrative love charm

Provenance unknown H × W: 21.5 × 12 cm (1); 22.5 × 19 (2); 19.5 × 11 (3) VII–VIII CE

Other references: Brigham Young University Harold B. Lee Library inv. 76, 77, 81; TM 756246; *O.BYU Mag.* 1–3; KYP M109.

Editions: Blumell/Dosoo 2018 (*ed. pr.*) [B/D].

Translations: Blumell/Dosoo 2018.

Additional commentary: Richter 2015a: 87, n. 5; Hevesi 2019; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 2.

Present location: Provo, Brigham Young University.

Image: Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 213–215.

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Ostraca 1–3 (ll. 1–40): Love spell containing Horus-Isis narrative charm (KYP T298)

Complete formulary written continuously over the convex sides of three separate pottery ostraca with black ink. The ostraca were inscribed only after the vessels to which they belonged were broken.¹ Each ostrakon is fully covered with a single column of legible text with no significant margins or blank spaces, except for *O.BYU Mag.* 3—the ostrakon containing the end of the text—whose lower half is blank. The provenance of the manuscript is unknown. Aziz Atiya, professor of Languages and History at the University of Utah, likely acquired the ostraca in Egypt before donating them to the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, where the ostraca are kept today. According to the catalogue records of the library, they were donated in 1980, however Atiya himself signed the catalogue only on the 31st of December 1981.²

The text is written in an upright majuscule, bilinear and bimodal, without ligatures. Although the scribe generally respects the space between letters and lines, the letterforms are irregular; the hand can be described as an alphabetic or evolving hand, according to Cribiore’s typology.³ α is written as a curved vertical line open to the right, with a small rounded bowl attached to its upper part. γ is written as Latin V and λ as an inverted V. The μ and ε are very curved, and the oblique strokes of κ, written in a single stroke, touch the vertical stroke. The letters are undecorated and unligatured. As in *PCM I 20*, the copyist does not use supralineation, but does make use of diaeresis above the iota. The copyist makes

¹ Blumell/Dosoo 2018: n. 12.

² For acquisition information, see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 202–203, n. 11.

³ Cribiore 1996: 112; *cf.* Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 204 n. 16.

use of the tricolon to separate *voces magicae* at the beginning of the text, and begins each ostrakon by marking a simple cross.

The informality of the hand makes dating very difficult; as Blumell and Dosoo (2018: 204) note, the hand is very similar to that of Tsie, preserved in the archive of the monk Frange from the eighth century.⁴ It is also similar to a group of informal hands found in other Coptic magical texts, discussed by Choat and Gardner in their publication of *P.Macq.* I 1, which they date to the seventh or eighth centuries.⁵ At the same time, informal hands can display considerable similarities over large spans of time; Naqlun N. 45/95 (van der Vliet 2000; KYP M64) also shows many similar features, despite being dated to the fifth century based on its archeological context. We thus tentatively agree with Blumell and Dosoo's proposal of a seventh or eighth century date.

The dialect is a highly non-standard form of Sahidic, with several surprising features noted by Blumell and Dosoo (2018: 204–205). There is considerable haplography, confusion of visually similar letters (*e.g.*, ε/c ostrakon 1 ll. 6), interchange of β/q, omission of ϣ, the writing of two consonants with the same point of articulation with a single letter (μβ/μπ > μ, ντ > ν/τ, τϥ > ϥ), the writing of /ti/ as τ-ϥ, and the regular use of the strong article (ϥ). Although none of these are particularly indicative of a geographical origin, Blumell and Dosoo (2018: 205, 209–210) suggest a possible origin north of Thebes; the other ostraca from Atiya's donation with known provenances come from Bawit, Wadi Sarga, and Edfu.⁶ At certain points (in particular ostrakon 2 ll. 1, 2, 5) the text seems to be significantly abbreviated, perhaps implying either miscopying, or that the manuscript was intended to serve as a prompt for a text well known to the reader.

⁴ *O. Frange* nos. 247–62, 265, 266, 294–318.

⁵ Choat/Gardner 2013: 3–4.

⁶ Blumell 2013; Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 209–210 n. 50.

Ostrakon I (inv. no. 81, convex, →)

+ ϣαειμ : βλικα-
 βογ : λαβιϣ : αλωμ :
 λαχ : μαλαχ : μαλα-
 ρα : λααγογμ : ρριζ :
 5 ρραζ : αγογак : αнок π-
 ε ρωρ πωε нη[[ε]]се
 αῖβωκ ερογн ρн ογ-
 πηλη нωне αῖ εβολ
 νογπηλη менипе :
 10 αβῖне ἰсῖне ^ⲁⲧ ^ⲁἱεαη
 ⲧⲡⲟγⲟⲱε ⲧⲡⲕα βαλ
 ⲧⲡⲁλ ηϣωβ तेन-
 αταϣηη मेरि-
 с πεϣαι n-

6 нη[[ε]]се ε deleted by rubbing out || 8 *i.e.* πύλη | *i.e.* ^sα1-ει || 9 *i.e.* πύλη | *i.e.* ^sн-венипе ||
 10 *i.e.* ^sн-т-сгime δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) | *i.e.* ^sт-сaη || 11 *i.e.* ^sт-*ογοϣε, *cf.* ^βογοϣη Crum
 CD 576b, *i.e.* feminine of ογοϣω, see B/D | *i.e.* ^sн-т-καη : or *i.e.* ^sта-т-καη B/D ||
 12 ⲧⲡⲁλ ηϣωβ *i.e.* ^sн-т-αλογ н-χογ || 12–13 *i.e.* ^sт-εηта- || 13 *i.e.* ψυχή || 13–14 *i.e.* ^sμεριτс

+ Šaeim, Blikabou, Labiš, Alōm, Lakh, Malakh, Malaha, Laagoum, Hrix, |⁵ Hrax, Agouak.

I am *Horus the son of *Isis. I went into a gate of stone, I came out from a gate of iron. |¹⁰ I found the woman NN, child of NN, the beautiful one, the white one with the black eyes, with the burning[?] pupils[?], the one that my soul loved. I said to

Horus-Isis Narrative Charms: This text represents an example of a narrative charm in which the main protagonists are Horus and Isis; for a discussion of structure and parallels, see the notes to *PCM I 7* front. For a discussion of the doors of stone and iron, see the notes to *PCM I 7* ll. 2–3, and for the woman encountered by Horus in ll. 10–11, see the notes to *PCM I 6* l. 3.

Ostrakon 2 (inv. no. 77; convex, →)

	+ ⲁⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲓⲟ ⲧⲉ ⲓⲡⲓ ⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲩ	15
	ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣ ⲓⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲛⲓ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ	
	ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ-	
5	ⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲣⲓⲙⲡⲉ ⲓⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲱ-	
	ⲛⲣⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲧⲛⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲁ-	
	ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓⲗⲛ ⲛ-	20
	ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲛⲓⲗⲛ ⲙⲉ-	
	ⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲛ ⲧⲧⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲩ ⲧⲧⲥⲁⲓ-	
10	ⲛ ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱⲉ ⲧⲧⲕⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲧⲁⲗ ⲛ-	
	ⲭⲱⲃ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲧⲁⲩⲭⲛⲛ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲥ	
	ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲕⲟ ⲧⲉ ⲓⲡⲓ	25
	ⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲟⲩ-	
	ⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲥⲣ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ-	
	ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ	
15	ⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲕ-	
	ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲃⲛ	30
	ⲁⲙⲟⲩ	
	[ⲉ]ⲡⲁ[ⲡ-]	

Ostrakon 3 (inv. no. 76, convex, →)

	+ ⲁⲧ ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲥ	
	ⲓⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	
	ⲛⲕⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲩⲟⲡ ⲛ-	35
	ⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	
5	ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲧⲛⲣ[.]-	
	ⲃ ⲉⲧⲧⲓ ⲧⲁⲭⲛ ⲧⲁ-	
	ⲭⲛ ⲓⲛ ⲃⲟⲙ ⲓⲁ-	
	ⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲃ	40

ostrakon 2, 1 *i.e.* ^sⲕⲱ (ⲛⲁⲥⲓ) ⲉ-ⲧⲓ ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲓ (ⲛⲉ) ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ? : *i.e.* ^sⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉ-γ-ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ or ⲓⲡⲛⲟⲥ ? “lie on the dirt” or “go to sleep” B/D | *i.e.* ⲃⲉⲓⲓⲧⲱⲛ | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲡⲉⲥⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ | 2 *i.e.* ⲟⲩⲃⲉ | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲡⲉⲥⲥ-ⲡ | *i.e.* ^sⲉⲩⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲩ (ⲛⲁⲥⲥ) ? : ⲉⲃⲉⲛ meaning unclear or *l.* ⲓⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲛⲙⲁ ? B/D || 3 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲛⲁⲩⲣⲛ- | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲁⲩⲩ || 4 *i.e.* ^sⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥⲕ | *i.e.* ^sⲣⲓⲙⲉ || 5 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲧⲉⲥⲟ-ⲟⲩⲱⲩ | *l.* ⲧⲁ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ? *cf.* *PCM* I 6 l. 10, *PCM* I 7 l. 16 B/D | *l.* ⲛⲉⲥ || 5–6 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲁⲩⲩ || 6 *l.* ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ | *i.e.* ^sⲓⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲓⲗⲛ || 6–7 *l.* ⲛ-ⲱⲛⲉ (dittography) || 7 *i.e.* ⲡⲓⲗⲛ || 7–8 *i.e.* ^sⲙ-ⲃⲉⲛⲡⲉ || 8 *i.e.* ^sⲧⲁ-ⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ | *i.e.* ⲃⲉⲓⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲃⲉⲓⲓⲧⲱⲛ || 9 *i.e.* ^sⲧⲁ-ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱⲉ *cf.* *ostrakon* 1 l. 11 | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲙⲁ : or *i.e.* ^sⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲙⲁ ? B/D | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ : or *i.e.* ^sⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ ? || 10 *i.e.* ^sⲧⲁ-ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲩⲧ | *i.e.* ^sⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲥ || 11–12 *i.e.* ^sⲕⲱ (ⲛⲁⲥⲓ) ⲉ-ⲧⲓ ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲓ (ⲛⲉ) ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ? : *i.e.* ^sⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉ-γ-ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ or ⲓⲡⲛⲟⲥ “lie on the dirt” or “go to sleep” ? B/D *cf.* l. 1 || 12 *i.e.* ⲃⲉⲓⲓⲧⲱⲛ | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲡⲉⲥⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ || 12–13 *i.e.* ⲟⲩⲃⲉ || 13 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲡⲉⲥⲥ-ⲡ ⲓⲛⲁⲥ || 15 *i.e.* ^sⲉⲩⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲩ || 16 *i.e.* ^sⲉ-ⲃⲉⲛⲧ (haplography) || *ostrakon 3*, 1 ^sⲁⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲕ corrected from . by overwriting || 2 *i.e.* ^sⲉⲩⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲩ || 3–4 *l.* ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲁⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲛⲡⲉⲥⲥ-ⲱⲩⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲥ : or *i.e.* ^sⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛⲕⲁ ⲉⲥⲥ-ⲱⲩⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲥ B/D || 4 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲧⲁ-ⲭⲱⲕ || 5 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲧⲁ-ⲟⲩⲱⲩ | *l.* ⲧⲛⲣ[.]- erasure or smudge? || 5–6 *i.e.* ^sⲧⲛⲣⲓ || 6 *i.e.* ⲓⲃⲛ || 6–7 *i.e.* ⲧⲁⲭⲱ || 7 *i.e.* ^sⲧⲁ-ⲃⲟⲙ

|^{o. 2} + her, “Let <me> kiss <you>!” She, NN, did not want <me>, neither was she willing for him [sic] to kiss <her>. I cried before *Isis, my mother.

Isis said to me, “Why are you crying, *Horus, my |⁵ son?”

<I said>, “Do you not want <me to cry>”, Isis, my mother? I went into a gate of stone, I came out of a gate of iron. I found the woman NN, child of NN, the beautiful one, the white one with the black eyes, with the burning pupils?, |¹⁰ the one my soul loved. I said to her, “Let <me> kiss <you>!” She, NN, did not want <me>, neither was she willing.”

Isis said to me, |¹⁵ “<Even> if you did not know how to find me, <say>?” “Come to [my] *cup? |^{o. 3} + that I might eat?, do not leave me until it happens that she shall fulfill |⁵ all my desire, now, quickly, quickly, by <the> power of *Iao *Sabaoth!”

KD, EL & MP, edited from photographs.

ostracon 2 l. 1. ρο τε γμ : “Let <me> kiss <you>!” Cf. l. 11 (κο τε γμ), perhaps l. 2 (εβρη). Blumell and Dosoo propose to understand the command “sleep” or “lie down” (ἵκοντο) followed by the word for “sleep” or “dirt” (πίνος/ὑπνος, using the following νος). By comparison with *PCM* I 7 l. 9 and *PCM* I 20 l. 5, we suggest that Horus is here asking the woman to let him kiss her, with an initial imperative κω (for the sense “permit” see Crum CD 95a) followed by † (“give”, imperative or infinitive), then ογμ “a kiss”. Here, as often in the narrative charms, the difficulty of parsing the text syntactically may suggest either the writing of a primarily oral text, or that the written form served as an abbreviated *aide memoire* (compare in particular τμ in l. 5.).

15–16. σε μεκειμε εν : “<even> if you did not know how to find me” A recurrent phrase in the final section of narrative charms, this serves as a kind of ‘charter’ for the performance of the ritual in the present. In the mythic past it was possible for Horus to appeal to Isis directly, but even if this had not been possible the ritual she describes would still be sufficient. For parallels to this phrase, see *PCM* I 6 l. 14; *PCM* I 20 ll. 11–12; *BKU* I 7 (KYP M76) back ll. 3–4; *BKU* I 7 (KYP M88) ll. 29–30; Naqlun N. 78/93 (Kalchenko and van der Vliet 2022; KYP M1135) ll. 22–26; Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128) p. 5 ll. 18–19. By contrast, in *PCM* I 7 ll. 25–31 Isis asks Horus why he did not originally perform the ritual instead of seeking her help first, a variant which leads Kalchenko and van der Vliet (2022: 231–235) to see such phrases as formulas of reproach.

ostracon 2 l. 17–ostracon 3 l. 1. αμου [ε]πα[π]ατ : “Come to [my] cup?” This phrase is uncertain; if the reconstruction “cup” is correct, this would represent an epiclesis, calling on a supernatural being to empower liquid in a cup, which the practitioner would presumably drink, although the verb used, ογμν, rather means “to eat”; cf. the discussion in Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 237–238.

ostracon 3 7–8. εν σομ ιαω σαβαωθ : “by <the> power of Iao Sabaoth” The phrase “by the power of...” recurs in many Coptic magical texts; in this volume, compare *PCM* I 4 p. 3 l. 2, p. 6 l. 2; *PCM* I 25 p. 15 l. 12, p. 16 l. 2, p. 18 l. 6. This construction (e.g., *hn t3 gm*) does not seem to appear in older Egyptian texts, but rather to derive from the Greek ἐν δυνάμει + genitive, first clearly attested in Hellenistic Jewish texts (e.g., *Testament of Levi* 16.3 “by the power of the Most High” (ἐν δυνάμει ὑψίστου); Charles 1908: 59.3) and to become common in early Christian writings, in particular the Pauline letters (Romans 15.13, 19; I Corinthians 2.5; II Corinthians 6.7). The phrase does not occur in the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus, rather appearing with the names of Jewish-Christian deities as an addition to Coptic narrative charms from around the fourth century (e.g., Mich.Ms. 136 p. 6 l. 5 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128), suggesting that it derives from a Christian context. Cf. the comments of Zellmann-Rohrer and Love (2022: 61–62, 237–238) who prefer to see an origin among Graeco-Egyptian magical texts.

PCM I 17. Spell for a good singing voice and a love spell

Middle Egypt ?

37.3 (H) × 25.4 (W) cm

VIII CE

Other references: P.CtYBR inv. 1791; TM 98065; KYP M284; Bélanger Sarrazin ##7, 8.

Editions: Emmel in Meyer/Smith 1994: appendix 2, 3 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Emmel in Meyer/Smith 1994: nos. 74, 122.

Additional commentary: Petersen 1964: no. 53.

Present location: New Haven, Beinecke Library (Yale University).

Image: <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2759562>

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–35, back ll. 1–28: Spell for good singing voice (KYP T329; hand 1)
2. Back ll. 29–46, front ll. 36–38: Love spell (KYP T330; hand 2)

A complete and well-preserved papyrus sheet containing two recipes written in different hands, the first a spell for a good singing voice, the second a love spell. The manuscript was purchased by Yale University from Hans P. Kraus, the rare book dealer, in New York on the 1st May 1964, using funds donated by Edwin John Beinecke.¹ The provenance of the manuscript is unknown, although Petersen notes that the references to place names in papyri from the same collection point to Middle Egypt, an origin that would agree with the dialectal features.²

The sheet is rectangular, with damage along the folds. 2 horizontal creases, as well as approximately 10 vertical creases, are visible. The manuscript was produced by cutting a length from a papyrus roll and turning it 90° to write the first recipe on the front (↓), before completing the recipe by copying the associated image and instructions onto the back (→). Subsequently, a second hand added the second recipe in the space remaining on the back, finishing in the narrow space at the bottom of the front, writing on the back at 180° to the other text on the object. Note that this interpretation reverses that of Emmel, who understood the text as beginning on the horizontal fibres; this would mean that the original scribe left an unusually large upper margin of 13.8 cm before beginning to write. Emmel thus begins the text on what we understand to be the back, numbering lines 1–28, before turning to what we consider as the recto, counting the first line as 29.

The first hand is highly informal and irregular, with letters varying in shape,

¹ Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, “Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection”, online at <https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/research-teaching/doing-research-beinecke-library/introduction-yale-papyrus-collection/guide-yale> (accessed 17/10/2022).

² Petersen 1964: “Introductory Note”.

shading, and size. Notable is the π, which may be written in either one or three strokes, and the c, which may be either very narrow, or very extended. The overall impression is of a sloping majuscule, with no serifs, although the λ has a characteristic shape, with the longer stroke (which may be written in either orientation) often demonstrating a marked leftwards curl at its top. The ς is tightly curled, and the ascender of σ is rather short. The impression is of a writer of the type classified by Cribiore as possessing an “alphabetic hand”, demonstrating knowledge of letterforms but clumsiness of coordination;³ a lack of experience may also be demonstrated by the extensive interlinear correction. The informality of this hand makes it extremely difficult to date.

The second hand is written with a thinner pen, generally using bilinear letterforms, but sometimes employing quadrilinear forms (notably the η), showing marked descenders on the ι, ρ, τ, and φ, and an enlarged β typical of post-seventh century documentary texts, of which this hand would seem to represent a good example. The γ is bilinear, and the τ shows a marked serif on the left part of its horizontal bar. In general the letters are separated, with only occasional ligatures (usually of ε or τ to the following letter); diaeresis is written as a single supralinear stroke, while supralineation indicating a schwa or autosyllabic consonant is usually marked by a dot. The hand becomes noticeably more upright, and uses thicker strokes, in the later lines of the back and on the front. Emmel suggested a seventh- or eight-century date for this manuscript, but the presence of the scribal mark of two oblique strokes (/), first attested in documentary texts of the eighth century, may allow us a more precise dating.⁴ Similar hands can be seen in *SB Kopt.* II 946 (TM 23156; 737 CE) and *P.CLT* 1 (TM 85755; 698 CE). Among the hands of this volume, it is comparable to nos. 10 and 18.

Both texts are written in non-standard Sahidic; the first shows the common writing of ε in place of the supralinear stroke, as well as alternation of ι/ει. More unusual features, such as the insertion of η where no letter or a schwa would be expected, the absence of ε or its replacement by γ, and the addition of unexpected vowels, suggests either considerable confusion about vowel qualities, or the phonetic writing of a non-standard variety. The second hand is far closer to standard Sahidic, but nonetheless occasionally displays the same general tendencies, notably the use of η for ε, and of ε for schwa, suggesting a dialectal affinity between the two writers. Kahle notes similar features as typical of dialects north of Thebes, with the use of η in particular being suggestive of Middle Egyptian dialectal influence.⁵

³ Cribiore 1996: 33, 112.

⁴ Cf. Richter 2003: 223–230; Cromwell 2023: 234–235.

⁵ E.g., η=ε: τησκγνη (f.3), ογνη (b.29, 40); η=∅: ηηπεγε (f.10), ηησιογ (f.13), σηνοφ (b.1); ∅=ε: Τρεν (f.10), Τκωτε (f.13), χ (f.26), χκαας (f.29); γ=ε: ηγτωοοι (f.4), τγκλεσια (f.6-7, 9-10), ηγχερογβεν (f.8), εκγκω (8); γ=∅: πηητςγνοος (15); cf. Kahle 1954: 54–57. Instances of ε=∅ are too numerous to list here.

front (↓)

- m¹ [ca. 22] . . ἐξογμενος ἐμ-
[ca. 20] σο ἡφο ἐμπωτ
- 3 [ca. 6 Δ]καίουσῃν χερε τῆσκῃν ἐμπωτ ἡν
ἡν παῖρε ἡν πνεμα τ
- 4 νῡτωοοπ ἐνζητσε χερε ἐσῳαχε ἡναρχῆαγγελος
- 5 ἐτταζερατοῦ ἐπεοοῦ ἐμ[π]ῖωτ χερε ναρχη ἡν
ἡνκζοσια ἡν ἐνῶομ [ε]τρεμ πᾶίσε χερε τῡκ-
λεσια ἡνεῳερεπμεσε ἡνετῳοοπ ἐνζητσε
χερε ἐντῡنامهс χερε νῡχεροῦγεν χερε ἐνσυρα-
πφен χερε ἐπᾶοῡтавте ἡπρεсвнτηρος ἐντῡκ-
10 λεσια τρεν ἡνπεγε ἡν νοῡν ἡν ἐτῳοοп ἐνζηтес
χερε ἐтπαρaдiсωс ἡν νοῡон ἡн ἐтῳοοп ἡнτῡт χερε
ἐππρη ἐттер οὔein χερε ἐтῡῡтсῡноос ἐнτῡна-
mῡс τῡωте ероῡ χερε ἐποze ἡн ἡнсiоῡ тῡроῡ χερε
πῡнтсῡноос ἐнаρχων ἐтῡῡῡ ἡνεῡнооге ἡпe-
15 зооῡ χερε ζωpmосенл πнос ἐнаρχων ἐсῳаγze ἐн-
нῡа пе ἡн на пкаz παi εῳαpена пeῡ сῳтем етессeн
сῡнтоῡнн ἐнсῳῡ тiноῡ тeсoпс ἡноκ ἡпооῡ аῡῡ
тiπαpагале емоκ зорmосенл па пpооῡ етpолес
20 етнотем ^{en}θε ἡφιλεμον παтесмн етpолос хекаас
екаеῖ ῳароi ἐμпооῡ аноκ ΔΔ ἡεгаzeрат ze xe-
н папот еткн ераi ἐμпаmтоῡ евол негмаzeс nаῖ
еnзepооῡ еqзoleс еqнотe[m] еqв[нк] ераi еqннῡ епe-
снт еqкῳте ἡθε ноῡтp[o]xос еqннz енноyeлле ἡн
25 еqзoleс есῳк ῑе ноῡтῡῡ натῑол натῑемнес
натнеx ῑав евол zаeиo zаeи x тeῡpeк ^{epok} ἡтоῡ-
нам ἡпῳт тiῡpeк еpок тапе ἐμῡῡpе

1 . . ογμενος Emmel || 2 . ο Emmel | i.e. ^sπ-ρο || 3 *et passim* i.e. χαῖρε || 3 i.e. δικαιοσύνη suggestion of Agnes Mihálykó : . ναῖογнн Emmel || ἡн παῖρε ἡн πνεμα inserted below the line, to be read after ἐμπωт | i.e. σκηνή | ναῖογнн Emmel | i.e. πνεῦμα (ε)т(оγαав) : πνεматi Emmel || 4 i.e. ^sнет-ῳοοп | i.e. ^sἡ-нτс | i.e. ^sπ-сῳаche | i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 5 i.e. ἀρχή || 6 i.e. ἐξουσία || 7 l. i.e. ἐκκλησία | i.e. ^s-mice | l. ἡн netῳοοп | i.e. ^sἡ-нτс | 8 l. δύнаμис | i.e. χερουβίμ || 8–9 i.e. σεραφίμ || 9 i.e. πρεσβύτερος || 9–10 i.e. ἐκκλησία || 10 i.e. ^sн-пнye | i.e. ^sпнye | i.e. ^sἡ-нτс | 11 i.e. παράδεισος || 12 l. прн | l. етер- || 12–13 i.e. δύнаμис || 13 i.e. ^sет-кῳте | i.e. ^sоор | i.e. ^sἡ-сiоῡ || 14 i.e. ἄρχων | i.e. ^sἡ-н-ογнооге | i.e. ^sἡ-т-ογнн || 15 i.e. ^sπ-ннт-сноос | i.e. ἄρχων | i.e. ^sἡ-не-ογнооге || 16 i.e. ἄρχων | i.e. ^sсῳоγz || 17 l. на тпе | i.e. ^sсмн || 18 i.e. ^sнсе-ῡдῡνειν : l. ἡсoῡаатоῡ {нῡ-} “and it sends them” Emmel | i.e. ^sтеноῡ || 19 i.e. παρακαλεῖν | i.e. ^sἡнозк | i.e. ^sзолс || 20 i.e. ^sнотῡ | i.e. ^sзолс || 21 i.e. ^sе-к-на-еи | i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) | i.e. ^sἡгаzeрат | l. па пpооῡ | i.e. ^sзixῡ || 22 corrected from нпаптт by overwriting | i.e. ^sεpаi | i.e. ^sἡт-неззq || 23 i.e. ^spооῡ | i.e. ^sзолс | i.e. ^sнотῡ || 24 i.e. τροχός : тp . . ос Emmel | i.e. ^sἡ-ογлле || 25 i.e. ^sзолс | i.e. ^sат-зῳл | l. ат-zeннес : i.e. ^sат-зн-нике Emmel cf. Crum CD 239b || 26 i.e. ^sἡ-ат-неx тазq | l. zаeиo | l. xe | i.e. ^sт-ῳpк || 27 i.e. ^sἡ-т-апе

...the face of the Father... righteousness?... Hail, *tabernacle of the Father and the Son and the Spirit and those who are within it! Hail, seven *archangels¹⁵ who stand before the glory of the Father! Hail, *Principalities and *Authorities and *Powers that are on high! Hail, Church of the Firstborn and those who are within it! Hail, Powers! Hail, *cherubim! Hail, *seraphim! Hail, *Twenty-Four Presbyters of the¹⁰ Church that is in the heavens, and all who are in it! Hail, Paradise, and all who are in it! Hail, sun that shines! Hail, twelve powers that surround it! Hail, moon and all the stars! Hail, twelve rulers that appoint the hours of the night!¹⁵ Hail, twelve rulers that appoint the hours of the day! Hail, Hormosiel, the great ruler who gathers those of the heaven and those of the earth, he to whose voice those of the heavens listen, and they delight in it!

Now, I entreat you today, and I invoke you, Hormosiel, the one with the sweet voice²⁰ that is pleasant like <that of> Philemon, the one with the sweet voice, that you come to me today, me, NN, child of NN, and you stand over this *cup that is placed before me and you fill it for me with a voice which is sweet, which is pleasant, which [goes] up, which comes down, turning like a wheel, filled with all music,²⁵ which is sweet, which flows like a wind, which is not hoarse, does not breathe with difficulty, does not spit, yea, yea, for I adjure you by the right hand of the Father, I adjure you by the head of the Son,

General notes: Spells for a good singing voice are rare in the surviving corpus; there are no examples in Greek or Demotic, and only four others in Coptic: BL Ms. Or. 6794 (Kropp 1931: I no. E; KYP M306); *BKU* I 8 (KYP M81) ll. 1–39; P.PalauRib. 137 (KYP M719; unpublished); Turin Biblioteca Nazionale Ms. Peyron 158 c.1r (KYP M3761; unpublished).

19. ϣορμωσιελ : “Hormosiel” Hormosiel is one of the Four Luminaries known from Sethian Gnostic cosmologies; cf. the note to *PCM* I 25 p. 8 ll. 8–9. For Hormosiel as a celestial trumpeter, cf. BM EA 10122 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 4; KYP M289) front ll. 20–24: “Hormosiel the angel, the one in whose hands is the trumpet, who gathers the angels to the greeting of the Father, of the whole council of the Lord” (ϣορμωσιελ παγγελος παι ετερετσαλπιζ ντοτϣ εφσωοϣρ εϣοϣν παγγελος επασπασμος νπιωτ νπεχερωσια τηρϣ νπιωτ); Cairo JdE 49547 (Girard 1927; KYP M297) ll. 23–24: “Hail Hormosiel, the one who trumpets within the *veil of the Father” (ⲭⲉⲣⲁ ϣορμωσιⲉⲗ : ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲣⲟϣν ⲛⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲁ ⲛⲡⲓⲱⲧ). Hormosiel recurs as an angelic trumpeter in Coptic apocrypha, such as the *Investiture of Gabriel* (CC 378; Müller 1962: 67.19–20) and *Book of Bartholomew* (CC 27; Westerhoff 1999: 136.10); cf. *BKU* I 8 (KYP M81), another spell for a good singing voice, in which Daueithe, another luminary, appears as an angelic lute player; Burns 2018.

20. ⲉⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲫⲓⲗⲉⲙⲟⲛ : “like Philemon” Cf. *Acts of Andrew and Philemon* (CC 562) in which Philemon, disciple of Andrew, sings in the church of Lydda. His voice is “pleasing” and “sweet” (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲏ, ϣⲟⲗⲉ), causing the pagan priests who come to kill the apostles to break into tears and convert to Christianity when they hear it. The sweetness of his voice is mentioned again when he is tortured by the governor Rufus; see Miroshnikov 2017: 22, 33–36, 43, 53, 65–67, 70 (trans.); Miroshnikov 2023 (translation of Coptic and Arabic versions); and compare the summary in the *Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium*, 14th Khoiak (Basset 1909: 376–377). The description of the pagan priests “delighting” (ἡδύνειν; Miroshnikov 2017: 60, 66 (trans.)) in his voice is reminiscent of l. 18 of this text. Compare also the boy with five loaves and two fish in John 6.8–9, called Philemon in Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem’s *On Mary Magdalene* (CC 118), described as having been given by God “a voice which is pleasant” (ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲏ), likely the same figure (Coquin/Gordon 1990: 177 col. 1 ll. 21–22, 201 (trans.); Burke/Landau 2016: 206 (English trans.); cf. Miroshnikov 2017: 22).

front (↓) (continued)

- τιωρε εροκ εντεβο εμπενεγμα ετογααβ
 30 χε χκαας εκγκω ενσωκ ντοπος νιμ εννε-
 κκε ωαροι επετοπος παι ειωοοπ ενζητῳ ανοκ
 ΔΔ νεκχωκ παι εβ[ο]λ εμπογωω εμπαρητ
 μη ναπογλεγια ενπ[α]λ[α]ς εῳ ουταχη ταχη
 ραειο χε τιωρεκ τογναμ εμπωρη ται ετ-
 ταμαρτε εμπσαωρε ενσιουε ερεμητσηνοος
 35 ενσιου ο ννογκλον ενχεν τεχαπε

back (→)

5 CHNOQ ENCE- POPE ENLE- YKWN CTIREZ NAPONKA- LAMWN MACXE 10 ZOET KOQ LEYKWN		15 ΕΚΣΑΙ ΕΝ- ΝΑΙ ΕΝΧΕΝ [Τ-] ΒΑΣΙΣ ΕΜΠΑ- ΑΠΟΤ ΝΑΤΤΩΕΩΕΝ ΕΪΩ ΛΕΓΚΩΝ ΕΡΗΠ ΚΩΝ ΜΟΥ ΤΩΒ ΚΑΙΡΕ ΚΑ ΘΕΜΟQ ΚΑ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΘΩΡΕΧ ΕΝΠΑΠΟΤ	25 αυτοq επεκ- μοτε at 180° 27 ογφιαλε νκαμ..εῳ κογωτ 28 ναλαγ
---	--	--	--

28 i.e. ^sτωρεκ | i.e. ^sμ-π-τββο : i.e. ^sμ-π-ω “by the hair” Emmel | i.e. πνεῦμα ||
 front 29 l. χκαας | i.e. ^sεκ-ε-κω | i.e. ^sνωκ | i.e. τόπος || 29–30 i.e. ^sμ-τ-ει ? || 30 i.e. τόπος |
 i.e. ^sμ-ζητ-ε || 31 i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) | i.e. ^sμ-τ-χωκ || 32 απογλεγια corrected from
 ναπογλεγια by overwriting i.e. ἀπολογία | i.e. ταχύ (twice) || 33 i.e. ^sμ-τ-ογναμ ||
 33–34 l. ετ-αμαρτε (dittography over the line) || 34 i.e. ^sμ-ητ-σηνοος || 35 i.e. ^sμ-ογ-κλον
 (dittography) | i.e. ^sεχῳ || back 1 i.e. ^sκνω || 2–3 i.e. ^sερωπη || 5 i.e. λευκόν || 6 i.e. στύραξ ||
 7–8 i.e. ὀποκάλαμος, cf. CDO s.v. αποκαλαμων || 9 i.e. μόσχος ογ μαστίχη || 10 l. ^sμ-ροογτ ? :
 ρει . Emmel || 11 l. κογωτ || 13 i.e. ^sεκ-ε-εχαι || 16 i.e. βάσις || 17 i.e. ^sατ-ωρη ||
 18 i.e. ^sεβω | i.e. λευκόν : λογκων Emmel || 19 i.e. ^sμ-π-λευκόν : ερεπ λεκων Emmel ||
 20 l. μογ-τωβε : μοογῳτωβε ? Emmel || 21 i.e. καρύα ? see CDO s.v. καροια ογ χαίρε ? : χαίρε ογ χαίρε
 “offer greetings (?) 21 times (?)” Emmel || 22 i.e. ^sχοογ ? cf. ^sβωμη see Crum CD 795a : verb + -q
 “... it” ? Emmel || 23 i.e. ^sωρε || 24 i.e. ^sμ-π-αποτ || 25 i.e. ^sαωτ-ε || 27 i.e. φιάλη | νκαμε Emmel

I adjure you by the purity of the Holy Spirit, that you leave behind you every place and you ^{|30} come to me, to this place in which I am, I, NN, child of NN, and you accomplish for me the desire of my heart and the requests of my tongue, quickly, quickly, yea, for I adjure you by the right hand of the Son who rules the seven stars, while the twelve ^{|35} stars are the crown upon his head!

^{|back, left of figure} Blood of a white dove, ^{|6} *styrax, calamus juice, male? *musk?, ^{|11} white *costus.

^{|13, right of figure} You should draw these things ^{|15} upon the base of the unfired *cup. White honey, white wine, ^{|20} water <from the month of> Tobī, 21 nuts?, 21 papyrus? <plants>?; this is the preparation of the cup.

^{|25, further right} Hang it on your neck.

^{|27, at 180° degrees, hand 1?} A ... bowl, white costus.

back Image: This depicts the angel Hormosiel, his curly hair framed by a halo, with two tube-like wings, standing on a platform to blow his trumpet; the letters α and ω are written on his throat and body respectively; for a discussion of similar images of angels, see Dosoo 2022a: 139–151.

1–5. ⲥⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲥⲉⲣⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲗⲉⲕⲱⲛ : “blood of a white dove” The blood of white doves is commonly used in rituals with a positive goal, such as acquiring favour or good business; cf. *PCM I* 25 p. 17 ll. 20–24; *PCM I* 26 p. 15 l. 32; Cairo JdE 45060 (Kropp 1931: I no. K; KYP M303) l. 59; BL Ms. Or. 6796 (2, 3) (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118) back l. 112; P.Stras. K 204 + 205 + 282 §2.22 l. 9 (Hevesi 2018; KYP M92); BM EA 10414a (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 3; KYP M287) back l. 17; cf. *PCM I* 12 p. 1 l. 7. For a discussion, see Dosoo 2022c: 517–519.

9. ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲉ : “musk” For this word, see Dosoo 2018: 17–18; alternatively understand “mastic”.

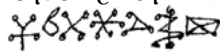
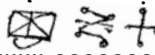
16–17. ⲉⲛⲡⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲱⲉⲩⲉⲙ : “the unfired cup” Literally “unslaked”, in this context perhaps understand a cup made from clay dried in the sun rather than fired in a kiln. Emmel suggests to translate “pristine”, that is, one which has not been used for cooking; cf. Crum CD 535a.

18–19. ⲉⲩⲱ ⲗⲉⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲣⲏⲡ ⲗⲉⲕⲱⲛ : “white honey, white wine” These ingredients recur in other recipes for a good singing voice (BL Ms. Or. 6794 (Kropp: I no. E; KYP M306), front ll. 56–58; *BKU I* 8, front ll. 33, 39; P.PalauRib. 137 (KYP M719; unpublished) front l. 3), demonstrating that they belong to the same ritual tradition. The colour white likely has a positive connotation (cf. Dosoo 2022c: 518), while the honey has the quality of sweetness desired for the user’s voice (cf. front ll. 23, 25). See also Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 2.

20. ⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ : “water <from the month of> Tobī” Water blessed during the feast of Epiphany on 11th Tobī (19th January), the feast celebrating the baptism of Jesus, in a ritual called the ‘Sanctification of the Waters’ carried out the night before, during which the priest calls upon God to endow it with powers of purification. The ritual originally took place at the Nile, but from the tenth century was moved within the church building. The water is used to baptise the congregation (symbolically, by anointing the head in the modern rite), while participants may also take it home to use throughout the year (Basset 1915: 573–574; Drescher 1958: 60–61; Burmester 1967: 250–256; Grossmann 1991; Denysenko 2016; cf. the Coptic prayer for the sanctification in *SPP XVIII* 276 L.12–M.3). For other examples in the Coptic magical corpus, see *BKU I* 8 (KYP M81) l. 33; BL Ms. Or. 6796 (2), (3) back (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118) back ll. 104–105; P.Mich.Inv. 593 (Worrell 1930: 245, translating “brick water”; KYP M9) p. 6 l. 5–7 (cf. the same recipe in P.Mich.Inv. 594 front ll. 3–4; KYP M15). For examples of its use in later *Copto-Arabic magic, see the rituals for Psalms 4, 27, 31, 35, 74, 88 in Henein/Bianquis 1975; for Mediaeval and early Modern Greek magic (as ἀγιασμὸν τῶν Θειοφανείων/Φώτων etc.), see Delatte 1927: 43.15, 49.3, 50.22–23, 101.1–2, 127.32, 129.3, 137.11, 597.19–20, 620.22; for examples from Ethiopian magic, see Strelcyn 1981: 60.

back (→) (continued)

m² // ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΗΗ ΝΣΙΜΕ ΟΥΔΗΡΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΝΩΤ ΚΑΛΩΣ ·

30 ΕΚΣΖΑΙ ΝΝΑΙ ΕΥΠΕΤΑΛΩΝ ΝΚΑΣΙΤΗΡΗ : ΘΥ Γ̄ ΑΣΠΑΡΤΟΝ
 ΟΥΣΒΗΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΡΩΦ ΝΟΥΖΤΟ [Ν]ΚΑΜΗ ΤΗΡῶ · ΜΗ ΟΥΒΙΝΘΛΩ ΕΚ-
 ΤΩΜΕΣ ΝΜΟΣ ΕΠΡΟ ΝΤΕΣΙΜΕ ΚΗΑΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΦΘΟΜ ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΗ //
 / ΕΡΙΒΙΕΤΙΟΔΥΘΦΟΡΑΡΕΘ̄ ΘΤΛΟΑΠΟΔΕ 
 . ΔΙΚΩΝ ΑΑΑΑΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕΕΕΕ ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗ
 35 ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΔΕΗΙΟΥ ΤΑΕΝΙ ! //



ΤΙΩΡΚ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΝΝΕΤΗΡΑΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗΘΕΣΙ
 ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΤΗΖΜΟΟΣ
 ΖΙΧΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗΣΤΩΛΗ ΕΤΣΟΛΕ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗ-
 ΣΤΗΛΗ ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ [ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗ]Τ[Ο]ΠΟΣ ΕΤΗΤΗΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΟ[Υ]
 40 ΤΙΩΡΚ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΗΗ ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΛΗΠΕ
 ΜΗ ΟΥΛΙΒΕ ΝΖΗΤ ΖΗ ΠΖ[Η]Τ ΝΔΔΔ ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΗ ΤΙΩΡΚ ΝΝΕ-
 ΤΗ^ΤΝΟΣ ΝΣΟΗ ΝΤΕΒ[Ε]ΡΣΕΒΟΥΡ ΠΡΡΩ ΝΝΔΗΜΟΝΙΟΝ
 . . . ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΖΟΥ . . . ΝΗΤΡΗΝΖΗΤ ΤΙΩΡΚ ΕΡΩΤΗ
 ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΡΚΑΔΣ ΕΟΥΩΗ ΟΥΔΕ [ΕΩ ΟΥΔΕ . . .]
 45 ΟΥΔΕ ΖΕΜΟΟΣ ΩΑΝΤΕΣΕΡ ΘΕ ΝΝΙΟΥΖΩΡ ΝΚ[ΑΜΕ]
 ΕΤΛΟΒΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΕΥΩ[Η]ΡΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΕΛΤΙΛ [*nothing lost?*]

front (↓), below and at 180° to ll. 1–35

36 / ΝΜΟΟΥ ΕΣΑΩΕ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΚΑΤΟΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΩΦ ΕΣΑΩΕ Ν[. . .]
 ΥΥΧΗ ΝΔΔΩΑΝΤΕΣΕΙ ΩΑ ΝΙΜ Δ, ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΗ . ΜΗ [. . .]
 ΤΙΘΗΜ . ΣΕΘ [. . .] . [*ca. 5*] . [. ?]

29 *i.e.* ^Σηε | *i.e.* ^Σςριμε | *i.e.* τύραννος | *i.e.* ^Σναωτ | *i.e.* καλῶς || 30 *i.e.* ^Σεκ-ε-εζαι | *i.e.* πέταλον | *i.e.* κασσίτερος | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* ἄσφατος : ἄσπαρτον οἱ ἄσφατος ? Emmel || 31 *i.e.* ^Σεκ-ε- || 32 *i.e.* ^Στωμη | *i.e.* ^Σςριμε | *i.e.* ταχύ || 34 *cf.* τ-εἰκών ? || 36 *i.e.* θυσία || 37 *i.e.* φυλακτήριον | *i.e.* θρόνος | *i.e.* ^Σετ-τετῆ- || 38 *i.e.* στολή || 39 *i.e.* στήλη | *i.e.* ^Σετ-τετῆ- || 40 *i.e.* λύπη || 41 *i.e.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) : *i.e.* ταχύ || 41–42 ΝΝΕΤΗΝΟΣ corrected to ΝΤΗΝΟΣ Emmel || 42 *i.e.* ^Προ | *i.e.* δαιμόνιον || 43 . οὔχαῖ Ν.ΟΥ Emmel || 44 [εω ουδε] Emmel || 44, 45 *i.e.* οὔτε || 45 *i.e.* ^Σεμοος | *i.e.* ^Σοζορ | ΝΚ[ΑΜΕ] Emmel, *cf.* οζορε κανε εφναβι νεσωνρε in *BKU* I 3 ll. 8–9 (KYP M77) || *front* 36 *i.e.* κάδος | Emmel suggests to read εἴκατε at the end of the line | “snake desperate [for] the soul of NN” Emmel || 37 *i.e.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) (three times) || *i.e.* ψυχή | *i.e.* ταχύ | perhaps restore μη ούβηπε or similar : ...[.] Emmel || 38 τεθνήκεισθ [...].[*ca.* 6]Δ[.] Emmel

^{|back, 29} For a woman's love: A "tyrant" which is very strong. ^{|30} You should write these on a leaf of tin. Offering: three? <measures of> bitumen, foam of the mouth of a horse which is all black, and a bat. You should bury it at the door of the woman. You will see its power quickly.

Eribetioduthfpharorethathtloapoe (*kharaktēres*: ΥΒ×※ΔΨ⊠)

(*kharaktēres*: ⊠EZ+) ... Dikōn (?) AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ÊÊÊÊÊÊÊ ^{|35} IIIIIII
OOOO OOO UUUUUUU ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ AEËIOU Taeni

I adjure you (pl.) by your all your holy *names and your offerings and your *phylacteries and your *thrones, which you sit upon, and by your garments, which cover you, and by your stelae, which are perfect, [and by your] *places in which you dwell! ^{|40} I adjure you by all of these, concerning a love of the heart, and grief and madness of the heart in the heart of NN, child of NN, quickly! I adjure you by your great power, Beelzebub, the king of demons, ... the *wellbeing ... wisdom?; I adjure you by all of these! Do not let her eat or ... ^{|45} or sit, until she becomes like [black] dogs mad for their children, and like a drop ^{|front, 36} of water hanging from a jar, like a snake hanging from? ... soul of NN, child of NN, until she comes quickly to NN, child of NN ...

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph, tracings by KD & JS.

Image: The figures here seem to constitute a performative depiction of the ritual; on the left a man and a woman stand side by side, while in the middle a figure, likely representing the practitioner, is depicted in the orant position, surrounded by *kharaktēres* representing his power. On the right, the man is now kissing the woman, with the *kharaktēres* beside him representing the force of the spell; see Dosoo 2018: 30–31 for a discussion.

29. ΟΥΔΗΡΑΝΟΣ : “a ‘tyrant’” This seems to be a technical term for a type of love spell which takes control of its target, but it is otherwise unattested in our corpus.

30. ρ : “three” Emmel proposes an uncertain abbreviated word modified by following ἄσπαρτον rather than a numeral here.

45. ἄνιογζωωρ : “dogs” Literally “these (black) dogs”, but an instance of the affective demonstrative (or ‘strong article’) being used in a generalisation, equivalent to a noun without an article in English (Layton 2000: 49).

back l. 44–front l. 36. ἡπερκαας εσγωῖ : “Do not let her eat...” This passage draws upon the common motifs of love as the inability to eat, or drink (LOVE IS ABSTINENCE), and of love as animal behaviour; see the notes to *PCM* I 7 ll. 32–36 for parallels for animal behaviour in the Coptic corpus. For parallels to the inability to eat or drink in the context of Greek magic, see Martinez 1995, in the context of Jewish magic, see Saar 2017: 126–128, and in the context of Syriac magic, see Cherkashina/Lyavdansky 2021: 78–81; Cherkashina/Lyavdansky 2022: 29–31. Compare Isaiah 40.15 for the analogy of a “drop of water in a jar” (οὐτελεῖλε εβολ ἐν ογκαλαος); cf. the discussion in Jernstedt 1929: 125–128; a near exact parallel to this phrase may be found in *PCM* I 28 p. 6 ll. 11–12. For other instances of the motif of LOVE IS ABSTINENCE in this volume, see *PCM* I 28 p. 5 ll. 11–13; *PCM* I 32 p. 1 l. 16.

PCM I 18. Curse to cause sickness

Middle Egypt ?

32.4 (H) × 24.1 (W) cm

VIII CE

Other references: P.CtYBR inv. 1800 qua; TM 99993; KYP M294; Bélanger Sarrazin #9.

Editions: Emmel in Meyer/Smith 1994: appendix 4 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Emmel in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 106.

Additional commentary: Petersen 1964: no. 62; MacCoull 1975: 219; Friedman 1989: 198; Krueger 2022: 294–296.

Present location: New Haven, Beinecke Library (Yale University).

Image: <https://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2759462>

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–20: Curse to cause sickness (KYP T483)

Complete sheet of papyrus with damage along the folds and a piece of the bottom-right missing, containing a curse intended to cause sickness. It is rectangular in shape, with 3 vertical and 8 horizontal creases visible. The back is uninscribed. The manuscript was purchased in New York, from Hans P. Kraus, the rare book dealer,¹ and acquired by Yale University on the 1st May 1964 with funds donated by Edwin John Beinecke. Its provenance is unknown, although Petersen notes that place names in papyri from the same collection point to Middle Egypt.²

The sheet is written in black ink in a single column of 20 lines (↓). The hand is a regular, bimodal majuscule, respecting intralinear space. The script demonstrates a slight slant to the right, particularly in the final seven lines. The horizontal and right vertical stroke of the $\mathfrak{u}$ are sometimes written in a single movement, leading it to resemble the minuscule form. There are occasional ligatures, in particular $\tau + \mathfrak{t}$. ϵ , $\mathfrak{o}$, and $\mathfrak{c}$ are very narrow, while λ and τ are wide, and $\mathfrak{v}$ is tall, extending beyonds the bounds of the general bilinearity. Supralineation is only used with *voces magicae*. Petersen (1964) hesitantly suggested a sixth or seventh century date, but close hands may be found in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 175 (TM 87349; 721 CE) and *PSI Com.* XI 2 (TM 65033; 743–769 CE); we thus suggest an eighth century date.³

The dialect is Sahidic, only slight diverging from the literary standard, writing the supralinear stroke as ϵ and lacking $\mathfrak{n} \succ \mathfrak{u}$ assimilation before a labial; while these are both common, the latter is particularly characteristic of Middle Egypt.⁴

¹ “Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection.”

² Petersen 1964: “Introductory note”.

³ We are very grateful to Ágnes Mihálykó for suggesting these comparanda.

⁴ Cf. Kahle 1954: I 100.

front (↓)

- [.] . [. . . .] πας π̄σατ̄αν̄ τ̄ιωρεκ̄ εροκ̄ ἐν̄νᾱν̄
 πᾱι ε̄τ̄[ε]ρε̄ τε̄μο̄γ̄νᾱμ̄ τᾱλη̄γ̄ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ ε̄χ̄εν̄ φᾱρ̄μᾱ
 ἐν̄π̄ωτ̄ ε̄το̄γ̄ᾱᾱβ̄ με̄ν̄ ᾱσᾱρω̄ π̄νο̄ς̄ ε̄ν̄χ̄[ε]ρ̄ο̄γ̄β̄ῑν̄
 πᾱι ε̄τ̄ρο̄ε̄ῑς̄ ε̄τε̄σ̄κ̄ῡνη̄ ἐν̄π̄ωτ̄ π̄πᾱν̄τω̄κ̄ρᾱτω̄ρ̄
 5 τ̄ιωρε̄κ̄ ε̄ν̄π̄[ο]ῡ πᾱγ̄γε̄λο̄ς̄ ἐν̄π̄ε̄θ̄ν̄σ̄ιᾱσ̄τη̄ρῑον̄ ε̄το̄γ̄ᾱᾱβ̄
 χ̄ε̄ ν̄κο̄ ν̄ρε̄ν̄ζε̄ ᾱν̄ ο̄γ̄δε̄ ν̄ε̄γ̄β̄η̄λ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ε̄βο̄κ̄ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ ω̄ᾱ π̄νο̄γ̄[τε]
 ο̄γ̄δε̄ τε̄κ̄θ̄ν̄σ̄ιᾱ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ η̄ ε̄ο̄γ̄ω̄ω̄ε̄τ̄ ἐν̄π̄ε̄κ̄ρῑτ̄η̄ς̄ ἐμ̄μη̄[τ̄]
 ο̄γ̄δε̄ ε̄ᾱπᾱν̄τᾱ ἐπ̄χ̄ο̄ε̄ῑς̄ ἐν̄π̄ε̄κᾱζε̄ρᾱτε̄κ̄ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ ε̄χ̄εν̄
 π̄σ̄ω̄[μᾱ] ν̄ε̄γ̄ε̄ῑνε̄ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ [ε̄]χ̄ω̄γ̄ ἐνο̄γ̄γ̄ῑς̄ε̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄ω̄ω̄[νε̄]
 10 με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄λο̄β̄λε̄ς̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄ζε̄ρ̄ε̄γ̄μᾱ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄ᾱσῑκ̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄τ̄κᾱς̄
 με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄ζ̄λο̄π̄λε̄π̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄με̄τ̄κο̄γ̄ῑ ἐν̄ζ̄η̄τ̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄ε̄ρ̄μο̄-
 ε̄τ̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄γ̄ω̄ε̄βε̄ με̄ν̄ ο̄[γ̄τ̄]ε̄μο̄ν̄ῑον̄ ἐν̄λῑβε̄ με̄ν̄
 ω̄βε̄ ἐν̄σῑ ἐν̄ω̄ω̄νε̄ ε̄ρ̄[ε̄ν̄αῑ] ω̄βε̄ ε̄γ̄ε̄ῑ ἐν̄κε̄ν̄το̄γ̄ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ
 ε̄χ̄ε̄ν̄ π̄[σ̄ω̄]μ̄ᾱ ἐν̄ν̄[ε̄]ρ̄ο̄ο̄γ̄ τη̄ρο̄γ̄ ἐν̄π̄ε̄ω̄νε̄ζ̄
 15 χ̄ε̄ ν̄ε̄μᾱκο̄ς̄ ἐν̄ζ̄ο̄ο̄γ̄τ̄ ο̄γ̄δε̄ φᾱρ̄μᾱκο̄ς̄ ἐν̄σ̄ζ̄ῑμε̄ ε̄ω̄ νᾱ
 νᾱγ̄ ο̄γ̄δε̄ ε̄ρ̄ πᾱζε̄ρε̄ ε̄ρο̄γ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ζ̄εν̄ νᾱσῑχ̄ ᾱνο̄κ̄ ω̄αν̄-
 τ̄ῑνᾱ νᾱγ̄ ε̄ῑρε̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ ν̄ε̄γ̄χ̄ω̄κ̄ νᾱῑ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ἐν̄πο̄γ̄ω̄ω̄ τη̄ρε̄γ̄
 ἐν̄πᾱζ̄η̄τ̄ πε̄τε̄μᾱ ἐν̄τᾱγ̄χη̄ ζ̄εν̄ τε̄κ̄νο̄ς̄ ἐν̄σ̄ο̄μ̄ ᾱς̄-
 20 μο̄τε̄ο̄ς̄ τε̄μο̄ν̄ιᾱκο̄ς̄ ᾱῑ[ο̄ ᾱῑ]ο̄ τᾱχη̄ τᾱχη̄ . . . [.] . [.] θ̄
 φ̄ε̄λλ̄ω̄ δ̄ᾱθε̄ς̄ τᾱχη̄ τ̄[ᾱχη̄ . . . ?]

2 i.e. ἄρμα || 3 i.e. χερουβίμ || 4 i.e. σκηνή | i.e. παντοκράτωρ || 5 l. τ̄ιωρε̄κ̄ «ε̄ροκ̄» ? | i.e. ἄγγελος | i.e. θυσιαστήριον || 6 i.e. οὐδέ | i.e. ὡ- | l. βηλ̄ «αν̄» ε̄βο̄λ̄ Emmel || 7 i.e. θυσία | i.e. ἡ̄ | i.e. ὁ̄γ̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ | i.e. κριτής | ἐμ̄μη̄[τ̄] or ἐμ̄μη̄[νε̄] ? Emmel || 8 i.e. οὐδέ | i.e. ἀπαντ̄αν̄ | i.e. ὡ̄ε̄π̄ε̄κ̄ || 9 i.e. σῶμα | i.e. ὡ̄ε̄ν̄-δ̄(εἶνᾱ) δ̄(εἶνᾱ) | i.e. ὡ̄ε̄ν̄- || 10 ζ̄ρε̄γ̄μᾱ corrected from ζ̄ρε̄γ̄ῑν̄ . ? by erasure and overwriting i.e. ῥε̄ῡμᾱ || 11 i.e. ὡ̄ε̄ν̄τ̄κο̄γ̄ῑ Emmel || 11–12 i.e. ὡ̄ε̄μο̄ν̄τ̄ : ἐρ̄μο̄νε̄τ̄ Emmel || 12 i.e. δαιμόνιον || 13 i.e. ὡ̄ε̄ν̄ π̄σῑ ν̄ω̄ω̄νε̄ Emmel | i.e. ὡ̄ε̄-π̄-ο̄γ̄ε̄ῑ ν̄ε̄γ̄β̄η̄το̄γ̄ : i.e. ὡ̄ε̄γ̄-ε̄-ε̄ῑ Emmel || 14 i.e. σῶμα | i.e. ὡ̄ε̄ν̄-δ̄(εἶνᾱ) δ̄(εἶνᾱ) || 15 i.e. ὡ̄ε̄ν̄ π̄νε̄- | i.e. μάγος̄ | i.e. οὐδέ | i.e. φάρμακος̄ || 16 i.e. οὐδέ || 18 i.e. αἵτημα | i.e. ψυχή || 19 i.e. δαιμονιακός | i.e. ταχύ (twice) || 20 i.e. ταχύ (twice).

[...] Psataēl. I adjure you, Ennaēl, he whose right hand is lifted over the chariot of the holy Father, and Asarōth, the great *cherub, he who guards the *tabernacle of the Almighty Father!

¹⁵ I adjure <you> today, O *angel of the holy altar, that you will not be free, nor will you be released to go up to God, nor <to take> your offering up, nor to worship the true judge, nor to meet the Lord, until you have stood upon the body <of> NN and you have brought upon him suffering and disease ¹⁰ and sickness and a discharge and a fever and a pain and a weariness and a dejection and a shivering and a swelling and a demon of madness and seventy diseases, each one being different, and you bring them down upon the [body] <of> NN for all the days of his life, ¹⁵ so that neither a male magician nor a female sorcerer will be able to take pity on him, nor heal him from my hands, I, NN, child of NN, until I have mercy upon him!

Act and complete for me the entire desire of my heart, the demand of my soul through your great power, demoniac Asmodeus, yea, yea, quickly, quickly! ... ²⁰ Phellōth, Athes, quickly, quickly!

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph.

2. ΤΕΡΟΥΝΑΗ : “right hand” Emmel mistakenly translates “left hand”.

3. ΠΝΟΣ ΕΝΧ[Ε]ΡΟΥΒΙΝ : “the great cherub” Emmel translates “great guardian angel”. The title “great cherub” is applied in Pseudo-Chrysostom, *On the Four Bodiless Living Creatures* (CC 177) to the chief of the *Four Living Creatures who draw the chariot of god, in which he is named Kherubiēl (Wasink 1991); he is likely the lion-faced creature (Hagen 2007). Asarōth is mentioned as the mount of God in *PCM I* 26 p. 10 l. 27 and P. Vindob. K 8301 (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 44; KYP M273) ll. 1–5, and the name also appears in *P.Lond.Copt.* 524 (KYP M359) l. 115, without further context, but with three other names (ΙΑΘΑΒΙΡ, ΚΕΓΓΙΝΛ, and ΣΕΒΡΙΝΛ) perhaps the other three Living Creatures; cf. Dosoo 2021d: 417.

5. ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΝΠΕΘΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ : “O angel of the holy altar” As discussed in Krueger 2022, the “angel of the altar” (also “angel of the sacrifice” or “angel of the *topos*”) is the guardian angel of the church altar in Egyptian Christianity, attested from the fourth century. One of the angel’s tasks, alluded to here, is to convey the prayers and offerings of the congregation to God. The prominence of the angel of the altar here is perhaps a sign that the written curse was to be deposited at the altar; cf. BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) back ll. 80–82, a curse which is to be buried under the altar of a *topos* (i.e., a monastery, church or shrine; ΠΕΘΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΤΟΠΟΣ).

15. ΝΕΜΑΚΟΣ ΕΝΡΟΟΥΤ ΟΥΔΕ ΦΑΡΜΑΓΟΣ ΕΝΣΕΙΜΕ : “neither a male magician nor a female sorcerer” For the claim that (other?) “magicians” will be unable to heal a curse, compare *PCM I* 3, front col. 1 ll. 30–33, and cf. the discussion in Dosoo 2021b: 51.

18–19. ΑΣΜΟΤΕΟΣ : “Asmodeus” A demonic figure known from Tobit 3.8, 16 etc., in which he murders seven husbands of Sarah before he is banished and bound by the intervention of the angel Raphael. He recurs in the *Testament of Solomon* 5 in an account clearly inspired by Tobit (McCown 1922: 21*–25*; Charlesworth 1983: 965–967 (trans.)). Since the demon here seems to be under the command of the angel of the altar, Krueger (2022: 295–296) suggests that this text may have been associated with a church dedicated to Raphael. For other instances of angels commanding demons in curses, see P.Berol. 10587 (Beltz 1983: no. I 555; KYP M510) col. 1 ll. 21–23; Bodleian MS. Copt. c (P) 4 (Crum 1896; KYP M412) back l. 6.

PCM I 19. Adjuration to protect virginity and marriage

Upper Egypt ?

8 (H) × 24 (W) cm

late VIII–early X CE

Other references: RC-2643; TM 874221; *P.Rosicrucian Mag.Copt.*; KYP M574.

Editions: Blumell/Dosoo 2021 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Blumell/Dosoo 2021.

Present location: San José, Rosicrucian Museum.

Image: https://s3.amazonaws.com/pastperfectonline/images/museum_698/001/rc2643-2.jpg

Linguistic description: Sahidic.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–5: Invocation to protect virginity and marriage (KYP T659)

Complete rectangular sheet of papyrus, slightly damaged on the right side, leaving some of the individual fibres visible. The presence of the generic name marker likely indicates that this was a formulary, an invocation to protect the ‘purity’ of a woman, perhaps in the context of a celibate marriage. The manuscript was folded or rolled; vertical creases are apparent *ca.* every 2 cm, about 14 in all.

The manuscript was purchased as part of a lot of six Coptic manuscripts for \$150 on the 13th October 1952 from Ulrich Steindorff Carrington, the son of the Egyptologist Georg Steindorff, who had died in August of the previous year. The papyrus had been part of his father’s collection.¹

The text is written in black ink on the front (→) of the papyrus; the back was left blank. Between the third and fourth line, there is a wider interlinear space of about 1 cm, separating possessive article from noun.² The script is an informal bilinear, bimodal, right-sloping majuscule. *ø*, *τ*, *γ*, *Ⲡ* have serifs, and there is a distinctive *ø-ε* ligature. The *ⲃ* is significantly larger than other letters, the *ⲙ* appears deeply curved; we follow the original editors in proposing a date in the late eighth to early tenth centuries.³ The dialect is non-standard Sahidic, displaying the lack of *ⲛ > ⲙ* assimilation before labials, the writing of the supralinear stroke as *ε*, and of *ⲱ* for *ⲟ*; the original editors suggest an Upper Egyptian origin, primarily because of the use of the *επε-SUBJECT-ⲛⲁ* future with *ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ* in l. 3.⁴

¹ Rosicrucian Museum Master Artifact Record Database; Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 120, n. 7.

² Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 121, n. 10.

³ Blumell/Dosoo (2021: 122) compare the script to Pierpont Morgan M636 (*post* 795–797 CE) and *P.Lond.Copt.* 514 (*ca.* 880–907 CE; TM 99548).

⁴ Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 128; *cf.* Depuydt 2017.

front (→)

ΤΙΩΡΕΚ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ ΝΠΩΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΡΖΑΡΕΖ
ΕΤΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΥΤΕΒΩ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΥΚΑΜΟΣ
ΕΡΕΔ.Δ. ΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΕC-

vac.

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΕCΚΑΜΟΣ
ΜΕΝ ΠΕCΤΕΒΩ

5

1 *i.e.* ^sⲧ-ⲱⲣⲉⲕ | *i.e.* ^sⲡ-ⲡⲱⲟϥ || 2 *i.e.* παρθενία | *i.e.* ^sⲧⲃⲃⲟ | *i.e.* γάμος || 3 *i.e.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) ||
3-4 *vacat* in papyrus || 4 *i.e.* παρθενία | *i.e.* γάμος || 5 *i.e.* ^sⲧⲃⲃⲟ.

I adjure you (pl.) today, that, just as you (f.s.) guarded your virginity and your purity and your marriage, may NN, child of NN, guard her virginity and her marriage |⁵ and her purity!

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph.

1. “you, (pl.)... you (f.s.)” A rare case in which the adjured being is female; for other examples see *PCM* I 25 p. 1 ll. 25–26 (addressing a female demon), *PCM* I 29 l. 10 (addressing a scorpion); BnF Suppl.Grec. 1340 (unpublished; KYP M39) l. 9 (addressing Artemis). The apparent alternation between plural and singular may be either an error, or indicate the use of the plural to indicate respect, an example of the phenomenon known in linguistics as the ‘T-V distinction’, in which V pronouns indicate greater formality or express a hierarchical relationship between speaker and addressee. For the first possibility, compare, for example, *PCM* I front ll. 1, 7–8 and *PCM* I 27 ll. 4, 9, in which singular and plural forms alternate. For the possibility of the T-V distinction, see the discussion in Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 124. The likely addressee here is Mary, in her role as the “ever-virgin” (ἀειπάρθενος), who is called upon to help the target to maintain her virginity in marriage just as Mary did (Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 139).

2. ΕΤΟΓΓΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΥΤΕΘΩ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΥΚΑΜΟΣ : “your virginity and your purity and your marriage” “Virginity” here likely refers straightforwardly to lack of sexual experience, rather than being ‘faithful’ to one’s spouse. “Purity” (᾿τῆβω) in this context translates Greek ἀγνεία, with the more specific meaning of “chastity”. The pairing of the two nouns is attested from around the fourth century in reference to Christian celibate ascetics, both male and female, and the Virgin Mary, who “guard” (ῶρεζ/φυλάσσειν) their virginity and chastity. The reference to “marriage” is less expected; Blumell/Dosoo (2021) suggest the context of celibate marriage, in which couples agreed to cohabit without engaging in sexual intercourse (to be distinguished from spiritual marriage, in which celibate ascetic couples lived together without formally marrying). Such marriages are attested in Egypt in literary sources which date from the fourth century, but are particularly common in Egypt around the ninth (Mikhail 2017: 42). On this understanding, this text would represent a short adjuration of Mary to be used by an individual in a celibate marriage—likely the husband, since it refers to the woman in the third person—to ensure that the wife remains celibate. Alternatively, it might be possible to understand the text as being intended to protect an unmarried woman from losing her virginity, and thus marriageability; this seems to be a concern in two other surviving texts, *PCM* I 23 ll. 21–49 and P.Stras. K 135 (Crum 1922b; KYP M474). The first of these texts also mentions the virginity of Mary, although both include the binding of the virility of a specific man, and neither mention marriage. Compare the discussion of these texts in Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 129–131 who suggest that young women’s parents might be the most likely commissioners of such a ritual.

PCM I 20. Love spell in the form of a Horus-Isis narrative charm

Arsionites (Faiyum) ?

14 (H) × 16 (W) cm

VIII–IX CE

Other references: P.Donadoni; TM 102259; KYP M127; Bélanger Sarrazin #1.

Editions: Donadoni 1965–1966 (*ed. pr.*) (repr. in Donadoni 1986: 545–552); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3 no. 4.

Translations: Donadoni 1965–1966 (Italian) (repr. in Donadoni 1986: 545–552); Pernigotti 1995: no. 20 (Italian); van der Vliet 2019b: 334; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: appendix 3, no. 4. (French).

Additional commentary: Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014; Blumell/Dosoo 2018; Hevesi 2019; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 2.

Present location: Rome, private collection family Donadoni.

Image: Plates II–III.

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Faiyumic features.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–16: Love spell in the form of Horus-Isis *historiola*-based charm (KYP T342)
2. Back l. 1: Name of target (?) (KYP T6890)

Complete sheet of papyrus, damaged on the left, and along the fold line in the top third of the sheet, resulting in damage to lines 5 and 6. At least 5 vertical and 2 horizontal creases are visible. The papyrus is of uncertain provenance, having been gifted before 1965 to Sergio Donadoni (1914–2015) by his former student Carla Burri, perhaps acquired during her time as cultural attachée to the Italian Embassy in Cairo (1964–1981).¹ The papyrus remains in the private collection of the Donadoni family in Rome.

The hand of the front is an irregular, generally upright majuscule; letter heights are inconsistent and there is little interlinear space. The α has a rounded bowl separated from a straight oblique stem, Δ and χ are narrow and highly angular. ε, ø, and c are also narrow, although ε has a long middle stroke. κ is written in two movements, the first resembling a Latin V, with the lower oblique stroke drawn separately in a second movement. μ is curved but not deeply, and o is small; γ is written like a Latin V. The bottom stroke of the ϣ is straight and sloped to the left, while ϣ is bilinear. There is no supralineation or punctuation, but diaeresis

¹ Donadoni 1965–1966: 285 n. 1. On Burri, see Orsenigo 2020, who notes (p. 53) that she was a “regular visitor to auction houses and dealers authorized by the Egyptian government... she could often be found at the Sale Room of the Cairo Egyptian Museum making purchases on her own or on friend’s behalf”. While the late Donadoni’s records do not record the date of the gift, a time shortly after her arrival in Egypt in 1964 seems likely.

is always used on ι. The hand's idiosyncrasy makes dating difficult, but similar letterforms may be found in a few private legal documents from the Faiyum (*CPR* IV 55, 66, & 88). Although dated by their original editor to the eighth century, this is somewhat arbitrary; documents from the Faiyum tend to date to the late eighth to ninth centuries, a range we likewise propose for this papyrus. We may note that like this magical manuscript, Faiyumic legal texts tend to be wider than they are tall.²

A single word is written on the lower left part of the back, at 90° counterclockwise to the front, in a second, alphabetic, hand suggestive of an even lower level of scribal training. α consists of a short vertical stroke with a rounded second stroke written in nearly in the centre. ο resembles a mirrored α with a flat left-hand side, apparently written in a second stroke.

The dialect is broadly Sahidic, heavily influenced by what are best understood as Faiyumic features. The hypercorrection of λ to ρ suggests a writer whose own dialect was lambdicistic. There is a similar, albeit non-dialectal hypercorrection of τ to Δ, β to ϣ, and use of the long form of the vowels ει and ογ where their reduced forms would be expected in Sahidic. We also see the occasional omission of the circumstantial ε- (apocope), and the writing of ε for schwa or ̄n̄. There are examples of the exchange of the vowels ε/η and ο/ω, as well as, once (l. 1), ε for ̄ō. The use of μεχε-/μεχα for ̄πεχε-/̄πεχα is likewise associated by Quecke (1970: 373–374) with the Faiyum, although Kahle (1954: I 123–124) associates it with regions B–E, that is, from the Faiyum to Armant.

² Garel 2018: 201–203, 206–207.

front (↓)

- m¹ ⲡ ⲁⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ϣⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲗⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲁⲓⲉ
 ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲙ ϣⲁⲣ ⲉϣⲣⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϣⲉⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩϣⲉϣⲉⲕⲓⲛ ϣⲓⲭⲱⲥ ⲉϣϣⲱⲕ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉϣ ⲛⲗⲟ-
 ⲙⲉⲧ ⲉϣ . . . ϣⲟ . ϣ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲙⲉⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϣ ⲭⲉ ⲁϣⲁ-
 5 ⲓⲉ ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲓ ⲙⲉⲭⲁϣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ϣⲁⲗⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲃⲁ-
 ⲣ ⲙⲱⲓ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙⲓ . ⲓ . . . ϣⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉ-
 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲱⲧ ϣⲁⲱⲣ ⲙⲟϣ ⲁⲓⲗⲓϣⲉ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲁⲩⲱⲗⲟⲙ ⲙⲉ-
 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲣⲟⲕ ⲕⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲩⲱⲗⲟⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲛ
 ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲟⲓⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲁⲓⲉ ⲛϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲩⲱⲩⲧ ⲉⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲡ-
 10 ⲓⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲥ ⲙⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙⲉⲭⲁϣ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲉ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲙⲉ-
 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲕⲉⲣⲟϣ ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲉ ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲉ ⲛⲣⲱϣⲕⲉⲉⲩⲩⲓⲧ ⲩ-
 ⲓ . . ⲓ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲛ ⲁⲁⲩⲱⲩ-
 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϣ ⲁⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲉⲡⲉⲱⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϣ ⲛϣ-
 15 ⲓ . . ⲓⲩ ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲁⲉϣⲟⲟⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲩⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉ
 ⲉⲣⲟϣ ⲉⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲭⲉ

back (→) (written at 90° counterclockwise to front)

m² ϣⲟⲩⲁ

1 *i.e.* ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ | *i.e.* ϣⲓⲣⲓⲛ ⲛ-ⲣⲟ | *i.e.* ⲁⲉⲓ-ⲗⲉ ⲉ-(ⲟ)ϣ-ϣⲁⲓⲉ (haplography) || 2 *i.e.* ⲁⲗⲁⲩ | *i.e.* ⲥⲃⲁⲗ : or *l.* ⲩⲱⲁⲣ Donadoni, Pernigotti | ⲉϣⲣⲙⲟⲟⲥ corrected from ⲉⲉⲗⲙⲟⲟⲥ by overwriting | *i.e.* ϣⲓⲭⲛ- | ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲩⲧⲉ corrected from ⲟⲩ . ⲱⲧⲉ ? || 3 ϣⲉϣⲉⲕⲓⲛ *i.e.* βισάκκιον ? see note | *i.e.* ⲉϣϣⲱⲕ ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲩⲩ | *i.e.* ⲥⲛ-ⲕⲁⲃⲟϥ Förster WBGW 357 || 3–4 ϣⲟⲙⲉⲧ corrected from ϣⲉⲙⲉⲧ : ⲛⲗⲟⲙⲉⲧ Donadoni || 4 ⲉϣ . . . ϣⲟ . ϣ *i.e.* ϣⲁⲗⲟⲓϣ ? : ⲉϣⲓ ⲓⲣⲁⲗⲉ Donadoni | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲭⲁϣ | *i.e.* ⲥⲧ- || 4–5 ⲁϣⲁⲓⲉ Donadoni || 5 *i.e.* ⲥⲧ | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲭⲁϣ | ⲭⲉ ϣⲁⲗⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲃⲁ : [. . .] Donadoni || 6 *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲣⲉϣⲉⲧⲱⲡ ? *cf.* *l.* 10 | for this line . ⲛⲟⲓⲡⲉϣⲁ ϣⲉⲛ [. . .] . . [*ca.* 7] ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉ Donadoni || 7 *i.e.* ⲁⲉⲓ-ⲛⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲥ : ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲱⲣⲙⲟϣ *i.e.* ταλαίπωρος ἄφορμος “wretched wanderer” (“[mis]ero vagante”) ? Donadoni, Pernigotti || 7–8 *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲭⲉ- || 9 *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲧⲁ- | *i.e.* ⲥⲉ-ⲧ- || 10 *l.* ⲙⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲱⲛ Donadoni | *i.e.* ϣⲓⲛⲧ | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲭⲁϣ | *i.e.* ⲕⲁⲛ || 11 ⲉⲣⲟⲓ Donadoni | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲣⲉϣⲉⲧⲱⲡ ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲣⲁⲛ | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲣⲉϣⲉⲧⲱⲡ ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲣⲁⲛ | ⲩⲱⲙⲉ “subtlety” (“sottigliezza”) Donadoni, Pernigotti || 12 *i.e.* ἄγγελος van der Vliet : [. .] ⲛⲁⲛⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϣ Donadoni | *i.e.* ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲉ ? (twice) *cf.* note | *i.e.* ⲛⲣⲟϣⲕⲉⲉⲩⲩⲓⲧ : ⲛⲣⲱϣⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲩⲓⲧ Donadoni || 13 *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲓⲙⲉ : [. .] ⲓⲁⲉⲧⲛⲓⲙⲉ Donadoni | *l.* ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲱⲧ ⲧ-ⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ or *l.* ⲙⲉⲩⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ? | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲧⲁ- || 14 *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ : ⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ Donadoni | ⲛϣ- Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin (private communication 26/3/2020) : ⲛⲗ Donadoni | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲧⲁ-ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲙⲓ || 14–15 ⲛⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩ Donadoni, Pernigotti || 15 *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲧⲉϣⲉⲧⲱⲧⲉ : ⲉⲭⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲁⲉ *i.e.* ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉⲥ ⲥⲟⲧ “to cast” arrows (“gettare” frecce”) Donadoni | *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲧⲉϣⲉⲧⲱⲧⲉ (haplography) | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉ “gods who encircle” (“dei che circondano”) Donadoni, Pernigotti || 16 *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲧⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ | *i.e.* ⲧⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ (twice).

|front, first hand ꝥ I walked by the door of *hell, I found a beauty, white with black eyes, sitting upon a well of stone, a bag[?] beside her, drawing water with a bronze jar, ... of iron. I said to her, “O beauty, |⁵ give me a kiss!”

She said to me, “Get away from me!” She did not return[?] my heart?... by[?] the door of hell. I ran away from her. I suffered, I cried, I groaned.

*Isis said to me, “Why do you cry, <why> do you groan?”

<I said>, “It is not my fault [that I] cry. I found a beautiful woman whom I wanted to kiss, |¹⁰ but she did not return[?] my heart.”

She said to me, “Even if you did not find me, if you did not find my name, if you did not find the name of these three *angels, Kirie, Kirie, prostrate[?] ... you (pl.) shall bring to my feet NN, daughter of NN, that I might be with her, that I might cast my lust at her, and it ... |¹⁵ into her womb, <to>[?] the seventy nerves which surround it, quickly, quickly!”

|back, second hand Sophia.

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph.

Horus-Isis Narrative Charms: This is an example of a narrative charm in which the main protagonists are Horus and Isis; for the structure and parallels, see the notes to *PCM I 7* front. For a discussion of the woman encountered by *Horus in ll. 10–11, see the notes to *PCM I 6* l. 3.

front 1. ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ : “I walked by the door of hell” We might expect “I walked through the door of hell” here—this is how it has been translated in all other editions, and is found in the parallels to this narrative charm; see *PCM I 7* ll. 1–3, *PCM I 16* ll. 5–9; cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 223. If the preposition is indeed ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛ rather than ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛ, however, this does not seem possible, unless we are dealing with an idiom otherwise unknown to us.

3. ⲩⲉⲥⲉⲕⲓⲛ : “bag” van der Vliet translates “travelling bag”, understanding a writing of the Latin *bisaccium*. This is phonologically plausible (cf. ⲥⲁⲕⲏⲛ, ⲥⲁⲕⲓⲛ for ⲥⲁⲕⲕⲓⲟⲛ in Förster WBGW: 715), although the loanword is only attested in modern Greek (as βισάκκι; Dickey 2023: 85). The normal contemporary Greek equivalent is δισάκκιον (Sophocles 1860: 260) which appears in documentary papyri from Egypt. Donadoni does not translate, but suggests a diminutive of βῆσ(σ)α, an Alexandrian word for a type of jar or drinking cup; see *LSJ* s.v., Bonati 2016: 35 (with further references), although the attested diminutive is rather βῆσ(σ)ίον.

3. ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉⲥ : “jar” Donadoni translates “water-wheel” (*norīa*), understanding a variant of ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲉ (“turning round, circuit”); Pernigotti follows this translation.

11–12. ⲕⲁⲛ ⲛⲡⲉⲕⲉⲣⲉ [ⲉⲣⲟⲩ] : “even if you did not find me” For this construction, see the notes to *PCM I 16* o. 2 ll. 15–16.

12. ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲉ : “Kirie” Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin proposes that the final invocation should be understood as beginning here, supplying “(say)” before this word (private communication 26/3/2020). This seems like a promising possibility, since we might expect an invocation to begin here. Perhaps understand with Donadoni the vocative κύριε κύριε, “O Lord, Lord!”

14. ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲙⲓ : “lust” Likely a euphemism for the male genitalia, as in *PCM I 24* ll. 32–33.

15. [. .]ⲩ : “...” As suggested by Donadoni, ⲛⲟⲩ “to go” (Crum CD 219a–b) would fit well here, although it is better attested in Coptic as an auxiliary verb with the meaning “to be about to” than as an independent verb of motion.

back 1. ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ : “Sophia” Donadoni understood this as a description (“indicazione definitoria”) of the content of the text of the front, presumably the Greek word “wisdom” (σοφία), but it seems more likely that we have here the cognate personal name; this may be an indication that the formulary was later re-used as an applied text targeting a woman named Sophia.

PCM I 21–29. The Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 678–686 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1678–1686); TM Arch id 421; *P.Bad.* V 122, 137–142; KYP A8.

Bibliography: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 392; Seider 1964: 162–163; Quecke 1972; Meyer/Smith 1994: 323–325; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 302–373; Johnston/Gardner 2018; Gardner/Johnston 2019; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 99–100, 108; Gardner 2023a; Gardner 2023b.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Manuscripts belonging to the archive: *PCM* I 21–29; possible relationships with *PCM* I 30–33.

Nine formularies of various formats (6 sheets and 3 codices) on parchment and paper. Seven of the manuscripts were purchased in May 1930 by Prof. Carl Schmidt along with several Greek, Demotic, and Coptic¹ papyri and ostraca for 1575 marks, and subsequently acquired by the University of Heidelberg papyrus collection no later than in 1933.² In October 1933, two further manuscripts (*PCM* I 25–26) from the archive were bought for the University of Heidelberg by Carl Schmidt from the Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman for 90 Egyptian pounds.³ The presence of several Greek papyri from the Faiyum in the first sale suggests that this was the origin of the lot.⁴

Six of the manuscripts—*PCM* I 21–26—all written on parchment, can be identified as having been written by the same scribe based on palaeographical analysis; these include the two manuscripts of the second sale. The scribe identifies himself in a colophon in one of the manuscripts, *PCM* I 23, as Deacon Iōhannēs, “servant of Michael of Pcellēt”. In the colophon, he also provides a date of production of the manuscript, 11th Paopi 684 AM (9th October 967).⁵

¹ The only non-magical Coptic papyrus which appears to come from the sale is P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 296, a continuous list of names written on the horizontal fibres of a papyrus, whose vertical fibres are occupied by a damaged Arabic text of unidentified content.

² These initial purchases were *PCM* I 21–24, 27–29; Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 392; Seider 1964: 163, n. 31; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32. On the Heidelberg papyrus collection, see also Schmelz 2018.

³ Seider 1964: 163, n. 32*; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32. On Maurice Nahman, see Hagen/Ryholt 2016: 253–255.

⁴ From Krokodilopolis: *P.Heid. Gr.* II 239; from Tebtunis: *P.Bad.* VI 169; *P.Heid. Gr.* IV 318; from Thegonis: *SB* VI 9540; from Kerkeosiris: *SB* VI 9537, but *cf.* also *P.Bad.* II 28, apparently from Hermopolis. *Cf.* Seider 1964: 163; Gardner 2023a: 49.

⁵ Front II. 50–52. Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 393, 396 mistakenly read “21st Paopi” and gave the date as 18th October 967 (as noted in Meyer 1996: 7 n. 5, “8. Oktober” on p. 393 is a misprint).

Iōhannēs likely produced the other manuscripts within (at most) a few decades of this colophon, so that they can be dated with some certainty to between 951 and 1000 CE. The remaining manuscripts (*PCM* I 27–29) are dated palaeographically to either the tenth or the eleventh centuries (*cf.* the discussions of the individual manuscripts).

PCM I 25 & 26 are written as palimpsests, with the codices produced by taking single folios from pre-existing codices and folding them in half to create bifolios. Those of *PCM* I 25 were identified by Hans Quecke in 1974 as pages drawn from a Pauline lectionary which he dated to the ninth century.⁶ Although *PCM* I 26 was lost when he made the identification, Bilabel's description of the manuscript as a palimpsest led him to suggest that its leaves belonged to same original manuscript, a hypothesis since confirmed by Gardner.⁷

The remaining parchment manuscripts from the archive are small sheets (*PCM* I 21–24). These are tall, narrow, and oddly shaped, suggesting both that they mimic the format of the rotulus, or vertical roll, and that they are made from scraps left over from the production of larger parchment sheets.⁸

Three of the Library's manuscripts are written on paper; two, *PCM* I 27 & 29, are sheets. *PCM* I 28, by contrast, is a codex of 16 pages, produced from sheets almost exactly the same size as that of *PCM* I 27, suggesting perhaps that they were produced in the same mould;⁹ both of these manuscripts seem to be written in the same hand.

The hand of Iōhannēs is regular, with separate letters written with a rather thick stroke. The script is majuscule, bilinear, and generally upright, though occasionally sloping to the right. The α is small and triangular, the β also angular, but quite large, the ζ shaped like the numeral 3, and the ζ usually shaped like a x with a z-like tail.¹⁰ There are small serifs on the ascending oblique strokes of λ and Δ, curling slightly to the left, and the τ usually has a small serif on the left of its crossbar (more rarely the right). The ϣ and σ are expansive, the latter with a small bowl and a long, curved ascender which rises from the lower part of the bowl; it thus follows the ductus (though not the form) of the Faiyumic rather than Sahidic

Quecke (1972: 5 n. 2) accepted their reading, but corrected this to 19th October, noting that the previous year was a leap year. Meyer/Smith (1994: 179) follow Bilabel/Grohmann's dating, although Meyer 1996: 2 follows that of Quecke. The correct reading was made in Johnston/Gardner 2018: 47–48; *cf.* Gardner 2023a: 51–53. We have confirmed the date using the online *Almagest Ephemeris Calculator* (<https://webpace.science.uu.nl/~gent0113/astro/almagestephemeris.htm>; accessed 1/3/2023).

⁶ Quecke 1974.

⁷ Quecke 1972: 6, n. 4; *cf.* Meyer 1996: 5; Gardner 2023a: 66–63. See the manuscript introductions for fuller descriptions of each part of the underlying text.

⁸ On such small rotuli, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 102, 108; on offcuts, see Skinner *et al.* in O'Connell 2022: 54.

⁹ Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 108.

¹⁰ But *cf.* *PCM* I 24 l. 23 and *PCM* I 26 p. 16 l. 28, in which it is closer to the canonical form, ζ.

ϸ, perhaps another indication of its geographical origin.¹¹ The † varies between a form with two serifs on the horizontal crossbar, and a sans serif variant. Iōhannēs typically uses dots instead of supralinear strokes, but does use supralineation for *voces magicae*, *nomina sacra*, abbreviations, and a few other words. Colons and two oblique strokes, sometimes tripuncts and three oblique lines, are used for punctuation. *Paragraphoi* consisting of simple lines are used to separate recipes and textual sections.

The hands of *PCM* I 27 & 28 are so similar that we suggest a single scribe (see the introduction to no. 27 for a discussion). The writing is datable to the tenth or eleventh century (see the introduction to *PCM* I 27). *PCM* I 29 is written in a hand unrelated to the other hands, but of a similar date.¹²

The ink of Iōhannēs and the scribe of *PCM* I 27 & 28 is brown in colour, with different manuscripts displaying different degrees of darkness; in each case, the ink is visible under ultraviolet light, and almost entirely transparent under near-infrared light, suggesting the use of a plant-based ink. The ink of the front of *PCM* I 29 is black, and shows similar opacity under visible, ultraviolet and near-infrared light, suggesting it to be a carbon-based ink; the back is plant based like that of the other manuscripts.¹³

The dialect of all of the manuscripts can be described as a form of Sahidic heavily influenced by a Middle Egyptian dialect of the type likely spoken in the Faiyum,¹⁴ although the lambdicism typical of classical Faiyumic (F4, F5) is rarely apparent.¹⁵ Some of these are typical for non-standard forms of Sahidic: β for ^sq; ε in place of the Sahidic supralinear stroke, or more dramatically ε- for ^sñ-/ñ-; interchange of ε/η and o/ω; haplography of nasal consonants (μ/η for μμ/ηη); lack of η > μ assimilation before a labial consonant; the simplification of the sequence nasal + stop to the stop alone (μπ/ητ > π/τ); the ‘strong’ article (π-/†-/μ-) often being used where we would expect the normal definite article in Sahidic. Others are more indicative of a Middle Egyptian dialectal influence: ε/η for ^sΔ;¹⁶ η for the Sahidic supralinear stroke; ι for unstressed ^se; Δ for stressed ^so; ζ is occasionally

¹¹ We are grateful to Vincent Walter for pointing this out to us. For the Faiyumic ϸ, see Krall 1886–1887: 111.

¹² Pace Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 108.

¹³ Cf. the discussion of inks on p. 28–29. We again thank Krisztina Hevesi for sharing her preliminary work with us.

¹⁴ Cf. the discussion in Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 77; we would once again like to thank Ivan Miroshnikov for discussing this dialect with us. In the following notes we provide only a few instances of the rarer dialectal (or idiolectal) features. Cf. the briefer characterisations of the dialects in Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 305, 392; Meyer 1996: 5. Note that ‘Middle Egyptian’ here refers not to Mesokemic, but rather to the larger family to which Mesokemic, as well as Hermopolitan and Faiyumic belong; see Funk 2020. Jacques van der Vliet (2018b: 100–101) characterises this variety as ‘Fayoumi-Sahidic’.

¹⁵ See, e.g., εφιλ (^sε-π-ϣπ) and ταγελ (^sεητ-Δ-γ-ρ) in *PCM* I 26 p. 15 l. 31, p. 17 l. 10.

¹⁶ See, e.g., ϸηη for ^sϸΔη in *PCM* I 21 l. 4; ηεω (^sηΔ-ω) in *PCM* I 26 p. 16 l. 17.

omitted,¹⁷ and we sometimes find distinctive Faiyumatic forms;¹⁸ double vowels are not usually written, but occasionally Sahidic single vowels are doubled;¹⁹ the prefixes $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ - *etc.* (circumstantial/future III) are quite consistently written as $\kappa\epsilon$ -, $\pi\epsilon$ -; as a result of the treatment of $\bar{\eta}$, $\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ regularly appears as the conjunctive prefix; the abbreviation $\overline{\sigma\epsilon}$ is used for $\bar{\sigma}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. None of these features appear with complete consistency within any of the manuscripts, but some are found in all of them, and in manuscripts produced by all three scribes. Similar features have been described by Ivan Miroshnikov in an acrostic hymn to the Archangel Michael dated to the tenth or eleventh century,²⁰ and can also be found in various documentary texts and inscriptions from the Faiyum from this period.²¹

All of the manuscripts (with the sole exception of *PCM* I 27) display the (often extensive) use of Arabic loanwords, albeit almost exclusively in the recipes rather than in the spoken formulae. The Coptic of all three scribes, and in particular Iōhannēs, is so non-standard at times as to suggest that it may not have been their first language—gender is confused, pronouns and conjugation bases may be absent, and entire clauses occasionally seem to have dropped out in the process of copying.²²

The likely findspot in the Faiyum, and the dialectal features, have led Gardner and Johnston to tentatively suggest a possible relationship to the monastery of the Archangel Michael in Phantou, near modern Hamuli.²³ As Gardner has observed, the original lectionaries lying beneath the palimpsests resemble those produced at this monastery,²⁴ and the self-identification of Iōhannēs as “servant of Michael” would be consistent with an attachment to a monastery dedicated to the archangel.²⁵

We should note that several other Coptic magical manuscripts from the Institut für Papyrologie in Heidelberg contain marked similarities of dialect, content, and hands to the ‘Heidelberg Library’ which, although they cannot be as directly connected to the main archive, may nonetheless have once belonged to it, or at

¹⁷ See, e.g., $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon$ ($\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\epsilon$) in *PCM* I 25 p. 10 ll. 3, 26; $\sigma\iota\mu\iota$ ($\bar{\sigma}\sigma\iota\mu\epsilon$) in *PCM* I 26 p. 16 l. 11, p. 17 l. 21. For more on the interchange of ι and ϵ , see the notes to *PCM* I 25 p. 3 ll. 1–2.

¹⁸ See, e.g., $\iota\omega\eta\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}$ ($\bar{\sigma}\omicron\eta\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}$) in *PCM* I 25 p. 13 l. 29; $\omega\eta\alpha\epsilon$ ($\bar{\sigma}\omega\eta\bar{\epsilon}$) in *PCM* I 28 p. 10 l. 5.

¹⁹ See, e.g., $\epsilon\omega\omega\bar{\beta}$ ($\bar{\epsilon}\omega\omega\bar{\beta}$) in *PCM* I 28 p. 1 l. 1.

²⁰ Miroshnikov 2022: 402–407.

²¹ As noted in Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 77 n. 134, documentary parallels include *P.Fay. Copt.* 15; *P.Lond.Copt.* 592, 659; *SB Kopt.* III 1279, 1413 (this last dated to 986–987 CE). For inscriptions, see van der Vliet 2018b: 100–104. On the linguistic features of letters from the Faiyum, see Garel 2018: 203–206; Walter 2022: 106–108.

²² On the complex question of the decline of Coptic as a spoken language between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, see Richter 2009: 417–434.

²³ Gardner/Johnston 2019: 50–51. On the toponymy of the monastery and the surrounding region, see Depuydt 1993: ciii–cxii.

²⁴ Gardner 2023a: 61.

²⁵ Gardner 2023a: 53; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 49–53.

least derive from a similar context.²⁶ The most notable of these are *PCM* I 30 & 31, both of which contain the same dialectal features as the main Library, and which contain reference to “three evil incenses” (ⲉⲃⲟⲟⲩⲧ *etc.*),²⁷ also attested in *PCM* I 27 from the Library. While the manuscript of *PCM* I 31 is lost, the hand of *PCM* I 30 resembles that of *PCM* I 29, although it is not close enough to suggest a single scribe with any certainty. *PCM* I 32 & 33 also display notable similarities in terms of their content to the manuscripts of the Heidelberg Library, although to a less marked degree.

²⁶ We should also note here P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 392 a–b and 994, identified by Krisztina Hevesi as part of the same manuscript as *BKU* I 26 (KYP M525); this manuscript has very similar linguistic features to the Heidelberg Coptic Magical Archive. A new edition of the full manuscript is in preparation by Krisztina Hevesi and Anne Grons.

²⁷ See the glossary under *three evil incenses.

PCM I 21. Parchment formulary containing curse (?)

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

16.3 (H) × 7 (W) cm

late X CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 680 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1680); TM 102078; *P.Bad.* V 141; KYP M313; Bélanger Sarrazin #180.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 141 (*ed. pr.*); Johnston/Gardner 2023: 86–93.

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 141 (German); Johnston/Gardner 2023: 86–93; Gardner 2023b: 86–93.

Additional commentary: Untermann (ed.) 2011: 33; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 309–310, 329–330; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 51–52; Love 2022b: 701–702.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39748>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–23: Curse (?) (KYP T229)

A narrow, irregularly cut sheet of parchment, completely preserved and inscribed with brown ink on the front only. The first three lines of text are written in linear kufic and Coptic, followed by a figure flanked by a description of the ritual procedure as part of which it is to be copied. Below is the invocation, marked on top and bottom by a separation line. The purpose of the formulary seems to perhaps be a curse, since there is space for the naming of two targets in the final lines; it may specifically be a separation spell, since two individuals are mentioned.

The manuscript belongs to the group known as the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’, and is part of the 1930 purchase; it was written in the hand of Deacon Iōhannēs, whose scribal and linguistic features are more fully described in the introduction to this archive (see pp. 259–263). Several recognisable features of his style can be seen in his use of a wide range of paratextual markers, simple horizontal lines to separate text sections, and of brown ink.

Our line numbering of this manuscript diverges from that in Bilabel/Grohmann; they number our ll. 9–11 as ll. 1–3, with our ll. 4–8 numbered 2–6 (overlapping with our ll. 9–11). The line numbered here as 12 corresponds to l. 7 in Bilabel/Grohmann, with the following lines numbered sequentially.

front (flesh?)

5
 8
 12
 15
 20

ΔΡΡΡΕΕΕ
 9 ΖΩΜΙΖ
 10 ΘΥ λιβα-
 11 ΝΩC
 CΖΗ Π-
 ΚΩΞ Η-
 Ε ΤΕΪΤΗ Γ-
 ΑΛΙΧ Η-
 ΑΡΧΗ
 †СОПС · ΔΥΩ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ Η-
 ΜΑΚ ΜΠΟΥ = ΠΧΑΧ =
 ΝΑΛΘΗΝΙ = †ГЕРКА ΜΑΚ
 ΕΠΟΥΧΑΪ ΕΝΕΚΡΑΝ ΜΝ ·
 ΝΕΚΘΑΜ ΗΝΕΚΦΥΡΙΟΝ
 ΗΝ ΝΕΚΩΤΟΥΝ = ΜΝ ΝΕΤ-
 ΤΩΠΟΣ : ΕΠΩΟΠ ΕΖΗΤΟ-
 Υ : ΜΕ ΤΕΤΕΤΡΙΑC · ΧΕΚΑC
 ΚΕΧΩΚ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΑΛ ΤΑΠ-
 ΠΩΛΛΑΓΙΑ ΕΠΑΛΑC =
 ΕΧΕΝ 55 ΜΕΝ 55
 ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ ≡

1 First ρ corrected from π by overwriting || 4 i.e. ^sczai || 5 i.e. ^sε-π-κοοξ : “jealousy” (“Eifersucht”) Bilabel/Grohann : “corner” (“Zipfel”) Mößner/Nauerth : “top (i.e. the protective script)” Gardner || 5–6 i.e. ^sηη τ-ντε ? cf. note : ^sμετεγίτηγ Gardner || 6 ^sίτη Γ- : ^sίτηγ “wind” (“Wind”) Bilabel/Grohann, Mößner/Nauerth || 6–7 i.e. ورق *waraq* : understand as name Bilabel/Grohann, Mößner/Nauerth || 7–8 l. ^sἄρχη : or name ? Bilabel/Grohann, Mößner/Nauerth || 10 i.e. θυ(σία) || 10–11 i.e. λίβανος || 12 i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 12–13 i.e. ^sημοκ || 13 i.e. ^sπ-χαχ : “bird” (“Vogel”) Mößner/Nauerth || 14 i.e. الجنى *al-ğinniy* : i.e. ἀλκή “defence” (“Abwehr”) Bilabel/Grohann, “help” (“Hilfe”) Mößner/Nauerth | i.e. ^s†-ταρκο | i.e. ^sημοκ || 16 l. ^sην νεκ-φυ(λακτή)ριον || 17 i.e. ζώδιον || 18 i.e. τόπος | i.e. ^s†-ταρκο | i.e. ^sημοκ || 16 l. ^sην νεκ-φυ(λακτή)ριον || 18–19 i.e. ^sζητογ || 19 l. τε-τρίαC : or l. ^sητ-τριαC “triple-fold” or “in a trinitarian way” Gardner || 20 ^sηι α corrected from ε by overwriting || 21–22 i.e. ἀπολογία : or i.e. ἀπαλλαγή ? Gardner || 22 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) (twice) || 23 i.e. ταχύ (twice)

|above tableau Arrrrhhh (*linear kufic*)

|⁴, left of tableau Write <on> the |⁵ piece? and the metal plate?, paper with <wine> of the *first fruits.

|⁹, right of tableau Zōmiz

|¹⁰ Offering: *frankincense.

|¹², below tableau I entreat and I invoke you today, O leader of the djinn! I adjure you |¹⁵ by the *wellbeing of your *names and your *powers and your *phylacteries and your *images and the *places in which you dwell and the Trinity, that |²⁰ you complete the request of my tongue against NN, child of NN, and NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph; tracing by JS.

1–3: As recognised by Gardner (2023b: 88–89), these ‘*kharaktēres*’ represent a form of stylised Arabic called by Casanova (1921: 52–53) ‘linear kufic’ (“*koufique linéaire*”). As the name suggests, it is based on the Arabic calligraphic style of the same name used in the early centuries of Islam. ‘Linear kufic’ exaggerates the angularity of kufic, adding a continuous baseline, and generally neglecting the diacritic marks that distinguish similar letters. Porter (2010: 133) notes that similar stylised kufic appears in non-magical contexts from the ninth century, and in eighth/ninth century Arabic magical papyri (cf. Bsees 2019: 203–204). In later periods the style came to be used for amulets, with early examples being found in twelfth-century magical bowls; it may also be found in pseudo-al-Būnī’s *Šams al-Ma’ārif* (Porter 2010; Porter 2011: 176–180; for pseudo-al-Būnī see Gardiner 2012: 100–105, 123–30; Coulon 2017: 225–229). In principle the script can be read (see the alphabet in BnF arabe 2676 fol. 5v, reproduced in Porter 2010: 137 as fol. 90), but in practice the degree of stylisation makes this difficult, and so we do not attempt decipherment in this volume. Other examples of linear kufic may be found in *PCM* I 25 p. 17 ll. 1–10, *PCM* I 31 (front tableau), *PCM* I 35 (back), *PCM* I 37 (back), and perhaps *PCM* I 33 (back). Linear kufic may also be found in the Armenian amulet San Lazzaro degli Armeni Ms. 3042 (1779 CE; Feydit 1986: no. VIII, see fig. 81), associated with a procedure for favour before social superiors.

5–6. ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲧⲏⲥ : “metal plate” We tentatively propose to read ⲓⲧⲏⲥ as an unusual writing of the word ⲙⲏⲧⲉ “metal plate” (Crum CD 45b), but cf. *PCM* I 24, in which ⲓⲧⲏⲥ appears in a list of ingredients, and we interpret it as ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲉⲥ (c lost to haplography), with the sense “that which is dried”, which would not seem to fit here. Alternatively, perhaps understand ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲓⲧⲏⲥ as ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲓⲧⲏⲥ “with a nail”

9. Ⲫⲱⲙⲓⲯ : “Zōmiz” Gardner (2023b: 89–90) notes a possible connection to Semesilam (from Northwest Semitic *šms* ‘Im “Eternal Sun”; Bonnet 1989: 98–99), but a more likely derivation from Semyaz/Shemhazai or Shamhurish, respectively the leaders of the fallen angels in 1 Enoch 6–10, and the leader of the *ifrit* in Egyptian popular tradition (cf. Viaud 1978: 26–27). We note that Ⲫⲱⲙⲓⲯ could readily be derived from the Greek form Σεμιαζά (*Semiaza*), the original of the Ge’ez ሰምያዛ (*Sämyaza*, etc.; Langlois 2010: 146).

14. ⲡⲕⲁⲗⲁ ⲛ ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲛⲏⲓ : “leader of the djinn” As recognised by Gardner (2023b: 86) and Love (2022b: 702), this word is certainly the Arabic loanword جنى (*ginniyy*; “djinn”). We follow Gardner in understanding the meaning as “chief djinn”; Love suggests “the djinn-swallow” or “the djinn-headed”. Mößner and Nauwerth suggest, based on their translation of “bird of help”, a reference to the Holy Spirit (Mößner/Nauwerth 2015: 329).

PCM I 22. Parchment sheet with procedures for favour and cursing

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

29.5 (H) × 10.5 (W) cm

late X CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 681 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1681); TM 99609; *P.Bad.* V 139; KYP M293; Bélanger Sarrazin #178.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 139 (*ed. pr.*) [B/G].

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 139 (German); Frankfurter in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 105 [F]; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 330–333 (German); Gardner 2023b: 93–100 [G].

Additional commentary: Untermann (ed.) 2011: 28; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32; Love 2022b.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39866>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–41: Spell for favour (KYP T231)
2. Front ll. 41–63: Curse to make a woman hated (KYP T232)

Tall, narrow parchment sheet, complete and well-preserved, containing one procedure for favour and one curse. The manuscript is part of the archive known as the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ and was acquired by Carl Schmidt in the 1930 purchase. The hand is that of the copyist who identifies himself in *PCM* I 23 as the Deacon Iōhannēs; see the description of the archive (pp. 259–263) as a whole for this hand and its characteristic linguistic features.

The text is divided into several sections by simple horizontal lines, and contains two image tableaux associated with each of the procedures. The manuscript appears not to have been folded.

Here we count the initial line of *kharaktēres* as a line, whereas the texts of Bilabel/Grohmann and Frankfurter treat the following line as line 1, so that our l. 2 corresponds to their l. 1, and so on, until our l. 11–23, which they number again as ll. 1–13; our ll. 24 and following then correspond to their ll. 10 and following.

front (flesh?)



	αρων = αρων =	¹¹ ιαω σαβαωθ
	αρωναω =	ελωει ελhma ^c
	αρωναα	μαχηπωτ =
5	αρωνααnah	σαλαβαοωθ
	αρακα =	¹⁵ μαρχηνογ =
	αραταμογ =	πανιειλογ =
	αριω · αρινα	χανλ =
	αραταβνη	αχανλ =
10	αρακσα =	ογ μαc†χι
24	χε	²⁰ αλογθ =
	† ερακ	cτηρζ =
	ποογ =	μογc†α-
	αριω =	τεν
	πνοc ἡ-	
	χερογβιν	
30	επιωτ =	
	παντωρ = τε-	
	φωην : τὰς : ει εβαλ ρων : επιωτ · παντορ =	
	χε : εις ρηhte : τεναχοογ : μπαγγελος ραχο-	
	ογ 35 † ογχαριc νεq : μπemτα εβαλ = μιχανλ	
35	αρερατογ ρι ογnam : nai : ωατα† χαριc νεq	
	δεκαc κεχακογ εβαλ κα ογχαριc : κα · ογκα-	
	ρωq : κα νογειρhne = κα· νογζγποcticmo-	
	c = κα νογcοογζc = κα νογωω κα· ογiαπi ni-	
	m : κεχακογ nai εβαλ ρη ογcεπh αιω ταχι	
40	αριω : αρινα = αρωμα : αρωmanaηλ : αραcα -	
	αρωναω : θαρμαωθ = μαρμαριωθ = χε †	

13 μαχηπωτ B/G || 19 i.e. θυ(σία) | i.e. μαστίχη || 20 i.e. العود *al-ūd* || 22–23 l. μογcχατεν i.e. μοσχάτον || 25 l. †(ωρκ) ερακ ? ἡ-ποογ | i.e. στύραξ || 29 i.e. χειρουβίμ || 30 i.e. ἡ-πωτ || 31 i.e. ἡ-παντ(οκράτ)ωρ cf. note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 | i.e. ἡ-τε : l. ετε B/G || 32 i.e. φωνή | i.e. ἡ-ταc-ει | i.e. ἡ-πωτ | i.e. ἡ-παντο(κράτ)ωρ cf. note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 || 33 l. ἡ-πα-αγγελoc i.e. ἄγγελoc cf. note || 33–34 i.e. ραχωη- or ραχωογ || 34 i.e. (δείνα) (δείνα) | i.e. χάριc || 35 i.e. ἡ-μοι : “Stand me on the right” (“Stehe mir zur Rechten”) B/G, F || 36 i.e. ἡ-κε-χακ=ογ | i.e. χάριc || 37 i.e. ἡ-κω ἡ- | i.e. εἰρήνη | i.e. ἡ-κω ἡ- || 37–38 i.e. ὑποδεσμóc cf. LBG s.v. : ὑποθεσμóc B/G, F || 38 i.e. ἡ-κω ἡ- (twice) | i.e. ἡ-ογ-ογωω : or ογ-ωω B/G || 39 i.e. ἡ-κε-χακ=ογ | i.e. ταχύ

|^{within tableau} Ariō (*kharaktēres*: AEHIYYΩ)

|^{1, above tableau} (*kharaktēres*: X|X|X|X|X|X|X| ★★★★★★)

|^{2, left of tableau} Arōm, Arōm, Arōmaō Arōmana, |⁵ Arōmanaēl, Araka, Aratamou, Ariō, Arina, Aratabnē, |¹⁰ Araksa.

|^{11, right of tableau} *Iao *Sabaoth *Eloei *Elēmas, Makhēpōt, Salabaoōth, |¹⁵ Markhēkhōu, Panieilou, Khaēl, Akhaēl.

|¹⁹ Offering: *mastic, |²⁰ *agarwood, *storax, *musk incense.

|^{24, below tableau} Say: |²⁵ “I <adjure> you today Ariō, the great *cherub |³⁰ of the Father Almighty, by the voice which came from the mouth of the Father Almighty: ‘Behold, I shall send my?’ *angel before NN, child of NN!’ Give grace to him in the presence of *Michael! |³⁵ Stand them at my right hand and I will give favour to him, so that you (s.) complete them! Give favour! Give silence! Give peace! Give suppression! Give a gathering! Give desire! Give every skill!

May you complete them for me quickly! Yea! Quickly!”

|⁴⁰ Ariō, Arina, Arōma, Arōmanaēl, Arasa, Arōmaō, Tharmaōth, Marmariōth.

Image: Apparently a representation of the cherub Ariō, with the Greek vowels (AEHIYΩ) written on his body as *kharaktēres*; cf. Dosoo 2022a: 142; Gardner 2023b: 94–96.

1–23. These lines are divided by horizontal strokes, represented here as supralineation.

28–29. πινος ἰκτερογυνι : “the great cherub” For this title, cf. *PCM* I 18 l. 3 and the accompanying note.

33–34. εις ζηντε : ταναχοογ : υπαγγελος ραχοογ : “Behold, I shall send my? angel before” A citation of Mark 1.2: “As it is written in the prophet Isaiah, ‘Behold, I will send my angel before you and he will prepare your way’” (κατα θε ετσηρ ζη̄ ησαιαο πεπροφητης ρε εις ζηντε τ̄ναχευ παγγελος ρατεκρη παι ετ̄νασοβτε̄ η̄τεκρη; Horner 1911: I 354). This passage occurs in scriptural amulets (e.g., *P.Oxy.* LXXXVI 5073), probably being understood as a guarantee of angelic protection (cf. Sanzo 2014: 141–142).

36–38. κα and κα η- : “give” Here we consistently translate κα and κα η- (Sahidic κω and κω η-) as “give” rather than the usual “place” to make the meaning clearer in English.

front (flesh?) (continued)



- 42 πωδρ ενεταδγ π-
 σωντ = επωδρβα = πμαστι νπεθ-
 λα βαλ · ωθωρ = ππ̄ ναττελωσ ≡
 45 μμαστ : ρι †των = ρι βασθα = επρα ςς =
 δεκας ρν τεγνογ νωαδραι ννε=τεν-
 ραν = μν νετενωτ̄ογν̄ = μν νε-
 τεμφ̄ ≡ επβιτ = πσαλερ : τααδρ-
 † ραρσ : ωαντεςχωρ : κεχωρ =
 50 επρα ςς ἡπεμτα εβαλ · μπκενοσ
 τηρϣ = ναδ̄αμ̄ = μν : νεωηρε τηρϣ
 νσων̄ = νεκογῑ ἡν̄ νενοσ
 νεαρ̄χ̄ ἡν̄ νεζογσιᾱ · ἡνερο ἡν̄
 νερεϣ†ραπ̄ δε ρν τεγνογ : ωαγ-
 55 ναγ · επρα ςς = εγμεστωωϣ · μν
 πεσωαδε νεπεσρᾱ χῑ χαρις : ογ-
 τε πεσρωβ̄ · νεϣαγ̄τεν : ωα n-
 νερ̄ : ρν ογαειω̄ ἡν̄ αιο̄ ταχ̄η
 ϣραῑ πωρω̄ : επβιτ : ογσαλερτ̄ =
 60 νκωτ̄ σαπερογ̄ : ογδρ̄ : ριχ̄εν̄ Γ̄
 ντωβῑ : ναμῑ : ϣαρ† ραρας̄ ταμ̄ς
 ρῑ ογρ̄ιρ̄ ες̄ϣ̄ος̄ ὅγ̄ κας̄ χαῑετ̄ ≡
 ογωωε̄ πκωρτ̄ · αϣ̄οκ̄ εβαλ̄

42 *i.e.* ^sπ-ν-τοογ : π-ν-ετ-αδγ “the flame of those who make (magic)” (“die Flamme denen, die sie (die Zaubereien) machen” B/G : “the flame from which they are made” F || 43 *i.e.* ^sπ-π-ωδρβα || 43–44 *i.e.* ^sολο εβολ || 44 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 45 *i.e.* ^sπ-μοστε | *i.e.* ^sβαστ-ρο *cf.* note | *i.e.* (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 46 *i.e.* ^sε-ωασι-ρραι || 47 *i.e.* ζῳδιον || 48 *i.e.* φυ(λακτήριον) | πβιτ̄ π̄πσαλερ : “on the potsherd” (auf die Scherbe eines Kruges”) B/G, F : “the palm leaf (and put it in) a pot” G || 49 *i.e.* ^sεκ-ε-χωρ : *i.e.* ^sχο(ο)ρ B/G || 50 *i.e.* ^sπ-π-ρο | *i.e.* (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | *i.e.* γένος || 51 ογ̄ ligatured ο+γ || 53 *i.e.* ἀρχή | *i.e.* ἐξουσία | *i.e.* ^sμν n-π̄ρο (haplography) || 55 *i.e.* (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | *i.e.* ^sεγ-ε-μεστωωϣ || 56 *i.e.* μ̄ν πεσ-ρ-α n corrected from η by overwriting | *i.e.* χάρις || 58 *i.e.* ταχύ || 59 *i.e.* ^sπ-σνοϣ̄ π̄-ωρω̄ | *i.e.* ^sπ-βιτ̄ n-ογ-σαλαρτ̄ *cf.* Crum CD xvib : *i.e.* ^sβητ̄ ? B/G | σαλαρ B/G || 60 *i.e.* ^sπ̄-γ-κοτ̄=ς̄ σαπερογ̄ (haplography) : *l.* νκοτ̄̄ σαπερογ̄ B/G : “sleep behind it” F : “sleep afterwards” G || 61 *i.e.* ^sομε̄ : “correctly” G | *l.* ταμ̄ς=ς̄ (haplography) || 62 *i.e.* ^sρ̄ιρ̄ π̄-σ(ταυ)ρός̄ | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* ^sκας̄ n-χοετ̄ || 63 *i.e.* ογωωε̄ επκωρτ̄ *i.e.* ^sογωωε̄ π̄-κωρτ̄ (haplography) | *i.e.* ^sχωκ̄

captions for figures Bōk Baroukh
inside figures Ō, Oukhoumar, Uu

⁴¹ Say: “Give ⁴² the flame of the deserts, the wrath of the scorching heat, the hatred of the scattering—Othōr, O three *angels of ⁴⁵ hatred and strife and hatefulness—to the face of NN, child of NN, so that in the moment that ⟨I⟩ write your *names and your *images and your *phylacteries on the edge ⟨of⟩ the *pot, and I kindle ⟨fire⟩ under it until it blackens, you will blacken ⁵⁰ the face ⟨of⟩ NN, child of NN, in the presence of the entire race of Adam and all the children of Zoe, the small and the great, the rulers and the *authorities and the kings and the judges so that in the moment that they ⁵⁵ see the face ⟨of⟩ NN, child of NN, they will hate it and her speech! Her face will not receive favour neither will her work be successful ever, at any time, yea, quickly!”

Write ⟨in⟩ menstrual ⟨blood⟩ on the edge ⟨of⟩ a *pot. ⁶⁰ Turn it on its back?. Place ⟨it⟩ upon three mud bricks. Kindle ⟨fire⟩ under it. Bury it at a crossroads. Offering: olive pit. Consume ⟨it⟩ in the fire. It is finished.

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by KD and JS.

Image: We may note that the central figure is without a face, perhaps symbolising the concept of “hatefulness”, or loss of “face” described in the curse. The figure’s hand is placed at its mouth, perhaps representing the act of silencing the victim (*cf.* the notes to the image of PCM I 24).

45. ⲃⲁϥⲟⲗ : “**hatefulness**” For this expression, meaning literally a “burnt/dry face”, see van der Vliet 1991: 217; for other instances see PCM I 27 front l. 2; PCM I 31 back ll. 4, 5–6, 12; *P.Bad.* V 123 (KYP M315) front l. 65; Cairo JdE 42573 (KYP M44) p. 2 l. 10. This is one of a number of expressions in Coptic which draw upon the idea of the face as the locus of the social self; *cf.* Nyord 2015: 257–259; Dosoo 2023a: 174–175; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 2.

49–50. ⲕⲉⲗⲟⲡ = ⲉⲡⲗⲁ : “**you will blacken the face**” A metaphor drawing on the “blackened” cooking pot as a symbol of an undesirable or socially excluded person; compare Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Mercy of the Father* (CC 51): “and as for the impious, they stand on the left of the place of judgement, their faces black like a blackened pot” (ⲡⲁϥⲃⲏⲃⲏⲥ ⲁⲉ ϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲓⲡⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉϥⲗⲟ ⲕⲏⲏ ⲡⲟⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉⲥⲭⲏⲣ; Bernardin 1937: 126.33); for Jewish parallels, see Weingarten 2014: 345.

50–52. ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ = ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙ = ⲙⲏ : ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲏ : “**the entire race of Adam and all the children of Zoe**” For this expression, see the notes to PCM I 25 p. 7 ll. 12–14.

59. ⲡⲱⲣⲱ : “**menstrual blood**” The word ⲱⲣⲱ (“menstrual blood”) is feminine, so the masculine definite article used here must indicate that the masculine word ⲥⲓⲟⲩ “blood” has been omitted. Menstrual blood is often used in curses, in particular separation spells, in the Coptic magical corpus; *cf.* PCM I 27 front l. 3; PCM I 27 front l. 2; PCM I 31 back l. 15; PCM I 37 back l. 19; *P.Bad.* V 123 (KYP M315) front ll. 1, 26, 50, 82, back ll. 89, 101. This use seems to draw upon ancient Mediterranean ideas of menstrual blood as a powerful and dangerous substance; see Dosoo 2023a: 173 n. 247, 175–176; Preininger forthcoming a and c: chapter 4. Gardner (2023b: 96–97) prefers to understand an otherwise unattested word with the meaning “curse”.

59. ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲧ : “**on the edge**” For the word ⲃⲏⲧ see Jernstedt 1959: 161–162, who links it to the word ⲃⲏⲧⲟⲥ, “wheel”, hence “rim”, in turn from Latin *uitus* (Ivan Miroshnikov is thanked for this reference).

62. ⲕⲁϥ ⲭⲁⲉⲓⲧ : “**olive pit**” For this interpretation, see Crum CD 120a.

PCM I 23. Parchment sheet with two curses

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

30.5 (H) × 9.8 (W) cm

9 October 967 CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 682 (formerly P. Heid. Inv. Nr. 1682); TM 99576; *P.Bad.* V 137; KYP M291; Bélanger Sarrazin #176.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 137 (*ed. pr.*) [B/G]; Gardner/Johnston 2019 (colophon) [G/J]; Gardner 2023b: 74–85 [G]; Miroshnikov 2022: 407–408 (colophon) [Mi]; Richter 2023: 161–164 (ll. 1–10; 43–47) [R].

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 137 (German); Meyer in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 86 [M]; van der Vliet 2000: 277 (colophon) [V]; Gardner/Johnston 2019; Gardner 2023b: 74–85; Miroshnikov 2022: 407–408 (colophon); Richter 2023: 161–164 [R] (German).

Additional commentary: Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 310; Love 2022b; Gardner 2023a: 51–53; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 5.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39750>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

Original use:

1. Front ll. 1–5: Witness testimonies (Arabic, unpublished; KYP T265)

Re-use:

2. Back ll. 1–20: Separation spell to undo a couple (KYP T22)
3. Back ll. 21–49: Curse to bind male virility and female virginity (KYP T23)
4. Back ll. 50–52: Colophon (KYP T24)

A completely preserved tall, narrow parchment sheet. Two curses are inscribed on one side (the back), aimed at preventing romantic or sexual relationships between men and women. A dated colophon, one of only two known among surviving Coptic magical manuscripts,¹ identifies the copyist as the Deacon Iōhannēs.² The manuscript was bought by Carl Schmidt in 1930 and is part of the archive known as the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’, six of whose manuscripts were copied by Iōhannēs (*cf.* pp. 259–263 for a description of his hand and linguistic features). Two sets of images and multiple instances of simple horizontal dividing lines appear on the manuscript.

The remains of an unpublished Arabic text is written on the front of the sheet

¹ The other colophon is found on the recipes for using the Psalms for various purposes, contained in the manuscript we refer to as Collège de France Ms. 3 (KYP M597), dated to 27th Mesore 427 A.H. (20th August 1035).

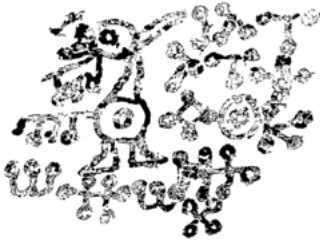
² Front ll. 50–52; *cf.* the more detailed discussion on pp. 259–260.

at 180° to the Coptic text. This text represents the original use of the sheet, the majority of it having been lost when the parchment was cut down to its current size. Five faded lines are visible, preserving what appear to be the testimonies of witnesses to a legal transaction, one named Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh.³

Note that the edition in Bilabel/Grohmann (followed by other editors) numbers our ll. 8–9 as l. 8, and does not count the line of *kharaktēres* in l. 44, resulting in a divergent line numbering.

³ We are very grateful to Ursula Hammed for making this preliminary identification.

front (flesh)



СҖΔΙ ΝΕΝ-
ΙΡΑΝ ΕΥΧΕ-
Κ ΝΟΥΜΑΥ
ΝΔΜΕ =
⁵ΝΑΛΜΙΤΕ
ΝΑΛΧΩΒΙΑ =
ΕΘΟΥ ΕΒΑΛ · Ν-
ΝΕΖ = †ΔСМЕ =

ΤΑΖС = ΠΕΖΔ

10 ΠΞΟΥΤ: ΜΝ СΙΜΙ = СҖΔΙ ΠСΩТ-

ΟΥΝ = ΕΥΑΡΗΚ ΜΑΡΕΦΧΩΥ =

ΠΩΤΑΧΗ = ΒΩΛ ΕΒΑΛ ̅̅̅̅ ΜΕΝ ̅̅̅̅

ΔΙΩС = ΒΑΙΩТ = ΔΤΩΝΔС · ΒΩΛ

ΕΒΑΛ ̅̅̅̅ ΝΙΘΔ = ΒΔΡ = ΒΔΥ =

15 ΜΔΡ = ΜΔР† : СΩΠОС : ΧΔΒНС =

СΑΡΑΦΩС = ВНР = ΒΔР = ΖΗ†ΩС =

ΩΖΕΙ: ΦΗГ = ΒΔВ = ΜΟΥΡΔ† = ТЕРІ-

К = ЕСХЕΥ = КЕТА · ΒΩΛ ΕΒΑΛ ̅̅̅̅

ΔΧΗ = ΦЕР = ΦΔ = ΧΗΥМЕ = ΡΟΥΧ =

20 ΧΕКА ΕΚΕΒΩΛ · ΕΒΑΛ · ̅̅̅̅ ΜΕΝ ̅̅̅̅ =

ΜΟΥР = ΕΠТΠЕ = ΜΟΥР ЕПКΔΖ = Π-

ΜΟΥР · ΕΠТАΥ : ΠΜΟΥР ЕΠМОΟΥ =

ΠМОУР · ПЕКЗОУР = ЕΠΩТ = ΠМОУР ·

ЕПКЕΛВИНІ = ЕТРЕ СІХ : САРЗ : ΠМО-

25 ΥР : ΤΔΥΜΟΥР = ΠХС · ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΩΗ =

ΠЕС†ΟΥ - КЕМОУР = ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ̅̅̅̅

ΝΕ̅̅̅̅ НАЕΩ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΑΛ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ

ΩΔΝΤΟΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΔΛ · ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ Π-

ΠΑΡΘΕΝОС ЕТОΥΔΔВ =

1–2 *i.e.* ⁵Н-Н- or ⁵НЕН- : “our” M || 2 no initial І R || 2–4 ΕΥΧЕК ΝΟΥΝ ΕΝΑΜΕ “with a seashell in truth (?)” “mit einer Meermschel (?) in Wahrheit (?)” B/G : ΕΥΧЕК ΝΟΥΝ·ΑΝ·ΝΑΜΕ “correctly on a right-hand palm” G/J, G : “on a sherd of clay” M : ΝΟΥΜΔ R || 5–6 *i.e.* المداد الكوفي *al-midād al-kūfī* : *i.e.* الخفية *al-hufya* “secret ink” G/J, G : “Nalmite, Nalchobia” B/G, M : ΝΑΛΜΙΤΕ/Δ\ ΝΑΛΧΩΒΙ R || 7 *i.e.* ελαιόυγ || 8 *i.e.* ⁵Н-Т-Іάσμη : ΜΝΗ “genuine (*i.e.*, olive) (oil)” (“echtem (Öl)”) B/G, M : †.СМЕ “make the chant” G/J || 9 ΝΤΑΖΔ B/G || 10 *i.e.* ⁵М-Π-ΞΟΥТ || 10–11 *i.e.* ζώδιον || 11 *i.e.* وراق *waraq* || 12 *i.e.* ύποταγή : Ι. ΠΩТ ΤΑΧΗ *i.e.* ταχύ ? “go quickly” (“Laufe schnell”) B/G, M || 12–27 *i.e.* (δείνα) (*deína*) || 20 *i.e.* ⁵ХЕКАС || 21 *i.e.* ⁵Н-Т-ΠЕ : Ι. ΕΠΠЕ B/G | *i.e.* ⁵М-Π-ΚΔΖ || 22 *i.e.* ⁵М-Π-ΤΟΥ | *i.e.* ⁵М-Π-ΜΟΥ || 23 *i.e.* ⁵М-ΠЕ-ΖΟΥР М-Π-ΙΩТ || 24 *i.e.* ⁵М-Π-ΚΕΛΕВИН | *i.e.* ⁵Н-Сάρξ || 25 *i.e.* ⁵НТА-Υ-ΜΟΥР | *i.e.* χ(ριστός) || 26 *i.e.* ⁵М-ΠЕ-σ(ταυρ)ός | *i.e.* ⁵ε-κ-ε-ΜΟΥР || 26, 27, 28 *i.e.* ⁵Т-παρθένια *cf.* note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 || 28–29 *i.e.* ⁵Н-Т-παρθένος *cf.* note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2

Write these names on a shell from muddy[?] water |⁵ with *kufic ink. Wash them off with jasmine oil. Anoint the face <of> the male and the female. Draw the image |¹⁰ on paper. Have it burn.

Subjection?: “Undo NN, child of NN, and NN, child of NN! Aiōs, Baiōt, Atōnas, undo NN, child of NN! Nitha, Bar, Bau, |¹⁵ Mar, Marti, Sōpos, Čabēs, Saraphōs, Bēr, Bar, Hētiōs, Ōhei, Phēg, Bab, Mourat, Terik, Eskheu, Keta, undo NN, child of NN! Akhē, Pher, Pha, Khēume, Roukh, |²⁰ that you undo NN, child of NN, and NN, child of NN!”

|²¹ “*Binding of the sky, binding of the earth, the binding of the mountain, the binding of the water, the binding of the ring of the Father, the binding of the axe which is in <a> fleshly hand, the binding |²⁵ <with> which they bound Christ upon the wood <of> the cross; you shall bind <the> virginity <of> NN, child of NN! NN, child of NN, will not be able to release <the> virginity, until <the> virginity <of> the Holy Virgin is released!

Image: We do not propose an interpretation of the image here. Gardner/Johnston (*cf.* Gardner 2023b) suggest that the image represents an animal effigy standing in for the victim with his mouth and penis bound, and that the *kharaktēres* to the right represent a magic square used to generate the “names” referred to in ll. 1–2 by overlaying them with the *kharaktēres* in l. 43, as planetary sigils are generated in the later work of Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535; *cf.* Lehrich 2003: 99–110). We rather understand ll. 1–19 and 20–48 to represent two unrelated practices; the *kharaktēres* in l. 43 are paralleled in another text (see the note to ll. 21–43 below). The use of magic squares (*awfāq*, sing. *waqf*) is attested in Arabic magic from the ninth century, but almost exclusively in the form of the 3 × 3 square in which each row, column, and diagonal adds up to 9. Later, more complex, squares are attested from the late eleventh century, but in these the property of equal sums is still respected (Hallum 2020), which would not be the case here. We rather understand the “names” to refer simply to the *kharaktēres* themselves (*cf.* Dosoo 2022a: 121 n. 14).

9. ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ : “anoint the face” As in PCM I 27 front ll. 15–23, it may be that the “face” here is that of an effigy standing in for the curse’s target; see Dosoo 2022d: 176–177.

20. ܕܗܝܐ : “that” Note the absence of a preceding speech act of request, adjuration, or invocation.

21–43. Binding Curse: This invocation has a near exact parallel in Chicago OIM E13767 (Stefanski 1939; KYP M7), an applied curse against a man named Pharaouō, the son of Kiranpales, to prevent him from having intercourse with Touaein, the daughter of Kamar. Stefanski dates the text to the ninth to eleventh century, although, based on the use of paper, we can assume a tenth-century date at the earliest. As discussed in Gardner/Johnston 2019: 36–37 (*cf.* Gardner 2023b: 76–78), the two texts are nearly identical, both verbally and in reproducing the same sequence of *kharaktēres*. Compare P.Stras. K 135 (Crum 1922b; KYP M474) for a less direct parallel with the same goal. Gardner/Johnson identify the “finger ring of the Father” as the ring given by Michael to Solomon allowing him to bind demons (*cf.* the introduction to PCM I 30), while the reference to Elijah may be to the prayer of Elijah upon mount Carmel to bring down fire from heaven (1 Kings 18.36–38) or else to the revelation to Elijah on mount Horeb in 1 Kings 19.1–18 (*cf.* Frankfurter 1993: 63–64). They also understand the “binding of Jesus” to represent the binding of the Devil made possible by Jesus’ crucifixion, but this would not seem to be possible grammatically; rather it seems that the binding is mentioned as having been powerful enough to bind Jesus to the cross. For a similar text in Syriac, see Cherkashina/Kuzin 2022.

22. ܕܗܝܐ : “of the mountain” The word could be translated as either “mountain” or “desert”; here we opt for “mountain” since this more clearly evokes a single object which could be bound; *cf.* l. 30.

front (flesh) (continued)

- 30 πμογρ επωαχε : ταρηλιας πεπρο-
φητης · χοογ = ριχεν ταογ ετογααβ =
ετ και νεγραν χακογρι = χαβνει =
χавна = ѡωpанi = ѡογpωнаε
μαρεπμογρ επαι πε ѡωп · ριχε-
35 м псωма нгоогт = ss ερογн ss н-
негедѡи вωλ · εβαλ παρθενια = ss =
негтѡс = негтѡоγн =
негт сперна = негнаѡе вωλ
εβαλ · παρθενια ss αλλα εγ-
40 ѡωпi = ρен сарз ss = μαρε[[ca]]-
сарз ss = ѡωпе · нѡе таγρεγ-
маогт : негнеѡ χ εβαλ =
ρен птафѡс · αιο αιο тахн =



- 45 εχαи nαλ-
μιτετ nαλxωби ni = ѡγ :
ѡαλ нгоогт : nαλεγ : ρι λιβ-
анос = пкемѡhti αqχок
εβολ καλος
50 ανακ πλi ѡω ρηραλ μιχαηλ
επσελληт аесχαι соγiα еπαα-
vac. πi мен xpα εpαmπi =

30 *i.e.* ^сπ-π-ωαχε | *i.e.* ^спта-ρηλιας || 30–31 *i.e.* προφήτης || 31 *l.* χοογ B/G | *i.e.* ^стоог ||
32 *i.e.* ^сете και ne neγ-pan || 33 ѡογpωнаε : ѡογiωна B/G || 34 *l.* ετ παι πε B/G |
ѡωпi B/G || 35 *i.e.* σѡμα | *i.e.* (δεiνα) (δεiνα) (twice) || 36 εα: вωλ B/G | *i.e.* ^ст-παρθενια
cf. note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 | *i.e.* (δεiνα) (δεiνα) || 37, 38 *i.e.* ^сηнеεγ- (four times) ||
39 *i.e.* ^ст-παρθενια *cf.* note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 | *i.e.* (δεiνα) (δεiνα) | *i.e.* αλλα | *i.e.* ^сεγ-ε- ||
40 *i.e.* ^сηп π-сάρз н-(δεiνα) (δεiνα) | μαρε[[ca]] deletion by erasure : μαρε т- B/G ||
41 *i.e.* ^сπ-сάρз н-(δεiνα) (δεiνα) || 41–42 *i.e.* (δεiνα) (δεiνα) | *l.* ент-αεγ-р реγ-ноогт ? ||
42 *i.e.* ^сηнеεγ- | *l.* χi or χiεβαλ B/G *cf.* note || 43 *i.e.* τάφος | *i.e.* таχѡ || 45–46 *i.e.* المداد الكوفي *al-midād*
al-kūfī : *i.e.* الخفية *al-hufya* “secret ink” G/J, G : nαλμηтеτ nαλxωби “Nalmitet, Nalchobini”
B/G, M || 46 *l.* нiφан? : *l.* και? R | *i.e.* θυ(σία) || 47–48 *i.e.* λίβανος || 48 *i.e.* ^сп-кент-ρεт? || 49 *i.e.* καλѡс ||
50 *i.e.* δι(ά)νοс) : B/G do not translate : “Pdi” M | *i.e.* ιω(ρ)αννης) : B/G do not translate :
“Yo” M || 51 *i.e.* ^сп-псєλληт асi-сχαι : πεσελληта εсχαι “(son) of Pcelleta, have written” (“Sohn)
des Pgelleta, habe (es) geschrieben”) B/G, M : πεσελληта εсчαι *i.e.* ^сасi-счαι van der Vliet :
i.e. ^спет-сαληγт е-счαι “the one entrusted to write” G/J || 51–52 *i.e.* ^сηпаоие : *l.* нпаам Bilabel/
Grohmann || 52 *i.e.* ^сηн or *l.* мѣн “month” ? *cf.* Förster WBGW 521–522 | *i.e.* ^сηромпе

^[30] The *binding of the word which Elijah the prophet spoke upon the holy mountain, whose *names are these: Khakouri, Khabnei, Khabna, Šōrani, Šourōnae; let this binding be upon ^[35] the male body of NN, child of NN, towards NN, child of NN! He will not be able to release <the> virginity <of> NN, child of NN! He will not become hard! He will not become erect! He will not ejaculate! He will not be able to release <the> virginity <of> NN, child of NN, but it will ^[40] be in <the> flesh <of> NN, child of NN! Let <the> flesh <of> NN, child of NN, become as <though> they [sic] were dead! He will not be able to beget[?] from the tomb, yea, yea, quickly!

(*kharaktēres*: EX*+)

^[45] Write with *kufic ink these <names>. Offering: white male *myrrh, *frankincense. The movement[?] of hearts[?]. It is completely finished.

^[50] I, the Deacon Iōhannes, servant of Michael of Pcellēt, I wrote on the 11th of Paopi and[?] <in the> 684th year.

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by JS.

32. Bilabel/Grohmann believe something is missing at the beginning of the line, but this is not apparent to us.

35. **ⲡⲥⲟⲙⲁ ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲧ** : “male body” A euphemism for the penis; see Till 1951: 26–27, and cf. Cairo JdE 42573 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44) p. 4 l. 19. A similar binding of the penis is found in the Syriac text edited in Cherkashina/Kuzin 2022.

42. **ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ** : “he will not be able to beget” We might expect **ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ** “he will not be able to come out”, as translated by Meyer. Bilabel/Grohmann suggest that the verb might be **ⲛⲓ** (“receive”) or **ⲛⲟ** (“put forth”). The latter is the word used for “sowing (seed)”, equivalent to Greek **σπείρειν**, which also has the sense of “beget”; although we have been unable to find a parallel for this in Coptic, this would seem to be the most plausible interpretation.

47. **ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲧ** : “male” The term “male” here seems to refer to the quality of the ingredient. In Greek and Latin, the highest grade of frankincense is regularly described as “male” (**ἄρρην**, *masculum*) in medical, botanical, and magical texts (LiDonnici 2001: 69). Alternatively, we might translate **ⲣⲟⲩⲧ** as “wild” as Meyer does; Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 12.35) notes that some types of myrrh are “wild” (*silvestrium*) rather than cultivated, but he describes the best kind of wild myrrh as “troglydytic” (*troglydytic*), that is, from Ethiopia, and it is the Greek form of this adjective (**τρογλῦτις**) which usually describes high-quality myrrh in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri rather than “wild” (e.g., *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I (KYP M153) ll. 71–72).

48. **ⲡⲕⲉⲙⲉⲛⲧⲓ** : “the movement of hearts” We follow Gardner/Johnston 2019: 46 in suggesting a compound of **ⲛⲕⲉⲛⲧ** **ⲣⲉⲧⲉ**; compare *PCM* I 32 p. 1 l. 15: “move her heart” (**ⲕⲓⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲛⲧ**), referring to the act of making someone fall in love, although its meaning here would be more obscure, perhaps serving as an end title.

50–52. For discussions of the colophon, see van der Vliet 2005b: 277; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 47–48; Miroshnikov 2022: 407–408; Gardner 2023a: 51–54; Gardner 2023b: 74–75. Bilabel/Grohmann understand Pcellēt to be the name of the father of Iōhannes, van der Vliet and Miroshnikov understand it as his place of origin, while Gardner/Johnston understand “the one assigned to write”. For phraseological parallels, see e.g., Lantschoot 1929: nos. 1d, 11c, 15b. Note that in these cases the placename seems to refer to the location of the *topos* of the saint rather than the place of origin of the scribe, e.g., no. 11 l. 35: **ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲛⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲁⲛⲧⲁⲩ** (“Michael of Phantou”). For the writing **ⲁⲉⲥⲁⲓ** compare *P.Teschlot* l. 18 **ⲁⲉⲣ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉ** (for Sahidic **ⲁⲓⲣ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉ**), dated to 1027 CE. On the dating of this colophon, see pp. 259–260, with n. 5.

PCM I 24. Parchment sheet with silencing curse and a love spell

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

21.8 (H) × 14.5 (W) cm

late X CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 683 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1683); TM 100000; *P.Bad.* V 140; KYP M312; Bélanger Sarrazin #179.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 140 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 140 (German).

Additional commentary: Polotsky 1935: 423–424; Untermann (ed.) 2011: 18; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 310–311, 333–336; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 51–53; Dosoo 2022a: 163–164; Love 2022b: 648–649; Gardner 2023b: 100–103.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39751>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–18: Silencing curse (KYP T47)
2. Front ll. 19–36: Love spell (KYP T48)

Complete and well-preserved parchment sheet containing a silencing curse and a love spell. The manuscript is part of the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’, acquired in the 1930 purchase, and is written by the Deacon Iōhannēs; a discussion of his hand and linguistic characteristics can be found in the description of the archive (see pp. 259–263).

The text is written on the front only, divided with simple horizontal lines into several registers, and contains two sets of images, one associated with each procedure.

front (flesh)

- 
- 10 $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho\sigma\gamma\eta\sigma\sigma$: $\alpha\gamma\omega\pi\epsilon\mu\tau\alpha\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ =
 $\epsilon\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\eta\mu$ = $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$: $\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma$ = $\mu\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron$ =
 $\mu\eta\omicron\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\sigma$ $\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon$: $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$
 $\epsilon\rho\sigma\gamma\eta$: $\sigma\sigma\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\eta\tau\eta\gamma$ = $\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma$ -
 $\mu\omicron\gamma$: $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\theta\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon$: $\mu\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\eta\theta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\kappa$ -
 15 $\omega\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$: $\mu\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\iota$: $\rho\iota\theta\eta\eta\mu\Delta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\lambda$ =
 $\mu\epsilon\pi\rho\omega\phi\eta\tau\eta\sigma$ = $\kappa\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$: $\epsilon\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$
 $\epsilon\rho\sigma\gamma\eta\sigma\sigma\eta\epsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\gamma\tau\eta\theta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\omega\eta\alpha\gamma$ = $\alpha\iota\omega\alpha\iota\omega\tau\alpha\chi\eta$
 $\alpha\sigma\omicron\chi\chi$: $\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta$: $\theta\gamma$: $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma$: $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\theta$: $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma$: $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\sigma$ =

1–2 i.e. παρακαλεῖν || 2 i.e. $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\kappa$ || 3–4 l. $\mu\eta\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ || 4 i.e. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ || 5 i.e. $\mu\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon$ ||
 6 i.e. $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\kappa$ | i.e. $\mu\eta\pi\eta\mu\eta$ (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 7 i.e. $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\kappa$ || 8 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 9 i.e. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau$ ||
 10 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 11 i.e. $\mu\eta\mu\eta\mu\eta$ || 12 i.e. χαλινός | i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) (twice) | i.e. (υῖός) ||
 13 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | l. $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\mu\eta$? (haplography) || 14 i.e. $\mu\eta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ | i.e. διανέμειν? cf. Förster WBGW
 185–186 : i.e. $\mu\eta\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota$ “touched” (“berührt”) Bilabel/Grohmann || 15 $\omega\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$? Bilabel/
 Grohmann || 16 i.e. $\mu\eta\phi\eta\tau\eta\sigma$ | i.e. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha\mu$ | i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) (twice) | i.e. (υῖός) || 17 i.e. (δεῖνα)
 (δεῖνα) | i.e. $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\omega\omega\mu\eta$ | i.e. $\tau\alpha\chi\upsilon$ || 18 i.e. $\alpha\varsigma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\kappa$: “Asuch” (name) Bilabel/Grohmann :
 “sugar”, “sukk” or error for “musk” Gardner | i.e. ἀρχή : “Archê” Bilabel/Grohmann : “newly-
 pressed oil” Gardner | i.e. $\mu\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ | i.e. λίβανος | i.e. $\alpha\lambda\text{-}\mu\epsilon\kappa$ | i.e. $\mu\eta\omega\varsigma$ l. $\mu\eta\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\mu\eta\omega\varsigma$?

“I entreat and I invoke you today, Baroukh, the great mighty one, that as ^{|5} soon as I bury you at the door of the house <of> NN, child of NN, and I bind you upon the forearm <of> NN, child of NN, you shall give silence ^{|10} to the mouth <of> NN, child of NN, concerning NN, child of NN—and before every person, the small and the great—and <a> dumbness and a bridle and a closing to the mouth of NN, the child of NN, before NN, child of NN, and a parching and a loss of breath at once, before you have divided⁷ her place, just as you ^{|15} closed the mouths of the lions before Daniel the prophet, you shall shut the mouth of NN, son of NN, concerning NN, child of NN, all the days of his life. Yea, yea! Quickly!”

Sukk with <wine of the> *first fruits. Offering: *frankincense, *agarwood. When the moon is full. Good.

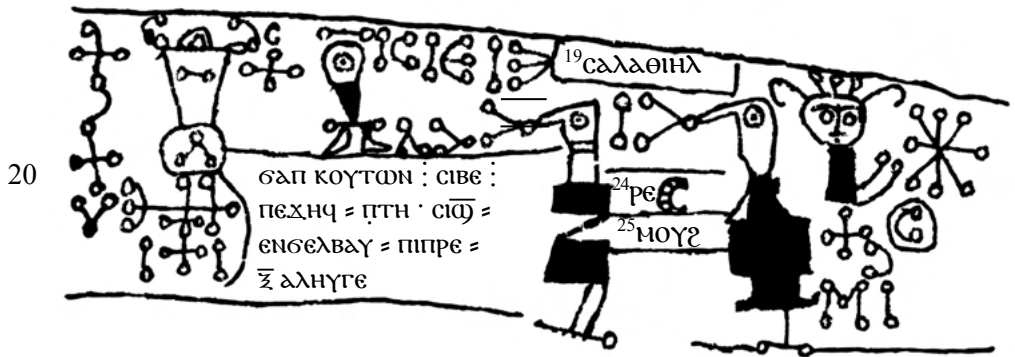
Image: The central feature of the image is a bird-like figure with its hand to its mouth, apparently symbolising silence. Similar figures with hands to their mouths illustrate other silencing curses; see, for example, *GEMF 73/PGM IX* (KYP M748) back; Louvre E 14251 (unpublished; KYP M3734), and compare the image above *PCM I 22 l. 29*, although this seems to be primarily a curse of separation rather than silence.

12. ογχαλινος : “a bridle” The concept of placing a bridle on one’s human or demonic enemies in order to control them is recurrent in the Coptic magical corpus, often associated with silencing curses, as is the case here. Compare *PCM I 25 p. 9 l. 30*; *PCM I 34 p. 4 ll. 23–25*; P.Würzburg inv. 42 (Brunsch 1978; KYP M494) l. 17.

14–16. ⲡⲉⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ : ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ : ⲉⲓⲛⲛⲛ ⲁⲗⲛⲛⲓⲗ ⲛ ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲩⲧⲏⲥ : “as you closed the <mouths> of the lions before Daniel the prophet” A straightforward reference to Daniel 6, which describes how the prophet Daniel was cast into a den of lions for worshipping the Jewish god and not King Darius the Mede, but survived when an angel of God was sent to shut the mouths of the lions. References to the salvation of Daniel by the closing of the mouths of the lions (assimilated to the curse’s enemies) appear in several Coptic curses; see also *BKU III 389* (KYP M338) ll. 6–7; *P.HengstenbergCopt. 5* (KYP M532) ll. 13–14; Bodleian MS. Copt. c (P) 4 (Crum 1896; KYP M412) ll. 23–24.

18. ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲭ : “Sukk” As tentatively suggested by Gardner (2023b: 102), this ingredient is certainly *sukk* (سك), a substance produced through a range of recipes, but often involving cooking fruit or fruit juice (dates, raisins, or grape) with pounded gall nuts and then drying the product. Recipes are preserved by al-Kindi (801–873 CE) and Moses Maimonides (1138–1204 CE) (Lane 1863: 1387b; Gottheil 1935: 137–138; Groom 1997: 228; Amar/Lev 2017: 117–118; King 2017: 152–53; King 2020: 460). It could be ingested for medicinal purposes, worn as a perfume (sometimes mixed with *musk or ambergris), and used to dye fabric or darken facial hair. Here it is probably mixed with wine of the first fruits and used to copy the tableau onto a support which is then to be buried at the door of the curse’s target. The same word likely appears in P.Vindob. K 8303 (Stegemann 1933–1934: no. 51; KYP M279) front l. 10 as [ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩⲭ. It appears as a loanword (סך or סך) in texts from the Cairo Genizah as the ink to be used to copy text onto applied objects in love spells (Naveh/Shaked 1998: Geniza 5 p. 4 l. 4; Geniza 6 p. 2 l. 8). In the eleventh-century Arabic *Gāyat al-ḥakim* (known in Latin as the *Picatrix*) it is used as an ingredient in burnt offerings for Venus and the moon, and as part of a soporific mixture to be ingested by the target (Ritter 1933: 220.1, 4 275.7, 299.7, 306.12; German translation in Ritter/Plessner 1962: 231, 232, 281, 312, 319).

front (continued) (flesh)



- 20 ⲥⲁⲡ ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ : ⲥⲓⲃⲉ :
 ⲡⲉⲭⲛⲓⲕ = ⲓⲧⲛ ⲥⲓⲱ =
 ⲉⲛⲉⲗⲃⲁⲩ = ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉ =
 ⲭ ⲁⲗⲛⲓⲕⲉ
- 26 ⲧⲥⲟⲡⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲑⲓⲛⲗ
 ⲡⲉⲱⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ : ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲁⲛ =
 ⲁⲣⲁⲭ = ⲃⲁⲣⲁⲭ : ⲥⲁⲭ : ⲑⲁⲭ : ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ = ⲱⲁ · ⲉⲩ-
 ⲭⲁ : ⲥⲉⲛ-ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ · ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲁⲗⲭⲉⲗ : ⲁⲃⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲡⲉⲥ-
- 30 ⲛⲟⲩⲥ = ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ · ⲡⲱⲛⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲱⲕ-
 ⲕⲁⲣⲛⲓⲕ = ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲱⲛ : ⲧⲥⲟⲡⲥ ⲛⲙⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲟ-
 ⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ : ⲕⲉⲃⲱⲕ : ⲱⲁ ⲭⲁ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲉ-
 ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲥ = ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ =
 ⲛⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲁ · ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲓ = ⲉⲛ ⲭⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲙⲓⲁ : ⲛ-
- 35 ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ = ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ : ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲙⲓⲁ : ⲛⲥⲓⲛⲉ : ⲣⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
 ⲭⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲡⲓⲉ ⲙⲁⲓⲱ : ⲁⲓⲱ ⲧⲁⲭⲛ ⲧⲁⲭⲛ =

20 ⲕⲁⲡⲕ ⲕⲱⲡ “hide yourself” (“verbirg dich”) Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* قطن *quṭun* | *i.e.* ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ “among us” (“zwischen uns”) Bilabel/Grohmann || 21 *i.e.* ⲥⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲭⲛⲓⲕ : “which devastates” (“das verwüstet”) Bilabel/Grohmann : “ash” Gardner | *i.e.* ⲥⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲧⲛⲥ : ⲣⲓⲧⲛ *i.e.* ⲕⲓⲧⲧⲱ “cassia-bark” ? Gardner | ⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲧ-ⲧ ⲥⲛⲱⲉ “that wounds” (“das verwundet”) Bilabel/Grohmann || 22 *i.e.* ⲉⲗⲃⲟⲟⲩ *cf.* Crum CD *s.v.* ⲃⲟⲟⲩ (no translation) Bilabel/Grohmann : “gelbay-herbs” Gardner | *i.e.* ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲓ || 23 *i.e.* ⲁⲗⲛⲓⲕ ? *cf.* note : ⲗⲉⲱⲕⲓ Bilabel/Grohmann || 24 *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲣⲉ-(ⲡ-ⲟⲟⲩ) || 26 *i.e.* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲓⲛ | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲙⲟⲕ || 27 *i.* ⲡ-ⲭⲱⲭ “head” (“Haupt”) Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ⲧⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ || 28–29 *i.e.* ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲩⲓⲟⲩ Bilabel/Grohmann || 29 *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲥ-ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲩⲛ | *i.e.* ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁⲛ corrected from ⲁⲃⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁ by overwriting | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲡⲉⲥⲥ || 30 *i.e.* ⲃⲟⲩ || 30–31 *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲥ-ⲕⲱ ⲕⲁⲣⲛⲓⲕ || 31 *i.e.* ⲥⲛ-ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲟⲛ : *i.e.* ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓⲟⲛ Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲙⲟⲕ || 32 *i.e.* ⲥⲉⲕ-ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ | *i.e.* (ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲁ) (ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲁ) | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲧ-ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲥⲉⲓⲛ : *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲧ-ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲥⲉⲓⲛ Bilabel/Grohmann || 33 *i.e.* ⲃⲟⲩ | *i.e.* ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ corrected from ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲁⲉ by smudging and overwriting || 34 *i.e.* ⲥⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲁ | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ | *i.e.* (ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲁ) (ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲁ) | *i.e.* ⲥⲛⲉⲩⲧⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ | *i.e.* ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲙⲓⲁ || 35 *i.* ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲙⲓⲁ || 36 *i.e.* (ⲁ)ⲡⲟ(ⲗⲟⲩⲁ) : ⲡⲟⲗⲟ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲛⲱⲛⲣⲟⲩⲱⲥ ? Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ⲧⲁⲭⲟ (twice)

¹⁹, above image Salathiël

²⁰ Take cotton, tar that is burnt <and> dried, gall of silurus, pepper, sixty salted fish?

²⁴, to right When the moon is full.

²⁶, below image “I entreat and I invoke you again today, Salathiel, the Ethiopian of the Four *Powers—whose names are these: Arax, Barax, Sax, Thax—the one who went to Eve when she was within the enclosure and deceived her ³⁰ mind so that she ate from the tree, and she stripped naked! Thus again I entreat you today that you go to NN, child of NN, and trouble her mind so that she walks on her feet and goes to <the> door of the house of NN, child of NN, and he puts his male lust ³⁵ into her female lust with a shameless face—request—yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by JS.

Image: This is apparently a depiction of Salathiël and his four powers. The name ‘Salathiël’ seems to be derived from Satanael (via /n/-/t/ metathesis and then a shift of nasal /n/ to liquid /l/), the name of the Devil before his fall (*cf.* *PCM I* 26 note to p. 4 l. 3). As the chief demon, he is probably the figure depicted on the upper right with a crown; his face seems to have been deliberately painted slightly darker than the others to indicate that he is an “Ethiopian”, a common description of dark-skinned demonic figures in Egyptian Christian texts; see Dosoo 2022a: 162–164; Love 2022c: 648–649. For Satanael, *cf.* the note to *PCM I* 26 p. 4 l. 3. In other cases (*e.g.*, *PCM I* 25 p. 15 l. 27; *PCM I* 26 p. 14 ll. 13–14, 21) Salathiël is clearly the name of an unfallen angel.

23. ἀλυγῆ : “salted fish” Here we follow Gardner (2023b: 104 n. 102) in tentatively proposing to read the Greek word ἀλυκή, apparently referring to a type of fish pickled by salting (see Morelli 1996: 82–88). Perhaps compare *GEMF* 15/*PGM* XII (KYP M160) 415 (366), a separation spell which makes use of an ostrakon from a pot for salted fish (ταρείχου ὄστρακον) to create an applied text, although the goal—separation rather than attraction—is the opposite of that here. Bilabel/Grohmann understand instead the word λευκή (“white”), modifying “pepper”.

29. ἐπικύχελ : “the enclosure” This refers to “the enclosure” of the Garden of Eden; *cf. e.g.*, Pseudo-Timothy of Alexandria, *Institution of Abbaton* (CC 405; Budge 1914: 236.25, 485 (trans.)). The reference is to the Devil’s temptation of Eve, which could be understood as a kind of seduction paralleling the love spell described here; compare the notes to *PCM I* 32 p. 1 ll. 32–34.

34–35. ντερεπεσσηια : νροουτ ρ ερουν : τερεπεσσηια : νσιμε : “his male lust into her female lust” A euphemism for the genitalia; *cf.* the note to *PCM I* 20 l. 14 and Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 5.

PCM I 25. Book of Mary and the Angels

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

23.4 (H) × 17.3 (W) cm

late X CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 685 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1685); TM 102074; TM 129732 (original text); *Pap.Heid.N.F.* IX; KYP M186; Bélanger Sarrazin #235; CLM 1488.

Editions: Meyer 1996 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Kropp 1965: no. d (p. 2 ll. 1–25, p. 8 l. 1; German); Meyer 1996; Johnston/Gardner 2023.

Additional commentary: Seider 1964; Quecke 1972; Meyer 2003; Untermann (ed.) 2011: 44–47; Meyer 2013; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 311, 338–348; Burns 2018: 153–254; Gardner/Johnston 2018: 139–148; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32; Piwowarczyk 2020: 110–112; Beshay 2020: 147–159, 194–205; Johnston/Gardner 2023; Richter 2023: 166–68 (p. 16 ll. 8–9); Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 4; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 4.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39753>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

Original Use: Lectionary of Pauline Epistles (Quecke 1972: 11–12; Meyer 1996: 3)

1. Bifolio 1 hair (pp. 1 + 20): Hebrews 5.3–6; 2 Timothy 2.3–13 (no. 11, day 15 Hathor⁹)
2. Bifolio 1 flesh (pp. 19 + 2): 2 Timothy 2.13–15; Philippians 4.1–9 (no. 12, day 16)
3. Bifolio 2 hair (pp. 18 + 3): Hebrews 9.7–10; Hebrews 2.11b–[17] (no. [.]6, day 2[.])
4. Bifolio 2 flesh (pp. 17 + 4): Hebrews 2.17–18; Hebrews 12.1–6 (no. [.]7, day 2)
5. Bifolio 3 flesh (pp. 16 + 5): 2 Corinthians 5.17–6.4 (no. [1], day 1 Thout); Hebrews 6.9 (no. [2], day 2 Thout⁹)
6. Bifolio 3 hair (pp. 15 + 6): Hebrews 6.9–20 (continuation of no. 2 day 2)
7. Bifolio 4 hair (pp. 14 + 7): Hebrews 11.32–40; Titus 2.11–12 (no. [.]7, day 11⁹ Tobī⁹)
8. Bifolio 4 flesh (pp. 13 + 8): Titus 2.12–3.7
9. Bifolio 5 flesh (pp. 12 + 9): Hebrews 1.13–2.8
10. Bifolio 5 hair (pp. 11 + 10): Hebrews 2.8–11; Hebrews 4.14–5.3

Re-use:

11. p. 2 ll. 1–25 – p. 9 ll. 1–23: Prayer of Mary (KYP T238)
12. p. 9 ll. 24–31: Recipe for exorcism (KYP T239)
13. p. 10 ll. 1–18: Instructions for an amulet calling upon the protector of Solomon (KYP T240)
14. p. 10 ll. 19–27: Invocation of Sator names for help and protection (KYP T241)
15. p. 11 ll. 1–11: Recipe against bleeding (KYP T242)
16. p. 12 l. 1–29 – p. 16 ll. 1–15: Adjuration of the Nine Guardians (KYP T243)
17. p. 16 ll. 16–27 – p. 17 ll. 1–10: Formulary against bleeding (KYP T245)
18. p. 17 ll. 11–45: Recipe for good business (KYP T244)
19. p. 18 ll. 1–17: Recipe to heal fever (KYP T1138)

Complete, single quire parchment codex of 20 pages. The codex is part of the archive known as the ‘Heidelberg Library’ (see pp. 259–263) and belongs to the 1930 purchase. The manuscript was written by Deacon Iōhannēs (see pp. 260–263).

Only pages 2–18 are inscribed, while pages 1 and 20 served as blank outer covers. The manuscript is a palimpsest of a lectionary of Pauline epistles in which each of the readings is given its number in the sequence, and the day of the month on which it is read. The names of the months themselves are lost, but comparison with other lectionaries shows that it may have covered the months of Thout, Hathor, and Tobi.¹ Five single sheets from the original lectionary were folded in half and trimmed to create five bifolios.² As a result, the lectionary is written in two columns at right angles to the re-used text. Before the re-used codex was disassembled for conservation in the twentieth century, it was bound in a single quire with three parchment strings which were tied on the outer side.³ These strings of parchment likely came from the same codex.⁴ Other leaves from the same lectionary were used to produce *PCM* I 26.

Each page of the re-used text contains a maximum of 31 lines, with about 25 letters (roughly 20 to 30) per line. Besides the hand of Iōhannēs, we recognise other characteristics typical for his manuscripts, such as simple horizontal lines used to divide recipes and recipe sections (including one line at the very beginning of the manuscript) and various paratextual markers, including the mid-point, colon, and two oblique strokes. The text contains the same dialectal and grammatical features typical of this scribe (see pp. 261–262). This manuscript is exceptional for having been partially personalised; at two points, a personal name (Iōsēph, son of Paraseu; cf. notes to p. 13) replaces the generic name marker; it is unclear if this is because the manuscript was copied to be used by him, or if this particular text was copied from a personalised exemplar.

The nine texts contained in this manuscript are primarily concerned with healing, exorcism, and good fortune; most of these are discussed in the accompanying notes, but it is worth giving here a fuller introduction to the first text. The so-called *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’* is a prayer attributed to the Virgin Mary which calls upon God to protect the patient from disease, sorcery, and demons.⁵ This text may be one of the earliest composed of the surviving Christian magical texts, perhaps dating to shortly after the confirmation of Mary as the Mother of God (*theotokos*)

¹ See Quecke 1972: 12–16, but cf. the discussion in the introduction to *PCM* I 26, which problematises this assumption.

² Meyer 1996: 4.

³ Meyer 1996: 4. On the same page, Meyer notes, following Quecke 1972: 6, n. 4: “Two perforations (1–1.5 cm. apart) near the top, middle, and bottom of the fold in the parchment accommodated the thongs (themselves 7.2 x 0.6–0.9 cm., 5.5 x 0.4–0.6 cm., and 7.1 x 0.3–0.5 cm.).”

⁴ Quecke 1972: 6, n. 4.

⁵ On this text, see Kropp 1965; Meyer 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, & 2013; Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 80–202; van der Vliet 2019b: 330, 338.

at the Council of Ephesus in 431, which led to the production of dormition narratives describing her powers of healing and exorcism, linked to a prayer given to her by Jesus.⁶ A Greek copy, from the tomb of the Archishop Georgios in Old Dongola (*ca.* 1113 CE),⁷ probably represents the original language of the text, but there are at least 6 other copies in Coptic,⁸ making it the most common Coptic magical text after the Abgar Correspondence,⁹ although each copy displays significant variation. Close verbal parallels in several otherwise unrelated Coptic magical texts are suggestive of the influence of the *Prayer of Mary* on the genre as a whole.¹⁰ Early modern (and more standardised) versions of this prayer survive in Arabic and Ge'ez.¹¹ In the modern tradition, the text is known as the *Prayer of Mary 'in Bartos'*—Bartos probably referring to Parthia (Πάρθος)—and the prayer is said to have been spoken by her to free the Apostle Matthias from imprisonment.¹² An extended literary narrative, *The Miracles of the Virgin Mary in Bartos* (CC 885), whose Arabic version is attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, survives fragmentarily in Coptic, and fully in Arabic, and describes Mary's use of the prayer to free prisoners and heal the suffering.¹³ The highly repetitive nature of this narrative may suggest that it is posterior to the *Prayer*; it seems to focus on the *Prayer's* capacity to melt iron, which appears in the early part of the text (here p. 2 ll. 24–25). The connection to 'Bartos', however, is absent in any of the Coptic versions of the prayer, and seems to be a later accretion; the version here describes the prayer as that which Mary spoke on her deathbed, creating a connection to the dormition narratives, which link the prayer given to her by Jesus to her “falling asleep” (*i.e.*, death).¹⁴

⁶ Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 141–142; Dosoo 2021a: 693–694.

⁷ Burial vault, Tomb of Archbishop Georgios (Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: no. 9; KYP M501).

⁸ *P.Lond.Copt.* 368 (KYP M117); BL Ms. Or. 6796 (1–3) (Kropp 1931: I no. G, II nos. XL, XLI); *BKU I* 6 (KYP M119); P.land. inv. 9 (Kropp 1965; KYP M134); Collège de France Ms. 2 (KYP M 573; unpublished); Coptic Museum 4958 (KYP M130; unpublished).

⁹ For a discussion of which, see *PCM I* 11 notes to p. 20 l. 6–p. 25 l. 23.

¹⁰ For some of these parallels, see Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 148–149; Bélanger Sarrazin 2020: 190–194.

¹¹ For a translation of the Arabic version, see Viaud 1978: 75–78; a fragmentary mediaeval Arabic version with angel names written in Coptic script is held in the National Library of Egypt as ID 4562/inv. 768; we are grateful to Abdoulaye Ba for sharing his preliminary edition of this piece, which enabled us to make the identification. For a translation of the Ge'ez version, see Basset 1894: 600–610, 694–700.

¹² For the argument that Bartos (برتوس) represents Πάρθος, “Parthia”, rather than the previously-hypothesised Beirut, see Guidi 1888: 9. Euringer (1929a) has argued instead that it represents Tortosa in Syria, but this relies on a hypothetical Arabic writing of Tortosa as ترتوس (subsequently miscopied as برتوس) rather than the usual طرطوس.

¹³ For a discussion of this text, see Graf 1944: 253–255; for the fragmentary Bohairic version, see van Lantschoot 1951; the fragmentary Sahidic version is published in Robinson 1896: 20–25; for a translation of the Arabic version, see Basset 1894: 769–789.

¹⁴ Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 128–133; Dosoo 2021a: 692–694.

page 2 (flesh)

- 5 ται τε τηεζ:κ̄α : μπροσεγχι η̄αρ-
 ῑα = ἡπαρθένος : χ̄οος = περσογ · πες-
 ενκατε · σνεργει : νεσ̄αη : η̄ιη τε-
 παντ̄κιμενος = σερ παρρε ω̄ωνι
 10 η̄ιη = ρι λαβλες η̄ιη ρη ογειρηνε ρ̄α
 μαρια : δε · ασβι η̄νεσβαλ · ερραι
 ετεπη : ω̄α πνογτε = παντωρ =
 πεχεс δε †ρ̄ωνχ ερακ η̄ποογ :
 15 πετωοοπ = ω̄α η̄νεζ = †σμογ ερακ =
 η̄ποογ = ῑαω = πετηηγ = ριχεν : η̄νε-
 σ̄ηνε : νετπε ≡ σ̄αβαωθ ≡ πετ̄σεν-
 σ̄αη = ερογο εραογ = τηρογ = πετωοοπ
 ρ̄α·θη̄ · νεων τηρογ = ρ̄αθη̄ η̄πατε-
 20 τεπη = η̄η η̄καρ = ογ̄ωναρ εβαλ =
 τπε : ασωωπε = η̄ακ = η̄ορονος =
 αγω = η̄καρ = η̄ργ̄πωτ̄ων = νε-
 κογερη† ≡ σ̄ωτη εραι η̄ποογ =
 ρ̄εν πεκνος = η̄ραν = ετ̄σμασ̄μα-
 25 ατ : η̄αρεζωβ η̄ιη = κεχ̄ωογ η̄αι =
 πεснт = δε : η̄ηακ : η̄αρῑα : η̄ηακ
 τε η̄αρῑαη = η̄ηακ πε τη̄ααγ
 η̄πω̄ναρ η̄κωс̄μος τηρϣ =
 η̄ηακ ρ̄ωωτ = σ̄σ = π̄ωνι η̄αρεϣ :
 30 π̄ωρ = ρ̄α τᾱρε ποογ ≡ πε̄ηιπε = η̄α-
 ρεϣ=βωλ εβαλ = ρ̄α τᾱρε ποογ ≡

1 τηεζ:κ̄α “24th” Kopp | i.e. προσευχή || 1–2 i.e. ^ςη̄τα-η̄αρῑα || 2 i.e. ^ςτ-παρθένος cf. note | i.e. ^ςη̄-περσογ || 2–3 i.e. ^ςη̄-πεс-η̄κοτ̄κ || 3 i.e. (ἐ)νεργείν : i.e. ἀνείργειν Meyer | i.e. ^ςη̄-σ̄οη | i.e. ^ςη̄τε- || 4 i.e. ἀντικείμενος | i.e. ^ςω̄ωνε || 5 i.e. εἰρήνη | i.e. ἄμ(ήν) : ρ̄αη Meyer || 6 i.e. δέ || 7 i.e. ^ςη̄-παντ(οκράτ)ωρ cf. note to l. 2 || 9 i.e. ^ςε̄νεζ || 10 i.e. πετ-η̄ηγ || 11 i.e. σ̄ηπε || 12 εραογ corrected from ερακ by erasure and overwriting || 13 i.e. ^ςη̄-η̄-αἰών || 13–14 i.e. ^ςη̄πατε-τ-πε || 15 i.e. θρόνος || 16 i.e. ὑποπόδιον || 18–19 i.e. ^ςσ̄ηαηαατ || 19 i.e. ^ςκολ̄χ=ογ ? || 20 i.e. ^ςε̄πεснт | i.e. ^ςη̄αηок (twice) || 21 i.e. ^ςη̄αηок τε τ-η̄ααγ || 22 i.e. ^ςη̄-η̄-κόσμος || 23 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 24 i.e. ^ςη̄-ποογ || 25 i.e. ^ςη̄-ποογ

This is the twenty-first prayer of Mary the Virgin, <that she> spoke on the day of her falling asleep. It works on every power of the Adversary; it heals every sickness ¹⁵ and every disease, in peace, amen.

And Mary lifted her eyes up to heaven, to God Almighty, saying: “I beseech you today, you who have always existed, I praise you, ¹⁰ today, *Iao, who comes upon the clouds of heaven, *Sabaoth, the one who is mightier than them all, you who existed before all of the aeons, before the heavens and the earth had appeared; ¹⁵ heaven became a throne for you and the earth <a> footstool for your feet! Listen to me today, in your great, blessed name: let every thing bow² down to me, ²⁰ for I am Mary, I am Mariham, I am the mother of the life of the whole world, I myself, NN, child of NN! Stone, let it break before me today! Iron, let ²⁵ it melt before me today!

1–5. ται τε τμεζ:κα : μπροσεγχι : “This is the twenty-first prayer of Mary the Virgin”

For a discussion of the tradition of the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’*, see the introduction to this manuscript.

2. ἡπαρενος : “the virgin” The copyist often seems to treat the initial π of certain Greek words as the Coptic definite article (π-), consistently omitting the expected article; this is the case even when the word itself is feminine and we would expect an initial τ-. Compare *PCM I* 23 l. 28–29, and the similar treatment of παρθενία in *PCM I* 23 ll. 26, 27, 28, 36, 39, and of other words such as παντοκράτωρ in *PCM I* 22 ll. 31, 32; *PCM I* 26 p. 11 l. 4; *PCM I* 28 p. 9 l. 5, p. 12 ll. 10–11. Compare also the better-known reanalysis of the Greek θάλασσα (“sea”) as τ-θαλασσα (cf. Clackson/Papaconstantinou 2010: 81).

11–12. πετσεμεζαν # ερογο ερωζ # τηρογ : “the one who is mightier than them all” The parallel versions have a phrase here referring to God’s judgement of all mankind, so that we might understand an earlier version of this passage contained something like “to judge them all”; cf. *Tomb of Georgios* North Wall col. 1, l. 4 (Lajtar/van der Vliet 2017: no. 9; KYP M501): καὶ δικάζων παντὶ γένει; British Library MS Or 6796 (1–3) l. 12 (Kropp 1965: no. c; KYP M118): εἴθε γενος νη [νηρ]ωμε; Collège de France Ms. 2 p. 23 l. 14 (KYP M573): εἴθαπ εγενος · νη νρωμε.

15–17. τπε : αςωωπε # νακ # νερονος # αγω # πκαζ # ηεγπωτφωη # νεκογενητ : “heaven became a throne for you and the earth <a> footstool for your feet” Cf. Isaiah 66.1: “Thus speaks the Lord, ‘Heaven is my throne and earth the footstool of my feet’” (ται τε θε ετερεπιχωεις χω ννος δε τπε πε παθρονος πκαζ δε ηεγποποδιον νηαογενητε; Kasser 1965: 180).

19–20. ἡαρεζωβ νηη # κεχωουγ ναι # πεσντ : “let every thing bow² down to me” We propose to read here a form of the verb κωλχ (“bend”) with the λ having been dropped, although the subject of this construction is usually knee (πατ). Compare Isaiah 45.23: “every knee shall bow to me” (ερεπατ νηη νακωλχ ναι; Pierpont Morgan M 568 fol. 47r, col. II, ll. 12–13). The parallels in *Tomb of Georgios*, North wall, col. 1, l. 6 (Lajtar/van der Vliet 2017 no. 9; KYP M501), British Library MS Or 6796 (1–3) ll. 19–20 (Kropp 1965 no. c; KYP M118) and Collège de France Ms. 2 p. 23 l. 19 (KYP M573) use instead the Greek verb ὑποτάσσειν, “be obedient, subservient” here. Meyer translates “submit” but does not discuss his reasoning.

page 3 (hair)

- ΝΕΔΕΜΩΝΙΩΝ ≡ ΜΑΡΟΥΝΑΧΩΡΙ
 ΕΙΝΑΥ ≡ ΖΑ ΤΑΖΕ ΠΟΟΥ ≡ ΝΕΖΟΥ-
 CIA ἡΠΟΥ^δΕΙΝ ≡ ΜΑΡΟΥΟΥΩΝΑΖ
 ΝΑΙ ΕΒΑΛ ≡ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΜΗ : ΝΑΡ-
 5 ΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΩC ≡ ΜΑΡΟΥΩΝΑΖ ≡
 ΝΑΙ ΕΒΑΛ ἡΠΟΟΥ ≡ ΝΕΡΟ · ΕΤΖΗΚ ≡
 ΑΥΩ ≡ ΕΤΩΟΤΗ ≡ ΜΑΡΟΥΩΝΗ ≡ ΝΑΙ ≡
 ΖΕΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΗ ≡ ΜΗ · ΟΥΒΕΠΗ ≡ ΧΕ ΡΕ-
 ΠΕΚ·ΡΑΝ ≡ ΩΩΠΕ · ΝΑΙ ≡ ΝΒΩΙΘΟΣ ≡
 10 ΑΥΩ ΝΩΝΑΖ ≡ ΕΙΤΕ · ΖΗ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ≡
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ≡ ΕΙΤΕ : ΖΗ ΤΕΥΩΗ - ΤΗΡC ≡
 ΑΤΩΝΑΙ ≡ ΧΕΡΕΙ ≡ ΑΤΩΜΑ · ≡ Ο
 ΧΙΑΛΑΣ ≡ ΒΑΒΩΘ ≡ CΤΙΕΦ ≡
 ΒΑ ≡ CΑΘΑ ≡ ΧΙΘΙ ≡ ΘΑ ≡ CΑΒΑΩΘ ≡
 15 ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ≡ CΩΤΗ ΕΡΑΙ ἡΠΟΟΥ ≡
 ΠΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ ≡ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΕΥ·Θ-
 ΡΩΝΟΣ ≡ ΕΤΧΟCΕ ≡ ΕΥCΤΩΤ · ΖΑ Τ-
 ΕΥΖΕ ΝCΙ ΠΝΑ ΝΙΗ ≡ ΝΑ ΤΕΠΕ ≡
 ΜΗ : ΝΑ ΠΚΑΖ ≡ ΜΗ · ΝΕΤCΑΠΕ-
 20 CΗΤ ΠΚΑΖ ≡ ΜΗ : ΝΕΤΖΑ ΠΑΗΡ : ΕΥ-
 ΩΤΕΡΤΩΡ ≡ ΖΑΘΗ ἡΠΕΚΝΟC
 ΝΡΑΝ ≡ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ≡ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ≡

1 i.e. δαιμόνιον | i.e. ἀναχωρεῖν || 2 i.e. ^ςΝΑΥ || 2–3 i.e. ἐξουσία || 3 ΜΗ, η corrected from α by overwriting || 4 i.e. ἄγγελος || 4–5 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 5 i.e. ^ςΜΑΡ=ΟΥ=ΟΥΩΝ^δ : ΜΑΡΟΥΩΝΑΖ Meyer || 7 l. ΜΑΡ=ΟΥ=ΟΥΩΝ || 8–9 l. ερεπεκραν (haplography) || 9 i.e. βοηθός || 10 i.e. εἴτε || 16–17 i.e. θρόνος || 18 i.e. πν(εὺμ)α || 20 i.e. ἀήρ

The demons, let them withdraw themselves before me today! The *authorities of light, let them appear to me! The *angels and |⁵ *archangels, let them appear to me today! The doors that are braced and shut, let them be opened to me, quickly and in haste, so that your name might become for me a helper |¹⁰ and life, whether in all the day or in all the night!

*Adonai, Kherem, Atōma, Khialas, Babōth, Stieph, Ba, Satha, Khithi, Tha, *Sabaoth, |¹⁵ God, listen to me today, you who sit upon your exalted *throne, every spirit trembling before you, those of the heaven and those of the earth and those below |²⁰ the earth and those under the air, who are disturbed before your great holy name, which is:

1–2. ⲙⲁⲣⲟϥⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁϥ : “let them withdraw themselves” ⲉⲓ at the beginning of l. 2 poses a problem for parsing; it might be understood either as the ending of ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓ, or else as a short prothetic vowel added before ⲛⲁⲭ. Here we opt for the latter, since Greek verbs ending in -εῖν are usually written with final -ⲓ or -ⲉ by this scribe, while a short prothetic vowel (usually ⲉ-) is often written before ⲛⲁⲭ (see, e.g., p. 5 ll. 3, 9 of this manuscript). The writing ⲉⲓ is a result of the often surprising interchange of (ⲉ)ⲓ/ⲉ found in this variety of Coptic (cf. e.g., p. 2 l. 9 of this manuscript; PCM I 26 p. 15 l. 26; PCM I 27 front l. 19; PCM I 31 back l. 16).

12. ⲟ This letter differs from the normal form of omicron, and seems instead be some kind of punctuation or lectional mark; compare the similar sign at p. 6 l. 11. Since both appear at similar line positions, it is possible that the copyist used it to keep track of the line count, marking the vertical halfway point of certain pages.

page 4 (flesh)

- πε ἰαω = $\overline{\text{C}\Delta\text{B}\Delta\text{C}\omega\theta}$ = $\overline{\Delta\tau\omega\text{N}\Delta\epsilon\text{I}}$ =
 $\overline{\text{E}\lambda\omicron\omicron\epsilon\text{I}}$ = πετβωλ εβαλ ηζωβ
 nim = ρεπθονος = ηζητϣ = μαγια
 mn φαρμαγια · nim = naī φαγωω-
 5 πε : ζεν ρωμε = πωνερων = αγω =
 περικογργος = ειτε · ογμετβελ-
 λη = ειτε · ογμετβαλ = ειτε · ογμε-
 τατωαχε = ειτε ογμεκαρ = ητεη-
 απε = ειτε · ογωωκ = ητε ηδεμο-
 10 νων = ειτε : ογὰ εφζηηη = ειτε ογὰ
 εφωτερτωρ = ειτε · ογὰ εφλαχ =
 $\overline{\text{E}\text{I}\tau\epsilon}$ ογςнов = αγκαιογ ρα · ογ:α : $\overline{\text{E}\text{I}\tau\epsilon}$ =
 $\text{OY}^{\Delta}\epsilon$ q†ικες = εβαλ · ζεν ηελεμω-
 νιον = $\overline{\text{E}\text{I}\tau\epsilon}$ ογ $\overline{\text{N}\epsilon\text{Z}}$ = $\overline{\text{E}\text{I}\tau\epsilon}$ · ζγπωρα =
 15 ειε ογμα ηςω = ει $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon\tau\omega\text{C}}$ = ραπλως =
 πετεη:ταϣ = μαρεφβωλ · εβαλ = ρι-
 τεη πεκνος ηραν = ετογααβ = ρα
 εβαλ : $\overline{\text{S}\text{S}}$ = μαρ: $\overline{\text{S}\text{S}}$ ωωπε = εφογ:αχ =
 ζη πεφςωμα = αγω πεβ:ςωμα τ-
 20 ηρϣ : ωωπε ζεν ογταχρα = ηεφμογ-
 τ : mn : ηεφκας = ηεφαβογρε = εγω-
 ωπε = εφογαχ = ρα εβαλ · μαγια =
 nim = τεηρωμε = mn ωικ nim τεη-
 λεμονιον = na περοογ = mn τεγω-
 25 η = ογδε $\overline{\text{M}\epsilon\text{P}\text{P}\text{P}\text{A}}$ = ογτε ηοηρ = $\overline{\text{OY}}$

3 i.e. φθόνος | i.e. μαγεία || 4 i.e. φαρμακεία || 5 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}\text{H}}$ -πονηρον i.e. πονηρόν || 6 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}\text{H}}$ -περιογργος i.e. περιουργός | i.e. είτε || 7 i.e. είτε (twice) | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{OY}$ -ηητ-κογρ ? || 8 i.e. είτε | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{H}\text{K}\alpha\text{Z}$ || 9 i.e. είτε | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\omega\omega\omega\epsilon$ (?) : “attack”, “intrusion” Meyer || 9–10 i.e. δαιμόνιον || 10 i.e. είτε (twice) || 11 i.e. είτε | εφλαχ : “depressed” Meyer || 12 i.e. είτε (twice) | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{OY}$ -ςнов ε-α-γ-κα-ϣ ρα ογα || 13 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\epsilon$ -α-ϣ-†ικας εβολ : ε{α}ϣ†ικες Meyer : or “who has (or, uses) a bone,” i.e. “makes use of a bone in a spell” Meyer || 14 i.e. είτε (twice) | i.e. ύπόρα || 15 i.e. η | ογμα ηςω = ει $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon\tau\omega\text{C}}$: “a potion in a jar (?)” Meyer | ει $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon\tau\omega\text{C}}$ = ραπλως : or “then I make a drinking place absolutely dry” ? Meyer | i.e. κάδος | i.e. άπλως || 16 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{H}$ -ετε-ογητα-ϣ || 18 (δείνα) (δείνα) (twice) || 19 i.e. σώμα (twice) || 21 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\alpha\phi\omicron\gamma\text{I}$: i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\omega\beta\epsilon$ Kropp || 22 i.e. μαγεία || 23 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{H}\tau\epsilon$ - (twice) | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\omega\omega\omega\epsilon$ (?) : “attack”, “intrusion” Meyer : “abyss” (“Abgrund”) Kropp || 24 i.e. δαιμόνιον || 25 i.e. οὐδέ | i.e. μοίρα cf. note : or i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{H}\text{P}\text{P}\epsilon$? Meyer | i.e. οὐδέ | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\epsilon\text{N}\text{H}\text{P}$ cf. note | $\overline{\text{OY}}$ deleted by smudging

*Iao *Sabaoth *Adonai *Eloei, you who undo work which has envy in it, magic and every sorcery, the things that |⁵ come about through evil and meddlesome men, whether blindness, or deafness, or speechlessness, or pain of his head or a strike⁷ of the demons, |¹⁰ or someone who has a fever, or someone who is disturbed, or someone who is crushed, or blood that was loosened under someone, or someone who was given pain by the demons, or <caused by> some oil, or some fruit, |¹⁵ or a banquet, or <a> vessel, in short, whatever he has, let it be undone through your great, holy name, away from NN, child of NN! Let NN, child of NN, be sound in his body and his entire body |²⁰ be strong, his sinews and his bones, his flesh be healthy, away from every magic of men and every crushing⁷ of the demons, those of the day and of the night, |²⁵ neither fates, neither deities!

3–4. **ΜΑΓΙΑ ΜΗ ΦΑΡΜΑΓΙΑ · ΝΗΜ** : “magic and every sorcery” We might expect “every magic and sorcery”, but this would normally require the repetition of ΝΗΜ (cf. Layton 2000: 51 §60(e)). Compare a similar phrase found in another copy of the *Prayer of Mary*: “whether any sorcery or any magic” (εἴτε φάρμαγια ἢ εἴτε μαγία νημ; P.land.inv. 9 p. 1 ll. 6–7 (Kropp 1965; KYP M134)).

12. **Εἴτε οὐκνοβ ρ ἀγκοῦ ρα · οὐγᾶ** : “blood that was loosened under someone” A reference to a curse to cause bleeding, for which see the notes to PCM I 3 front col. 1.

16. **ΠΕΤΕΝ:ΤΑϚ** : “whatever he has” For this unusual writing of ^ςπετεύνταϚ, compare PCM I 31 front l. 23, and ετας for ^ςούντας found in the contemporary Teshlot archive (Richter 2000: 120–121).

25. **ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕΡΡΑ ρ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΘΗΡ** : “neither fates, neither deities” The word “fate” (μοῖρα) referred originally to the personified Greek goddesses of fate—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos—who were believed to decree the fate of mortals, thus coming to be understood also as goddesses of death. A singular Moira appears in a list of Greek deities in the adjuration P.Carlsberg 52 (Lange 1932; KYP M125) p. 3 l. 18, likely inspired by mentions in Greek literature (cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 249–250 n. 132). In this text, as well as a roughly contemporary amulet to protect a pregnant woman (P.Lond. Copt. 524 (KYP M359) front l. 21) the “fates” seem to represent a specific type of malevolent spirit. Likewise, “deities” translates the Coptic εντηρ, the largely obsolete plural of νογτε “god”, treated as an independent singular noun in standard Coptic (Crum CD 725b; Vycichl DELC 145–146). Like “fates”, the word seems to have come to refer to a type of demonic being in the context of Christian Egypt; cf. Krueger 2021: 130–132. We find “deities” listed among harmful demons in the Coptic magical corpus in PCM I p. 41 ll. 8–9; P.Lond.Copt. 524 (KYP M359) front l. 22 (alongside “fates”); Columbia inv. 554 ll. 18–19 (Schiller 1928; KYP M2); P.Berol. 11347 (Beltz 1985: no. II 42) back ll. 8–9. The word also appears in PCM I 4 ll. 4, 10 and Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128) p. 5 l. 3, albeit referring in these cases to Pharaonic deities (Amun, *Osiris, *Isis, *Apis) rather than harmful demonic beings.

page 5 (flesh)

- $\overline{\text{BACANIZÉ}} \equiv \overline{\text{NEΔEMONION}} \neq \text{NA ΠΕ'}$
 $\text{ZOY} \cdot \text{MN NA TEYΩH} \cdot \text{XEKAC} : \text{EYNA} \neq$
 $\text{XΩPI} \cdot \text{ENA} \gamma : \text{ZA EBAL} : \overline{\text{SS}} \neq \text{EQΩW}$
 $\text{ΠE THPQ} \neq \text{EQOYAX} \cdot \text{ZEN ΠEQCΩMA} \neq$
 5 $\text{MN TEQTΓXH} \neq \text{MN ΠNΔ} \neq \text{MAREQEI}$
 $\text{ME} \neq \text{XE NTAK} \neq \text{TE ΠNOYTE} \neq \text{AYΩ MN}$
 $\text{KEOYΔ} \cdot \text{NBEL:ΛAK} \neq \text{MN'ΠΩTN CEX-}$
 $\text{OOC} \cdot \text{OI NEZΘNOC} \neq \text{XE M'EN BOIΘI} \neq$
 $\text{ΩPOOΠ ENAY} \neq \text{NTAK} \cdot \overline{\text{ΓAP}} \text{ ΠE ΠOC}$
 10 $\overline{\text{CABADΘ}} \equiv \text{ΠNOC} : \text{ZN MHΠH} \neq \text{AYΩ} \cdot \text{ZI-}$
 $\text{XE PKAZ} \neq \text{ZΩB NIM} \neq \text{TEKOYOCΩOY}$
 $\text{ΩAKAOY} \neq \text{†ΩPK EPAC} \neq \text{M'ΠOOC} \neq \text{M-}$
 $\text{ΠOYXAI} : \text{PEK:KΔ} \neq \text{M'ΠEPECBYTEPOC} \neq$
 $\text{ENACΩMATOC} \neq \text{ETE NAI EYPAH} \neq$
 15 $\overline{\text{BHΘ}} \neq \overline{\text{BHΘA}} \neq \overline{\text{POYHΛ}} \neq \overline{\text{MATATHΛ}} \cdot$
 $\overline{\text{PIHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{PIXAHΛ}} : \overline{\text{XΩBANTΔ}} \neq \overline{\text{XΩMH}} \neq$
 $\overline{\text{EIXAM}} \cdot \overline{\text{MAM}} \cdot \overline{\text{CABADΘ}} \equiv \overline{\text{PΩHΛ}} \neq$
 $\overline{\text{NΩHΛ}} : \overline{\text{NΩHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{YMHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{TATIHΛ}} \neq$
 $\overline{\text{KATATHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ZAPIHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{APIHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{IΔΩ}} \neq$
 20 $\overline{\text{BHΘA}} \cdot \overline{\text{PATPOYHΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{CACKA}} \equiv \overline{\text{APIHΛ}} \neq$
 $\text{KΩ NAI EBAL} \cdot \text{M'ΠOOC} : \overline{\text{SS}} : \text{†COΠC} : \text{AYΩ} \cdot$
 $\text{†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ EMAK M'ΠOOC} \neq \text{ANAK} : \overline{\text{SS}}$
 $\text{XEKAC} : \text{KETEN:NOOC} \text{ NAI} : \text{NTEKCAM} \neq$
 $\text{ETOYAAV} \neq \text{ECKAΘAPIZE} \neq \text{M'Π'NΔ NIM} \neq$
 25 $\text{NΩΩNE} \neq \text{ETCALLEY} : \text{EPICΩMA} \overline{\text{SS}} \text{ MAPO-}$
 $\text{YΠΩT ZA EBAL} \cdot \text{MAGIA NIM} \neq \text{EQΩWΠE}$
 $\text{ZEN OYTAΔXPA} \cdot \text{ΠEQCΩMA} \cdot \llbracket \text{MN} \rrbracket$

1 i.e. βασανίζειν | i.e. δαϊμόνιον || 2–3 i.e. (ἀ)ναχωρεῖν || 3 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 3–4 i.e. $\overline{\text{N}}\text{=q-}\omega\pi\epsilon$: i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{=q-}\omega\pi\epsilon$ Meyer || 4 i.e. σῶμα || 5 i.e. ψυχή | l. πν(εῦ)μα || 6 τε i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{ΠE}$ || 7 i.e. $\overline{\text{N}}\text{BΛX=K}$ | i.e. μήποτε : μνηστῆ Meyer || 8 i.e. ἔθνος | i.e. βοήθεια || 9 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{NA=}\gamma$ | i.e. γάρ | l. π-x(οει)c || 10 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{ΠH}\gamma\epsilon$ || 11 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{ET=K-OYAZOY}$ || 12 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{OZAK-AAZOY}$ || 13 i.e. πρεσβύτερος || 14 i.e. ἀσώματος | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{NE=}\gamma\text{-PAH}$ || 21 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 22 i.e. παρακαλεῖν | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{HNO=K}$ | l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 23 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{E=K-E-TIINOY}$ || 24 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{N=K-KAΘAPIZE}$ i.e. καθαρίζειν | l. πν(εῦ)μα || 25 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{ΩΩNE N=}\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ “paralysis” (“Lähmungskrankheit”) Kropf | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{ET-}\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma$, σ corrected from unclear letter by overwriting | i.e. σῶμα | l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 25–27 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{MAPZOY-ΠΩT ZA EBOL N} \overline{\text{OI}}$ MAGIA NIM $\overline{\text{N=}}\overline{\text{Q-}}\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\overline{\text{ZN OY-TAΔXPO ΠE=}}\text{q-}\omega\pi\alpha$: “let them flee from all magic and let him become strong (in) his body” Meyer || 26 i.e. μαγεία | i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{N=}\text{q-}\omega\pi\epsilon$ || 27 i.e. $\overline{\text{S}}\text{N=}\text{q-}\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ | $\llbracket \text{MN} \rrbracket$ erased by smudging

Torture the demons, those of the day and those of the night, so that they withdraw themselves from NN, child of NN, and he becomes wholly sound in his body¹⁵ and his soul and spirit!

Let him know that you are God and there is no other except you, lest the nations say, “There is no help for them”, for you are the Lord¹⁰ *Sabaoth, the great one in heavens and upon the earth; every thing that you wish you do. I adjure you today by the *wellbeing of the incorporeal *Twenty-Four Presbyters, whose names are Bēth, Bētha, Rouēl, Matatiēl, ¹⁵ Riēl, Rikhaēl, Khōbanta, Khōmē, Eikham, Mam, Sabaoth, Rōēl, Nōēl, Nōēl, Umiēl, Tatiēl, Katatiēl, Zariēl, Ariēl, *Iao, ²⁰ Bētha, Patrouēl, Sakia, Ariēl; forgive me, NN, child of NN, today!

I entreat and I invoke you today, I, NN, child of NN, that you send to me your holy power so that it cleanses every spirit²⁵ of sickness that dwells in the body of NN, child of NN! Let every magic flee away, so that he becomes strong in his body

5–7. μαρεψειμε ≠ ξε ντακ ≠ τε πνουτε ≠ αγω μη κε ογα · νβελ:λακ : “Let him know that you are God and there is no other except you” Cf. e.g., Deuteronomy 4.35: “so that you know that the Lord, your God, this one is God, with no other beside him” (εωστε ετρεκεινε ξε πχοεις πεκνουτε παι πε πνουτε ενικεογα νβλλα; Kasser 1962: 114, 116).
 7–9. μη·πωτην σε·χοος · σι νε·ρενος ≠ ξε·μεν βοιει ≠ ωροπ·εναγ : “lest the nations say: “There is no help for them” Cf. Psalm 78 (79) 10: “lest they say among the nations, ‘Where is their God?’” (μηποτε σε·χοος ρη νε·ρενος ξε εφτων πεγνουτε; Budge 1898: 86); Psalm 113.10 (115.2): “Lest the nations say, ‘Where is their God?’” (μηποτε ντεν·ρενος·χοος ξε εφτων πεγνουτε; Budge 1898: 123).

page 6 (hair)

- MN ΨΥΧΗ = MN ΠΕΥ·ΝΑ : ΜΑΡΕΧΕΙ-
 ΜΕ · ΧΕ ΣΩΟΠ ΝΑΥ : ΝΕΒΙ ΒΩΙΘΙ =
 ΕΠΩΤ : ΖΝ ΤΠΕ : ΖΑΜΗΝ = ΕΙΣ ΖΑ-
 ΜΗΝ = ΙΣ ΠΧΣ ΖΑΜΗΝ = ΙΣ ΖΑΜΗΝ
 5 ΕΙΣ ΠΧΣ : ΖΑΜΗΝ = ΠΕΠΙΣΤΙΣ Ν·ΝΕΝΙ-
 ΚΕΑ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ = ΖΑΜΗΝ ΣΩΟΠ^Π
 ΑΓΙΟΣ = ΑΓΙΟΣ = ΑΓΙΟΣ = ΚΙΡΙΟΣ = ΣΑ-
 ΒΑΩΘ : ΠΛΙΡΙΣ = ΝΟΥΡΑΝΟΥΣ = ΚΕ ΕΙ ΚΗ
 ΤΗΣ = ΑΓΙΑΣ = ΟΥΤΟΖΙΩΣ = ΚΟΥΑΔΒ =
 10 ΚΟΥΑΔΒ = ΚΟΥΑΔΒ = ΠΕΤΜΟΟΣ ΕΖ-
 ΡΑΙ : ΖΙΧΕΝ : ΝΕΖΑΡΜΑ Ν·ΝΕΧΕΡΟΥ· Ο
 ΒΙΝ = ΕΥΣΩΚ = ΖΑΡΟΥΥ · ΝΒΙ ΝΕΙΝΟΣ =
 ΝΣΩΝΤ ΡΕΣ· ΝΤΕΝΑΖ = ΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ
 ΜΑΔΥ = ΒΑΘΟΥΡΙΝΛ · ΕΠΩΤ : ΝΑ ΤΠΕ =
 15 ΜΝ : ΝΑ ΠΚΑΖ = ΠΕΤΜΟΟΣ = ΖΜ ΠΧΙΣΕ =
 ΕΥΟΥΩΝΑΖ = ΝΑΙ ΕΒΑΛ = ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥ-
 ΗΛ = ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥΝΗΛ = ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥΗΛ·
 ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥΝΗΛ · ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥΝ =
 ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥ = ΜΑΡΜΑΡ = ΜΑΡΜΑΝ =
 20 ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡΩΖΤ = ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ = ΖΝ ΤΕΦΩΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ : ΑΜΟΥ ΦΑΡΑΙ ΗΠΟΥΥ = ΠΝΟΣ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΕΤΖΜ ΠΕ = ΦΩΡΚ ΕΡΑΚ ΗΠΟΥΥ =
 ΠΟΥΧΑΙ · ΠΕΚΖ ΝΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΩΣ =
 ΝΑΙ : ΕΤΩΟΠ · ΝΕΜΑΚ = ΖΑΘΕ · ΜΠΑΤΕΚ-
 25 ΤΑΜΙΑ : ΝΑΔΑΜ ΠΩΑΡΠ ΕΡΩΜΕ =
 ΤΟΥΕΙ ΦΑΡΟΙ : ΗΠΟΥΥ = ΤΟΥΡΑΕΙΣ =
 ΑΥΩ ΤΟΥΚΕΠΑΣΕ Μ·ΕΠΣΩΜΑ = ΨΣ =

1 i.e. ψυχή | i.e. (π)ν(εὐ)μα || 2 i.e. ^ΣΝΒΙ | i.e. βοήθεια || 3 i.e. ἀμήν | l. ι(ησού)ς ? || 3–4 i.e. ἀμήν ||
 4 l. ι(ησού)ς | l. χ(ριστό)ς | i.e. ἀμήν (twice) | l. ι(ησού)ς || 5 l. ι(ησού)ς | l. χ(ριστό)ς | i.e. ἀμήν |
 i.e. πίστις || 6 i.e. ἀμήν (three times) || 7–9 i.e. ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ
 οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης || 10 i.e. ^ΣΠΕΤ-ΖΗΟΟΣ || 11 i.e. ἄρμα || 11–12 i.e. χερουβὶμ ||
 13 i.e. ^ΣΕΡΕ-Σ || 14 i.e. ^ΣΠΗΑΥ(?) | i.e. ^ΣΠ-ΝΑ || 15 i.e. ^ΣΠΕΤ-ΖΗΟΟΣ || 16 ΕΥΟΥΩΝΑΖ = ΝΑΙΕΒΑΛ : “[Bathouriel]
 Appear to me!” (“[Bathouriel] erscheine mir!”) Kropp || 18 ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΥΗ Meyer || 20 i.e. θάλασσα ||
 20–21 ΖΝ ΤΕΦΩΑΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ : “by his holy power” Meyer || 23 i.e. ^ΣΠ-ΠΟΥΧΑΙ | l. Π-ΠΕΚ-
 Ζ ἀρχάγγελος || 26 ΤΟΥΕΙ i.e. ^ΣΠ=ΣΕ-ΕΙ | i.e. ^ΣΠ=ΣΕ-ΡΟΕΙΣ || 27 l. Π=ΣΕ-ΣΚΕΠΑΪΣΕΙΝ | i.e. ^ΣΠ-Π-ΣΩΜΑ |
 l. (δεῖν)α (δεῖν)α

and soul and his spirit, let him know that there is for him the help of the Father in heaven, amen! Jesus[?], amen! Jesus Christ, amen! Jesus, amen! |⁵ Jesus Christ, amen! The faith of Nicea, amen, amen, amen, it is so! |^{7, Greek} *Holy, holy, holy, Lord *Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your holy glory! |^{9, Coptic} You are holy, |¹⁰ you are holy, you are holy, you who who sit upon the chariot of the *cherubim, who fly under them, namely these great creatures, each one having six wings, Bathouriēl of the Father <of> those of heaven |¹⁵ and those of earth, the one who sits in on high, as they appear to me: Marmarouēl, Marmarouniēl, Marmarouēl, Marmarouniēl, Marmaroun, Marmarou, Marmar, Marmam, |²⁰ the one who struck the sea with his holy power!

Come to me today, O great God, who is in heaven! I adjure you today, <by> the *wellbeing <of> your seven *archangels—these who were with you since before you |²⁵ created Adam, the first man—so that they come to me today, and they protect and shelter the body of NN, child of NN,

11. **q** See note to p. 3 l. 12.

20. **πενταφωστ = θαλασσα = εν τεφσαμ** : “the one who struck the sea with his holy power” Compare Job 26.12: “He fixed the sea with his power and he spread the sea monster with his wisdom” (αφηνι θαλασσα εν τεφσον αφπερω πκγτος δε εν τεφσβω; Amélineau 1893: 450). The Greek rather has “he struck down” (ἐτρωσε) rather than “spread”, corresponding to “struck” (πωστ) in the text here, and suggesting that this text is independent of the surviving Sahidic translation of Job, as we would expect if it were translated directly from Greek.

I adjure you today, *Michael and *Gabriel, *Raphael, *Suriel, Salaphuēl, Azouēl, and the name of the powers that I named! ⁵ Michael, let him be on his right so that I may heal NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly! Gabriel, be on my left, so that I take away from him pain and every fear! Raphael, let him put a crown upon his ¹⁰ head! Suriel, let him trumpet before him! Raguel, let him give glory and favour to him in the presence of all the generation of Adam <and> all the children of Zoe, in the name of *Iao *Sabaoth! ¹⁵ Let him be sound in the name of *Adonai *Eloei! Let him be sound in the name of Iao Sabaoth! Uriel, the great god in heaven, I adjure you today by he of these great holy powers, Mēs Bētha ²⁰ Phraggis! I adjure you today by the twenty-four *veils which you created in your wisdom, yea, yea! I adjure you today by the *cup of blood, that which the *angels drank from so that they received the Holy Spirit, ²⁵ that <you> send to me your holy hand upon the water and this oil that are placed before me, I, NN, child of NN, and let <it> come down upon them,

5–7. “Michael, let him be on his right... Gabriel, be on my left” Invocations to angels to surround an individual for protection are extensively attested in Jewish and Christian contexts. The motif likely originated in Mesopotamia, where similar invocations to deities are found by the early second millennium BCE. By the ninth century CE, it is found in Jewish liturgical texts—notably the “Bedtime *Shema*”, a prayer read before sleep—but its presence in Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls from the sixth to eighth centuries CE demonstrates that its use is older. For discussions, see Levene/Marx/Bhayro 2014; Lajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 162–165. Similar calls for protection may be found in a few pre-Coptic Egyptian-language texts: “Isis before me, Nephthys behind me” (*3s.t tp ʿwy=i Nb.t-Hw.t imy h.t=i*; BM EA 10761 (Meyrat 2019: no. VIII col. 9 l. 9; XVIII–XVII BCE); “Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem” (*Hr h.t.f 3s.t m-s3zy Nb.t-H.t n t3y(ey) gr[p3(t)]*; *GEMF* 16/(PDM xiv) l. 257; II CE).

12–14. “all the generation of Adam <and> all the children of Zoe” Humankind is commonly referred to collectively as the “children of Adam and Eve (ζωή *Zōē*), especially in favour spells and curses to remove favour from their targets. For other examples, see p. 17 ll. 39–41 of this manuscript, as well as *PCM* I 22 ll. 37–39; *BKU* 1 10 (KYP M112) l. 6; *P.Bad.* V 123 (KYP M315) front ll. 72–74; *P.Lond.Copt.* 369 (KYP M123) ll. 10–11; BL Ms. Or. 6796 (2), (3) verso ll. 51–52 (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M); BM EA 10122 ll. 26–28 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 4; KYP M297) ll. 32–34; BM EA 10414a back ll. 4–5 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 3; KYP M287); P.land. inv. 9 p. 7 ll. 5–6 (Kropp 1965; KYP M134); P.Köln Inv. 1470 ll. 6–7 (Weber 1975; KYP M353); P.Stras. K 204 + 205 + 282 §2.1 l. 2 (Hevesi 2018; KYP92); P.Vindob. K 5024 (KYP M356) ll. 4–5; cf. *PCM* I 11 p. 19 ll. 8–9. For examples from Jewish magical texts from the Cairo Genizah; see Schiffmann/Schwartz 1992: T-S K1.6 l. 18, T-S K1.24 ll. 16–17, T-S K1.152 l. 22 (discussion on pp. 41–42); Naveh/Shaked 1993: Geniza 12 ll. 16–17; Geniza 15 p. 2 ll. 9–10; Geniza 18 p. 3 ll. 7–8; Geniza 28 p. 4 ll. 9, 11; *MTKG* I Or. 1080.15.81 l. 94; *MTKG* II 42 ll. 12, 18, 22, 32, 39; *MTKG* III 56 p. 1a l. 10; *MTKG* III 71 p. 1a l. 5; *MTKG* III 73 p. 1b ll. 11–12. Cf. Bélanger Sarrazin fc. a: ch. 4.

23–24. ἡπαπατ νεσνον : “by the cup of blood” Kropp translates “cup of blessing” (“Becher des Segens”), likely the original text of the *Prayer*; cf. *Tomb of Georgios*, North wall, col. 1, l. 33 (Lajtar/van der Vliet 2017 no. 9; KYP M501): τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας; British Library MS Or 6796 (1-3) l. 105 ((Kropp 1965 no. c; KYP M118): [ἡ]παπατ ἡπεςνογ; likewise in P.land.inv. 9 p. 8 l. 11 (Kropp 1965; KYP M134). These other versions also describe the apostles drinking from the cup, rather than the angels as is the case here. Reference to angels drinking a cup in order to receive the Holy Spirit is also found in *PCM* I 12 p. 35 ll. 14–16; *PCM* I 26 p. 4 ll. 17–20, implying a heavenly eucharistic ritual which predated its earthly form (cf. Dosoo 2021d: 419).

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- 5 ΝΒΙ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ - ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥ-
 ΑΑΒ = ΝΕΣΜΟΥ ΠΝΑΟΥ : ΕΦΩΠΕ Ν-
 ΟΥΧΑΙ = ΜΝ ΟΥΤΒΒΑ = ΧΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΥ-
 ΝΟΥ = ΕΤΕΝΑΧΩΚΕΜ ΕΣΣ ΝΖΗΤϣ =
 10 ΜΑΡΕΦΟΥΧΑΙ = ΔΙΑ · ΔΙΑ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ
 †ΩΡΚ ΕΡΑΚ = ΜΠΟΟΥ = ΠΕΒ·Δ · ΜΕΣ-
 ΤΗΡΙΩΝ = ΝΑΤΩΧΕΝ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ = Ν
ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕΑ ≡ ΕΛΕΛΕΘ ≡ ΩΡΕΜ =
ΜΩΣΙΗΛ : ΤΕ ΝΑΙ : ΠΑΡΩ · ΕΒΑΛ = ΖΙ-
 15 ΧΕΝ ΠΕΔ · ΝΣΑ ΤΠΕ = † ΕΡΑΚ ΜΠΟΟΥ
 ΜΠΩΤ ΠΑΝΤΩΡ = ΤΕΝ·ΦΩΗΝ = ΕΤΟΥ-
 ΑΑΒ = ΤΕ ΝΑΙ : ΝΕΡΑΝ ΔΧΙ ≡ ΔΧΑ ≡ ΔΧΑΜ
 ΡΑ = †ΩΡΚ ΕΡΑΚ ΜΠΟΟΥ = ΜΠΩΑΡΠ Ε-
 ΝΩΔΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ : ΕΖΡΑΙ = ΖΗ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ
 20 ΑΦΩΠΙ : ΝΑΚ = ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ : ΜΩΝΟ-
 ΓΕΝΗΣ = ΤΕ ΠΑΙ : ΙC ΠΕΧC = ΜΝ ΝΕΦ-
 ΤΕΝΔΜΙC = ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ = ΝΤΑΙ·ΑΝΩΜ-
 ΑΖΕ ΜΝΑΥ : ΧΕΚΑΣ = ΕΚΕΝΤΕΝΟΟΥ =
 ΝΑΙ = ΝΤΕΝΘΕΩΤΩΚΟC = ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ =
 25 ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ = ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC : ΕCΑΑΒ =
 ΕCΜΟΥ = ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΝΑΟΥ = ΕCΖΑΓΙΑ-
 ΖΕ ΜΝΑΔΥ : ΝCΦΑΡΑΓΙΑΖ : ΜΟΟΥ : ΠΝΕΞ
 ΧΕΚΑΣ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ = ΕΤΙΝΑΠΩΞ : ΠΜΟΟΥ
 ΕΧΕΝ : Σ ΝΕΩΠΙ = ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΑ =
 30 ΜΝ : ΟΥΤΑΛΒΑ = ΜΝ · ΟΥΕΜΤΑ = ΝΙΜ =
 ΝΤΕΝ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΒΑΜ ΜΠΩΤ ΜΝ Π-
 ΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ = ΩΔ ΝΕ-
 ΝΕΞ : ΝΕΞ = ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ
ΔΙΩ ΔΙΩ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ = ΙC ΠΧC

1 l. τ-ἄγια | i.e. τ-παρθένος cf. note to p. 2 l. 2 || 2 i.e. ^ΣΝ=с-сμοу : or ^Σε=с-сμοу ? Meyer ||
 3 i.e. ^ΣΤΒΒΟ || 4 i.e. ^Σε-†-να-χωκμ ? | l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 5 i.e. ταχύ (twice) || 6 l. πει(τοου) ||
 6-7 i.e. ^ΣΗ-μυστήριον || 7 n i.e. ^Σνε || 9 i.e. ^Σναι ετ- || 10 l. †-ωρκ ερο=κ || 11 i.e. παντ(οκράτ)ωρ |
 i.e. ^ΣΗ-τε-φώνη : ΦΩΗΗ Meyer || 12 i.e. ^Σνε=γ-ραν || 15-16 i.e. μονογενής || 16 i.e. ^Σετε | l. ι(ησοу)с |
 i.e. χ(ριστό)с || 17 i.e. δύναμις || 17-18 i.e. ὀνομάζειν || 18 i.e. ^Σε=κε-να-τηννοου || 19 i.e. θεοτόκος ||
 20 i.e. ἄγια | i.e. παρθένος | i.e. ^Σεσογαав || 21 εссмоу Meyer | i.e. ^Σ i.e. ^Σερο=ч {μῆ} ||
 21-22 i.e. ^ΣН=с-ἀγιάζειν || 22 i.e. ^Σηно=γ | i.e. ^ΣН=с-сфраγιάζε i.e. σφραγίζειν :
 нсф(а)раги(а)ζε or the like Meyer | i.e. ^Σηно=ч : l. π-μοου “the water” Meyer ||
 23 i.e. ^Σε=†-на-πωστ || 24 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) | i.e. ^ΣН=γ-ωπε ? : or ^Σε=ч-на-ωπε ? Meyer ||
 25 i.e. ^Σοу-ἦτον || 27 i.e. πν(εύμ)α || 27-28 i.e. ^Σωα ενεξ н-енез : ωα (η)енез (η)енез or the like
 Meyer || 28 i.e. ἀμήν (three times) || 29 i.e. ταχύ (twice) | l. ι(ηсоу)с | i.e. χ(ριστό)с

namely, Saint Mary the holy virgin, that she might bless the water so that it becomes a healing and a purification, so that in the moment that I will wash NN, child of NN, with it ^{|5} let him heal, yea, yea, quickly quickly!

I adjure you today by the four imperishable mysteries, which are Daueithea, Eleleth, Ōrem, Mōsiēl, who are the ones spread out ^{|10} upon the four sides of heaven! I adjure you today by the Father Almighty, by the holy sounds whose names are Akhi, Akha, Akhamra! I adjure you today by the first word that came out from your heart ^{|15} and became for you an only son, that is Jesus Christ, and his holy powers that I have named, that you will send to me the holy mother of God, ^{|20} Saint Mary the holy virgin, so that she blesses them, and the water, and she sanctifies them, and she seals them, this oil, so that in the moment that I will pour the water upon NN, child of NN, (NN, child of NN,) will become strong ^{|25} and healed and at total peace ... through the power of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever and ever, amen, amen, amen, yea, yea, quickly, quickly, Jesus Christ!

8–9. ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕΑ ≡ ΕΛΕΛΕΘ ≡ ΩΡΕΜ ≠ ΜΩΣΙΗΛ : “Daueithea, Eleleth, Ōrem, Mōsiēl” As noted by Meyer (1996: 79) these are the Four Luminaries (φωστήρες), divine beings known from Sethian Gnostic cosmologies who rule over divisions of the divine realm. In the Berlin version of the *Apocryphon of John* their names are Harmozēl, Ōrōiēl, Daueithe and Ēlēlēth (ἡρμωζηλ ωρωιαηλ δαυειθε εληληθ; CC 0648; ed. Robinson 2000: II 54–57), but we find slight variation in each text mentioning them. The parallel versions of the prayer use the word φωστήρ (“luminary”) where this text has μυστήριον (“mystery”, ll. 6–7), suggesting that this version is corrupt (cf. Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 170–171). On the Luminaries in Coptic magical texts more generally, see Burns 2018; Piwowarczyk 2021: 56–59, 105–109, 134–137, 230–232.

21–22. Probably understand “so that she blesses it, this water... and she seals it, this oil”.

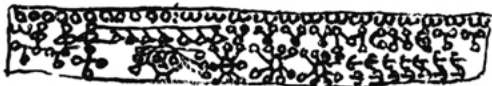
25–26. ΟΥΕΜΤΑ ≠ ΝΗΜ ≠ ΝΤΕΝ : “total peace ...” This passage seems to be ungrammatical; ΕΜΤΑ is doubly determined by ογ- and ΝΗΜ, and ΝΤΕΝ would seem to be either a conjugation base or genitive marker missing a following noun. It seems likely that this is the result of miscopying or textual corruption; Meyer does not comment but simply translates “completely well”.

page 9 (flesh)

τϣινερϣωβ ζ̄ νϣωβε νταφεν = ζ̄ νϣωβε πω-
 οϣπωαπ : νζ̄ ντερ ϣαγβοϣ μαρια = πζ̄ ντερ
 νϣαϣιν νεϣωω = νζ̄ νϣωβε νϣιτρα = πζ̄ =
 ντερ νωη : αβραζαη = οϣαλεϣ βηρι =
 5 μααϣ : ναθηλικων : εκνηστεϣ · ερεϣ
 μοϣζ̄ = εκ† φαλ · επωωι : ϣαι ν̄αληνχταμ
 εβερι : νεϣ ηε : ϣηβϣ : μοϣζ̄ : φαν†εκ† οϣω =



ιαηλικος = μαρ†ανος = μαρζιμος = αν†νιας =
 25 εβϣαμης = οϣαϣικ = μαροϣερ = †ττρα μαω ταπ-
 κεϣ = †ττρα = θαπας = †ττρα θαπαοϣ = εθοοϣ =
 χεκαϣ τερβωκ = ϣα · εβαλ · πταμια · η̄νοϣτε
 απ̄ωϣ̄ χοοϣ : ϣι τεϣταπρα ν̄ιμ μαβ χε νε-
 ϣωκ · εϣοϣν = επταμια · νεϣωανερ ατϣ-
 30 ωτη εϣωι = φαιτωβι ϣω νοϣχαλινωϣ̄
 ταχα λιϣμος : ερα ταχαϣ† νεταϣ : ᾱιο ᾱιο



1 i.e. δάφνη : or ϣταπεν “cumin” Gardner 2023b || 1–2 i.e. ϣροφωφ || 2 i.e. ϣ̄-μαρια ||
 3 i.e. ϣιτρε cf. note to PCM I 37 back l. 4 || 4 i.e. ϣαλαϣ† | i.e. ϣβρε || 5 i.e. *ἀνθηλιακόν/
 ἀνατολικόν? see note p. 17 ll. 25–27 : “spell-free” Meyer | i.e. νηστεύειν | l. (ποοϣ) || 6 i.e. ϣϣαι? |
 ν̄αληνχταμ see note || 9 l. ι(ηϣοϣ)ϣ χ(ριϣτό)ϣ || 15 i.e. ϣτ-φεερε || 19–20 i.e. ϣ̄-ατ-λο Meyer ||
 22–23 i.e. ϣπ-τκας || 25 i.e. ϣ†-ταρκο η̄νοϣ : understand as name? Meyer || 26 i.e. ϣ†-ταρκο
 η̄νοϣ : understand as name? Meyer | or “Ethoou” as name? Meyer || 17 i.e. ϣ̄νεϣ-ρ-ωκ |
 i.e. ϣαβολ η- | i.e. ϣ̄-π-νοϣτε || 28 i.e. ϣα-π-χоеιϣ | i.e. ϣ̄μ̄ηη η̄νοϣ || 29 i.e. ϣ̄νεϣ-ρ-ωκ |
 i.e. ϣεη ϣρ-φαν-ρ̄ : i.e. ϣερ-φαν-ρ̄ Meyer || 30 i.e. ϣ̄ϣωι | i.e. χαλινός cf. notes to PCM 24 l. 12 ||
 31 i.e. ϣτα-κα οϣ-δεϣμός? cf. Meyer 1996: 48 | i.e. ϣε-ροϣ : i.e. ϣερατϣ Meyer | ϣτα-χοοϣϣ : α.χαϣ
 i.e. ϣα-ι-χοοϣ Meyer | i.e. ϣε-ν̄-τοοϣ or ε-η-ετ-ααϣ? : †η̄ετοϣ i.e. ϣ†-να-αα(ο)ϣ Meyer

The procedure: 7 bay leaves, 7 leaves of marjoram, 7 branches of grass <of> Mary, 7 branches of Nubian mint, 7 leaves of *citron tree, 7 branches of wood <of> Abraham. A new pot, ¹⁵ *sun-facing⁷ water, while you are fasting, while the moon is full, while you offer up *myrrh, write with new *katam*⁷, olive oil; a burning lamp until you finish.

¹⁸, *above image* Mary, (*kharaktēres*: Jesus Christ) |¹⁰, *left* Mary, Miriam, Marihēu, Marisei (*kharaktēres*: AAⲬXAC*) |¹⁴, *right* Mary Magdalene, |¹⁵ Mary the daughter of Clopas, Mary of James. (*kharaktēres*: ⲪE+C++AⲪ+*) the ... |²² The pain.

Iamlikhos, Martianos, Marximos, Antinias, |²⁵ Ebsaimēs, Ouasik, Marouer; I adjure you (f.s.), Tapkeh! I adjure <you>, Thapas! I adjure <you>, Thapaoh, who are evil, that you you go out of God's creature! The Lord said with his own mouth, "You will not enter the creature!" If you are disobedient |³⁰ to me, I shall seal your mouth with a bridle, and I will place a bond⁷ on your mouth, and I will send you to the deserts⁷, yea, yea! oooooooooo oooooooooo (*kharaktēres*: ΦΦΦ) aaaaaa (*kharaktēres*: YYYMYMCNETT TT+ * * *) eeeeeee 9999999

2, 4. "grass <of> Mary", "wood <of> Abraham" Cf. the "Tree of Mary" (شجرة مريم *sağara Maryam*, cyclamen) found in an eleventh-century Judaeo-Arabic recipe from the Cairo Genizah (Bohak 2022: 49) as well as the *Guide to the Psalms* (Psalms 19, 20, 70; Henein/Bianquis 1975). "Wood of Abraham" appears in similar lists of ingredients for preparing the water in a pot in British Library MS Or 6796 (2, 3) (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118) back l. 107; BL Ms. Or. 6796 (Kropp 1931: I no. J; KYP M363) front l. 51; based on parallel names in Arabic and Aramaic, Crum (CD 546a; cf. Kropp 1930: III 108) suggests it to be the simpleleaf chastetree (*Agnus castus* (= *Vitex trifolia* L.)).

6. ⲛⲁⲗⲏⲭⲧⲁⲙ : "alēkhtam" Perhaps ⲁⲗⲧⲁⲙ (*al-katam*), African boxwood (*Myrsine africana*, L.), from which a dark dyeing agent is extracted (El Shamsy 2020: 191). Gardner proposes to parse ⲛⲁⲗⲏⲭ ⲧⲁⲙⲃⲣⲓ "on paper (ورق), prepare..." (دبر); cf. Richter 2015b: 228), although the preposition ⲉ- usually precedes the writing material. Meyer suggests several unconvincing possibilities.

8–18. The names of Mary: Meyer (1996: 80) suggests that we see here a coalescence of different Marys from the Gospels—the mother of Jesus; Mary Magdalene (John 20.1 *etc.*); Mary, daughter of Clopas (John 19.25); Mary (mother) of James (Mark 16.1 *etc.*)—into a "composite universal Mary". But the identification of the mother of Jesus with the mother of James is known from Greek patristic sources (e.g. John Chrysostom, *Homily 88 on the Gospel of Matthew* (PG 58: 777)). The appropriation of all of these names by the mother of Jesus is attested in Coptic pseudepigrapha more broadly. In Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem's *On the Passion* (a) (CC 116; Campagnano 1980: 26.26–29.5) and *On Mary* (CC 119; Campagnano 1980: 158.26–161.1), the Virgin Mary is born in Magdala (hence, 'Magdalene'), while her father Joachim is also known as Clopas, and James is one of the children of Joseph the carpenter whom she adopted (see Suciu *fc.*).

24–26. "Iamlikhos, Martianos, Marximos, Antinias, Ebsaimēs, Ouasik, Marouer" Graham (2022) points out that these are the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (cf. p. 167). The initial four names correspond to Iamblichos, Martinos, Maximilios, and Antoninos in the Byzantine Synaxarium, while Ebsaimēs and Ouasik might be versions of Stephanos and Kyriakos known from other lists; Marouer may begin with Syriac *mār* ("Lord"); cf. Tondello 2019: 72 n. 1; Grysa 2010: 49 n. 3). Meyer (1996: p. 81) instead understands Iamblichus and Antinous as two famous "pagan" figures here turned into demonic names, and Ouasik as Coptic "a fever", used as a demonic name.

25–26. "Tapkeh... Thapas... Thapaoh" As Meyer (1996: 81–82) notes these might be understood as names for the addressed being, "she of the earth... she of old age... she of the moon".

^{|above figure} (*kharaktēres*: ΔΔ, *i.e.*, NN)

^{|beside figure} Masbēn

^{|p. 10} I entreat and I invoke you today, Nassklnē, the one who guards and protects the body of Solomon the ^{|5} king <for> all the days <of> his life! I adjure you today <by> your powers and your *names and your *images that as soon as NN, child of NN, will wear your *image, you will ^{|10} protect him <for> all the days <of> his life from every evil spirit and unclean spirit and every power of the Devil and all whisperers ^{|15} and blows and all magic and wounds? <and>? all sorcery, so that the Devil flees? from NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly! It is finished.

*Satōr, Aretō, Tenēt, Ōtera, Rōtas, ^{|20} the five nails of our saviour, Jesus Christ. (*kharaktēres*: ++++++ ΘΥΘΞΕΕ ++++++ I Ξ##) ōrōrōrōffiff ōrōrōr rff

*Michael, *Gabriel, *Suriel, ^{|25} *Raphael, Zetekiēl, Samphoēl, Anaēl, Anaēl, help, protect NN, child of NN!

Barkh, Bas IIIIII XXXXXXXX (*kharaktēres*: +>⊕+)

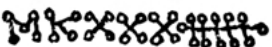
Image: Gardner (2023b: 114) and Love (2022c: 637) read the label as μαρ βηνη, “swallow chick”; Gardner suggests that it is a representation of the manipulation of a bird to be carried out in the course of the ritual. The manipulation of animal effigies in the context of the creation of an amulet would be otherwise unattested in the corpus, however; we instead understand the tableau as that as intended to be copied onto the amulet, with Masbēn representing a variant of the name Nassklnē (note the relatively frequent confusion of η, η, η demonstrated by this scribe). The depiction of the figure is comparable to that on *PCM* I 30, front, another bird-like Solomonic demon with a cross on its head.

2. ΝΑΣΚΛΗΝΗ : “Nassklnē” Meyer (1996: 82) suggests that this may name may be derived from Onoskelis (Ὀνοσκελίσ), a female demon with the legs of a donkey who appears in the *Testament of Solomon* 4.2 (McCown 1922).

14–15. ἄλογασιόγας : “whisperers” As recognised by Helmut Satzinger (Meyer 1996: 49), this is the Arabic الوسواس *al-waswās*, “the whisperer”, found in the Qur’an 114.4 as one of a number of beings from which the speaker asks protection from God. The Whisperer is generally understood to be another name for Satan, who tempts humankind by whispering “what is vain, or unprofitable, and destitute of good” (Lane 1863: 2939–2940 s.v. وس; cf. Amir-Moezzi/Dye 2019: 2346–2347). Here the originally singular Whisperer seems to be understood as a category of demonic being.

16–18. ἡν ἡγ φαρμαγία νημ ἡν ντεπδιαβολος πωτ νεγ σαβολ : “<and>? all sorcery, so that the Devil flees? from” This part of the recipe seems to be corrupt. Meyer translates “and all sorcery {and} of the devil. Drive them from NN”. Here we propose that another noun, perhaps πληγη (“wound”) stood before φαρμαγία, paralleling νερωγτ ἡν ρικ in the preceding line; a definite article (ἡ-) would be unexpected preceding a noun defined by νημ, as would its writing as ηγ. The form we would expect for Meyer’s translation would be πωτ νεωωγ εβολ, quite unlike the form we find in the text. Rather we understand the ντε- preceding πδιαβολος to be a conjunctive prefix, but this does lead to the problem of the plural indirect object (expressing the reflexive “he flees (himself)”) in νεγ (*i.e.* ⁵ηα=γ), where we would expect the third-person singular, ηαγ, although compare the use of the third-person plural for the singular on p. 8 ll. 21–22. For the use of ἡν + conjunctive, cf. the note to *PCM* I 26 p. 5 l. 6

page 11 (hair)


 βαλεθαροι =
 σαριωινη =
 μιχαηλ · γαβριηλ · ραφαηλ · σοφριηλ =
 5 σαραθιηλ · ζετεκιηλ · αναηλ =
σατωρ σαβαωθ = παντωρ : ις : ις : ις :
πσωτηρ = εμμανουηλ = αρετω =
αδωναι ≡ μεθεμον = κεβωλ : π-
πеснов ss αιο = тенит = ελωει = ωτερα
ελημας = τωρας = σαβαωθ =
 10 βωιθι = εγραις · τεγβωλ · песнов =
ss αιω διω ταχη ταχη αq.ок εβο^λ

2 σαριωιη Meyer || 5 ι. παντ(οκράτ)ωρ | i.e. ^sι(ησογ)ς (three times) || 7 μεθεμον from μεθ' ἡμῶν cf. note | i.e. ^sεκ-ε-ωλ ? || 7-8 i.e. ^sη-π-сноq || 8 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 9 ελημος Meyer | τωρας corrected from τωτας by erasure and overwriting? || 10 i.e. βοηθεῖν | i.e. ^sεγ-ε-ροεις ? | i.e. ^sη=σε-ωλ ? | i.e. ^sπε-сноq || 11 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | i.e. ταχύ (twice) | i.e. ^sαq-χωκ

(*kharaktēres*: MKXXX+++++) Baletharoi, Sariōini

|³ *Michael, *Gabriel, *Raphael, *Suriel, Sarathiēl, Zetekiel, Anaēl, |⁵ *Satōr, *Sabaoth, the Almighty, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus the Savior, Emmanuel, Aretō, *Adonai, Methemōn, may you contain? the blood of NN, yea! Tenēt, *Eloei, Ōtera, *Elēmas, Tōras, Sabaoth, |¹⁰ help! May they protect and contain? the blood of NN, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

It is finished.

1–11. This text is quite similar in content to the previous one (p. 10, ll. 19–27; KYP T241), and may constitute with it a single recipe.

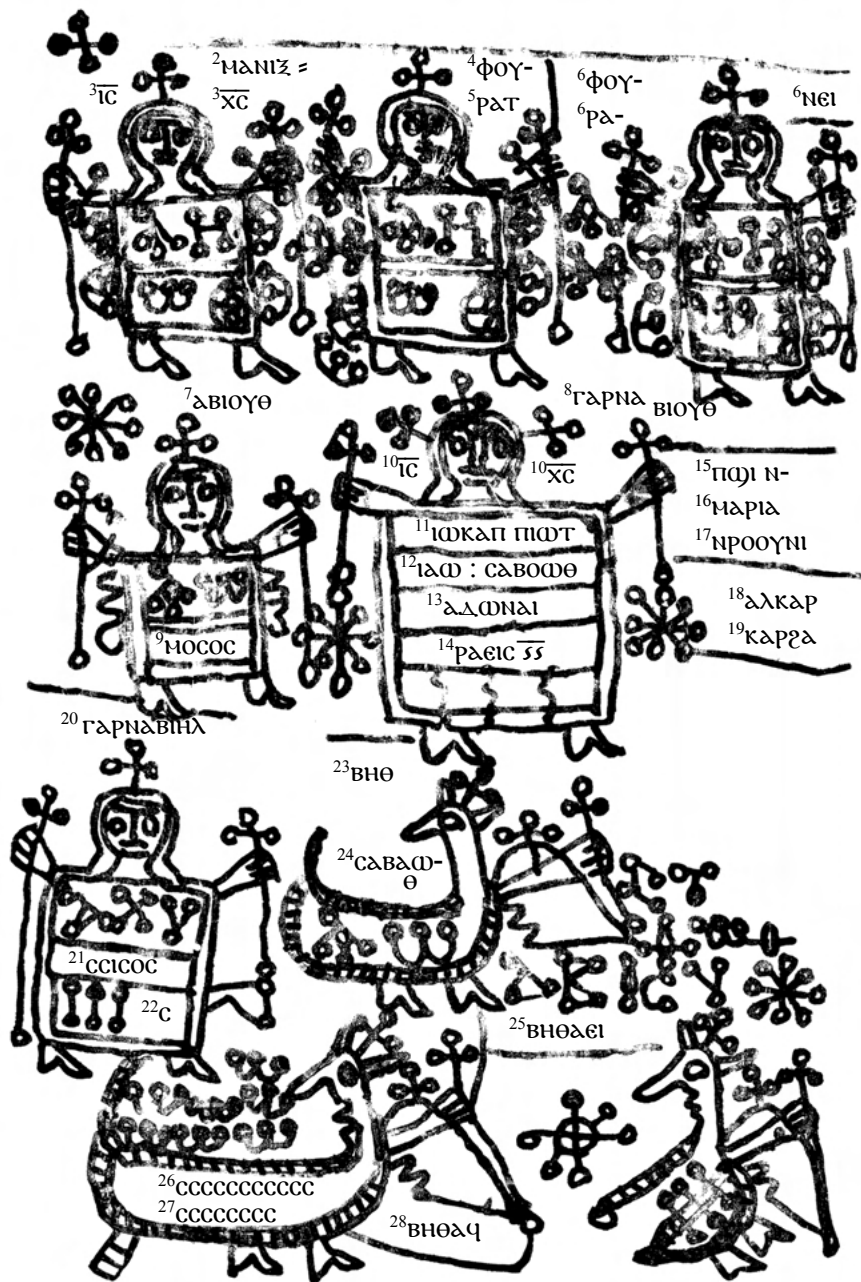
7. μεθεμον : “Methemōn” For this name, cf. Matthew 1.23 “and they will call his name ‘Emmanuel’, which interpreted means ‘God is with us’ (*meth’ēmōn*)” (καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον Μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός; Horner 1911: I 6,8).

7, 10. κενωλ, τεγωλ : “may you contain?”, “and contain?” The word νωλ means “undo”, but it is likely, given the context, that ωλ “gather, contain” is intended, since this is the verb usually used in reference to stopping the flow of blood; cf. PCM I 3 ll. 33–34; *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167) p. 16 ll. 1–4; *P.Méd.Copt.IFAO* (Chassinat 1921; KYP M941) l. 334; *P. Vindob.* K 11088 (Hevesi 2015; KYP M374) ll. B 4–7.

10. βοιωι = εγραιοις · τεγωλ : “help! May they protect and contain?” Here we translate an imperative followed by a third future with a third person plural subject, then a conjunctive with a third person plural subject. Meyer (1996: 49) suggests as possibilities three imperatives (βοιωι ραεις νωλ), an imperative followed by two circumstantials (?) (βοιωι εκραις (τ)εκνωλ), or else a “word of power” followed by the third person plural forms of circumstantial or conjunctive verb forms.

page 12 (flesh)

1 ρη πρην πωτ μν φνρε = πεπν̄α ετοϋα-
αϥ



1 i.e. ⁸μ-πειωτ | l. πν(εϋμ)α || 3, 10 l. ι(ησοϋ)ς | χ(ριστό)ς || 14 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 15 i.e. ⁸π-αγε || 17 i.e. ⁸τ-ροοϋνε ? || 18–19 αλκαρκαρα Arabic loanword ?

In the name of the Father and the Son <and> the Holy Spirit.

|²⁻³ Manix, Jesus Christ

|⁴⁻⁵ Phourat

|⁶ Phouranei

|⁷ Abiouth

|⁸ Garnabiouth

|⁹ Mosos

|¹⁰ Jesus Christ

|¹¹⁻¹⁴ Iōkap, the Father, *Iao *Sabaoth *Adonai, protect NN, child of NN!

|¹⁵⁻¹⁹ The son of Mary <the> virgin, Alkar Karha.

|²⁰ Garnabiēl

|²¹⁻²² Ssisos, s

|²³⁻²⁴ Bēth, |²⁴ Sabaoth

|²⁵ Bēthaei

|²⁶⁻²⁸ Sssssssssssssssssss, Bēthaf

p. 13 l. 1–p. 16 l. 15: The adjuration contained in these pages addresses the “Nine Guardians” who protect the body of the Trinity, with three each attached to each person, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As recognised by Mößner/Nauerth (2015: 344) their forms depicted on p. 12 likely imitate the person they guard, with those who protect the Father and Son being anthropomorphic, and those who protect the Holy Spirit being avian in reference to the Holy Spirit’s appearance as a dove. The Nine Guardians appear in several other texts, including *BKU* I 24 (KYP M206); *BKU* III 387 (KYP M 336); BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1 front ll. 1–12; KYP M302; BM EA 10122 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 4; KYP M289). There is a similar depiction in the last of these, but with iconography combining the human and birdlike imagery. The figures here are depicted with crosses upon their heads, suggesting their divine nature, and carrying staffs topped with crosses. They are surrounded by *kharaktēres* derived primarily from the Greek vowels (α, ε, ι, η, ω), in particular Alpha and Omega in reference to Revelation 22.13. Sequences of names beginning *beth-* are common in Coptic magical texts, and are associated both with the Nine Guardians and the *Twenty-Four Presbyters; for discussions, see Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 181–85; Dosoo 2022a: 157–159; Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: 94–95.

Manix, Phourat, Phouranei, O Three Guardians who protect the body <of> the Father Almighty, may you (s.) protect my body, me, Iōsēph, son <of> Paraseu! Abiouth, Garnabiouth, Garnabiēl, ¹⁵ O Three Guardians who protect the body of Jesus Christ, the son <of> God, may you (s.) protect my body, me, NN, child of NN! Bēth, Bēthaf, Bēthaei, O Three Guardians who protect the body of the Holy Spirit, may you (s.) protect <my> body, me, Iōsēph, son <of> Paraseu, yea, yea!

¹⁰ I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the first labour pang that Mary suffered until she gave birth to Christ, the Son of God that you (s.) protect NN, child of NN, yea, quickly! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the suffering that the son of God experienced upon the wood <of> the cross ¹⁵ that you (s.) protect the body <of> NN, the son <of> NN, yea, yea, quickly! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the five nails which pierced the hands and feet of Jesus Christ, the Son of God— whose names are *Sōtōr, Aretō, Tenēt, Ōtera, ²⁰ Rōtas—that you (s.) watch over the body of NN, child of NN, yea, quickly! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, <by> the vinegar and the gall that Jesus, the Son of God, tasted when he was upon the cross, that you (s.) protect NN, child of NN, yea, yea! I adjure you, Nine Guardians, by the three sounds ²⁵ that Jesus cried out until <he> gave the spirit <into> the hands of the good Father, that you (s.) watch over NN, child of NN, yea! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the wound <from> the spear which was thrust in the right side of Jesus, the Son of God, when he ³⁰ he was upon the cross—water and blood poured out—that you (s.) protect NN, child of NN, yea!

3, 9. ἀνακ ιωσηφ υἱ παρασευ : “Iōsēph, son <of> Paraseu” The mention of a particular individual here offers a striking exception to the usual presence of the generic name marker NN elsewhere. There are a two obvious possibilities that might explain this; the first is that this text was copied from an applied amulet or personalised formulary (*cf.* Saar 2007), and the second is that this manuscript is itself a (partially) personalised copy—if this is the case, Iōsēph would be the individual for whom this manuscript, and perhaps the other manuscripts of the Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library produced by Deacon Iōhannēs, was copied.

11. νακι : “labour pang” The labour pangs of Mary are also evoked in the *Endoxon of Michael*, PCM I 26 p. 12 ll. 19–24.

19–20. σωτωρ : αρετω = τενητ = οτερα = ρωτας : “Sōtōr, Aretō, Tenēt, Ōtera, Rōtas” This is a writing of the *Sator names, whose canonical Latin form is *Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas*.

page 14 (hair)

- †τερκο μωτ πθ ρογριτ : ντε ντ ≠
ντελ†λ εν†ρμιν ν†ταγ†ει εβαλ ν-
ρн νεβαλ ≠ επωτ νακαθос ≠ ριχ-
ен тапн ≠ περωhre ≠ ις εφαληγ π-
 5 πεс†ρος · χεкас ραεис ςς αιω ταχη ≠
 †τερκο μμωτ ≠ πθ ρογριτ εμελ-
ιφανон ετογαав ≠ εταγκω εζραι
ριχωου πσωμα · μн πε†снов ≡ νις
πωhre ηπνογτε ≡ · ρεν τεκλησια ≡
 10 νεωhre†επιμисε ≠ ρε νεπηγε κεραι
 †τερκο μμωτ · πθ ρογριτ : νωφα
πσωμα · επωτ ≠ μн ωρφαμινλ ≠
πнос ντннв ≠ ρεν ογнам ≠ επωт ≠
μн ≠ αβραсаз ≠ ετεωι ≠ ετсιχ ≠ ογнам ≠
 15 επωт ≠
κεραιс · επσωμα ςς ≠ αio αio ταχη
 †τερκο μμωт πθ ρογριτ ≠ εтсιχ ≠
сннγ : τε πωт ≠ πανтωρ ≠ ετε най
неран ≠ ανδραμινλ ≠ ετεφογнам
 20 δραχανλ ≡ ετε τεq:βογρ ≠ κεραιс ςς οio
 †τερκο μμωт πθ ρογριт : ντογнр†
сннγ τε πωт πανтωρ ≠ ετε най не ни-
ран θαωθ ≡ ετεφιωнам ≠ τε · θαωθα ≠
ετεqβογρ χεкас ραεис ςς αιω ταχη
 25 †τερκο μμωт ≡ πθ ρογριт μπεq†Δ -
нстнλλос ≠ εττωουγ ≠ εζραι ≠ ρα τεпн
ετε най неγран ≠ снт ≠ сннтас ≡

1 i.e. ^sμνω=тн || 2 i.e. ^sтхтλ || i.e. ^sρμειн || 3 i.e. ἀγαθός || 4 l. ι(нсoγ)с || 4-5 l. ^sμ-πε-σ(ταυρ)ός ||
 5 i.e. ^sεκ-ε-ραис || l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || i.e. ταχύ || 6 i.e. ^sμνω=тн || 6-7 i.e. ^sн-πε-λειψανον ||
 7 i.e. ^sнт-αγ kaw || 8 i.e. σώμα || l. ι(нсoγ)с || 9 i.e. ἐκκλησία || 10 i.e. ^sμ-п-ωorp || i.e. ^sρн м-пнγe ||
 i.e. ^sεκ-ε-ροεис : κεραιс Meyer || 11 i.e. ^sμνω=тн || ωφα : “Ö(r)pha” Meyer || 12 i.e. σώμα ||
 14 i.e. ^sн-т-сιx || ογнам, o corrected from ≠ (?) by overwriting || 15 i.e. ^sп-ειαт : επιωт Meyer ||
 16 i.e. ^sεκ-ε-ροεис || i.e. σώμα || l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || i.e. ταχύ || 17 i.e. ^sμνω=тн || i.e. ^sн-т-сιx ||
 18 i.e. ^sснаγ for снте || τε i.e. ^sнте || l. πανт(окράт)ωp || 19 i.e. ^sετε-τεq-ογнам || 20 i.e. ^sρβογp ||
 i.e. ^sεκ-ε-ροεис || l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || οio i.e. ^sραιο || 21 i.e. ^sμνω=тн || 22 i.e. ^sснаγ for снте ||
 i.e. ^sнте || l. πανт(окράт)ωp || 23 i.e. ^sετε-τεq-ογнам || 24 i.e. ^sρβογp || l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || l. ^sεκ-ε-ραис ||
 i.e. ταχύ || 25 i.e. ^sμνω=тн || 25-26 l. н-πε-q(тооγ) : perhaps l. н-πε-Δ Meyer || 26 i.e. στύλος ||
 i.e. ^sτωоγн

I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the three teardrops which came from the eyes of the good Father upon the head of his son, Jesus, when he was upon |⁵ the cross, that <you> watch over NN, child of NN, yea, quickly! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the holy remains that were placed upon them, the body and the blood of Jesus, the Son of God, in the Church of |¹⁰ <the> Firstborn in the heavens, that you protect <NN>!

I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by Ōpha, the body of the Father, and Ōrphamiēl, the great finger on the right hand of the Father, and Abrasax, who measures the right hand |¹⁵ of the Father, that you (s.) protect the body <of> NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the two hands of the Father Almighty, whose names are Andramiēl, which is his right, |²⁰ Drakhaēl, which is his left, that you watch over NN, child of NN, yea! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the two feet of the Father Almighty, whose names are Thaōth, which is his right, Thaōtha, which is his left, that <you> watch over NN, child of NN, yea, quickly! |²⁵ I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by the four pillars that bear heaven, whose names are Sēt, Sēntas,

1–2. **ⲛⲧ̅ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲧⲗ ⲉⲛⲧⲣ̅ⲙⲓⲛ** : “the three teardrops” Other references to God the Father’s tears provoked by Jesus’ crucifixion are found in *Rossi’s Tractate* (PCM I 26 p. 18 ll. 1–2) and the *Love Spell of Cyprian* (PCM I 28 p. 8 ll. 14–17).

11–24. **The body of God the Father**: See the discussion in the notes to PCM I 12 p. 31.

12. **ⲱⲣⲫⲁⲙⲓⲉⲗ** : “Ōrphamiēl” For the angel Orphamiel, see the note to PCM I 12 p. 31 ll. 4–5.

21–22. **ⲛⲧⲱⲅⲏⲣ̅ⲧ̅ ⲥⲏⲛⲩ ⲧⲉⲙⲱⲧ̅** : “by the two feet of the Father” The names of the feet of the Father, *Thaōth* and *Thaōtha*, find a precise parallel in the *Endoxon of Michael* (PCM I 26 p. 8 ll. 16–17).

page 15 (hair)

- $\overline{\text{CHNTA}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma} \equiv \overline{\text{CHNTA}\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{XEKAC}} \equiv \overline{\text{ETPAEIC}} \equiv \overline{\text{EPCOMa}} \overline{\text{SS}} \overline{\text{AIO}}$
 $\overline{\text{TTepKO}} \overline{\text{MMOT}} \equiv \overline{\text{PΘ}} \overline{\text{ZOYPT}} \cdot \overline{\text{NEN-}}$
 $\overline{\text{EIPAN}} \equiv \overline{\text{ETCMAMAAT}} \equiv \overline{\text{NAI}} \cdot \overline{\text{ETCA}} \overline{\text{IONAM}}$
5 $\overline{\text{EPEOYCATHPION}} \equiv \overline{\text{MΠOT}} \equiv \overline{\text{ETE}} \overline{\text{NAI}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{NE}} \overline{\text{CABAΘO}} \equiv \overline{\text{MHΘHMΩN}} \equiv \overline{\text{COYMIΘION}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{PERIXH}} \equiv \overline{\text{AKPAMATA}} \equiv \overline{\text{TAEKTOP}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{QMHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{CANTA}\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha} \equiv \overline{\text{KEPAEIC}} \overline{\text{SS}} \overline{\text{AIO}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{AGIOS}} \equiv \overline{\text{AGIOS}} \equiv \overline{\text{AGIAC}} \equiv \overline{\text{KYPIOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{CABAΘO}} \equiv$
10 $\overline{\text{PLHPOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{OYPAHOYC}} \equiv \overline{\text{KE}} \overline{\text{EI}} \overline{\text{KH}} \overline{\text{THC}} \equiv \overline{\text{AGIOS}}$
 $\overline{\text{EYΔΩZOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{ZAMHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{PEXC}} \overline{\text{BIOI}} \overline{\text{ELAq}}$
 $\overline{\text{ZH}} \overline{\text{ENBAM}} \overline{\text{NENIPAN}} \equiv \overline{\text{ETCMAMAAT}} \overline{\text{ETE}} \overline{\text{NAI}}$
 $\overline{\text{NE}} \overline{\text{ABIA}} \equiv \overline{\text{EPHXH}} \equiv \overline{\text{APΘACA}} \equiv \overline{\text{ABAKTANI}} \equiv \overline{\text{OYPION}}$
 $\overline{\text{ELEWΘ}} \equiv \overline{\text{ALABIA}} \equiv \overline{\text{AΘA}} \equiv \overline{\text{ABAOIΘAΛ}} \equiv \overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{PXC}} \equiv$
15 $\overline{\text{PEΠOPK}} \equiv \overline{\text{MANOYOPOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{KOMOYHN}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{CAPAK}} \equiv \overline{\text{MEΘA}} \equiv \overline{\text{QAPMAPOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{ΦAPAPa}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{EZTOPW}} \equiv \overline{\text{OMAP}} \equiv \overline{\text{AΔΩNAI}} \equiv \overline{\text{PAOPATOC}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{PAMIANOTOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{PAMHTPAOTOC}} \equiv \overline{\text{OYΦAMHN}}$
 $\overline{\text{OPΦANIΛ}} \equiv \overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{PXC}} \overline{\text{BIOI}} \overline{\text{SS}} \overline{\text{MH}} \overline{\text{OYA}} \overline{\text{NIM}}$
20 $\overline{\text{ETNAΦOPH}} \equiv \overline{\text{MPEΘ}} \overline{\text{ZOYPT}} \equiv \overline{\text{ETE}} \overline{\text{NAI}} \overline{\text{N-}}$
 $\overline{\text{EYPAH}} \equiv \overline{\text{ABHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{BHΘ}} \equiv \overline{\text{BHΘA}} \equiv \overline{\text{BHΘANEI}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{ANAHN}} \cdot \overline{\text{EPHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{XOYMAXA}} \equiv \overline{\text{MANON}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{MANABA}} \equiv \overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{PEXC}} : \overline{\text{PAEIC}} \overline{\text{SS}} \equiv \overline{\text{AIO}} \overline{\text{TACHH}}$
 $\overline{\text{CABAΧOPHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{CAPHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{CHPHN}} \equiv$
25 $\overline{\text{ZPOYHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{MAPMAPOYHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{CABAΘO}} \equiv$
 $\overline{\text{BAΘOYHN}} \equiv \overline{\text{MIXAHN}} \cdot \overline{\text{TABPHN}} \cdot \overline{\text{ZPAΦA-}}$
 $\overline{\text{HN}} \cdot \overline{\text{COYPHN}} \cdot \overline{\text{ZETEKH}} \cdot \overline{\text{CAlAΘHN}}$

2 *l.* $\overline{\text{ETETN-EPOEIC}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{σώμα}}$ | *l.* $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ || 3 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{ἡμαρτη}}$ || 3-4 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{ἡ-νει-ραν}}$ ||
5 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{ἡ-πε-θγσιαστηριον}}$ *i.e.* $\overline{\text{θυσιαστήριον}}$ || 8 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{εκ-ε-ροει}}$ | *l.* $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ || 9-11 *i.e.* ἄγιος
ἄγιος ἄγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας δόξης σου || 11 *i.e.* ἀμήν | *l.* $\overline{\text{ι(ηcoγ)c}}$ |
l. $\overline{\text{χ(ριστό)ς}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{βοηθεῖν}}$ || 12 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{ἡ-νι-ραν}}$ || 14 *l.* $\overline{\text{ι(ηcoγ)c}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{χ(ριστό)ς}}$ || 18 $\overline{\text{OPΦAH}}$
Meyer | $\overline{\text{PAMHTPAOTOC}}$ second $\overline{\text{α}}$ corrected from $\overline{\text{ι}}$ by erasure and overwriting ? ||
19 *l.* $\overline{\text{ι(ηcoγ)c}}$ $\overline{\text{πε-χ(ριστό)ς}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{βοηθεῖν}}$ | *l.* $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ || 20 *i.e.* $\overline{\text{φορεῖν}}$ || 23 *l.* $\overline{\text{ι(ηcoγ)}}$
 $\overline{\text{πε-χ(ριστό)ς}}$ | *l.* $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ $\overline{\text{(δείνα)}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{ταχύ}}$ || 25 $\overline{\text{ZPOYHN}}$: “Ruēl” Meyer

Sēntalalas, Sēntalalia, that you protect the body <of> NN, child of NN, yea! I adjure you, O Nine Guardians, by these blessed *names, which are on the right side [|]⁵ of the altar of the Father, which are *Sabaoth, Mēthēmōn, Soumithion, Perikhē, Akramata, Taektōr, Fmiēl, Santalalia, may you protect NN, child of NN, yea!

[|]^{Greek} *Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth, [|]¹⁰ heaven and earth are full of <your> holy glory, amen!

[|]^{Coptic} Jesus Christ, help him, by the power of these blessed names, which are Abia, Ephikhē, Arthasa, Abaktani, Ourion, Eleōth, Alabia, Atha, Abathithal, Jesus Christ, [|]¹⁵ Pepōrk, Manoušros, Komouēl, Sarak, Metha, Farmaros, Pharara, Ehtōrō, Ōmar, *Adonai, Paōratos, Pamiantōs, Pamētratōs, Ouphamiēl, Ōrphanil! Jesus Christ, help NN, child of NN, and all [|]²⁰ who will carry the Nine Guardians, whose names are Abiēl, Bēth, Bētha, Bēthanei, Anaēl, Eriēl, Khoumakha, Manon, Manaba! Jesus Christ, watch over NN, child of NN, yea, quickly! Sabaxōriēl, Sariēl, Sēriēl, [|]²⁵ Hrouēl, Marmarouēl, Sabaoth, Bathouēl, *Michael, *Gabriel, *Raphael, *Suriel, Zedekiēl, Salathiēl,

6–7. ΜΗΘΗΜΩΝ, ΣΟΥΜΙΘΙΟΝ, ΠΕΡΙΧΗ, ΑΚΡΑΜΑΤΑ : “Mēthēmōn, Soumithion, Perikhē, Akramata” Apparently variants of the names of the *Four Living Creatures of Revelation 4.6–8, often given in the Coptic and Nubian tradition as variants of μελιτων, σουρογοιον, αγραμματαπ, and παραμυρα; cf. Tsakos 2014. For the specific form of the first name, cf. the notes to p. 11 l. 7.

13–14. ΑΡΘΑΣΑ ≠ ΑΒΑΚΤΑΝΙ : “Arthasa, Abaktani” Cf. σαβαχθανί (*sabakhthani*), one of the last words of Jesus on the cross in Mark 15.34, Matthew 27.46.

17–18. ΩΜΑΡ ≠ ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, ΠΑΩΡΑΤΟΣ, ΠΑΜΙΑΝΤΟΣ, ΠΑΜΗΤΡΑΤΟΣ : “Ōmar, Adonai, Paōratos, Pamiantōs, Pamētratōs” Perhaps understand the Greek words ἀόρατος (“unseen”), ἀμίαντος (“undefiled”), ἄμετρος or ἀμέτρητος (both “immeasurable”; or less likely, ἄμητρος, “without mother”), prefixed by the definite article π-. The initial word may be “mār” (Aramaic for “Lord”), preceded by the Greek or Aramaic vocative particle ὦ (ὦ, ω), i.e., “O Lord Adonai” (see Meyer 1996: 94–95; Gardner 2023b: 118).

18–19. ΟΥΦΑΜΙΗΛ, ΟΡΦΑΝΙΛ : “Ouphamiēl, Ōrphanil” Cf. ὠρφαμιηλ (*Ōrphamiēl*), described as the “great finger on the right hand of the Father” on p. 14 l. 13 of this text.

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ΔΝΔΗΛ = IC ΠΕΧC : ΒΩΙΘΙ SS

ΖΙΤΕΝ ΣΑΜ = ΝΕΥΝΙΡΑΝ = ΤΑΡΑ-

ΜΙΗΛ · ΕΣΚΕΖΩΗΛ = ΜΕCΩΒ =

ΜΕΜΟΙ = IC ΠΕΧC · ΚΕΡΑΕΙC SS ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ

5 ΜΗ ΟΥΑ ΜΙΜ · ΕΤΝΑΦΩΡΙ : ΠΕCΩΤΟΥΝ

ΜΑΡΕΦΩΠΕ = ΝΘΗ ΜΠΩΗΝ =

ΕΠΩΝΑΖ = ΖΕΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΠΑΡΑΤΙΩC = ΔΙΩ

ΤΕΝCΙΝΕΡΖΩΒ : CΖΑΙ : ΝΑCΑΒΡΑΝ = ΖΙ ΑΡΧΗ ΝΕΡ

ΖΙ ΑΛΜΑΑΥΑΡΤ ΕΥΑΡΡΗΚ : ΜΑΡΟΥ ΕΧΩΟΥ

10 CΖΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΥΑΛCΕΕΜ = ΙΑΔΥ ΕΒΑΛ · ΦΑΥ·ΑΥ · ΕΤ 

ΠΜΟΔΥ ΝΑΤΘΕΛΙΚΟΝ : 17 ΟΝ : ΑΡΧΗ · ΕΧΩΩΜΙ

ΕΠΜΑΤ ΕΝCΑΛΕΖ = ΟΥΛΑΜΕ ΚΩΧΩC =

ΒΗΘ ΕΤΕΡΟΟΥΝΙ = ΕΠΜΑΤ ΕΝ·CΑΛΕΖ = ΘΥ =

ΜΑCΤΧΙ : ΔΛΟΥΘ : CΤΗΡΞ : [.] ΜΟΥCΧΑΤΕΝ ≡ ΜΟΥC

15 ΑΛΜΕΑΡΤΕ [Ε] ΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ · ΚΑΛΩC : ΖΑΜΗΝ

ΑΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΑΟΥΑ ΕΒΑΛ ΝΟΥΦΑΧΕ · ΕΝΑΝΟΥC

Τ·ΝΑΧΩ ΑΝΑΚ : ΕΝΑΕΖΒΗΥΕ : ΕΠΕΡΡΟ : ΠΑΛΑC

ΟΥΚΑΦ ΝΚΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC : ΡΕΦCΕΠΗ ΕΦCΖΑΙ

ΝΕCΩC ΠΑΡΑ ΝΕCΩΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΚΕΩΛ

20 ΠΕCΝΟΒ = SS ΜΙΧΑΗΛ · ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ · ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ =

CΟΥΡΙΗΛ · CΑΡΑΘΙΗΛ · ΖΕΤΕΚΙΗΛ · ΔΝΔΗΛ =

CΩΤΩΡ = CΑΒΑΩΘ : ΠΑΝΤΩΡ : IC IC IC ΠΧC Π-

CΩΤΗΡ = ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ = Δ·ΡΕΤΩ = ΔΔΩΝΑΙ

ΜΕΘΕΜΩΝ = ΚΕΩΛ · ΠΕ·CΝΟΒ SS ΔΙΩ ΔΙΟ

25 ΤΕΝΗΤ : ΕΛΩΕΙ : ΩΤΕΡΑ = ΕΛΗΜΑC =

ΤΩΡΑC = CΑΒΑΩΘ = ΒΩΙΘΙ = ΕΥΡΑΕΙC · ΕΚΤ =

ΝΟΥΤΑΛCΑ ΖΕΝ SS ΔΙΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ =

- 1 l. ι(ηcογ)c πε-χ(ριcτό)ς | i.e. βοηθεῖν | l. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) double supralinear stroke in papyrus ||
 2 i.e. ⁵π-cαμ | i.e. ⁵π-ni-pan : l. e.g. n(ε)νιραν Meyer || 4 l. ι(ηcογ)c πε-χ(ριcτό)ς | i.e. ⁵εκ-ε-ρoεic |
 l. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 5 i.e. φορεῖν | i.e. ζόδιον || 7 i.e. ⁵ζπ τ-μητε π-π-παρoεicoc i.e. παρoδεicoc ||
 8 i.e. ⁵τ-σι-η-ρ-ρoε, σ corrected from o by overwriting | i.e. الزعفران az-za'farān | l. ἀρχή π-
 ηρη : αρχη νεζ, αρχη νερη less likely Meyer || 9 i.e. الماورد al-māward | i.e. ورق waraq,
 second p corrected from η by overwriting || 10 i.e. الجام al-ġām : “a cup (?)” Meyer |
 l. (ἀπε) ? cf. note || 11 i.e. *ἀνθηλιακόν or ἀνατολικόν ? see note p. 17 ll. 25–27 : “spell-
 free (?)” Meyer | 17 l. γρ(άφειν) ? : “write (?)” or l. ἴδιον Meyer | l. ἀρχή (π-ηρη) : probably (η)
 αρχη (νερ?) Meyer || 12 i.e. ⁵π-τ-σoαλeτ | i.e. ⁵ογ-χλαμύc π-κόκκοc ? : “... linen thread (?)”
 or i.e. ⁵(ηορ)ογ ηαρκoκ ρωc Meyer || 13 βηθ ετεροουγι corrected from βηθ by overwriting
 i.e. ⁵βητ π-ροουγε | επματ flourish on left part of τ resembling c | i.e. ⁵π-τ-σoαλeτ | l. θυ(σία) ||
 14 i.e. μαστίχη | i.e. العود al-ūd | i.e. στόραξ | i.e. μοσχάτον | ηoαγ Meyer || 15 i.e. الماورد al-
 māward | i.e. καλώc | i.e. ἄμην || 18 i.e. γραμματεύc || 19 i.e. ⁵νεcω=υ | i.e. παρoά | i.e. ⁵ε=κε-ωλ ||
 19–20 κεωλ πεcнов : “you must stop the flow of blood” Meyer || 20 l. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) ||
 22 i.e. σωτήρ | l. παντ(οκράτ)ωρ | l. ι(ηcογ)c (three times) | l. χ(ριcτό)ς || 23 i.e. σωτήρ || 24 i.e. ⁵ε=κε-ωλ |
 κεωλ · πε·cнов : “you must stop the flow of blood” Meyer | l. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 26 i.e. βοηθεῖ ||
 26–27 i.e. ⁵π-τ-τ π-ογ-ταλcο || 27 l. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | i.e. ταχύ (twice)

Anael! Jesus Christ, help NN, child of NN, by the power of these names, Taramiēl, Eskehōēl, Mesōb, Memoi! Jesus Christ, may you protect NN, child of NN, yea, yea, ¹⁵ and all who will carry this image! May he be like the Tree of Life in <the> middle <of> Paradise, yea!”

The procedure: draw with saffron and wine of the *first fruits and rose water on paper. Bind them upon them. ¹⁰ Draw again upon a platter, wash them off, pour it on the head²; sun-facing² water. Draw² again <with wine of the> first fruits upon a sheet, upon the shoulder of <the> *pot. <Wear> a scarlet cloak². <A> virgin palm branch on the shoulder of <the> pot. Offering: *mastic, *agarwood, *styrax, *musk incense, water, ¹⁵ rose water. It is completely finished. Amen.

My heart has uttered a good word. I, myself, will speak of my works to the king, my tongue <like> a scribe’s pen writing quickly: he is more beautiful than all the children of men! May you contain ²⁰ the blood <of> NN, child of NN! *Michael, *Gabriel, *Raphael, *Suriel, Sarathiēl, Zetekiēl, Anaēl, Sōtōr, *Sabaoth, Almighty, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus Christ the saviour, Emmanuel, Aretō, *Adonai, Methemōn, may you contain the blood <of> NN, child of NN, yea, yea! ²⁵ Tenēt, *Eloei, Ōtera, *Elēmas, Tōras, Sabaoth, help with protection, and give healing to NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

8. ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲃⲣⲁⲛ : “with saffron” For the use of ink made from saffron in Coptic magic, see Richter 2023: 166–68.

10. ⲁⲗⲉⲉⲙ : “platter” We understand this to be a writing of Arabic الجām *al-ġām*, cf. *platter in the glossary, and Richter 2016a: 155. Meyer suggests that the word is perhaps related to the word “alchemy”. Meyer also notes a suggestion by Beltz that it comes from ⲕⲁⲛ/ⲉⲙ (“reed, rush”) and to a suggestion by Emmel of ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲗⲙⲁⲓ (“jar, vase”; Meyer 1996: 50, n. 16, 10).

10. ⲕⲁⲛⲉ (ⲁⲛⲉ) : “head” We follow Gardner 2023b: 119 in understanding this as a drawing of a round face with two triangular ears on top, to represent the word ⲁⲛⲉ (“head”). Such an ideographic writing would seem to be unparalleled in the Coptic magical corpus, but would fit the context well. Meyer suggests that the drawing is rather “a pot or other vessel with two handles”. Perhaps compare *GEMF* 34/*PGM* LXII col. 1 l. 1, in which a drawing of a lamp stands in for the Greek λύχνος (“lamp”).

11. ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲃⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ : “sun-facing” Cf. the note to p. 17 ll. 25–27.

12. ⲉⲡⲛⲁⲧ ⲉⲛⲥⲁⲗⲉⲗ : “on the shoulder of the pot” Alternatively understand an unexpected writing of ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗⲉ, “ear”, but with the specific sense of “handle (of the pot)” (Crum CD 212b–213a).

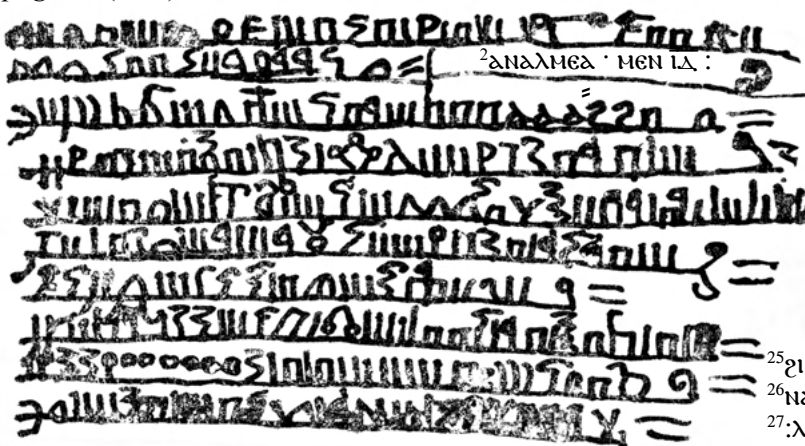
12. ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲛⲉ ⲕⲱⲭⲱⲥ : “scarlet cloak” Cf. Matthew 27.28 in which Jesus is dressed in a scarlet cloak (ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲗⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲕⲟⲕⲕⲟⲥ; Horner 1911a: 330), a symbol of royal status, by the Roman soldiers mocking him.

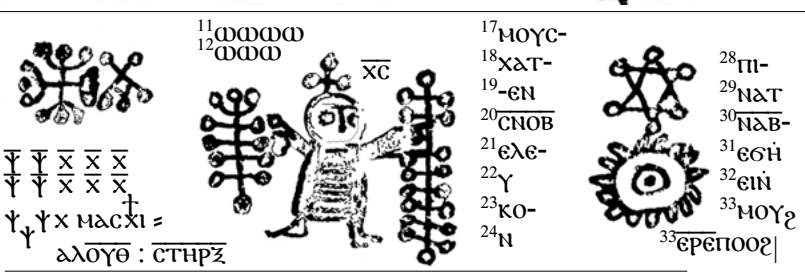
16–19. “My heart has uttered a good word. I, myself, will speak of my works to the king, my tongue <like> a scribe’s pen writing quickly: he is more beautiful than all the children of men!” A direct citation of Psalm 44 (45) 2–3: ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧ ⲧⲁⲭⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲗⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲛⲁⲗⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲃⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲡⲣⲟ ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲱ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛⲛⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲉⲓⲃⲉⲡⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ (Budge 1898: 49 as verses 1–2).

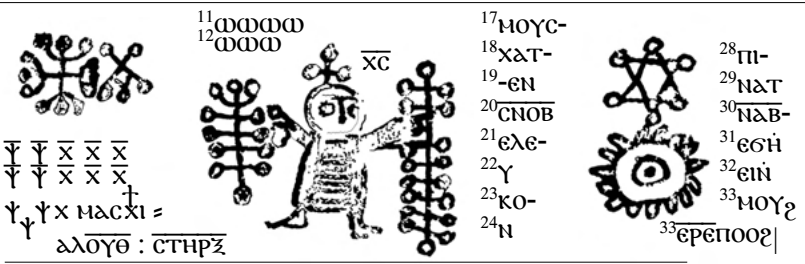
22–26. ⲥⲱⲧⲱⲣ, ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲱ, ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧ, ⲱⲧⲉⲣⲁ, ⲧⲱⲣⲁⲥ : “Sōtōr, Aretō, Tenēt, Tōras” Variants of the *Sator names, whose canonical Latin forms are *Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas*.

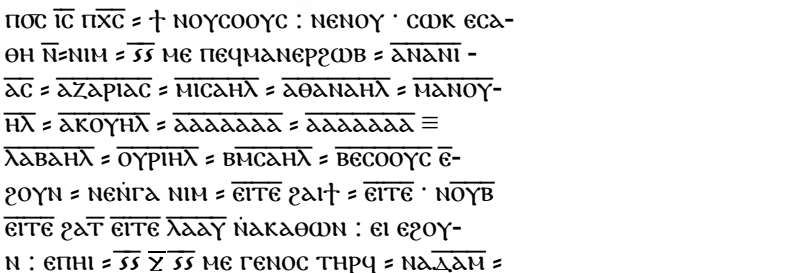
24. ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲙⲱⲛ : “Methemōn” Cf. the note to p. 11 l. 7.

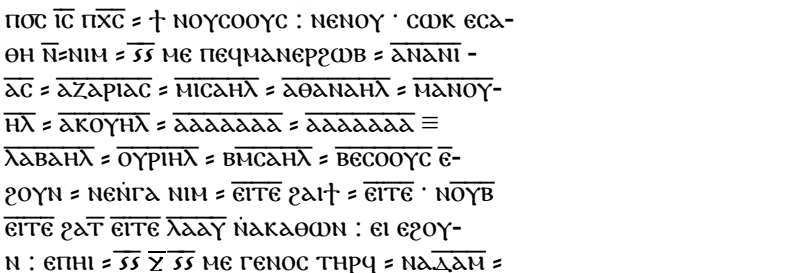
page 17 (flesh)

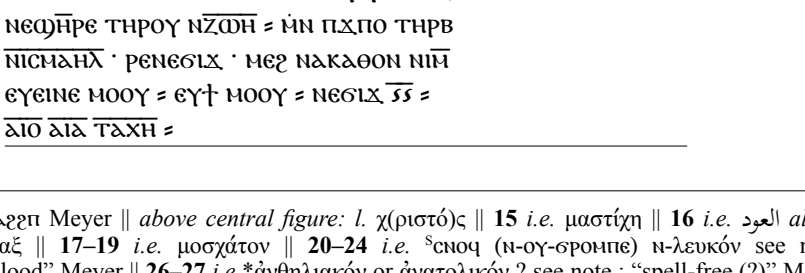
5 

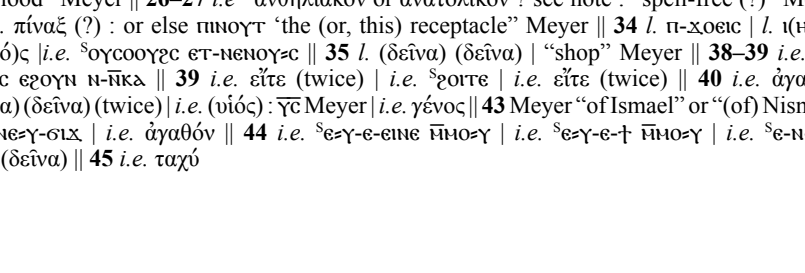
 10 

13 

 15 

35 

 40 

 45 

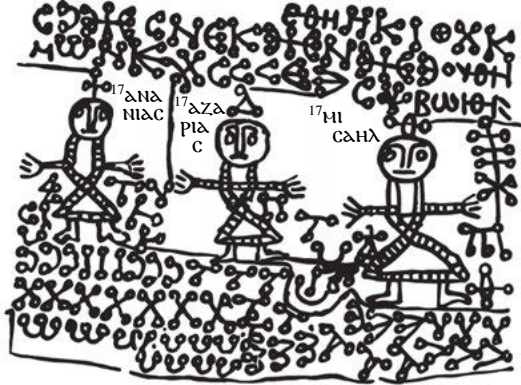
3 ππαααααα Meyer || above central figure: 1. χ(ριστός) || 15 i.e. μαστίχη || 16 i.e. العود al-ūd |
 i.e. στόραξ || 17–19 i.e. μοσχάτον || 20–24 i.e. ^scnoq (n-oy-ερονπε) n-λευκόν see note :
 “limpid blood” Meyer || 26–27 i.e. *ἀνθλιακόν or ἀνατολικόν ? see note : “spell-free (?)” Meyer ||
 28–29 i.e. πίναξ (?) : or else πινογτ ‘the (or, this) receptacle’ Meyer || 34 l. n-xoic | l. ι(ηco)yc
 πε-χ(ριστός) | i.e. ^soycooyzc ετ-νενογzc || 35 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) | “shop” Meyer || 38–39 i.e. ^se-q-
 e-cayoyzc ερογν n-ἵκα || 39 i.e. είτε (twice) | i.e. ^soyte | i.e. είτε (twice) || 40 i.e. ἀγαθόν ||
 41 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) (twice) | i.e. (υἶός) : ὕc Meyer | i.e. γένος || 43 Meyer “of Ismael” or “(of) Nismael” |
 i.e. ^sere-ne-y-cix | i.e. ἀγαθόν || 44 i.e. ^se-y-e-eine ἥνο-y | i.e. ^se-y-e-t ἥνο-y | i.e. ^se-n-cix |
 l. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 45 i.e. ταχῶ

41–43. ΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΩ = ΝΑΔΑΜ = ΝΕΩΤΗΡ ΤΗΡΩΥ ΝΖΩΗ = ΎΝ ΠΑΠΟ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛ: “all the race of Adam (and) all the children of Zoe and all the offspring of Ishmael” For this phrase, see the notes to p. 7 ll. 12–14. Note that here Adam and Zoe are joined by Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar and ancestor of the Arabs, making it clear that the composer wanted to explicitly include Arabs among the people targeted by the ritual, and perhaps suggesting that he or she was uncertain if they belonged to the category of the “children of Adam and Zoe”.

page 18 (hair)

5 $\overline{\text{CABAD}\Theta} = \overline{\text{ΠΑΝΤΩΡ}} = \text{†ΓΕΡΚΑ ΜΜΑΚ ΜΠΟ-}$
 $\text{ΟΥ} = \text{ΝΕΤΕΝΡΑΝ ἸΝ ΤΕΝΣΑΜ} = \text{ΜΝΕΤΕΝ-}$
 $\overline{\text{ΦΟΥΡΙΩΝ}} = \text{ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΤΩΠΟΣ} = \text{ΕΤΕΝΩΟΠ}$
 $\text{ΕΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΕ ΘΗ ΤΑΤΕΝΩΩΜ ΕΠΚΩΖ-}$
 10 $\text{Τ ΤΕΝΡΩ ΣΑΤΕ} = \overline{\text{ΝΑΒΟΥΧΩΤΩΝ=Ω-}}$
 $\text{CΩΡ} : \text{ΠΕΡΟ} : \overline{\text{ΒΑΒΙΛΩΝ}} = \text{ΖΕΝ ΤΕΝΣΑΜ} =$
 $\overline{\text{ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΩΣ}} = \overline{\text{ΧΕΚΑΣ}} =$
 $\text{ΤΕΤΕΝΩΩΜ ΕΩΕΜ} \cdot \overline{\text{ΠΚΩΖΤ ΜΕ ΤΕΥ=}}$
 $\text{ΖΕΜ} = \text{ΖΕΝ ΣΣ} = \overline{\text{ΔΙΩ ΤΑΧΗ}} = \overline{\text{ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ}} =$
 15 $\overline{\text{ΔΖΑΡΙΑΣ}} = \overline{\text{ΜΙΣΑΗΛ}} = \overline{\text{ΣΕΤΡΑΚ}} : \overline{\text{ΜΙΣΑΚ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΑΒΤΕΝΑΚΩ}} = \overline{\text{ΛΑΛ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΒΟΥΛΑΛ}} = \overline{\text{ΜΟΥΛΑΛ}} =$
 $\overline{\text{ΒΟΥΘΑ}} = \overline{\text{ΒΑΚΕ}} \equiv \overline{\text{ΔΥΛΕΣ}} = \overline{\text{ΕΥΛΕΣ}} = \overline{\text{ΕΩ}} =$
 $\overline{\text{CΩ}} = \overline{\text{ΛΕΚΤΗΣ}} = \overline{\text{ΜΗΤΕ}} = \overline{\text{ΒΙΤΕΒΟΙΘΙ}} \equiv \overline{\text{ΝΕ-}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΔΩΛΕ}} \equiv \overline{\text{ΒΩΙΘΩΝ}} = \overline{\text{ΕΘΗ}}$

15



1 *l.* παντ(οκράτ)ωρ || 2 *i.e.* Ὡνετν-ραν | *i.e.* Ὡνετν-σάμ || 2–3 *i.e.* Ὡνῆ νετν-φγριων *i.e.* φυ(λακτῆ)ριον | *i.e.* τόπος || 4 με Ὡη *i.e.* Ὡμη τ-ρε : “that just as you” Meyer | *i.e.* Ὡντα=τετῆ-ωωμ || 5 *i.e.* $\text{Ὡντε ν-ερω ν-σατε οἱ Ὡτε τ-ερω ν-σατε}$ || 6 *i.e.* Ὡνετν-σάμ | *i.e.* Ὡν-βαβγλων || 7 *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || 8 *i.e.* Ὡνετν-ωωμ | *i.e.* Ὡεωμ - *i.e.* haplography or omission of a section ? || 8–9 *i.e.* Ὡτ-εῖμη : *i.e.* Ὡτηγ μῆ τ- “fume (and)” Meyer || 9 *l.* (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | *i.e.* ταχύ

*Sabaoth Almighty, I adjure you today by your (pl.) *names and your *powers and your *phylacteries and your *places in which you dwell, and the manner in which you quenched the fire |⁵ of the burning furnaces of Nebuchadnezzar, the king <of> Babylon by the power <of> *Michael the *archangel, that you quench {quench} the fire and the fever in NN, child of NN, yea, quickly! Hananiah, |¹⁰ Azariah, Mishael, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, Lal, Boulal, Moulal, Boutha, Bake, Aules, Eules, Eō, Sō, Lektēs, Mēte, Biteboithi, Nedōle, Bōithōn, Ethē!

|^{above tableau, 15} Outhē, Bōithi

|^{above three figures, 17} Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael.

KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by JS, KD & EL.

page 18 ll. 1–17: This page contains a ritual for healing fever which probably consisted of speaking the formula and copying the tableau in order to create an amulet. Both elements draw upon the story of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace in Daniel 3, in which the three companions of Daniel were thrown into a burning furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, for refusing to worship a golden statue he had made, only to be saved by the intervention of an angel who prevented the fire from burning them. The common conception of fever as fire led to the story becoming a popular reference in Christian fever amulets, which often repeat the story or include the names of the Three Youths (Mihálykó 2018a: 53–55; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming b); this text finds a particularly close parallel in the applied amulet P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 564a (Quecke 1963b; KYP M513). Usually we find their original Hebrew names—Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael—followed by their Chaldaean names—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego—and finally a series of names known only from magical texts, here Lal, Boulal, and Moulal (van der Vliet 1991: 236–239). This last series is also found in the *Testament of Solomon* 7.6 (for which see the introduction to PCM I 30) as βουλταλά θαλλάλ μελχάλ (*Boultala Thallal Melkhal*), where they are associated with healing fever, but not explicitly with the Three Youths (McCown 1922: 30* ll. 5–6; van der Vliet 1991: 237–239). The image below likewise draws upon the iconography of the Three Youths, depicting them as three figures praying in the orant position with their arms extended to their sides, and three *kharaktēres* (+, Δ, Θ) on their heads where their hats would be in more canonical depictions (cf. Dosoo 2022a: 154–156). The repeated names of the form ‘Bōithi’ are probably derived from the Greek βοήθει “help”.

PCM I 26. *Endoxon* of the Archangel Michael

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

21.1 (H) × 26.9 (W) cm

late X CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 686 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1686); TM 100022; KYP M166; Bélanger Sarrazin #137.

Editions: Kropp 1966 (*ed. pr.*) [K].

Translations: Kropp 1966 (German); Meyer in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 135 [M].

Additional commentary: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 392; Quecke 1963b: 247, n. 3; Camplani 2010: 146; Untermann (ed.) 2011: 42–43; Tsakos 2014: 259–261; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 312, 348–350; Johnston/Gardner 2018; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 51–53; van der Vliet 2020: 273–274; Gardner 2023a: 56–63; Gardner 2023b: 123–134 [G]; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 4; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 7.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39754>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

Original use: Lectionary containing Pauline Epistles, including:

1. Bifolio 1 flesh (pp. 2 + 19): col. 1 ll. 1–7: Philippians 4.9 (no. 12; day 16)
2. Bifolio 1 flesh (pp. 2 + 19): col. 1 ll. 8–36, col. 2 ll. 1–10: 1 Corinthians 1.18–24 (no. 13; day 17 of Thout⁹)
3. Bifolio 1 flesh (pp. 2 + 19): col. 2 ll. 11–36: 1 Timothy 6.11–13 (no. 14; day 20)
4. Bifolio 1, hair (pp. 1 + 20): col. 1 ll. 1–29: 1 Timothy 6.13–16 (no. 14; day 20)
5. Bifolio 1, hair (pp. 1 + 20): col. 1 ll. 29–36, col. 2 ll. 1–36: Hebrews 9.2–7 (no. 15)
6. p. 9, flesh col. 1 ll. 1–18, col. 2 ll. 1–2: 2 Corinthians 10.4–9 (no. 19; day 25)
7. Bifolio 2, flesh (pp. 11 + 18): col. 1 ll. 1–4: Hebrews 13.6 (no. 20⁹)
8. Bifolio 2, flesh (pp. 11 + 18): col. 1 ll. 5–36, col. 2 ll. 1–36: Philippians 3.6–14⁹ (no. 21; day 26)

Re-use (palimpsest):

9. p. 2, l. 1–p. 15, l. 26 (1–249): *Endoxon* of the Archangel Michael (KYP T17)
10. p. 15, ll. 27–29 (250–251): Instructions for using the formula as an exorcism (KYP T312)
11. p. 15, ll. 29–31 (252): Instructions to free someone from prison (KYP T313)
12. p. 15, ll. 32–33 (253): Instructions for favour (KYP T314)
13. p. 16, ll. 1–2 (254): Instructions for healing (KYP T315)
14. p. 16, ll. 3–5 (255): Instructions for reconciliation (KYP T905)
15. p. 16, ll. 6–8 (256): Instructions to unbind a man cursed with impotence (KYP T311)
16. p. 16, ll. 9–12 (257): Instructions for someone who has been given a potion (KYP T316)
17. p. 16, ll. 13–14 (258): Instructions for healing pain (KYP T1316)
18. p. 16, ll. 15–17 (259): Instructions for protection in the desert (KYP T1317)
19. p. 16, ll. 18–20 (260): Instructions to ensure a woman's fidelity (KYP T1318)
20. p. 16, ll. 21–23 (261): Instructions for reconciliation (KYP T752)
21. p. 16, ll. 24–25 (262): Instructions to make a criminal unrecognised (?) (KYP T1319)
22. p. 16, ll. 26–27 (263): Instructions for treating sleeplessness (KYP T1320)

23. p. 16, ll. 28–30 (264): Instructions for favour before superior (KYP T1321)
24. p. 16, ll. 31–32 (265): Instructions for making a village inhabited (KYP T1322)
25. p. 16, ll. 33–36 (266): Instructions to curse a workshop (KYP T1323)
26. p. 17, ll. 1–3 (267): Instructions for a curse of unconsciousness (KYP T1324)
27. p. 17, ll. 3–6 (268): Instructions for reconciliation (KYP T1325)
28. p. 17, ll. 7–9 (269): Instructions to ensure a man's fidelity (KYP T1326)
29. p. 17, ll. 10–12 (270): Instructions for the protection of livestock from magic (KYP T1327)
30. p. 17, ll. 13–16 (271): Instruction to prevent death of children (KYP T1328)
31. p. 17, ll. 17–23 (272), ll. 24–29 (273): Instructions for creating an amulet (KYP T1329)
32. p. 17, ll. 30–35 (272–274): Image of Michael accompanied by two Powers (KYP T331)

Complete and undamaged single-quire parchment codex of 20 pages, containing the *Endoxon of the Archangel Michael*, an invocation for protection from sickness and evil influences, followed by a series of ritual prescriptions. The codex is part of the archive known as the 'Heidelberg Library', written in the hand of Deacon Iōhannēs, allowing it to be dated to the late tenth century (see pp. 259–263).

The manuscript was acquired as part of the lot purchased for the University of Heidelberg by Carl Schmidt from the Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman in October 1933.¹ An edition was initially planned by Friedrich Bilabel,² who apparently kept the manuscript (along with many others) in his home. This edition was never completed; Bilabel, an active member of the Nazi Party from 1935, was involved in military service from 1939 to 1942, having volunteered in 1937. He was killed in 1945 during the American advance after retirement to the town of Wallerstein.³ The manuscript subsequently passed into the hands of his family. Karl Preisendanz, head of the Heidelberg papyrus collection, contacted Bilabel's son-in-law in 1950 to enquire about its whereabouts, but without success.⁴ Fortunately, Schmidt had initially offered the manuscript to his student Kropp (together with *PCM I 25*), who had made a transcription of it; this transcription was published in 1966 as *Der Lobpreis des Erzengels Michael*.⁵ From the 1980s, Bilabel's estate began to sell some of the manuscripts which he had taken, and in 1998, his grandson offered the *Endoxon* to the University of Heidelberg for 100,000 Deutsche Marks. A second offer of 80–100,000 (apparently euros) was made in 2008. The legal claims of the University of Heidelberg were judged to be too difficult to enforce, and in 2010 the manuscript was bought back by the University for €12,000.⁶ It is now, once again, in the University's papyrus collection.⁷

The manuscript is a palimpsest written over a lectionary of Pauline epistles written in two columns—still clearly visible on pages 1, 18, 19, and 20, the blank

¹ Seider 1964: 163; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32.

² Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 392.

³ Préaux 1948; Seider 1982; Chaniotis/Thaler 2006; Bierbrier 2012: 58.

⁴ Jayme 2009; Jördens 2010a: 142.

⁵ Kropp 1966: 5.

⁶ For the history of the recovery, see Jayme 2009; Jayme 2010; Jördens 2010a & b.

⁷ Cf. Jördens in Untermann 2011: 5; Schmelz 2018: 3.

pages of the re-used text. As recognised by Gardner, this older lectionary is the same as that used to create *PCM* I 25, written the same formal bimodular and bilinear literary hand, perhaps datable to the ninth century.⁸ Each section of the lectionary is marked off by *ekthesis* of the first letter. The dates on which the passages are to be read are decorated with horizontal lines, although these are identified only by the ordinal number of the day of the month, and the month is not named. The identification of all passages of the lectionary is necessary before a full reconstruction can be attempted, but bifolio 1 flesh of *PCM* I 26 seems to continue bifolio 1 flesh of *PCM* I 25, since it concludes the passage from Philippians. This is then followed by the hair side of bifolio 1, then by page 9 (the lower half of an original folio), directly followed by bifolio 2 flesh and then hair. The reading of 1 Corinthians 1.18–24 on the seventeenth day of the month corresponds to the reading on the 17th Thout in the lectionary Pierpont Morgan M573 from Hamouli, dating to the ninth or early tenth century, both geographically and temporally close to this lectionary.⁹ Certain other readings identifiable in *PCM* I 25 also seem to correspond to those in M573,¹⁰ even though this latter manuscript contains only the readings for the major feasts, while that of *PCM* I 25 & 26 contains the readings from the Pauline epistles for nearly every day. The reading of Hebrews 9.2–7, although the date is lost, might correspond to the reading of verses 2–8 on the 21st Tobi in M573.¹¹ However, 2 Corinthians 10.4–8 is associated in M573 with the 15th Hathor, while verses 4–9 (and perhaps more of the chapter) in this manuscript are listed for the 25th day of a month.¹² There are further problems—as noted by Quecke, the reading of 2 Timothy 2.3–13 on the 15th day of a month on *PCM* I 25 bifolio 1 hair would correspond well with the reading of the same passage (to verse 14a) on the 15th Hathor in M573.¹³ This reading must shortly precede in the cycle that of 1 Corinthians 1.18–24 on *PCM* I 26 bifolio 1 flesh col. 1 ll. 8–36, associated with 17th Thout. Yet Thout is the first month, and Hathor the third, so that the sequence is impossible. It may be safer to assume that all of the surviving passages were for the month of Thout, although more work on this question is required.

The present codex is made of 3 bifolios and 4 sheets, formed from either folding the original codex sheets in two, or cutting them in half.¹⁴ Only pages 2–17 are written, in brown ink of plant origin.¹⁵ Each page has between 25 and 36 lines and there are roughly 25–30 characters per line. The script, dialectal features, and ink

⁸ Gardner 2023a: 55–56; cf. Quecke 1972: 6 on the underlying text of *PCM* I 25.

⁹ Depuydt 1993: 70.

¹⁰ Quecke 1972: 12–16.

¹¹ Depuydt 1993: 73.

¹² Depuydt 1993: 71.

¹³ Depuydt 1993: 71; cf. Quecke 1972: 16–17.

¹⁴ The bifolios are: pp. 1 + 20/2 + 19; 11 + 18/12 + 17; 13 + 16/14 + 15. The individual sheets are: pp. 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10.

¹⁵ For the ink used by this copyist, see the discussion on p. 261.

are all those typical of Iōhannēs (see pp. 260–262). The writing is very dense, and the margins extremely narrow.

The *Endoxon* itself is a prayer attributed to the archangel Michael, written on the first 14 pages of the codex (pp. 2–15).¹⁶ It begins with a brief narrative in which Michael greets and praises God, before calling upon the angelic powers to help him sing his praises. This is followed by recurrent sequences of adjurations of and calls to God to come and send his power over water and oil to be used in the following procedure, interspersed with the invocation of various authorities— heavenly beings and the body parts and attributes of God—and a recounting of salvation history, from the creation of Adam to the resurrection of Jesus. It ends with a blessing formula, followed by 22 ritual prescriptions (pp. 15–17). These generally involve the speaking of the *Endoxon* over water, oil, or the image of Michael and his powers which appears at the end of the manuscript, which then become the “applied objects” used to transfer the power of the ritual. An unpublished copy of the *Endoxon* belongs to the Collège de France (KYP M573),¹⁷ containing only a single procedure, directly related to the healing/exorcistic goals explicit in the text of the prayer, making it clear that the multiple prescriptions in the Heidelberg copy are a later accretion. This ‘polypractical’ format—a single long prayer with multiple recipes which make use of the same prayer—is quite common in the Coptic magical corpus (*cf.* p. 22). In terms of its content, the *Endoxon* recalls the account of salvation history which appears following the *Sanctus in liturgical anaphoras of the ‘West Syrian’ or ‘Antiochene’ type, which likewise recounts salvation history from fall of Adam and Eve. Particularly close is an anonymous anaphora contained in the Euchologium of the White Monastery.¹⁸ The presence of this type in Egypt is likely a result of the influence of the Syrian Church, particularly under the patriarchate of Severos of Antioch (r. 512–538),¹⁹ suggesting a date of composition for the *Endoxon* not earlier than the sixth century.

Kropp’s original edition is numbered by sentence rather than page or line number; we indicate the equivalent sentence number in Kropp’s edition at the beginning of each page. In their editions, Kropp and Meyer omit line p. 5 l. 30, and p. 11 ll. 11, 13, & 15. Corrections made by reference to the Collège de France manuscript are marked ‘CdF’ in the apparatus.

¹⁶ The *Coptic Magical Papyri* project has also produced a podcast episode about this text, which includes a reading of the full *Endoxon*: <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2021/06/29/podcast-7-praise-of-the-archangel-michael-a-case-study/> (accessed 17/4/2023).

¹⁷ Collège de France Ms. 2 (KYP M573), pp. 1–21. One of the associated manuscripts, CdF 3 (KYP M597), is dated by its colophon to the 27th of Mesore 427 (=20th August 1035). The codex is largely unpublished, but pp. 24–26, containing *Prayer of Shenoute*, was edited by Pezin (1988). For more on the group, see Pezin 1983; Boud’hors/Tardieu 2006: 16.

¹⁸ This is in pp. 113.1–137 l. 21 of the euchologium published in Lanne 1958. Compare the less elaborate form in the Anaphora of Basil in Budde 2004: 146–152; *cf.* the discussion of the development of this sequence in Budde 2004: 273–319.

¹⁹ Budde 2004: 580–582.

page 2 (= *Kropp 1*) (flesh)

- ΜΙΧΑΗΛ · ΤΕ ΑΒΟΥΩΟΥΤ · ΖΑ ΝΕΟΥΡΗΤ ≠
 ΜΠΩΤ ΝΑΓΑΘΩΣ ≠ ΑΒΑΖΕΡΑΤΥ ≠ ΑΥ-
 ΤΩΞ ΕΠΕΒΡΑΒΤΩΣ ≠ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΑΥ ≠ ΑΥΚΑ
 ΠΕΠΖΑΡΜΑ · ΖΙ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΑΒ ≠ ΑΥΠΩΡΩ
 5 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΥΤΕΝΑΖ ΝΟΥΔΕΙΝ ≠ ΑΒΩ-
 ΟΥ ΕΒΑΛ · ΕΥΧΩΩ ΜΑΣ ≠ ΧΕ ΧΕΡΕ ≠
 ΠΩΤ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΕΡΙΤ ≠
 ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ≡
 ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤΑΜΙΑ ≠ ΤΠΗ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝ-
 10 ΤΑΥΣΕΜΕ ΣΗΗΤ ΜΠΚΑΖ ≠ ΖΙΧΕΝ
 ΝΕΜΑΟΥ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΤΑΥΣΩΡ ΕΒΑ-
 Λ ΝΖ ΕΠΗΥ ≠ ΜΕΝ ΠΖΒ ΝΤΕΡΕΥΜΑ
 ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤΑΜΙΑ · ΠΡΗ ≠ ΑΒΤ Τ-
 ΕΒΖΗΜΜΕ · ΕΡΑΥ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤΑ-
 15 ΜΙΑ ΠΩΟΖ ≠ ΑΒΤ ΠΕΒΟΥΔΕΙΝ : ΕΡΑΒ ≠
 ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤΑΜΙΑ ΝΕΣΙΥ ΑΒΤ ΡΑΝ
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤΑΜΙΑ : ΝΑΓΓΕΛ-
 ΩΣ ≠ ΑΒΤ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΡΟΟΥ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ · ΠΕΝ-
 ΤΑΒΤ ΠΤΩΟΥ : ΝΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΩΣ ≠
 20 ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤΑΜΙΑ ΝΕΧΕ-
 ΡΩΒΗΝ ≠ ΜΗ ΝΕΣΕΡΑΦΙΝ :
 ΑΒΤΕ Ξ ΝΤΕΝΑΖ ≠ ΕΠΟΥΑ ≠
 ΠΟΥΑ ΜΑΥ ≠
 ΧΕΡΕ · ΠΕΝΤΑΒΤ ΤΩΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΑ-
 25 ΜΙΣ ≠ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ≠ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΒ-

1 *l.* δέ ^sαυ-ουωουτ : *i.e.* ^sνταυ-ουωουτ K | *i.e.* ^sουερντε || 2 *i.e.* ἀγαθός | *i.e.* ^sαυ-αζε-ραυτ | *i.e.* ^sταυκ : ταυε *i.e.* ^sταυβε ογ ταυκ K | *i.e.* ^sπευ- | *i.e.* ῥάβδος | *i.e.* ^sμνου | *i.e.* ^sπευ- | *i.e.* ἄρμα | *i.e.* ^sμνου || 5 *i.e.* ^sαυ- || 6 *i.e.* ^sαω || 7–24 *i.e.* χαίρε || 8 *l.* πν(εὺμ)α || 10 *i.e.* ^sσμη- : σμεν K | *l.* π-σμητ : σμητ K || 11 *i.e.* ^sμοου | *l.* πενταυσωρ || 12 *i.e.* ^sπηγε : πηγ K | *l.* π-(φεω)β *i.e.* ^sπ-αωυ : “twice seven” (“zweimal Sieben”) K, M | *i.e.* στερέωμα || 13 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ | *i.e.* ^sαυ-τ- || 13–14 *i.e.* ^sτευ- || 14 *i.e.* ^sζημε | *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- || 15 *i.e.* ^sαυ-τ- | *i.e.* ^sπευ- | *i.e.* ^sερω | 16 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- | *i.e.* ^sσιου | *i.e.* ^sαυ- || 17 ερωου first o corrected from α by overwriting | *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- | *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 18 *i.e.* ^sαυ- | *i.e.* πνεύμα || 18–19 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- || 19 *l.* η-η-ἀρχάγγελος (haplography of η) || 20 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- || 20–21 *i.e.* χειρουβίμ || 21 *i.e.* σεραφίμ || 22 *i.e.* ^sαυ- | πουα K || 23 *i.e.* ^sμναυ || 24 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- || 24–25 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ- || 25 *i.e.* ^sπ-ενταυ-

And *Michael did obeisance at the feet of the good Father. He stood up, he fixed his staff before him, he set his chariot behind him, he spread [|]⁵ his wings of light, and he cried out, saying:

“Hail, O Father! Hail, O Beloved Son! Hail, O Holy Spirit! Hail, you who created the sky! Hail, you [|]¹⁰ who established <the> foundations of the earth upon the waters! Hail, you who spread out the seven heavens and the seven firmaments! Hail, you who created the sun and gave its warmth to it! Hail, you who [|]¹⁵ created the moon and gave its light to it! Hail, you who created the stars and gave names to them! Hail, you who created *angels and gave them spirit! Hail, you who appointed the *archangels! [|]²⁰ Hail, you who created the *cherubim and the *seraphim and gave six wings to each one of them! Hail, you who appointed the holy *Powers! [|]²⁵ Hail, you who

page 2–15. The Endoxon of Michael: The word ἔνδοξον was interpreted by Kropp as meaning “praise” (“Lobpreis”), and this translation is followed by Meyer and Gardner. Kropp (1966: 5) specifically understood it as a hymn sung by Michael at the reconciliation of God with Adam, parallel to the hymns of praise sung by the angels after the resurrection of Jesus described in the *Book of Bartholomew* (CC 27; see Westerhoff 1999: 125–129; Budge 1913: 195–196 (English translation)), although in form and content these are rather different, and this context is not explicit in the text itself. Kropp also prints at the beginning of the text a title, ΠΕΝΔΩΞΟΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, “The Endoxon of Michael the Archangel”, not present in the Heidelberg manuscript, but the Collège de France manuscript, of which Kropp was apparently unaware, does indeed contain the end title ΠΕΝΔΩΞΟΝ Ε-ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (“The Endoxon of Michael”), confirming that this is the name of the text. The term appears as a self-reference within the text at several points (p. 3 l. 18, p. 4 ll. 13–14, p. 14 ll. 16, 18, 20). The meaning of the word ἔνδοξον is less clear; the LSJ s.v. gives its primary meaning as “(something) held in high esteem or honour, of high repute”. As noted in Lampe s.v. it may be used as an adjective to describe divine things, such as the name of God, Christ’s second coming, saints, and angels. We have been unable to find a reference to the term being used to describe a genre of hymn in either Greek or Coptic. The closest term might be δοξολογία (“doxology, laudation”), but in the Christian tradition this typically refers to much briefer praise formulae than that present here.

page 3 (= Kropp 18) (flesh)

- ταμιαῖν : ἀφτ̄ πῖνᾱ ἐραν : †σμοῦ ἐρακ
 ἐμποοῦ : πενταβτῖ ναι ἰ μπινοῖς ν-ἰ
 ταῖο : ἡἀγγελοῦς ἰ ἐπλῑσι δ:μωῖνι ἰ
 σμοῦ ἐπιωτ̄ νεμαι ἐμποοῦ ἰ νεχε-
 5 ρωβῖν : ἐπλῑσι ἰ δ:μωῖνι ἰ † εσοῦ μπι-
 ωνρε ἰ νεμαι μπιοῦ ἰ ἐτεναμῖς : ἐπλ-
 ῑς ἰ δ:μωῖνι ἰ χωρεγει ἰ ἐπεπῖνᾱ ἰ ετογα-
 δβ νεμαι μπιοῦ ἰ μαρεῖρηῖ : μν ποοῦ ἰ
 μν νεσιοῦ τηροῦ ἀζερατοῦ νεμαι ε-
 10 ποοῦ : ωανταχω μπεσοῦ ἰ πιωτ̄ με
 πωνρε : μν πεπῖνᾱ ετογαδβ ἰ νερεμ:-
 νεγτηριων ἰ ἐπιωτ̄ : γεμνεσι : ἐπιωτ̄ ≡
 νεμαι ἐμποοῦ ἰ μαρεπκαρ ἰ οῦων ἐρ-
 ωβ : εβωνκ ἐπλῑαβολῶς ἰ μν νεβεν-
 15 ἐρκια τηροῦ ἰ μαρενεπῖλλι μπι ἰ
 οῦων εἰςσει ωαραι : ἡσι νεαγγελοῦς
 ἐπογαιῖν ἰ ωανταχωκ εβαλ ἰ ἡπιεν-
 δωκζων ≡ ετογαδβ ἰ σωτεμ ραι ἰ
 μπιοῦ : πιωτ̄ ἰ πογαιῖν ἰ ἀνακ πε
 20 μῑχανῖλ ἰ παραν ἰ πνοῦτε ἰ ζῖ ρωμε ἰ
 κα μεεχε ραι ἰ μπιοῦ : περο : νερωοῦ ≡
 ἀνακ πε μῑχανῖλ ἰ ἀνακ ον πεογαρ ἐπζ ἰ
 μεστηριων ἰ εөннп ζε φнт̄ ἐπιωτ̄ ≡
 ναι νταβαοῦ μεπερδαοῦ νταβταμια ἰ
 25 ρωμε : κατα πεβῖνι : μεν τεγρῑκω-
 ν ἰ ντερεβταμια ἰ φδῑςῑνῖλ : δῑει ἰ
 ἀνακ πε μῑχανῖλ με νετογεζ εσωῖ ἰ
 τηροῦ ἰ ἀνοῦωωτ̄ : νᾱτωρᾱν ἰ

1 *i.e.* ὁ ταμῖο | *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α || 2 *i.e.* ὁ μπι-ποοῦ | *i.e.* ὁ π-εντα-μ- | μπινοῖς ν- : μπινοοῖν *i.e.* νοῦς
 “sense” (“Einsicht”) K, M || 3 ταῖο “praise” (“Lobpreisest”) K | *i.e.* ὁ ἄγγελος | *i.e.* ὁ μ-π-χῑςε ||
 4 *i.e.* ὁ μ-ποοῦ || 4–5 *i.e.* χερουβῖμ | *i.e.* χῑςε || 6 *l.* ὁ δῶναμῖς || 6–7 *i.e.* ὁ χῑςε || 7 *i.e.* χορεύειν |
i.e. πν(εῦμ)α || 9–10 *i.e.* ὁ μ-ποοῦ || 10 *i.e.* ὁ ωαντ-χω || 11 *i.e.* πν(εῦμ)α || 11–12 *i.e.* ὁ ὑμνητήριος :
 νεγῑνηντήριος K || 12 *l.* ὁ μνεῖν *cf.* γεμνεγε in CdF : γεμνεγει K | *i.e.* ὁ μ-πιωτ̄ || 13 *i.e.* ὁ μ-ποοῦ ||
 13–14 *i.e.* ὁ ε-ρω-μ || 14 *i.e.* ὁ ε-μ-ωνκ μ-π- : *i.e.* ὁ ε-μ-ωνκ “pounces on” (“springe los auf”) K :
 “burst forth against” M | *i.e.* ὁ διάβολος | *i.e.* ὁ νε-μ- || 14–15 *i.e.* ὁ ἐνέργεια : “powers” (“Mächte”) K |
l. πῶλη : πῶλη K || 16 *i.e.* ὁ ἄγγελος || 17 *i.e.* ὁ ωαντ-χωκ || 17–18 *i.e.* ὁ ἔνδοξον *cf.* note p. 1 | *i.e.* ὁ ερο- ||
 19 πογῑν K || 20 *l.* παραν πε || 21 *i.e.* ὁ μαδῑε | *i.e.* ὁ ερο- || 22 ἀνοκ K | *i.e.* ὁ π-ετ-οῦνη :
 πε πετογαρ K || 23 *i.e.* ὁ μ-μυστήριον | *i.e.* ὁ ετ-ρηπ ζῖ π-ρηπ μ-π-ειωτ̄ : εөннп ζε φнт̄ ἰ πιωτ̄ K ||
 24 *i.e.* ὁ μ-τα-μ-οῦω | *i.e.* ὁ μ-π-ροοῦ : ἰ ηραοῦ K | *i.e.* ὁ μ-τα-μ- || 25 *i.e.* κατά || 25–26 *i.e.* ὁ πε-μ-εἰκῶν ||
 26 αῖω “yea!” (“Wohlan!”) K, M | *i.e.* ὁ μ-τερ-μ- || 27 *i.e.* ὁ νετ-οῦνη ὁ σω- || 28 ὁ ᾱτωρᾱν K

created us, and gave us spirit!

I praise you today, you who gave me this great honour! O *angels on high, come! Praise the Father with me today! O *cherubim |⁵ on high, come! Give glory to the Son with me today! O *Powers on high, come! Dance for the Holy Spirit with me today! Let the sun and the moon and all the stars stand with me |¹⁰ today so that I may sing of the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit! O singers of hymns to the Father, sing hymns to the Father with me today! Let the earth open its mouth and swallow the Devil and |¹⁵ all his works! Let the gates of heaven open and the angels of the light come to me, until I complete this holy *endoxon*!

Listen to me today, O Father of light! I am |²⁰ *Michael, my name <is> God and man! Lend your ear to me today, O King of kings! I am Michael, I am also the one set over the seven mysteries that are hidden in the heart of the Father, those that he made on the day that he created |²⁵ Man according to his likeness and his image. After he created Phausiēl, I came, I, Michael, and all those who follow me, and we made obeisance to Atōram,

13–15. μαρεπκαζ · ογων ερωβ : εβωνκ επιδιαβολος ≠ μη νεβενερκια τηρου : “let the earth open its mouth and swallow the Devil and all his works!” Cf. the description of the deaths of the rebellious Israelites Dathan and Abiram in Numbers 16.30: “and the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them and their houses and their tents and everything that belonged to them, and they went down to hell still alive” (μαρεπκαζ ογων ερωβ ηβωνκ ημνοου μη νενι μη νεγυκνη μη νετωροοι ναγ τηρου ησεβωνк επεσхт εαμηте εγονε, *Sahidic Bible* 2).

19. πωτ ηπογαειν : “O Father of light” Cf. James 1.17: “father of lights” (πειωτ ηνεογоеιν; Horner 1924: 192).

20. παραν ≠ πνουτε · ρι ρωμε : “my name <is> God and Man” Cf. the note to PCM I 11 p. 9 ll. 17–18.

25–26. κατα πεβινι : μεν τεφρικων ≠ ντερεβταμια : “according to his likeness and his image” Cf. PCM I 10 ll. 2–3 and accompanying notes.

page 4 (= Kropp 35) (hair)

- ετε παι πε πζωβ = ενεφβιχ = ντερνογωφ-
 τ ναρωναχριμ = ετε παι πε λλδμ : αβ-:
 ер атсωтем есωк енбг сѧнѧтѧнл =
 παρχηπλασμα = ακωανев ζем пек-
 5 εооу ετογαав = πωнре : птака ак:ωα-
 неφ ζем пекεооу ετογαав = ακωтер-
 τωρ = невснн† = авини еζραι ζιχω-
 оу нoγναδ нωωне : ωανтоγερ пев-
 оуωφ = менесωс : авχι нерωме н-
 10 нсанс нтактаμια = менесωс = ωак-
 телсаγ = †ноу бε παос : ωанаζтнк =
 ζα пекini = меи текзикωн = ке† нo-
 γтелса нρωме nim = етнаφωρι ' н-
 пепиенΔωκζωн = ετογαав : нзоуо
 15 те ѡ ѡиоу : ѡиоу = ωараεζ λiω λiω тѧхн
 †ωрк ерак епооу : кесωтем ераи
 емпооу : ω παρχωн = на тпие = ме на пкар
 папат нтапиωт : сноу ераφ = λнаггε-
 лос : сω нтзнтφ = ωантоγχι πнѧ εто-
 20 γαав †терка мак епоаγ нпсаφв н-
 логос нтактеитоу : етекмн† мен
 пекмерит нωнре = нiс пхс нп-
 наγ = εβннγ : епκωсmос : нπεзооу н-
 таβтаμια : наλδμ нзнтφ ≡
 25 †терка мак нпааγ = мпекнос =
 нпан : нтактсава неггелωс ерав =
 ωантоγ† εооу = наκ нзнтφ : ете
 παι πε μεθεμωн = пнос нпан : епос =
 саваωθ = †ноу бε παос ωанаζтнк =

1 i.e. ^сн-нез-φ || 2 i.e. ^сα-φ || 3 i.e. ^снсωк || i.e. ^снбг || 4 i.e. ἀρχίπλασμα : архηπλαсм K |
 i.e. ^сωоон-φ || 5 i.e. ^сπωнре н-п-тако : πωнре нптака K || 5–6 i.e. ^сωоон-φ || 6 i.e. ^сωторτρ ||
 7 i.e. ^снез-φ || i.e. ^сα-φ || 8 i.e. ^сωωоне “robbing” (“Beraubung”) K || i.e. ^спез-φ || 9 i.e. ^снннсωс ||
 i.e. ^сα-φ || 10 l. таμιαγ K cf. таμιοо[γ] CdF || i.e. ^снннсωс || ωак- κ partly effaced : ωα K ||
 11 l. *с(ω)с i.e. ^схоеис || 12 i.e. εἰκών || i.e. ^сε-к-е-† : l. ек† K || 13 i.e. φορεῖν ||
 13–14 l. н-пи-ζνδοζон cf. note p. 1 : l. нп- K || 14–15 l. н-оу-зоте “in fear” (“in Furcht”) K, M ||
 15 i.e. δέ || i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) : ѡ K || i.e. ^сωа енез ? : l. ωара енз K | i.e. тахύ || 16 i.e. ^сερο-к ||
 i.e. ^сн-пооу || i.e. ^сε-к-е-сωтн : l. ексωтн K || i.e. ^сερο-и corrected from ерак by erasure of legs of κ ||
 17 i.e. ἄρχων || l. ннатпие нн напкарз K || 18 l. н-п-апат || i.e. ^сεро-φ : еаφ l. ераφ K || 18–19 i.e. ἄγγελος ||
 19 l. сω нзнтφ K || i.e. πν(εῦμ)α || 20 i.e. ^с†-тарко нно-к || i.e. ^снпооу : пооу K || i.e. ^ссаωφε ||
 21 i.e. λόγος || i.e. ^стаа- || 22 l. н(сoу)с п-χ(ристó)с || 23 i.e. ^сε-φ : космос K || 23–24 i.e. ^снта-φ- ||
 25 i.e. ^с†-тарко нно-к || i.e. ^сн-пооу || 26 i.e. ^стсаво || i.e. ἄγγελος || i.e. ^сεро-φ ||
 27 нзнтφ н corrected from ε by addition of stroke || 28, 29 l. *с(ω)с i.e. ^схоеис

who is the work of his hands. After we had made obeisance to Arōmakhrim—who is Adam—Satanaēl, the First-Formed One, disobeyed you, and you excluded him from your ^{|5} holy glory. The son of perdition, you deprived him of your holy glory. You disturbed his foundations. He brought down upon them a great sickness, until they fulfilled his wish. After that, he did violence to the men ^{|10} whom you created; after that, you would heal them.

Now, my Lord, have pity upon your likeness and your image, and may you give healing to all men who will bear this holy *endoxon*, and in particular ^{|15} NN, child of NN, month after month, forever[?], yea yea, quickly!

I adjure you today that you listen to me today, O, ruler of those of heaven and those of the earth, by the *cup that the Father blessed; the *angels drank from it so that they received the Holy Spirit! ^{|20} I adjure you today by the seven words that passed between you and your beloved son, Jesus Christ, in the hour that he came into the world on the day in which you created Adam! ^{|25} I adjure you today by your great *name, which you taught the angels so that they gave you glory by it, which is Methemōn, the great name of the Lord *Sabaoth! Now, my Lord, have pity

3. **САНАТАНЛ** : “Satanaēl” In the pseudepigraphal 2 Enoch and 3 Baruch (surviving in full only in Slavonic), Satanael is given as the name of Satan as an angel before his fall (Gaylord 1982). The name is also found in Coptic sources, such as Pseudo-Theodosius of Alexandria, *On Michael* (CC 387; Budge 1915: 336.6 *etc.*, 904 (trans)); Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *On Raphael* (CC 176; Budge 1915: 529.6 *etc.*, 1036 (trans.)).

4. **ΠΑΡΧΗΠΛΑΣΜΑ** : “the First-Formed One” For this title, *cf.* the note to PCM I 12 p. 15 l. 17.

5. **ΥΙΟΣ ΠΤΑΚΑ** : “the son of perdition” *Cf.* John 17.12.

12. **ΠΕΚΙΝΙ ≠ ΜΕΝ ΤΕΚΡΙΚΩΝ** : “your likeness and your image” *Cf.* PCM I 10 ll. 2–3 and accompanying notes.

15. **ΕΙΟΣ : ΕΙΟΣ** : “month after month” Literally “moon, moon” (*i.e.* ^{σοος}, *cf.* ^{βιος}), that is “every lunar month”. Kropp translates “moon for moon” (“Mond für Mond”). For the doubling of a noun to mean “every”, see Layton 2000: 53 §62 (b).

18. **ΠΑΠΑΤ ΝΤΑΠΩΤ : ΣΙΟΥ ΕΡΑΙ** : “the cup blessed by the Father” *Cf.* PCM I 25 p. 7 ll. 23–24 and note.

28. **ΜΕΘΕΜΩΝ** : “Methemōn” *Cf.* PCM I 25 p. 11 l. 7 and accompanying note.

page 5 (= Kropp 53) (hair)

- ρα πεκινι = MN τεκρικων = κεσωτη ε-
 πααωαζαμ : εκβι ηρισι nim ≡ ραβαλ 55 =
 εωωπι ογωωνε : εβζαογ : πε : ει ογρεζτс =
 нте διμωνιον = μαρογει εβαλ · ηρηтq =
 5 ρη τεγνογ : ετογναχακμεв = ρεν πιμαγ
 MN : ηсетаζ·сев · ρем πιηεζ =
 †терка μακ ηпоογ : ηтесαωβι ηснн†
 ηте пκαζ = мен = тсаωβι ηпηλλι εγζε-
 моос ριχωογ : ηβι ηентав† ηтва ογβас =
 10 ηαггелωс = †ωрк ерак εηпоογ = ем-
 ̄з = ηактин = епρη ηен ποοζ ≡
 †терка μαμακ εпоογ = ηпехωρωс =
 ηηесιγ ηтепη = χεкас етентеннаγ
 ηαι ηπαρχαггелωс = ηιχαηλ · ριχ̄η
 15 πιμαγ : MN πῑηεζ = еткη ηпαμεта ε-
 βαλ · εγсмоγ ероογ = εβζαγiasce ηαγ =
 χεкас εγωαηпагтоγ εχω псωма =
 55 ηсєβι ηηριси nim = саβαλ εηав =
 ηε ηαι εтзе пєвєсωма = екеογωв-
 20 с е:тсам тηρεс = ηпентикимен-
 ωη ектρεтевсам тηρηс = ωωπι =
 ηөн ηтсам = ηογωαλ·мес = ρитен
 пωωр еβαλ ηηαтеназ ≡ †ωрк е-
 рак : емпоογ ηεηтазic тηρογ : ηтан-
 25 геликη тηρεс = ηα ηпηγει = ηαι ηтаγ-
 ει : αγογωωт : ηαΔᾱм · ηпεζοογ η-
 таκταμιαв ηρηтq ≡ †ωрк ерак ε̄м-
 ποογ ηηекран = мен : ηексам = MN ηε-
 ксω†оγ̄η ≡ MN ηек:φ̄γ : ηαι εтсηз =
 30 ρη теклнcia ηηεωηρηεписи εтзе-
 η αηпηγει : ηαι ηωαγ† ≡

1 i.e. εἰκών | i.e. ^сε=κ-ε- || 2 i.e. ^сη=γ-ηι | i.e. ^сραβολ η- || 3 i.e. ἡ | i.e. ^сραгтс || 4 i.e. δαιμόνιον ||
 5 i.e. ^сεт=ογ-ηα-χοκ̄η=η || 6 i.e. ^стагс= || 7 i.e. ^с†-ταρκο ηηο=κ || 7, 8 i.e. ^ссаωη cf. ^тωεωη ||
 8 i.e. πόλη || 9 i.e. ^сηηт-αгте η-тва || 10 i.e. ἄγγελος | i.e. ^сη-поογ | i.e. ^сη- || 11 i.e. ἀκτίν |
 i.e. ^сη-пρη | i.e. ^сηη- || 12 i.e. ^с†-ταρκο ηηο=κ | i.e. ^сη-поογ | i.e. χορός || 13 i.e. ^сη-η-сιογ |
 i.e. ^сη-т-πε | i.e. ^сεтет̄η-ε- : ететне- K || 14 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 15 ηта K || 16 i.e. ^сη=η-
 смоγ | i.e. ^сη=η-ἀγιάζειν | i.e. ^сηηο=(ο)γ || 17 i.e. σῶμα || 18 i.e. ^сη-δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) | i.e. ^сαβολ
 ηηο=η || 19 i.e. ^спє=η- | i.e. σῶμα | l. ηαι || 19–20 i.e. ^сογωсη η- cf. ογωсη CdF : ογωсη K ||
 20 i.e. ^стηр=с || 20–21 i.e. ἀντικείμενος || 21 i.e. ^сη=†-тре-тез η-сон | i.e. ^стηр=с ||
 22 i.e. σωλмес || 23 i.e. ^сη-пωρω (haplography of η) || 24 i.e. ^сη-поογ | i.e. ^сη-η-τάзic ||
 24–25 i.e. ἀγγελική || 25 i.e. ^стηр=с̄ | i.e. ^сη-пηγε || 27 i.e. ^сηρηт=η || 27–28 i.e. ^сη-поογ ||
 29 i.e. ζώδιον | l. φυ(λακτήριον) || 30 i.e. ἐκκλησία | i.e. ^сη-пє-ωρη-ηисе || 31 η-пηγε

upon your likeness and your image, and listen to my sighing and take all suffering away from NN, child of NN, whether it is a wicked sickness or a demonic strike! Let them leave him ^{|5} in the moment in which he will be washed in this water and he will be anointed with this oil!

I adjure you today by the seven foundations of the earth and <by> the seven gates, upon which sit one hundred and forty-five thousand ^{|10} *angels! I adjure you today by the seven rays of the sun and the moon! I adjure you today by the chorus of the stars of heaven, that you (pl.) send to me the *archangel *Michael upon ^{|15} this water and this oil that is set before me so that he blesses them and sanctifies them, so that when they are poured over the body of NN, child of NN, they take all suffering away from him, that which is in his body! You will bring to naught ^{|20} all the power of the Adversary, causing all his power to become like the power of a gnat through the spreading of my wings!

I adjure you today by all the angelic ranks ^{|25} of the heavens, they who came and greeted Adam on the day in which you created him! I adjure you today by your *names and your *powers and your *images and your *phylacteries, those which are written ^{|30} in the church of the Firstborn which is in the heavens, those that

1. **ΠΕΚΙΝΙ ≠ ΜΗ ΤΕΚΕΙΚΩΝ** : “your likeness and your image” Cf. *PCM I* 10 ll. 2–3 and accompanying notes.

6. **ΜΗ : ΝΟΕΤΑΞ'ΟΕΒ** : “and he will be anointed” Verbal coordination with **ΜΗ** would be unexpected in Sahidic, but as noted in *Crum CD* 170a, it is found in Bohairic; the use here may indicate Bohairic influence, or else that the phenomenon is not restricted to Bohairic. We are grateful to Vincent Walter for pointing this out to us.

22. **ΝΘΗ ΝΤΕΒΛ ≠ ΝΟΥΘΑΛΛΗΘ** : “like the power of a gnat” For similar analogies using small animals to express weakness, see the notes to *PCM I* 28 p. 2 l. 12–13.

page 6 (= Kropp 71) (flesh)

- ρα† nnekzoγcia μπκακε : χεкас ἐκε-
 tennaγcoγ ριχεν πιμαγ ἡν πιννερ ≠
 εκcmoγ epaγ : εκραγιαcce μαγ : χε-
 καс : eywanπαρτογ : ριχω $\overline{\text{ss}}$ ≠ ncēei ·
 5 εβαλ · nзнтq : ἡσι ρici nim : etze пeвcωma ≡
 ebmoγz : emoγt : ρi бam eb† oγw bal ≠
 noe μπωnn · epwnaρ : eφpнт ρен t≠
 mн† мepaρaλicωc ≠ †ωрк epак epooγ
 mпcaωb : naггeлoc : etωze paтoγ ≠
 10 ριχεν · mпcaωbe λoγтнp ἡτεκλнcia
 neωnpe:πmici : et:ρен aмпнγei ≠ ete
 nai Δe neγpan : $\overline{\text{iaω}}$ · $\overline{\text{iaκ}}$: $\overline{\text{πaκ}}$ ≠ $\overline{\text{ciaκ}}$ ≠
 $\overline{\text{apтωλн}}$ ≠ $\overline{\text{apтωλaн}}$ ≡ $\overline{\text{apтωλap}}$ ≠ ≡
 †ωрк epак epooγ : nтeωapи nонciaс
 15 nтaγтaлac naκ : epai : nзнтc mн пe-
 θeciactнpиow ≠ etoγez : ρн тecмн†
 † emпaoγ ἡпeв $\overline{\text{a}}$ · ncтнλλoc : etтo-
 oγн ρapaq ≠ ete nei : neγpan : ектepic-
 $\overline{\text{aн}}$ ≠ $\overline{\text{caнтac}}$ ≠ $\overline{\text{caнтaλ}}$ тaλiaс ≠ † em-
 20 μακ epooγ n=epecнov : eneωnpeп-
 $\overline{\text{mici}}$ таγπαρтq ≠ εβαλ · ρен oγχинбa-
 nc ≠ χeкаoc kинiei ωapai mпooγ n : a-
 naκ $\overline{\text{ss}}$ ≠ peωnpeпmici ecωk : ρaтeв-
 ρн ≠ epē $\overline{\text{a}}$ · тbe : oγбac ≠ ze тeγнпи ≠
 25 aмoγ kaлωc ≠ aки ριχεν πιμαaγ
 mн πинeρ ≠ eкинibi epooγ ≠ eкmaγzoγ ·
 mп $\overline{\text{na}}$ etoγaab || χeкас ≠ ke[.]ωanπα-
 ρoγ≠тb ρeχω $\overline{\text{ss}}$ ≠ eyei εβαλ · nзнтq
 нci ρici nim ≠ etze пeвcωma ≡ nape-
 30 nΔiaβωλωc ≠ xi ωппe mн тeφбam

1 i.e. ἐξουσία | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{t}}\text{тнпooγc}=\text{oγ}$ || 2 πnaγ K | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}\bar{\text{n}}$ - | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{п}=\text{neρ}$ || 3 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{π}=\text{г}=\text{cmoγ}$ | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{π}=\text{γ}=\text{α}=\text{γ}=\text{ι}=\text{α}=\text{ζ}=\text{ειν}$ |
 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}\bar{\text{n}}=\text{oγ}$ || 4, 24, 28 (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 5 i.e. σῶμα || 6 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{π}=\text{q}=\text{moγz}$ | cf. moγt CdF | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{π}=\text{q}=\text{†}=\text{oγw}$ |
 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{eβoλ}$ || 7 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ - || 8 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{н}=\text{тe}=\text{m}$ - | i.e. παράδεισος | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -поογ || 9–10 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{caωq}$ || 9 i.e. ἄγγελος ||
 10 i.e. λουτήρ | i.e. ἐκκλησία || 11, 20–21 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -пe-ωpp-мice | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -пнγe || 12 i.e. δέ or l. ne ? :
 ne K || 14 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -поογ | i.e. θυσία || 16 θeciactнpиow i corrected from γ by smudging and
 overwriting i.e. θυσιαστήριον || 17–20 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{†}=\text{(тapкo} \text{ m}\bar{\text{n}}=\text{κ)} \text{ m}\bar{\text{n}}$ -поογ cf. CdF : †ωрк enиaκ K |
 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -пe=γтooγ | i.e. cтῦλος || 19 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}=\text{κ}=\text{ρ}=\text{mooc}$ || 20 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -поογ | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -пe- | n= ep=ecнov K ||
 22 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}=\text{κac}$ | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}=\text{κ}=\text{na}=\text{ei}$? cf. ekeei CdF : K see notes || 22–23 l. nпeкωnpeп mici K ||
 23 l. ep=н-ωpeп mici ? cf. CdF : l. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ -пe=κ ωpeп mici K, M | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}=\text{κac}$? : l. e=pe тaггeλικн тнpс-
 cωk ρaтeφн K || 23–24 K, M see notes || 24 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{нп}$ || 25 i.e. καλῶς | l. e=κ-e-ei “may you come”
 (“Du mögest herabkommen”) K : “come!” M || 26 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{π}=\text{г}=\text{m}=\text{qe}$ | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{π}=\text{г}=\text{naρ}=\text{oγ}$ corrected from
 moγzoγ by overwriting || 27–28 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}=\text{κ}=\text{ω}=\text{an}=\text{παρ}=\text{т}=\text{oγ}$? cf. eφωanπαρtoγ CdF || 27 i.e. πν(εῦμ)α ||
 28 i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ρ}=\text{i}=\text{χ}=\text{m}$ - || 29 l. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{пe}=\text{q}=\text{σ}=\text{ω}=\text{μα}$ || 30 l. π-διάβολος | i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ωппe}$.

terrify the authorities of darkness, so that you shall send them upon this water and this oil, and you bless them and sanctify them, so that when they are poured over NN, child of NN, ^{|5} all suffering which is in the body of NN, child of NN, will come out of him, and he will be filled with sinew and power, blossoming like the Tree of Life which grows in the middle of Paradise!

I adjure you today by the seven *angels who stand ^{|10} upon the seven baptistries of the Church of the Firstborn, which is in the heavens, and whose names are these: *Iao, Iak, Piak, Siak, Artōlē, Artōlan, Artōlar! I adjure you today by the first sacrifice ^{|15} that was offered up to you in it and the altar that is placed in its middle! I adjure you today by the four pillars which bear it, whose names are these: Ekterisan, Santas, Santal, Talias! I adjure ^{|20} you today by the blood of the firstborn that was spilled in violence, that you come to me today, I, NN, child of NN, while <the> firstborn go before him, one hundred and forty-five thousand in number!

^{|25} Come well; you came upon this water and this oil, and you breathed upon them, and you filled them with the Holy Spirit, so that when you pour them over NN, child of NN, they will come out of him, namely every suffering which is in his body! Let ^{|30} the Devil be ashamed, and all his power

15. ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲉ : “in it” That is, in “the church” (ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ in l. 30). Kropp understands this as part of a missing invocation ending with “in it” (“in ihr”).

22. ⲕⲓⲛⲉⲓ : “that you come” Kropp translates “that you bring down to me, NN, today, (your) Firstborn” (“dass du heute zu mir, NN, herabbringest (deinen) Erstgeborenen”), apparently understanding a form of the verb ⲉⲓⲛⲉ (“to bring”).

23–24. ⲣⲉⲱⲙⲣⲉⲡ ⲛⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲥⲱⲕ : ⲉⲗⲧⲉⲃⲉⲛ : “while <the> firstborn go before him” Kropp and Meyer understand the “firstborn” as the being asked to be sent, translating “(send...) the firstborn, before whom there submit one hundred forty-five thousand in number” (“Erstgeborenen, während vor ihm herziehen 145.000 in ihrer Zahl”). The equivalent passage in the Collège de France manuscript, however, reads ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲱⲣⲉⲡ ⲛⲓⲥⲓ [ⲥ]ⲱⲕ · ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲉⲛ... (“while the firstborn (pl.) go before *you*”), confirming the interpretation given here. The reference to the “firstborn” here is therefore not to Jesus, but rather to a group of several beings whose blood has been spilled; the most obvious reference is to Revelation 7.4 & 7.14, which describes one hundred and forty-four thousand of the Children of Israel who have been sealed after having undergone tribulations, that is, martyrs. In P.Berol. 11347 (Beltz 1985: no. II 42; KYP M220) l. 38 these seem to be associated with the ‘Holy Innocents’, the children killed by Herod (Matthew 2.16–18): “your one hundred and forty-four thousand, those whom Herod killed” (ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏⲗⲁ ⲛⲱⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲣⲱⲗⲁⲛⲥ ⲉⲗⲧⲉⲃⲉⲱ).

27–28. ⲕⲉⲓⲓⲱⲛⲡⲁⲣⲱⲩⲧⲱ : “when you pour them” Kropp translates “when one (!) pours it out” (“wenn man (!) sie ausgiesst”).

page 7 (= Kropp 85) (hair)

- ΤΗΡΗΣ = ΕΣΩΩΠΙ ΝΘΗ ΝΤΩΔΑΜ = ΝΟΥΩΔΑΛ-
 ΜΕΣ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΩ = † ΕΜΜΑΚ ΕΠΑΟΥ · ΜΠΕΚ·Τ̄ ·
 ΝΡΑΝ = ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ = ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΚΟΥΔΑΝΑΖΟΥ
 ΕΒΑΛ · ΕΠΚΩΣΜΟΣ ≡ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΓΕΣΟΥΕΣΟΥ-
 5 ΩΝΓ ΠΝΟΥ† : ΜΕ · ΜΑΟΥΔΑΒ ≡ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ
 ΠΩΤ ΜΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ · ΜΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ =
 ΠΛΗΜΗΝ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΑΙ = ΠΩΤ : [[B]]
 ΝΤΕΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΘΑ ΕΔΥ · ΜΠΩΤ : Π-
 ΩΡΩΡΕΡ = ΔΥΩ ΡΖΗΕΙ = ΝΤΩΔΑΜ ≡
 10 ΤΗΡΕΣ · ΜΠΔΙΑΒΩΛΟΣ = ΠΩΤ · ΜΕ
 ΠΩΗΡΕ = ΜΗ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΙΤΟΥΔΑΒ =
 †ΩΡΚ ΕΡΑΚ ΜΠΟΥ ≡ ΝΤΝΑΧ Ν-
 ΒΑΣΙΣ ΝΝΟΥΒ = ΕΡΕΠΕΚΘΡΩΝΟΣ =
 ΖΙΧΩΣ = † ΕΜΑΚ ΠΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΠΤΑΥ-
 15 ΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΒ = ΕΤΖΕ ΝΕΚΟΥΕΡΗ† =
 ΠΕΒΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΘΑΘΑ ≡ † ΕΜΠΟΥ = ΜΠ-
 ΦΕΡΜΑ ΝΕΝΟΥΒ = ΕΤΖΙΧΕΝ ΤΑΠΗ =
 ΜΠΕΚΘΡΩΝΟΣ = ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΘΙΗΛ =
 † ΕΜΠΟΥ Ν=†ΠΩΡΦΩΡΑ : ΕΤΑΕΙ
 20 ΠΕΣΡΑΝ = ΠΕ ΜΑΡΙΗΛ = † ΕΜΠΟΥ ≡
 ΜΠΕΜΠΗΤΗΣ = ΝΟΥΔΕΙΝ = ΕΤΩΔΑΛΙ =
 ΜΑΚ · ΠΕΦΡΑΝ = ΠΕ ΘΩΗΛ = † ΕΜΠΑΟΥ =
 ΠΗΝΑΘ ΝΧΩΩΜΕ = ΕΤΖΕ ΤΕΚ:ΣΙΧ = ΕΡ-
 ΕΤΙ·Ζ : ΝΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ : ΖΙΧΩΒ ≡ ΕΡΕΠΤΩ-
 25 Ω ΝΝΑ ΠΗ : ΜΕ : ΝΑ ΠΚΑΖ = ΣΗΖ ΕΡΑΒ =
 † ΕΜΠΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΣΕΒΑΙ = ΕΤΧΟCΙ =
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΑΜΑΖ† ΝΕΣΗΗ† ΜΠΚΑΖ · ΜΗ =
 ΝΕΠΗΛΙ ΜΠΗ = † ΕΜΠΟΥ ΜΠCΙΥ Ε-
 ΠΟΥΔΕΙΝ = ΕΜΠΕΚCΝΕΥ ΒΕΛ =
 30 ΘΩΛ · ΜΗ ΘΩΡΑ=Ν

1 i.e. ^ςτηρ=ς | i.e. ^ςπ=ς-ωωπε || 1–2 i.e. ^ςωολмес || 2–26 i.e. ^ς†-(ταρκο) ἡμο=κ ἡ-ποογ cf. CdF : †ωρκ εμμακ K || 2 i.e. ^ςμ-πεκ || 4 i.e. κόσμος || 4–5 l. ε=γ-ε-σογωη=κ : εγεγεσογεσογωηγ K || 5 i.e. ^ςμ-με μαγδα=γ || 6 i.e. ^ςμν- (twice) | i.e. πν(εὐμ)α || 7 i.e. λιμήν | or i.e. πλησμονή K | i.e. ἡ-π-ουχαι | [[B]] erased by washing : absent in K, M || 8 i.e. σφραγίς | i.e. ^ςετ-ζα π-εουγ ἡ-π-ειωτ ? : l. εθα εδγ ηπωτη “that is (full) of the glory of those of yours (pl.) (?)” (“das (voll) der Herrlichkeit von dem Eurigen (?) ist”) or l. εθα εδγ πωτ K || 9 i.e. ^ςωρωρερ | i.e. ^ςζε || 10 l. τηρ=ς | i.e. διάβολος || 11 l. πν(εὐμ)α | i.e. ^ςετ- || 13 i.e. ^ςν-βάσις | i.e. ^ςν-νογβ | i.e. θρόνος || 14–15 i.e. ^ςτοογε || 15 βαθα K || 16 i.e. ^ςπε=γ- || 17 i.e. ^ςπ-ἄρμα cf. πζαρμα CdF : i.e. ἔρμα K, M | i.e. ^ςμ-νογβ || 18 i.e. θρόνος : ἑρονος K || 19 i.e. πορφύρα | i.e. ^ςετε ? : ετσαι “beautiful (?)” (“schönen”) K, M || 20 i.e. ^ςετε || 21 i.e. ἐπενδύτης K | i.e. ^ςσοολε^ο || 22 i.e. ^ςμμο=κ | l. πε πεθωηλ (haplography) || 23 i.e. ^ςμ-π-νοσ ἡ-χωωμε || 24 i.e. σφραγίς | i.e. ^ςζιχω=γ || 25 l. να-τ-πε | i.e. ^ςερω=γ | i.e. ^ςχοσε || 26 i.e. ^ςσβοι ετ-χοσε || 27 i.e. ^ςαμαζετ | i.e. ^ςν-ν-σῆτε || 28 l. πύλη | i.e. ^ςπ-σιγ : πγ l. π-σιγ K, M | i.e. ^ςμ- || 29 i.e. ^ςμ-πε=κ-снаγ

become like the power of a gnat, yea, yea!

I adjure you today by your (s.) three holy *names, those that you revealed to the world so that they might know ^{|5} you, only true God, that is the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the harbour of salvation, the Father of the seal which bears the glory of the Father[?], the destruction and fall of the entire power ^{|10} of the Devil, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit!

I adjure you today by the great base of gold upon which your throne is! I adjure you today by the shoes ^{|15} of gold which are on your feet; their name is Thatha! I adjure you today by the chariot of gold which is upon the head of your throne, which is Thiē! I adjure you by the purple robe whose ^{|20} name is Mariē! I adjure you today by the garment of light which covers you; its name is Thōē! I adjure you today by the great book which is in your hand which has the seven seals upon it, which has the ordinance ^{|25} of the things of the heaven and of the earth written in it! I adjure you today by your exalted arm, that which rules the foundations of the earth and the gates of heaven! I adjure you by the star of light of your two eyes, ^{|30} Thōl and Thōran!

1–2. εσθωπι νην η̄τσαν ς νογθαλμς : “become like the power of a gnat” An example of the common use of small animals as metaphors for powerlessness; cf. the notes to *PCM I* 28 p. 2 ll. 11–12, and Dosoo 2022c: 531.

p. 7 l. 12–p. 8 l. 15. The body of God: Cf. the note to *PCM I* 12 p. 31 ll. 3–6.

19. ς-τρωφωρα : “by the purple robe” Kropp translates “fine (?) purple rug” (“schönen (?) Purpurteppich”), while Meyer translates “purple covering.”

24. τϛ̄ : ςφραγς : “the seven seals” Cf. Revelation 5.1: “And I saw a book in the right hand of the one who sat upon the throne, written on the front and back, sealed with seven seals” (ἀγω ἀβναγ εϛχωμε εν τοϛναμ η̄π̄ετ̄μοος ρι πε̄ρονος εϛχη ρῑη ἀγω ρῑπαροϛ εϛτοβε ςααϛϛε ςφραγς; Budge 1912: 283).

27. εταμ̄ετ̄ : “that which rules” Kropp translates “that which encloses” (“der [...] umfasst”).

28. η̄π̄ϛϛ : “by the star” Meyer translates as plural “the stars.”

I adjure you today by the breath of life which comes out from your nose; its name is Stōēl! I adjure you today by Piphemeraniōn, that is your tongue! I adjure you today by Tekauriēl, which is ^{|5} your mouth! I adjure you today by your molars, which are Ōriskōs! I adjure you today by your head, which is Ōrasiēl! I adjure you today by the form of the cross of light which is upon your head, which is Sitōriēl! ^{|10} I adjure you today by the wreath of light which is on your neck, its name is Lelaēl! I adjure you today by Ōrphamiēl, which is your finger of your right hand! I adjure you today by your two hands, Anaramouēl, ^{|15} your right hand, Antrakouēl, your left hand! I adjure you today by your two feet, Thaōth, Thaōtha! I adjure you today by the throne of light upon which you sit, judging all of the creatures ^{|20} which you have created!

I adjure you today by the great *power that stands above your head, her name <is> Merouēl, she who put upon your head the wreath <made> from the shoots of the Tree of Life, Asaf, Asama, ^{|25} Asamlōl! I adjure you today by your great power which is thirty, fifteen, and thirty-six <in number>, one on your right, the other one on your left, with swords of fire in their hands, ready, doing your command! ^{|30} I adjure you today by your *Four Creatures who

12. **ⲛⲟⲣⲫⲁⲙⲓⲛⲗ** : “by Ōrphamiēl” For this name, see *PCM* I 12 p. 31 ll. 4–5 and accompanying note.

19–20. **ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ** : “all of the creatures” Kropp and Meyer translate “the whole creation” (“die ganze Schöpfung”).

26–27. **ⲉⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲙⲁⲃ ⲛ ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲏ ⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲧⲁⲥⲉ : ⲣⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ** : “thirty, fifteen, and thirty-six <in number>” Kropp translates “which amounts to 30 times 15 and 30” (“die 30 mal 15 und 30 beträgt”).

page 9 (= Kropp 112) (flesh)

- CΩK ρΔ ΠΕΚΘΡΩΝΟΣ ≠ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕΥΡΑΝ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΟΝ ≠ ΔΚΞΡΑΜΑΤΑ · ΠΣΟΥΡΟΥΘΙΟΥΝ ≠
 ΠΑΡΑΜΗΡΑ ≡ ΕΥΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΑΚ ≠ ΠΕΞΟΥΥ ΜΗ
 ΤΕΥΩΗ ≠ ΕΥΧΩΩ ΜΟΣ ≠ ΧΕ ΔΓΙΑΣ : ΔΓΙΑΣ
 5 ΔΓΙΑΣ ΚΗΡΙΩΣ ≠ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ ≠ ΝΑ ΜΠΗΓΕΙ ΜΗ ≠
 ΝΑ ΠΚΑΞ ≡ ΜΕΞ : ΕΒΑΛ : ΨΕΜ ΠΕΚ'ΕΟΥΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ≠
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥΎ ΜΗΠΣΕΡΑΦΙΝ ≠ Β ≠ ΕΤΩΒΣ ΕΠΕΥ-
 ΖΑ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ≠ ΦΩΡΔΕΙΜ ≠ ΩΛΑΛΒΩΡΙΜ ≡
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥΎ ≠ ΚΕΣΝΑΥ : ΕΘΩΒΣ ΝΕΥΕΡΗ† ΕΤΕ
 10 ΝΑΙ ΠΕΒΡΑΝ ≠ ΣΩΛΩΜΩΝ ≠ ΤΩΡΩΘΩΡΑ
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥΎ ΉΠΙΣΝΕΥ : ΕΤΩΒΣ ΕΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ≠
 ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΣΩΧΩΤ ≠ ΔΧΩΡΒΟΥΎ ≡
 ΤΕΥΛΑΛΙΑ ≠ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ≠ ΧΕ ΚΟΥΑΔΒ = ΚΟΥΑΔΒ =
 ΚΟΥΑΔΒ ≠ ΠΟΣ ≠ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ ≠ ΕΤΠΕ ≠ ΜΗ ΕΤΠΚΑΞ ≠
 15 ΜΗΞ ΕΒΑΛ · ΨΕ ΠΕΚΕΟΥΥ ≠ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ≠
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥΎ ≠ ΜΠΕΚΔ ≠ ΕΜΠΕΡΕΣΒΗΡΟΣ ≡ ΕΤ-
 ΖΑ ΤΕΚΕΠΙΣΚΩΠΗ ≠ ΝΑΙ ΤΑΚΤΑΞΑΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥΎ ≡
 ΕΜΠΕΞΟΥΥ ΕΠΤΑΚΤΑΜΙΑΥ : ΕΧΙΝ ΑΛΦΑ Ω ΟΩ
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥΎ ΝΤΝΟΣ ΝΟΙΧ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΔΣ ΕΧΩΟΥΎ ≠
 20 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥΎ ≠ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΘΡΩΝΟΣ ≠ ΕΥΖΕΜΑΔΣ ≠
 ΖΙΧΩΒ ≠ ΜΗ : ΝΕΥΣΕΡΗΠΗ ΝΟΥΒ : ΕΥΖΙΧΕ-
 Ν ΝΕΥ'ΑΠΗΓΕΙ ≠ ΜΗ ΝΕΚ'ΛΑΜ ≠ ΕΤΞΝ
 ΠΕΥΜΑ† ≠ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΦΙΑΛΙ Ν=ΝΟΥΒ ≡ ΕΤ-
 ΝΕΥΣΙΧ ≠ ΜΗ †^СΝΟΥΒΙ ΕΤ=ΝΕΥ ΠΩΩΙ ≠
 25 ΖΑ ΦΑ ΜΠΩΤ : ΜΗ ΠΩΗΡΕ' ΜΗ ΠΕΠΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ≠ ΣΩΤΗ ΕΡΑΙ ΠΑΟΥΎ : Ω ΡΕΥΣΩ-
 ΤΗ ≠ ΧΕ ΣΜΗ ΕΡΑΙ : Ω ΠΡΕΒ'ΧΙΣ=ΜΗ ≠
 ΜΑΡΕ=ΠΑΣΑΠΣ ≠ ΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΙ ≠ ΩΡΑΡΑΚ : ΝΤΕ-
 ΤΑΣΜΗ ≠ ΕΙ ΠΩΩΙ : ΩΡΑ ΠΕΘΕΡΩΝΟΣ
 30 ΕΚΩΑΝΑΞΤΗΚ : ΖΑ ΠΕΚΙΝΙ : ΜΗ ΤΕΚ-
 ΖΙΚΩΝ ≠ ΧΙ ΝΑΪΩΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΑΔΤ ≠
 Ω ΠΔΟΣ ≠ ΕΚΙ : ΖΙΧΝ ΠΙΜΑΟΥΎ ≠ ΜΗ

1 i.e. θρόνος | i.e. ⁸ετε ναϊ νε νευ-ραν || 2 ακραματα K || 3 i.e. ⁸μ-πε-ροου || 4 i.e. ⁸ν-τ-
 ευων : τευχн K | i.e. ⁸ε-γ-χω ημο=с || 4–5 i.e. ἄγιος (twice) || 5 i.e. κύριος | i.e. ⁸να-μ-πнγε ||
 7–20 i.e. ⁸†-(ταρκο ημο=к) μ-ποου cf. CdF : †ωрк ерак емпооу K || 7 i.e. σεραφίμ || 8, 12 i.e. ⁸ετε ναϊ
 νε νευ-ραν || 9 i.e. ⁸μ-п-ке-снау | l. ет-ρωβс | i.e. ⁸νε-γ-οуернте || 9–10 i.e. ⁸ετε ναϊ νε νευ-ραν ||
 11 i.e. σώμα || 12 l. ναί K || 13 i.e. λαλιά || 14 l. п-σ(ω)с | i.e. ⁸εтере-т-пе | i.e. ⁸εтере-п-каъ ||
 15 i.e. ⁸μηξ εвол ρη-πε=к- || 16 i.e. ⁸μ- | i.e. πρεσβύτερος || 17 i.e. επισκοπή | i.e. ⁸ηта-к-тазоу ||
 18 i.e. ⁸μ- | i.e. ⁸ент-α-к-таμιοу : πτακταμιαу K | i.e. ⁸χιν αλφα ωα ω cf. e.g. Crum CD ωου ||
 20 i.e. θρόνος : θρονος K | i.e. ⁸ρμοос || 21 i.e. ⁸ριχω=у | i.e. ⁸ερнпе | i.e. ⁸μ-ноуβ || 22 i.e. ⁸αпнγε |
 i.e. ⁸νε-γ-κлом || 23 i.e. φιάλη || 23–24 i.e. ⁸ет-ρηη νε-γ-снх || 24 i.e. ⁸с†ноуге : †сноуви
 l. с†ноуғи K | i.e. ⁸ннυ || 25 i.e. ⁸п-ρο | i.e. πν(εὐμ)α || 26 i.e. ⁸μ-ποου | i.e. ⁸ω || 29 corrected
 from πειθρωνος by overwriting where ι may be unfinished κ i.e. θρόνος : πε[κ]θρωνος K ||
 30 i.e. ⁸ε=к-е-ωан ρτη=к cf. екеωане ρтнк CdF | i.e. ⁸εине || 31 i.e. εικών | l. να-άπολογία
 (haplography) || 32 i.e. ⁸ω | i.e. ⁸πα-χ(οει)с | i.e. ⁸ε=к-еи.

draw your throne, whose names are Meliton, Akhramata, Psourouthioun, Paramēra, blessing you by day and by night, saying, |^{Greek} *Holy, holy, |⁵ holy, Lord *Sabaoth, |^{Coptic} those of the heavens and those of the earth are full of your holy glory! I adjure you today by the two *seraphim who cover their face, whose names are Phōraeim, Ōlalbōrim! I adjure you today <by the> other two who cover their feet, whose |¹⁰ names are Sōlōmōn, Thōrōthōra! I adjure you today by the two who cover their body, whose names are Sōkhōt, Akhōrbou! This is their song: ‘You are holy, you are holy, you are holy, Lord Sabaoth, of whose holy glory the heaven and the earth |¹⁵ are full!’ I adjure you today by the *Twenty-Four Presbyters, who are under your episcopacy, those whom you appointed on the day that you created them, from alpha to omega! I adjure you today by the great hand that you put upon them! |²⁰ I adjure you today by the twenty-four thrones that they sit upon and their diadems of gold which are upon their heads and their wreaths which are upon their necks and their golden bowls which are <in> their hands and the incense that rises up |²⁵ under the face of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit!

Listen to me today, O you who listen, heed my voice today, O you who heed voices, let my prayer go up to you and let my voice go up to the *throne, |³⁰ that you might take pity upon your likeness and your image! Receive my requests from me, O my lord, come upon this water and

2–3. **ΜΕΛΙΤΟΝ** ≠ **ΑΚΡΑΜΑΤΑ** · **ΠΣΟΥΡΟΥΘΙΟΥΝ** ≠ **ΠΑΡΑΜΗΡΑ** : “Meliton, Akhramata, Psourouthioun” For these names of the Four Living Creatures, see the glossary under *Angelic Beings.

9. **ΚΕΣΝΑΥ** : “the other two” Following the previous line, Kropp adds in his translation the specification “seraphim” (“den beiden anderen Seraphim”).

18. **ΕΧΙΝ ΑΛΦΑ Ω ΟΩ** : “from alpha to omega” A reference to the names of the Twenty-Four Presbyters, which often each begin with one the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet (cf. glossary s.v. *Twenty-Four Presbyters). At the equivalent passage, the Collège de France copy includes their names in full, beginning **ΑΧΑΗΛ** · **ΒΑΝΟΥΗ**[Λ] **ΓΑΡΔΙΗΛ** · **ΔΑΘΗΛ**. The version in this manuscript thus seems to represent an abbreviation.

26–27. **ΡΕΥΣΩΤΗ, ΠΡΕΒΧΙ ΣΑΗ** : “he who listens, he who heeds voices” Kropp, followed by Meyer, misunderstand the agentive prefix **ρεϋ-** as an abbreviation for the word (π)ρε(σ)β(ύτερος) “presbyters/elders” (“Ältesten”), translating instead, “O elders, listen... O elders, hear my voice” (“Hört mich heute, ihr Ältesten... horchet auf mich, ihr Ältesten”).

30–31. **ΠΕΚΙΝΙ** : **ΗΝ ΤΕΚ ΕΙΚΩΝ** : “your likeness and your image” Cf. PCM I 10 ll. 2–3 and accompanying notes.

31. **ΝΑΨΩΛΟΓΙΑ** : “my requests” Kropp translates “my defence” (“meine Verteidigung”), Meyer as “spell”; cf. the discussion on p. 34.

page 10 (=Kropp 132) (hair)

- πῑνῆρ : εκπωρτ ριχωου ἡπεκῑνᾶ ει:=-
 τογααβ = εκσμοу εροоу = εκρδγιαс=-
 се маq = εβμδρου ντελса nῑm
 χεκαас = ρε τεγῑноу εἰναπωρτ ριχ-
 5 ω πμαау : ʃʃ : encēi eβαλ nρηтq —
 нси qωmῑ · nῑm : εтρε певсωма ʃʃ αἰο
 εωωπι ογqωmῑ εβρδλ πε ειε ογ-
 ραρтс темωmῑων = εἰε ὀγeνεργie
 εἰε ογρῑκ πε = μαροу=пωт = ει† ρικ
 10 нсωq : ειε† каκοуркωс = εἰте : тex-
 mῑ nῑm = нтемωmῑων = εἰте сωωв =
 εἰте neργia · ἡсrime = εἰте кантаκ-
 λη†kon = εἰте Δεnamic = εθαου
 εἰте : na паnρ = εἰте ἡа τεγqαγeι =
 15 neтeωαу=εу нси nεmaγoc = нρoαγт
 εἰте oγῑаγoc = нсmῑ = μαρογeι eβαλ =
 ρε ʃʃ = παnaθeмᾶ = εтnнγ eβαλ =
 ρен тапpo = ἡπiωт ἡn пωнpe me =
 пeпῑᾶ ετογαаb = eβeei · ριχeн тнγ-
 20 тeн eв:βαттнγ†тeн eβαλ : αἰο таχῑ
 † εmπooу = ἡ† nῑbῑ нтаκтоу eρ-
 oγῑn : eπpᾶ naΔᾶm = ἡπερoоу нтаκ-
 таmῑab = qαnтeвxῑ пeῑᾶ ετογαаb =
 χεкас : εκсωтm εnaπωлогia ἡпооу =
 25 me naχῑπᾶ · εκῑ eρpᾶι ριχeн πmaоу ἡn
 πῑнῆρ = αmоу : καлoc = ακῑ : εκριχῑn εт-
 eнаρ : ἡαсарωθ ≡ πnoс нxepoγbῑn eнep-
 epeмaов ἡn oγᾶ : oγῑac нтbᾶ ἡaггeλ-
 ωс ≡ ρῑ ἡapxῑἡaггeλωс ≡ сωк
 30 ρῑoн maв ката oн : нтаκпωтe [I.]

1 l. πῑнῆρ | ἡπεκ[π]ῑна K | i.e. ὡπ-παρτ | i.e. (π)ν(εὐμ)α || 1–2 l. εт-ογαаb || 2–3 i.e. ἀγιάζειν ||
 3 i.e. ὡmо=q : маоу K | i.e. ὡп-μαρ=оу || 4 l. ρn τεγῑноу || 4–5 l. ριχω=q : l. πmaаγ ριχω K ||
 5 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | l. ἡ=ce-ει || 6 i.e. ὡpe=q-σώμα | i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) || 7 i.e. ὡe=q-ροоу ||
 8 i.e. δαιμόνιον | l. ογρεртс нте Δmωmῑон K | l. ἐνέργεια (haplography) || 9–14 i.e. εἶτε ||
 10 i.e. κακοῦργος || 10–11 i.e. τέχνη || 11 i.e. δαιμόνιον | i.e. ὡсωωq || 12 i.e. ἐνέργεια ||
 12–13 i.e. κατακλιτικόν cf. note : κατακ[η]ληтiкός K || 13 i.e. δύναμις | l. εт-рооу || 14 i.e. ἀήρ ||
 14–15 i.e. ὡn-εтe-ωα=γ-aa=γ cf. та neтeωαγeῑтоу CdF : i.e. ὡἡαῑ εт-ωооye [ei] n-εт-ωоyo
 “what is dry [and] what is flooding (?)” (“Austrocknende und Überflutende (?)”) K, M ||
 15–16 i.e. μάγoc || 16 i.e. ρрооγт || 17 i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | i.e. ἀνάθεμα || 18 l. т-тапpo (haplography) ||
 19 i.e. πν(εὐμ)α | i.e. ὡe=q-ε-ει || 20 i.e. ὡe=q-qот=тнγтῑᾶ : βαт= l. qωтe “to destroy you” (“er zerstöre
 euch!”) K | i.e. таχῑ || 21 i.e. ὡ†-(таpкo ἡmо=к) ἡ-пооу : †ωрк epак ἡпооу K | i.e. ὡἡта=к таа=γ K ||
 23 i.e. ὡтаmῑo=q | i.e. (π)ν(εὐμ)α : πῑᾶ K || 24 i.e. ὡe=к-ε-сawт cf. εκacωтm CdF | l. na-ἀπολογία
 (haplography) || 25 i.e. ὡe=к-ε-ει cf. CdF || 26 i.e. καλῶс || 26–27 l. e-т-тeнаρ (haplography) :
 нтeнаρ K || 27 i.e. χepoυβῑm | i.e. ὡἡ-аnρ ? K || 27–28 l. eнepenaов || 28 i.e. ὡἡaaв | нтв K, M ||
 28–29 i.e. ἄγγελος : aггeλωс K || 29 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 30 i.e. ὡmо=q | i.e. κατᾶ | нтаκпωт K

this oil, pour your Holy Spirit upon them, bless them, sanctify it, so that he fills them with every healing, so that as soon as I pour upon <him> |⁵ the water, NN, child of NN, they will come out of him, namely every sickness which is in his body, NN, child of NN, yea, whether it is a wicked sickness or a demonic strike or a force or it is a magic! Let them flee, whether |¹⁰ shameful magic or evil-doing or any demonic craft or pollution or female force or striking-down spells or evil power or those of the air or the things which they do, |¹⁵ namely male magicians or a female magician, let them come out of NN, child of NN! The anathema that comes forth from the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, may it come upon |²⁰ you (pl.), obliterating you, yea, quickly! I adjure you today by <the> three breaths that you gave to the face of Adam on the day that you created him, so that he received the Holy Spirit, that you listen to my requests today, |²⁵ and my reproaches! May you come upon this water and this oil!

Come well; you came upon <the> wing of Asarōth, the great *cherub, as three hundred and fifteen thousand *angels and *archangels were going |³⁰ before him, you went

1–2. **ἐκπορεῖ ἕλκωου ἡπεκνᾶ εἰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ** : “pour your Holy Spirit upon them” Meyer and Kropp translate “through which you pour out your holy spirit” (“dass du darüber ausgiessest deinen heiligen Geist”).

3. **ἐν ἅμαρτοις ἡπείσθη** : “so that he fills it with every healing” Kropp translates “that they are filled with all healing” (“dass sie mit aller Heilung erfüllt werden”).

12–13. **κατακλιτικόν** : “striking-down spells” Greek κατακλιτικόν, a technical term drawn from Graeco-Egyptian magic for curses which cause their victims to be bedbound (κατακλίνω) with disease; for an example, see *PCM* I 18, and cf. the brief discussion in Dosoo 2022d: 218 n. 40.

24. **ἡ ἀπαιτία** : “my requests” Kropp translates “my defence” (“meine Verteidigung”), Meyer as “spell” (cf. the comments in the introduction, p. 5).

27. **ἡ ἀσάρωθ** ≡ **πνός ἡσέρωθ** : “Asarōth, the great cherub” Cf. *PCM* I 18 l. 3 and the accompanying note.

page 11 (= Kropp 150) (flesh)

- 5 $\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\omega\alpha$ · $\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu$ = $\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ =
 $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\alpha\beta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\beta$ = $\epsilon\gamma\omega\omega$ $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega$
 $\mu\omicron\varsigma$ = $\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron$ $\mu\chi\varsigma$ =
 $\mu\alpha\eta\tau\omega\rho$ = $\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\eta$ $\mu\kappa\alpha\rho$ = $\mu\epsilon\rho$: $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ · $\rho\epsilon$ μ - =
 10 $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ = $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\equiv$ $\alpha\kappa\iota$ = μ -
 $\varsigma\alpha\omega\beta$ $\eta\varsigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ = $\varsigma\omega\kappa$ $\rho\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta$ $\equiv$ $\mu\pi\rho\eta$ =
 $\mu\eta$ $\mu\alpha\omicron\rho$ = $\mu\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\iota\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$ = $\eta\epsilon$ -
 $\eta\omicron\varsigma$ · $\alpha\mu$ $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\tau\pi\epsilon$ = $\mu\eta$ $\mu\kappa\alpha\rho$ = $\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$
 $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\lambda\mu\iota\varsigma$ = $\varsigma\omega\kappa$ = $\rho\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta$: $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ =
 15 $\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha\omicron\gamma\tau$ = $\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$ = $\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\iota$ $\mu\alpha\iota$ - =
 $\epsilon\iota\tau$: $\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\mu\omega\eta\alpha\rho$ = $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$: $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$: $\eta\rho\eta\tau\varsigma$ =
 $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$ · $\rho\iota\chi\eta$ $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ = $\mu\eta$ $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\rho$ = $\epsilon\kappa$ -
 $\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\gamma$: $\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\gamma$ = $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ =
 $\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\eta\mu\omega\rho\tau$ $\mu\alpha\gamma$ = $\chi\omega$: $\varsigma\varsigma$ = $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ =
 20 $\eta\rho\eta\tau\gamma$ $\eta\omicron\varsigma\iota$ $\rho\iota\varsigma\iota$ $\mu\mu$ = $\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\beta\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ =
 $\mu\epsilon\rho$ = $\rho\alpha\kappa$ = $\rho\alpha\kappa$ $\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ = $\omega\alpha\eta\alpha\rho\tau\eta\kappa$
 $\rho\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\iota\eta\iota$ $\mu\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\kappa\omega\eta$ = $\mu\pi\rho\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ μ -
 $\rho\omega\beta$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\iota\chi$ $\epsilon\beta\mu\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$
 $\mu\omega\rho\kappa$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$ = $\epsilon\mu\omega\rho\epsilon\mu$ $\epsilon\chi\omega\kappa$ · $\epsilon\mu$ $\epsilon\eta$ -
 25 $\tau\alpha\kappa\chi\iota$ $\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\mu$ $\eta\rho\eta\tau\gamma$ = $\rho\epsilon\eta$ $\tau\mu\iota\kappa\eta$ $\mu\alpha\gamma$
 $\mu\omega\eta\alpha\rho$ = $\epsilon\varsigma\rho\eta$ $\tau\mu\eta\tau$ $\mu\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ = $\equiv$
 μ $\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ = $\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ $\mu\epsilon$ =
 $\mu\alpha\rho\beta\iota\omega\eta\alpha$ = $\tau\mu\epsilon\rho$ · $\varsigma\eta\eta\tau$ $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ = μ · $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$
 $\mu\omega\kappa\rho\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\rho\iota$ $\equiv$ $\tau\mu\epsilon\rho$ · $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ = $\mu\epsilon$ μ -
 30 $\rho\alpha\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$ · $\tau\mu\epsilon\rho$ · χ : $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ $\mu\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\epsilon\iota$ =
 $\tau\mu\epsilon\rho$ · ϵ : $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ = $\mu\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\omega\eta$ = $\tau\mu\epsilon\rho$ · ς $\equiv$
 $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ = $\mu\epsilon$ $\varsigma\alpha\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ $\equiv$ $\tau\mu\epsilon\rho$ · ζ = $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ =
 $\mu\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ = μ $\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau$ =
 $\mu\epsilon\kappa\eta\omicron\varsigma$: $\mu\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\omicron\varsigma\iota$ = $\kappa\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ =
 $\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha$ ^{vac} $\mu\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ =
 $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$ = $\rho\iota\chi\epsilon\eta$ $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\mu\eta$ $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\rho$ $\equiv$

1 i.e. παράδεισος || 2 i.e. $\varsigma\pi$ - $\rho\omicron\gamma$ | i.e. ἀπατᾶν | $\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\omega$ || 3 i.e. $\varsigma\chi\omega$ | i.e. $\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\omega$ =
 i.e. $\varsigma\pi$ - $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ | i.e. χ(ριστό)ς || 4 i.e. $\varsigma\pi$ - $\mu\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ cf. note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 ||
 4–5 l. $\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\alpha\gamma$ (dittography) | i.e. $\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ || 6 i.e. $\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\omega\gamma$ | i.e. στερέωμα | l. $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omega\kappa$? ||
 7 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ || 8 i.e. $\varsigma\eta\omicron\varsigma$ η - $\beta\alpha\eta$ (haplography) K || 9 i.e. σάλπιγξ || 10 l. τ - $\rho\iota\eta$ ϵ - τ - $\kappa\chi\iota$
 $\mu\alpha\iota\tau$ (?) “that is the way which leads (?)” (“Das sei der Weg, der herführt (?)”) K :
 “may this be the way you lead” (?) M || 10–11 i.e. $\varsigma\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$ || 11 i.e. $\varsigma\omega\eta\rho$ || 12 i.e. $\varsigma\mu$ - $\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa$ ||
 13 K omits line, restores $\epsilon\kappa$ - $\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ cf. p. 4 , l. 16 | i.e. ἀγιάζειν |
 i.e. $\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\omega\gamma$ | i.e. $\varsigma\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ || 14 i.e. $\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\omega\gamma$ | i.e. $\varsigma\rho\iota\chi\eta$ - cf. $\rho\iota\chi\omega$ - | i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) ||
 15 i.e. $\varsigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma\omega$ - $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ || 16 l. (x)ο(ει)ς | l. $\rho\eta$ $\tau\epsilon$ - $\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ | i.e. $\varsigma\omega\eta\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa$ || 17 i.e. εἰκόν ||
 i.e. $\varsigma\mu\pi\rho$ - $\kappa\alpha$ || 18 i.e. $\varsigma\mu$ - $\eta\epsilon$ - κ - $\varsigma\iota\chi$ | i.e. $\varsigma\epsilon$ - γ - $\mu\omega\tau$ || 20 i.e. πηγὴ K | i.e. $\varsigma\mu$ - $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ||
 21 i.e. $\varsigma\omega\eta\rho$ | i.e. παράδεισος || 22–28 i.e. $\varsigma\mu$ -($\tau\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma\kappa$) μ - $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$: $\mu\omega\rho\kappa$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ K |
 i.e. δύναμις || 24 $\rho\alpha\theta\eta\alpha\rho\iota$ K || 28 i.e. $\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon$ || 29 i.e. $\varsigma\mu$ - $\mu\epsilon$ - κ - | i.e. $\varsigma\beta\omicron\iota$ | i.e. $\varsigma\chi\omicron\varsigma\epsilon$ |
 i.e. $\varsigma\epsilon$ - κ - $\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ || 30 $\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha$ ^{vac} $\mu\iota\varsigma$ *parp.* (avoiding pre-existing damage) i.e. $\varsigma\mu$ - $\mu\epsilon\iota$ - $\delta\upsilon\eta\mu\iota\varsigma$ |
 l. $\mu\eta$ - $\mu\epsilon\rho$

at that time to Adam in Paradise, after <the> snake deceived him, as they cried out, saying: ‘Glory to you, King Christ Almighty! Heaven and earth are filled with |⁵ your holy glory!’

Come well; you came, the seven firmaments going under your path, the sun and the moon and the stars shone upon you, all the great powers of the heaven and of the earth standing, as the trumpet went before your path, saying, |¹⁰ ‘O dead, rise!’ The path that leads to life, come down upon it, and stand over this water and this oil, and bless them and sanctify them, so that when they are poured upon NN, child of NN, they retreat |¹⁵ from him, namely every suffering that is in his body, leh, Hak, Hak!

At once, therefore, my Lord, have pity upon your likeness and your image! Do not allow the work of your hands to go towards destruction!

I adjure you by the first cleansing in |²⁰ which you were cleansed, in the well <of the> water of life that is in the middle of Paradise! I adjure you today by these *powers: her name is Parbiōna, the second, her name is Timesrōkhathiari, the third, her name is |²⁵ Tihrakhael, the fourth, her name is Tallōei, the fifth, her name is Ouanōn, the sixth, her name is Sariēl, the seventh, her name is Tauriēl! I adjure you today by the power <of> your great outstretched arm that you send to me |³⁰ these holy powers down upon this water and this oil

5–6. **ⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲱⲃ** : “you came, the seven” Kropp translates “may you come with the seven” (“Du mögest kommen, während die sieben”). Meyer/Smith translate “come, with the seven.”

17. **ⲛⲉⲕⲓⲛⲓ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲕⲱⲛ** : “your likeness and your image” Cf. PCM I 10 ll. 2–3 and accompanying notes.

page 12 (= Kropp 168) (hair)

- ΝΕΣΕΜΑΖΒ ΕΤΑΛΓΑ ΝΙΜ = ΔΥΩ : ΩΑΝΠΑΖΒ =
 ΖΕΧΕΝ 55 ΝΣΕΕΙ ΕΒΑΛ ΝΖΗΤΒ ΝΒΙ ΖΙΣΙ =
 ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΕ ΠΕΒΣΩΜΑ ΤΕΒΤ ΟΥΩ ΕΒΑΛ = Ν-
 ΘΗ ΜΠΩΗΝ : ΕΠΩΝΖ = ΕΤΖΝ ΤΜΗΤ ΜΠΑ-
 5 ΡΑΤΣΩΣ = ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ = † ΕΜΠΟΟΥ ΜΠΩΔΡ-
 Π ΝΛΟΓΟΣ = ΝΤΑΒΙ : ΕΒΑΛ : ΖΕΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ
 ΑΒΩΩΠΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ = ΜΩΝΩΓΕ-
 ΝΗΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ = † ΕΜΠΟΟΥ =
 ΝΤΕΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΑΣ = ΝΑΒ = ΕΒΝΗΥ =
 10 ΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΠΚΩΣΜΟΣ = ΕΒΟΥΩΖ ΕΖΗΤΣ-
 Σ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ = ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ = ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ
 ΑΚΟΥΑΝΑΖ = ΠΕΚΡΑΝ : ΕΒΑΛ ' ΖΕ ΠΚΩ-
 ΣΜΟΣ = ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ : ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥ = ΠΘ ΝΕΒΑΤ = ΝΤΑΚΑΔΥ =
 15 ΖΗ ΤΚΑΛΑΖΗ : ΜΑΡΙΑ = ΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ =
 † ΕΜΠΟΟΥ = ΕΠΓ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ = ΝΧΩ-
 ΩΡΕ : ΕΤΡΑΕΙΣ = ΡΑΣ = ΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΕ ΝΕ-
 ΡΑΝ ΓΑΡΜΑΝΗΛ = ΕΞΙΗΛ = ΛΟΥΛΟΥ-
 ΚΑΚΣΑϚ = † ΕΜΑΚ ΠΟΟΥ ΝΩΔΡΠΙ Ν-
 20 ΝΗΚΗ : ΝΤΑΣΤΑΑΣ = ΕΠΕΚΜΩΝΩ-
 ΓΕΝΗΣ = ΝΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΤΑΣΜΙΣΙ
 ΜΑΒ = ΠΕΣΡΑΝ = ΠΕ ΧΩΡΩΕΙ = ΤΜΕΖΞ-
 ΣΗΗΤ ΝΑΔΓΙ : ΠΕ ΑΒΚΩ = ΤΜΕΖΓ ΝΑΔΓΙ
 ΠΕ ΖΑΝΑΥΤΩΣ = † ΕΡΑΚ ΠΟΟΥ ΜΝΕΝΜΑ-
 25 ΕΙΑ ΜΝΕΩΠΗΡΕ = ΝΤΑΒΑΔΥ = ΖΗ ΤΗΗΤ =
 Ν†ΚΟΥΜΗΝΕ ΤΗΡΗΣ = ΖΕΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙΣ =
 ΕΤΜΟΔΥΤ = ΤΩΟΥΝ = ΖΕΝ ΠΡΑΝ : ΙΣ =
 ΝΕΤΙΜΩΝΙΩΝ : ΝΕΥ ΕΒΑΛ ΖΕΝ ΕΥΣ-
 ΡΩΜΕ = ΖΕΜ ΠΡΑΝ = ΙΣ = ΝΕΤΚΗΚ ' ΕΠ-
 30 ΣΩΖΒ ΤΕΒΗΥ = ΖΕΝ ^{vac} ΠΡΑΝ =
 ΙΣ ΝΕΒΕΛΗ = ΝΑΥ ΕΒΑΛ ' ΖΕΝ ΠΡΑΝ =

1 i.e. ^SΝ=σε-μαρ=φ Ν- K | ΔΥΩ superfluous K | i.e. ^Sε=γ-ωαν-παρτ=φ : εγωανπαρτοϚ K ||
 2 i.e. ^SριχΝ | i.e. (δεῖνα) (δεῖνα) | i.e. ^Sνητ=φ | i.e. ^Sνσε-ει || 3 i.e. ^Sπε=φ- | i.e. ^Sντε=φ-† ογω :
 i.e. ^Sετ=φ-† ογω K || 4 i.e. ^Sπ-π-ωνη || 4–5 i.e. παράδεισος | i.e. ταχύ || 4–18 i.e. ^S†-(ταρκο
 μνο=κ) π-ποοϚ cf. CdF : †ωρκ ερακ μποοϚ K || 6 i.e. λόγος | i.e. ^Sντα=φ-ει || 7 i.e. ^Sα=φ-ωωπε ||
 7–8 i.e. μονογενής || 8 l. ι(ησοϚ)ς πε-χ(ριστό)ς || 9 i.e. εἰρήνη | i.e. ^Sνα=φ | i.e. ^Sε=φ-νηϚ
 corrected from εβνηϚ by overwriting || 10 i.e. ^Sεπεснт | i.e. κόσμος | i.e. ^Sν=φ-ογωρ ^Sνηт= ||
 12 i.e. ^Sα=κ-ογηνρ || 12–13 i.e. κόσμος || 14 i.e. ^Sπ-π-θ || 15 i.e. ^Sτ-καλαρη π-μαρια || 16 i.e. ^Sπ-π-Γ
 i.e. δύναμις || 17 i.e. ^Sετε ναι νε : ρας i.e. ^Sερο=с || 17–18 l. ετε ναι νε νεγραν K ||
 19 κακσα K || 20 i.e. ^Sνααке s.v. Crum CD 223a || 20–21 i.e. μονογενής || 21 i.e. ^Sπ-π-ροοϚ ||
 22 i.e. ^Sμνο=φ || 23 νααке K (twice) || 24 i.e. ^S†-(ωρκ) ερο=к (π)-ποοϚ | i.e. ^Sπ- ||
 24–25 || i.e. ^Sμαειν || 25 i.e. ^Sπν νε-ωπηρε | i.e. ^Sντα=φ-αα=φ(ο)Ϛ || 26 i.e. ^Sτ-οἰκουμένη :
 †κοῦμένη {νε} K | l. ι(ησοϚ)ς || 27 i.e. ^Sν-ετ-μοοϚτ | l. π-ι(ησοϚ)ς || 28 i.e. δαιμόνιον | i.e. ^SνηϚ ||
 29 l. π-ι(ησοϚ)ς || 29–30 i.e. ^Sπ-π-σωβρ || 30 i.e. ^SтвнϚ | ζεν vac. πραν pap. || 31 l. π-ι(ησοϚ)ς
 i.e. ^SβλλεεϚ

so that it is filled with all healing, and when it is poured upon NN, son of NN, every suffering that is in his body will come out from him, and he will blossom like the Tree of Life that is in the middle of [|]⁵ Paradise, yea, quickly!

I adjure you today by the first word which came forth from your heart; it became for you a first-born child, that is Jesus Christ! I adjure you today by the peace that you gave to him as he came [|]¹⁰ down to the world and he dwelt in the womb of a woman, namely Mary Miriam; you revealed your name in the world, that is Manouēl! I adjure you today by the nine months which you passed in [|]¹⁵ the womb <of> Mary, your mother! I adjure you today by the three strong powers that protect her, whose names are Garmaniēl, Exiēl, Loulouloukaksas! I adjure you today by <the> first [|]²⁰ pang of labour that she had for your first-born child <on> the day on which she gave birth to him; its name is Khōrōēi; the second pang, Abkō, the third pang is Hanautōs! I adjure you today by the [|]²⁵ signs and the wonders that he did in the midst of the entire inhabited world! In the name of Jesus, the dead arise; in the name <of> Jesus, the demons come out of a man; in the name <of> Jesus, the lepers [|]³⁰ are clean; in the name <of> Jesus, the blind see; in the name

12. **ἀκΟΥΑΝΑΣ** : “you revealed” Kropp translates “he revealed” (“Er offenbarte”).

13. **ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ** : “Manouēl” As suggested by the context, this is a name for Jesus, derived from Emmanuel; *cf.* PCMI 11 p. 16 ll. 2–4 and accompanying note.

19–24. **Labour of Mary**: Compare P.Vindob. K 10335 (Crum 1942; KYP M264), a brief text containing the names of the bricks upon which Mary squatted when she gave birth, Ouakramak, Ouaramak, and Ouakra[...] (ὈΥΑΚΡΑΜΑΚ ὈΥΑΡΑΜΑΚ ΟΥΑΚΡΑ[, ll. 3–5); *cf.* Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 4.

p. 12 l. 29–p. 13 l. 3. **Healing miracles of Jesus**: Apparently based upon the very similar list of Jesus’ works in Matthew 11.5, Luke 7.22.

page 13 (= Kropp 184) (hair)

- nīc neḅalḥ nāaḳ = ḡem prān īc petcḥḡ –
 τωοῦβιν : πεῖβῶλααχ μαοῦ = ḡem prān ≡
 īc nīemḡo ḡaḫe : ḡem prān = īc ḡarkḡe-
 τ ḡḡme = ḡarmāḡ ḡaḡḡei = ḡem prān
 5 nīc ḡarēpetra = ḡḡe = ḡem prān = īc =
 peḫc = ḡareḡici nīm = ei eḅal epcḡ-
 ma = ss = nteḡebcḡma = † oḡḡ eḅal = n-
 ḡn mḡḡn nēḡḡnḡ = ḡen tmḡt mḡa-
 raḡcḡc ≡ † emḡoḡ = ḡḡḡc pēc-ḡoc =
 10 nḡaḡḡalak = ḡixḡb = ḡa ḡoḡḡai = mḡ-
 ḡenoc = ḡḡḡ = ntmḡḡḡmē ≡ ḡe ḡai ḡe
 pentāḡoḡḡbc nḡḡm ḡḡḡc : ḡiaḅol-
 ḡc = mḡ ḡēmḡḡḡn = ḡḡḡḡ = ḡe ḡai nēḡ-
 ḡḡḡ e-ḡḡḡ nēḡḡmē = † emḡoḡ ≡
 15 nḡḡarēḡ nḡḡmē = nḡaḡi eḅal ḡn nē-
 beḫ epḡt : aḡi ḡixen ḡaḡḡ nḡḡḡḡḡ
 eḡoḡaḅ = īc peḫc = ḡnaḡ eḅaḡe : epēc-ḡoc
 ḡa ḡoḡḡai eḡntmḡḡḡmē = ḡḡḡc = † emḡo-
 ḡḡ ḡeklam eḡanḡ nḡaḡḡalak ḡixen
 20 ḡekaḡḡ = mḡ : ē : nīḅḡ nḡaḡḡaḡoḡ epēc-
 ḡḡma mḡ ḡeḡḡe nlonḡi nḡaḡḡaḡc epē-
 bcḡḡ = mḡ ḡebcḡnḡ = mḡ ḡmaḡ ḡ nḡaḅ-
 i eḅal = ḡḡḡḡ = ḡixen pēc-ḡoc =
 † emḡoḡ = mḡ nīḅi nḡaḡḡaḡ eḡeḡix =
 25 epēkiḡḡ ḡixen ḡḡ eḡe ḡai = ne eḡḡei =
 eḡḡmaḡ = aḅaḡḡani = aḅaḡḡ = † emḡoḡ =
 ḡḡ nēḡoḡ nḡaḅaḡ ḡem ḡḡaḡc ḡ mḡ ḡ-
 eḅḡntḡoḡḡn eḅal ḡnēḡḡoḡḡ = mḡ ḡcoḡ-
 ḡariḡn = nḡaḡḡaḡeb eḡaḅ = īc peḫc ḡ-
 30 ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡe ḡen oḡḡm ≡ † emḡoḡ n-
 ḡeḡanacḡaḡic : eḡoḡaḅ = mḡ ḡḡ nīḅi n-
 ḡḡaḡ : nḡaḡḡeḡoḡ eḡoḡḡ eḡa nḡek-
 aḡḡḡoloc = eḡoḡaḅ = aḡoḡ ḡaḡai ḡoḡḡ ≡
 ḡ ḡoc īc peḫc ḡn ḡaḡeḡ =

1–29 l. i(ḡoḡ)c || 1 i.e. ḡḡḡḡe | l. prān K || 2 l. τωοῦβιν K | i.e. ḡḡḡḡe | l. prān : prān K ||
 4 i.e. ḡḡḡ | maḡ corrected from .aḡ by overwriting | i.e. ḡḡḡḡe cf. ḡaḡei K ||
 5 i.e. πέτρα || 6–34 i.e. χ(ριστός) || 6–7 i.e. σḡma || 7 i.e. (ḡeīna) (ḡeīna) | ḡebcḡma K ||
 i.e. σḡma || 7–8 l. n-ḡ-ḡn || 8–9 i.e. παράδεισος || 9–30 i.e. ḡḡ-(ḡarko ḡḡḡc) ḡḡ-ḡoḡ cf. CdF :
 †ark epak emḡoḡ K || 9 i.e. τύπος || 9–25 l. σταυρός || 10 i.e. ḡixḡḡq || 11 i.e. γένος |
 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡmē | l. eḡe || 12 i.e. ḡḡḡḡc | i.e. ḡḡḡḡc || 12–13 i.e. διάβολος || 13 i.e. δαιμόνιον :
 l. ḡḡḡḡḡn K | l. eḡe || 14 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡ || 15 i.e. ḡḡḡḡ | i.e. ḡḡḡḡ | i.e. ḡḡḡḡc-ei ||
 16 i.e. ḡaḡc-ei || 17 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡ || 18 l. ḡḡḡḡḡ | i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡmē | i.e. ḡḡḡḡc || 19 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ |
 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡ || 20 i.e. ḡeḡḡ | i.e. ḡent-aḡḡḡḡḡḡ : nḡaḡḡaḡoḡ l. nḡaḡḡaḡoḡ K || 21 i.e. σḡma
 i.e. ḡḡ- Crum CD 374b cf. ḡeḡḡḡ CdF | i.e. λόγḡḡ || 21–22 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡ | i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ||
 22–23 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡ || 23 i.e. ḡixḡḡ : ḡixen K || 25 i.e. ḡixḡḡ | i.e. (σταυρός) || 27 nḡ K |

of Jesus, the lame walk; in the name <of> Jesus, the paralyzed arises, his feet walking; in the name of Jesus, the dumb speak; in the name of Jesus, fire is extinguished, water dries up; in the name ^{|5} of Jesus, stone breaks; in the name of Jesus Christ, every suffering comes out of the body of NN, son of NN, and his body blossoms like the Tree of Life in the middle of Paradise.

I adjure you today by the symbol of the cross, ^{|10} upon which you were set up for the salvation of all the race of humankind, that is, that which brought all the power of the Devil to naught and of all the demons, those who strike the children of men! I adjure you today ^{|15} by the first tear which came from the eyes of the Father; it came upon the head of your holy Son, Jesus Christ, <in> the hour that he hung upon the cross for the salvation of all humankind! I adjure you today by the crown of thorns which was lifted upon ^{|20} your head and by the five nails which pierced your body and by the blow of the spear which was put in his side, and by his blood and the water which came forth from it upon the cross! I adjure you today by the three breaths which you gave to the hands ^{|25} of your Father upon the cross, that are these: *Elōei, *Elēmas, Abaktani, *Sabaoth! I adjure you today by the three days that he was in the tomb, and by his resurrection from the dead and by the shroud that he was covered with, Jesus Christ, the ^{|30} Son of God in truth! I adjure you by your holy resurrection and by the three breaths of life, which you gave in the faces of your holy apostles!

Come to me today, O Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh

20. **ⲉ** : **ⲙⲓⲃⲧ** : “five nails” Cf. *Sator Square in the glossary.

25. **ⲡⲉⲣⲥ** : “the cross” The word “cross” is written as a *kharaktēr* resembling a staurogram.

25–26. **ⲉⲕⲱⲉⲓ** ⲛ **ⲉⲕⲙⲁⲥ** ⲛ **ⲁⲃⲁⲕⲧⲁⲛⲓ** ⲛ **ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲥ** ⲛ : “Elōei, Elēmas, Abaktani” Cf. the note to p. 22 ll. 17–18.

i.e. ^ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ | *i.e.* ^ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ || 27–28 *i.e.* ^ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ : ^ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ K || 28–29 *i.e.* ^ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛ || 29 *i.e.* ^ⲛⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥ | *i.e.* ^ⲛⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥ || 31 *i.* ^ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ || 32 *i.* ^ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥ || 33 *i.e.* ^ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ | *i.e.* ^ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ K || 34 *i.* ^ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ | *i.e.* ^ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ

page 14 (= Kropp 208) (flesh)

- ^{n vac} τακφωρι μας εκσμογ επιμαγ μν πινεζ =
 ετμπεмта евал екниви епесчт ераγ : εκ-
 μαρογ μπεπῖνα ετογαав = χεкас : ει евал зе ḿ-
 знтq ss = нси зисι nim : εт певсωма = εγωαν-
 5 χакмев = нзнтq = амоγ калωс : акι тсам е-
 пекιωт накаθωс маоγφε немак θαι-
 вωс μπεπῖνα ετογαав : зιχωк =
 † емпооγ пз̄ нзооγ ἵτακααγ = ереп зωв
 εтпн ḿн пказ = акемтан емак —
 10 епμεз̄ нзооγ = † емпооγ нтекапн = ми-
 н емак = μн таcinaз:εрат ерак = μн
 та̄ нстера†латнс : етеран γαβρινḗ =
 ραφanh = соγρινḗ [[.]] сеτεкинḗ = саλαθi-
 нḗ ananh = † епооγ γαβρινḗ = пβαιφε-
 15 νογви амоγ = φарай еφантаχωк евол =
 пенΔωζων = ετογαав : † епооγ з̄ραφanh
 паггелωс = праφε : амоγ φарай ḿпооγ =
 φантаχωк евал пинΔωζων ετογαав
 20 соγρινḗ = паггелос нёсам амоγ φар-
 ай φантаχωк евал питωζων ετογαб
 саλαθiнḗ = паггелос : амоγ φарай = еки
 еооγ епиωт немаи пооγ = сеτεкинḗ : пагг-
 елос нΔικεωснне = амоγ † еооγ епφ-
 нре немаи епооγ ananh = μн пна пет-
 25 ерепна ḿпиωт = пз̄нп нзнтв̄ зн тебκα-
 лазн = амоγ χωρεγει немаи = μн πεπῖνα εт-
 ογαав nai εγαζεратоγ = мπεзооγ нтакта-
 mia nadam = нзнтв̄ = χекас : εγει φарай = пооγ
 еренеγснви нса† зн неγсiχ = нсеαζεратоγ
 30 зiχен пимаγ μн πινεζ : несеπωт = нса не-
 зoγcia τηρογ φантоγанаχω наγ саев-
 л es̄ aia aia тахн тахн : † епооγ нниωа n-
 φa ме нитва нтва : nai εγзнḗ евал : зе
 паһр : еγтiωки нса незoγcia τηρογ
 35 мпкаке амоγ евал зiөн ḿпиωт φa-
 нтеви еβαεзратq = χен пимаγ μн пи-

1 n vac. таκφωρι pap. : i.e. φορεῖν | i.e. ^sḿmoс | i.e. ^sнπ-смоγ cf. CdF || 2 i.e. ^sнпемто евол | i.e. ^sнπ-ниче cf. CdF | i.e. ^sерооγ || 2–3 екмазоγ i.e. ^sнπ-μερογ || 3 l. πν(εῦμ)α | l. εγ-ε-ει || 3–4 i.e. ^sз̄н or нзнтq ḿ- || 4–32 i.e. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 4 l. εт зе i.e. ^sεт-з̄н- | i.e. ^sпез- | i.e. σῶμα || 4–5 i.e. ^sεγ-ωан-χакм=q || 5 i.e. καλῶс | i.e. ^sΔ-к-ει | l. ере-т-сам ? || 5–6 i.e. ^sḿ-пез-к-еиωт || 6 i.e. ἀγαθός | i.e. ^sмооφε || 6–7 i.e. ^sт-зaiвес || 7–26 i.e. πν(εῦμ)α || 8–32 i.e. ^s†-(ταρκοḿно=к) ḿ-пооγ cf. CdF : †ωрк ерак емпооγ K || 8 l. ε-к-ер зωв cf. CdF : еперзωв K || 9 i.e. ^sḿ-т-пе | i.e. ^sḿно=к || 10–11 i.e. ^sḿнин || 11 i.e. ^sḿно=к | i.e. ^sеро=к | l. та-си-н-αρε-рат ерак || 12 i.e. στρατηλάτης | i.e. ^sεте-неγ-ранне : етенαιненеγран K || 14–15 i.e. ^sqai-ωн-ноγφε || 15 i.e. ^sωан†-χωк | евал K ||

that you bore, and bless the water and this oil that are before me, and breathe down into them and fill them with Holy Spirit, so that <they> come out of from inside NN, son of NN, namely every suffering that is <in> his body, ¹⁵ when he is washed in it!

Come well; you came, the power of your good Father walking with you, the shadow of the Holy Spirit upon you! I adjure you today <by> the six days you spent working on the heaven and the earth; you rested ¹⁰ on the seventh day!

I adjure you by your own head and <by> my standing before you and <by> my seven generals, whose names <are> *Gabriel, *Raphael, *Suriel, Setekiēl, Salathiēl, Anaēl—I adjure you today, Gabriel, O bearer of good news ¹⁵ come to me, so that I complete this holy *endoxon*! I adjure you today Raphael, O *angel <of> joy, come to me today, so that I complete this holy *endoxon*! Suriel, O angel of power, come to me, ²⁰ so that I complete this holy *endoxon*! Salathiēl, O angel, come to me, and give glory to the Father with me today! Setekiēl, O angel of righteousness, come, give glory to the Son with me today! Anaēl and the mercy, the one in whose ²⁵ womb the mercy of the Father is hidden, come, dance with me and the Holy Spirit—they who stood on the day in which you created Adam, so that they will come to me today, with their swords of fire in their hands, and they will stand ³⁰ upon this water and this oil, and they will pursue every authority until they withdraw⁷ from NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

I adjure you today by the thousands of thousands and ten thousands of ten thousands—they who fly in the air, pursuing all the authorities ³⁵ of darkness—come out before the Father, so that he comes and stands upon this water and this

16–20 *i.e.* ἔνδοξον *cf.* note p. 1 | †εποογ K omits || 17–23 *i.e.* ἄγγελος || 17 αγγελος K | *i.e.* ἡ-π-ραωε || 19 *i.e.* ἡ-τ-σomi || 20 *i.e.* ὁγαβ || 21 *i.e.* ἄγγελος | *l.* ἡ-κ-† ? : εκ† K || 22 *i.e.* ἡ-ποογ || 23 *i.e.* δικαιοσύνη || 24–25 *i.e.* π-ετ-ερε-π-να ἡ-π-ιωτ ρηπ η-ρητ=γ *cf.* CdF || 25 *l.* ετρηπ (?) K | *i.e.* ἡρητ=γ || 25–26 *i.e.* ἡ-ε-καλαρη || 26 *i.e.* χορεύειν || 28 *i.e.* ἡρητ=γ | *i.e.* ἡ-ποογ || 30 *i.e.* ἡ-σε-πατ: ησεπατ K || 31–34 *i.e.* ἐξουσία || 31 αναχω x corrected from or to x *i.e.* ἀναχωρεῖν || 31–32 *i.e.* савол : савле *l.* саввал е- K || 32 *i.e.* ταχύ (twice) || 34 *i.e.* ἀήρ | *i.e.* διώκειν : “may they pursue” (“sie mögen verfolgen”) K || 35–36 *i.e.* ὁδαντε=γ-ει ε=γ-αρε πατ=γ || 36 *i.e.* ἡ-ε-αρε πατ=γ *cf.* CdF | *i.e.* ε.χ.η or ε.χ.η *cf.* ε.χ.η CdF

oil, and he fills them with power and healing, so that when they are poured upon NN, child of NN, they will come out of him, namely every suffering of his body! If this water is poured upon a tree that has withered, it will blossom. ^{|5} If it is poured upon iron, it will dissolve and become water. If it is poured upon a stone, it will break and put forth water. When it is poured upon the dead, in faith, they will arise. It is <the> mouth <of> the Lord, ^{|10} Jesus Christ *Sabaoth that has said these things.

I bless you with all the creatures that you created, all the beasts of the earth and the birds of heaven who bless you, Aram, Aram, Aram, Anphou. God who is hidden, listen ^{|15} to me! I am *Michael, the *archangel! Let my praise come in before your greatness! Let my repentance reach your holy *throne! Now, my Lord, take pity on your likeness and your ^{|20} image and give healing to everyone that will carry this *endoxon*, especially NN, son of NN, and take away from him every disease, and every disturbance and every strike! For you are the one to whom all glory is fitting, ^{|25} the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever, amen, amen, amen!”

A man tormented by a demon. Pronounce the prayer over a flask of rose-water. Pour it on him. He will be healed. Offering: *mastic.

A man in prison. Draw the *power ^{|30} on three new pottery ostraca. Bring⁷ it to him. He will be set free on the street, God willing. Offering: mastic, *agarwood, *costus.

Favour. Draw this image with <the> blood <of a> white dove. Bind it upon yourself. Offering: *musk incense.

19–20. **πεκίνι ρ μη : τεκρῆικων** : “your likeness and your image” Cf. PCM I 10 ll. 2–3 and accompanying notes.

27–33. The first three recipes are not numbered in the manuscript, but Kropp numbers them α (1), β (2), and γ (3) in his edition.

32. **νσνσν : σερσλπε** : “with <the> blood <of a> white dove” For this substance, cf. the note to PCM I 25 p. 17 ll. 20–24.

29 i.e. **μαστίχη** | i.e. **σφτεκο** | i.e. **δύναμις** || 30 i.e. **σκελωλ** | i.e. **σῆ-βηρε** | i.e. **σφα-γ-καδ=q** : “they force him onto the street” (“Sie zwingen ihn auf die Straße”) K, M, G || 31 i.e. **σῆ-πνογτε** : “by the will of God” (“nach dem Willen Gottes”) K, M, G | i.e. **μαστίχη** | i.e. **ال-عود** *al-ūd* | i.e. **σκογυτ** || 32 i.e. **χάρις** | i.e. **ζφδιον** | i.e. **σλαδγ** || 33 i.e. **σμορ=q** | i.e. **μοσχάτον** : “muscat wine” (Muskatwein) K : “muscatel” M : “mastic” Gardner.

page 16 (= Kropp 254) (hair)

- $\overline{\Delta}$: ογρωμε εβω νκνήκβ · ςζαι πῑϙωτῑογῑων ενςνοβ =
 ενογρι · μαρεβ χωq = φαγλο ῑογῑωq πνογτῑ · μαϑτῑχι

 $\overline{\epsilon}$: ογρωμε ρεογμετχεχι ςε τεβμητῑ με τεβσιμι =
 ταογῑ τῑογχι ςιχε · νεζ = εσταρς περῑ · φῑ ειρηνη
 5 λιβανος

 $\overline{\zeta}$: ογρωμε νταγμαρεβ ῑεω τεχι τεqσιμι : ταογ-
 α τῑογχι χε αρχῑ νεζ : ογβαλεζτῑ εμαγ : περτς
 χωq φῑβωλ εβαλ : καλος ὅγ κογῑ ςι ϑτηρ

 $\overline{\zeta}$: ογρωμε : νταγτῑ ογαπατ νεβ ταογῑ τῑογχι : νῑ
 10 εσοπ ςιχεν ογαμπογλλι ναβιῑηνηνι εςμεζ : να-
 λμαογарт ςι μαγ ῑλαπῑαν τϑαβ νεϑτκος =
 φῑβρῑηνε = ὅγ = κογῑ = ῑαληγ =

 $\overline{\eta}$: ογρωμε · εβτκας ταογῑ τῑογχι · ςι αρχῑ νεζ =
 τςοβ : λεβ = φῑαλο = ὅγ = αϑφαλτῑων =

 $\overline{\theta}$: ογρωμε · εβῑααωι ςι : ογταγ = νωαρεπρη =
 15 χαλι λαβ · μαρεβ πῑϙωτῑογῑων = ντααβ · μαῑ ῑερ-
 εϑῑανι : ςε ὅγριων = νεω χωq εραβ = αλογῑς =

1 *i.e.* $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}q\text{-}o\ \overline{n}\text{-}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\eta}\overline{\sigma}\epsilon\zeta$? : εqβωνκ η νκβ<ωνκ> ογ εq-ω-ῑκνηκβ ? “A man who is ...”, perhaps
 “angry” (“Ein Mann der ist...”, “zürnen”) K, M : “someone who spasms” Gardner | *i.e.* ζῳδιον ||
 2 *i.e.* μορϑ | *i.e.* ςῑῑ π-ογῑωq ῑ-πνογτε | *i.e.* μαστίχη || 3 *i.e.* $\varsigma\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ | *i.e.* ςῑῑ || 4 *i.e.* εὐχή : ογῑη K |
i.e. ςιχῑῑ ογ-νεζ | *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}c\text{-}te\zeta c$ | *i.e.* $\varsigma\omega\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\overline{p}$ | *i.e.* εἰρήνη : “for peace” (“zum Frieden”) K, G : “for
 the sake of peace” M || 5 *i.e.* λίβανος || 6 ογρῑη K | *i.e.* $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}ne\text{-}q\text{-}\overline{\omega}$ τῑωϑε ε- ογ ν-ῑ-ῑ τῑωϑε
 αν ε- ? : *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}ne\text{-}q\text{-}\overline{\omega}$ τεχι K || 7 *i.e.* εὐχή | *i.e.* $\varsigma\epsilon\chi\overline{n}$ | *i.e.* ἀρχῑ | *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}ne\zeta$ | *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}\overline{mo}\overline{o}\gamma$ | ογ-
 βαλεζτῑ ῑ-μαγ : “recite this prayer over newly-pressed oil in a water pot” Gardner || 8 *i.e.* καλῶς |
i.e. $\varsigma\omega\alpha\text{-}q\text{-}\overline{w}\alpha\lambda$ | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* $\varsigma\text{-}ko\gamma\omega\tau$ | *i.e.* στύραξ || 9 *i.e.* εὐχή || 10 *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}cop$ | *i.e.* ἀμπύλλη |
i.e. $\varsigma\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\eta\epsilon\iota n$ || 10–11 *i.e.* المأورد *al-māward* || 11 *i.e.* λαψάνη | *i.e.* νηστικῶς see LBG s.v. :
i.e. $\varsigma\text{-}t\text{-}k\omega\omega\varsigma$ “funerary incense” (“Toteninzenz”) K, M || 12 *i.e.* $\varsigma\omega\alpha\text{-}q\text{-}\overline{\zeta}\epsilon n\text{-}\overline{q}$ (ϑ ςιηε) εβολ ? :
 φογρῑηνε K : “he shall retch (?)” G | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* $\varsigma\text{-}ko\gamma\omega\tau$: *i.e.* κόστος K : “koush” M ||
 13 *i.e.* $\varsigma\text{-}t\text{-}k\alpha\varsigma$ | *i.e.* εὐχή | *i.e.* ἀρχῑ : “virgin oil” M | *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}ne\zeta$ || 14 *i.e.* $\varsigma\epsilon\rho\text{-}q$: “by mouth”
 Gardner : *i.e.* λίβανος K, M | *i.e.* $\varsigma\omega\alpha\text{-}q\text{-}\overline{\lambda}o$ | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* ἄσφαλος || 15 *i.e.* $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}p\eta n$:
i.e. $\varsigma\eta\omega\rho\pi\ \overline{n}\eta n$ K || 16 *i.e.* $\varsigma\omega\omega\lambda e$ Crum 809a : *i.e.* καλεῖν ? K : as K, or else σο(ε)ιλε M |
i.e. $\varsigma\epsilon\rho\text{-}q$ || 15–16 “at sunrise summon him” G : “at sunrise visit him” M : “at the first ray of
 sunshine you stay with him (or call after him)” (“Beim ersten Sonnenstrahl weilst du bei ihm
 (oder: rufst du nach ihm)”) K | *i.e.* ζῳδιον | *i.e.* $\varsigma\overline{n}\text{-}roo\tau\text{-}q$ || 16 “tie it (to him)! When the image is
 in his hand...” (“Binde es (ihm) an! Wenn das Bildchen in seiner Hand ist...”) K || 17 *i.e.* θηρίον |
i.e. $\varsigma\eta\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\overline{\omega}\text{-}\chi\omega\zeta$ | αλογῑς *i.e.* $\beta\alpha\lambda o\gamma\iota c$? see note : K, M, G do not translate

4. A man who has elephantiasis[?]. Draw this *image with <the> blood <of a> vulture. Bind it to him. They will heal, God willing. <Offering>: *mastic.

5. A man with an enmity between him and his wife. Pronounce this prayer upon oil, and she anoints the face. They will reconcile. |⁵ <Offering>: *frankincense.

6. A man who has been *bound, unable to join with his wife. Pronounce the prayer over oil of the *first fruits. A pot of water, pour it upon him. He will be completely released. Offering: *costus and *storax.

7. A man who has been given a *cup. Pronounce the prayer three |¹⁰ times over a glass *flask filled with rose-water and charlock-water. Have him drink while fasting. It will remove <itself>. Offering: white costus.

8. A man who is in pain. Pronounce the prayer over oil of the *first-fruits. Have him drink <it>. It will cease. Offering: bitumen. |¹⁵

9. A man walking in the desert when the sun is covered. Bind this figure to his hand. Certainly, no robbers or beasts will be able to touch him. <Offering>: pig's senna[?].

1. κκηῖκβ : “elephantiasis?” Here we propose a variant of ὀνῶεξ; the alteration of κ to σ does not pose a problem, although the shift from ε to β would be more unexpected; perhaps cf. μοσξ/μοσϣ (“girdle”; Crum CD 213b), although in that case there is also an intermediate form μοσξϣ.

9. ογαπατ : “a cup” Likely a ‘magical potion’ administered in a cup; cf. e.g., Cairo JdE 42573 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44), p. 4, ll. 11–17, a drink from a cup to separate a couple; similar recipes are found in PCM I 33 front ll. 1–5; P.Méd.Copt.IFAO (Chassinat 1921; KYP M941) no. 229.

17. αλογακ : “pig’s senna?” The initial αλ- would seem to suggest an Arabic loanword, but we have not found a good candidate. Instead we suggest that this may be the word found in the *Scala Magna* as αλογικ (4.2.339; Macomber 2020: I 142) with the translation مكة شش دم, *šišm makka*, referring to the seed of *Cassia absus* L. (= *Chamaecrista absus* (L.) H.S. Irwin & Barneby), known in English as pig’s senna or *chaksh* (cf. Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2003: 165). The seeds are black, and used in various medical preparations, including eye medicine (Meyerhof 1931: 24, 46; Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2003: 165; cf. Lev/Amar 2008: 554). The Coptic name seems to come from Greek ἀλουσία “unwashed”, perhaps in reference to the blackness of the seeds.

28. ογεζογία : εκπητ ερογν φαρακ : “An authority to whom you are going” Here we understand the “authority” to be a human in a position in authority, a translation also adopted by Meyer. Justification for this may be found in the *Scala Magna*, in which ἑζογία is translated as “the sultan” (السلطان; Macomber 2020: 70). The term “sultan” is used in several Arabic (including Judaeo- and *Copto-Arabic) recipes to refer to one possible authority a client might need to approach; cf. e.g., ‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī, *Book on the Useful Properties of Animal Parts* (IX CE) 1.10, 2.2, 4.6–7, 18.1, 56.10, 59.22, 67.2 (Raggetti 2018); Geniza 24 l. 10 (Naveh/Shaked 1993); *Guide to the Psalms* Psalms 19, 20, 26, 34, 40, 42, 53, 54, 57 (Henein/Bianquis 1975). Compare also Förster WBGW 272 s.v. εζογία, although these instances tend to refer the abstract quality of power in general rather than specific individuals. Both terms, *exousia* and “sultan”, would seem to refer, at this time, to “the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power” (Kramers *et al.* 2012: §1). Kropp and Gardner understand this to refer to a supernatural being who has confronted the patient of the ritual, specifically a “ghost” (“Totengeist”); Kropp seems to suggest a confusion with οὐσία, “essence”, the term often used for materials from a human body used in rituals, sometimes taken from dead bodies. Ἐξουσία in reference to a supernatural being is best attested as a rank of angel, however, which would not seem to fit here.

29. ηαρεσ εχωα : “Bind it to him” Kropp suggests that “him” here might be the dead person whose ghost is being encountered, but on this interpretation see the note to l. 28 above.

20 ἰ οὐρῳμε · εβο ηχῳλη = χε τεβσιμη = ερ ναβι : εραβ =
 ςζαι πῑσῳτ·ογῑν · ἰαογ εβαλ · ενεζ · †ασιη : μαβ ἵογ-
 α νεϣ κατ νεμας = μαρετωρς νεζρας = ἡαῑ†χι
 ἰα = ογσιμι : ρεπεςζαι τε βηχ ερας = ςζαι πῑῑγ =
 εγχεκ : μαρβ νεζ : †ασιη = αϣ †ογχι ηιχῳβ
 ταρς πεςζα = ϣα ειρηηηι ρας ὅγ μα†χι αλογθ
 25 ἰβ = οὐρῳμε εβπητ : εγμεταχεγ · ςζαι πῑσῳτ·ογῳν =
 μαρεϣ εραϣ · νερῳμε = ειμι εραβ ὅγ στηρξ =
 ἰγ = οὐρῳμι : εβηητ εβζαρκ εν : ςζαι
 πῑῑγ ογαρϣ ςαχῳβ · ςιηηβ ὅγ ἡαῑ†χι =
 30 ἰδ = ογεζογςια : εκπητ ερογν ϣαρας = ςζαι πῑ-
 τεηαμῑς : ετσα ιογῑαη = μαρες εχῳϣ : πῳτ ε-
 ρογν περϣαχε μαη ςηκῳαη·ἵογχαγει =
 ἰε = ογ†μι κογῳϣ τεϣ=ῑῳρῑς ςζαι πῑῑγ = ταμσεβ
 ςι ογρῑ σταγρος = μαη ϣαῑῳρῑς ἡογςχατηη
 35 ἰς = ογῑαηερῳβ = εβϣαϣ : ογῑαρελ ἕῑαγ : ετς-
 ῳκ · ταογα †ογχι : χῳς ηζ σοη : ρεζα† πη-
 ς : ςῑῳκ · εκςῳκ · εῑαπερογ ϣαηπερς =
 επερο · πη ὅγ χαβανῑ =

18 *i.e.* χολή || 19 *i.e.* ζώδιον | *i.e.* ἑιδααογ | *i.e.* ὤνεξ ἡ-τ-ιασμη *i.e.* ἰάσμη : *i.e.* ὀσμή translate “fumigate him” (“Beräuchere ihn”) K : “disperse fragrance on it” Meyer | *l.* ὤτωρεῶ ἡμοεϛ ? || 19–20 *i.e.* ἡννε-ογα ? || 20 *i.e.* ἡνα-ῶ ἡκοτκ ἡμνααϛ | *i.e.* ἡναρεϛ | *i.e.* ἡ-ῥααϛ : “with the oil” (“mit Öl”) K, M, G | *i.e.* μαστίχη || 21 *i.e.* ἑερε | *i.e.* ὤ : *i.e.* δέ K | *i.e.* ὤωσε : “whose husband jumps against her” (“deren Gatte gegen sie springt”) K | *i.e.* ζώδιον || 22 “palm (of hand)” Gardner | ἡαβ ρ corrected from ἰ by overwriting | *i.e.* ἡ-νεξ ἡ-τ-ιασμη *i.e.* ἰάσμη : *i.e.* ὀσμή (“disperse fragrance”) K, M | *i.e.* εὐχή || 23 *i.e.* ὤαα-ϛ-ῑ εἰρηνι *i.e.* εἰρήνη : ὤα εἰρηνι “for peace for her” (“zum Frieden für sie”) K, G, M | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* μαστίχη | *i.e.* العود *al-ūd* || 24 “hastening (towards)” M : “running (to)” G : “running to” or “fleeing from” (“von... flieht, zu... eilt”) K | *i.e.* ἡντ-ατ-ῶαϛ : “ruin” K, G, M : “abomination” (“Abscheulichkeit”) K | *i.e.* ζώδιον || 25 *i.e.* ἡννε- | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* στύραξ || 26 *i.e.* ὤε-ϛ-ῑντ (ϛ ὤω) εεϛ-ῥορκ αν : or εῑντ ϛ ῑννε “a man who cannot find his rest” (“der seine Ruhe nicht finden kann”), “someone who cannot find respite” K, G || 27 *i.e.* ζώδιον | “place it on him” (“Leg es ihm auf”) K, M | *l.* ὤαβϛῑννε *i.e.* ὤαα-ϛ-ῑννε ? : “he will sleep” (“er findet Schlaf”) K : “(lay it by his) sleeping (head)” G || 27 *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* μαστίχη || 28 *i.e.* ἔξουσία : *cf.* οὐσία K || 29 *i.e.* δύναμις | *i.e.* ὤα | *i.e.* ἡ-ογναη || 30 *i.e.* ἡἡρ haplography with preceding η ? | *l.* *e.g.*, ἡαν ὤαογχαη || 31 *i.e.* ὤε-κ-ογῶα | *i.e.* ὤε-τρεϛ-ϛ-ὤωρεῶ | *i.e.* ζώδιον || 32 *i.e.* ῥῑρ | *l.* ἡ- | *i.e.* σταυρός | *i.e.* ὤαα-ϛ-ὤωρεῶ | *i.e.* μοσχάτον || 33 *i.e.* ὤε-ὤοαϛ ? : εῑαηκ K | *i.e.* ὤαααετ, *cf.* ὤαεε (p. 17 l. 24) with metathesis : *l.* ὤαε K | *i.e.* ἡ-ἡοογ || 34 *i.e.* εὐχή | *i.e.* ὤερε-ῥοεἰτε, *cf.* ῥαἰτῑ : ῥετῑ *l.* ὤερε-ογ-ῥατε K || 35 *i.e.* ἡ-τ-ῑααϛ haplography ? | *i.e.* ἡ-ῑα-ῑαογ | *i.e.* ὤαντ-κ-ῑαετϛ || 36 *i.e.* ὤε-ἡ-ῑο | *i.e.* ἡ-ἡἡἡ | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* κάρβον or χαλβάνη ? : “ebony” (“Ebenholz ?) *i.e.* from Egyptian *hbnv* ? K : “chabani” M : “coal” Gardner

10. A man who is angry because his wife is sinning against him. Draw the image. Wash them off with jasmine oil. <Anoint> him. No-one ^[20] will be able to sleep with her. Let <him> anoint her face. <Offering:> *mastic.

11. A woman whose husband is violent[?] towards her. Draw the image on a shell. Fill it <with> jasmine oil. Recite the prayer over it. Anoint her face. He will make peace with her. Offering: mastic, *agarwood.

12. A man who is going to an unworthy act. Draw the image. ^[25] Bind it to him. No-one will recognise him. Offering: *storax.

13. A man who is unable to rest. Draw the image. Place it before him. <He will> sleep. Offering: mastic.

14. An authority to whom you are going. Draw the power which is on the right. Bind it to him. Go ^[30] to <the authority>. Do not speak. Certainly, you <will be> well[?].

15. A village you desire to make inhabited. Draw the image. Bury it at a crossroads. Certainly, <it> will be inhabited. <Offering:> *musk incense.

16. A workshop, to destroy it[?]. A pot of flowing water. Pronounce the prayer over it 7 times, wearing torn clothes, ^[35] and draw <it> backwards until <you> pour it out at the door of the house. Offering: charcoal[?].

29–30. **ΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΥΝ ΠΕΡΩΛΕ** : “Go to <the authority>. Do not speak.” Gardner translates “Confront, but do not speak”.

30. **ΜΑΝ ΖΗΚ ΘΑΝ : ΜΟΥΧΑΛΟΙ** : “Certainly, <you will be> well?” Kropp understands **ΜΗΝ ΖΙΚ ΘΩΩΝΚ** or **ΜΑΝ ΖΙΚ ΘΩΩΝΕ** followed by **ΜΠΟΥΧΑΙ** or **ΜΟΥ ΕΤ-ΘΟΥΩΟΥ** “no magic can harm you” (“Kein Zauber kann dich schädigen”) or “certainly, magic will become powerless” (“sicherlich wird Zauber kraftlos werden”), suggesting in his notes as “of wellbeing” or “dry water” (“trockenes Wasser”) for the following words. Meyer translates “no sorcery will deprive (you) of well-being (?)” or “surely sorcery will be powerless...”. Gardner translates “truly the sorcery is rendered impotent”. None of these seem to fit the context, in which “magic” is not mentioned, while **ΘΩΩΝΕ** (“to be sick”) in reference to “magic” becoming powerless is unattested. We assume that here, as in many of the other recipes, the copyist has omitted elements which would normally be grammatically necessary.

33. **ΟΥΜΑ ΝΕΡΕΩΒ ≠ ΕΒΩΛΑ** : “A workshop, to destroy it?” Here we interpret this as a curse, since this is usually the purpose of rituals that consist of pouring liquids at doors; previous translations have rather understood this as a practice to aid a workplace which is suffering from some kind of problem, being either deserted or flooded by water. Kropp and Meyer translate “a workplace that is deserted when a flow of water streams in” (“ein Arbeitsplatz, der wüst liegt, da eine Wasserflut herzieht”), while Gardner translates “a barren workplace (*i.e.* small-holding)”.

34–35. **ΡΕΖΑΤ ΠΕΖ : ΖΙΩΩΚ** : “wearing torn clothes” Kropp and Meyer understand this as referring to a “broken basin” (“einen zersprungenen Kessel”).

35. **ΕΚΩΩΚ · ΕΒΑΠΕΡΟΥ** : “and walk? backwards” Kropp translates “drag behind you” (“du hinter dir herziehst”); Meyer, “let it stream out behind you”; Gardner, “while you draw (the water) back”. We understand an omitted direct object (**ΕΚΩΩΚ**) with the sigma omitted via haplography with the following -ec, where the pronoun refers to the pot (**ΒΑΛΑΖΤ**). Cf. Gregory of Nyssa *In Ecclesiasten V* (CC 197): “I drew it back with the bridle of my faculties of reason” (**ΔΙΟΚΟΣ ΝΕΑ ΠΑΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ ΝΗΛΟΚΙΣΜΟΣ**; Amélineau 1911: 432 l. 13; cf. Orlandi 1981: 337–338).

p. 17 (= Kropp 267) (hair)

- $\overline{\text{I}Z} = \text{ΟΥCΛΑΜ ΤΕΚΕΝΤΒ} : \text{ΖΙΧΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΤΑΥΟΥΑ } \overline{\text{†ΟΥΧΗ}} =$
 $\text{ΖΙΧΕΝ ΟΥΜΑΥ} = \text{ΝΑΧΕΒ ΖΙΧΩΒ} \cdot \text{ΕΩΩΠΙ ΘΗ ΟΥΡΕΒ-}$
 $\text{ΜΟΟΥΤ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ} \quad \overline{\text{IΗ}} = \text{ΟΥΡΩΜΙ} : \text{ΩΑΝCΔΙ ΕΡΑΚ} = \text{ΒΙ}$
 $\text{ΟΥΤΗC ΝΤΗΚ} = \text{CΖΑΙ ΠCΙΥ} = \text{ΜΑΡΕΒ} : \text{ΠΜΑΖ† ΝΟΥΧΕ-}$
 5 $\text{Χ ΝΒΗΗΝΙ} = \text{ΖΑΛQ ΕΒΑΛ ΠΧΩΚ} = \text{Γ} \text{ ΕΡΟΟΥ} = \text{ΜΑ ΝΙ-}$
 $\text{Μ ΕΡΕΠΡΩΜΕ} = \text{ΝΖΗΤQ} = \text{ΩΑΒΙ} \cdot \text{ΜΝ ΠΧΕΧ ΝΒΗΝΙ}$
 $\overline{\text{IΘ}} = \text{ΟΥΡΩΜΕ} : \text{ΕΒΠΗΤ ΕΥCΙΜΙ} = \text{CΖΑΙ} \cdot \text{CΙΥ} = \text{ΜΑΡΕΤΕ-}$
 $\text{CΙΜΙΖΙ ΤΑΜCΕΒ} \cdot \text{ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΕCΗΙ} : \text{ΜΑΝ ΜΕΒΠΗΤ}$
 $\text{CΖΙΜΙ ΝΩΕΝΑ } \overline{\text{ΘΥ}} \text{ ΜΑC†Χ } \overline{\text{ΑΛΟΥΘ}} =$
 10 $\overline{\text{K}} = \text{ΟΥΑΖΙ ΝΤΕΒΝΗ ΝΤΑΥΕΛ ΟΥΖΙΚ ΕΡΑΚ} : \text{CΖΑΙ} =$
 $\text{†ΤΕΝΑΜΙC} = \text{ΝΖΑ ΝΖΑΛΗΤ} \cdot \text{ΤΑΜC} : \text{ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-}$
 $\text{ΡΑΒ} = \text{ΩΑΒΒΩΛ ΕΒΑΛ} : \text{ΚΑΛΟC} = \overline{\text{ΘΥ}} \text{ ΜΑC†ΧΙ} =$
 $\overline{\text{ΚΑ}} = \text{ΟΥCΙΜΙ} = \text{ΡΕΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΑΟΥΤ} = \text{CΖΑΙ } \overline{\text{†Ζ}} \text{ ΝΤΕΝΑ-}$
 $\text{ΜΙC} = \text{ΕΥΧΩΩΜΕ} \cdot \text{ΜΑΡ ΕΠΕCΧΕΝΕΖ ΝΙΩΝΑ-}$
 15 $\text{Μ} = \text{ΜΑΡΕΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΠΕCΧΕΝΕΖ} = \text{ΒΟΥΡ} : \text{ΜΑΝ ΡΕ-}$
 $\text{ΠΕCΩΗΡΕ} = \text{ΜΟΥ} = \overline{\text{ΘΥ}} : \overline{\text{ΜΑC†ΧΙ}} =$



- 1 i.e. Всром | i.e. CET=K-NT=Q | i.e. CΤΑΥΕ- : ταούα K | i.e. CΤ-ΕΥΧΗ || 2 i.e. Cε=Q-Ε-ΩΩΠΕ |
 i.e. CН-Τ-ΡΕ Ν- || 3 i.e. λίβανος || 3 i.e. Cε-ΩΑCQ-ΤCΔΕΙΟ || 4 i.e. CΟΥ-ΤΟΕΙC | ΝΤΗΚ i.e. CΗΤΑC K |
 l. ζ(φδ)ιο(v) | i.e. Cε-Π-ΜΟΤΕ : i.e. CΜΑΖΤ “entrails” (“Eingeweide”) K, M || 5 i.e. CΒΗΝΕ | ΠΧΩΚ
 see note | i.e. CΠ-ΡΟΟΥ | i.e. $\text{CΠ-ΜΑ}?$ || 7 l. ζ(φδ)ι(o)v (twice) || 7 i.e. Cε-(O)Υ-CΡΙΜΕ || 8 i.e. CCRIME |
 i.e. CΤΟΜC=Q | i.e. CΠ-ΡΟΥΝ Π-ΠΕC-ΝΙ || 9 i.e. Cε-(O)Υ-CΡΙΜΕ || 9, 12, 16 i.e. ΘΥ(CΙΑ) || 9, 12, 16, 22
 i.e. μαCΤίχη | i.e. العود al-ūd || 10 TEBHHH K || 11, 13, 30, 31 i.e. δύναμιC | i.e. CΤΟΜC=C Π-ΡΟΥΝ ||
 12 i.e. καλώς || 13 i.e. Cερε-νεC-ΩΗΡΕ || 14–15 i.e. $\text{Cμερ=C Ε-ΠΕC-ΧΝΑΖ Π-ΟΥΝΑΜ}$ ||
 15–16 i.e. $\text{Cμερ κε-ΟΥΕΙ Ε-ΠΕC-ΧΝΑΖ Π-ΡΒΟΥΡ}$ | i.e. Cερε- , error for μερε-? : ΜΑΝ ΕΡΕ i.e. Cμερε- K ||
 17 πραCIC i.e. πρᾶξιC K, M || 18 i.e. ἀρχή : “first, (copy...)” (“zuerst”) K, M |
 i.e. Cε-Π-ΧΩΩΜΕ || 20–21 i.e. $\text{الزفران az-zā'farān}$: i.e. CН-*OCЕCQ ΡΑΝ “for its release (?)”, names” (“zu
 seiner Entlassung: Namen”) K, M || 23 i.e. العود al-ūd || 24 i.e. CCΑΛΑΖΤ | i.e. CΠ-ΜΑΔΧΕ Crum CD
 212b : †IOY- : †IOY i.e. CΕΙΩΤ “(three measures of) barley” (“drei Mass Gerste”) K, M : “for three
 measures” G i.e. Crum CD 213a || 25 i.e. CΗΟΟΥ ΕΤ-ΖΗΠ || 26 i.e. CΡΟΟΥΝΕ || 27–28 i.e. Cερε-Π-ΕΤ-
 ΩΩΜΕ ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ? : ΠΕΤΩΩΝ K || 29 i.e. νηCΤΕΙΑ : NE†A K || 35 [Ω] overwritten by image

17. An unconsciousness which you bring upon a man. Pronounce the prayer over some water. Throw it on him. He will be like a dead man. <Offering: >*frankincense.

18. A man <who> condemns you. Take a piece of cloth that belongs to you. Draw the *image. Bind it to the neck² of a swallow. |⁵ Bring² it outside. After three days, from² any place in which the man is, he will go² with the swallow.

19. A man who chases after a woman. Draw <the> image. Let the wife bury it in her house. Certainly, he will not pursue <a> strange woman. Offering: *mastic, *agarwood.

|¹⁰ 20. An enclosure of livestock to which an act of sorcery has been done against you. Draw the bird-faced power. Bury it inside it. It will be completely undone. Offering: mastic.

21. A woman whose children have died. Draw the seven *powers on a sheet. Bind <it> to her right forearm. |¹⁵ Bind another <to> her left forearm. Certainly, her child will <not> die. Offering: mastic.

The amulet. Draw with <wine of> the *first fruits on a sheet. Bind it to yourself. |²⁰ <Offering: > saffron, mastic, agarwood. A *pot with three handles, some |²⁵ hidden water. Incense. Seven virgin palm leaves. Unleavened bread until evening. The one who is sick, fast.

|^{Around figures, 30–31} Power. Power. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, |³⁵ Suriel, Setekiël.

KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by KD.

3. ϥΑΝΘΑΙ : “who condemns” Kropp suggests a translation of “someone who has been granted to you through a sentence (?)” (“der dir durch Richterspruch zugesprochen ist ?”); he may have considered a word related to ϥΑΥΟΝ (“slave”), and have understood this as a spell to return an escaped slave (cf. e.g., PGM CIX; KYP M830). Meyer translates “a person who is at odds with you”, and Gardner “someone estranged (?) from you”.

4–5. ΠΟΥΧΕΧ ΝΒΗΗΗ : “swallow” Previous editors translate “swallow-sparrow” (“Schwalbenspatze” Meyer & Kropp), “swallow or sparrow” (Gardner; cf. Crum CD 40a. s.v. ΒΗΗΕ), but the *Scala Magna*, gives the meaning as simply السنونو *as-sunūnū* “swallow” (Macomber 2020: 123; s.v. ΠΟΛΑΧΜΒΗΡΙ).

5. ΠΧΩΚ ϩ̅ ϩ̅ϩ̅ϩ̅ : “After three days” Cf. *Life of Macarius* (CC 0419) “after three days, she died” (ΠΧΩΚ Ν̅ ϩ̅ϩ̅ϩ̅ ρ̅ϩ̅ϩ̅; Amélineau 1894: 240 l.10). Kropp/Meyer translate “Completion” (“Die Vollendung”), understanding it to mark the outcome of the ritual.

6. ϥΑΒΗ : “He will go” The usual translation of ει is “to come”, but we understand this as a ritual to get rid of an enemy, so the outcome is that the victim “goes away” with the bird. Alternatively, we might understand that the bird returns to the client, bringing the target with it.

7–8. ΜΑΡΕΤΕΣΙΜΗΡΙ : “let the wife” ϩ̅ϩ̅ΗΕ can be translated as “woman” or “wife”. We opt for “wife” to distinguish the woman who must bury the object in her house from the “(strange) woman” whom the first woman’s husband or male partner is “chasing after”.

13–14. ϣ̅ ΝΤΕΝΑΜΙC : “the seven powers” Kropp & Gardner suggest that these “seven powers” may be the angels mentioned in p. 6 ll. 8–13; cf. also the powers mentioned in p. 11 ll. 23–29. Kropp wonders if “seven” (Ζ) is an error for “two” (Β), then referring to the two powers in the tableau.

25. ΜΟΛΥ ΝΘΗΗ : “hidden water” Perhaps referring to water from an underground source; cf. Meyer/Smith 1994: 385; Gardner 2023b: 133. Smith cites Crum CD 696a s.v. ϩ̅ΗΗ; cf. p. 321.

Image: The “Powers” are six-winged *angels; the names of several of the *archangels in ll. 32–35 may indicate that the central angel is to be copied multiple times. The figures below him likely represent the human patient, and the reptile-like demon being cast out of him; cf. Dosoo 2022a; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 348–350.

PCM I 27. Curses of hatefulness and separation

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

19.5 (H) × 14.2 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 679 (formerly P. Heid. Inv. Nr. 1679); TM 102079; *P.Bad.* V 142; KYP M296; Bélanger Sarrazin #181.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 142 (*ed. pr.*) [B/G]; Polotsky 1935: no. 142 [P]; Dosoo 2023a: 171–177 [D].

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 142 (German); Meyer in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 110 [M]; Dosoo 2023a: 173.

Additional commentary: Polotsky 1935; van der Vliet 1991: 226–227; Untermann (ed.) 2011: 32; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 327–329; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39747>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–26, back ll. 1–9 (?): Curse for removing favour with ritual variants (KYP T225)

Complete paper sheet, with minor damage along creases. The manuscript is a formulary, carrying a curse with two variant procedures, the first to remove favour from a person so that they are hated, the second a separation spell; the relationship of the text on the back to those on the front is not clear. The manuscript is part of the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ and belongs to the 1930 purchase (see pp. 259–263).

The text is written on both front and back in a brown ink, likely of plant origin (see p. 261). As in other manuscripts in this archive, the text is divided into sections using simple horizontal lines, with tableaux consisting of images, *voces magicae*, and *kharaktēres* on either side; the back consists almost entirely of a tableau similar to, but much more elaborate than, that of the front. 5 horizontal and 1 vertical creases are apparent, indicating folding.

The hand of this manuscript is not that of Deacon Iōhannēs, responsible for the majority of the Heidelberg Library (PCM I 21–26), but it does seem to be the same as that of PCM I 28, a codex made from sheets of paper the same size as that used for this manuscript. Although the letter heights of this manuscript are larger than those of PCM I 28, the forms of the letters are generally identical. The *η* of PCM I 27 measures approximately 0.6 cm, as opposed to *ca.* 0.3 cm in the case of PCM I 28, with correspondingly thicker strokes. PCM I 28 also gives the impression of having been written more slowly and with greater care, with greater variation in shading and more extensive use of flourishes and serifs.

The hand is much more formal and consistent than that of Iōhannēs, writing in

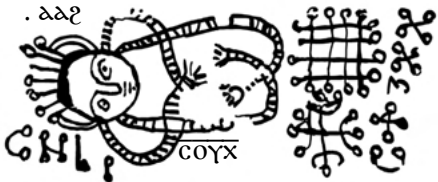
an elegant bimodular, largely bilinear majuscule. There is a slight rightward slope, more marked in *PCM I 27* than 28, and controlled variation in stroke thickness. The letters are generally written separately, although certain letters (such as α, τ) often extend to touch the following letter. The α has a slightly angular bowl, with a long tail. β is angular, ε and c thin, the former with a slightly detached, but short, middle stroke. λ, ζ, and ς have generous descending strokes; most of the letters have short serifs at the end of strokes, notably the τ, which always has a serif on the left, and often also on the right side of its horizontal bar. Notably, ζ does not have the distinctive form used by Iōhannēs (namely, a x with a long z-like tail), so that z and ζ can look quite similar (for majuscule z, see *PCM I 28* p. 8 l. 20), the difference being that the tail of the former curls to the left like the numeral 3, whereas that of the latter recurves to the right. This seems to have led the copyist to alter the form to a more typical majuscule form (z) on l. 15 of the front of this manuscript to reduce ambiguity. φ in *PCM I 28* generally has a large, angular bowl, and a short vertical stroke, although the form in *PCM I 27* is somewhat different. γ in *PCM I 27* is generally y-shaped, while in *PCM I 28* its form is Y; *PCM I 28* also uses an elaborate σ with a recurved ascender not present in *PCM I 27*. Nonetheless, the ritual instructions of *PCM I 28* (p. 12 l. 19–p. 13), written in a slightly less mannered style, uses forms of both γ and σ closer to *PCM I 27*, demonstrating that these divergent letterforms are a deliberate stylistic choice. Supralineation is primarily used for abbreviations and names, but short strokes are also used to mark the schwa/autosyllabic consonants, and sometimes to mark an omitted final n. Mid-points, colons, two short oblique lines (≡), and three dots (⋮) are used to mark paratextual divisions (the last only in *PCM I 27*). Notably, this copyist generally uses the minuscule forms of Greek letters to write numerals, a feature which posed problems to previous editors.¹ Bilabel/Grohmann (1934: 305, 410) dated this hand to the eleventh century, albeit without identifying the same copyist in both manuscripts. We opt for a slightly wider range; we have found similar hands in manuscripts dated from 917/918 to 1023, leading us to propose a tenth to eleventh century date.²

While this copyist seems to be more highly trained than Iōhannēs, the dialectal features are the same—Sahidic heavily influenced by a Middle Egyptian dialect, likely that of the Faiyum. There are fewer grammatical errors, but we still find some unexpected features (see, e.g., *PCM I 28* p. 4 ll. 7–8).

¹ For examples in these manuscripts, see *PCM I 27* front l. 23; *PCM I 28* p. 3 l. 12, p. 8 ll. 10, 14, 20, p. 12 ll. 20, 21, p. 13 l. 6. For the cursive Greek forms used for Coptic numerals, see Stern 1880: 131; Hasitzka 1990: 232. The z (7) is usually somewhat different from that in Stern, though closer to that reproduced by Hasitzka, resembling a mirrored majuscule epsilon (ε).

² Similar hands include the colophon on fol. 155r of Vat.Copt. 66.5 (CLM 135; 917/918 CE); the colophon and reader's note of Vat.Copt. 68, fol. 162r & 162v (CLM 153; 957 & 1014 CE); the colophon of Vat.Copt. 58.4–5 fol. 35v (CLM 76; 1017 CE); and the hands of *P.Teschlot* 1 & 2 (Richter 2000; 1022 and 1023 CE respectively); cf. the comments of Miroshnikov 2022: 408.

front

- NEBΩΩΠ NEB† : NEQAPΩKPC : NTABCM-
 NI NAB : EIMH† OYBACΘA : ECKΩ† EPQ ·
 ZI QOQ ZI MOCT : ZI ΘAΛO EBOL : ZI KOT EP-
 ZOY : ZI XOP EBOL NIM : TP EPOTN : MPOY
 5 NIANGELOC : NXOP : NNETAZEPOTOY EPQK ·
 NOYOEIOY NIM : ETE NAI NE NEYPAH : IOZAY ·
 ΛΩPEΠ AXABA OYACHN AKALLATA KACIC : ·
 KEPHA AXAPAZ : CAAANI ΠAΠLIN : TOTN
 NETNAΩΩΠ : MH : ΛΛ : TETN : BI TEXAPIC
 10 [E]NEBZA : TEK† NAB ETEXAPIC EPEBMANZE-
 MAAC : ZI QOQ ZI MAC† : ZI ΘA EBOL ZI KOT
 EPZOY : NELOOY NPΩMI : ENIBI H[Ω]NAR : ·
 NZHTY NEΩ OΩOT EPQ : EPZA NIM :
 AIA IA TACH TACH : ABXOK EBOL : —
 15 CZAI MIZ MH NIFY EYBE† CAPOY BATOY NEZ
 EPZA PEKXAXI : TAMCOY EPRA : CZAI ON : —
 TAB EZOYN EYTOYOT MOYLA NATKOZT :
 OYAZQ : EPRA NOYALTICEONOC KE† EPIHNT
 OYΘA EBOL MI : OYQOY MI : OYPOYX MI : KATA
 20 TZE : TAAQ EZOYN ECNNY NTOYOT MOYLA
 PANE PEYCAI ENEREY : LEMLOMOY · EY-
 TAIC IKOOC : XAZ PEYZA : QPO : PNEZ ET-
 BE† : EPZA : ΘY : Γ EΘOY ABXOK EBOL : —
 >>
 ZOACAL CAABEL COYX
 25 . AAZ

 26 COYX

1 *i.e.* ^SNEBZ- (twice) | *i.e.* ἀπόκρισις ? : AZΩ KPC *i.e.* ^SEOYΩ ... “his ... pledges” (“seine -Pfänder”) B/G, M || 2 *i.e.* ^SNAZQ | *i.e.* εἰμήτι | *i.e.* ^SBACT-ZO *cf.* note to PCMI 22 l. 45 || 3 *i.e.* ^SΘO | *i.e.* ^SKOTE : KOT B/G || 4 *i.e.* ^SXΩPE | *l.* TAPK EPOTN | *i.e.* ^SMI-POOY || 5 *i.e.* ἄγγελος | *i.e.* ^SXΩPE | *i.e.* ^SN-ET-AZEPATOY (dittography?) B/G, M | EPQ B/G || 8 *i.e.* ^SNTATN || 9 *i.e.* (δείνα) (δείνα) | *i.e.* ^SN-TETN-QI | *i.e.* χάρις || 10 *i.e.* ^SPEZQ-ZA | *l.* TETN-KTO ? B/G, M | *i.e.* ^SNAZQ | *i.e.* χάρις || 10–11 *i.e.* ^SNA N-ZHOOC : “dwelling place” (“(Wohn)sitzes”) B/G, M || 11 *i.e.* ^SΘO | EB[OL Z] B/G || 12 *i.e.* ^SNE-ΛAZ | *i.e.* ^SEP-Π-NICE ? P : *i.e.* ^SN-NIM B/G | H[ETO]YAZ B/G, M || 13 *i.e.* ^SMI-PZA || 14 *i.e.* TACHY (twice) | *i.e.* ^SAZQ-XOK || 15 *i.e.* ζ(ώδιον) | *i.e.* φυ(λακτήριον) | *i.e.* ^SBHTE | BAT OYNEZ B/G || 16 *i.e.* ^SMI-PEK-XAXE || 17 *i.e.* ^STAAZQ | *i.e.* ^SMI-MOYLE N-AT-KOZT : MOYLE NATPOZT/ | *i.e.* ^SAT-PAZT B/G, M || 18 *i.e.* ἀντικείμενος ? : NEIALTINEONOCK T (no translation) B/G, M : NEFALONKEONOC *l.* NET† ANAKAION NA-K “the ones who give you the necessity” ? D | EPIHNT B/G || 19 *i.e.* ^SΘO | *i.e.* ^SNE (three times) | *i.e.* κατὰ || 20 TZA *i.e.* ^SZE B/G | *i.e.* ^SE-CNAY | *i.e.* ^STOYOT | *i.e.* ^SMOYLE || 21 *i.e.* ^SPEZ-Y-CAIE “their beauty” (“ihre Schönheit”) B/G | *i.e.* ^SE-NEZ-Y-EPHY | *i.e.* ^SOLHΛΩH-OY || 22 *i.e.* ^STOEIC | *i.e.* ^SMI-KOC || 23 *i.e.* ^SBHTE : “(which) destroys” (welches zerstört) B/G | *i.e.* ΘY(σία) | Γ : B/G, M do not translate | *i.e.* ^SAZQ-XOK || 25 omitted by B/G

“He will not buy[?], he will not make his payments[?] that he has contracted for himself, except for a hatefulness which surrounds him, and devastation and hatred and scattering and reversal and every annihilation. I adjure you today, ¹⁵ O mighty *angels, by those who stand before you (s.) at all times, whose names are these: Iohau, Lōhep, Akhaba, Ouasēl, Akalata, Kasis, Keria, Akharah, Salani, Paplin; you (pl.) are the ones who will be with NN, child of NN; you will take the favour ¹⁰ [from] his face and you (s.) will give to him the favour of his backside, and devastation and hatred and scattering and reversal! No person in whom is the breath of life will be able to look at the face <of> NN yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”

It is finished.

¹⁵ Draw the image and the phylacteries on a metal plate. Dip them. Wipe them off. <Put the> oil on the face <of> your enemy. Bury them at the door. Write again. Put it into a figurine of unsmoked wax. Set it at the door of an opponent[?]. You apply the nail. It is a scattering. It is a destruction.

It is a separation, according to ²⁰ this manner. Put it in two wax figurines. Turn their backs to each other. Wrap them in cloth from a burial shroud. Smear their face <with>[?] menstrual blood <and> the oil from the metal plate on the face.

Offering: *three evil <things>. It is finished.

^{around image} Xoasal Saabel Soukh ²⁵ .aah Soukh

1. ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲛⲱⲕⲣⲉ : “he will not make his payments?” For the sense “make a payment” see Förster WBGW p. 81 s.v. ἀπόκρισις sense 2. The exact meaning of this statement remains obscure.

9–10. ⲧⲉⲧⲏⲃⲓ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲣⲓⲥ [ⲉ]ⲛⲉⲃⲁ : “you will take the favour [from] his face” For the concept of favour being given to or taken from the face, see the note to PCM I 22 l. 32.

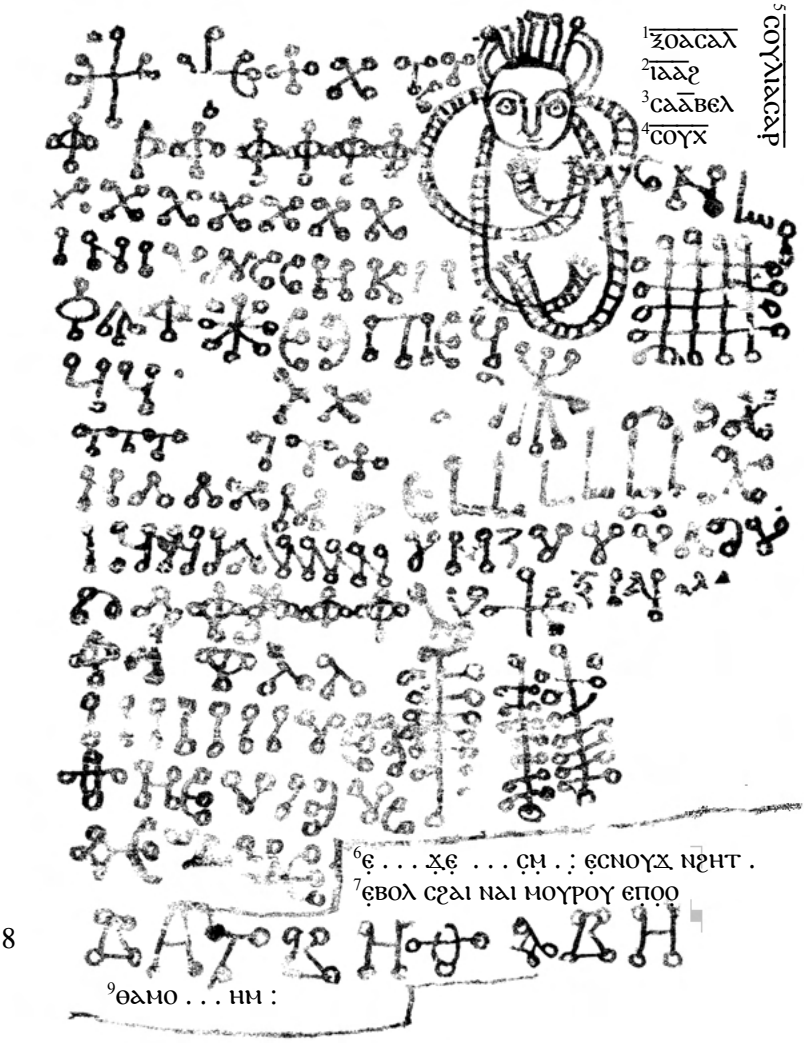
15–23. Ritual Instructions: Options are provided here for two rituals. For a curse of destruction, the tableau is copied onto a metal plate and washed off with oil. The oil is then applied to an effigy made from wax representing the ritual’s target, into which a second copy of the tableau (written on folded paper?) has been placed. The effigy is then pierced with a nail before being left at the target’s door. The second ritual is for a separation curse, in which two wax effigies representing the targets are placed back to back before being anointed with the oil used to wash off the metal plate and menstrual blood, then wrapped in a burial shroud. For the long history of the manipulation of such figurines going back to pre-Christian Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece, see Dosoo 2023a. A separation curse very close to the second ritual here which involves placing effigies back to back can be found in the eleventh-century *Ġāyat al-ḥakim* (Latin *Picatrix*; Ritter 1933: 261.5–263.4; German translation in Ritter/Plessner 1962: 269–271), along with the opposite manipulation, placing figurines face to face. For discussions, see Dosoo 2018: 23–51; Dosoo 2023a: 171–177.

17. ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲟⲩⲧ : “unfired wax” Here ⲁⲧⲕⲟⲩⲧ seems to be the equivalent of ἀκάπνιστον, used to describe the wax used to make effigies in *GEMF* 84/*PGM* CXXIV (KYP M840; V–VI CE) l. 12, and the Historical and Ethnographic Society of Athens Codex 115 (XVIII CE; Delatte 1927: 77.8). It would seem to refer to a high quality of wax collected without smoking the bees out of their hive; cf. Strabo, *Geography* 9.1.23 on unsmoked honey, and BL Ms. Or. 6794 l. 56 (Kropp 1931: I no. E; KYP M306) for an instance of “unsmoked honey” (ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱ... ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲟⲩⲧ) in Coptic.

22. ⲱⲡⲟ : “menstrual blood” For a discussion, see the note to PCM I 22 l. 46.

Image: See the discussion of the image on the back.

back



5 coyliacap- B/G || 6 ε ... xε ... cm . : εcnoyx nεht . B/G || 7 εbol cεai nai moγroy ε ... B/G || 8 εamo ... hm : ... qhm B/G

|^{back} Xoasal, Iaah, Saabel, Soukh, |⁵ Souliasar

|⁶ ... it being put ... write these things, bind them to the ...

(*kharaktēres*: BHT BHΘ ABH)

|⁹ ...

KD, EL & MP edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by KD and JS.

Image: The image here, like that on the front, seems to represent an *angel, perhaps one of the “mighty angels” mentioned in front l. 5. The angel is depicted with the iconography of the *cherubim and *seraphim, a crowned head surrounded by six wings. Here only two wings, resembling long hands, are clearly visible, while the sixth pair may have merged with the crown; see the discussion in Dosoo 2022a: 144–147. Compare Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 328, who refer to the figure as a “snake-woman” (“Schlangenfrau”). Compare the similar image of an angel on *PCM* I 32 p. 2. It is unclear whether this is a fuller version of the same tableau which could not be fully copied onto the front, or if this is a similar but different tableau to be used with the ritual instructions in ll. 6–9, which are too fragmentary to clearly understand.

PCM I 28. Love spell of Cyprian

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

14.3 (H) × 9 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 684 (formerly P.Heid. Inv. Nr. 1684); TM 98064; *P.Bad.* V 122; KYP M148; Bélanger Sarrazin #167.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 122 (*ed. pr.*); Polotsky 1935: no. 122.

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 122 (German); Jackson in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 73.

Additional commentary: Seider 1964: 162–163; Camplani 2010: 145–146; Untermann (ed.) 2011: 48–49; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 311, 336–338; Dosoo 2018: 34–37; Johnston/Gardner 2018; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32; Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 5.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: Plates IV–XI.

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian influence.

Contents:

1. Front p. 1–13 (ll. 1–275): Love spell attributed to Cyprian of Antioch (KYP T15)

Single-quire paper codex of 16 pages, consisting of 1 quaternion (4 bifolios), once bound with a thread. The codex is inscribed only on the first 13 pages, the last 3 pages being left blank. The manuscript belongs to the archive known as the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’, being part of the 1930 purchase. Like the other manuscripts from this collection, it was probably produced in the Faiyum and is written in a form of Sahidic heavily influenced by the dialect of that region.¹

In addition to the centrefolds in the bifolios that we would expect in a codex, the manuscript shows signs of having been further folded, once vertically and once horizontally to form a small package.² All of the pages except 12 & 13 show considerable marginal decoration, consisting of a vertical line made up of short horizontal lines in the left margin, broken at intervals by elaborate (but purely decorative) diplai (>) and dotted obeloi (÷), generally four to a page. A decorative double horizontal line also appears at the end of the prayer, separating it from the ritual procedure. The ink on page 13 is darker due to discolouration of the page as a whole, perhaps as the result of staining from either mud or oil following deposition or in the course of use.³

The hand is very regular, the script a bilinear and unimodular majuscule, with a

¹ For a discussion of the archive, including the process of acquisition and dialect, see the introduction to the archive on p. 259–263. We note that the translation of this piece significantly benefited from the help of Ivan Miroshnikov, Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, Alexandros Tsakos, and So Miyagawa, with whom we read this text in an online reading group in 2021.

² For other codices demonstrating folding, see *PCM* I 4 & 34

³ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 304; Johnston/Gardner 2018: 144–145.

slight slope to the right. Interlinear space is well respected, although the margins are very narrow. Supralinear strokes are used above abbreviations and *voces magicae*, as well as to indicate the schwa or autosyllabic letters, but in this last case we find them as very short lines above or between one or more letters. The use of paper suggests a tenth century date at the earliest, and this impression is confirmed by the letterforms; despite the difference in letter height size (*cf.* pp. 362–363), we propose that the copyist of this text is the same as that of *PCM* I 27, and so a fuller discussion of the hand may be found in the introduction to that manuscript.

Cyprian of Antioch, the putative author of this text, is a legendary magician turned bishop and then martyr.⁴ His legend developed in the decades prior to 379 CE, when a sermon by Gregory of Nazianzus conflated him with the historical Cyprian of Carthage (*ca.* 210–258 CE).⁵ His hagiographical dossier consists of three primary works, the *Conversion*, the *Confession*, and the *Martyrdom of Cyprian*;⁶ a synthesis of the three sources of his legend in a single hexameter poem was composed by the Empress Aelia Eudocia (*ca.* 401–460 CE).⁷ Versions of his legend survive in most of the languages of Mediaeval Christianity,⁸ including Coptic versions of the *Confession* (CC 95) and *Martyrdom* (CC 619).⁹ His story, most fully told in the first-person *Confession*, describes his initiation into all of the mystery cults of the pagan world (Delphi, Eleusis, Memphis, Chaldaea, and so on), in the process becoming a master magician and a disciple of the Devil. Coming to Antioch, he sets himself up as a philosopher-magician, performing various services for clients and teaching students of his own. Among his clients is a wealthy young man named Aglaïdas, who hires him to use a love spell on a Christian virgin named Justina, but the demons sent by Cyprian, first for Aglaïdas, and then on his own behalf, are thwarted by her simple faith and her use of the sign of the cross. Cyprian finally confronts the Devil with the failure of his magic, and discovering that Jesus is more powerful than he, converts to Christianity, eventually becoming a bishop before being martyred in the Great Persecution of Diocletian (303–313 CE), on the 21st Thouth (18th September) according to the Coptic Synaxarium.¹⁰

⁴ On the hagiographical dossier of Cyprian, and related material, see Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 32–41; Bailey 2009: 2–31; Bailey 2017a: 3–106.

⁵ *Oration* 24.8–12; *cf.* Bailey 2009: 18–19; Bailey 2017a: 11–17.

⁶ Critical editions of all three parts of the dossier may be found in Bailey 2017a: 110–262; an earlier edition of the *Confession* may be found in Bailey 2009: 34–105.

⁷ Ludwich 1897: 16–79; *PG* 85: 831–864; Bevegne 1982; translation in Kastner 1981; *cf.* Bailey 2009: 21–22; Bailey 2017a: 110–261.

⁸ See the discussion in Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 33–38.

⁹ von Lemm 1899; Crum 1905: 151–152 no. 220; Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 43–230.

¹⁰ Basset 1904: 285–287; in the Catholic Church the martyrdom of Cyprian and Justina was commemorated on the 26th September until 1969, when they were expunged from the *Calendarium Romanum* (1969: 140) as fictional personages.

Cyprian's pre-conversion reputation as a magician led to him becoming a 'patron saint' of magic in some popular Christian traditions; there is evidence of books of magic attributed to him in Germany by the sixteenth century, when their existence is commented on by Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) and Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535),¹¹ although he is particularly important as the pseudonymous author of many such works in early modern Iberia and Scandinavia.¹² The text here, though, seems to have a slightly different origin.

The first-person narrative of the *Love Spell* follows that of the *Confession*, and, in turn, that of the dependent amuletic text known as the *Prayer of Cyprian*. Likely originally a Greek composition, copies of this *Prayer* survive in several other languages, including Arabic, Armenian, Ge'ez, and Syriac, as well as several vernacular European languages.¹³ The Coptic *Love Spell* would seem to be the oldest surviving part of this tradition, although a possible sixth-century parallel may allow us to push this back several centuries (see the note to p. 2 ll. 4–5 below). Despite differences in wording, these versions manifestly all belong to a common tradition, and begin with Cyprian boasting of his former magical powers before confessing his realisation of the supremacy of Jesus Christ and invoking God to protect the user of his prayer from misfortune, particularly that caused by harmful magic. While this prayer is not (yet) attested in Coptic, the survival of the *Copto-Arabic version makes the existence of a lost Coptic intermediary virtually certain. The *Love Spell* seems best understood as having been inspired by this text, following as it does the same basic structure. In adapting an older, originally amuletic prayer for aggressive purposes, it resembles other texts from the Coptic magical corpus, including PCM I 31, two curses based on the model of the *Testament of Solomon*, and an as yet unpublished love spell which seems to draw on the textual tradition of the *Prayer of Mary 'in Bartos'*.¹⁴

In this edition we provide the continuous line numbering from Bilabel/Grohmann on the right of the column in grey from page 2 onwards.

¹¹ Ohrvik 2018: 114–115.

¹² For Cyprian in the Iberian tradition, see Coelho 1887–1889; Leitão 2015 & 2017; Smid 2019a & 2019b; for the Scandinavian tradition, see Gårdbäck 2017; Ohrvik 2018: 112–120; cf. Richter 2014a.

¹³ For an overview, see Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 38–41; for the Arabic tradition, see Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 250–295; Basset 1982: 6–24; for the Armenian tradition, see Wingate 1930: 183–187; Feydit 1986: 326–331; for the Ge'ez tradition, see Grohmann 1917–1918; Strelcyn 1955; Basset 1982: 38–52; for the Greek tradition, see Schermann 1903; Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 232–249, 296–303; for the Syriac tradition, see Hunter 1987: 100–103; Cherkashina (Nurullina) 2012: 48–53, 122–125. Two early (8th- and 10th-century) Latin prayers attributed to Cyprian survive, but they are quite far removed in content from the other versions, lacking the opening confession and explicit request for protection against magic; see Leclercq 1936: 2330–2334, with further references.

¹⁴ Montserrat, Abadia Inv. 604 + 1235 (KYP M30). For the *Prayer of Mary*, see PCM I 25.

page 1

- †ϣΑΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΔΕΩΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ
 ΝΑΞΡΑΙ
 ΑΥΩΙΒΙ ΖΝ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΑΥΩΙΒΙ
 ΖΝ ΤΑΦΥΣΙC ΑΥΣΙΩΙ ΣΙ ΝΑCΠΛΑ-
 5 ΧΑΝΩΝ ΑΙΩΙΒΙ ΖΝ ΠΑΔΥΑΝ
 ΑΙΝΕΞΩΛΗΒ · ΖΝ ΤΑCΑΡΗΖ
 ΑΒΓΙΜ ΕΝΒΙ ΠΒΩ ΝΤΑΔΠΗ ≠ ΔΙ-
 ΜΟΥΖ ΕΝΚΩΞΤ ΔΙΕΝΚΑΤΚ
 ΕΜΠΙΞΙΝΗΒ ΑΙΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΠΧΙ
 10 ΕΜΤΑΝ ΔΙΟΥΩΜ ΑΥΩ ΔΙCΩ
 ΖΝ ΟΥΛΗΠΙ ΜΕΝ · ΟΥΑΩΔΖΑΜ ≠
 ΠΘΗΝ ΟΥΕΜΤΑΝ ΖΝ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ
 ΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΠΝΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΞΟΥΑ
 ΤΑΕΠΘΕΜΙΑ ΑΤΑCΩΦΙΑ ΕΡ
 15 ΚΑΚΕ ΑΤΑCΑΜ ΩΧΗΝ ΔΙΟΥΩ-
 CΒ ΖΕΝ ΤΑΤΕΧΝΙ ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΚΕΠ-
 ΡΙΑΝΟC ΠΝΑC ΕΜΜΑΚΟC ΠΕΝ-
 ΤΑΒΕΡ ΩΒΗΡ ΕΠΕΤΡΑΚΩΝ ΕΠΝΟΥ
 ΑΒΜΟΥ† ΕΡΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΔΙΜΟΥ-
 20 † ΕΡΑΒ ΧΕ ΠΩΤ ΑΒ† ΠΕΒΚΛΑΜ
 ΜΕ ΤΕΒΘΡΗΠΙ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΤΑΔΠΗ

1 *i.e.* ⁸ρΩΒ || 3 *i.e.* ψυχή || 4 *i.e.* φύσις | *i.e.* ⁸σιωε | *i.e.* ⁸νσι | *i.e.* σπλάγγχον || 5 *i.e.* ⁸ωιβε ||
 6 *i.e.* ⁸νεξ-ωλξ || *i.e.* σάρξ || 7 *i.e.* ⁸α-q-κιη νσι ? : αβγι μεν σι *i.e.* κυμαίνει “waved” or “trembled”
 (“gewogt, gezittert”) Bilabel/Grohmann || 11 *i.e.* λύπη || 12 *i.e.* ⁸ηπι-σν : ηπισι n- *i.e.* ⁸ηπι-χι
 n- Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ψυχή || 13 *i.e.* π(νεδ)μα | περογα[n] Bilabel/Grohmann || 14 *i.e.* ⁸η-τ-α-
 επιθυμία | *i.e.* σοφία || 15 *i.e.* ⁸ωχν || 15–16 *i.e.* ⁸α-ι-ογωσϣ : “I laboured” (“ich bemühte mich”)
 Bilabel/Grohmann || 16 *i.e.* τέχνη || 17 *i.e.* μάγος || 18 *i.e.* δράκων | l. επνογ(η) *i.e.* ⁸η-π-νογν :
 επνοϣ/[η] Bilabel/Grohmann

I know that everything has left me. Everything has been changed in my soul. Everything has been changed in my nature. My innards have become like gall. |⁵ My appearance has changed. I have been terrified in my flesh. The hair of my head has moved². I have burned with fire. I have lain down but I have not slept. I have arisen but I have not |¹⁰ rested. I have eaten and I have drunk in grief and sighing. I have not found rest in my soul or my spirit because of the greatness of my desire. My wisdom has |¹⁵ darkened. My power has perished. I have been undone in my craft.

I am Cyprian the great magician, the one who was companion to the Serpent of the *Abyss. He called me “my son” and I called |²⁰ him “father”. He put his crown and his diadem upon my head;

1. †ϫαογν : “I know” A small fold in the paper conceals the upper part of the † in photographs, but autopsy confirms its presence.

1–2. ρεωωβ νιμ ογεινε ηαερα : “I know that everything has left me” The exact meaning of this phrase is difficult to determine; Bilabel/Grohmann and Jackson translate the phrase literally as “everything has passed me by” (“jedes Ding vor mir vorübergegangen ist”). The meaning seems to be either that all of Cyprian’s powers have left him or that he has been hitherto entirely unaware of the true state of things. For the first interpretation, compare the Greek ἀπέρχομαι (for the equivalence, see Crum CD 483b), and the negative ατρογεινε (“(that) which does pass away”), and cf. p. 2 l. 9; for the second compare the Greek παρέρχομαι LSJ sense V (cf. Crum CD 438b).

18. επετρακων επινοϝ : “the Serpent of the Abyss” For consistency we translate δράκων as “serpent”, but this word is often translated in English as “dragon”. The Serpent here is the Devil; cf. the description of him being cast out of heaven in Revelation 12.7–9.

I caused me to drink milk from his right breast, and he sat me at his right hand. He made all of his power subject to me. I mounted on <the> ¹⁵ Pleiades, and it sailed under me like a ship. I knew the whisper of the stars. I possessed the treasures of the winds. I knew all astronomy.

All these things left me because of ¹⁰ a maiden named Justina. She made my power and <the> power of Satan like a sparrow in <the> hand of a small child. I knew in the depths of my heart and the thoughts of my spirit ¹⁵ and the bounds of my mind that none would be able to prophesy to my heart in this affair, neither *angel nor *archangel nor *cherubim nor *seraphim nor force nor ²⁰ *power nor bodiless one nor *authority would be able to <prophesy>, nor to fulfil my command, except the Father of the Aeons

1. ΔΙΤΣΑΙ: “I caused me to drink” Polotsky notes that we would expect “he caused me to drink” (ΔΒΤΣΑΙ) here, with “he” referring to the Devil; “I” here may be the result of a copying error.

4–5. ΣΙΧΘΝ ΚΗΡΟΥΤ: “on <the> Pleiades” As noted by Crum (CD 821a) a close parallel to this passage may be found in the *Martyrdom of Phoibammon* §§225–226 (CC 297), in which it is said of a magician named Alexandros: “Many times he had stopped the sun in middle of the sky, and conversed with the moon like two men speaking with one other. Many times he had mounted the Pleiades. He had examined the whole region of the air, and the demons were subject to him, obeying him like servants. These were the things that he had done by his magic” (οὐμνησθε γὰρ νοσιπ ἀφσώστ μπρε εἴν τνιτε ντιπε · ἀφσάδε μπουε ἡθε νρωμε σναγ εἴσάδε μῆνεγερνῆγ · οὐμνησθε νοσιπ ἀφάδε εἰσνινοῦτ ἀφμοῦστ μπκώτε τῆρῆ μπανρ · ἀγω νερηνλαμωδν εἴποτασε ναφ εἴσώτῆ ἡσώφ ἡθε ἡνεῖρῆεζαλ · ναῖ νε ναφάαγ εἴν τεφῆῆτῆαρος; Müller/Uljas 2019: 68 (Coptic text), 108 (translation); note that Müller/Uljas mistakenly translate σῆνοῦτ as “death”). The earliest version of this text would seem to be Chester Beatty Library 2029, dated by the PAThs Project to the sixth century (CLM 1163). This passage seems in turn to be dependent on the Greek amuletic *Prayer of Cyprian* (see introduction): “I would bind the moon and the stars and they would not move”, “And I did all of this magic, and all the evil spirits served (me)” (τὴν σελήνην τῆς ἀστέρως ἔδενα καὶ οὐκ ἐκινούντο; πάσας τε καὶ μαγίας εἰργασάμην, καὶ πάντα τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα ἐδούλευον; Schermann 1903: 312, with Ms. V; for the addition of the sun cf. Joshua 10.12–13). These parallels imply an older tradition concerning Cyprian upon which the *Love Spell*, the *Martyrdom*, and the *Prayer* are all dependent, perhaps an earlier version of the *Prayer*.

7. ΝΑΞΩΩΡ ΕΝΝΕΤΗΓ: “the treasures of the wind” Bilabel/Grohmann translate “took (i.e. carried off) the treasures with the wind” (“die Schätze mit den Winden ergriffen (d.h. entführt”).

12–13. ΕΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΧΑΧ ΕἴΝ ΣΙΧ ΝΟΥΘΗΡΕ ΘΗΗ: “like a sparrow in <the> hand of a small child” For other examples of metaphors which use small animals to express powerlessness, see PCM I 26 p. 5 l. 22, p. 7 l. 1. Close parallels to this passage may be found in Athanasius, *Life of Anthony* 24.5: “And indeed he (the Devil) was bound by the Lord like a sparrow for our sport” (καὶ δέδεταί μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ὡς στρουθίον εἰς τὸ καταπαίξεσθαι παρ’ ἡμῶν; Bartelink 1994: 202); Pseudo-Eustathius of Tracia, *On Michael* (CC 148): “he (the Devil) was gripped fast in the hand of the holy Archangel Michael, like a bird in the hand of a little child, and when the archangel had made him suffer greatly he set him free in great disgrace” (ἐφσονε ἡτοτῆ ἡπαρχαγγελος θεογὰβ μιχαηλ ἡφρητ ἡογδαχ ἔεν τχιχ ἡογκοχῆ ἡαλογ ογορ ἔταφαιῖ ἡογδαβ ἔναωα ἀφχαφ ἔβολ ἔεν ογνιωτ ἡωῖπ; Budge 1894: 99 (trans.), 124, l. 11–15); cf. Dosoo 2022c: 531.

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	ME ΠΕΒΜΩΝΩΚΕΝΗC ΕΝΩΗΡΕ	
	IC ΠΕΧC ME ΠΕΠNA ΝΑΓΙΑ Π-	45
	ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΙΘΕΡΩΑ ΝΠΔCΩΝΤ	
5	ΔΙΚΩ ΤΑΩΡΚΗ ΔΙCΗCΗ ΝΤΑ-	
	ΜΑΝΙΑ ΞN ΟΥΝΑC ΗΜΕΤΧΑCΙ-	
	ΖΗΤ ΔΙΩΞΙΡΑΤ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΝΑΠΑΤ	50
	ΔΙΠΩΩΜΙ ΜΠΑΞΑ ΕΠΕΜΗΝΤ	
	ΔΙΒΙ ΤΑΙΟΥΝΑΗ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΗ ΔΙ-	
10	ΚΕΘΑΛΙCΙ ΗΠΚΑΞ ΖΕΝ ΤΑΟΥΕΡΗ-	
	ΤΕ ΔΙCΕΚ ΞΡΑΥ ΕΒΑΛ ΞN ΩΑΔ-	
	ΝΤ ΔΙΤΑΥΑ ΝΝΙΑΠΩΛΩΓΙΑ	55
	ΞΡΑΙ ΕΤΙ:Ζ ΠΗ ΩΑ ΤΕCΚΕΝΗ	
	ΜΠΩΤ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕCΑΩΒ ΕΝΚΑ-	
15	ΤΑΠΕΤCΗΑ ΔΙΩΩ ΕΒΑΛ Μ-	
	ΠΩΤ ΕΝΝΕΩΝ ΠCC ΕΑΡΧΗ	
	ΝΗΜ ΜΕ ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΝΗΜ ΗΕ ΘΡΩ-	60
	ΝΩC ΝΙ ^{vac} Η ΕΙΧΩ ΝΝΙΑΠΩΛΩ-	
	ΓΙΑ Χ ^Ε ΕΡΙCΙ ΤΩΝΑΙ	
	ΧΑΡΙΗ ΒΑΛΙΗ ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC	
20	ΔΥΤΟΥΛ ΩΒΙΑ ΚΑΚΙΚΕΦΑΛΙ	
	ΔΜΟΥ ΔΜΟΥ CΩΠΙ ΠΕΠNA	65
	ΕΝΤΑΚCΑΛΩΩΒ ΕΡΔΙ =	

1 *i.e.* μονογενής || 2 *l.* ι(ηCΟΥC)C ΠΕ-Χ(ριστός) | *i.e.* Πν(εύμ)α | *i.e.* ἅγια : αγίων Bilabel/Grohmann ||
4 *i.e.* ὀργή | *i.e.* CḥḥCḥ || 5 *i.e.* μανία || 8 *i.e.* Cḥḥḥḥ || 9 *i.e.* καθαρίζειν || 11 *i.e.* ἀπολογία ||
12 *i.e.* σκηνή | ΕΤΙ:Ζ: Bilabel/Grohmann || 13 *i.e.* Cḥḥ-CAḥḥ || 13–14 *i.e.* καταπέτασμα ||
15 *i.e.* Cḥḥ-ḥḥ-αἰών | *i.e.* Cḥḥ-ḥḥ-ρχή || 16 *i.e.* ἐξουσία || 16–17 *i.e.* θρόνος || 17 ΝΗΜ Η written after *vac.*
due to tail of ζ of previous line | *i.e.* ἀπολογία || 18 ΤΩΝΑΙ from Adonai ? || 19 from βασιλεύς ? ||
20 from ὦ βία κακὴ κεφαλὴ ? Polotsky, see note || 21 *i.e.* Πν(εύμ)α || 22 Ἀ[ια] ΔΙΑ Bilabel/Grohmann,
Jackson

and his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the hallowed one. I suppressed my wrath, I set aside my anger, and I mastered my [|]⁵ madness with great audacity. I stood on my feet, I turned my face to the west, I raised my right hand to the sky, I purified the earth from my feet, [|]¹⁰ I snorted through my nose, and I sent these requests up to the seventh heaven, to the *tabernacle of the Father within <the> seven *veils. I called upon [|]¹⁵ the Father of Aeons, the Lord of all *principalities and all *authorities and all *thrones, saying these requests: “Erisi Tōnai Kharim Balim Basileos [|]²⁰ Autoul Ōbia Kakikephali Amou Amou, seize the spirit which you have entrusted to me,

10. ΔΙΣΕΚ ΠΡΑΥ ΕΒΑΛ ΞΝ ΦΑΔΗΤ : “I snorted through my nose” For a discussion of the practice of “snorting through one’s nose” in Greek and Coptic, see Drescher 1969: 91–93. In Coptic literary texts it is most often associated with the Devil, as a rude and insolent action; cf. van der Vliet 1995: 411.

20. ὨΒΙΑ ΚΑΚΙΚΕΦΑΛΙ : “Ōbia Kakikephali” As Polotsky notes, these *voces* seem to be the Greek words ὦ βία! κακή κεφαλή! (“O violence! Idiot!”). These oaths may be found in numerous Greek and Coptic literary texts; see, for example, in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Alphabetic Collection) Daniel 3, in which an exorcised demon exclaims, “O violence! The command of Jesus casts me out!” (ὦ βία! ἡ ἐντολὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκβάλλει με); Pseudo-Eustathius of Tracia, *On Michael* (CC 148) in which the Devil cries out “O violence, what would I do to you, Euphemia, if I could reach you!” (ὦ βία οὐ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀλλ’ ἐμοῦ φάρο; Budge 1894: 111.14–15); Herodotus, *Histories* 3.29, in which Cambyzes stabs the Apis bull, taunting the priests: “O idiots, are these gods, creatures of blood and flesh who feel iron?” (ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἑναίμοι τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαίοντες σιδηρίων;); *Martyrdom of Lacaron* (CC 284), in which a governor says to soldiers who have defied him: “O idiots! I speak well with you, and you speak badly with me!” (καγε κεφαλή ἡμεῶν καλῶς τετρεσάχι μενῆν ἡμεῶν κακῶς; Balestri/Hyvernat 1908: 18.12–13).

21. ἈΜΟΥ ἈΜΟΥ : “Amou Amou” Alternatively, we might translate this not as *voces magicae* but as comprehensible Coptic—“come, come”.

21–22. ΘΩΠΗ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΝΤΑΚΣΑΛΩΩΒ ΕΡΑΙ : “seize the spirit which you have entrusted to me” For this construction, compare the *Martyrdom of George* Sa 2 (Borg.Copt. 109, cass. XXVIII, fasc. 152, fol. 5v col. II ll. 23–27): “I will come to you on the clouds so as to receive the deposit [I] have entrusted to [your] body—namely, [your] soul” (ταχι νῆπαρᾶθηκη [ἡ]ταῖ[β]αλω[ο]υ}··· ἐπε[κ]σωμα ἐτε[ε] [τεκ]··· γγχι τε; Miroshnikov/Marjanen/Iacono (forthcoming)). Ivan Miroshnikov is thanked for this reference. The sense seems to be that unless God sends Gabriel, Cyprian will no longer want to live, in which case his spirit should be taken from him. Jackson understands this as a request to God to seize Justina’s spirit.

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	$\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{EP}}$ $\overline{\text{XPIA}}$ $\overline{\text{EMAB}}$ $\overline{\text{AN}}$ $\overline{\text{WN}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}\overline{\text{XAA}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{NAI}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{PA}}\overline{\text{AY}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{-}}$ $\overline{\text{NA}}\overline{\text{S}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{LIT}}\overline{\text{OY}}\overline{\text{PKOC}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{WA}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{NCAT}}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{GAB}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{IH}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{PA}}$ $\overline{\text{TI}}$-	70
5	$\overline{\text{NA}}\overline{\text{S}}$ $\overline{\text{EN}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{AM}}$ $\overline{\text{ENK}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{EB}}$- $\overline{\text{MOY}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{EP}}\overline{\text{EB}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{ENK}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}}$ $\overline{\text{PI}}$- $\overline{\text{KW}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{ET}}\overline{\text{OY}}\overline{\text{WM}}$ $\overline{\text{EPK}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{NM}}$ $\overline{\text{ETE}}$ $\overline{\text{PAI}}$ $\overline{\text{TEK}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{ETE}}\overline{\text{KMET}}$- $\overline{\text{NOY}}\overline{\text{TE}}$ $\overline{\text{KIP}}\overline{\text{OC}}$ $\overline{\text{THEOC}}$ $\overline{\text{AYW}}$ $\overline{\text{EB}}$-	75
10	$\overline{\text{MOY}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ETE}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{FIA}}\overline{\text{LLE}}$ $\overline{\text{NOY}}\overline{\text{W}}$ $\overline{\text{ZI}}$ $\overline{\text{EPI}}\overline{\text{THE}}\overline{\text{MIA}}$ $\overline{\text{AYW}}$ $\overline{\text{EB}}\overline{\text{MOY}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ENEB}}\overline{\text{TENA}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ENK}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{M}}$ $\overline{\text{PI}}$- $\overline{\text{ERA}}$ $\overline{\text{NKW}}\overline{\text{ZT}}$ $\overline{\text{ET}}\overline{\text{HOY}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{SAM}}$ $\overline{\text{ETE}}\overline{\text{KMETMETNOY}}\overline{\text{TE}}$	80
15	$\overline{\text{PAI}}$ $\overline{\text{ETERE}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{NIM}}$ $\overline{\text{NAXW}}$- $\overline{\text{KHM}}$ $\overline{\text{EN}}\overline{\text{ZHTB}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{PAT}}\overline{\text{OY}}\overline{\text{W}}$ $\overline{\text{T}}$ $\overline{\text{EPEKEMT}}\overline{\text{W}}$ $\overline{\text{EBA}}\overline{\text{L}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{EBI}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{OWPMH}}$ $\overline{\text{NTEB}}\overline{\text{SAM}}$ $\overline{\text{ZIT}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{PEKOEZCAZNE}}$ $\overline{\text{W}}$ $\overline{\text{PIWT}}$ $\overline{\text{EN}}$-	85
20	$\overline{\text{NEW}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{EBOK}}$ $\overline{\text{WA}}$ $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{EBA}}\overline{\text{PW}}\overline{\text{FANI}}$ $\overline{\text{ZIXW}}\overline{\text{S}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{OY}}$- $\overline{\text{NAS}}$ $\overline{\text{NAPW}}\overline{\text{FANIA}}$	

1 *i.e.* χρεία | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{ON}}$: {e}on Bilabel/Grohmann || **2** *i.e.* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{XOY}}$ || $\overline{\text{PNT}}\overline{\text{XAA}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ *l.* $\overline{\text{PNTAKXAA}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ “the one who (you?) send to me today” (“der (du?) mir heute... schick(s)t”) Bilabel/Grohmann : “he who sent out” Jackson || **3** *i.e.* λειτουργός || **7** *l.* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{-KWZT}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{(I)H}}$ || **8** *l.* $\overline{\text{PEK}}\overline{\text{WZT}}$? Till *ap.* Bilabel/Grohmann : (e)tte-kwzt *i.e.* (e)ttt-kwzt Bilabel/Grohmann | etek- *i.e.* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{TEK}}$ - || **9** *i.e.* κύριος θεός || **10** *i.e.* φιάλη || **11** *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία || **14** *i.e.* τ-sam | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{-TEK}}\overline{\text{-HNT}}\overline{\text{-NOY}}\overline{\text{TE}}$ || **15** *i.e.* ψυχή || **16–17** *i.e.* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{PAT}}\overline{\text{-OY}}\overline{\text{-OY}}\overline{\text{W}}$ (haplography) || **17** *i.e.* $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{-PEK}}\overline{\text{-NTO}}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{-Q}}\overline{\text{-EI}}$ || **18** *l.* τ-ὄρμη | *l.* $\overline{\text{ZITE}}\overline{\text{(N)}}$ || **20** *i.e.* αἰών | *i.e.* $\overline{\text{DE}}\overline{\text{(I)}}\overline{\text{(VA)}}$ $\overline{\text{DE}}\overline{\text{(I)}}\overline{\text{(VA)}}$ (twice) | *i.e.* (υἱός) || **21** *i.e.* ἀποφαίνειν || **22** *i.e.* ἀποφάνεια

I do not need it anymore, until you send me today the great servant of flaming fire,
 *Gabriel—he of |⁵ great fiery power, who fills his face with fire from the fire that
 consumes every fire, which is the fire of your divinity, Lord God, and who |¹⁰ fills
 his bowl with desire and lust and fills his wings with fire from that river of fire
 that burns with <the> power of your divinity, |¹⁵ that which every soul will wash
 within before they worship in your presence—so that he comes on the impulse of
 his power at your command, O Father of |²⁰ Aeons, to go to NN, the daughter of
 NN, appearing to her in a great appearance,

7–8. **ⲉⲡⲕⲱⲉⲧ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲕⲱⲉⲧ** : “every fire, which is the fire” In standard Coptic grammar, the first ⲕⲱⲉⲧ should not have the definite article ⲡ-, since it is already defined by ⲛⲏ, while the second should; the ⲧⲉ may represent a miscopied ⲡ(ⲉ)-.

10. For the motif of an angel with a bowl, compare Revelation 16 in which seven angels pour out “the bowls of God’s wrath” (ⲛⲉⲑⲓⲁⲗⲏ ⲛⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 16.1) upon the earth, and the note to *PCM I 3* front col. 2 ll. 30–32; cf. Dosoo 2021d: 432–433.

12–13. **ⲡⲉⲣⲁ ⲛⲕⲱⲉⲧ** : “that river of fire” For the concept of the river of fire in Coptic Christian eschatology, see Zandee 1960: 307–310; specifically, this is the river of fire which flows before the throne of judgement, which must be crossed by the dead, and which burns the sinful but spares the just; cf. the notes to *PCM I 12* p. 27 l. 20–p. 29 l. 3.

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	ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲁⲧⲏⲕⲏ ⲛⲁⲧⲁ- ⲙⲉⲗⲓ ⲉⲃⲙⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲥⲗⲏⲧ ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲧⲱ- ⲕⲏ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲏⲛⲁ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲕⲱⲗⲧ ⲗⲓ ⲟϥ- 5 ⲱⲱ ⲉⲧⲗⲏⲃ ⲗⲓ ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣ ⲗⲓ ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲕⲏ ⲉⲃⲙⲁⲗⲥ ⲉⲃⲏⲏ ⲛⲉ- ⲏⲏⲃ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲃⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲙⲓⲁ ⲗⲓ ⲟϥⲱⲱ ⲗⲓ ⲛⲱⲣⲏⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲥⲱⲣⲏⲏ ⲉⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲉⲣ ⲕⲁ- 10 ⲕⲓ ⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲟϥⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲥⲙⲁⲁ- ⲗⲓ ⲧⲱⲙ ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲟϥⲱⲙ ⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛ- ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲱ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲕⲁⲧ ⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛ- ⲛⲉⲥⲗⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲥⲗⲁⲧⲓ ⲉⲣ ⲕⲱⲗⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲧⲏ ⲧ 15 ⲕⲱⲗⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲗⲧ ⲗⲁ- ⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲏⲛⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲛⲉ- ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲓ ⲱⲛⲉⲗⲧⲏⲃ ⲗⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲛⲉ- ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲓ ⲗⲓⲛⲏⲃ 20 ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲙⲉⲉϥⲉ ⲉⲡⲏⲛⲟ- ⲧⲉ ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲃⲗⲁⲧⲓ ⲛⲱⲧ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲥⲙⲉⲉϥⲉ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ- ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲏⲕ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲣ ⲙⲉ- ⲟϥⲉ ⲛⲧⲓⲁⲃⲱⲗⲓⲕⲱⲛ	90 95 100 105 110
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1 *i.e.* ⲛⲁⲧ-ⲧⲥⲱ | *i.e.* κατέχειν || 1-2 *i.e.* ἀμελείν || 2 *i.e.* ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲱⲙⲉⲗ || 2-3 *i.e.* ψυχή || 3 *l.* πν(εὐμ)α |
i.e. νοῦς || 4 *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία || 5 *l.* ⲗⲁⲃ ⲟⲩ ⲗⲁⲃ/ⲗⲁⲃ Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ⲥⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ || 6 *i.e.* ταραχή |
i.e. ⲥⲉ-ⲗⲓⲛ || 7 *i.e.* ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲱⲧⲥ || 8 *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία | *i.e.* πορνεία || 9 *i.e.* ⲥⲱⲣⲏ | *i.e.* ⲛⲉⲃⲓ | *i.e.* νοῦς ||
 14 *i.e.* σῶμα || 18 *l.* πν(εὐμ)α || 20 *i.e.* ⲥⲱⲧⲉ || 22 *i.e.* ⲥⲙⲟⲕⲛⲉⲕ | *i.e.* νοῦς || 23 *i.e.* διαβολικόν

without delay, without waiting, without negligence, and he fills her heart and her soul and her spirit and her mind with burning lust and [|]⁵ scorching desire and disturbance and tumult, filling her from the nails of her feet to the hair of her head with lust and longing and fornication, as her mind goes astray, as [|]¹⁰ her light darkens, as her ears shut! She shall not eat nor drink nor lie down nor sleep, her clothes will burn her body, the sky will [|]¹⁵ burn her, the earth will kindle under her! The Father will not have mercy on her, the Son will not have pity on her, the Holy Spirit will not give sleep to her eyes! The thought of God [|]²⁰ and fear of Him will leave her, and her thoughts and her counsel and her mind will have devilish thoughts,

9–10. εβερ κακι σι πεσογλειν : “as her light darkens” “Her light” here probably refers to the “light of her eyes”, so that as it darkens she becomes blind, in analogy with her ears shutting; *cf.* Crum CD 101b, 480b.

11–16. Symptoms of Love: This description draws upon two recurrent motifs, LOVE IS ABSTINENCE and LOVE IS FIRE; for the first, see the notes to *PCM I* 17 back l. 44–front l. 36; for the second, see the note to *PCM I* 3 front col. 2 ll. 33–38.

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- εσαωπι εσιωι εβαλ $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{N}}$ ογεπι-
 θεμια μεν ογωω μεν ογω-
 τартнп εтβε $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$ θε
 νογιω εςζα πω ογμογтсе 115
 5 ζα πδεγ ογογζααρι ζα πογ-
 ζαρ εςζ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ζ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ενθε νογεζтаαρι
 εсвнквнк $\overline{\text{N}}$ θε νογδameγλι
 εсливι $\overline{\text{N}}$ θε νογλaβαι μεν ογ-
 емcaζ · εσιωι εβαλ ζα тeπтθε- 120
 10 μια με πογωω εν $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ θε νογτεлтли μαγ εсаωι
 επβιт νογκετογс ερεογa
 σωωт ενсωс εβнeстeγe
 ζн пкаγсων επωωм aia 125
 15 тiωрк epак ω $\overline{\text{Γ}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{N}}$ =
 βωк ωa $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ αωтс енca
 пβω $\overline{\text{N}}$ тeсaπн $\overline{\text{M}}$ нeвoγι-
 ζи нeсβαλ aнιтс epαтв e-
 $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{ϩ}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}}$ ογωω μεν ογ- 130
 20 επθεμια εсннн εвол ωa e-
 нeз $\overline{\text{N}}$ θн $\overline{\text{N}}$ тaкχι нпaε-
 νογβε $\overline{\text{M}}$ πωт ωa маpia
 παρθενωс ετογaαβ

1 i.e. $\text{N}=\text{C}$ -ωωπε || 1–2 i.e. ἐπιθυμία || 2–3 i.e. C ωτορт $\overline{\text{P}}$ || 3 l. δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) (twice) | l. (υῖός) ||
 4 ογμογт εс- Bilabel/Grohmann || 6 i.e. $\text{N}=\text{C}$ -ζ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ζ $\overline{\text{M}}$ || 7 i.e. $\text{N}=\text{C}$ -ογοσογес || 8 i.e. $\text{N}=\text{C}$ -λιβε ||
 9 i.e. $\text{N}=\text{C}$ -ειωε cf. the qualitative εсаωι in l. 11 || 9–10 i.e. ἐπιθυμία || 11 i.e. M ημοογ ||
 12 i.e. κάδος : i.e. κήτος “whale” Bilabel/Grohmann : i.e. κύτος “vessel” (“Gefäß”) ||
 Till ap. Bilabel/Grohmann || 13 i.e. $\text{C}=\text{Q}$ -νηστεύειν : l. εβнeстeγe Bilabel/Grohmann ||
 14 i.e. καύσων || 16 l. δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) (twice) | l. (υῖός) || 17 l. N ηн ne- || 17–18 i.e. C βογze ||
 18 i.e. N η-ne=c-βαλ || 19 l. δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) (twice) | l. (υῖός) | i.e. C ογ-ογωω (haplography) ||
 20 i.e. ἐπιθυμία || 21–22 i.e. C ωη-ноγqe || 23 i.e. παρθένος

so that she clings to lust and desire and disturbance because of NN, the son of NN, like a female donkey under the male donkey, a female cat |⁵ under the male cat, a female dog under the male dog, and she whinnies like a mare, and she chews like a she-camel, as she is crazed like a she-bear and a crocodile, and she clings to lust |¹⁰ and desire for NN, the son of NN, as for a drop of water clinging to the edge of a jar when one looks at it while fasting in the burning heat of summer, yea!

|¹⁵ I adjure you, O *Gabriel, go to NN the daughter of NN, hang her from the hair of her head and the lids <of> her eyes, bring her to the feet of NN, the son of NN, in desire and |²⁰ ever-lasting lust, just as you took the good news of the Father to Mary, the Holy Virgin,

3–14. For the reference to animals and a drop of water as metaphors for passionate love and desire, see the notes to *PCM I* 7 ll. 32–36. For the word *brt*, cf. the note to *PCM I* 22 l. 46. Bilabel/Grohmann and Meyer/Smith understand the final clause as an independent phrase, translating “when one looks at her, he shall faint for the burning summer heat” (“wenn einer nach ihr blickt, (so) soll er verschmachten (oder: ernüchtert sein) in der Sommerhitze”), that is, the victim is so full of the fire of love that she will cause those who look upon her to faint. The correct translation, given here, is suggested by Stephen Emmel in Meyer/Smith 1994: 366, note to text 73 l. 125.

4–5. *ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲁ ⲡⲗⲥⲩⲩ* : “a female cat under a male cat” For these rare words, with the probable meanings “female cat” and “male cat” respectively, see Drescher 1961–1962: 288; cf. Macomber 2020: I 120 s.v. *ⲡⲗⲥⲩⲩ*. Compare *ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲥⲉ* as a female personal name in *P.MoscowCopt.* 34 (KYP M733).

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	ϣ̅ⲛ ⲟϣϣⲉⲛⲟϣⲃⲓ ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲓ- ϣⲉⲛⲟϣⲃⲉ ⲱⲛ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉ ⲉϣ- ϣⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲱⲗⲱⲓⲁ ϣⲓⲧⲁⲁⲧⲕ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϣⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲱⲡⲓ 5 ⲛⲁⲧϣⲱⲧⲏⲙ ⲛ̅ⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϣⲁⲁϣ ⲧⲁⲡⲟϥⲧⲁϣⲁⲕ ⲉⲡⲕⲁϣ ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲙ ⲁⲕⲕⲧⲁⲕ ⲱⲁⲣⲁϣ ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲁϣ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲕⲥⲓϣ [[ⲓⲟ]] ⲱⲱϣⲉⲓⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ϣⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ- 10 ⲁϣ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲁ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡ̅ϣ̅ ⲁ̅ⲁ̅ ⲙⲡⲱⲉ- ⲛⲟϣⲃⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲓⲁⲡⲱⲕⲣⲉ- ⲥⲓϣ ϣ̅ⲛ ⲟϣϣⲱⲧⲏⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲁ- ⲧⲏϣⲏ ⲁⲓ̅ ⲁⲓ̅ ⲧ̅ⲁ̅ ⲧ̅ⲁ̅ ⲧ̅ⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲉⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲱϣϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧ- 15 ⲣⲓⲁϣ ⲛ̅ϣⲱⲙⲁϣⲓⲱⲛ ⲧ̅ⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲉⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϣⲓⲛⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲧ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲁⲁⲡ ⲉⲛϣⲏⲧϣ ⲧ̅ⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲉⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϩⲱ- ⲛⲱϣ ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲙⲉ ⲡ- 20 ⲉⲧϣⲙⲁⲁϣ ⲉϣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϣⲱⲃ ⲧ̅ⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲉⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲛ̅ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̅ⲛⲡⲟ- ⲣⲁⲛⲱⲛ ⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲓⲛϣⲱϣ ϣⲓ ⲥⲙⲟϣ ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲃⲁⲙ - ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲏ	135 140 145 150 155
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1, 2 *i.e.* ϣⲱⲛ-ⲛⲟϣⲃⲉ || 2 *i.e.* ϣⲟⲛ || 3 *i.e.* ἀπολογία || 4 *i.e.* ταχύ || 5 *i.e.* ϣⲱⲧⲱ || *l.* ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧⲧⲁⲁϣ Bilabel/Grohmann || 6 *i.e.* ϣ̅ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲡⲓ-ϣ(ⲟⲉ)ϣ || 8 *io* Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ἀλλά || 10 *te l.* ⲡⲉ ? : *i.e.* ϣⲉ Bilabel/Grohmann | *l.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) (twice) | *l.* (υῖός) || 10–11 *i.e.* ϣⲱⲛ-ⲛⲟϣⲃⲉ || 11 *l.* ι(ηϣⲟϣ)ϣ || 11–12 *i.e.* ἀπόκρισις || 12 *i.e.* ϣⲱⲧⲱ || 12–13 *i.e.* κατέχειν || 13 *l.* ταχ(ύ) (twice) || 14–15 *i.e.* τριάς || 15 *i.e.* ὁμοούσιον || 16 *i.e.* σκηνή || 18–19 *i.e.* θρόνος | *i.e.* ϣ̅ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲓ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ || 21 *l.* ⲛ̅ⲧⲃⲁⲙ : ⲛ̅ⲛⲃⲁⲙ Bilabel/Grohmann || 21–22 *i.e.* ϣ̅ⲛ-ⲛ-ἑπουράνιον || 23 *i.e.* ϣ̅ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ

as true good news, may this good news also be true, as they are completed, namely these requests, through you, quickly! Do not be |⁵ disobedient as you were on the day that the Lord sent you to the land of Eden and you returned to him without earth, with your hands empty, but complete for me, myself, today, |¹⁰ me, NN, the son of NN, this good news, and this commission in unhesitating obedience, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

I adjure you, O *Gabriel, by the *wellbeing of the |¹⁵ consubstantial Trinity! I adjure you, O Gabriel, by the *tabernacle of the Father and those who dwell within it! I adjure you, O Gabriel, by the throne of the Almighty and he |²⁰ who sits upon it! I adjure you, O Gabriel by <the> heavenly powers and the song and praise of the powers of heaven!

4–8. ἡπερωπι ναιτωτην ἡν ἡπεραυ ταπος ταυακ επκαρ νετην ακκτακ φαρα ναικαρ
ερενεκσιχ [15] φουετ : “Do not be disobedient as you were on the day that the Lord sent
you to the land of Eden and you returned to him without earth, with your hands empty”

A reference to a version of the story of the origin of mankind in which God sends seven angels to fetch earth from Eden in order to create Adam. As it is being gathered, the earth cries out, predicting mankind’s future sins and the punishment that they will receive for them, adjuring the angels in the name of the Lord to be left in the ground. Bound by the adjuration and frightened by the name of the Lord, the seven angels return emptyhanded. Only the eighth angel, Muriel—the future Abbaton, angel of Death—unafraid and unpitying, dares to take the earth from the ground. By implication, one of the seven angels sent would have been Gabriel (the second of the seven archangels), who refused to take earth back to God. For a discussion of the idea and its development see Swanson 1996: 218–219, and for the surviving Coptic account, see Pseudo-Timothy of Alexandria, *Institution of Abbaton* (CC 405; Budge 1914: 232–233; trans. 481–482).

8. 15 These letters are faint, and thus perhaps were effaced. Bilabel/Grohmann (1934: 322) suggest that the scribe was unsure whether to write 61x, or x16.

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- ተወሩ ሩላክ ወ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ላሳወ በነባ ሸላቅሰክ በነባ ሸላቅ-
 ሠላክ ወ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ወነሳሳ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 5 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 10 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 15 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 20 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ
 ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ

1 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 2 l. በነባ || 2-3 l. ሸላቅሰክ || 3 l. ሸላቅሰክ cf. note to PCM 125 p. 2 l. 2 ||
 4 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 7 l. ሸላቅሰክ | i.e. ሸላቅሰክ cf. ሸላቅሰክ || 9 l. ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ ||
 10 l. ሸላቅሰክ | ሸላቅሰክ Polotsky : ሸላቅሰክ Bilabel/Grohmann || 10-11 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ : ሸላቅሰክ ሸላቅሰክ :
 ሸላቅሰክ l. ሸላቅሰክ Bilabel/Grohmann || 14 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ | ሸላቅሰክ Polotsky : ሸላቅሰክ l. ሸላቅሰክ Bilabel/
 Grohmann | i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 15 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ-ነባ || 16 l. ሸላቅሰክ | i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 17 l. ሸላቅሰክ ||
 18-19 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 19 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 20 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ | i.e. ሸላቅሰክ || 21 l. ሸላቅሰክ || 22 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ |
 i.e. ሸላቅሰክ-ሸላቅሰክ

I adjure you, O *Gabriel, by the word and the breath of the Father, that which went to Mary the Virgin; you brought good news of him to her so that [|]⁵ he dwelt within her, and he became god and man, and she gave birth to him, and he mounted upon the cross and saved us! I adjure you, O Gabriel, by the holy sufferings which Jesus Christ received for us [|]¹⁰ upon the wood of the cross and the three breaths that he sent to the hands of his father, which are “*Eloei Eloei *Elemas Abaktanē”! I adjure you, O Gabriel, by the three tears [|]¹⁵ that the Father shed over the head of Jesus, his only-begotten son upon the wood of the cross! I adjure you by your sword, that with which you rent the *veil of the Temple! [|]²⁰ I adjure you by the seven greetings that the Father spoke to Jesus, his son, on the Sunday morning so that he rose from the dead

10–13. For the last words of Jesus on the cross, cf. Matthew 27.46: “In the ninth hour, Jesus cried out in a great voice, saying, ‘Elōi, Elōi, lama sabaktanei’, that is, ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?’” (ἐν ᾧ πῖναξ δε ἡ χηρὴ τε ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ ἐβόη ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οὐνοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐφ’ ᾧ ἡνός καὶ ἐλῶει ἐλῶει λαμὰ σαβακτανεὶ ἐτε παὶ πε πανοῦτε πανοῦτε ἐτβε οὐ ἀκκαδτ ἡσῶκ; Horner 1911: I 338); Mark 15.34: “And in the ninth hour Jesus cried out in a great voice, ‘Elōi, Elōi, lama sakhthanei’ (sic), whose translation is, ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?’” (ἀφ’ οὗ πῖναξ ἡ χηρὴ τε ἀφ’ οὗ ἐβόη ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οὐνοῦ ἡ σὺν οὐνοῦ ἡ σὺν οὐνοῦ καὶ ἐλῶει ἐλῶει λαμὰ σαχθανεὶ ἐτε παὶ πε φάγερμενεγε ἡνός καὶ πανοῦτε πανοῦτε ἐτβε οὐ ἀκκαδτ ἡσῶκ; Horner 1911: I 627–628); Luke 23.46: “Jesus cried out in a great voice, saying ‘My father, I give my spirit into your hands!’, and when he had said this he gave up his breath” (ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ ἐβόη ἡ οὐνοῦ ἡ σὺν πεχὰ καὶ παῖωτ ἡ τῆς ἡπαρῆς ἐνεκσὶ καὶ ἡ τερεφκα παὶ δε ἀφ’ οὗ πῖναξ; Horner 1911: II 452); the first two citing Psalm 21 (22) 2: “God, my God, attend to me; why have you forsaken me?” (πνοῦτε πανοῦτε κατ’ ἐτβε οὐ ἀκκαδτ ἡσῶκ; Budge 1898: 22). For the concepts of “three breaths”, cf. *PCM I* 26 p. 10 l. 21, p. 12 ll. 24–26, ll. 31–32, where Jesus gives up three breaths to his Father upon the cross, but three breaths are also given by God to Adam on the day of his creation, and by Jesus to his apostles.

14–15. ἡρ ρεμῖν ταμῶτ ταῶγ : “the three tears that the Father shed” For the tears shed by God the father at the moment of death of Christ, compare *PCM I* 12 p. 18 ll. 1–2; *PCM I* 25 p. 14 ll. 2–5.

18–20. τὸ κενὸν τὰ ἐντακπὼρ ἐνκαταπέτμα ἐνπερπὶ ἐνζήτς : “your sword, that with which you rent the veil of the Temple” A reference to the rending of the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple at the death of Jesus, described in Matthew 27.51, Mark 15.38, and Luke 23.45. The gospels do not describe an angel carrying out the act, but in Pseudo-Evodius of Rome, *Dormition of the Virgin Mary*, we find a description of an unnamed “mighty angel” (οὐγγρελὸς ἡσῶκ) who comes down from heaven and cuts the veil in two with his sword (de Lagarde 1883: 53.5–9; Robinson 1986: 57 (trans.)). Here, as on p. 7 ll. 4–8, Gabriel takes on the identity of an angel who is anonymous in the surviving literary tradition.

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	ΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΙ ΕΒΑΛ ΕΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΕ	
5	ΠΖΑΠ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ	
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	ΖΗΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΙΜ · ΕΒΤΩΖ Ε-	
20	ΤΕΒΕΠΘΕΜΙΑ ΜΕ ΤΩC ΕΒΕΝ-	
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1 *i.e.* θυσία | *i.e.* λογική || 2 *i.e.* ἀναφορά || 3 *i.e.* μυστήριον | *l.* ι(ηcογ)c πε-χ(ριστό)ς ||
5 *i.e.* ^sπ-παντοκράτωρ *cf.* note to PCM I 25 p. 2 l. 2 || 6 *i.e.* οἰκουμένη | *i.e.* ^sτηρ=ε || 8 *i.e.* κατέχειν ||
8–9 *i.e.* ἀμελείν || 11 *l.* ζῳδι(ον) || 12–13 *l.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) (twice) || 13 *l.* (υῖός) || 14 *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία |
i.e. ^sογ-ωτορτῑ || 15 *i.e.* ταραχή || 16 *l.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) (twice) | *l.* (υῖός) || 17–18 *i.e.* ὑποδεσμός
cf. LBG s.v. || 18 *i.e.* ^sν=α-ναγ || 19 *i.e.* ^sν=α-τωρ || 20 *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία || 22 *i.e.* ^sχι π-ωιπε η-πε=c-ρο

and the rational sacrifice and the holy offering and the mysteries of Jesus Christ which the saints receive and [|]⁵ the judgement which the Almighty will pronounce over the whole world in the Valley of Josaphat that you shall not delay nor shall you be neglectful for a single moment [|]¹⁰ nor a blink of the eye, until you come upon your image; in the moment that I put fire to it go to NN, the daughter of NN, put fire and desire and lust and disturbance [|]¹⁵ and tumult down into her heart for NN, the son of NN!

Bring her to him in humiliation and *bound, so that he sees her nakedness in every moment and he mingles [|]²⁰ his lust with hers! He will lie with her, she will not be sated with him! Take the shame <from> her face and her eyes,

1. ΤΡΘΕΣΙΑ ΕΝΛΩΚΙΚΗ : “the rational sacrifice” The “rational” or “reasonable sacrifice” (λογικὴ θυσία) is a term for the Christian Eucharist; *cf.* Romans 12.1 and Mikhail 2015: 196–197.

7. ΠΑΙΩΣΑΦΑΤ : “Valley of Josaphat” *Cf.* Joel 3.2, 3.12: “and I will bring together all the nations and lead them down to the valley of Josaphat and judge them there concerning my people and my share, Israel” (καὶ συνάξω πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰξω αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα Ἰωσαφατ καὶ διακριθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ μου καὶ τῆς κληρονομίας μου Ἰσραὴλ), “Let all the nations rise themselves and come to the valley of Josaphat, for there I will sit to judge all the nations from all around” (ἐξεγειρέσθωσαν καὶ ἀναβαινέτωσαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα Ἰωσαφατ, διότι ἐκεῖ καθιῶ τοῦ διακρίναι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν).

11. 𐤌𐤓𐤕 : “image” Understand with Bilabel/Grohmann “image”, referring to the image of Gabriel from the end of the text, copied onto an ostrakon (*cf.* note p. 13), rather than “sign of the zodiac”, as translated by Jackson in Meyer/Smith.

20. ΤΕΒΕΠΘΕΜΙΑ ΜΕ ΤΩΣ : “his lust with hers” “Lust” (ἐπιθυμία) here probably serves as a euphemism for the genitalia; *cf.* the notes to PCM I 20 l. 14.

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	μαρεβερ $\overline{\sigma\varsigma}$ ερας μαρεβωπι n-	
	ας $\overline{n\overline{o\varsigma}}$ εσωωπι ναβ εν $\overline{\eta\gamma\alpha\lambda}$	
	μαρεσωπι $\overline{\sigma\omega\eta}$ εν $\overline{\sigma\eta\chi\gamma}$ nim	
	με γαιω $\overline{n\overline{\eta}}$ με $\overline{\chi\rho\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma}$ nim	205
5	με $\overline{\epsilon\nu\omicron\gamma}$ nim με $\overline{\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\nu\alpha\zeta}$ τη-	
	ρηβ με $\overline{\pi\omega\beta}$ μαρερωμι nim	
	με $\overline{\Upsilon\chi\eta}$ nim με $\overline{n\overline{i}\beta\epsilon}$ nim $\overline{\sigma\tau}$	
	ερ βα $\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\gamma\iota}$ $\overline{\lambda\omega\mu\overline{\sigma}}$ $\overline{\gamma\iota}$ $\overline{\kappa\eta\alpha\varsigma}$ $\overline{\gamma\iota}$ $\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\alpha}$	
	νας $\overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau}$ $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$ $\overline{\pi\zeta}$ $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$ μαβoκ	210
10	εβαλ $\overline{\gamma\iota\tau\alpha\alpha\tau\varsigma}$ μαρεσερ $\overline{\gamma\eta\beta\iota}$	
	εσερ $\overline{\alpha\omega\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu}$ $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\pi\iota\mu\iota}$ $\overline{\gamma\epsilon\eta}$ $\overline{\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\iota}$	
	μασναγ $\overline{\epsilon\rho\alpha\beta}$ $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\iota\eta}$ παρογ μα-	
	ρεσω $\overline{\gamma\iota\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma}$ $\overline{\gamma\iota\chi\epsilon\eta}$ $\overline{\eta\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\tau}$	
	εσπροκ $\overline{\eta\eta\eta\iota}$ $\overline{\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\beta}$ $\overline{\gamma\eta}$ ογ $\overline{\gamma\alpha\tau}$	215
15	μεν ογ $\overline{\theta\epsilon\beta\iota\alpha}$ μα $\overline{\omega\alpha\chi\iota}$ μα-	
	ρεσκα $\overline{\rho\omega\varsigma}$ $\overline{\mu\alpha\beta\omega\omega\eta\tau}$ μαρεσ-	
	ααβ $\overline{\eta\iota\pi\eta\eta\eta}$ $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha}$ $\overline{\eta\eta-}$	
	$\overline{\mu\eta\alpha\beta}$ $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\tau}$ $\overline{\eta\alpha\beta}$ $\overline{\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\omicron\gamma\beta}$ με	
	$\overline{\pi\epsilon\sigma\zeta\alpha\tau}$ με $\overline{\eta\epsilon\sigma\zeta\alpha\iota\tau}$ με $\overline{\eta\epsilon\sigma-}$	220
20	$\overline{\sigma\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon}$ με $\overline{\eta\epsilon\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\mu}$ με	
	$\overline{\eta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega}$ με $\overline{\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\rho\omega\eta}$	

1 *l.* $\overline{\sigma(\omega)\varsigma}$ | *l.* μαρερωωπι || 2 *l.* $\overline{\sigma(\omega)\varsigma}$ | *i.e.* $\overline{s\eta\overline{\sigma}-\omega\omega\pi\epsilon}$ || 3 *i.e.* $\overline{s\eta\overline{\sigma}\omega\eta}$ || 4 *i.e.* $\overline{s\omicron\gamma\theta\epsilon\iota\omega}$ | *l.* nim | *i.e.* $\overline{\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma}$ || 5 *i.e.* $\overline{s\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma}$ || 7 *i.e.* $\overline{\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}}$ || 8 *i.e.* $\overline{s\kappa\eta\omicron\varsigma}$ || 9 *i.e.* $\overline{\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\iota}$ | *l.* $\overline{\delta(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}(\nu\alpha)}$ $\overline{\delta(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}(\nu\alpha)}$ (twice) | *l.* $\overline{\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma}$ | *l.* $\overline{\mu\alpha\beta\omega\alpha\kappa}$ *cf.* note || 12 *i.e.* $\overline{s\epsilon-\chi\iota\eta}$? || 11 $\overline{\omicron\gamma\omega\iota}$ corrected from $\overline{\omicron\gamma\iota\omega\iota}$ by overwriting || 14 *i.e.* $\overline{\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\upsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu}$ || 17 *i.e.* $\overline{\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta}$ || 17–18 *i.e.* $\overline{s\eta\overline{\sigma}\epsilon-\overline{\rho}-\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu}$ $\overline{\eta\eta\eta\alpha\zeta\epsilon\eta}$: $\overline{\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha}$ $\overline{\eta\eta}$ $\overline{\eta\eta\alpha\eta}$ *i.e.* $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \nu\alpha\acute{\iota}}$? “treating him truly (?) lovingly” (“und ihn fürwahr (?) liebe reich behandeln”) Bilabel/Grohmann, Jackson || 18 *i.e.* $\overline{s\eta\overline{\sigma}\epsilon-\tau}$ || 19 *i.e.* $\overline{s\zeta\omicron(\epsilon)\eta\tau\epsilon}$ || 20 *i.e.* $\overline{s\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon}$ || 21 *i.e.* $\overline{\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omega\eta}$

may he rule over her, may he become master to her, and she become slave to him! May she seek him in all seasons and all moments and all times |⁵ and all hours and all of her life and his! May every man and every soul and every breath become abominable and foul and putrid and hateful to her except NN, son of NN!

If he goes |¹⁰ away from her, let her mourn, groaning, crying bitterly! If she sees him from⁷ behind, let her kneel in obeisance to him in fear |¹⁵ and humiliation! If he speaks let her be silent! If he is angry let her make peace <with him> and love him and give him her gold and her silver and her clothes and her |²⁰ perfume and her food and her drink and her gifts

9, 12, 15, 16. **𐤍𐤁** : “if...” For this verbal prefix, see Crum 1930; Crum CD 155b; we thank Vincent Walter for the former reference.

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	ME ΝΕCΤΑΙΔ ΝΟΥΔΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ	
	ME CHY ΝΙΜ ME ΝΕCΖΑΔΥ ΤΗΡΟ ^Υ	
	ME ΠΕCΩΝΔΖ ΤΗΡΗΗ · ΕΥΕ-	225
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	ΚΑΤΑ ΝΙΑΠΩΛΩΓΙΑ ΕCΤΙ ΕΠ-	
	CΑ ΖΙ ΕΠΑΝΑΙ ΕΜΗΗΗ ΖΕ ΠΕCΖΗ-	
	Τ ME ΠΕCΝΟΥC ME ΝΕCΜΕΕΥΕ	
	ME ΝΕCΜΑΚΜΚ ME ΝΕCΒΑΛ ΕΡΕ-	230
	ΟΥΖΑΟΥ ΩΩΠΙ ΝΑC ΕΒΝΑΩΤ	
10	ΠΑΡΑ ΟΥΖΑΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΕΝΟΥ ΝΜ	
	ME ΖΑΔΥ ΝΙΜ ME ΕΥΩΗ ΝΜ ⁰ ΔΙ ⁰ ΔΙ ⁰ ΤΑ ^Χ	
	ΑΖΑ ΜΠΕΚΙΡΙ Ω ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΜΠΑΟΥ-	
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15	ΩΕΕΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΔΝΑΘΕΜΑ Ε-	
	ΜΗΑΚ ΤΑCΑΩΚ ΤΑΒΑΒΩΟΚ	
	ΕΝΝΕΠΩΤ †ΜΑ ΝΑΚ ΖΗ ΤΠΗ	
	ΕΝΝΕΠΩΗΡΕ † ΤΑΖΙC ΝΑΚ	240
	ΖΗ ΤΠΗ ΝΝΕΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ	
20	ΚΕ ΤΤΕΚΨΑΛΛΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΤΕ-	
	ΡΩ ΝΕΖΙΑΜΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΝΟC	
	ΩΑΠΚ ΕΡΑC ΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΜΟΥ†	
	ΕΡΑΚ ΔΕ ΒΑΙΩΕΝΟΥΒΕ	245

3 *i.e.* ^ςΤΗΡ=ῥ || 5 *i.e.* κατά | *i.e.* ἀπολογία | *i.e.* ^ςΝ=ῥ-† || 7 *i.e.* νοῦς || 10 *i.e.* παρά | *l.* ουνοῦ ΝΙΜ || 11 ΖΑΔΥ corrected from παΔΥ by overwriting | *l.* ΝΙΜ | *l.* ταχ(ύ) || 15 *i.e.* ἀνάθημα, apparently treated as verb || 16 *i.e.* ^ςΒΑΒΩΩ= || 17 *i.e.* τιμᾶν : † ΜΑ “assign (you) a place in heaven” (“Platz im Himmel geben”) Bilabel/Grohmann, Jackson || 18 *i.e.* τάξις || 19 *l.* πν(εῦμ)α || 20 *i.e.* ^ςΚΑ Ε-ΤΡΕ=Κ-Ψάλλειν : *l.* κε(ε)κ εκΨαλλε or κε ΤρεκΨαλλε “(not) encourage your hymns of praise” (“deinen Psalmengesang nicht ermuntern”) Bilabel/Grohmann, Jackson || 21 *l.* <Τ>-παρθ(έ)νος *cf.* note to *PCM* I 25 p. 2 l. 2 || 22 *l.* ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ? (haplography) *i.e.* ^ςΝ=ῥε-μουγτε | *l.* νογμο† Till || 23 *i.e.* ^ςΩΗ-ΜΟΥΓΕ

and her presents at all times and all seasons and all her days and all her life; they will remain with him |⁵ according to these requests, and she will make herself beautiful and pleasing every day in her heart and her mind and her thoughts and her thinking and her eyes, «even» if a day comes for her more difficult |¹⁰ than any day and hour, and every day and every night, yea, yea, quickly!

If you have not done my desire, O *Gabriel, fulfilling my command, I will despise you, and I will |¹⁵ cut you off, and I will anathematise you and I will despise you and I will abhor you! The Father will not honour you in heaven! The Son will not give you rank in heaven! The Holy Spirit |²⁰ will not allow you to sing, nor will the queen of women, Mary the Virgin receive you unto herself, nor will they call you the bringer of good news,

1. ταια : “presents” For the translation as “present” (*i.e.*, a synonym of “gift”) *cf.* Meyer/Smith and Crum CD 391a. Compare the Coptic marriage contract P.Gardiner (Thompson 1912: 175, 177), in which ταια seems to refer to a payment which a bride might receive, apparently separate from her bridal gift, usually called the *cxar* (Richter 2008: 272; *cf.* the term *βεξε*, “wage” used for the bridal gift in the *Scala Magna*; see Macomber 2020: I 68).

12. αρα : “if” Probably to be understood as Sahidic ερε, which appears with conditional phrases; *e.g.*, 1 Kings (=1 Samuel) 25.8: “if it is the case, ask your servants, and they will tell you these things” (ερωπε αρε χνε νεκρηαλ αγω σενατανοκ εναι, Drescher 1970: 77; *cf.* Crum CD 64b for further examples). It may be that a preceding ερωπε or εωχε has dropped out here, or else that αρα has been reanalysed as a conditional particle itself.

20. κε τρεκταλλε : “allow you to sing” For this construction with the inflected infinitive base *τεε* (here apparently *τρεε*), see Funk 2017: 59–63, *cf.* Crum CD 439 *s.v.* *τρο*.

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	ϩⲁⲧⲉⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ- ϣⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲭⲁⲁϩ ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲧ- ⲡⲣⲱⲥⲉϣⲭⲏ ⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲁ- ⲡⲱⲫⲁⲛⲓ ϣⲓⲭⲱⲓ ϣⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲟϩ- 5 ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲟϩ ⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲱⲃⲓ 250 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲧⲓ . ⲁ . . ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲭⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲟϩ- ⲡⲉⲃⲁϩ ⲓⲉ ⲟϩϣⲓⲕⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲁⲥ- 10 ⲛⲟϩ ϣⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕ- 255 ⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲧⲁⲧ ⲉⲁϩ ⲛⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲱ- ⲛⲱⲕⲉⲛⲛⲥ ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲙⲛⲉϥⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ- ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲁⲧⲓ ⲉⲁϩ ⲛⲁⲕ ϣⲱⲱⲕ ϩ ⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲭⲉ 15 ⲁⲕⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲣⲉϥⲱⲧⲛⲏ 260 ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲱⲕⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲙⲟϩ ⲁⲙⲟϩ ⲛⲡⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲉ . . . ⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ϣⲁⲙⲓⲛ _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ >>> _____ 20 ⲫⲓ ⲧⲉ̅ⲱ ϣⲁⲣⲁⲃ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲧⲭⲏ ⲁⲗⲓⲱϥ ⲥ- ⲧⲓⲣⲏⲫⲫ ⲛⲟϩⲥⲥ ⲓ ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲟϩ . ⲫ ⲛⲉϣⲭⲏ 265 ⲉⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲏⲛ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ϩⲁ ⲡⲟϩⲱⲱ ⲉⲕⲛⲉⲥⲧⲉϥⲉ ⲉⲙⲓⲛⲉ
--	--

1–2 *i.e.* ἀπολογία || 3 *i.e.* προσευχή || 3–4 *i.e.* ἀποφαίνειν || 5ⲟⲃⲓ Bilabel/Grohmann ||
 6 ⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱ[...]. Bilabel/Grohmann || 7 ⲧⲉⲕⲭⲱ[ϣ] Bilabel/Grohmann || 8 *i.e.* ἀλλὰ ||
 10–11 *i.e.* ^sπ-παντοκράτωρ *cf.* note to *PCM* I 25 p. 2 l. 2 || 11–12 *i.e.* μονογενής || 12 *i.e.* ὑμνεῖν ||
 13 *l.* πν(εῦμα) | ⲧⲓⲁⲓⲧⲓ *ca.* 5] Bilabel/Grohmann || 14 ⲭ[ⲉ] Bilabel/Grohmann || 15 ⲉⲛⲣⲉϥ[....]ⲧⲏⲛ
 Bilabel/Grohmann || 16 *i.e.* ἀπόκρισις | ⲁ[. . .] . . [. .] Bilabel/Grohmann || 17 *i.e.* κατέχειν :
 ⲛⲡⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲓ [*ca.* 5]ϣ Bilabel/Grohmann || 19 *l.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* μαστίχη : ⲉⲙⲛⲁⲥⲧⲭⲏ *i.e.* μαστίχη
 Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* العود *al-’ūd* : Bilabel/Grohman do not translate : transliterate “alouth”
 Jackson || 19–20 *i.e.* στύραξ || 20 *l.* μόσχ(ος) | *i.e.* εὐχή : for this line ⲧⲓⲣⲏⲫⲫ ⲛⲟϩⲥⲥ/ⲉⲛ ϣⲁ:ⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲭⲏ
 “styrax... (daily) prayers” (“Styrax... die Gebete”) Bilabel/Grohmann, Jackson || 21 *i.e.* ^sⲉ-ⲭⲓⲛ |
i.e. κυριακή : ⲡⲛⲉⲕⲉⲣ . ⲁⲭⲏ Bilabel/Grohmann || 22 *i.e.* νηστεύειν | *i.e.* ^sⲙ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ

until you complete every request that I have spoken in this prayer, nor shall you impose on me, myself [|]⁵ anything evil, nor shall you mock[?] me, nor shall you ... to me nor shall you touch me with evil, or suffering, but rather with all joy and all honour, and I will [|]¹⁰ myself praise the Almighty Father and I will give glory to Jesus, the only-begotten son, and I will sing hymns to the Holy Spirit, and I will give glory to you, yourself, O *Gabriel, for [|]¹⁵ you have been obedient to me in my affairs! Come[?], come, do not delay ... to you forever, amen!

† Make an offering for him of *mastic, *agarwood[?], [|]²⁰ *styrax, *musk. Three days, seven prayers daily, from Tuesday until Thursday, while you fast daily,

3–4. **ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲁⲡⲱⲫⲁⲛⲓ** : “shall you [not] impose” For the sense of “impose”, see Förster WBGW 91, s.v. ἀποφαίνω.

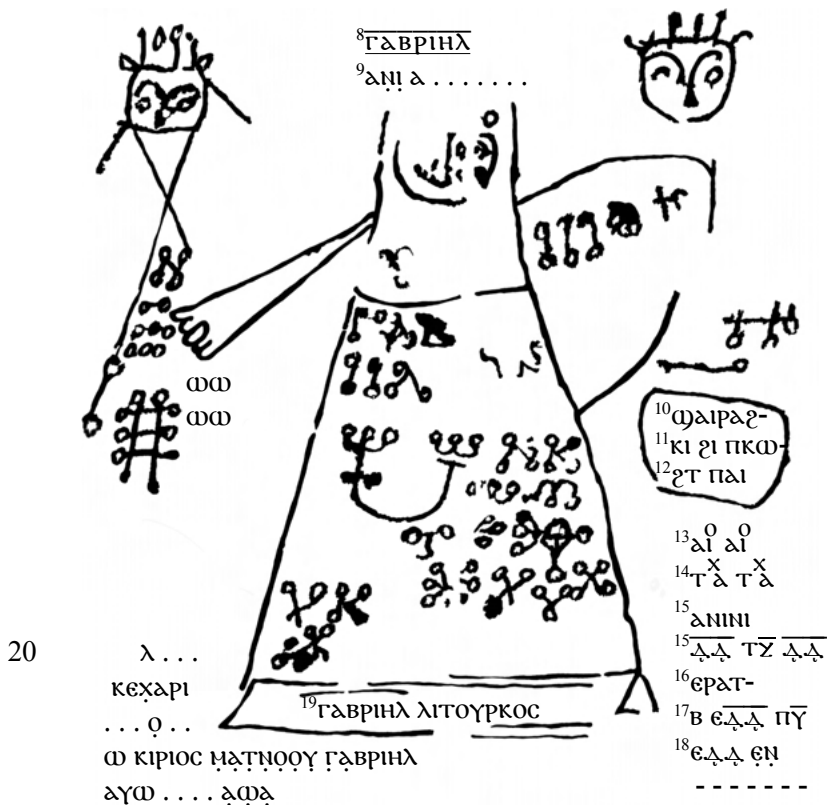
5–6. **ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲣⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ** : “nor shall you mock[?] me” We propose this restoration very tentatively; the object would usually be expressed with ⲛⲁⲛⲓ or ⲛⲥⲱⲓ rather than ⲛⲁⲓ.

19. **† ⲉϥ ϫⲁⲣⲁⲃ** : “make an offering for him” Or “for it”; the pronoun here may be taken to refer either to the angel Gabriel or the ritual as a whole.

21–22. **ⲡⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ϩⲁ ⲡⲱϩⲱϩ** : “from Tuesday until Thursday” For the Coptic names of the week, see Till 1947 & 1953. Tuesday is designated as the third day of the week (ⲡⲱⲣⲟⲛⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲕⲱⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ) following the ordinal system (cf. Ast 2012: 10–16), with the week beginning on Sunday, while Thursday is referred to as “the pause” (ⲡⲱϩⲱϩ) between the “little” and “great” fasts of Wednesday and Friday (ⲧⲕⲱⲓ ⲛⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ/ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ϩⲏⲛ, ⲧⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ/ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ϩ). For this reading, cf. Polotsky 1939: 112. Bilabel/Grohmann and Jackson in Meyer/Smith translate as “as long as you like” (“bis zu dem Wunsch”).

page 13

ΕΚΟΥΑΗ ΑΠΟΥΩΩ . . ΤΑΜΟΥΝΖ . .
 ΙΩΧΗΦ ΖΙ ΝΕΖ ΕΜΜΕ ΕΡΑΒ ΕΡ ΚΒ . .
 ΕΘΕ . † ΕΚΝΕΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΚΤΒΒΗΥ ΕΚ- 270
 ΦΩΡΙ ΝΖΕΝΖΑΙΤ ΩΑΖΛΗΒ ΕΥΒΗ-
 5 ΛΧΙ ΝΑΜΙ ΕΝΒΩ† ΠΡΟΪΕΥ : ΚΑ Ν-
 Γ ΕΣΑΠ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΑΚ ΕΡΑΒ ΜΑΡ
 ΟΥΡΑΕΙΣ ΖΙΧΩΚ ΝΑΤΩΡΑΖΚ



1 for this line Bilabel/Grohmann read εκου . . ηατω ταμου ν . . . || 2 for this line Bilabel/Grohmann read ιωχηφ ζι νεζ . [. . .] εκζω κα || 3 εθε . . Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* νηστεύειν || 4 *i.e.* φορεῖν | *i.e.* ὁρτε | *i.e.* ὡολζε ? : ωα . ληβ Bilabel/Grohmann || 5 *i.e.* ὁωτε : βω †- “with a hair (brush)?” (“mit Haar(?-Pinsel?)”) Bilabel/Grohmann, Jackson | *i.e.* προσευχή : η[ρο]εγ\χ/.. Bilabel/Grohmann || 6 ρ : √ (untranslated) Bilabel/Grohmann | ζαρς ζε[.]ραη Bilabel/Grohmann || 7 ζιχω . [.] Bilabel/Grohmann | νατωραζη Bilabel/Grohmann || 11 παι : . . η Bilabel/Grohmann || 14 *l.* ταχ(ύ) (twice) || 15 *l.* δε(ι)(να) δε(ι)(να) (twice) | *l.* (υίος) || 17 *l.* δε(ι)(να) δε(ι)(να) | *l.* υ(ίος) || 18 *l.* δε(ι)(να) δε(ι)(να) || 19 ω γαβριηλ Bilabel/Grohmann || 20 λ . . . : λα . . . Bilabel/Grohmann || 22 . . . ο . . . ρη . . Bilabel/Grohmann || 23 *i.e.* ὁ κύριος : ωκτριος Bilabel/Grohmann | η . τ . ασο . . [γ]αβριηλ Bilabel/Grohmann || 24 αωδ : η Bilabel/Grohmann

and you eat[?] on[?] Thursday[?] ... Joseph[?] and olive oil on it[?] ... while you fast, being pure, wearing clothes. Mark[?] it on a |⁵ clay ostrakon with sweat. <The> prayer twenty-one times on three occasions. Beware of him. Bind a ... amulet on yourself.

|^{above image} *Gabriel

|^{10, around image} I will burn in this flame! Yea, yea, quickly, quickly! Bring |¹⁵ NN, daughter of NN, to him, NN, the son of NN, ... Gabriel, <the> minister |²⁰ ... Kekhari ... O Lord, send Gabriel and ...

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracing by JS.

2. ιωσηφ : “Joseph” Perhaps understand this as a reference to an ingredient named after Joseph; compare the “grass of Mary” and “wood of Abraham” (σαγβοϋ μαρια, ωμ : αβρααμ) mentioned in *PCM I* 25 p. 9 ll. 2, 4 (KYP M186).

5–6. κα νιγ εσαπ : “twenty-one times on three occasions” Cf. p. 12 ll. 20–21, which prescribes saying the prayer seven times daily for three days, giving a total of twenty one times across three days. We might alternatively understand multiplication, although this would make it harder to square with the instructions on the previous page; cf. Matthew 18.22: “seventy times seven times” (σααῳ ἑβδομα ἑβδομα; Horner 1911: I 194);

6. ζαρεζ εραξ εραβ : “Beware of him” For the understanding “beware of him”, with two objects expressed with ερωζ, cf. 2 Timothy 4.15: “beware of him, for he has opposed our words very much” (ζαρεζ ερωκ ερωζ αϋτ γαρ εματε ογβε νααααε; Thompson 1932: 244). It is unclear exactly who “him” refers to here—perhaps it should be translated as “it” and understood as the ritual as a whole, but it seems more likely the fiery angel Gabriel who might pose a danger to the practitioner without an amulet. While this is concept otherwise unknown to us in the Coptic magical corpus, the use of such amulets for protection against beings invoked during rituals is common in Graeco-Egyptian practice; see *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I.271–272 (KYP M153): “Be careful that you do not lose a leaf (of the branch being used as a phylactery) and injure yourself” (βλέπε δέ μη ἀπολέσης φύλλον [κ(αί)] σεαντόν βλάψης); *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV.2508–2510 (KYP M3): “the goddess lifts those without phylacteries into the air and casts them down from aloft” (ἡ θεὸς τοὺς ἀφυλακτηριαστοὺς τοῦτο πρᾶσσοντας ἀεροφ(ε)ρεῖς ποιεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ῥίπτει) *GEMF* 74/*PGM* VII.231–232 (KYP M156): “wear the cloth around your neck so that (the god) will not strike you” (τὸ δὲ ῥάκος περίθου περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἵνα μὴ σε πλήξῃ).

6–7. μαρ ογραεις ελχακ νατωραε : “bind a ... amulet on yourself” Bilabel/Grohmann and Jackson in Meyer/Smith translate “let them watch over” (“mögen sie wachen über”), but do not offer a translation for the final word. Perhaps understand a negation of the verb φαλα (“to be afraid”; Crum CD 562; cf. φαλα in the following column), in an otherwise unattested pre-pronominal form, giving the sense “bind an amulet on yourself so that you are not afraid”.

7. ογραεις : “an amulet” For the translation “amulet” see Crum CD 301b.

Image: As the label ‘Gabriel’ suggests, this image seems to represent the angel in a schematic form, apparently with multiple eyes. Across his chest, his name, γαβριηλ, is written in *kharaktēres*, and he seems to be holding to small figures in his hands, likely representing the target and the user of the ritual, bringing them together in the love spell as if they were effigies. The image is to be copied onto an ostrakon (apparently with sweat; see ll. 4–5 of this page), before being thrown onto a fire as part of the ritual (cf. p. 9 l. 11–12). For similar rituals and a discussion of the motif LOVE IS FIRE, see *PCM I* 3 front column 2 ll. 33–38. For this image, cf. Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 337–338; Dosoo 2018: 34; Dosoo 2022a: 150–151.

PCM I 29. Curse using narrative charm concerning Jesus and further prescription(s)

Arsinoites (Faiyum)

27.8 (H) × 18 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 678 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1678); TM 102077; *P.Bad.* V 138; KYP M311; Bélanger Sarrazin #177.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 138 (*ed. pr.*); Polotsky 1935: no. 138.

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 138 (German).

Additional commentary: Polotsky 1935; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 309; Gardner/Johnston 2019: 31–32.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39746>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian influence.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–22: Curse including Jesus-Serpent narrative charm (KYP T310)
2. Back ll. 1–13: One or more prescriptions for unclear purposes (KYP T46)

Sheet of paper, complete except for some damage to the upper right and along the folds. The front is well legible, the text of the back, written at 180° to the front, has been significantly abraded. 1 vertical and 8 horizontal creases are visible. The front of the manuscript consists of a curse structured around a narrative charm in which Jesus encounters a worm,¹ while the back contains a text of unclear purpose. The manuscript belongs to the archive known as the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ and was purchased in 1930 by Carl Schmidt (see p. 259–263).

Both sides are written in the same hand, but likely on different occasions; the ink of the front is black, while that of the back is brown; respectively, they seem to be carbon and plant-based.² The text on both sides is written in an informal but rather regular right-sloping majuscule. The bilinear letters are quite compact, while the ascenders and descenders of the ϣ, τ, γ, ϣ, ϣ, ϣ, ϣ, ϣ are often very elongated. The bowl of the ϣ is either rounded or flattened to a single stroke, so that it at times resembles a small majuscule λ. τ and ϣ have consistent serifs on the horizontal bars, and ϣ is quite flat, with the middle stroke nearly horizontal. The κ usually has a small serif on its lower oblique stroke, making it resemble the Greek abbreviation for καί (κ), or even a ϣ. Like the second Heidelberg copyist (responsible for *PCM* I 27–28; *cf.* p. 362–363), the scribe of this manuscript makes

¹ For the genre of narrative charm, see pp. 24–25.

² As with all of the ink descriptions of the Heidelberg papyri, we are grateful to Krisztina Hevesi for sharing her unpublished work with us. For further discussions of the ink, see p. 261.

use of the minuscule forms of letters as numerals (front l. 3, perhaps also 21). The copyist uses supralinear dots instead of strokes, so that true supralineation is only used for numbers, abbreviations, and *voces magicae*. The hand of this manuscript is close to that of PCM I 30, also written in a black ink, but the letterforms are not identical; most notably, the latter manuscript lacks the distinctive κ. While these hands' idiosyncracies makes dating them difficult, broadly similar styles can be seen in *SB Kopt* III 1285 (TM 109891), P.Monts.Roca inv. 524 (Torallas Tovar 2007; TM 140969), and, to a lesser extent, P.Stras. K 332 (D) (Walter 2022: no. 2). All of these are dated by their editors to the tenth or eleventh centuries. Given that the document is written on paper, and that the other Heidelberg Library manuscripts with more readily datable hands are likewise dated to this range, this seems reasonable for PCM I 29 & 30 too. Bilabel and Grohmann (1934: 397) suggested an eleventh century date for the manuscript, crediting Viktor Stegemann.

The text on the front of the manuscript differs significantly from other texts from the archive; it is written in a single column of 22 lines, undivided by horizontal lines. The final two lines, which we interpret here as the ritual instructions, seem to be separated only by a slightly larger interlinear space. Alternatively, it might be possible to interpret these final lines instead as part of the spoken formula, perhaps explaining the lack of dividing lines. The layout of the back is closer in style to the other manuscripts from the archive—with simple horizontal lines used to divide recipes and sections within them (formulae and ritual instructions), and *kharaktēres*, absent from the front. The brown ink is also closer to the other manuscripts from the archive.

Like the other manuscripts from the Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library, the manuscript is written in a variety of Sahidic strongly influenced by a Middle Egyptian dialect, likely that of the Faiyum (see p. 261–262). This copyist shows occasional features not found in the other manuscripts, such as the writing of ^soy as γ (e.g., front l. 11; perhaps also present in PCM I 35 front l. 4). The grammar of both front and back is also highly divergent from the literary standard; in front l. 9, for example, the negative imperative (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-) seems to be confused with the negative first perfect (ⲙⲡⲉ-).

front

- † ἱϥ νεβμααϣϣῃ ἰν μιχαηλ · ἡ[ν]
 γαβριηλ · ἰν ῥραφαιηλ · μν πιη[ετ-]
 ἱβ̄ ἡαπωστωλωσ · μν πιχουτᾱ[ϣτε]
 5 ἡἱρεσβητερος · ριχῆ ἡρα ἡἱπα-
 ρα†σος · αβσἱν ουβηητ · εβῆκατ
 ἑβαβῳ̄ · παχδβ ναβ · [[παχδβ]] δε δρ-
 ρακ · πεχα ναβ δε παῖσ̄ ἱς̄ πεχ̄ς
 νταουνοου ἑρακ αἱερ ρα† · πεχα-
 αβ ναβ · δε ἡπωρ ἡπεκερ ρα†
 10 αλλα των εκβωκ · εκλωκς · ἡἱμ̄ Δ̄
 †ωρκ ερα · ἡποου τογαρι · ἡρῡ†
 τογαρι ἡςριμἱ · ἡἱραν ἡἱραν μ-
 πωτ ἡν πωηρι μν ἡἱᾱ ἑτογαδβ ·
 †ωρκ ερακ ἡ† ἡἱβτ ἡταγτακς ·
 15 ἑπεχ̄ς ἑτε ναι νε νεγραν · σατωρ
 αρετω τεῖητ ωτερα ρωτας αγ-
 [[εντας]] \ τερχατϣ · ἡθε νογκωστ
 εκδαασι ἡμαϣ · ἡθε νογστελοϣς
 †ρειμἱ εραβ ἑχἱν πρης ἡἱκαρ ἡ-
 20 περπιστεϣ ἑροϣ ωανταουωϣ ἀηδ̄^κ
 vac.
 ἑϣ . . κᾱ κωκῆς ἑκλαμ ναλαρω-
 ως ἡπατεφβωκ ωα τεφτεφσιμἱ

1 *l.* ἱ(νοϣ)ϥ : αϣ Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ^ςηοοϣῃ || 2 πιη[ετ-] Polotsky : πιη[ε μν ·] Bilabel/Grohmann || 3 ἱβ̄ written in miniscules : ἱ. Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ἀπόστολος || 4 *i.e.* πρεσβύτερος | ἡἱραῖν n Bilabel/Grohmann || 4–5 *i.e.* παράδεισος | πραῖν ἡἱπαρρα†σος Bilabel/Grohmann || 5 *i.e.* ^ςδϣ-σῆ ου-ϣῆτ : αβσἱ νογβηητ *i.e.* ^ςδϣ-χι ἡ-ου-ϣῆτ Bilabel/Grohmann || 6 *i.e.* ^ςπεχαδϣ | [[παχδβ]] deleted with horizontal scribbles || 7 *i.e.* ^ςπεχαδϣ | *l.* πα-*(ω)ις *i.e.* ^ςπα-χοεις : *l.* πα ἡἱσ̄ “you, (son) of the Lord” (“Du (Sohn) des Herrn”) Bilabel/Grohmann | *l.* χ(ριστό)ς || 8 *i.e.* ^ςἡτ-αϣ-ναϣ ? || 8–9 *i.e.* ^ςπεχαδϣ (dittography) || 9 *l.* ἡπερερ ρα† Polotsky || 10 *i.e.* ἀλλά | *i.e.* ^ςἡτ-βωκ | *i.e.* ^ςἡτ-λωκς : εκλωκε *i.e.* ^ςἡτ-ληκ ? “and be fresh” (“und sei frisch”) Bilabel/Grohmann | *l.* δ(εῖνα) : ἡἱμ̄χᾱ Bilabel/Grohmann, Polotsky : or *l.* ἡ εἱλα “(bite) Emla!” Polotsky || 11 *l.* ερακ Bilabel/Grohmann | *i.e.* ^ςοϣοορῃ | *i.e.* ^ςἡ-ρσοϣτ : ἡρσοτ Bilabel/Grohmann || 12 *i.e.* ^ςοϣοορῃ | *l.* ἡἱραν (dittography) ? || 13 *l.* πν(εῦ)α || 14 *i.e.* ^ςπ-†ου | *i.e.* ^ςεντ-αϣ-τοκς : ἡταγτακα[ϣ] Bilabel/Grohmann : ἡταγτακς[ου] Polotsky || 15 *l.* χ(ριστό)ς || 17 [[εντας]] deleted with horizontal scribbles : [[εντοας]] Bilabel/Grohmann | νετχατϣ Bilabel/Grohmann || 18 *i.e.* ^ςἡτ-σωσ | *i.e.* σῦλος for ζῦλον ? *cf.* note || 19 στορ εἱμἱ Bilabel/Grohmann || 20 *i.e.* πιστεῦειν (haplography) | ωανταουω Bilabel/Grohmann | ἀηδ̄κ/ : ἡἱα- Bilabel/Grohmann || 21 *l.* θυ(σία) : ου Bilabel/Grohmann | . . κᾱ : . . κᾱ Bilabel/Grohmann : κωκῆς ἑκλαμ *i.e.* ^ςκηκῆ ? , ^ςἡ-κλον : κωκ νεκλαν (no translation) Bilabel/Grohmann || 21–22 *l.* ἡ-ογ-αλαρωως *i.e.* ^ςالعروس *al-‘arūs* : . . λαρωως Bilabel/Grohmann || 22 *l.* τεφσιμἱ (dittography)

+ Jesus was walking with *Michael and *Gabriel and *Raphael and the Twelve Apostles and the *Twenty-[Four] Presbyters by the doors of ⁵ Paradise. He found a worm lying, sleeping.

He said to him, “What is the matter with you?”

He said to him, “My Lord Jesus Christ, you were seen, and I was afraid.”

He said to him, “By no means, you were not afraid, ¹⁰ but rather arise and go and bite NN <child of> NN!”

I adjure you (f.) today, O male scorpion, O female scorpion, in the name {the name} of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit! I adjure you (m.) <by> the five *nails which pierced ¹⁵ Christ—whose names are *Satōr, Aretō, Tenēt, Ōtera, Rōtas ...—that you (f.) pierce him like fire, and you (m.) roast him like firewood[?], bring (f.) to him from the south of the earth, do not ²⁰ believe them until I, myself, desire!

Offering[?]: ... 21[?] scales[?] from <the> crown of a bridegroom <who> has not yet gone to his wife.

5. ΟΥΒΗΝΤ : “a worm” This text seems to be a curse calling upon a worm to attack the victim. The word “worm” (οὐβήντ) has a variety of referents, including the “undying worm” of Mark 9.44–48 which devours sinners after their death, and the worms linked to sickness which consume or are produced by the diseased body. While a scorpion is mentioned later, both scorpions and worms belong to the category of *χατφε*, noxious crawling creatures, creating a fluidity between the two agents of the curse not apparent in the English translation; cf. Dosoo 2022c: 506–508, 526–527.

8–9. Polotsky plausibly proposes to restore the equivalent of the Sahidic *πτεγνογ νταιναγ... μηεpp* *ῥατ* “the moment I saw (you, I was afraid)... do not be afraid...”.

11–12. τογαρι · ἡεγτ τογαρι ἡεζιμι : “O male scorpion, O female scorpion” Bilabel/Grohmann translate “the one who loves men, the one who loves women” (“der die Männer liebt, der die Frauen liebt”). For another magical text addressing a scorpion, see *P.MoscowCopt.* 33 (KYP M664).

14. ἡτ νιστ ἡταγτακς : “the five nails which pierced” Bilabel/Grohmann translate “you who gives the nails which were destroyed (by Christ)”.

18. νογστελογς : like firewood[?] The word as written seems to be *στῦλος* (“pillar”); we suggest an error for the phonetically similar *ξύλον* (“wood”), defined with the sense of “firewood” in the *Scala Magna* (Macomber 2020: I 129 s.v. *ξύλα*).

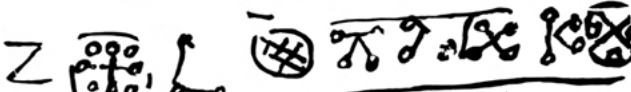
19. τρεινι εραβ ἔχιν πρης ἡῖκαε : “bring (f.) to him from the south of the earth” The object to be brought from the south seems to be missing here, but it may be that *ε/εποε* is being used to indicate the direct object of *εἰνε*, contrary to the normal grammar of standard Coptic; in this case, the translation would be “bring him from the south of the earth”.

20. φανταογωφ ἀηακ/ : “until I, myself, desire” *ογωφ* here may be an error for *ωφ*; cf. Kasser CDC 81b s.v. *ωφ*, and compare Chicago OIM E13767 (Stefanski 1939; KYP M7) ll. 10–11: “until I read <it, myself>” (*φανταωφ ἀηωκ*). The idea in this case would be that reading a deposited curse undoes it; cf. Dosoo 2023a: 169.

21–22. κωκης ἐκλαμ ἡαλαρωως : “scale from <the> crown[?] of a bridegroom[?]” *βκκκς* may refer to a piece of metal; cf. Numbers 17.3 (16.38; de Lagarde 1867: 358.28) which describes plates (*λεπίς*, *σβητε*; Crum CD 101a) made by hammering out bronze pans. The reference here may be to a hammered-out wedding crown from which an applied text is created. The word *العروس* (“bridegroom”) also seems to appear in *PCM* I 33 front l. 10. The crowning of couples during wedding ceremonies is well attested in Mediterranean Christianity (e.g., Burmester 1967: 132–140; Parani 2000: 197–198, 208–210). Presumably the reference to the bridegroom not having gone to his wife means that the marriage has not yet been consummated.

back (at 180° to front)

̄ⲁⲁⲁ ̄ⲁ ⲁⲧⲓⲣⲏⲃⲁ . .
 ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲕ ⲉⲧⲱⲓⲣⲓⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉ
 ⲟ . . [ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩ ⲏⲡ ⲉ . ⲟⲩ .
 . ⲉ ⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲏⲣⲓ ⲕⲓ ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲉ . ⲉⲛ . ⲧ-
 5 ⲃⲧ . ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲁⲛ ⲱⲉⲧ . ⲙⲁⲣⲏ .
 ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲃⲁⲓ ⲕⲉⲑⲣⲟ . . ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲃⲓⲧⲉ
 ⲕⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲁϥ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲱⲏ ⲕⲁⲣⲩ
 ⲥⲉⲧ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁϥ

10 
 ⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⲛⲕⲏⲧ
 ϩⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲡⲏ
 ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⲛⲱ
 ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲉⲓⲧ

1–8 Bilabel/Grohmann do not transcribe || 3 *i.e.* ^sⲧ-ⲥⲟⲉ ? || 4 *i.e.* ^sⲛⲉⲣ-ⲧ ? || 6 *i.e.* ^sⲃⲏⲧⲉ || 7 *i.e.* ^sⲉⲕ-
 ⲕⲉⲣⲁ ? (haplography) or ⲛⲉⲣ-ⲕⲉⲣⲁ | *i.e.* ^sⲛⲉ-ⲁⲗⲁⲩ | *i.e.* ^sⲱⲉ ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲱⲁ ? || 8 *l.* ⲉⲛⲁϥ(ⲕⲁⲕⲣⲁⲛ) *i.e.* الرعفران
az-za farān ? *cf.* *PCM* I 25 p. 16 l. 8 || 10 *i.e.* ^sⲕⲏⲧⲉ ? : ⲛⲕⲏⲧ[ⲉ] Bilabel/Grohmann || 12–13 ⲛⲱ
 ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲉⲓⲧ perhaps understand ⲛⲱ as error for ⲛⲕ(ⲁⲓⲉⲧ) ? : ⲛⲕⲏ[ⲧⲉ] ⲉⲕⲏ ⲉⲣ . . Bilabel/Grohmann

|^{back} Aaa? ...a? Atirētha ... Tesoukou Prk Etširiraure ... that is, the six? ... the prayer to the wine, and have them drink from? ... |⁵ ... these are the names?: Ōhti Marē... Makthai Sethro ...

Write these <things> on the <metal> plate and write? with saffron?. White *costus, wood <of a> nut? tree?. Pour? water. Write these <things>. Bind them to her.

(*kharaktēres*: Z+B#ΠΛΧΚΠ K3+ΠCKΛΞ)

|¹⁰ <A> fig leaf? under his head.

(*kharaktēres*: M+CAMNΛ)

An olive? leaf.

KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by JS.

Back: The text of the back poses many problems of interpretation; it is unclear how many recipes there are, and how they relate to one another. Lines 1–6 seem to be the spoken formula, which may go with the ritual instructions in ll. 6–8. The mention of binding an object to someone suggests some kind of healing ritual; the use of a female pronoun rather than the generic male referent may suggest a specifically gynecological concern, such as childbirth or uterine bleeding (*cf.* the notes to *PCM* I 2 l. 1). The references to leaves placed under the head of a male individual in ll. 10–13, by contrast, would seem to find their closest parallels in recipes for dream divination found in the second century, such as *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162) ll. 1073–1074: “write these things on a reed leaf and place it under your head when you go to sleep; it causes dreams and it sends dreams” (*i-ir=k sh nzy r w^c.t gb₃.t n qyr mtw=k h₃c hr tp=k i-ir=k in qte.t=k hr ir=f rswe.t mtw=f hb rswe.t*); *cf.* the similar instructions in *GEMF* 18/*PDM* lxi (KYP M183) ll. 64–67 (albeit with a laurel leaf), and the instructions to place a leaf under the head of a corpse in the dream sending ritual in *GEMF* 17/*PDM* Suppl. (KYP M163) ll. 55–56. These recipes are significantly earlier than that here, however, so it is uncertain how seriously the parallels should be taken.

PCM I 30. Two destructive curses drawing on the *Testament of Solomon*

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

22 (H) × 18 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 408; TM 832290; *P.Heid.Kopt.* 4; KYP M43.

Editions: Beck 2018 (*ed. pr.*).

Translations: Beck 2018 (German).

Additional commentary: Seider 1964: 164; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 305; Love 2022b.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39773>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–21: Curse to destroy tools or a workshop (KYP T174)
2. Front ll. 22–25, back ll. 1–6: Curse to destroy tools or a workshop (KYP T175)

Complete paper sheet preserved in two fragments with the bottom left side missing due to folding. The manuscript is inscribed on the front and back, however most of the back was left blank. The sheet was folded multiple times horizontally; at least 4 horizontal creases and 4 vertical creases are visible.¹ The manuscript was written in a black ink with equal opacity under visible, ultraviolet, and near-infrared light, suggesting a carbon ink.² Simple horizontal lines are used to create divisions within the manuscript: a vertical line to divide the tableau (left) from the ritual procedure (right), and two horizontal lines, to divide the instructions from the first formula, and the two formulae from one another. Supralinear strokes are used to indicate *voces magicae* and a few other words, and a colon is occasionally used to separate phrases.

The text is written in a right sloping majuscule, in a largely unimodular and bilinear script. The μ has the very deep curve typical of the “flat μ ”,³ and the upper curve of the ϵ is often reduced or absent. λ , χ and α have decorative serifs on their ascenders, while τ has a serif on the left part of its horizontal bar. σ and λ have very long ascenders, while the γ , η , and ζ have similarly long descenders. The right vertical stroke of the π is shorter than the left. The hand is notably similar

¹ Beck (2018: 46, n. 8) seems to be in agreement with this analysis, noting that it was folded to form around 16 sections of the same size, with the back on the inside, although as many as 12 horizontal creases seem to be visible on the photograph.

² As with all of the information on the inks of the Heidelberg manuscripts, we are grateful to Krisztina Hevesi for sharing her preliminary work on this point with us. For a discussion of inks, see pp. 28, 261.

³ Mihálykó 2019: 16–18.

to that of *PCM* I 29, leading us to suspect some connection to the Heidelberg Library, even if this cannot be proven. As suggested by Beck,⁴ it should probably likewise be dated to the tenth or eleventh century; see the discussion of the very similar hand of *PCM* I 29 for parallels. This manuscript likewise shares the same dialectal features as this group, a form of Sahidic with considerable influence from a Middle Egyptian dialect, likely indicating an origin in the Faiyum.⁵

The manuscript was sold along with a collection of Arabic administrative records and magical texts offered for sale to the Heidelberg University Library by Adolf Grohmann in March 1935 for the price of 175 marks.⁶ The items from this collection came from the Faiyum, El-Ashmunein (Hermopolis), and Old Cairo (Al-Fustat); as noted, the linguistic features of this piece make the Faiyum the most likely source of this manuscript.

In terms of contents, the text contains two formulae consisting of curses against property preceded by the instructions for using them. The formulae take the form of dialogues between King Solomon and demons, with the king demanding their names and/or activity, and receiving in response a description of their destructive acts, which are then wished upon the targets of the curses. A comparable question–answer interaction between a Jewish king (in this case, Solomon’s father David) and demons is first attested in a fragmentary first-century CE Hebrew manuscript from Qumran containing exorcistic psalms.⁷ A developed motif of Solomon’s confrontation with Asmodeus, King of the Demons, appears in the Babylonian Talmud (Skolnik 2007: 592a–593b), while a Christian (or christianised) version of the encounter is found in the textual tradition known as the *Testament of Solomon*.⁸ The *Testament* describes Solomon’s creation of the Jerusalem Temple, in the course of which he receives from the Archangel Michael a ring which enables him to submit demons to him, whom he binds and puts to work on the construction of the temple. In the course of this narrative, he questions the demons as to their names and activities, with the exchanges demonstrating a repetitive structure in which they reveal the diseases or misfortunes they cause, followed by how they may be thwarted; the text thus serves as a handbook for healing and exorcising various conditions of demonic origin. The earliest stages of this composition have

⁴ Beck 2018: 46

⁵ See the introduction to this archive, pp. 261–262 for a fuller description of dialectal features, and pp. 398–399 for a brief discussion of the hand and parallels.

⁶ The group consisted of 23 papyri, 4 parchment manuscripts and 3 paper documents; see Seider 1964: 164.

⁷ This is 11QPsAp^a; see Puech 2000; Torijano 2002: 43–53. A mention of Solomon in col. 2 l. 2 suggests that similar texts may have already been attributed to him by this time.

⁸ For an introduction to the tradition, descriptions and editions of the principal Greek manuscripts, see McCown 1922, with Bailey 2017b for further manuscripts. For a recent English translation with helpful notes, see Duling in Charlesworth 1983: 935–987. For further literature on the *Testament*, see Torijano 2002; Klutz 2005; Busch 2006; Busch 2013; Boustan/Beshay 2015. For Solomon more generally in early (‘Gnostic’) Coptic texts, see van der Vliet 2013.

been dated as early as the first century CE,⁹ but the first concrete evidence for its existence is in a sixth to seventh-century Greek manuscript preserving chapter 18,¹⁰ in which Solomon questions the stellar demons known as decans. Variant recensions of the Greek text are fully preserved in manuscripts dating from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, and there are unpublished versions in Arabic (including one in Syriac Garshuni).¹¹ A few other Coptic manuscripts attest to the use of texts extracted from, or based on the *Testament*, albeit in the form of healing prescriptions,¹² and we find similar, albeit much later, texts in Ge'ez and Syriac.¹³ This particular example, in which the original healing purpose has been subverted to create curses, would seem to be unique, but parallels other cases in which the Coptic magical tradition adapts the structure of healing/exorcistic prayers to create aggressive spells—compare the love spell based on the *Prayer of Cyprian* (PCM I 28); another, as yet unpublished love spell seems to draw on the textual tradition of the *Prayer of Mary 'in Bartos'*.¹⁴ An interesting, albeit very brief, partial parallel to this text is held in the Oxford Griffith Institute; see the notes to the image on the front for a discussion.

⁹ Klutz 2005: 108–110; Hartman 2017; cf. Schwarz 2007 for a more sceptical perspective, but see the counterargument in Bailey 2017b: 210.

¹⁰ This is *P.Rain.Cent.* 39; see Daniel 1983 & 2013; a re-edition is forthcoming as *GEMF* 87.

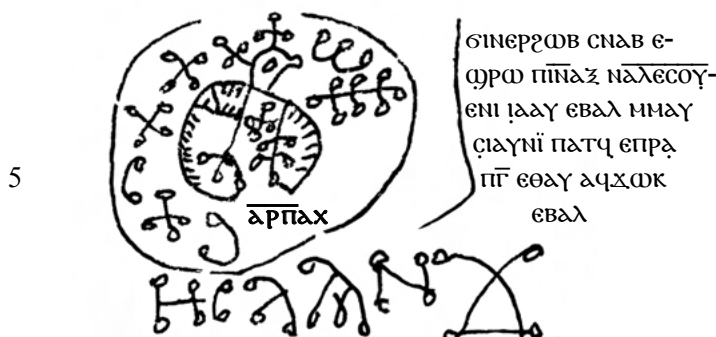
¹¹ For the Greek manuscripts, see McCown 1922; Bailey 2017b. For the unpublished Arabic and Syriac Garshuni manuscripts, see Charlesworth 1981: 197; Busch 2013: 11 n. 4.

¹² For Solomon in other Coptic magical texts, see *PCM* I 25 p. 10 ll. 1–18; *PCM* I 36 front col. 1 ll. 13–15; BM EA 10414a (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 3 with notes *ad loc.*).

¹³ For Ge'ez texts related to the *Testament*, see e.g., the “Net of Solomon” (መርበብተ፡ ስሉሞን፡ *mārbābtä Sälomon*) and the “Mirror of Solomon” (መጽሐ፡ ስሉሞን፡ *māṣhetä Sälomon*) in Euringer 1929b & 1937 respectively; cf. the discussion in Witakowski/Balicka-Witakowska 2013: 225–228. For Syriac, see the “Anathema of King Solomon” (ܐܢܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܠܝܡܐܢ *hermā d-malkā Šlēmōn*) in Cherkashina 2021: 148–162.

¹⁴ Montserrat, Abadia Inv. 604 + 1235 (KYP M30). For the *Prayer of Mary*, see *PCM* I 25.

front



5

- αφεχσωνωλωκε νσι σωλωμφν αϕι ναϕ ερουν εσι [x]
 χογβιν ραρπακ π[εχ]ε σωλω : ναϕ χε ογ πε πεκρωβ
 πεχαϕ ναϕ χε π[α]ρ[ωβ πε π]τακα νπιερ ογπेतναη[ογϕ]
 10 [ε]ννε ερενεπεθαϕ τ[ηρο]γ ογεε νσωι : ογαναϕρηϕ
 [ω]ατακαϕ ογμετ[. .]η ωατακας ογαλνερϕ ωαί-
 [ωα]βεϕ ογωαλαϕ ωα[ιτ]ακαϕ ογσων ωατακαϕ τεχ[. ?]-
 [ca. 13] ωατακαϕ ογαπωθηκε ωαί[τακ-]
 [αc ca. 13] επερα ογсамет ωαίτακας ογα-
 15 [ca. 16] νπιροме ρωβ νιμ εθαϕ ωαειντϕ
 [ca. 16] ϕαμ εσανα πνασ тапаσ εσαν
 [ca. 16 x]ογβιν αρπαχ πε παран ωρνεθαϕ
 [πε παран ca. 9] : πε παран αρ πε παран ωρ πε π-
 [αран ca. 11] ρωβ νιμ θαϕ ετεκετ νμαϕ νμαί ωαί-
 20 [ca. 14 σω]τιм ераі саηαганл ην ϕεтрак
 [ca. 16] αια ια тахн тахн
 [ca. 8 σωλω]μφν αϕι ναϕ νσι παρχων ννε-
 [δαиμων πεχαϕ] ηϕ χε νιμ πε πεκραν πεχαϕ χε
 [версевоп πε παран] νπιερ ογпेतнаноγϕ ενηε αλλα
 25 [νεπεθαϕ τ]ηροϕ ογεε νσωι некlesia ωαιωαβοϕ

1 i.e. ^сноϕ || 1-2 i.e. ^сπ-ωρω || 2 i.e. ^πίναϕ || 2-3 i.e. ^{الاسواني} al-aswānī || 3 i.e. ^сειαϕ ||
 4 i.e. ^сcioογν : ^сιαγνί i.e. ^{كيواني} kaywānī “of Saturn” ? i.e. lead water ? Beck | i.e. ^сπαρτϕ |
 επρε Beck || 5 i.e. ^сετ-ροοϕ || 7 i.e. ^εξομολογεῖν | i.e. ^сνσι || [x] deleted by smudging : † Beck ||
 8 l. σωλω(μων) || 9 ογ]τακα Beck || 10 i.e. ^сενεε | i.e. ^{النورج} an-nawraǧ || 11 i.e. ^{المّر} al-marr ||
 12 i.e. ^сωοϕ || 13 i.e. ^αποθήκη || 15 i.e. ^сπ-π-ρωμε || 16 i.e. ^сπсон || 18 l. αρ(παχ) ? | l. ωρνεθαϕ ? ||
 19 l. εθαϕ i.e. ^сετ-ροοϕ | -ε† i.e. ^αιτεῖν || 19-20 i.e. ωαί[ααϕ] ? Beck || 21 i.e. ταχύ (twice) ||
 22 l. [αφεχσωνωλωκε νσι σωλω]μφν ? cf. l. 7 : [...]ον Beck | i.e. ^αρχων || 23 i.e. ^сδαίμων ||
 24 i.e. ^сενεε | i.e. ^αλλά || 25 i.e. ^εκκλησία | i.e. ^сωοϕ Crum CD 609B

[*inside tableau*] (*kharaktēres*: ⲟⲓⲥⲭⲭⲱⲛⲉⲣ) Arpakh (*kharaktēres*: Ⲭⲉⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ)

Procedure: menstrual blood, *Aswan dish. Wash them off <with> bathwater, pour it at the door. ⁵ The *three evil things. It is finished.

Solomon gave thanks. Khoubin Harpak came in to him. Solomon said to him, “What is your work?” He said to him “My work is destruction. I have never done a good thing, ¹⁰ ever. All evil things follow in my wake. A threshers, I destroy it; a [...] I destroy it; a shovel, I lay waste to it; a water-wheel, I destroy it; a garden, I destroy it; ... I destroy it; a storehouse; I destroy it; ... to its door. A water-tank, I destroy it; a... ¹⁵ [...] of the man, everything that is evil, I bring it [...] power, Esana the great, my⁷ great power [...] Khoubin Arpakh is my name, Ōr⁸nethau [is my name ...] is my name, Ar⁹pakh⁹ is my name, Ōr¹⁰nethau⁹ is [my name ...] everything that is evil that you ask of me, I ... ²⁰ [...] listen⁷ to me, *Sanataēl and Setrak [...] Yea, yea! Quickly, quickly!

[...] Solomon. The ruler of the [demons] came to him [...] he said, “What is your name?” He said, [“Beelzebub is my name,] I have never done a good thing, ever, but rather ²⁵ all [evil things] follow in my wake. Churches, I lay waste to them,

Image, 8 et al. (H)arpakh: A similar name, Ἄρπαξ (Harpax) appears in the Greek *Testament of Solomon* (18.32P; McCown 1922: 57*) and the Coptic *Confession of Cyprian* (Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 75 II.26–29). The demon is depicted here as a stylised bird-like figure within a circle (*cf.* Love 2022b: 697–699), perhaps representing the dish upon which it is to be copied using menstrual blood in the following procedures. For the cross on its head, *cf.* Masbēn on PCM I 25 p. 10, another Solomonic demon. A similar bird-headed, three-toed (*cf.* Viložny 2015: 142) figure with an axe appears in Crum 23.2.2 (Love 2022b; KYP M570), surrounded by *voces magicae* with parallels to the text discussed here, including ⲭⲱⲃⲏⲛⲓ (2.1), ⲁⲗⲡⲁⲕ (2.2), and the phrase ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲗⲟⲓ (“he gave thanks”; 3.6; *cf.* l. 7 of this text); see Love 2022b; Dosoo 2022a: 127–128.

7. ⲁⲕⲉⲭⲱⲃⲏⲛⲁⲱⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲱⲗⲱⲙⲉⲣⲏ : “Solomon gave thanks” *Cf.* *Testament of Solomon* 1.5: “And on hearing this I, King Solomon, went into the sanctuary of God and prayed with all my soul, giving thanks to him night and day, that the demon might be delivered into my hands and I might gain authority over him” (Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔδεδῆθην ἐξ ὅλης μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξομολογούμενος αὐτῷ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ὅπως παραδοθῇ ὁ δαίμων εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἐξουσιάζω αὐτόν; McCown 1922: 9*–10*); *cf.* the note to the image.

3–4. ⲛⲙⲁⲅ ⲉⲓⲁⲕⲏⲓ : “bathwater” “Bath” (ⲉⲓⲁⲕⲏⲓ) likely refers to a collective bathhouse (Greek βαλανεῖον, Arabic حمام *hammām*; *cf.* Macomber 2020: I 110; Crum CD 369b); *cf.* Cairo JdE 45060 (Kropp 1931: I no. K; KYP M303) front ll. 25, 37–38, which mentions the “furnace” (ⲉⲓⲛⲱⲕⲉ *cf.* Crum CD 404b) of a bath. Bathwater is used in several other Coptic and *Copto-Arabic curses; see BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) back l. 95; Cairo JdE 42573 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44) p. 2 l. 7; *Guide to the Psalms* Psalms 7, 17, 51, 78, 88, 98, 108 (Henein/Bianquis 1975); *cf.* drainwater in PCM I 31 back ll. 16–17; PCM I 32 p. 1 l. 23; PCM I 37 back ll. 5, 20. For bathhouses as liminal spaces inhabited by demons, see Bonner 1932; Dunbabin 1989; Alfayé 2016.

14. List of evil works: For similar curses against work equipment, see PCM I 37 back 21–23 (for a furnace), Cairo JdE 42573 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44) p. 1 ll. 21–23 (for a water-wheel), and the Syro- and Judaeo-Arabic curses against mills edited in Cherkashina/Cherkashin/Saar 2022.

17. ⲱⲣⲛⲉⲥⲁⲅ : “Ōr⁸nethau” *Cf.* Ornias (Ὀρνίας), the first demon encountered by Solomon in the *Testament*, perhaps modified by the relative phrase “who is evil” (ⲉⲧ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩ).

22–24. Compare the *Testament of Solomon* 3.6V: “I am Beelzebub, the ruler of the demons” (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Βεελζεβούλ τῶν δαιμονίων ὁ ἄρχων; McCown 1922: 17*).

back

- [*ca.* 10] ϣαιϣαβοϣ νεμανεϣεϣωβ ϣαιϣαβοϣ
 [*ca.* 5] περον]οϣ νοϣαλαμπε πεχδϣ νοῖ βερεβεολ
 [παρχων ννεδαι] ἡων : †ωρκ ερακ μποϣδαι μπιϣοϣ
 [*ca.* 8] χεκα]δς εκβωκ ϣα νιμ πϣ νιμ εκινε
 5 [*ca.* 12] δϣ αρακ μν οϣϣωβ μν οϣχωρε βδλ
 [*ca.* 12] κ εραϣ διδ ιδ ταχῃ ταχῃ

1 [*ca.* 14] Beck | *i.e.* ^sϣοϣ Crum CD 609B || 2 *i.e.* θρόνος | [*ca.* 15] οϣ Beck | *i.e.* ^االانبā : Beck does not translate || 3 *i.e.* δαίμων : [*ca.* 16] ἡων Beck | μπιϣοϣ *i.e.* ^ἡπ-π-σοϣ c corrected from unclear letter by overwriting : μπιϣοϣ Beck || 4 [*ca.* 16] δς Beck | εκ- *i.e.* ^ἡπ-π- (twice) | *i.e.* (υῖός) || 5 [*ca.* 16] Beck | *i.e.* ^sεβολ (haplography of ε) : β Beck || 6 [*ca.* 16] Beck | *i.e.* ^sδιο (twice) (haplography of δ) | *i.e.* ταχύ (twice)

[...] I lay waste to them; workshops, I lay waste to them; [...] the] seat[?] of an *anba*. Beelzebub, [the ruler of the demons,] said “I adjure you by the *wellbeing of the six[?] [...] that you go to NN, the son of NN, and you bring [⁵ [...] to you[?], and devastation and annihilation [...] to him, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph.

2. [περον]ογ νογαλαμπε : “[the] seat[?] of an *anba*” We are grateful to Marijn van Putten for his suggestion to read ⲁⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁ (*al-anba*) here. This title derives from the Coptic ⲁⲡⲁ (*apa*, Greek ἄπα), in turn from the Aramaic ⲁⲃⲃⲁ (*‘abbā*, “father”) via Greek ἄββᾶ (cf. Mark 14.36; Romans 8.15; Galatians 4.6). Originally a title of respect for ecclesiastical and monastic figures, by the sixth century *apa* was also applied to important secular individuals (Wipszycka/Derda 1994). The Arabic *anba* has a narrower meaning, being used as only for bishops (including metropolitans and the patriarch) and saints (Graf 1954: 14; Badawi/Hinds 1986: 34). A form close to the Arabic is attested in Coptic as ⲁⲛⲃⲁ by the tenth/eleventh century, when it is found in P.Col.inv. 597 l. 25 (Walter 2022: no. 4) and P.CtYBR inv. 2123 l. 6 (unpublished; we thank Vincent Walter for bringing this text to our attention). In the latter manuscript the addressee is explicitly a bishop (ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲡⲓⲱⲥ, l. 4), and the referent here should probably likewise be understood as such. The preceding word is likely a Greek loanword whose nominative form ends in -ος or -ον; compare ἄγγελος as ⲁⲓⲛⲉⲗⲟⲩ in PCM I 25 p. 3 l. 4 (we thank Frederic Krueger for discussing this point with us). If we understood *anba* as referring to a saint here, we might restore ⲡⲟⲛⲓⲟⲩ (“place, shrine”) or ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲩ (“monastery”), but in this case we would expect the Coptic ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ or ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲓⲱⲥ to more clearly designate a saint. We propose ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ “throne, seat”, used to refer to the throne upon which bishops were seated during their ordination, representing their authority; compare ⲕⲁⲑⲉ̅̅δⲣⲁ (*kathedra*), “seat”, whence “cathedral”, the church in which the bishop’s throne is situated. For instances of ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ used to refer to the episcopal seat in Coptic, see the *Life of Aaron* (VI–VII CE; CC 255; Dijkstra/van der Vliet 2019: 108.5, 112.31, cf. discussion on p. 224–225, and pp. 57–60 for the dating); John the Presbyter, *Life of Pisentius* (VII CE?; CC 238; Budge 1913: 91.34, 92.8 etc., 280 (trans)); Pseudo-Flavianus of Ephesus, *On Demetrius and Peter of Alexandria* (VII–VIII CE?; CC 155; Budge 1914: 140.21, 23 etc., translation p. 393); *SB Kopt.* I 719 l. 11 (862 CE). The threat posed to the throne by the demon would offer a parallel to the mention of the church (ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ) on front l. 25.

2. ⲃⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲟⲭ : “Beelzebub” Cf. the notes to front ll. 22–24.

PCM I 31. Two separation spells

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

45 (H) × 9.5 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Äg.Slg.inv. Kopt. 1030; TM 113762; KYP M366; Bélanger Sarrazin #147.

Editions: Stegemann 1938 (*ed. pr.*) [S].

Translation: Stegemann 1938 (German).

Additional commentary: Grumach 1970: 173; Dosoo 2018: 31–46.

Present location: Formerly belonged to the Ägyptologische Sammlung, Heidelberg.

Image: Lost, only tracings of images survive (Stegemann 1938: 77, 79).

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian influence.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–47: Separation spell (KYP T188)
2. Back ll. 1–28: Separation spell (KYP T185)

A formulary written on a paper rotulus, acquired for the Egyptological Institute of the University of Heidelberg by Carl Schmidt in 1934, but since lost; it may have been one of the manuscripts which went missing following the Second World War.¹ Stegemann describes some abrasion to the first three lines of front, and some damage on the left side of the manuscript. Stegemann dated the text to the eleventh century based on the other manuscripts from the Heidelberg collection (*PCM* I 21–33) with which it shares several notable similarities. We suggest a more cautious tenth- to eleventh-century dating. The hand—insofar as can be gauged from the surviving letters in the tableaux—is an informal, undecorated sloping majuscule, with a very flat μ and y-shaped γ , perhaps broadly similar to the hands of *PCM* I 29 & 30. The copyist uses supralineation primarily to mark abbreviations, and frequently uses diaeresis on ι , γ , and even some consonants, in this last case alternating with single dots. The mid-dot, sparsely used, is the only other form of punctuation, although decorated dividing lines are used to separate text sections. Frequent words (such as $\alpha\iota\omicron$, $\tau\alpha\chi\eta$) often have their final letters raised, a trait also seen in *PCM* I 28 (*e.g.*, p. 13 ll. 12–13). The dialect is the same form of Sahidic, heavily influenced by a Middle Egyptian dialect, found in the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ (see the description on pp. 261–262), suggesting a similar Faiyumic origin for this manuscript.

As the manuscript is lost, we rely almost entirely on the edition of Stegemann for the Coptic text, occasionally suggesting alternative readings where these seem plausible to us. The images are likewise reproduced from Stegemann’s tracings.

¹ Stegemann 1938: 74; Seider 1964: n. 85; Jördens 2015: 11 n. 55; *cf.* p. 325.

... do not[?] sleep! Beelzebub[?], you who annihilates, cause hatred! ... separation! Cause annihilation! |⁵ Cause unblessedness! Cause a reaping[?] between NN, son of NN, <and NN, child of NN,> so that he hates her like <the> Devil hates a righteous man, |¹⁰ and separate them from one another like Joseph and his brothers, and separate NN, son <of NN>, and NN, child of NN, like the Devil, |¹⁵ who separated himself from God and the angels! You will raise a storm upon him like the Jews |²⁰ in that time, and lay waste to his house like that of Judas, and annihilate his possessions like the dust of the impious, |²⁵ and bring upon him sufferings and pains for all the days of {of} his life! Let my prayer come to |³⁰ you, and my[?] repentance[?] come before you,

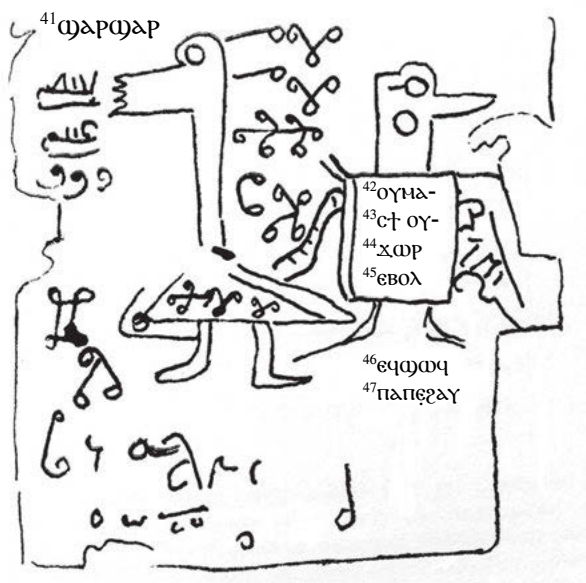
4. πωρεχ : “separation” We might expect to restore † before this word, but Stegemann notes that the traces do not allow such a restoration.

13. νη ν̄ϛ : “NN, son” The scribe has omitted a second νη. Note that in this manuscript we reproduce the abbreviation for “son” (υἱός) as ν̄ϛ, following Stegemann’s transcription, but it likely resembled the sign Ϝ used in the other manuscripts of similar date (*cf.* p. 33–34 and the index of abbreviations *s.v.* υἱός).

23. ενπετεντες : “his possessions” For this unusual form, see the notes to *PCM I* 25 p. 4 l. 16.

front (continued)

- 32 εΒΟΛ ΕΙC ΪΗΙϢC.Χ.Ο[...]
 ΠΕΛϢΩΒ ΕΝΤΕ[...]
 ΜΗ ΝΕCΑϢ[...]
 35 ΔΙ° ΔΙ° ΤΑ^Χ Η ΤΑΧΗ
 ΓΡ ΜΟΥ ΝΕCΕΪΙ CΝΕϢ
 ΜCΩΛCΕΛΩ ΧΩΩΜΕ
 ΝΑΝΜΟΥ CΩΩ Γ ΕΘΩ .
 ΕΑΔΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΕ[. .]
 40 ΠΑϢΤΗϢ ΠΡΟ ΤΑΜΕ^Ϣ Ϣ



32 *l.* ε-ι(ηCΟΥ)C πε-χ(ριστο)C ? : “behold” (“Siehe”) S || Ϊηι : *l.* ΔΙΟ ? S || 33 *i.e.* ^ϢΜπερ-
 ϢΩΒ or ^ϢΜπερ-ρ ϢΩΒ ? || 34 *νεCαϢ* or *νεCαϢ* ? S || 35 *i.e.* ταχύ || 36 *l.* γρ(άφειν) |
i.e. ^ϢΜ-ηCε : *i.e.* ^ϢCΔΙ followed by ιC S || 38 *i.e.* ^ϢΜ-άμνός Μ-εCωω ? *cf.* note : S does not translate ||
i.e. ϣ ^Ϣετ-ρCΟΥ ? : S does not translate || 39 *i.e.* ^ϢεΙΔΔ=Ϣ | *l.* ΝΕ[Cει] ? || 40 *i.e.* ^ϢΠαϢτ=α | *i.e.* ^Ϣε-πρo ||
 47 ΠΑΠΕϢΑΥ *l.* ΠΕΤϢΑΥ or ΠΑ ΠΤϢΑΥ ?

Jesus? Christ? ... do not send? ... and the ... |³⁵ yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

Write <with> leek? water <and> bat blood <on a> sheet of Ethiopian? lamb? <skin>. <Offering> *three? evil? <things>. Wash off with [leek?] water. |⁴⁰ Pour it <at> the door. Bury it.

|⁴¹, above left figure Šaršar

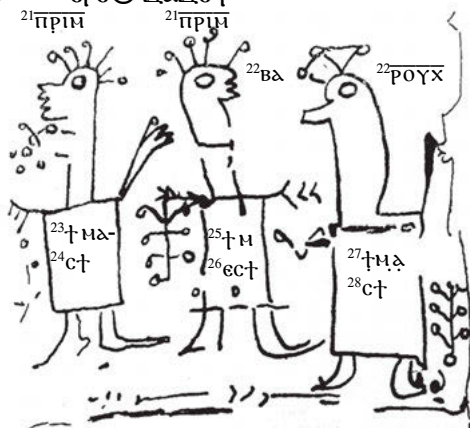
|⁴², inside right figure A hatred, a separation |⁴⁶, below right figure which is laid waste, which is evil?.

38. ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ : “Ethiopian? lamb? <skin>” Here we tentatively propose to understand ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ with the meaning of a “lamb” (الخروف *al-ḥarūf*) occurs in the *Scala Magna* (Macomber 2020: I 121). For “Ethiopian animals”, cf. ⲥⲁⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ in Crum CD 818a. The use of parchment made from the skin of a lamb or kid (ἀρνίον, ἐρίφιον) is attested in Mediaeval Greek magic; e.g., Athens, National Library of Greece 1265 fol. 15r (XVI/XVII CE; Delatte 1927: 14.8).

Image: The image here follows a common construction for curses of separation, in which two figures are depicted standing back to back, symbolising their regard being turned away from each other; this seems to represent visually in two dimensions a ritual process known from Coptic and Arabic texts, as well as Greek archaeological remains. Cf. the image on the back of this manuscript, and the ritual described in *PCM I* 27 front ll. 19–22, and the discussions in Dosoo 2018: 23–51; Dosoo 2023a: 164, 174, 178. There seem to be two short strings of linear kufic to the left of the left-hand figure; see the notes to *PCM I* 21 ll. 1– for a discussion. Note that the letter † here, and in the tableau on the back, seems to have decorations resembling the circles often used to decorate *kharaktēres*.

back

- ::::: ::::: :::::
 πριμπριμ πωη[ρε Ν]
 κνωφος πρεμ[ατ]
 πρετ-των πρετ-
 † βατςζα τοογν †
 5 τογτων † μωε † βατ^ς-
 ζα ετμε† Δ.Δ. εμεε-
 τωος ενον νογριπ μν
 ογζαρ ενθε νηταπλα-
 ος μνιογΔαϊ μεετ ις
 10 εκε† ματ† μν ογπ-
 ωρεχ ετμε† ΜΔΔ
 γς Δ.Δ. μν ογβατςζα
 νεβζα τηρογ δι^ο δι^ο
 ταχ^η ταχ^η — — — — —
 15 γρ σνοφ εωρω εγπ-
 νακεε ισογην μο^ογ
 ναογην θαογ θγ†
 εθοογ γρ εγχωωμε ·
 ναγχοε τανσεγ γε πρ^ο
 20 ερε^μ χαχεγ



2 or πρεμ[οστ] ? S || 4 i.e. ^ςβατς-ρο cf. note to PCM I 22 l. 45 | i.e. ^ςτωογν ? ||
 5 l. †των ? || 6 i.e. ^ςε-τ-μητε || 5–6 i.e. ^ς† βατς-ρο cf. l. 4 : l. βατς ζατοογ i.e. ^ββατς
 + ζα ? S || 6, 12 l. δ(ε)ι(να) δ(ε)ι(να) || 6–7 i.e. ^ςν-μ-μεετωε : i.e. ^ςε-μ-μεετωε S ||
 7 i.e. ^ςν-τ-γε || 8 i.e. ογ-ογρορ | i.e. ^ςν-τ-γε || 8–9 i.e. ^ςεντ-α-π-λαός || 9 i.e. ^ςν-ν-Ιουδαίος |
 i.e. ^ςμεετ- | l. ι(ηογ)ς || 11 l. δ(ε)ι(να) δ(ε)ι(να) || 11 i.e. ^ςμητε || 12 l. υ(ιό)ς | i.e. ^ςβατς-
 ρο cf. l. 4 : l. βατς ζατοογ i.e. ^ββατς + ζα ? S || 13 i.e. ^ςροογ ? || 14 i.e. ταχύ (twice) ||
 15 l. γρ(άφειν) || 15–16 i.e. πίναξ || 16 i.e. ^ςν-κογαν : ις ογν “... something” (“... etwas”) ? S ||
 17 i.e. ^ςν-ογειν | i.e. ^ςετ-ροογ | l. θυ(σία) | F S || 18 l. γρ(άφειν) || 18–19 i.e. ^ςε-γ-κεε ? cf. note to
 PCM I 37 front l. 2 : S does not translate || 19 i.e. ^ςε || 20 l. (ποορ) || 27–28 † . . † S

Primprim, the son of Knōphos, the hater, the quareller, the giver of hatefulness, arise, cause [|]5 quarrel, cause conflict, cause hatefulness between NN, child of NN, <and NN, child of NN>, so that he hates her like a pig and <a> dog, like the Jewish people hated Jesus! [|]10 May you cause hatred and separation between NN, son of NN, <and NN, child of NN>, and hatefulness all his days, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!

[|]15 Write <with> menstrual blood on an *Aswan dish. Putrid drain water. Offering: *three evil <things>. Write on a sheet or a bone[?]. Bury it at the door [|]20 when the moon wanes.

[|]21, above two left figures Prim Prim

[|]22, above right figure Baroukh

[|]23 inside figures Cause hatred! [|]25 Cause hatred! Cause hatred!

KD, EL & MP, edited from Stegemann's transcript, tracings from Stegemann.

7–8. **ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟϥⲣⲓⲣ ⲙⲛ ⲟϩⲉⲁⲣ** : “like a pig and <a> dog” This analogy finds a parallel in a separation spell from the Cairo Genizah, T-S K 1.73, p. 4 ll. 17–18: “and he shall hate NN, son of NN, as the dog hates the pig and the pig the dog” (ויסני ית פי' ב' פי' הך מא דכלבה סני לחיירה וחזירה לכלבה); Naveh/Shaked 1998: no. Geniza 6; Saar 2017: 191–192). As discussed by Saar (2017: 192) conflicts between dogs and pigs are already attested in Hurro-Hittite texts, suggesting a possible Near Eastern origin for this analogy, perhaps deriving from the status of both animals as scavengers which competed for food waste; cf. Dosoo 2022c: 532; Peled/Saar forthcoming. Compare the discussions of animal analogies used in love spells in the notes to *PCM I* 7 ll. 35–36 and *PCM I* 28 p. 2 ll. 12–13

Image: Cf. the discussion of the image on the front. Here, in addition to the two figures represented back to back, we have a third figure, perhaps with its arms raised in the orant position, likely representing the practitioner or superhuman being who causes the separation between the two targets. As already noted, the letter ⲧ here, as in the tableau on the front, seems to have decorations resembling the circles often used to decorate *kharaktēres*. A similar circle decorates the left part of the supralinear stroke of the word ⲛⲟⲩⲁ above the left-hand figure.

PCM I 32. Parchment bifolio with two preserved love spells

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

21.4 (H) × 16.4 (W) cm

X CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 518; TM 99553; *P.Bad.* V 131; KYP M285; Bélanger Sarrazin #170.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 131 (*ed. pr.*) [B/G].

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 131 (German); Frankfurter in Meyer/Smith 1994: no. 77 [F].

Additional commentary: Polotsky 1935: no. 131; Seider 1964; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 307–308; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 3.

Present location: Lost; formerly Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: Plate XII.

Linguistic description: Sahidic with inconsistent Middle Egyptian influence.

Contents:

Original Use:

1. p. 2: Jeremiah (including 41 (34) 8)

Re-use (palimpsest):

2. p. 1 ll. 1–27: Love spell (KYP T204)
3. p. 1 ll. 28–35, p. 2 ll. 1–38: Love spell (KYP T1559)
4. p. 3 ll. 18–19 (?): Traces of lost text

Parchment bifolio with the first folio (pages 1 & 2) almost complete, but only a tiny fragment of what would have been the second folio preserved, with a few letter traces from page 3 visible to the right of ll. 18–19 on the photograph;¹ it is possible that this bifolio was once part of a larger codex. Pages 1 and 2 are damaged on all sides, with the outer margin being the text preserved.

The manuscript was acquired from a dealer in 1896 by Carl Reinhardt (1856–1903), then dragoman (interpreter) at the German consulate in Cairo, as part of the first major purchase of the University of Heidelberg papyrus collection, consisting of at least 579 papyrus, parchment, and wooden manuscripts, written in six languages.² Karl Zangemeister, the head librarian of the University of Heidelberg, arranged to buy the collection, with the process beginning on the 30th May 1897 when Adolf von Öchelhäuser—who was in contact with Reinhardt—sent Zangemeister a letter informing him of the collection in Reinhardt's possession. Several professors from the University of Heidelberg met on the next

¹ Bilabel/Grohmann (1934: 375) read ⲛ to the right of l. 18 of p. 2.

² Greek, Pahlavi, Egyptian (Hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic), Hebrew, Arabic, Latin; Seider 1964: 168. For the life of Reinhardt, see Köpstein 1996.

day to formulate a letter to Öchselhauser stressing the importance of the collection for the university library, as it would make it comparable to the Berlin papyrus collection or that of Erzherzog Rainer in Vienna. Thanks to the support of the Minister of Justice, Wilhelm Nökk, arranged by Öchselhäuser, Friedrich I, Grand Duke of Baden (r. 1858–1907), approved the purchase. A telegram confirming the purchase was sent by Reinhardt to Zangemeister shortly thereafter. On the 30th June 1897, Zangemeister confirmed that the collection, bought for 6,280 marks, had arrived in Heidelberg.³ The manuscript belonged to the collection of the University of Heidelberg Library until it was lost in the Second World War.⁴

The manuscript is a palimpsest; the underlying text, written in two columns at right angles to the later text, is visible on the lower part of page 2, where Jeremiah 41 (34) 8 can be read; the original manuscript may date to around the sixth century.⁵ As with *PCM* I 25 & 26, therefore, this manuscript was produced by cutting the bifolios of the older Biblical codex into individual folios, which were folded to produce the smaller bifolios of the later manuscript.

Bilabel and Grohmann describe the colour of the ink as being brown,⁶ like the manuscripts of the Heidelberg Library produced by the Deacon Iōhannēs and the second copyist (*PCM* I 21–28); this suggests that it was written in a plant ink (*cf.* p. 261). The hand is close to, but not the same as, the second copyist, who produced *PCM* I 27–28, a regular, bilinear and bimodal sloping majuscule. Several letters have serifs at the ends of strokes, notably the τ and † (on the left side of the horizontal bar) and the Δ (at the top of the oblique stroke). The oblique strokes of the κ are separated from its vertical stroke, and the μ is very flat, with a slight upwards curve in the middle. The ϣ is bilinear. With a few exceptions, the use of the supralinear stroke is limited to names and abbreviations. The mid-dot is the only punctuation, and a decorated double horizontal line is used to separate the two recipes on page 1.

Very similar hands can be found in the colophons to several manuscripts belonging to the White Monastery near Akhmim in Upper Egypt, but copied in Touton in the Faiyum; these are BnF 132.1 (CLM 5353), dated by its colophon on fol. 67v to 927/8 CE, and Vienna K 351 (CLM 5857) and BnF Copte 13.3 fol. 39v (CLM 578), both datable to 939–940 CE. Based on these parallels, a tenth century dating seems most likely, even if a late ninth or early eleventh century date cannot be excluded.

The dialect of the majority of the text is a very standard form of Sahidic, but in the instructions accompanying the first recipe (p. 1 ll. 19–7) we find some suggestive non-standard features, notably ε for ṣṇ; this is a feature typical of the

³ For the account of the sale given here, see Seider 1964: 143–145, 168–173.

⁴ Mößner and Nauerth 2015: 307; *cf.* p. 325.

⁵ We are very grateful to Alin Suciu for his help in identifying this underlying text, and for providing us with his estimate of the date.

⁶ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 375.

texts of the Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library, which show the strong influence of a Middle Egyptian dialect (likely that of the contemporary Faiyum; see pp. 261–262). Several of the other manuscripts from the 1897 purchase came from the Faiyum,⁷ including other Coptic magical texts, leading us to tentatively suggest that this manuscript too may come from the Faiyum, even if not from the Heidelberg Library itself.

Because the manuscript was lost during the Second World War, we are reliant upon Bilabel and Grohmann's readings for page 1. For page 2 we have been able to check readings using a black and white photograph produced before the manuscript's disappearance, kindly provided by Elke Fuchs of the University of Heidelberg.⁸ Here we follow Bilabel/Grohmann in numbering the pages as 1 and 2; since the beginning of page 2 is damaged, there is no absolute indication in the text as to which side came first, but the fact that page 2 ends with an image and instructions suggests that it represents the end of the recipe which begins on page 1 l. 28. Note that Bilabel and Grohmann do not transcribe ll. 36–38 of page 2. We number the lines on page 2 from l. 1 to l. 41, whereas Bilabel/Grohmann number the second page continuously from page 1, so that page 2 l. 1 is numbered l. 36 in Bilabel/Grohmann.

The exact form of the $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ sign used in this manuscript is unclear. In their transcription, Bilabel and Grohmann often place a dot under the sign ($\overline{\Delta}$), but at other times mark it without a dot ($\overline{\Delta}$) and in still other places depict the sign with a descender ($\overline{\Delta}$). In the case of the dotted sign, it is unclear if they are marking uncertainty or a small descender in the form of a dot. Because of the low quality of the preserved photo, it not possible for us to resolve the question with certainty. On p. 2 ll. 8, 33, 34, there seems to be no descender (as Bilabel and Grohmann correctly note), but on ll. 14 & 25 two dots seem to be present below $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$ (where Bilabel and Grohmann indicate descenders), although these may be ink smudges or another form of discolouration. In our transcription, we follow the form provided in Bilabel/Grohmann, except where the sign is clear to us; in every one of these instances, we use a simple delta with supralinear stroke ($\overline{\Delta}$).

⁷ These include *PCM* I 33; P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 544b (KYP M365) & P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 564a (KYP M513; both in Quecke 1963b), all three of which show dialectal features suggestive of a Faiyumatic origin. Of the 148 inventory numbers from the sale listed in the database of the Heidelberg Papyrus Collection (<https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/papyri/>; consulted 16/3/2023) which have provenances listed, 34 are listed as coming from the Faiyum; a larger proportion (92) is described as coming from the Hermopolitan nome, although we should note that it is only generally the Greek manuscripts which have provenances listed.

⁸ This is the same image reproduced in Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: Tafelband, plate 10b.

page 1

- [ca. 18 $\text{ca} \text{]} \text{βαωθ ρμοος εχ[ωq]}$
 [ca. 20] $\text{n nqazepatq mn [...]}$
 $\text{pōmṗi [ca. 10]} \text{ϣαντεϣτννοοϣ n[α]ϣ}$
 $\text{μποοϣ μπνοσ [nσom]} \text{nnαρχαγγελος · nixānḥ}$
 5 $\text{mn ḡāwṛīnḥ · to[γ]βωκ ϣα μα nim eṛē\overline{\alpha\alpha} \text{ } \text{ϣοοπ}$
 $\text{nḡhntq · toγmeḡ pēsḡhnt noγωϣ nim nkωḡt ·}$
 $\text{ḡi epiθymia nim · ḡi paθos nim · ḡi me nim · toγ-}$
 $\text{ḡarpaze mmos nōe noγωδḡ nkωḡt · toγeine}$
 $\text{mmos epatq n\overline{\alpha\alpha} · aio · aio · t\overline{\alpha}pko mmōtn mpoγ-}$
 10 $\text{xai nnetnnos nσom · mn netnpan · ϣαντετ-}$
 $\text{ϣτορτρ mπlogισmos tḡpḡ etḡizoγn epḡhnt e\overline{\alpha\alpha} ·}$
 $\text{nnecω oγwm · oγte nnecω cω · oγte nnecω \overline{cω}}$
 $\text{ḡn laay mna · ϣαντεcτωoγn ncmooϣe nnec-}$
 $\text{oγepḡne · ncei epatq n\overline{\alpha\alpha} nq\chi ek pēqoγωϣ n-}$
 15 $\text{ḡhnt ebol nmmaς taxḡ taxḡ kim eṛēsḡhnt ḡn oγ-}$
 $\text{[n]os noγωϣ nōe eḡareṇkωḡt kim epōtn ·}$
 $\text{tai ḡωωq te θe · eṭaεine n\overline{\alpha\alpha} epatq n\overline{\alpha\alpha} · axn}$
 $\text{kaṭ\chi e mmos \overline{aio} \overline{aio} · taxḡ taxḡ ·}$

1 [περρονος ετερειαω $\text{ca} \text{]} \text{βαωθ B/G, F} \parallel$ 3 [nim ḡi ebōt nim mn ḡooγ nim] “[any] year, [any month and any day]” (“[jedes] Jahr, [jeden Monat und jeden Tag]”) B/G, F | *l.* n[α]ι ? || 4 *i.e.* ἀρχάγγελος || 5 *i.e.* $\text{n=ce-wak} \parallel$ 5, 9, 11, 17 *i.e.* δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) || 6 *i.e.* $\text{n=ce-meḡ} \parallel$ 7 *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία | *i.e.* πάθος || 7–8 *i.e.* $\text{n=ce-ārpázēin} \parallel$ 8 *i.e.* $\text{n=ce-eine} \parallel$ 10–11 *i.e.* $\text{ϣαντετν-ϣτορτρ} \parallel$ 11 *i.e.* λογισμός | *i.e.* ḡizoγn n- || 12 *i.e.* οὔτε (twice) || 14 *l.* δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(να) | *i.e.* οὔερḡte || 15 *i.e.* ταχύ (twice) || 17 *i.e.* $\text{se=teṭn-na-eine} \mid l.$ eṭaεine “which has brought” (“welche die... gebracht hat”) B/G || 18 *i.e.* κατέχειν | *i.e.* ταχύ (twice)

[“ ...] *Sabaoth[?] sits upon[?] ... and he stands with ... year[?] ... until he sends to me[?] today the great [power[?]] of the *archangels, *Michael [⁵] and *Gabriel, so that they go to every place in which NN, child of NN, is and fill her heart with every fiery desire and every lust and every passion and every love, and seize her like a fiery flame and bring her to NN, child of NN, yea, yea! I adjure you (pl.) by the [¹⁰] *wellbeing of your great *powers and your *names so that you disturb all the reason which is in the heart of NN, child of NN! May she be unable to eat and unable to drink and unable to stay in any place until she rises and walks on her feet and comes to NN, child of NN, so that he fulfils the desire of his [¹⁵] heart with her, quickly, quickly! Move her heart in a great desire, just as the fire moves you, this is the same way in which you will bring NN, child of NN, to NN, child of NN, without delay, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”

1. [*ca.* 18 **ca.]****באד** : [“ ... **Sa]****baōth** Bilabel/Grohmann, followed by Frankfurter in Meyer/Smith, plausibly suggest [πῆρονος ἐτερεῖα **ca.]****באד**, rendering “the throne upon which Iao Sabaoth sits”.

2. **ἡγάρθηται** : “**and he stands**” Bilabel/Grohmann translate “he shall not stand” (“er soll nicht stehen”).

3. **ᾠαντεύοντο** : “until he sends” Frankfurter translates “until he tramples them”.

9–10. †ΓΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΜΠΟΥΧΑΪ : “I adjure you by the wellbeing” Frankfurter translates “I adjure you and your healing”.

11–12. **νεσθῶ οὕωμ · οὔτε ννεσθῶ** **ω** : “may she be unable to eat and unable to drink”
An example of the motif LOVE IS ABSTINENCE, for which see the note to *PCM* I 17 back l. 44–front
l. 36.

16. **Ἰὼε ἑωραρεῖν κωρὲτ κιμ ἐρωτῆντ** : “just as the fire moves you” Both of the rituals in this manuscript seem to involve placing an applied object in the fire in order to apply the burning of love to the rituals’ targets by persuasive analogy; for a discussion of the motif LOVE IS FIRE, see the notes to *PCM* I 3 l. front col. 2 33–38.

page 1 (continued)

- 20 ΓΡ ΝΕΖΩ^Δ ΕΒ ΕΣΚΩΤΕ^Λ ΕΣΟΥΑΝ ΕΝΔ^Λ · ΓΡ ΤΕΥ^Χ ΜΕ ΠΖΩ^Δ ΕΠΕΩΑΚ-
 [ΝΤΥ] ΣΖΑΙ ΠΡΟΟΥΤ ΟΥΑΑΒ · ΓΡ ΟΝ ΕΥΑΡΡΑΚ ΟΥΡΟΕΙC
 [.] ΤΕ ΜΠΕΩΑΚΝΤ^Γ · ΓΡ ΜΠΑ ΠΡΟΟΥΤ ΕΤΑΛΒΕΕΜΙΑ ΔΥ-
 [Ε . .] Η ΠΠΙΝΟΕΙ ΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΟΥΩΜΕΥ ΖΙ ΤΑΡΧΗ Μ-
 [ΠΕΩΑ]ΚΝΤΥ ΟΝ ΕΥΑΛΒΕΕΜΙΑ ΔΥΕ ΜΟΥ ΝΑΥΕΙΝ ΤΑΝΟ
 [. . .] Τ ΖΙΩΩΥ ΟΝ ΘΕ · ΤΑΛΟ ΠΡΟΟΥΤ ΖΙΖΡΑΙ · ΤΑΔΥΟ ·
 25 [. . .] ΕΛΕΝ ΜΟΡΟΥ ΜΜΑΖ ΚΩΚ · ΣΟΛΒΟΥ ΝΟΜΕ Μ[Ο]^Χ-
 [ΟΥ Ζ] Μ ΠΚΩΖΤ · ΘΥ ΜΔC · ΑΛΔΩΘ · CΤΥΡΖ · ΕΥ · [. ? ΠΕ-]
 [ΩΑΚ]ΝΤΥ ΕΠΤΗΥ · ΕΚCΖΑΙ ΕΝΑCΣΑΑΒΡΑΝ ΖΡΑΙ [.] . . ΕΒΟΥ

 [. ?] Η · ΩΟΥΡΑΝ · ΩΟΥΤΑΒΙΝ · ΩΟΥΡΑΒΑΤΑΝ ΩΟΥΡΑΧΑΝ
 [. ?] ΒΑΝ · ΩΟΥΩΥ · ΩΟΥΡΑΧΑΝΛ · ΠΡΙΜ · ΠΡΙΜΠΕ · Δ . . .
 30 [. ?] · ΠΑΤΒΟΥΚΑΝΙΑΔ · ΠΖΕΥC · ΠΔΙΒΟΛΟC · ΠΑΠΟ[ΛΛΩΝ]
 [. ?] Δ ΠΚΟΝΟC · ΠΩΟΥΩΥ · ΠΑΝΤ^ΓΝΟC · ΠΑΝΤ^ΓΤΟC ·
 [. ?] ΔΚΖΙ ΤΟΟΤΚ ΔΙΝ ΕΩΟΡΠ · ΔΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-
 [. ?] ΝΕΙΕΡΟ · ΔΚΜΑΖΟΥ ΜΠΑΘΟC ΖΙ ΕΠΘΥΜΙΑ
 [ΖΙ . . .] ΖΙ ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ · ΖΙ ΜΕ · ΖΙ ΟΥΩΩΥ · ΖΙ ΛΙΒΕ · ΤΩΡ[Κ]
 35 [ΕΡΟΚ ΖΙ ΤΑΠΟ]ΛΟΓΙΑ · ΔΕΚΑC ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΥΝΑΚΩ · [ΜΗΟΚ]

19, 21 *i.e.* γρ(άφειν) || 19 *i.e.* ζῶδ(ιον) (twice) | *i.e.* ^ΣΝ-Β : F does not translate | *i.e.* σκουτέλ(ιον) | *i.e.* ^ΣΝ-ΣΟΥΑΝ | *i.e.* ^ΣΝΑΔΑΥ | *l.* εσκωτε (ε)λ(αδ)υ εσογαν(-ων) εναλ(οx) ? “when she turns, when she...” (“indem sie sich wendet..., indem sie...”) B/G, F | *i.e.* εὐχ(ή) || 20 *l.* προογ τογΑΑΒ “the holy day” (“den heiligen Tag”) B/G, F | *i.e.* ^ΣΕ-(ΟΥ)-(Ο)ΥΑΡΡΑΚ *i.e.* وراق *warag* : F does not translate, but notes possibility | “a guardian” F || 21 ΜΠΑ ΠΡΟΟΥΤ translate “male member” (“was dem Manne gehört (=penis)”) B/G, F || 21, 23 *i.e.* الحام *al-ḡām* : B/G, F do not translate || 21–22 *i.e.* ^ΣΩΥΕ? || 22 *l.* Π-ΝΟΕΙ ? *cf.* Crum CD 219a *s.v.* | *i.e.* προσφορά | *i.e.* ^ΣΟΥΩΜΕΥ | *i.e.* ἀρχή : “rulership” (“Herrschaft”) B/G : “principle” F || 23 *i.e.* ^ΣΩΥΕ : B/G, F do not translate | *i.e.* ^ΣΝ-ΟΥΕΙΝ : B/G do not translate : “colours” F | ΤΑΝΟ : “create”, (“schaffe”) B/G : “destroy” F || 24 *i.e.* ΖΙΩΩΥ ΟΝ Ν-Τ-ΖΕ : ΖΙΩΩΥ ΟΝ ΝΕ “and he is similar” (“indem er ähnlich ist”) B/G, F | ΤΑΛΟ ΠΡΟΟΥΤ ΖΙΖΡΑΙ : “put the male (=penis) on it” (“lege den männlichen (=penis) darauf”) B/G : “offer up the male (members)” F | *i.e.* ^ΣΤΑΔΥΟ- or ΤΑΔΕΥ Ο- || 25 *i.e.* ^ΣΜ-ΜΑΖΕΝ-ΚΩΚ *cf.* Crum CD 211a || 25–26 Μ[Ο]ΥΧ/[ΟΥ] *l.* ΝΟΧΟΥ? : “burn them” (“[brenne sie]”) *i.e.* ΡΟΚΕΟΥ? B/G, F || 26 *i.e.* θυ(σία) μασ(τίχη) : transcribe “thumas”, or translate as CMPT B/G, F | *i.e.* العود *al-ūd* : “alaôth” B/G, F | *i.e.* στύραξ ? || 27 *i.e.* الزفران *az-za‘farān* : B/G do not translate : “(when you write) ENASSAABRAN” F || 32 ΔΚ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ “through you” (“durch dich”) B/G : “in your hand” F || 33 *i.e.* πάθος | *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία || 34 *i.e.* πονηρία || 35 *i.e.* ἀπολογία : [ΖΙ ΤΑΠΟ]ΛΟΓΙΑ (“I adjure you) through this adjuration” (“Ich beschwöre dich durch diese Beschwörung”) B/G, F | ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΥΝΑΚΩ · [ΜΗΟΚ] : ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΥΝΑΚΩ · [. ?] “in every place, in which they will be” (“jeder Ort, an den sie sich stellen werden”) B/G, F

Draw the *images on two white? *Aswan dishes. Write the prayer and the image on what you will [bring]. ²⁰ Draw the man alone. Draw again on paper. An amulet. ... of? what you will bring. Draw that of the male on the *platter, gather? ... the storage place? of? the offering. Knead it with <wine of the> *first fruits? on? what you bring, again, in a platter. Gather drain water. Pound ... upon it again in this manner?. Lift up the male. Pronounce? ²⁵ ... bind them with fine flax. Smear them with clay, place? [them] in the fire. Offering: *mastic, *agarwood, *storax ... [what you] bring to the wind?. You write with saffron upon?...

[...] Šouran, Šoutabin, Šourabatan, Šourakhan, ...ban, Šoushf, Šourakhaēl, Prim, Primpe, A... ³⁰ ...patboukaniaa, Zeus, the Devil, Apollo, ...a, Pkonos, Šoušf, Antinoos, Pantitos, ... you began? from the beginning, you went down in ... rivers, you filled them with passion and lust [and ...] and wickedness and love and desire and madness. I adjure [you] ³⁵ [by my?] request?, that every place [in which you] will be placed ...

19. ϣⲡ/ ⲛⲉϣⲱⲗ/ : “draw the images” These instructions seem to describe the creation and manipulation of a pair of two-dimensional figures, one male, on plates, with the two perhaps being bound together with linen. This is similar to other Coptic and Arabic recipes describing the use of effigies to represent the male and female targets of love spells, which are usually brought together, facing one another as part of the ritual; cf. Dosoo 2018: 25–46; Dosoo 2023a. Bilabel/Grohmann do not note any image on this first page that might have served as a model.

19–20, 21, 23. ⲡⲉϣⲁⲕⲛⲧⲩ : “what you will bring” The meaning is obscure; it may refer to an object belonging to the target, known in Greek as οὐσία (*ousia*, “essence”). Often pieces of hair or fingernails are used, but the fact that it must be drawn on would imply a piece of clothing or another intimate possession. For the concept of *ousia*, cf. Gager 1992: 16–18; Faraone 2020: 4 n. 14. For the construction using a substantivised circumstantial (ⲡⲉϣⲱⲗⲧⲩ), common in the later manuscripts of this volume, see Richter 2017b.

27. ⲉⲛⲁϥϥⲁⲗⲃⲣⲁⲛ : “with saffron” For the use of ink made from saffron in Coptic magic, see Richter 2023: 166–68.

28–31. These names are probably those of demons. Aside from ⲡⲗⲁⲃⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ (“the Devil”), we may compare ϣⲱϣⲓⲛ ϣⲁϣⲣⲁⲛ ϣⲱϣⲧⲁⲃⲁⲛ ϣⲱϣⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲉⲓ in *BKU* I 2 (KYP M300), alternative names for ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲗⲁⲃⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ (“Satan the Devil”). ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲡⲓⲛ in *PCM* I 31 (KYP M366) is a being who causes strife. The rest are the names of pagan deities, likewise understood as demons: ⲡⲓⲗⲉϣⲥ (“Zeus”), ⲡⲁⲡⲱⲗⲗⲱⲛ (“Apollo”), ⲡⲓⲕⲱⲛⲟⲥ (“K(ῑ)onos”), ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ (“Antinous”); cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 249–250, in particular n. 133.

32–34. This is likely a reference to the story of the Devil scraping his sweat into the water of the four rivers of Eden so that Eve would drink it and be filled with desire, allowing her to be deceived into eating the fruit of the Tree of Life, an event mentioned in the *Questions of Bartholomew* IV.59 (Bonwetsch 1987: 26); cf. the love spell BM EA 10376 (Zellman-Rohrer 2022a: no. 2; KYP M286) ll. 15–18: “the lust which Mastema scraped? into a bowl and cast into the source of the four rivers, and he bared himself? in it so that the children of men would drink from it and be filled with the lust of the Devil” (ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲓⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲛⲁ ⲃⲏⲣⲉⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲉⲗⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲡⲉϣⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲩⲱⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲥ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲏⲣⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲱ [ⲉ]ⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲓⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲡⲗⲁⲃⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗ ⲥⲱ ⲉⲃ[ⲱⲗ] ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲓⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲡⲗⲁⲃⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ); see the discussion in Zellman-Rohrer 2022a: 122.

... disturbance and madness ... she will come to NN, child of NN, and [she will] ... and an unending desire ... that you go to every place in which NN is, |⁵ and you snatch her and bring her to NN, child of NN, from every place in which she is, even if she is eating, even if she is drinking, even if she is breastfeeding, even if she is in the mountains, even if she is in the waters, compel her, disturb her until she comes to NN, child of NN! I adjure you, *Michael, by <the> light upon which you are mounted, |¹⁰ you and your companions who are with you in the same rank, that as soon as I name your names and I place you in this fire or⁷ <at> the door of the house or in a *pot or in oil, in short, every place over which I name your names and give it to NN, child of NN, may she go to |¹⁵ NN, child of NN, every year and every month and every day! May you (s.) take these adjurations in your ears! You are the one who caused bees⁷ to come, indeed you have caused the camel to chew, you caused the female dogs to go under the male dog; you have caused the [female cat⁷] to come under the male cat, you and also your companions. You are the one who disturbs the reason⁷ |²⁰ and wisdom⁷ of NN, child of NN, so that you may bring her to NN, child of NN, [through your⁷]

1. [ἡρετῆ ὄγῳ]τοῦτο : “... disturbance” There would seem to be space for only about five letters before the visible τ, but all of the elements here are necessary; perhaps there was another lost line at the end of the recto.

9. νογῶν ἐτεκαλῆ ἐξαι ἐχω : “by <the> light upon which you are mounted” Perhaps restore “<chariot> of light” (ἡπεκάρη νογῶν), compare the chariot of light (πεκάρη νογῶν) given to Michael in the *Investiture of Michael* (CC 488; Müller 1962: 19.6).

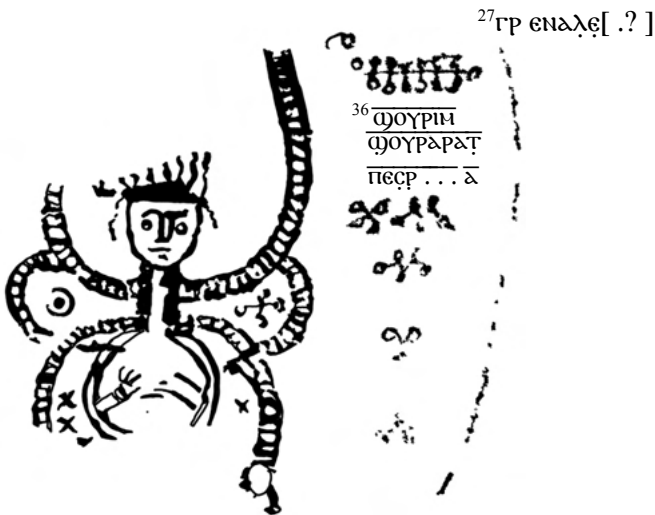
15. ρῶν : “year” This word is very uncertain; the omicron may be inserted above the line.

16–18. For similar descriptions of women maddened in love behaving like animals, cf. the note to PCM I 7 ll. 32–36. By comparison with PCM I 28 p. 6 ll. 4–5, we might perhaps restore at the end ακτρε τῆς γυναικὸς ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (“you caused the female cat to go under the male cat”; cf. the notes to PCM I 28). Bilabel/Grohmann translate “Abakuk, you caused the female dogs (?) to come under the dog (?), you also caused the peasants to come under the...” (“... Abakuk, du hast veranlaßt, daß die Hündinnen (?) unter den Hund (?) gekommen sind, du hast veranlaßt, daß auch die Bauern unter den... gekommen sind...”). Frankfurter in Meyer/Smith translates “You have called, NOUNOU ABAKOUK, you have called. The dogs come under the dog. You have called the little ones to come under the ...”.

page 2 (continued)

- 21 ΝΟΥ ΝΟΥ ΤΑΧΗ · ΟΥΡΙΧ · ΜΑΡΙΧ · ΒΑΤΩΛ · . . . [. . .]
 ΜΑ ΧΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΚΛΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΝΣΕΒΩΚ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠ[ΗΙ]
 ΝΔΔ ΩΑΝΤΕΣΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΣΡ ΖΒΑ · ΝΣΚΩ ΝΣ[ΩΣ ΜΠΕΣΕΙΩΤ]
 ΜΗ ΤΕΣΗΔΔΥ · ΜΗ ΠΕΣΖΑΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΣΥΤ · ΝΣΝΩ[ΟΤ ΝΣΜΟΥΖ]
 25 ΝΟΥΩΩ ΕΔΔ · ΖΝ ΟΥΟΥΩΩ ΕΦΔΗΗ ΜΗ ΟΥΜΕ Ν[. . .] 60
 Ν[ΙΜ] ΖΙ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΑΤΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ . . . ΤΑ[ΧΗ]

30 [ΔΠ]ΟΛΛΩΝ
 [Ω]ΟΥΩΩ
 . . ΔΙΜΙΣΚΗΣ
 ΤΑΡΟΥΙΝΕ 65
 ΠΙΝΟΥΝ ΕΙ-
 ΝΕ ΝΔΔ
 ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΔΔ



22 *i.e.* δύναμις || 23 *i.e.* δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) || 24 *i.e.* υ(ί)ος || 25 *i.e.* ουγ-ουωω : ουωω B/G ||
i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) || 26 *i.e.* ἐπιθυμία | . . . ΤΑ[ΧΗ] *i.e.* ταχύ : ε . α . τα B/G || 27 *i.e.* γρ(άφειν) *cf.*
 p. 1 l. 19 | / . ΕΝΑΛΕΥ ? | ΓΡ ΕΝΑ · ΕΥ[ΧΗ?] Bilabel/Grohmann : “write the [prayer (?)])” F || **sub 27** two
 lines of illegible text ? || 30 ἀρι μεσίτης *i.e.* μεσίτης “be a mediator” (“[seid (?)] Mitler”) B/G, F |
 ΤΑΡΟΥΙΝΕ “so that the underworld is brought about” (“damit die Unterwelt herbeigeführt wird”)
 B/G : “illumine” F || 33 *i.e.* δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) || 34 *i.e.* δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα)

great power, quickly! Ourikh, Marikh, Batōl ... send your powers so that they go to the [house?] of NN, child of NN, so that she is disturbed and distressed and she abandons [her father] and her mother and her husband and her children and she becomes bold? and is [filled] with ^{|25} desire for NN, child of NN, in burning desire, and every ... love ... and unending desire for ever ... quickly?!

^{|27} Write on <a> white? ...

Left of tableau: ^{|28} Apollo, Šoušf, ^{|30} Aimiskēs, Tarouine, the abyss?, bring NN to NN!

Right of tableau: ^{|35} (*kharaktēres*: +++++++) Šourim, Šourarat, Pesr...a

(*kharaktēres*: XM M Y . A)

KD, EL, MP & JS; page 1 edited from Bilabel/Grohmann 1934,
page 2 edited from photograph; tracings by KD & JS.

Image: The central image here depicts a crowned angel, with the six wings typical of the iconography of *cherubim and *seraphim, and his arms held against his body. No caption is visible, but the *angel may represent *Michael, who is invoked in the accompanying formula. For a discussion of such images, see Dosoo 2022a: 139–151, and compare the image of Michael on *PCM* I 26 p. 17, accompanied by two such six-winged angels, there labelled as *‘‘powers’’.

PCM I 33. Formulary with healing procedures

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

15 (H) × 16.5 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 580; TM 102082; *P.Bad.* V 133; KYP M319; Bélanger Sarrazin #172.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 133 (*ed. pr.*) [B/G].

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 133 (German).

Additional commentary: Seider 1964: 143–145, 168; Untermann (ed.) 2011: 10; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 308; Love 2022a: 192–193.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39648>

Linguistic description: Sahidic (non-standard).

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–5: Instructions for amulet for someone given sorcery (KYP T208)
2. Front ll. 6: Instructions stop a child from crying (KYP T209)
3. Front ll. 7–9: Instructions for amulet against uterine bleeding (KYP T210)
4. Front ll. 10–13: Instructions for unbinding a bridegroom (?) (KYP T211)
5. Front ll. 14–18: Instructions for healing amulet (KYP T2075)
6. Back ll. 1–3: *Kharaktēres* (KYP T212)

Sheet of paper with significant damage to the left and lower parts; traces of 3 vertical and 4 horizontal creases demonstrate folding, along which much of the damage has been sustained. The middle-left and bottom left parts are missing.

The manuscript was acquired in 1896 by Dr. Carl Reinhardt as part of a large number of papyri, parchments and wooden tablets and sold in 1897 to the University of Heidelberg, where it remains.¹ Manuscripts acquired within this lot came from the Faiyum, El-Ashmunein (Hermopolis), and Al-Fustat (Old Cairo). Despite the lack of the most prominent dialectal features associated with the group, the similarity in dating and content to the Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library (*PCM* I 21–29) perhaps suggests that this manuscript, like them, originated in the Faiyum.

The text is written with a black carbon ink on the front and back,² with *kharaktēres* visible on the back, either connected to one of the texts on the front or to a now lost text which existed below it. The text is written in right-sloping, generally bilinear, bimodal majuscule. The hand is fairly, but not entirely, regular: the lines often slope, and the letter heights show some variation. ⲙ is curved but

¹ Seider 1964: 143–145, 168. This manuscript was bought within the same lot as *PCM* I 32; see this introduction to that manuscript on pp. 421–422 for more information on its acquisition.

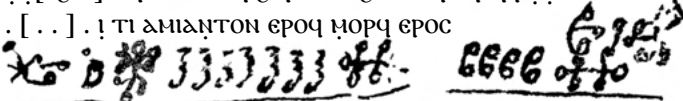
² We are again grateful to Krisztina Hevesi for sharing her work on the inks of the Heidelberg manuscripts; for the process of determining the ink, see pp. 28–29.

not flat, while the descenders of ρ, ς, and ϣ reach slightly below the line. There are slight serifs on the lower and left strokes of the τ, but the hand is otherwise undecorated. The γ consistently takes the form of a Latin lowercase y. σ seems to be written with a counterclockwise stroke, as with other texts of similar date from the Faiyum (*cf.* pp. 260–261). Horizontal dividing lines (both simple and decorated) is used extensively on the front to separate recipes. Supralinear strokes are used above *voces magicae* and other names, which may also be separated by colons.

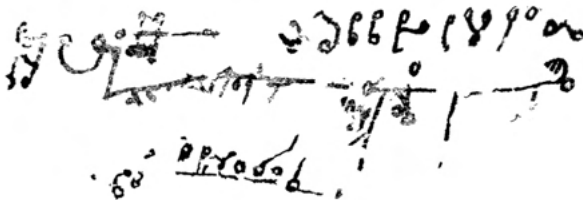
As discussed in the introduction (p. 27–28), the use of paper suggests a tenth century date at the earliest, and a hand with many similar traits may be found in *CPR* II 1 ll. 29–40 (TM 82031), dated to year 410 of the Hijra (1019–1020 CE). We thus propose a tenth to eleventh century date for this manuscript.

The language of the manuscript is largely Sahidic, but with some surprising features; apart from dittography (μμ, εε) and an instance of the absence of ν › μ assimilation, we see some surprising phonological substitutions (ε for ^sογ, ι for ^sαι). The lambdistic writing of φαρμακεία as φαλμακία (front l. 1) may confirm our proposal that the manuscript originates in the Faiyum.

front

- ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΔΗ ΕΑΠΟΤ ΝΦΑΛΜΑΚΙΑ
 ΣΖΑΙ ΝΑΙ ΖΙ ΕΡΩΤΕ ΕΝΕΣΟΥ ΖΙ ΜΑΣΤΙΧΕΝ : ΣΗΚ
 ΣΑΘΩ : ΣΑΜΗΝ : ΜΕΝΕΪΣ ΤΨ : ΔΡΩΝΑΙ : ΣΑΗΛ
 ΛΑΜΝΑ : ΦΟΥΣΗΣ : ΣΗΣ ΒΑΡ : ΒΑΛΙΑ : ΓΕΣΑΜΗΣ
 5 ΓΗΝ 
- 6 [nothing lost? ΟΥ]ΩΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΕΦΡΙΜΕ ΣΖΙ ΝΑΜ ΤΕΝ
 ΟΥ[ΣΖΗ]Ε ΕΡΕΠΕΣΝΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΣ : ΣΖΑΙΕΣΟΥ ΕΥΑΡΡΑΚ
 . [. .] : Ι ΤΙ ΑΜΙΑΝΤΟΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΣ

- 10 ΟΥΣΩΠΕΕΣ ΑΥΘΟΠΗ ΟΥΑΛΑΛΩΣΕ ΠΗΤΑΦΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ
 . . Ν . ΣΖΑΙΕ ΝΟΥΕΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΧΗ ΝΠΕΨΩΜΑ ΝΡΟΥΤ
 [ca. 6] . ΝΑΡΚΑΡΤΑΜΑ ΚΤΑΔΗ ΕΠΣΩΜ ΤΕΦ . . ΨΩ .
 [ca. 8] . . ΕΝ ΠΕΖ ΕΠΕΨΩΜΑ ΚΗΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΣΖΑΙ ΝΜΟΡ . . ΜΟΥ ΖΙΧΩ ΠΕ
- 15 [ca. 16] . Ψ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΚ ΖΑΤΗ ΡΩΜΕ . .
 [ca. 15] : ΕΝΟΥΗΛ : ΣΗ . . [. . . .]
 [ca. 16] : ΜΙΧΑΗΛ [ca. 5]
 [ca. 16] : [. . .]

back



1 i.e. ^ΣΝ-ΟΥ-ΑΠΟΤ : ΕΥΗΘΣ B/G | i.e. φαρμακεία || 2 i.e. ^ΣΝ-ΕΣΟΥ | i.e. μαστίχη || 3 i.e. σ(ταυρό)ς ? :
 εις ος i.e. εἰς θεός ? B/G | ΣΑΖΗ B/G || 4 ΣΗΣ B/G | ΒΑΝΑ B/G || 5 ΓΕΣΑΜΗΣ B/G || 6 . . ΟΥΙ B/G |
 i.e. ^ΣΡΙΜΕ | l. ΣΖΑΙ Ν-ΑΜΙΑΝΤΟΝ ? : ΖΗΝ ΑΝΟΥ “... Come!” (“... Komm!”) B/G || 7 [.] Ν[ca. ?] JE
 B/G | i.e. ^ΣΣΖΑΙΕ=ΣΟΥ | l. Ε-(Ο)ΥΑΡΡΕΚ i.e. ورق *waraq* || 8 . . Ι ΤΙ :]ΝΕ B/G | i.e. ΑΜΙΑΝΤΟΝ :
 ΑΝΑΜΙΑ ΜΤΟΝ i.e. ΑΝΟΜΙΑ “lawlessness! Agree (with him)” (“Gesetzlosigkeiten!
 Stimme ihm zu”) B/G | ΚΟΥΙ ΕΡΟΣ “destroy them!” (“Richte sie zugrunde”) B/G ||
 10 i.e. ^ΣΣΟΠΕ ? see Crum 827a : ΑΥΣΩΠΕ ΕΣ- B/G | i.e. العروس *al-‘arūs* ? : ΟΥΑ . . . ΠΕ B/G ||
 11 i.e. . . ΣΖΑΙΕ=Σ Ν-ΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΨ-ΣΩΜΑ Ν-ΖΟΥΤ : [ca. ?] . Ν . [.] ΖΑΚ ΖΗΟΥ ΖΕΛΗΤ ΕΧΗ
 {Ν}ΠΕΨ-ΣΩΜΑ ΝΡΟΥΤ/ B/G || 12 i.e. ال (*al-*) + ΚΑΡΔΑΜΟΝ ? | i.e. ^ΣΝ-Γ-ΤΑΔ=Ψ ? | i.e. ΣΩΜΑ ? | for this
 line [ca. ?] . ΝΑΡΚΑΡΤΑ . ΑΚΤΑΔΗ ΕΠ . ΨΗΤΕΦ[. .] . . B/G || 13 [ca. ?] ΦΩΠΕ ΖΕ ΠΕΨΩΜΑ B/G ||
 14 l. e.g. ΜΥΡ(ΣΙΝΗ) ? : ΝΗΟΙ B/G | ΝΗΟΙ[.] ΝΟΡ . . ΨΕ B/G || 16 [ca. 16] :]Ε B/G | ΕΝΟΥΗΛ
 “E(ma)nuël” B/G | ΣΗ . . [. . . .] : ΣΟΥΡ[ΙΝΗ B/G || 17]:ΜΙΧΑΗΛ B/G || 18 B/G do not print.

A man who has been given <a> *cup of sorcery. Write these <names> with sheep's milk and *mastic:

Sēk, Sathō, Samēn, Meneis, cross[?], Arōnai, Saēl, Lamna, Phousēs, Sēs, Bar, Balia, Gesamēs, ¹⁵ Gēn (*kharaktēres*: CCCCCCCCCIIIIIIII)

¹⁶ [A[?]] small child who cries. Write with[?] asbestos[?].

¹⁷ A [woman] who has blood under her. Write them on paper [...] ... put asbestos on it. Bind it to her. (*kharaktēres*: *Q*ZZZZZZZZ++C[C]CCCCC++)

¹⁰ A capture[?]. He has been seized, a bridegroom[?], the one who has been released. ... write them on a bird[?] upon his male member ... in garden cress[?], and you put it on his body[?], his[?] ... reaches[?] his body. He will be released.

Write ... Bind it upon the ¹⁵ [...] write[?]] it, have him go before <the>[?] man ... [...] ... Enouēl ... [...] *Michael [...]

^{back} (*kharaktēres*: ..IIECYI★)

KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph; tracings by JS.

1. ⲉⲁⲡⲟⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲗⲛⲁⲕⲓⲁ : “<a> cup of sorcery” Probably a reference to some kind of harmful ‘potion or ‘poison’; cf. the note to PCM I 26 p. 16 l. 16 and the glossary s.v. *cup.

3. ⲕⲣ This letter or sign is uncertain; it may be a *kharaktēr*. Here we read it as the word “cross”.

6. This recipe may have been preceded by *kharaktēres* which were to be copied. There are traces to the lower left after this line which may be a letter (perhaps a ⲛ), or part of the elaborate divider.

6. [ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲛⲛⲉ : “[a[?]] small child who cries” For other Coptic procedures for crying children, see PCM I 36 front col. 2 ll. 1–10; Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M220) p. 13 ll. 5–6, and the recipes for Psalms 8, 62, 95, 114 & 130 in the *Guide to the Psalms* (Henein/Bianquis 1975). Those for Psalms 8, 62 & 130 give indications about the possible causes and consequences of “crying”: the first adds that the child may also be unable to sleep, the second that the crying may be preventing breathing, and the last that the crying may be due to weaning.

7. ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲓⲛⲓⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲣⲟⲥ : “a [woman] who has blood under her” For other recipes for the healing of uterine bleeding with the use of amulets, see PCM I 2 l. 1 and the accompanying note.

10. ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲡⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲗ ⲉⲱⲟⲗ : “A capture[?]. He has been seized, a bridegroom[?], the one who has been released” Perhaps understand “For a ‘seizure’ that has seized a bridegroom, in order that he be released” (ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱⲗ ⲉⲱⲟⲗ). Apparently intended to treat a (newly-married?) husband suffering from magically-induced impotence; cf. PCM I 26 p. 16 ll. 6–8; the recipes associated with Psalms 44, 117, and 126 in Henein/Bianquis 1975; with Cherkashina/Kuzin 2022 for the Syriac tradition; and Chassinat 1955 (KYP M44) p. 1 ll. 6–10, this last a Coptic recipe intended to bind a bridegroom.

12. ⲛⲁⲣⲕⲁⲣⲧⲁⲙⲁ : “garden cress?” The suggestion to read “cardamom” here is very speculative; ⲕⲁⲣⲧⲁⲙⲁ is a plausible Coptic rendering of Greek κάρδαμον, which seems refer to garden cress (*Lepidium sativum* L.), but an Arabised form with an initial *al-* does not seem to be otherwise attested; the normal Arabic name for garden cress is حرف *huruf*, given as the equivalent of ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲗⲁⲙⲟⲛ in the *Scala magna* (Macomber 2020: 139). Garden cress is mentioned as an ingredient in several ancient and mediaeval Greek and Arabic medical texts; cf. Lev/Amar 2008: 172–174.

PCM I 34. Bifolio with bowl divination procedure and silencing curses

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

18.7 (H) × 14.3 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: Strasbourg K 550; TM 874130; *P.Stras.Copt.* 9; KYP M106; Bélanger Sarrazin #225.

Editions: Tibet 2014 (*ed. pr*) [T].

Translations: Tibet 2014.

Present location: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Image: Plates XIII–XIV; *P.Stras.Copt.*: fig. 28, 29.

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian features.

Contents:

1. p. 1 ll. 1–27 – p. 2 ll. 1–26: Invocation for bowl divination (KYP T1085)
2. p. 3 ll. 1–11: Silencing curse (?) (KYP T1086)
3. p. 4 ll. 1–27: Silencing or binding curse (KYP T1658)

Considerably damaged paper bifolio containing three recipes for various purposes. As David Tibet has suggested, the bifolio may have been part of a larger codex which would have opened from either side, as pages 3 and 4 are written at 180° with respect to pages 1 and 2.¹ The bifolio seems to have been further folded before deposition, with 4 horizontal and 3 vertical creases visible on each page,² resulting in symmetrical damage patterns, perhaps due to insects. There is also notable discolouration, particularly on the upper edge of pages 3–4 near the spine.

The manuscript was purchased by the Papyruskartell (German Papyrus Cartel) in 1909, as part of a lot including inventory numbers 550–582.³ Based on the dialect, similar to that of many manuscripts from the Faiyum dating to the same period (*cf.* below), we propose that it may also have originated from that region.

The manuscript is written rather densely, with thick, consistent strokes in a black or dark brown ink. The script is a right-sloping majuscule, bilinear, with serifs on the horizontal bar of τ and, to a lesser extent, †. The α has a small and very rounded bowl, while the oblique stroke sometimes extends to the right. The lower belly of β is markedly larger than the top one. The strokes of ε, κ, and λ consistently do not fully join, and there is some bimodularity in the narrowing of ε, o, and c. γ and ς are bilinear, and the tail of the ϣ is almost horizontal,

¹ Tibet 2014: 131–132. Tibet (2014: 131) also notes “some evidence of holes for a binding-cord in the centre of the leaf, though the damage to the manuscript makes it difficult to be certain of this.”

² *Cf.* PCM I 4 & 28, codices which also seem to have been folded prior to deposition.

³ Inventaire des papyrus, Coptes, Coptes-Arabes, IPC, IPCM, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg.

while the ascender of the σ is rather long. The copyist respects spaces between lines and letters; on page 1, the line shows a marked upwards slope. No dividing lines are visible on the preserved sections. Supralinear strokes are used above *voces magicae*, and dots are used above certain letters in a similar manner to the supralinear stroke or later djinkim. Colons are used to separate individual words or phrases. As Tibet (2014: 132) notes, the use of paper suggests a tenth century date at the earliest. A tenth or eleventh century date is likewise likely based on the hand, which notably demonstrates the “flat μ ”.⁴

The dialect is a form of Sahidic heavily influenced by a Middle Egyptian dialect, likely that of the Faiyum, but lacking in the lambdacism associated with the classical forms of Faiyumic (F4/F5), which is very close to that found in the archive known as the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’.⁵

We have renumbered the pages assuming that the bifolio was originally written in such a way that two pages in the same orientation followed one another when folded; as a result, our page 1 = Tibet’s Verso (1); page 2 = Recto (1); page 3 = Recto (inverted); page 4 here = Verso (inverted). On page 4, we number the lines continuously, whereas Tibet numbers each text area separately. Tibet does not generally mark supralineation in his edition, and so we do not mark divergences in the treatment of supralineation in the apparatus.

⁴ Mihálykó 2019: 16–18.

⁵ See pp. 261–262 for a fuller description.

page 1

- [ca. 9] . 𐩈𐩣[ca. 10]
 . [ca. 8] . . . 𐩈 : 𐩈 . [ca. 10]
 .. [ca. 6] . 𐩈 . 𐩈𐩣 . [ca. 10]
 .. [ca. 8] : 𐩈 . [ca. 9]
 5 𐩈 . . [ca. 6] 𐩈𐩣𐩈𐩣 [ca. 10]
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 10 [ca. 8] 𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩣𐩣𐩣 : 𐩣𐩣 . . .
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 25 𐩈𐩣 𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 : 𐩣𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣
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 [. .] . 𐩣𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 . [. . .] . 𐩈𐩣

2 𐩈 : 𐩣 : 𐩣𐩣 𐩈 || 3 𐩈𐩣 𐩈 || 5 . 𐩈 : 𐩈 𐩈 || 6 𐩈 [𐩈 || 7 𐩣 . 𐩣 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩈𐩣𐩣 : 𐩣𐩈𐩣𐩣 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣-𐩣 | 𐩣𐩣 𐩈 || 8 .. 𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣[.] 𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩈𐩣𐩣 || 9 i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩈𐩣-𐩈𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣 : [ca. 10] 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣-𐩈𐩣𐩣 || 10 l. -𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 cf. note : ca. 7 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈-𐩣𐩣 || 10–11 l. e.g. 𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 i.e. 𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 : [ca. 3 | ca. 7] 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈 || 12 𐩣𐩣 : [𐩣𐩣𐩣] 𐩈 | 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣𐩣[𐩈] || 13 𐩣𐩣 : [𐩣𐩣𐩣] 𐩈 | [𐩣] 𐩈[𐩈] 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣-𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣𐩣 𐩈𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣 : 𐩣𐩣 . . : 𐩣[ca. 3] 𐩈 || 12 𐩣 . . : [𐩣𐩣𐩣] 𐩈 || 13–14 l. 𐩈-𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 or 𐩈-𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 or 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 ? : 𐩣[ca. 4] 𐩈 | i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈 || 14 i.e. 𐩣𐩣𐩣 | 𐩈𐩣𐩣 ink trace between 𐩈 and 𐩣 : [. .] 𐩈 [. . .] 𐩈 || 15 i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩈𐩣-𐩈𐩣𐩣 | 𐩈𐩣𐩣 : [. . .] 𐩈 || 16 𐩈𐩣 : cf. 𐩈𐩣𐩣 ? 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩈𐩣 𐩈𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣 “being divided” 𐩈 | [ca. 5] 𐩈 || 17 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣-𐩈𐩣𐩣 𐩈-𐩈𐩣𐩣 || 17–18 i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 : 𐩣𐩣𐩣 . . . [𐩣𐩣] 𐩈𐩣𐩣 i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈 || 18–19 i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩣 𐩈-𐩣𐩣 || 19 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣-𐩣𐩣𐩣 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣- | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣-𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 𐩈 || 20–21 cf. p. 2 ll. 8–9, 15–16 || 21 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣-𐩣𐩣𐩣 [𐩈𐩣] 𐩈 || 22 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣-𐩣𐩣𐩣 || 23 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈 || 23–26 i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣 || 24 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 | i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣 | i.e. 𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣[𐩣] | i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣 || 24–25 i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈 || 25 [𐩈] ink traces after 𐩈 | i.e. 𐩈𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈[𐩈] 𐩈 | i.e. ^S𐩈𐩣𐩣 : 𐩈𐩣𐩣[𐩈] 𐩈 || 26 [𐩈] 𐩈 | i.e. [𐩈] 𐩣𐩣𐩣 | i.e. [𐩈] 𐩣𐩣𐩣 || 27 [. . .] . 𐩈𐩣 l. 𐩈𐩣𐩣 i.e. ^S𐩈-𐩈𐩣𐩣 ?

... ¹⁵... this? ... to his ... today and you come down upon the *cup of water that is placed before me and fill it with ¹⁰ [light?], seven times with heavenly light?. May it shine [like?] the sun, may it shine like the moon, and reveal to me the thoughts? earlier? ... world, may the ¹⁵ earth divide before me from the ninth? heaven to the foundations of the [earth,?] and may you fill the eyes of my scryer? with light, seven [times] seven times, so that he sees in a good vision, ²⁰ without deception, without disturbance, without fear, without illusion, and he reveals for me everything that I enquire about through [him?], whether gold, or clothes, or ornaments, or iron, ²⁵ or bronze, or livestock, or any other thing in [the] world, ... reveal them to me ...

pp. 1–2. Bowl divination procedure: This represents a rare instance of bowl divination ('lecanomancy') in the Coptic magical corpus. The practitioner speaks the formula over a cup of water and a scryer (*cf.* notes to ll. 17–18 below) looks into the water to see a vision in which the answer to a question is revealed by a superhuman being who appears in the water. There is a close parallel with the only other published Coptic bowl divination recipe, BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no 1; KYP M302) front ll. 38–49. Particularly close are ll. 41–42: “and you come down upon this cup of water that is placed before me and you fill it for me with light like the sun and the moon seven times seven times” (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲏ ⲡⲉⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛⲏⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲁⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲟⲣϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲩⲏ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲟⲗ ⲛⲗ ⲛⲕⲟⲃ ⲛⲟⲟⲡ). Other divination rituals in the Coptic magical corpus are found in Cairo JdE 45060 (Kropp 1931: I no. K; KYP M303) front ll. 38–40; P.Mich.Inv. 593 (Worrell 1930; KYP M9) p. 10 ll. 4–8; P.Mich.Inv. 594 (KYP M9) back ll. 12–14; P.Macq. I 1 (KYP M167) p. 15 ll. 20–21 (all dream divination procedures); BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no 1; KYP M302) front ll. 50–58: (thumbnail divination (?)); *cf.* GEMF 57/PGM IV (KYP M3) ll. 11–25 & 88–93, two Old Coptic divination texts (*cf.* Love 2016: 124–149). On bowl divination in general, see Hopfner 1932; Dosoo 2014: 253–257, 398–399 *et passim*; Nagel 2017.

15. ⲉⲓⲛⲏⲁⲩⲉⲗⲓⲧⲏⲛ ⲡⲏ : “from the ninth? heaven” If this reading is correct it would represent an unusual example of a nine-heaven scheme in a post-fourth century Coptic-language source; more common in Coptic literature are three- or seven-heaven schemes, *e.g.*, *Apocalypse of Paul* (CC 30) in Lanzillotta/van der Vliet 2022 214.24–25, 215 (trans.); Pseudo-Timothy of Alexandria, *Institution of Abbaton* (CC 405) in Budge 1914: 246.4, 493 (trans.). Nine-heaven schemes are attested, for example, in earlier Hermetic sources (see Robinson 2000: III 342). In such schemes, the first seven heavens correspond to the seven planetary spheres, the eighth may correspond to the sphere of the fixed stars, and the ninth to the supercelestial sphere beyond this.

17–18. ⲛⲡⲓⲁⲩⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ : “of my scryer” This word also appears in the parallel text BM EA 10391 (Zellmann 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) front ll. 42–48: “(may) you fill my eyes with divinity and those of my scryer? with light ... (may) [you fill] my eyes & those of my scryer? with light” (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲉⲗ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲏ ... ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲉⲗ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲏ). As noted by Zellmann-Rohrer (2022a: 102), this would seem to be a loan of an otherwise unattested Greek term θεωριστής, formed from the scarcely-attested verb θεωρίζω (*cf.* θεωρέω; see Horrocks 1997: 239 for verb formations of this type) by the addition of the agentive suffix -ιστής. In meaning it would be comparable to θεωρός or θεωρητής “one who observes”. Here we understand it as referring to the boy medium who looks into the bowl for the practitioner and receives the vision, comparable to the term ἐπόπτης (“observer”) used in older Greek magical and theurgic contexts (see, *e.g.*, Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* III.13; PGM VII/GEMF 74.570–572). Zellmann-Rohrer (2022a: 89) translates “vision”. On scryers, also known as “child mediums” or “seers”, *cf.* Johnston 2001; Dosoo 2014: 329–334, 391–393.

24. ⲉⲁⲣⲧ : “clothes” perhaps correct to ⲉⲁⲣⲧ, ⲉⲁⲣ “silver”, which would fit the context well here.

page 2

- [ca. 5] ρεν ογ[σηπη] [ca. 10]
 [ca. 10] αι πι : τε . [ca. 7] η
 [ca. 10] ρε]η ογ[σηπη] [μεν ογ]ταχη
 [ca. 8] ταρικ : κ[ca. 5] . ογρι
 5 [. . .] κα[ca. 5] . δεα : ελ . [. . .] α]τομαι
 [πι]ωτ πνογ[τε] ρεν τεγμ[ε]τ εκσωλι
 ναι εβαλ ενπαογ ενπ[ε]τ]ωini εν-
 σωβ εντατεγτεν ναβαλ νατερ
 ρατ : ναφαντασια : θαρα ψπρα . .
 10 μαθεσας ηπογρηως . . μαρ . . .
 ρβαλττ φτ ιωτ ρεν τεγμετ
 σωτεν εραι ενπαογ : ειω εραι ερακ
 χωκ ναι εβαλ ενταπωλακια ενπα-
 λας : ενρωβ νιμ ετετ ενμαγ ριτα-
 15 τεγτεν ναβαλ : νατερ ρατ : νατφαν-
 τασια αλλα ρην ογμιν μεν ογωωτ
 εβαλ : μεν ογσαγτεν : μαρεπω σωπι
 τεπεττ εini : αιω αιω ταχη ταχη
 αναρχι[. .] ηχρανως μπηαγος
 20 μπαρτχσωθης μινανηλ αμογ ναι
 σβαωτ ταμνηλ τηζογηνλ σφηνβαν
 τληλ σα . [.] . αλ ηλ ηλ ηλ ηλ ηλ ηλ
 μη . . . [.] . ατληλ ειερωεζ καθηνλ
 λατα . [. . .] γηνλ μινμηλ σφηνλ ρο[. .]
 25 τω . . [. . .] γηνλ σβαωθ ηταγ[. . .]
 ηαν[ca. 6] ηαντ λαλ μιχαηλ [. . .]

1 i.e. ρεν ογ-σπη || 2 [πωσω]πιτε i.e. σκακογπατ T || 3 i.e. σογ-σπη | i.e. ταχύ :] ταχη T ||
 4 ταρικ T || 5 ελ . : γι T || 7 i.e. σν-ποογ || 7-8 i.e. σν-π-ετ-τ-ωινε νσωεη ντοοτ-τηγτν ||
 8 i.e. σν-ατ-σολ || 9 i.e. ατ-φαντασία || 12 i.e. σωτν εροεη ν-ποογ || 13 i.e. ἀπολογία :
 [ε]νταπολωκια T || 13-14 i.e. σν-πα-λας || 14 i.e. σν-ρωβ : [ε]νηρωβ T | i.e. σ-ετ-τ-αιτεϊν ||
 14-15 i.e. ριτοοτ-τηγτν || 15 i.e. σν-ατ-σολ || 15-16 i.e. φαντασία || 16 i.e. ἀλλά | i.e. ρεν :
 ρεν T | i.e. σογ-με | i.e. σογ-ωωωτ || 17-18 i.e. σμαρε-π-χω σωπε ντε-πετ-τ εινε ? : or
 i.e. σμαρε-π-κακογπατ τ εινε ? T || 18 i.e. σντε-π-ετ-τ | i.e. ταχύ (twice) || 19 αναρχι T |
 ηχρανως T | μπηαγος T || 20 ηπαρτλ[.] ωθας T || 21 σβαωθ T | [.] ανανηλ T || 24 μινμηλ :
 μη[. .] T || 25 τω : τα T | γην T || 26 ηαν : [.] αι T

^{|p. 2} ... quickly?, ... quickly, swiftly ... ^{|5} ... *Adonai [the] Father, God in their midst, may you reveal to me today that which I enquire about through you (pl.) without deception, without fear, without illusion! Thara Pspra ... ^{|10} Maithesaš Mpoureōs ... amah ... Hrabaltti, God, Father in their midst, listen to me today as I call upon you, fulfil for me the request of my tongue in everything that I ask from ^{|15} you (pl.), without deception, without fear, without illusion, but truthfully, concisely, and rightly! May the *cup⁷ take, and the one who gives bring, yea, yea, quickly, quickly! Anarkhi ... nkhranōs Mpēagos ^{|20} Mpartikhsōthēns Minaēl, come to me, *Sabaoth Tanaēl Tēxouēl Sēphēban Tlēl Sa...al Ēl Ēl Ēl Ēl Ēl Ēl Mē ... ataēl Eieršeh Kathiēl Latia...uēl Mimiēl Sphiēl Ro... ^{|25} Tš...unē Sabaoth Ētau... Nan...anat Lal *Michael...

8–9, 15–16. **ⲛⲁⲉⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣ ⲉⲁⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲫⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁ** : “without deception, without disturbance, without fear, without illusion” Cf. p. 1 ll. 20–21. A specification to prevent the revelation of the superhuman being from being either frightening or deceptive. Similar specifications appear in older Graeco-Egyptian divination procedures; see *GEMF* 12/*PGM* LXXXVII (KYP M80; II CE) ll. 20–22: “I have requested a clear oracle without fear or trembling” ([κε]χηρημάτισμαι ἀφόβως ἀδρώμως εὐδηλον χρησμὸν); *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162; II CE): “without fear, without deceit, truthfully” (ἀφόβως ἀψεύστως ἐπ’ ἀληθεία; l. 42), “in truth, truthfully, without lies, without ambiguity, concerning this matter” (ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ἀληθῶς ἀψευδῶς ἀναμφιλόγως; ll. 106–107).

16–17. **ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲧⲧ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ** : “concisely” For the translation “concisely”, cf. *Acts of the Apostles* 24.4 (Thompson 1932: 71), in which ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲧⲧ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ phrase translates the Greek συντόμως “concisely, briefly”. Tibet translates “decisively”.

page 3 (at 180° to pages 1–2)



- [ca. 11] . ἄωλιαμ . [. . .] ἡαγ
 [ca. 11] ἡησων κατ[. . .] .
 [ca. 10] ἡαω σαβωωθ [. . .] ἡων
 [ca. 11] ἡαθ μιχ[α]ηλ γαβρινλ
 5 [ca. 11] ἡογηνλ σαραφογηνλ
 [ca. 11] ἡ. ἡ. ἡηζ ἡαρχηαν-
 [γελος ca. 6] ἡ ενχωρε η
 [ca. 6] ἡσοπς η αγω ἡ παρακαλ-
 [ει μωτεν ηη] αου : ποχαι εννε-
 10 [τενηεν μεν νε] τενοαμ μεν νε-
 [τενη- ca. 9]

1]ωλιαμ T || 2 ἡρσων T || 3 l. [ε]ἡων? cf. PCM 10 l. 14 :]αω σα[β]αωθ [ca. 2] ἡων T || 4 ἡαθ : θ T ||
 6]αηηζ T | αρχηον i.e. ἄρχων? T || 6–7 i.e. ἀρχάγγελος || 7 ενχ [. . .] εν T || 8 [ἡσοπς]η :]ἡ T ||
 8–9 i.e. παρακαλ[εῖν] || 9 [η]αου : T does not transcribe | i.e. ἡη-π-οχαι

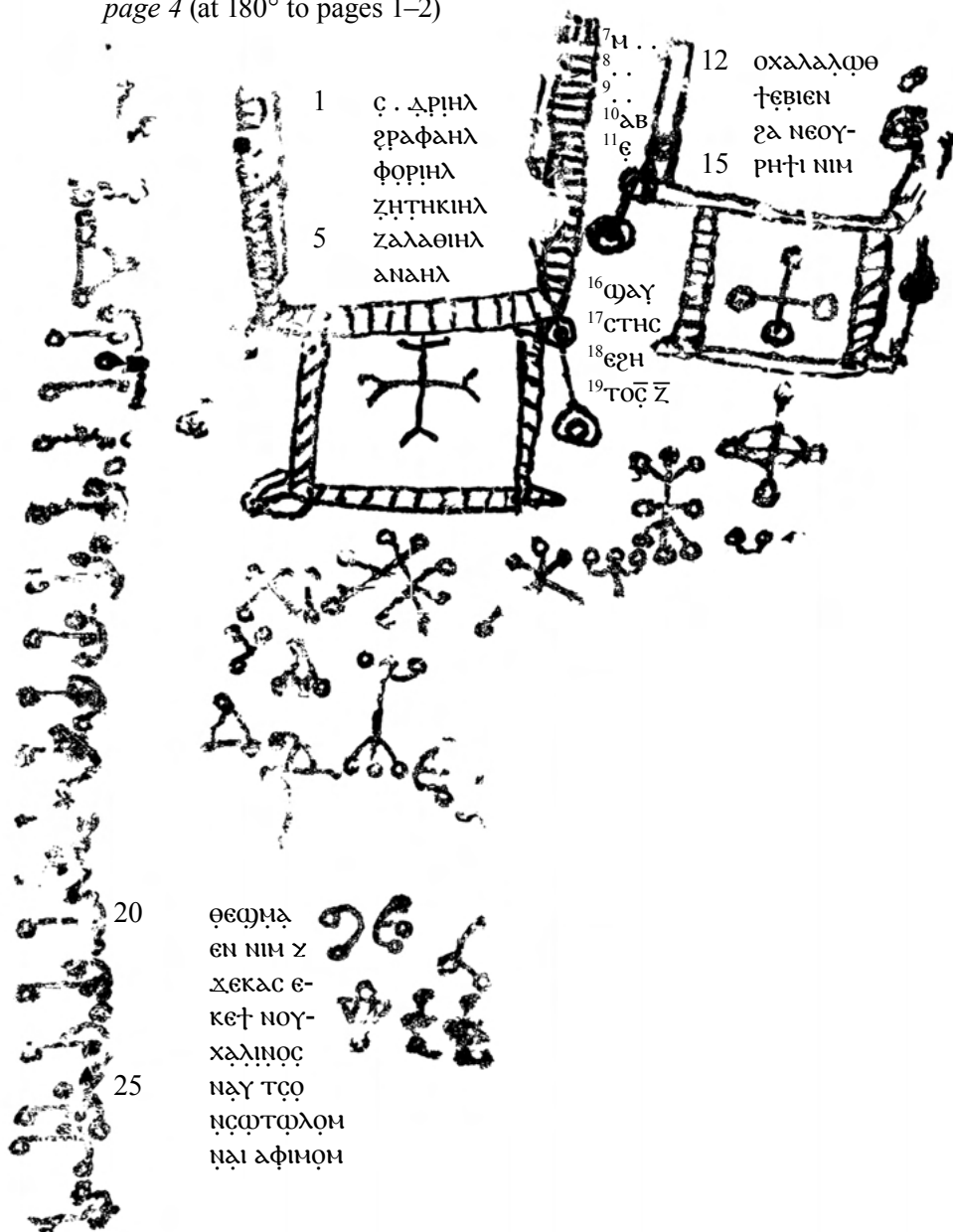
|_{left of figure} Iak|_{below figure} (*kharaktēres*: ΙΖΓΙ ΧΔΙΑC+N . . . ΝΛΑCΠΕ . Ω)

... aōliam...nau ...bēson Kat ... *Iao *Sabaoth Elōn? ...ath, *Michael, *Gabriel,
 |⁵ ... kouēl, Saraphouēl, ... the seven *archangels ... mighty ... [I entreat] and I
 invoke [you] today <by> the *wellbeing of your |¹⁰ [*names and] your *powers and
 [your] ...

Image: We propose that this page contains a binding or silencing curse based on the presence of a tableau paralleled in the binding/silencing curse in P.Würzburg inv. 42 (Brusch 1978; M494); a similar, albeit much faded, tableau is found in P.Berol. 20911 (Beltz 1984: no. III 32; KYP M219). These images seem to represent the curse's targets flanked by spirit-beings who threaten and bind them; for a discussion, see Dosoo 2023a: 177–183.

7. |ⲙ ⲉⲛⲭⲱⲡⲣⲉ : “... mighty” Perhaps restore [ⲟⲟ]ⲙ ⲉⲛⲭⲱⲡⲣⲉ, cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 11 (KYP M413) ll. 11–12: “I adjure you by your names and your mighty powers” (ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ ⲛⲭⲱⲡⲣⲉ), where ⲟⲟⲙ is the native Coptic equivalent of ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ; cf. Stegemann 1935.
9–10. We propose here some plausible reconstructions based on parallels; cf. e.g., *PCM* I 32 ll. 9–10: “I adjure you by the wellbeing of your great powers and your names” (ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲟⲙ ⲧⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲣⲁⲛ); *BKU* III 387 (KYP M336) ll. 36–39: “I entreat and I invoke you by the wellbeing of your names and your powers” (ⲧⲧⲟⲛⲥ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲟⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ); cf. the glossary s.v. **horkōmotoi*.

page 4 (at 180° to pages 1–2)



1 *l.* ϣεΔΡΙΗΛ ? | ΔΡΙΗΛ T || 2 φαΦΑΗΛ T || 4 εϣΓΗΚΙΗΛ T || 5 ΖΑΝΑΘΙΗΛ T || 6 ΖΑΝΑΗΛ T || 7–11 T does not transcribe || 12 ΟΧΑΛΑΛΩΘ T || 13 *i.e.* ^ςΕΒΙΗΝ || 14–15 *i.e.* ^ςΝ-ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Ν-ΝΙΜ || 16 *i.e.* ^ςΩΘΟΥ ? || 16–18 *i.e.* ^ςΩΔΥ-Γ-ΡΑΙC “it will be written ?” T || 17 *i.e.* CΤΥ(ΡΑΞ) or ^ςCΤΟΙ ? || 18–19 *i.e.* ΕΪΔΟΣ ? || 19 Z T does not transcribe || 20 ΘΕΩΜΑ . T || 21 *i.e.* υ(ΙΟC) || 23 *i.e.* ^ςΚ-Ρ ΤΕΝΟΥ T || 24 *i.e.* χαλινός : x[.] T || 25 ΝΟΥΤΕ T || 26 [. . .] ΤΑΛΟΜ T || 27 ΝΙΝΑΛΙΝΟΜ T

^{|above left figure} Sedriēl?, *Raphael, Phoriēl, Zetekiēl, ^{|5} Zalathiēl, Anaēl...

^{|above right figure, 12} Okhalalōth, the wretched woman is beneath the ^{|15} feet of NN!

^{|between figures, 16} incense?, *storax? ... 7.

^{|below figures, 20} ... NN son of <NN>, so that you put a bridle ^{|25} on? them? ... for? me?...

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by KD.

23–25. κεῖτ πογχαλιῖνος νᾶγ : “so that you put a bridle on them” For the concept of placing a bridle on one’s enemies, cf. *PCM I* 24 l. 12 and the accompanying notes.

PCM I 35. Fragmentary formulary with various curses

Arsinoites (Faiyum) ?

22.3 (H) × 17.5 (W)

X–XI CE

Other references: P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 658 (formerly P.Heid.Inv. Nr. 1658); P.Heidelberg Nr. 564a (?); TM 102084; *P.Bad.* V 135; KYP M322; Bélanger Sarrazin #174.

Editions: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 135 (*ed. pr.*) [B/G].

Translations: Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 135 (German).

Additional commentary: Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 308–309.

Present location: Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Image: Plates XV–XVI.

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian influence.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–6: Curse, perhaps separation spell (?) (KYP T1701)
2. Front ll. 7–17: Curse to make woman bleed pus (KYP T217)
3. Front ll. 18–20: Curse (?) (KYP T219)
4. Front ll. 21–23: Curse to make woman bleed pus (KYP T220)
5. Front ll. 24–26: Separation spell/curse to make someone hated (KYP T222)
6. Back ll. 1–17: Curse, perhaps for silencing target (KYP T214)
7. Back ll. 18–19: Separation spell/curse to make someone hated (?) (KYP T216)

Parchment sheet surviving in four fragments organised by Bilabel and Grohmann into three sections—A (composed of two fragments), B, and C.¹ Fragments A and B are very damaged along the edges; the major breaks within the sheet appear to be cuts made with a sharp knife.² Most of the fragments are discoloured on the outer rim; the edges are brown, while the inner side is yellowish in colour. The fragments have been considerably deformed, likely as a result of moisture, giving a misleading impression of their shape when photographed in two dimensions. Section A, composed of two fragments, was cut sharply in the middle, where it does not show any discoloration. C is the smallest fragment, discoloured on all sides, and apparently without any sharp cuts. Bilabel and Grohmann observed small crystals on the parchment, leading them to assume that it had been in contact with

¹ Fragment A consists of 2 fragments which belong together. Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: no. 135 mention only fragments A and B. The dimensions of the individual fragments are as follows: fragment A: H16 × W9 cm; fragment B: H6.3 × W8.5 cm; fragment C: H9.3 × W4.3 cm (Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 385; Mößner/Nauerth 2015: 308). The overall dimensions of the sheet have been calculated by adding together the dimensions of fragments A + B, since they do not overlap, and jointly capture the entire height and width of the sheet.

² Compare other manuscripts showing similar damage patterns, such as Montserrat Magical Book I (*P.Monts.Roca* II 25–27; KYP M31), Magical Book II (*P.Monts.Roca* II 3–8; KYP M30), Naqlun N. 78/93 (Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; KYP M1135).

soil.³ As we show in plates XV–XVI fragment A seems to represent the lower part of the sheet, and fragment B and C the top right and left respectively. Significant fragments are missing from the upper middle, and lower right (viewed from the front). A fragment is missing from the middle. The back (flesh) is written at 180° to the front (hair), and its lower part is left blank. Note that Bilabel and Grohmann refer to our front as the “verso” and our back as the “recto”; we consider the hair side to be the first written, since it is fully covered with text, while the flesh side seems to have had a shorter pair of recipes added at a later moment.

The provenance of the manuscript is unknown. Bilabel and Grohmann noted that the manuscript was in the collection of the University of Heidelberg before 1933. However, they refer to it by two different sigla: “Inv. No. 1658” in the edition, and “P. Heidelberg, Nr. 564a” in the contents.⁴ A different manuscript from Heidelberg with the latter inventory number (564a) was acquired in 1897 by the University of Heidelberg and published by Quecke in 1963.⁵ Unfortunately, we have not been able to find precise acquisition information on this object.⁶

The manuscript is written with black ink, likely by the same scribe in two different styles, likely with two different writing implements. The initial 17 lines of the recto are written in thicker strokes in browner ink, which has run slightly; the remaining lines on the front, and those on the back, are written with thinner strokes, in a darker and sharper ink. Both inks are opaque under visible, near-infrared, and ultraviolet light, but the initial lines of the recto lose some of their opacity under near-infrared; this suggests that the initial 17 lines of the recto are written in iron-gall ink, and the rest of the manuscript in carbon ink.⁷ The two styles seem to display the same ductus, and likely represent the same hand. The text is written in a bimodal, largely bilinear majuscule with a slight rightwards slope. The bowl of the α is often quite angular, with a long descending tail; the β is enlarged, with its lower bowl descending below the lower line. There are marked serifs on the left part of the horizontal bar of τ, and on the ascending strokes of λ and χ. μ is curved but not flat, while ω and q have long descenders. The ascendent of the σ is very long. Horizontal dividing lines are used to separate recipes on the front, but not the back, which seems to rather be organised spatially, with the second recipe (ll. 18–19) written below the first, leaving a small gap, and another recipe, including *kharaktēres*, written at 90° clockwise to the left. Supralineation

³ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 384.

⁴ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: xii, 384; cf. Seider 1964: 196 n. 79, who repeats the mistake found in the contents.

⁵ Quecke 1963b.

⁶ The manuscript was likely acquired as part one of the acquisitions of the University of Heidelberg which included Coptic texts, made in 1897, 1899, 1904, 1914, 1926 and 1930; see Seider 1964.

⁷ As with all of the discussions of ink for the manuscripts belonging to the University of Heidelberg, we are very grateful to Krisztina Hevesi for sharing her preliminary results with us. For a more detailed discussion of the process of determining inks, see pp. 28–29.

is used very sparingly, only on the back and only on abbreviations and one *vox magica*.

Bilabel and Grohmann suggested a ninth century date for the ‘hand’ of style 1, and a tenth century date for the ‘hand’ of style 2.⁸ Similar hands can be found in the colophon on fol. 82v of BL Ms. Or 7026 (CLM 192), dated to 1005 CE; *CPR* II 1 ll. 29–40 (TM 82031), dated to year 410 of the Hijra (1019–1020 CE); and *P.Teschlot* 2 (TM 84991), dated to 1023 CE. We thus propose a slightly later date in the tenth or eleventh century.

The fragmentary nature and obscurity of much of the text makes it difficult to be certain of its dialectal features, but it seems to represent for the most part a relatively standard form of Sahidic; the most common deviations from the literary standard are the use of ε for both the supralinear stroke alone and for ⲥ̅. The latter is characteristic of the Middle Egyptian dialects, so that it is tempting to suggest that this manuscript may come from the Faiyum, like those of the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ (*PCM* I 21–9), with similar, albeit more marked, dialectal traits (see pp. 261–262); compare also the writing of δεινα δεινα (“NN”) as ⲈⲈ, found also in *PCM* I 27 front l. 9, which is part of the Library.

⁸ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934: 385.

front (hair)

- s¹ ϩ[ΥΡ]ΩΜΕ . [. . . ?] ΔΔϩ : ΕΚΟΥΙ ΕΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ : ΧΙ ΝΑΚ
 Ν[Ο]ΥΑΖΟΥϩ [. . . ?] ΚΑΖ : ΧΙ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΑΡΩΙΝ Ε-
 ϣΛ . . . ΝΘϩ [. . . ?] : ΣΟΛϩ ΤΑΔϩ ΕΥΝΟϩ ΕΝΑ .
 ΖΟΒϩΥ : ΝΤΟ . [. . . . ?] ΣΕΒΥΡΕ : ΩΔ ΠΕϩΩ . [. . .]
 5 ΠΕΩΔΚΖΕ ΡΟΥ : [. . . ?] ΧΩΖΟ ΠΑΡΩΙΝ Ε[. . . .]
 ΤΣΟΥ : ΔΥΧ[ΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ] ———
 ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΚΔ[ΜΟΥ ΙΔ]ΒΕ ΖΑΡΟϩ : ΧΙ ΝΑ[Κ]
 ΔΝΟΥ[*ca.* 11] ΝϩΑ ΧΩϩ ΕΧ[Ν ΟΥ-]
 ΑΡΩΙΝ . [*ca.* 14] [. . .]
 10 ΖΙΩΔϩ [*ca.* 4] [. . ?] . . [*ca.* 12 ?]
 ΟΥΝΟϩ ΕΝ . ϩ ΝΘ [*ca.* 12 ?]
 ΝΕ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΤΑΦΟϩ · Ρ [*ca.* 7 ?]
 ΟΥΩΥΤ [*ca.* 6] ΝΤΗ ΕΝΝΟΥ [*ca.* 7 ?]
 ΖΙΤΗ ΔΑΚ ΤΟΥΩΟΥΕ [*ca.* 7 ?]
 15 ΠΗΙ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ : ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΠ . [*ca.* 7 ?]
 ΖΑΤϩ ΕΠΡΟ :: ΩΙ ΣΑΩΒΕ Ν [*ca.* 7 ?]
 ΠΩΤ ΝΑΚ : ΔΥΧΩΚΟΥ [*nothing lost* ?]

 s² ΟΥΗ . . . Ε ΧΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΑΖΟΥϩ ΚΑΖ : [*ca.* 5 ?]
 ΖΗ ΟΥΧΟΛ[ϩ ? . .] ΟΝΤΕ : ΚΑΔΒ ΕΧΝ ΝΟΥ . [*ca.* 4 ?]
 20 ΤΑΔϩ ΕΠΝΟΥϩ ΤΣΟΥ ≠

 ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΙΔΒΕ ΖΑΡΟϩ : ΧΙ Ν[ΑΚ *ca.* 5 ?]
 ΑΩΤϩ ΝΣΑ ΧΩϩ ΕΧΝ ΟΥ:ΑΡΩΙΝ [*ca.* 6 ?]
 ΠΕΩΔΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΩΔϩ : ΤΑΔϩ ΕΝ [*ca.* 5 ?]
 ΟΥΝΟϩ ΕΜΟϩΤΕ . Α ———

 25 [. . .] . ΤΕ ΤΑΚΟϩ : [. ?]
 [. . . .] ΟΝΝϩ : ΡΟΚ[

1 ο[B/G | [λ?]ΔΔΥ B/G | *i.e.* ⁸Νκ-οϩε ? | εϣςζιμε B/G | χι corrected from σι by erasure and overwriting ? || 1–2 χι νακ [νοϩναζουϩ] καζ B/G || 2 τ[B/G || 3 ωϩ B/G | εν[B/G || 4 *i.e.* ⁵ζοβϩουϩ : ζοβϩ B/G | ντο . [*ca.* 4 ?] : [] B/G | *i.e.* ⁶νσε-βωωρε ? | πεϩ [B/G || 5 *i.e.* ⁷π(ε)-ε-ωδκ-ζε εροϩ (haplography) : πεωδκ εροϩ B/G | *i.e.* ⁸χδζ ? : χωζ · B/G || 6 Δϩ . [B/G || 7 οϣςζιμε εκΔ[μου ιδ]βε ζαροϩ : κανου ιαβε ζαροϩ B/G || 8 [*ca.* 11] νϩα χωϩ εκ[ν ου-] : αωτ[ϩ] νσα χωϩ εκ[ν B/G || 9–10 . [*ca.* 14] [. . .] ζιωδϩ : [νπεωδ ει εβολ] ζιωδ[ϩ B/G || 11 οϣνοϩ εν . ϩ *ca.* 5 νθ [*ca.* 12 ?] : [] ϩο . ϩ . . . ρα B/G || 12 νε εκν ουταφοϩ · ρ [*ca.* 7 ?] : . . ουταφοϩ . η B/G | *i.e.* ¹³ταφοϩ || 13 ουωυτ [*ca.* 6] ντη εννου [*ca.* 7 ?] : ζ [η ντη εννου B/G | *i.e.* ¹⁴ουωυτ ? || 14 ζιτη ΔΑΚ ΤΟΥΩΟΥΕ : ΔΑΚΤΟΥΩΟΥ ϩ | *i.e.* ¹⁵νσε-ωουε ? || 15 πηι επρωμε : μπναυ επ . [*ca.* 7 ?] : π ρωμε : μπναυ εν B/G || 16 *i.e.* ¹⁷παρτεϩ ? : . ατϩ B/G || 17 πωω B/G || 18 *i.* οϣναστε ? :] B/G || 19 ζη ουχολ[ϩ ? . .] : οντε B/G | νοϩ . : νοϩ B/G || 20 ταδϩ επνουϩ : τ . [τ]ηνουϩ B/G || 21 *i.e.* ²²ουςζιμε ε-κα νοϩ ειαβε ζαροϩ (haplography of ε) || 22 [*ca.* 6 ?] : [νγωω? πετμ] B/G || 23 *i.e.* ²⁴π-εϩ-ωδ-ει ? : “worthy, come out” (“würdiger, komme heraus”) B/G || 24 *i.e.* ²⁵ν-μοϩτε || 25 [. . .] . τε : μϩςτε B/G | [. . .] *ca.* 5 [?] : [] οϣτομς · [“spoil them [with] a burial” (“Verdirb sie [mit] einem Begraben”) B/G

A man? ... him?, and you remove yourself? from the woman. Take for yourself a ... earth?. Take for yourself the lentil that is ... great?... sieve?. Put it in a big ... cover them with? ... and they swell? to his ... |⁵ that which you find ... smear the lentil on ... Have him drink. It is [finished.]

A woman, to put [pus] under her. Take for [yourself] ... from its head upon [a] lentil ... |¹⁰ upon her ... a great ... upon? a grave ... greet? ... through ... and they dry? ... |¹⁵ the house of the man at the time of ... pour? it at the door. Measure seven ... Go away. It is complete?.

A hatred.? Take for yourself ... earth ... in a sieve. Put it upon a ... |²⁰ Put it in the water. Have him drink it.

A woman, to put pus under her. Take for yourself ... Hang it from its head upon a lentil? ... that? which? comes out of it. Give it to? ...

A great hatred... |²⁵ ... destroy it ...

1–6. Bilabel/Grohmann treat this as two separate texts, not recognising that the two fragments represent the beginning and end of the same lines; they number these lines as verso ll. 20–25, and verso ll. 48–52.

2, 18. **ἡ[ο]γαροογ** : “a...” The meaning of this word is unclear; ^sαγο (“treasury, storehouse”), ^bαγο (“dwelling, abode”), and ^sεροογ (“cows”) are all possibilities, but none would seem to fit the context.

7. **ογζρμε εκ[μογ ια]βε γαρ ος** : “a woman, to put [pus] under her” This recipe seems consist of one or more curse procedures. The title in l. 7 apparently describes causing a woman to leak pus from her vulva; cf. the parallel phrase in l. 21 below. For [μογ ια]βε as pus, cf. **μοογ ἡαβι** (Crum CD 76b). The phrase “under her” recalls the common description of uterine bleeding as blood being “under (a woman)”; for this phrase and similar curses to make a woman experience uterine bleeding, see the notes to *PCM I* 3 front col. 1 ll. 1–34.

10. **γιδωζ** : “upon her” Or “upon it”.

18, 24. **εμοστε** : “hatred” In Coptic magical texts, “hatred” usually refers to a quality of “hatefulness” brought upon a curse’s target, either to separate them from a particular individual, or to make them generally socially unpopular, the inverse to the quality of “favour” (**χαρις**) which granted social success. Compare *PCM I* 22 front ll. 27–50; *PCM I* 31 front 1–40, back ll. 1–20; *PCM I* 37 back ll. 18–20; Cairo JdE 42573 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44) p. 4 ll. 1–2, ll. 11–17; O.Monts.Roca inv. no. 1472 (Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014a; KYP M22); *O.Bélanger Sarrazin* (Bélanger Sarrazin 2017b; KYP M502).

21. **ογζρμε κα μογ ιαβε γαρ ος** : “A woman, to put pus under her” See the note to l. 7. Bilabel/Grohmann translate “a woman – pour (lit. lay) pus water (?) on her” (“Eine Frau – gieße (wtl. lege) Eiterwasser auf sie”).

22. **νκα ζωφ εχιν ογ:αρων** : “from its head upon a lentil?” Bilabel/Grohmann translate “behind him upon a lentil” (“hinter ihn auf eine Linse”).

23. **πε θα** : “...” Bilabel/Grohmann translate “dignified” (“würdiger”).

24. **ογνος εμοστε** : “a great hatred” It is tempting to consider, as Bilabel/Grohmann do, this to be part of the previous recipe, but it would seem to be a title, so here we take it as beginning a new text, with the horizontal stroke separating title and recipe rather than two recipes.

25. **τακος** : “destroy it” Or “destroy her.”

back (flesh)



- ΝΕΒΑΛ ΜΕΥΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ : ΧΧ ΝΕΥ[ca. ?]
 ΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΥΤΕ ΝΜΟΥ ΜΕΥΜΟΥΕ : ΝΕΥ[ca. ?]
 ΡΑΝ ΤΕ . . ΡΥΩΥ ΕΜΜΟΥ ΜΕΥΩΔΧΕ Χ[Ε]
 5 [ca. 6] ΝΗΕΛΛ ΝΑ:Ρ ΤΕΥΖΕ [ca. ?]
 ΜΕΥ . . ΤΟΝ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΗΤΟΥ : ΕΡΕΔΔ [ca. ?]
 . . ΕΤΗΜΑΥ : ΜΠΕΜΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ν[ca. ?]
 ΕΝΑΤΩΔΧΕ ΕΝΑΤΜΟΥΤΕ : ΕΝΑΤ[ca. ?]
 ΠΩΗ ΝΔΔ ΔΙΟ ΔΟ ΤΑΧΗ =
 10 ΓΡ/ ΝΔΙ [ca. ?]
 ΑΩ ΤΗ [ca. ?]
 †ΠΟΤ . [ca. ?]
 ΑΜΑΖ[ΤΕ ca. ?]
 ΖΙΤΕΝ [ca. ?]
 15 ΖΙΤΕΝ [ca. ?]
 ΧΙΝ . [ca. ?]
 [ca. ?] . ΜΟΙ . [ca. ?]



πα ΝΕΔΛ

[ca. ?] ΜΟΥΤΕ : ΜΟΥΣ Α . . [ca. ?]
 [ca. ?] ΠΟΚ ΕΚΔΕ . ΤΗΡΕ[Υ ca. ?]

1 i.e. ⁵πα Ν-δ(είνα) (υίός) ? : “the one who belongs to the powers” (“der den Mächten Gehörige”) or understood as name B/G || 2 l. νε=γ-βαλ ? | i.e. ⁵νε=γ-ναγ | i.e. (δείνα) (δείνα) | i.e. ⁵νηνε=γ- ? | ΝΕΒΑΛ ΜΕΥΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ : ΧΧ ΝΕΥ[ca. ?] : “the eyes do not see. NN shall not [... It shall not...]” (“Die Augen pflegen nicht sehend zu werden. N.N. soll nicht [...Es sollen nicht]”) B/G || 3 i.e. ⁵νε=γ-μοοογε | i.e. ⁵νηνε=γ- ? | [ca. ?] : [μούγε νε] B/G || 4 i.e. ⁵ρω=γ || 5 ηνε : ε]ρε B/G | i.e. (δείνα) (δείνα) || 6 i.e. δ(είνα) δ(είνα) || 9 i.e. δ(είνα) δ(είνα) | i.e. ταχύ || 10 i.e. γρ(άφειν) || 11 ΤΗ : ΤΗ B/G || 16 ΧΙΝ . B/G || 18 Α . . [: Α . [B/G || 19 ΤΗΡΕ[Υ ca. ?] : ΕΤΗΡΕ B/G

KD, EL, MP & JS, edited from photograph; tracings by JS.

Left of ll. 10–19: Perhaps part of a separate recipe, as well as a zoomorphic figure, this tableau contains instances of linear kufic, for which see *PCM* I 21 ll. 1–3.

PCM I 36. Three healing prescriptions on paper

Arsinoites (Faiyum) or Middle Egypt ?

11 (H) × 16.5 (W) cm

X–XI CE

Other references: Köln Inv. 1850; TM 704888; *P.Köln*. XV 641; KYP M503.

Editions: Schenke 2017 (*ed. pr.*); Richter 2023: 164–65 (col. 1 ll. 1–12).

Translations: Schenke 2017 (German); Richter 2023: 164–65 (German).

Additional commentary: Preininger forthcoming c: chapter 4.

Present location: Cologne, Kölner Papyrussammlung.

Image: <https://papyri.uni-koeln.de/stueck/tm704888>

Linguistic description: Sahidic with Middle Egyptian influence.

Contents:

1. Front col. 1 ll. 1–12: Prescription to heal uterine bleeding (KYP T1244)
2. Front col. 1 ll. 13–15: Solomonic prescription to heal swelling (KYP T1245)
3. Front col. 2 ll. 1–10: Prescription to treat a crying child (KYP T1246)
4. Back l. 1: Unclear text (KYP T1663)

Incomplete paper sheet; the top and side margins are preserved, but the lower margin is lost to a break along a fold; it is likely that at least half the original height is missing. The manuscript is a formulary containing three surviving healing recipes written in black ink on the front, two of which are completely preserved and one incomplete at the very bottom. The lost lower part of the manuscript likely contained further prescriptions which are now lost. The back is written at 90° to the front and preserves a few letters. Although it is a formulary, it was folded into a small package, 1 horizontal and 6 vertical creases are clearly visible. Based on the acquisition number, the manuscript was likely bought in Egypt between 1957 and 1958 and now belongs to the Papyrus collection of Cologne.¹

A single hand (m¹) seems to be responsible for all of the text on the front; a second, different hand (m²), may be responsible for the brief text on the back, which shows distinct letterforms. The principal copyist nonetheless makes use of two different styles: the upper parts of the manuscript are written in larger, more upright letters with a thicker implement, showing variation in shading; the lower parts are written in a smaller, more sloping script with more ligatures and little variation in shading. Both styles are right-sloping, bimodular, bilinear majuscules, with consistent decorative serifs on the left stroke of the τ, and the upper left part of the oblique strokes on Δ and λ, among others. The μ is rather flat, but not completely so. σ has a distinctive form, with the body being drawn

¹ Personal communication from Charikleia Armoni, curator of the Kölner Papyrussammlung (6/10/2022).

counterclockwise and the ascender rising from its lower side, as in several other manuscripts from the Faiyum (*cf.* p. 260–261); the ascender is long and curved, resembling that of *PCM I 28*. The use of paper indicates a tenth century date at the earliest; Schenke (2017: 253 n. 2) proposes a tenth or eleventh century dating by comparison with the hands presented by Stegemann (1936: plates 19 & 21). This dating is certainly correct; similar hands can be seen in the Teshlot Archive, in particular *P. Teshlot 1*, dated to 1032 CE (Richter 2000), as well as the colophon of BL Or. 7033 (CLM 194) fol. 59v, dated to 981 CE.

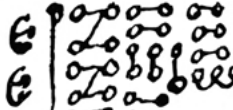
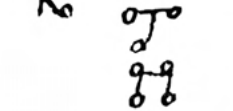
The recipes are separated by vertical and horizontal lines, creating sections of different sizes based on the shape of the texts. The first prescription, against uterine bleeding, is written in the left side of the sheet and its 13 lines are completely preserved. The second, a recipe for treating swelling, is incomplete, with only 3 lines preserved. The third recipe, for a crying child, is located on the right side and consists of 10 complete lines.

The manuscript is written in a form of Sahidic, with a few non-standard features: *me* for *ṣmē*, and *h* for *ṣe* (*e.g.*, *ḡhλπε* for *ṣḡελπε*, col. 1 l. 2; *hp* for *ṣp̄*, col. 2 l. 3), and *e* for where Sahidic would use supralineation (*e.g.*, *εppo* for *ṣp̄po*, col. 1 ll. 13–14). While the last of these is common in non-standard Sahidic, the first two are indicative of influence from one of the Middle Egyptian dialects (Faiyumic, Mesokemic, Hermopolitan),² suggesting an origin in the Faiyum or somewhere in Middle Egypt.

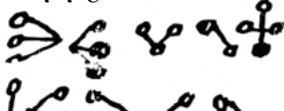
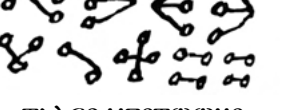
² *Cf.* Kahle 1954: 52–54, 55, 70–71, 113–116; Funk 2020; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 77.

front

m¹, s¹ εΤΒΕ ΟΥΣΡΙΜΕ ΕΡΕΟΥΣΝΟΦ ΖΑΡΟΣ Ρ ΝΑΙ ΜΟΡΟΥ ΕΡΟΣ
 ΛΟΧΚΟΥ ΕΤΕΣΤΠΕ ΜΕ ΤΕΣΖΗΛΠΕ ΔΠΥ⁰ ΘΥ⁰ ΝΔΣ
 ΩΔΣΩΛ ΤΑΧΗ

5  ΕΖΑΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΑΛ-
 ΜΙΤΕΤ ΝΑΛ-
 ΧΟΥΒΙ ΧΑΡ-
 ΤΗΣ ΛΟΧΚΟΥ
 ΕΡΟΣ ΟΥΣΑΙΗ ΠΕ
 ΕΓΤΟΚΙΜΩΝ
 10  ΟΥΚΟΙΑΝΑ = ΖΔΗ
 ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΝ ΤΚ-
 ΑΛΑΖΗ ΝΔΔ

s² εΤΒΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΩΔΒΕ : ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕ-
 ΡΡΟ ΣΩΛΩΜΟΝ · ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΓΤΗΜΟ-
 ΝΙΟΥ · ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΠΑΙ ·

s¹ ΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΥΚΟΥΓΙ
 ΣΑΧΟ ΕΦΡΙΜΕ
 ΕΦΗΡ ΖΟΤΕ ·
 5 


s² ΤΑΛΔΟ ΜΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ
 ΖΙ † ΖΟΤΕ · ΡΟΕΙΣ ΔΔ
 ΖΗ ΠΙΡΙΜΕ ΜΗ † ΜΑΝΙ·
 10 ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ : ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ

back (at 90° to front)

m² ζΥΝ

front col. 1, 2 i.e. ^sζελεπε | i.e. ἀπολο(γία) | i.e. θυ(σία) : l. θυ(μίαμα) or θυμ(ί)α(μα) Schenke | i.e. μασ(τήχη) || 3 i.e. ^sααε-λο || 4–6 i.e. المداد الكوفي al-midād al-kūfī : includes Persian چوب ċōb “wood”, add <η>, “on wood <or> papyrus” Schenke || 6–7 i.e. χάρτης || 9 i.e. δόκιμον || 10. i.e. κοινά ? : i.e. οὐγγία/οὐγκία “uncia” or l. οὐγγία/οὐγκία να “an uncia is appropriate” (“eine Unze ist angemessen”) Schenke | i.e. ἀμ(ήν) : ζδν- “against the” (“gegen die”) Schenke || 12 i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) || 14–15 i.e. δαμόνιον || front col. 2, 3 i.e. ^sεα-π || 8 i.e. δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνα) || 9 ζη corrected from ε . | i.e. μανία || 10 i.e. ταχύ (twice) || back 1 ζΥν : i.e. σὺν [θεῷ], “with [God]” Schenke.

col. 1 For a woman with blood under her. Make these things. Bind them to her. Stick them to her loins and her navel. Request. Offering: *mastic. She will quickly be healed[?]. Write these things in ¹⁵ *kufic ink <on> papyrus. Stick them to her. It is a good <procedure>, it is tested, ¹⁰ a common[?] <procedure>[?], amen!

“Restrain the womb of NN, child of NN!”

(*kharaktēres*: EEEKZZ= || =HTHΞΩ)

For a man with swelling. King Solomon said to his demon, ¹⁵ “What is the remedy for this...”

^{col. 2} An amulet for a little child? who cries, who is afraid.

(*kharaktēres*: $\exists EV \setminus +$)

⁵ (*kharaktēres*: IEΘEΘ)

(*kharaktēres*: V\+= =)

“Heal the one who is sick and afraid, protect NN, child of NN, from crying and madness, |¹⁰yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”

| *back, second hand* ...

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph; tracings by KD.

front col. 1

3. ἡσθαλ : “she will be healed?” The act of “gathering/containing” (ωλ) usually refers in recipes of this type to the act of gathering blood back into the body, but the subject here is feminine, so it cannot refer to the blood; here we propose that this is an error for λο “to heal”, giving the translation “she will quickly be healed”, but it is possible that the use of ωλ in similar texts conditioned this error. For other recipes against uterine bleeding in Coptic, see *PCM* I 2 l. 1 and the accompanying notes.

6-7. χαρτης : “papyrus” cf. the note to *PCM* I 37 back l. 13

11. ἀμαρτε : “restrain” Schenke translates “powers” (“Kräfte”).

13–15. This recipe takes a dialogue form clearly modelled on the *Testament of Solomon*; cf. the discussion in the introduction to PCMI 30.

front col. 2

2. **σαο**: “child?” Crum CD 384a gives the meaning of this word as “great scribe, official, craftsman”, but the parallels for the patient in recipes to prevent crying cited in Schenke 2017: 257–258—as well as those in Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128) p. 13 ll. 5–6: “a little child” (ογκοῦ ἡρεκε) and *BKU* I 26 p. 4 l. 12: “a small child” (οὔμρε κοῦ)—demonstrate that the meaning “small child” would be expected here. This meaning is also suggested by the apparent use of κοῦ σαο as the equivalent of ὥμρε in the funerary stela published by Delattre 2008: 149 (ll. 11–12, 17). For a more detailed discussion of the problem, see Garel 2019: 64–65, 67. For a brief discussion of recipes for crying children, cf. the notes to *PCM* I 33, front l. 6.

back

Ⲯϥⲛ: “...” Schenke proposes to read the beginning of ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ “with God”, a common phrase used to open documents following the Arab conquest; it seems to be the equivalent of (and a calque of) the Arabic “in the name of God” (بسم الله *bi-smi llāh*; Cromwell 2022: 359–360 & 2023: 233–234). While this proposal would seem to be the best interpretation, the absence of the ⲉ (usually written above the ⲛ as an abbreviation for ⲙⲉⲛ) and the lack of context lead us to leave this untranslated.

PCM I 37. Parchment sheet with various prescriptions

Middle Egypt ?

23.5 (H) × 19.1 (W) cm

XI CE

Other references: Leiden F 1964/4.14; TM 874124; KYP M21; Bélanger Sarrazin #159.

Editions: Green 1987 (*ed. pr.*); Green 1988.

Translations: Green 1987; Green 1988.

Present location: Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities.

Image: <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12126/18615>

Linguistic description: Sahidic.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–35: Love spell (KYP T938)
2. Back l. 1: Title (KYP T1582)
3. Back ll. 2–3: Instructions for favour (KYP T1583)
4. Back ll. 4–5: Instructions for separation (KYP T1584)
5. Back l. 6: Instructions for destruction (KYP T1578)
6. Back ll. 7–8: Instructions for destruction (KYP T1579)
7. Back ll. 9–10: Instructions for love spell (KYP T1581)
8. Back ll. 11–12: Instructions for reconciliation (KYP T898)
9. Back ll. 13–15: Instructions for a love spell (KYP T1576)
10. Back ll. 16–17: Instructions for separation (KYP T899)
11. Back ll. 18–20: Instructions for separation (KYP T900)
12. Back ll. 21–23: Instructions for destroying a furnace (KYP T1577)
13. Back ll. 24–28: Instructions for a love spell (KYP T1580)
14. Back ll. 29–32: Instructions for a love spell (KYP T2087)

A complete parchment sheet, damaged along the folds; 1 vertical and approximately 17 horizontal creases are visible. The sheet is a palimpsest; a single column of the underlying literary text, written in a Biblical majuscule, is clearly visible on the back, albeit less so on the front.¹ The presence of at least one **ⲧ** indicates that the underlying text was written in Bohairic. The later magical text is written on both sides, with the back at 180° to the front, but apparently in the same hand. The ink, likely plant-based,² is a faded brown in colour, making some passages very difficult to read, in particular on the lower half of the back. The parchment is very fine, making it difficult to determine with certainty which side is hair and which flesh, but the darker colour of the back leads us to suggest that this is the hair side.

The manuscript was acquired by the Leiden National Museum from Mr. J. Möger of Soestdijk, the Netherlands, in April 1964 as part of a lot of sixteen

¹ Green 1987: 29.

² Based on examination with a Dino-Lite microscope by Korshi Dosoo on 22 February 2023. The ink is visible under ultraviolet, but not near-infrared light; *cf.* the discussion on pp. 28–29.

(primarily) Coptic manuscripts.³ Of the sixteen, ten have been published and well-studied, and form an archive of Coptic and Arabic letters and legal documents relating to a man named Raphaël, son of the Deacon Mina, dating to 1022–1063 CE.⁴ Raphaël lived in Middle Egypt, first in Bawit and later in Teshlot, leading to the group being as known the Teshlot Archive. The other five manuscripts from the sale, to date unpublished, are literary in nature: a Sahidic fragment containing short passages with Biblical reminiscences;⁵ an Arabic-Bohairic Coptic liturgical manuscript;⁶ a series of extracts from the Psalms;⁷ and a leaf from a two-column literary codex used as a palimpsest to write another text in a less formal hand.⁸ As discussed further below, it is possible that these manuscripts have some relationship to the magical text beyond their common purchase.

On the front of the magical text, the sheet contains a single recipe to attract a woman, while the back preserves a title and 12 brief prescriptions for favour, separation, love spells, and curses, aimed both at people and property (a furnace). The front contains a large image tableau at the top, and a smaller one consisting primarily of *kharaktēres* at the bottom, while the lower part of the back contains two lines of linear kufic. The copyist uses enlarged initial letters set in *ekthesis* for l. 10 of the front and back, and the beginning of each subsequent recipe; the capital omicrons on the back are decorated with internal circles.

The text is written in a right sloping majuscule with regular serifs on λ, τ, γ, x, q; letters such as p, γ, φ, ω, ρ have long descenders. μ is the ‘flat’ μ which emerges in the tenth century.⁹ σ often has a long, curved ascender, similar to that of *PCM* I 28. Supralinear strokes are consistently drawn above magical names, and the dipunct is regularly used for punctuation (including between magical names). The numerals two (ϐ) and twenty (κ) take their miniscule forms (front l. 15, back l. 18) although this is not true of the other numerals. Two oblique strokes are used to mark the ends of recipes on the back. The tail of the ρ descends beyond the notional lower line. Within this volume, the hand is comparable to those of the second scribe of the Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library (*PCM* I 27 & 28), as well as to *PCM* I 32, which also use miniscule letterforms for numerals (κ̄α front l.

³ Private communication Daniel Soliman, 21/10/2020 & 14/7/2023. The manuscripts purchased in this sale have the inventory numbers Leiden F 1964/4.1–16.

⁴ We are very grateful to Vincent Walter for suggesting a possible connection to the Teshlot Archive. For the core group, see Richter 2003 (*P. Teshlot*), as well as the older treatments in Green 1983; MacCoull 1989. Further texts from the Teshlot Archive are published in *PKöln* XI 466 and *PKöln ägypt.* II 64, and Thung 1996.

⁵ Leiden F 1964/4.9; the side glassed as the recto contains in the middle a passage adapting Revelation 3.19.

⁶ Leiden F 1964/4.13.

⁷ Leiden F 1964/4.15; the manuscript contains numbered full lines of each psalm, followed by two shorter passages from the same psalm labelled α and β.

⁸ Leiden F 1964/4.16.

⁹ Cf. Mihálykó 2019: 16–18.

15).

Broadly similar hands can be seen in the colophons of BnF Copte 129.14 fol. 95v and BnF Copte 131.5 fol. 28v, dated to 1002–1003 and *ca.* 1091 CE respectively.¹⁰ Green suggested a more precise eleventh century date,¹¹ and in support of this we may note that the hand of *PCM I 37* shows similarities with other manuscripts from the 1964 purchase, in particular *P.Teschlot 7 & 8*, both written by Iōsaphat, son of the Deacon Pisrael, in 1062 CE, as well as the unpublished and undated literary text Leiden F 1964/4.9. The letterforms are very close without being identical: Δ, κ, λ, τ, χ, Ϸ are notably similar across the four manuscripts, while γ, ϣ, and ϡ are markedly different in *PCM I 37*. We thus suggest an eleventh century date for this manuscript, even if the late tenth century cannot be entirely excluded.

The dialect is a highly standard Sahidic. The only non-standard features are the common interchange of q and ʁ, the use of ɛ for the schwa, normally indicated by a supralinear stroke in the literary dialect, and a few surprising forms, such as ϣϣϣ for ^sϣice? (front l. 22), τϣϣϣ for ^sε-τϣεϣ-ϣϣϣ (back l. 13), and ϣϣ for ^sϣnoq (back l. 6); these last two features would point to an origin in the Faiyum or Middle Egypt.¹² As with the other texts from the tenth and eleventh centuries in this volume, there are many Arabic loanwords, not all of which have been convincingly identified. Once again, these features—standard Sahidic with Middle Egyptian vocalism and Arabic loanwords—are present in the manuscripts from the Teshlot Archive.¹³ For these reasons, it seems very likely that this manuscript also originated in Middle Egypt, perhaps in the region of Bawit or Teshlot. It is tempting to imagine that this manuscript, like the documentary texts, once belonged to the archive of Raphaël, son of Mina, but more work on all of the manuscripts from the 1964 sale will be necessary to determine whether a relationship between them all can be reconstructed, and the exact nature of any relationship.

Green begins numbering the recto from our l. 10, which thus corresponds to l. 1 in his edition. Our ll. 1, 25–32 are not assigned line numbers in Green's edition, while ll. 2–9 correspond to his ll. 24–31. Our ll. 33–35 correspond to his ll. 32–34. Green's line numbers are indicated to the right of the column in grey.

¹⁰ Lantschoot 1929: fasc. I 116–117, 131; *cf.* fasc. II 52 n. 3.

¹¹ Green 1987: 29.

¹² Funk 2017: 59–63.

¹³ See Richter 2003: 98–102 *et passim*; MacCoull 1989: 204–205.

front (flesh)

αρχωαακογρλαχων

σινερζωβ
 γρ ηας α^χ ε^χ : 25
θγ κογρε ηχι-
 5περ : ρι λιβα
 προ μηηι : ερε-
 ποορ μογ[ρ]
 αχχωκ 30
 εβολ

- 10 Πογωα ηγ κογμαστρεον · πογωα ηγ κογ ... [...] 1
 πογωα ηγ κογωα ηοφ [ca. 7]
 εβολ ρη νημαθωσ ηπαθ[ωσ . .] . [ca. 14]
 αγω †ταρκο [ημοκ μ]ποο[γ] ηπεκλομ ετρηχνη τεκα-
 [πε μ]η π[ρα]ητοσ ηκωρτ ετην τεκσιχ : †ωρκ 5
 15 ημοκ ηπεκκα : ητεκανοσ ηχωωρε : εγνπεκεμτο εβολ
 εγσωτμ ησωκ ρωβ ηιμ : ετε ηαι ηε ηεγραν : †αμογρ
αχογ : αμογ : χαμ : αθακ : μαριω : μας : αμνη : ααχ
αμονι : ωμηνλ : αθαβ : μασα : αωλω : ααηρ :
αβογσα : αλαθ : μαθ : λαχωρ : αγθων : λαχογηνλ 10
 20 δεκας ρη τεγνογ ηφα[ιο]γωρ ηπετηνκογτι προ
 μηηη ηαα : ετερωχρ ηπεσρητ : ην τεσ†γχη
 ρη ογωα ηκωρτ ην νογραρσε : ην ογλιβε : ωαντες-
 ει ερατγ ηαα : αιο αιο ταχη ταχη

1 i.e. *الحاو* *al-hāwi* “the magician” Green | *l. αc(c)ογx(αρε)* i.e. *السكر* *as-sāhir* “the magic” Green |
 i.e. *الحمى* *al-hummā* “the fever” Green || 3 i.e. *γρ(άφειν)* | *l. η-αc(αβραν)* i.e. *الزعران* *az-za ‘farān* cf.
PCM 25 15.8 or *η-αc(αογκ)* *السك* *as-sukk* cf. *PCM* 24 1. 18 ? : *τονας* Green | i.e. *ἀρχή* | *l. εγx(oc)*
 i.e. *ῥε-(ο)γ-κας* ? cf. note : i.e. *εὐχή* Green || 4 i.e. *θυ(σία)* || 4–5 i.e. *σx(ε)ηπερ* || 5, 8 i.e. *λίβα(νος)* ||
 6 *προη ειη* Green || 10 η enlarged | η τακο [ο]γμasti Green | η τακο [ο]γ[...] Green ||
 11 η τακο <ο>γωωne [. ?] Green || 12 i.e. *ἐμπαθῶς* : *νημαθωσ* Green || 13 †τα[...]*το[...]*ηοκ
 (or πεκ) ρεπο...[...]*ηη* Green | i.e. *πάθος* ? || 13–14 *τεκα[η]οc* i.e. *δεκανός* Green || 14 *ητκ* (or *ηεκ*)
 [...]*ηοκ.ς.ε.τεγτα* or *τεχη* Green | i.e. *ῥάβδος* ? || 15 *ηοκ ηπεκρ[η]* Green | i.e. *δεκανός* :
 “(and also) the decans” Green | *ηετχωωρε* Green | i.e. *ῥη-πεκ-ητο* || 16 i.e. *ῥη-ρωβ ηιμ* | *†απογρ*
 Green || 17 *ηαρηω* Green || 20 i.e. *ῥε-ωα-ι-ογωρ* : *ηωαι* [ο]γωρ Green | i.e. *ζώδιον* | i.e. *ε-π-ρο* ||
 21 i.e. *δ(εῖνα)* *δ(εῖνα)* | i.e. *ῥε-τετῥ-ε-ρωκρ η-πε-σ-ρητ* | *ετερωχ* (or *παχ*) ρη *πεσρητ* parse as
 CMPT “burning will be in her heart” or “bewitching will be in her heart” ? Green | i.e. *ψυχή* ||
 22 i.e. *ῥηη ογ-ογωα* | i.e. *ῥισε* ? || 23 i.e. *δ(εῖνα)* *δ(εῖνα)* | i.e. *ταχύ* (twice)

^{|above tableau} Arkhōa Asour Lakhōm

^{|right of tableau} Procedure: Write <with> saffron[?] <and wine of the> *first fruits on a bone. Offering: apple-hued henna[?] and *frankincense. <Place it at> the door of the house when the moon is full. It is complete.

^{|10, below tableau} “The desire of three?[?]... The desire of three?[?]... The desire of three?[?]... in passionate[?] passion ... and I adjure [you] today by your crown that is upon your head and the staff[?] of fire that is in your hand! I adjure[?] you by your twenty-one mighty decans who are in your presence, obeying you <in> all things—whose names are these: Iamour, Ačou, Samou, Kham, Athak, Mariō, Mas, Samni, Khakh, Amoni, Ōmiēl, Athab, Masa, Lōlō, Sathēr, Abousa, Alath, Math, Lakhōr, Authōn, Lakhoul[?] ^{|20}—that as soon as [I] place your (pl.) image <by> the door of the house of NN, child of NN, you will burn her heart and her soul with burning desire and suffering[?] and madness until she comes to the feet of NN, child of NN, yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”

Image: Images with facing figures in Coptic magical texts are associated with love spells, as opposed to those in which they are depicted back to back, which are associated with separation spells (cf. the notes to the images of PCM I 31). The two facing bird-like figures may represent the two targets of the spell, who are made to face one another by the practitioner or invoked being, represented by the front-facing figure in the middle; this depiction would parallel rituals involving the manipulation of effigies, which may be artificial (clay, wax, and so on), or else in the form of animal bodies (Dosoo 2018: 25 *et passim*; cf. Dosoo 2023a: 164). The image was probably to be copied onto a bone using a mixture of saffron (or *sukk*, cf. PCM I 24 l. 18) and wine as ink, and placed at the target’s door (ll. 2–6). Green 1987: 30 suggests that the two bird-like figures are female, and the central figure male, but acknowledges that he has no “concrete evidence” for this. He suggests that the three figures are labelled (left-to-right) in Arabic “the magician”, “the magic”, and “the fever”, but these proposals seem phonologically unlikely (cf. Richter 2017a: 518).

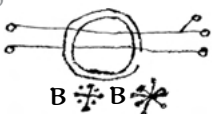
3. εϣϣ : “on a bone” Here and elsewhere (back ll. 2, 6, 9, 16, 24), Green understands εϣϣ and its abbreviations as writings of the Greek εϣή “prayer”, but the syntax of the passages in this manuscript regarding writing lead us to expect the writing surface here, preceded by the preposition ε-, cf. back ll. 3, 4, 7, 11, 13. The form ϣϣ for ϣϣ is unexpected, but might be explained as a hypercorrection by a speaker of a ϣϣ/ρϣ dialect (likely a form of Faiyumic) writing in Sahidic, or as a result of a confusion with ϣϣ “corpse”. For bones in Coptic magic, cf. Dosoo 2021e.

10–11. πϣϣ ϣϣ : This initial sequence is difficult to understand; Green translates “the desire for the destruction of a hatred. Also, the desire for a destruction of a... the desire for destruction of a sickness”, but this does not match the surviving traces. “Desire” as a heading would make sense (cf. back l. 9), but repetition of this type is unexpected in such a heading. Perhaps understand, e.g., “the desire of three scourges” (πϣϣ ϣϣ ϣϣ), but this would leave much unexplained.

14. ϣϣϣ ϣϣ ϣϣ : “the staff of fire” For the form of ϣϣ here, cf. ϣϣ in P.Berol. 8503 (Beltz 1894: no. III 23; KYP M495) l. 57. Compare the “staff of fire” (ρϣϣ ϣϣ) possessed by a being invoked in l. 11 of the unpublished curse P.CtYBR inv. 846 (KYP M371).

15. ϣϣϣ : “decans” The “decans” were originally thirty-six asterisms each representing 10° of the ecliptic; compare the signs of the zodiac, each representing 30°. As stars, they were associated in astrology with the concept of fate, and in Christian literature come to be seen as demonic beings often associated with death; cf. Gundel 1936; Dosoo 2022a: 152–156.

22. ϣϣ ϣϣ : “burning desire”: For the motif of LOVE IS FIRE, see the notes to PCM I 3 front col. 2 ll. 33–38.

		29	ΟΥΒΚΟΥΝΟΥΗΛ	19	
25	ΟΥΚΤΟΥΧΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΔΩΤΟΣ ΔΕΝΑΚΩΣ ΤΕΒΩΚ	15		30	ΡΡΡΩΦΩΝ ΚΑΤΟΥΟΣΧΟΣ ΚΕΝΑΚΩΣ ΔΗ

right of the bottom tableau (text at 90°)

	ΔΥ ^Ω ΜΠΕΡΤΣΤΑССЕ	32
	ΕΡΟΣ ΜΜΟΝ ΣΑΗ ΤΕ	
35	ΝΑΛΜΟΥΒΑΡΡΗΠ =	
	—iiii—	

back (hair), at 180° to front

	Ται τε τσινερζωγ : η† αςσογχαρε :
	ΟΥΧΑΡΙC ΓΡ ΝΑC ΔΡ ^Χ ΕΥΧΟΣ : ΜΑΡQ ΕΤΕΚΟΥΝΑΜ
	ΓΡ ΟΝ ΕΥΑΛΘΕΜΕ : ΝΕΖ Η[Δ]CСΑΝΤΕΛ : ΤΩΡC ΕΠΕΚΡΟ ΘΥ ΜΑC
	ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ : ΓΡ ΕΥΠΙΝΑΞ : ΝΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΟΙΤΡΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ — ΑΛΩΘ
5	ΙΑΔΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝ ΠΡΟ : ΘΥ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ //
	ΟΥΤΑΚΟ : ΓΡ ΝCНАQ НΓΡΟΥР : ΕΥ ^{ΩC} : ΘΥ ΚΟΥΩΤ //
	ΟΥΤΑΚΟ : ΓΡ ΖΙ CNOQ : ΝΕΛCΔΙ ΝΕΡΟΥΤ ΕΥΠΙΝΑΞ ΙΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ :
	ΜΜΟΥ ΝCΟΥΡΕC : ΠΡΩ ΘΥ ΛΙΒΑ //
	ΟΥΩΩ : ΓΡ ΠЕСНАQ НАЭΟΥГ : QЗИ ΠΕΦΜΑΔΧΕ ΝΩΔΑΝΑΞΕ : ΕΥ ^Χ
10	ΜΑΡQ ΕΤΕΚΟΥΝΑΜ : ΘΥ [Η]ΔC ΑΛΩ //
	ΟΥCЗИМЕ ΕΡΕΠЕСCЗАΙ ΜΑCТЕ ΜΜΟC : ΓΡ ΝΑC : CНАQ ΕC-
	ΚΟΥΤΕΛΛΕ : ΝΑΛΑΔΥ : ΝΕΖ ΝΑΡΧΗ : ΠΕΡΟ ΜΑC //

front 25 cf. κάτωχος ? || 26 cf. ηῆ + ἄσωτος ? || 28 cf. ⁸ТВВОК ? || 30 cf. κάτωχος ? || 32 i.e. ἀπολ(ογία) || 33 i.e. διατάζειν ? : ηῆπ-† cтaccе i.e. στύραξ ? Green || 35 i.e. المجرب *al-muḡarrib* cf. note || **back** 1–18 enlarged initial letters at the beginning of each recipe || 1 τεβι Green : i.e. ⁸Т-сѣпѣрзωв : ογπσιπερζωγ Green | i.e. الساحر ? : السكر *as-sāhir* ? Green || 2 i.e. χάρις | i.e. γρ(άφειν) | l. ἡ-αc(αβραν) i.e. الزعفران *az-za'farān* ? : ἡαc i.e. μασ(τίχη) Green | i.e. ἀρχ(ή) | i.e. ⁸κac ? cf. note front l. 2 : εϋχ^{ΩC} i.e. εϋχ(ή) (λίβα)νος Green || 3 i.e. γρ(άφειν) | i.e. الجام *al-ḡām* : ἀγααcεμε Green | ηεζ “(the) content (is)” Green | i.e. الصندل *as-ṣandal* : [τ]ε ca нτελ “of (a) part of fenugreek” Green | i.e. θυ(σία) | i.e. μασ(τίχη) | i.e. العود *al-'ūd* || 4 i.e. γρ(άφειν) | i.e. πίναξ | i.e. ⁸μερос (ογμαγρεc) ἡτε-σιτρε i.e. μέρος “portion of mountain lemon” Green || 5 i.e. ⁸ἡ-ογειν | i.e. θυ(σία) | i.e. λίβανος || 6 i.e. γρ(άφειν) || i.e. ⁸ε-(ο)γ-κac ? cf. note front l. 2 : i.e. εϋχή Green | i.e. θυ(σία) || 7 i.e. γρ(άφειν) | ηελcΔι cf. note | i.e. πίναξ ? || 8 ἡcΟΥΡΕC cf. note : cf. الساحر *as-sāhir* “enchanted” ? Green | i.e. ⁸π-ρο | i.e. θυ(σία) | i.e. λίβα(νος) || 9 i.e. γρ(άφειν) | ηαεουγт Green | i.e. ⁸εε-γ-зи | i.e. ⁸εαηαξ cf. note | i.e. ⁸ε-(ο)γ-κac cf. note front l. 2 : i.e. εϋχή Green || 10 i.e. θυ(σία) | i.e. μαστίχη | i.e. العود *al-'ūd* || 11 i.e. γρ(άφειν) | l. ἡ-αc(αβραν) i.e. الزعفران *az-za'farān* ? : l. ηαc Green | i.e. ⁸ἡ-cноq : cнаγ Green || 11–12 i.e. ⁸ἡ-ογ-σκουτέλλιον : i.e. σκυτάλη “sticks” Green || 12 i.e. ⁸αλαγ | i.e. ἀρχή | i.e. μασ(τίχη)

^{around tableau} Oubkounouēl ²⁵ Ouktoukhos, Menasōtos, Asenakōs, Tsbōk, Rrrōphon,
³⁰ Katouoskhos, Kenakōs—request.

And do not doubt it, verily, it is ⟨a⟩ good ³⁵ and tested ⟨procedure⟩!

^{back} This is the procedure of giving enchantment?

Favour. Write it ⟨with⟩ saffron? ⟨and wine of the⟩ *first fruits on a bone. Bind it to your right arm. Write again on a *platter. Sandalwood oil. Anoint your face. Offering: *mastic, *agarwood.

A separation. Write on a tablet with milk of a desert citron. ⁵ Wash them ⟨off⟩ with water from a drain. ⟨Pour? it at⟩ the door. Offering: *frankincense.

A destruction. Write with frog blood on a bone. Offering: *costus.

A destruction. Write with blood of ⟨a⟩ male *elsai* on a tablet. Wash them off with water of Soures. ⟨Pour? it at⟩ the door. Offering: frankincense.

Desire. Write ⟨with⟩ cow blood, from his left ear, on a bone. ¹⁰ Bind it to your right. Offering: mastic, agarwood.

A woman whose husband hates her. Write ⟨with⟩ saffron? ⟨and⟩ blood on ⟨a⟩ white *dish. Oil of ⟨the⟩ first fruits. ⟨Anoint⟩ the face. ⟨Offering:⟩ mastic.

35. μαλμογσαρρη : “tested” As Green (1987: 37) notes, this is the Arabic المجرّب (*al-muḡarrib*); cf. back l. 28; the same word is used of a love spell in Cairo JdE 42573 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44) p. 4 l. 6. For such statements in Greek and Demotic (e.g., *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV.3007: δόκιμον; *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv.115: *iw=f dnt*) cf. Dosoo 2014: 343–344. For Judaeo-Arabic and Hebrew examples, cf. *MTKG* III no. 57 1b l. 5 (likewise מגרר *muḡarrib*), and the discussion in *MTKG* I: 146–147.

back 1. ασογχαρε : “...” Green (1987: 37) proposes الساحر (*as-sāhir*), translating “bewitching”, but the writing of ح as x is unlikely (cf. Richter 2017a: 518). The initial αc- does suggest an Arabic loanword. The word resembles Coptic writings of the word “sugar” السكر *as-sukkar*; cf. Richter 2017a: 520, 525), but this would not make sense in context; perhaps understand *suḡr* “intoxication”, with the extended sense of “enchantment” (Lane 1863: 1391a s.v. سُكْرٌ).

4. νερωτε νοιτρε ντοογ : “with milk of a desert citron” The citron, also ‘cedrate’, or ‘sweet lime’ (*Citrus medica* L.) is a large, bitter, citrus fruit, known in Greek as κίτρον and in Arabic as ترنج (*turung*). References to plant “milk” are known in other Coptic texts, and likely refer simply to the juice. Cf. *PCM* I 25 p. 9 l. 3; Macomber 2020: I 132; Lev/Amar 2008: 147–149; Till 1951: 76, 104.

7. νελχα ντοογτ : “of ⟨a⟩ male *elsai*” As Green (1987: 37) notes, this must be some kind of animal; the initial ελ- might suggest an Arabic loanword, although the /l/ would be expected to assimilate to the following /s/. Perhaps understand a word related to ειογλ (“deer”); for the use of deer (in particular its skin) in Greek magic, see Delatte 1927: 447.6, 483.14, 493.2, 552.1, 13, 553.11 etc.

8. ἰσογρε : “Soures” Green (1987: 39) suggests again a word related to السحر (*as-sihr*; “magic”), hence “enchanted (water)”, or alternatively a derivation from σύρειν, thus “flowing water”, but neither is close to the expected form. Perhaps understand the personal name Sourēs (σογρης), from Latin *Severus*, the name of one or more saints venerated in Middle Egypt (Papaconstantinou 2001: 205–206 s.v. Σουροῦς; Suciu 2017b: 147–48); “water of Soures” might therefore be blessed water from a shrine of the saint.

9. νσαναε : “left” Green reads “namely, from (an) ox” (i.e., ⁸νσι ν-ογ-εε), but more plausible is a form of σαναε, whose basic meaning is “maimed” (Crum CD 824a), but cf. British Library MS Or. 6794 l. 8 (Kropp 1931: I no. E; KYP M306/T361) in which it clearly means “left”: “he with the golden bell in his right hand, the spirit lute in his *left* hand” (πετρε πεακλκλ ννογ εἰν τεφειχ νογναι ερετκιοαρα νππᾱ εἰν τεφειχ νσαναε; cf. Vycichl DELC 343a). A reconciliation spell in Cairo JdE 42573 p. 2 ll. 1–5 (Chassinat 1955; KYP M44) uses the blood of the right ear of a cow.

back (hair) (continued)

- 13 ΟΥΡΩΜΕ : ΕΚΟΥΩΥ ΤΕΦΑΦΕΚ : ΓΡ̄ ΕΝΑΠΕ ΝΧΑΡΤΗΣ
 ΙΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ : ΗΝΕΖ ΤΑΔΥ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΓΑΝΠΟΥΛΛΕ † ΝΕΖ ΕΧΩΥ
 15 ΝΟΥΕΥΩΗ : ΤΩΖΣ ΕΠΕΚΖΟ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΩΩΡΠ ΜΗΝΕ : ΘῩ ΛΙΒΑ //
 ΟΥΠΩΡΚ : ΕΒΟΛ : ΓΡ̄ ΝΣΝΑΥ ΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΕΥΧ̄^{OC} ΔΗ̄^Λ ΜΑΡΦ
 [.] . ΒΦΚ ΧΟΡΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΒΦΚ ΝΑΚ : ΘῩ [ΜΑ]C //
 ΟΥΝΑΣΤΕ : ΖΗ ΤΜΗΤΕ Β ΗΡΩΜΕ ΓΡ̄ ΝΣΝ[ΟΥ ΝΟΥΚ]ΔΚΟΥΠΑΤ
 ΖΙ CΗΟΥ ΝΟΥΖΔΡ ΝΚΑΜΕ : ΩΡΩ ΠΩΔΑΡ ΝΕΛCΑ[Ι ΙΑΔΥ Ε]Β[ΟΛ]
 20 ΜΑΟΥ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝ ΠΡΟ : ΘῩ Γ̄ ΠΤΑΚΟ =
 ΟΥΖΡΩ ΕΤΑΚΟΣ : CΖΑΙ ΝΗΡΑΝ : ΕῩ . . Ζ . . ΝΑΜΕ : ΝΑΧC
 ΒΑΡΒΗC : ΟΥΔΑΡΒΗC : ΘῩ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ ΕΡΟΣ =
 ΒΑΡΒΗC : ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑΚ
 ΓΡ̄ ΔΡΧ ΕΥΧΟΣ 27 [. ?] ΟΥΩΥ ΠΕ ΝCΑΗ
 25 . . [. . Ε]Υ[ΑΝ]ΠΟΥΛΛ[Ε] ΝΑΛΜΟΥCΑΡ
 . . . Π .

- 29 * [[NENC]] ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ CΖΑΙ ΝΑΛΜΙCΙΧ ΕΥΑΛCΕΜΕ ΒΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΖ ΝΟΥΗΡΕΤ
 30 ΟΥΧΑΡΙC 31 ΤΩΖC ΜΠΕΚΖΟ
 32 ΠCΤΥ =

13 *i.e.* ^Sε-τρεζ-ουαωκ : *cf.* ^Sωωκ “bury” ? Green | *i.e.* γρ(άφειν) | *i.e.* χάρτης || 14 *i.e.* ἀμπύλλη ||
 15 *i.e.* ^Sη-ουωη | *i.e.* ^Sη-ωωρη | *i.e.* ^Sη-μνηε | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* λίβα(νος) || 16 *i.e.* γρ(άφειν) |
i.e. ^Sε-(ο)γ-κας ? *cf.* note front l. 2 | *i.e.* ἀπ(ολογία) || 17 ετεξ ο[....] βφκ χ[.] ΔC Green |
 or ηου l. Cηου ? Green | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* μασ(τίχη) || 18 *i.e.* γρ(άφειν) | ηπρωμε or φ πρωμε Green |
 [νογκακ]ογπατ Green || 19 *i.e.* ^Sη-ου-ουζορ || ωρω *cf.* note : ριχω Green | νελCα[ι] *cf.* note l. 7 : νεζογ
 [ca. 12–13] Green || 20 ριχωγ Green | *i.e.* ^Sη-ογειν | *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* ^Sη-π-τακο ? || 21 . . Ζ . . restore ^Sβλζε ? :
i.e. φυλακτήριον Green | corrected from ναχCε Green || 22 *i.e.* θυ(σία) | *i.e.* λίβανος || 23 ηαρ[υ ε]Υ
 Green || 24 *i.e.* γρ(άφειν) | *i.e.* ἀρχ(ή) | *i.e.* ^Sε-(ο)γ-κας *cf.* note front l. 2 : *i.e.* εὐχή Green || 25 *i.e.* ἀμπύλλη :
 ηαρ[υ η]ωΥ[ΑΝ]ΠΟΥΛΛε Green || 26 Δ..Π Χ ΠΓΗΡ[. ?] or Δ..Π Ρ ΠΓΗΡ[. ?] Green || 27 *i.e.* ^Sογ-ουωω ||
 28 l. αλμογCαρ(ρηη) *i.e.* المجرب *al-muġarrib cf.* note front l. 35 || 29 * [[NENC]] omitted in Green |
i.e. المسك *al-misk* | *i.e.* الجماع *al-ġām* : *i.e.* الجماع *al-ġamā* “sexual intercourse” Green | ιβ Cητογ
 “twelve as well as four (parts) of” Green || 30 *i.e.* χάρις || 31 ζη τεCζο Green || 32 ηCζαι ? “the
 writing” Green

A man whom you wish to desire you. Write on the upper parts of <a> papyrus sheet. Wash them off with oil. Put them into a *flask. Put oil upon it |¹⁵ at night. Anoint your face at the first hour, daily. Offering: *frankincense.

A removal. Write with desert raven blood on a bone. Request. Bind it to your ... say to him, “Go!” Offering: mastic[?].

A hatred between two people. Write with hoopoe blood and blood of a black dog <and> menstrual[?] <blood on> the skin of an *elsai* [wash it off with] |²⁰ water from a drain. <Place at> the door. Offering: *three of destruction[?].

A furnace, to destroy it. Write these names on a clay [ostrakon[?]]. Throw it at it. “Barbēs Ouarbēs, Barbēs Barbarak.” Offering: frankincense.

Write <with wine of the> *first fruits on a bone. |²⁵ [...] to a flask[?]. It is a good, tested desire <procedure>.

|³⁰ Favour. |²⁹ The second one. Write with *musk on a bowl. Wipe it with rose oil.

|³¹ Anoint your face. ...

KD, EL & MP, edited from photograph and autopsy; tracings by KD & JS.

Kharaktēres: An example of linear kufic, for which see the notes to *PCM* I 21 ll. 1–3. These symbols are probably those to be copied onto various materials as part of the rituals described on the back of the sheet.

13. ΝΧΑΡΤΗΣ : “papyrus sheet” Green translates χάρτης as papyrus plant. If it does indeed refer to papyrus, it should be understood as a papyrus sheet used as a writing surface (*cf.* Lewis 1974: 70–74). Given the late date of the manuscript however, we might perhaps understand a more generic sense of a sheet of writing material, made of either paper or parchment; *cf.* LBG s.v. χαρτί(v); Richter 2023: 165.

19. ΘΡΩ : “menstrual[?] <blood on>” *Cf.* the notes to *PCM* I 22 l. 46.

20. ΤΡΙΤΑΚΟ : “three of destruction” See glossary s.v. *three evil things.

21. ΟΥΛΩ ΘΥΑΚΟΣ : “a furnace, to destroy it” For similar curses against work equipment, see the note to *PCM* I 30 front ll. 10–14.

24. ΑΡΧ : “<with wine of the> first fruits” Green understands αρχ as referring to “freshly-pressed (oil)”, but here we translate as αρχ(η νηπι), *i.e.* “wine of the first fruits”; *cf.* the glossary s.v. *first fruits.

24–32. The text in these lines is significantly smaller than that above, and may have been added later, in the gaps between the linear kufic.

Indices

Glossary

The Glossary offers brief discussions of words marked with an asterisk () elsewhere in the volume, as well as references to discussions on other pages.*

Abra see *Abrasax*

Abrasax

The name Abrasax and its variants (*Abra*, *Abrasaxael*, *Abraxas*, *Abrazakh*, perhaps also *Abrax*, *Atrakh*, *Ax*) was likely produced through Greek isopsephy, with the letters of the name Αβρασαξ (1 + 2 + 100 + 1 + 200 + 1 + 60) adding up to 365, the number of days in the solar year. The number of letters, seven, was also a significant one in the ancient Mediterranean, equalling, for example, the number of planets (*cf.* Barb 1957). In the corpus of Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, it appears as a name associated at times with the supreme solar deity, at others with the Jewish deity *Iao (see, *e.g.*, *GEMF* 11/*PGM* LXIX.1, 2 (II CE); *GEMF* 15.254–257/*PGM* XII.205–206 (II CE); *GEMF* 18.195/*PGM* LXI.33 (III CE)), although we equally find him in the company of the Jewish angels *Michael and *Gabriel (*e.g.*, *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I.302 (III CE); KYP M154/*PGM* III.150). Abrasax appears in several of the Sethian ‘Gnostic’ treatises of the Nag Hammadi Library (Piwowarczyk 2021: 9–10), albeit not with a systematic role, and is mentioned by Irenaeus of Lyons (II CE) and the other heresiologists dependent on him, as the ruler of the three hundred and sixty-five heavens within the Gnostic system of Basilides (Piwowarczyk 2021: 10). Within Jewish and Christian magical texts, Abrasax appears as the, or an, angel of the sun, or, less often, as one of the names of God, with the name borrowed from Graeco-Egyptian sources (Bohak 2008: 247–250; Dosoo 2021d: 416). Note that Abrasax is often associated with the ‘anguipede’, a figure with snake legs, and usually a rooster’s head, whip, and shield, depicted on many magical gems. This association is mistaken; both the figure of the anguipede and the name ‘Abrasax’ are independently associated with Iao, one of the names of the Jewish God, and so when the name ‘Abrasax’ appears with the image of the anguipede it is probably due to their mutual association with Iao, rather than because of a meaningful independent connection (Bonner 1950: 133–134; Shandruk 2022: 105–106).

Abrazakh see *Abrasax*

Abyss

In Coptic literature, the “abyss” (Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲛ *noun*, often translating the Greek

ἄβυσσος, *abussos*), is associated both with the depths of the earth (that is, *hell) and the primordial waters which lie below the earth. In biblical contexts, the Greek word designates “a bottomless place” (Lambert 1916). In the Septuagint, it is used to translate to the Hebrew תְּהוֹם (*təhôm*), referring to the primordial waters which covered the earth before creation and which were subsequently shut up in subterranean storehouses. Augustine, for instance, understands ‘abyss’ as a term for primordial deep waters, associated with caves as the source of all water, in which serpents (Greek δράκοντες) live (*Expositions on Psalms*, 148.9). The Devil, likewise described as a serpent, is said to have been cast bound into the abyss for a thousand years (Revelation 20.1–3), and this association of the abyss or hell as the dwelling place or prison of fallen angels is found in other texts (e.g., *T.Varie.* 13 (KYP M107) front ll. 26–27). In the Coptic magical texts, the abyss often occurs in association with cosmic beings whose head is in heaven and whose feet are in the abyss, understood as being beneath the earth (cf. *PCM* I 8 front ll. 12–3; see Dosoo 2022c: 502). The four pillars of the abyss are said to support the first heaven (*PCM* I 12 p. 43 ll. 1–3), and God, called in this passage Thrakai, is said to have covered the abyss with the earth and suspended heaven like a vault (*PCM* I 12 p. 11 ll. 13–15; cf. Genesis 1.7).

Adam and Eve, children of see the notes to *PCM* I 25 p. 7 ll. 12–14

Adjuration see pp. 32–33; cf. *Horkōmotoi*

Adonai see *Iao Sabaoth Adonai Eloei Elemas*

Agarwood

Agarwood or aloes (Coptic αλογθ, from Arabic العود *al-‘ūd*, Greek ἀγάλογον *agalokhon*) is the wood of aquilaria trees (*Aquilaria* sp.), which secrete an oleo-resin in response to parasitic infection, making the infected parts of the wood highly aromatic. It was generally imported to Egypt from eastern India and other parts of Southeast Asia, such as Cambodia and Indochina, and should be distinguished from Greek ἄλoη (*aloē*), bitter aloes (*Aloe* sp.). Agarwood was known to Dioscorides (*Materia Medica* I.22) in the first century CE, who describes it as “fragrant” (εὐώδης), but it seems only to have become commonly imported into the Mediterranean after the Islamic conquests. Agarwood is regularly found as an element of offerings in Coptic magical texts; see, for example, *PCM* I 22 l. 11; *PCM* I 24 l. 18; *PCM* I 25 p. 16 l. 14, p. 17 l. 16; *PCM* I 26 p. 15 l. 31, p. 16 l. 23, p. 17 ll. 9, 23; *PCM* I 28 p. 12 l. 19; *PCM* I 32 p. 1 l. 26; *PCM* 37 back ll. 3, 10; P. Stras. K 204 + 205 + 282 §2.5 l. 1 (Hevesi 2018; KYP M92); P. Vindob. K 8303 l. 10 (Stegemann 1934: no. 51; KYP M279).

Sources and further reading: Lev/Amar 2008: 97–98; Amar/Lev 2013: 22; King 2017: 63–65; López-Sampson/Page 2018.

Angelic Beings

Angels are omnipresent in Christian literature and cult, as well as in magical texts, in which they serve as agents of higher powers, usually the Jewish-Christian God. As Mihálykó (2022: 725) points out, in early liturgical prayers from Egypt, the congregation asked God for protection through “angelic powers”, or to appoint an angel as a guide. Angels were also believed to appear at the altar during the service, although, as incorporeal heavenly beings, they were not visible to the congregation (Mihálykó 2022: 725; Müller 1962: 77).

Angels were often divided into multiple ranks, including cherubim (χερουβим), seraphim (σεραφим), powers (δυναμис, δυνατος, or δον), thrones (θρονος), principalities (αρχη), and authorities (εξουσια) (cf. Dosoo 2021d: 407). The best-known of such systems is found in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite’s *On the Celestial Hierarchy* (6.7), but we find similar lists in other authors, such as Cyril of Alexandria (*On the Mysteries* 5.6; V CE). The seven archangels are often understood to be the highest rank, who directly serve and stand in the presence of God; only three are named in the canonical books of the Bible: Michael (in Daniel 10.13, 10.21, 12.1; Jude 9.1; Revelation 12.7–12), Gabriel (in Daniel 8.16, 9.21; Luke 1.19, 26), and Raphael (in Tobit 3.17 *etc.*). We find a full list of seven archangels in 1 Enoch 20: Suriel (or Uriel), Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Sarakael, Gabriel, and Remiel (Isaac in Charlesworth 1983: 23–24). The names in the Coptic magical papyri are inconsistent, but those of the angels from the Bible, including 1 Enoch, tend to recur (cf. Dosoo 2021d: 414–415). For the names of the archangels, cf. the notes to *PCM* I 11 p. 9 ll. 12–24.

Michael is generally understood as the most foremost of the archangels, the general of the angelic armies who took over the rank of the Devil after his fall (Müller 1959: 8–35).

Seraphim and cherubim in the Egyptian tradition are understood as high-ranking six-winged angels who stand in the presence of God, and recite the *Sanctus before him. The chariot-throne of God is understood as being drawn by the Four Living Creatures (πτοογ ἡζων): four cherubim (or two cherubim and two seraphim) with human, lion, ox, and eagle faces (Müller 1959: 83–84; Stevenson 2001; de Grooth/van Moorsel 1977–1978; cf. Ezekiel 1; Revelation 4.6–8), and are associated with two sets of names—the first a palindromic square αλφα ληων φωνη ανηρ, the second variants of μελιτων, αγραμματα, παραμυρα, σουρογιοιον (Tsakos 2014; Dosoo 2022c: 522–523). The tradition of associating the Four Living Creatures with the Four Evangelists, common in the Latin West (cf. Stevenson 2001: 474–486), is less prominent, but not unattested in Coptic texts; see *e.g.*, Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *On the Four Bodiless Living Creatures* (CC 177). The Four Living Creatures, and sometimes other angels, are sometimes described as “bodiless” or “incorporeal” (ασωματος).

Animal Analogies *see the notes to PCMI 7 ll. 35–36; PCMI 28 p. 2 ll. 12–13; PCMI 31 back ll. 7–8*

Apis *see Pharaonic deities*

Aswan Dish

“Aswan dish” translates Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ/ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ and variants thereof, the former from the Greek σκουτέλλιον (in turn from Latin *scutella*; cf. Förster WBGW 739), the latter from the Greek πίναξ. This term seems to be equivalent to the Arabic *ṣahfa* (صحفة; cf. *P.Bad.* V 123 front l. 1, back 17 (KYP M315); *Scala Magna* 2.6, 1255 s.v. ⲃⲓⲛⲁⲗ (Macomber 2020: I 106)). In modern Egypt this refers to a broad dish of ca. 30 cm in diameter with raised edges (van der Vliet 1991: 224–225). An example of an object labelled an “Aswan dish” (ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ) can be found in the British Museum under inventory no. EA 27718 (TM 82637). Although fragmentary, it would seem to be a very similar object to the modern *ṣahfa*. “Aswan” here refers to the place of manufacture. It seems that the pottery was usually red, but we also find reference to “white” dishes (*PCM I* p. 1 l. 19; *PCM I* 37 back ll. 11–12) and even “glass dishes” (*PCM I* 21 p. 17 ll. 26–30). In Coptic magical papyri, dishes are usually used as supports to copy texts and images, which may be washed off during rituals; see *PCM I* 30 front ll. 2–3, *PCM I* 31 back l. 16; *PCM I* 32 p. 1 l. 19; *PCM I* 37 back ll. 11–12.

Atrakh *see Abrasax*

Authorities *see Angelic Beings; for temporal authorities, cf. the notes to PCMI 26 p. 16 l. 28*

Ax *see Abrasax*

Bathwater *see notes to PCMI 30 front ll. 3–4*

Binding and Releasing

The concept of binding (ⲙⲟⲩⲣ *mour*) and releasing (ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ *bōl ebol*) is at the centre of many Coptic magical texts. “Binding” translates Greek terms such as καταδέω (“I bind”), and the concept appears frequently in binding curses and love spells, and relates to binding an individual through a curse so that they are unable to act in specific ways—speaking against someone, or having sexual intercourse, for example. The act of unbinding (ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, translating Greek λύω) refers to rituals to undo such binding procedures (cf. Eidinow 2007: 142–152; Dosoo 2020: 267–272). ⲙⲟⲩⲣ is used in a second, unrelated sense, to refer to the act of binding an amulet to the body, equivalent to the Greek περιάπτω.

Bond *see Binding and Releasing*

By the power *see notes to PCMI 16 p. 3 ll. 7–8*

Chaksh *see note to PCMI 26 p. 16 l. 17*

Cherubim *see Angelic Beings*

Citron *see note to PCMI 37 back l. 4*

Copto-Arabic

“Copto-Arabic” generally refers to Arabic-language texts produced by Copts, the indigenous Christian community of Egypt. Some of these are translations of older Coptic-language texts, others are original compositions; *cf.* Swanson 2014.

Costus

Costus (Coptic ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲧⲧ *koušt*, Greek κόστος *kostos*, Arabic قسط *qust*) is a term used to refer to two different plants, *Dolomiaea* (or *Saussurea*) *costus* (Falc.) and *Hellenia speciosa* (J. Koenig, formerly *Cheilocostus speciosus* or *Costus speciosus*). Although authors do not clearly or consistently distinguish between the two, the original referent was probably to the former, referred to as *kuṣṭha-* in Sanskrit, whence the names in the other languages derive. The former grows in the mountainous far north of India, while the latter is found in both northern India (including modern Pakistan) and the Near East, leading to them being at times referred to as, respectively, “Indian” and “Arabian” costus, the former being black and the latter white (*e.g.*, Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 1.16). Both are used primarily for their root, although an oil may be extracted from the Indian variety. Costus was already being imported into the Mediterranean area in the fourth century BCE (*see, e.g.*, Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.7), and its medical use is attested in Greek, Coptic, Jewish, and Arabic texts from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Dioscorides (*Materia Medica* 1.16) describes the Arabian costus as being the best, with a pleasant (ἡδεῖα) smell. Other Greek and Latin sources consider it as dry, pungent, heating, and bitter. In the magical papyri it is used in burnt offerings, although it is usually unclear which plant it refers to. Since we sometimes find instructions to use white costus (ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲧⲧ ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲅ *koušt n-alau*, *e.g.*, *PCMI* 26 p. 16 l. 12 *cf.* l. 8), likely the Arabian costus, it may be that *koušt* on its own refers to Indian costus, although further work is needed on this point. Costus is found occasionally in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (*e.g.*, *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv.336 (?) (KYP M162); *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV.2680; *GEMF* 60/*PGM* XIII.18, 353 (KYP M161)). For Coptic examples, *see PCMI* 17 ll. 11, 27; *PCMI* 26 p. 15 l. 31, p. 16 ll. 8, 12; *PCMI* 29 back l. 7; *PCMI* 37 l. 6; *P.Ryl. Copt.* 109 (KYP M328); BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1) front l. 60.

Sources and further reading: Till 1951: 69–70; Greppin 1999; Lev/Amar 2008: 157–158; Piperakis 2022: 265.

Cup

The word ‘cup’ (Coptic ⲁⲡⲟⲧ *apot*) is the equivalent of the Greek ποτήριον (*potērion*), referring to a small drinking vessel. The same term is used for the liturgical chalice used for the wine which becomes the blood of Christ during the anaphora (the Eucharistic prayer), as part of the *epiclesis*, when the priest asks

God to fill the wine in the chalice with the Holy Spirit (Mihálykó 2019: 61). In the context of curses and love spells, it can be used to refer to a “potion”, which may have a negative effect on the one who drinks it; see, for example *PCM* 10 ll. 16–17, in which a woman might be barren because “someone has given her an enchanted cup”; *PCM* I 26, recipe number 7, for a man “who has been given a cup”; *PCM* I 33 front ll. 1–5. In magical rituals, cups may be used to contain various liquids, such as water, oil, wine, and blood. Often, an invocation was to be spoken over the liquid, following the pattern of the epiclesis in the anaphora (see *PCM* I 6 ll. 15–18; *PCM* I 10 l. 10; *PCM* I 17 ll. 21–22; cf. Dosoo 2021b: 76–77).

Dish see *Aswan Dish*

Dwelling places see *Horkōmotoi*

Elemas see *Iao Sabaoth Adonai Eloei Elemas*

Eloei see *Iao Sabaoth Adonai Eloei Elemas*

Eve and Adam, Children of see note to *PCM* I 25 p. 7 ll. 12–14

First Fruits (*wine or oil of the*)

The “first fruits” (Greek/Coptic ἀπαρχή/ἀπαρχή *aparkhē*, translating Hebrew ראשית *rē šît*) are the first products of the harvest. Numbers 18.12 specifies that the Israelites are to dedicate the first fruits of oil, wine, and grain to the priestly tribe, the Levites, and in early Christianity this prerogative was understood to have been transferred to the Christian clergy. Canonical collections from around the fourth century onwards specify that the first fruit offerings were to be taken to the church and blessed by the bishop to serve three purposes—first, the production of the bread and wine used in the communion, second, the maintenance of the clerics, and finally, the remainder was to be used for the care of the sick and poor (Wipszycka 1972: 70–71; Madey/Amatowni 1982: 13–14, 18–19; Wipszycka 2009: 559–561; Arabic *Canons of Athanasius* §§63–65, 82, 107 in Riedel/Crum 1904; Bohairic *Apostolic Constitutions* §§54, 74 in Tattam 1848).

In Coptic, the word *aparkhē* came to refer specifically to the wine used for communion, with the word being transliterated into Arabic as أبركة *abārka* (Worrell 1942: 329; Burmester 1967: 82; Madey/Amatowni 1982: 18–19; Macomber 2020: I 91, 174).

Coptic magical texts regularly make use of wine and oil of the first fruits ((ἀπ)αρχή νῆρη, (ἀπ)αρχή νῆεζ), likely referring to wine and oil from the first fruit offering which had been blessed by the bishop and which could therefore serve as liturgical wine and oil. *Aparkhē* is usually abbreviated to *arkhē* in the corpus, but we should probably understand this as being the same word (cf. Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: 96–97, 101). The long form is best attested in the Michigan manuscripts (KYP M9 & 15) edited by Worrell (1930: 246.11, 13; 248.15; 249.9). In one text we find both forms, the longer (and more “correct”) form in the spoken formula, and the shorter (‘abbreviated’) form in the ritual instructions (BM EA 10391

front ll. 35, 37; Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302). The shorter form also appears as a variant of the full writing in some copies of the *Scala Magna* (Macomber 2020: II 393).

Since the primary referent of the (ap)arkhē is wine, we translate it as “wine of the first fruits” where it is not specified as being oil. Support for this is found in the instructions for creating an amulet in the *Endoxon of Michael* in which the Heidelberg copy has *arkhē* alone (PCM I 26 p. 17 l. 18), but the equivalent instructions in the unpublished Collège de France copy specifies the use of wine (αρχη νηρι, p. 21 ll. 5–6). Note that this means, almost paradoxically, that when the product is specified, oil is more common, since no specification is necessary to refer to wine. In this volume, wine of the first fruits is used in PCM I 21 l. 8; PCM I 24 l. 18; PCM I 25 p. 16 ll. 8, 11; PCM I 26 p. 17 l. 18; PCM I 32 l. 22; PCM I 37 front l. 3, back l. 2 and oil in PCM I 26 p. 16 ll. 7, 13, 24; PCM I 37 back l. 12.

Flask

‘Flask’ in this volume translates the Greek ἀμπύλλη (*ampullē*; from Latin *ampulla*), borrowed into Coptic. The Latin term refers to small bottles with rounded bodies and short necks used to store oil, ointment, but also wine; they are often made out of glass (TLL s.v. *ampulla*). This description would seem to hold true also for the Greek loanword (cf. Remondon 1952: 203). In Coptic texts, the eighth-century monk Frange mentions flasks (ἀμπογλε) in two letters, in one case to be filled with fish sauce (χιρ *čir*; O.Frange 53.14, 15; O.Bâle inv. Lg Ae BJF 31c ll. 5, 8 (Boud’hors 2011: 105–106); Boud’hors/Heurtel 2015: 71). The *Scala Magna* (s.v. οὔαμπογλια, Macomber 2020: I 108) defines the *ampullē* as a جفنة *ġafna*, referring rather to a large bowl (see Lane 1863: 434 s.v. جَفْنَةٌ, جَفْنٌ نَاقَةٌ). It is possible the word could have both meanings simultaneously, depending on context, or that the meaning had changed by the time of the writing of the *Scala* in the fourteenth century. In the Coptic magical papyri, the word appears as a container of water or oil in PCM I 26 p. 15 l. 28, p. 16 l. 10; PCM I 37 back ll. 14, 25; British Library MS Or 6796 (2), (3) verso l. 111 (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118).

Four Living Creatures see *Angelic Beings*

Frankincense

Frankincense (Greek/Coptic λίβανος/λιβανος *libanos*) is the resin of evergreen trees of the genus *Boswellia*, imported to Egypt from South Arabia and the Horn of Africa. It is found regularly in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament among offerings to the Jewish god (e.g., Leviticus 2.16), and was famously one of the gifts of the *magoi* to Jesus, along with gold and myrrh (Matthew 2.11). Like *costus and *saffron, it continued to be popular after the Islamic conquests, but became less prestigious with the arrival as newer fragrances such as *agarwood

and *musk became more readily available. Frankincense regularly appears as an offering in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (LiDonnici 2001: 68–77), as well as the Coptic examples; see λίβανος in the index for attestations in this volume. As well as being burned as an incense, we regularly find it used for various complaints in Coptic, Arabic, and Jewish medicine.

Sources and further reading: Till 1951: 101; Asensi Amorós 2003: 2–4; Lev/Amar 2008: 168–171; Amar/Lev 2013: 27; Piperakis 2022: 265.

Gabriel *see Angelic Beings*

Grass of Mary *see note to PCM I 25 p.9 ll. 2–4*

Hell

“Hell”, Greek ᾗδης (*hadēs*), Coptic ἀμεντε (*amente*), refers in popular Egyptian Christianity to the underworld. Prior to the resurrection of Jesus, nearly all the human dead were confined in hell, but after his resurrection, only the evil were kept there, while the righteous were taken to Paradise (παράδεισος *paradeisos*) to await final judgement. Hell is overseen by angels who punish sinners, whose ruler is known as *Temeluchus* or *Tartaruchus* (“ruler of Tartarus”), and is also the place to which the fallen angels, or demons, are confined as punishment. There is often a conflation between the angels of hell and the demons, and thus the ruler of hell and the Devil (Rosenstiehl/Ménard 1986; Zandee 1960: 338–332). The deepest and most terrible part of hell is referred to as Tartarus (Τάρταρος) (Zandee 1960: 317–318). Hell may also be referred to as the *abyss, a term originally referring to the primordial waters below the earth (Zandee 1960: 318–319).

The Coptic term *amente* derives from the older Egyptian  *imn.t.t*, literally “western land” (DELC: 11), referring to the other realm of the dead ruled over by *Osiris, but in Christian texts the original signification seems to have been almost entirely lost (*cf.* Zandee 1960: 305–307, 310–316).

Horkōmotoi

The speech acts of invoking, adjuring, and requesting are often strengthened by the use of authorities (*horkōmotoi* in Shauf 2005), introduced using the preposition “by” (ὑ). A particularly extensive example is “I adjure you today, by the wellbeing of your names and your powers and your phylacteries and your images and the places in which you dwell and the Trinity” (*PCMI* 21 ll. 14–19). According to Shauf (2005), these authorities are understood as entities with a special relationship to the addressed being, of such a nature that, when they are called upon, the being cannot refuse the request (*cf.* Shauf 2005: 203, 214; Dosoo 2022a: 131–132). Common *horkōmotoi* in Coptic magical texts are the “name” (ἄν), “dwelling place(s)” (ἡ/τοπος ἐτ(Ὶ)ῳοπ νῆντ), “image” (ζῶδιον < ζώδιον), “phylacteries” (φυλακτήριον < φυλακτήριον), “power” (ἰσχυς), and “wellbeing” (οὐχαι). “Image” here seems to refer to the images of superhuman beings which are often found in

magical texts, understood as having an ontologically significant relationship to the being which they depict, and “phylacteries” may be the accompanying *kharaktēres* (Dosoo 2022a: 132). “Wellbeing” refers to the health and fortune of the being, equivalent to Latin *salus* or Greek σωτήρια, with its use probably deriving from oaths sworn by the ‘wellbeing’ of emperors, found from the sixth century onwards (Dosoo 2022a: 131–132). The wellbeing mentioned as a *horkōmotos* is usually that of another being than the one addressed.

Images see *Horkōmotoi*

Holy, Holy, Holy see *Sanctus*

Horus see *Pharaonic Deities*

Horus-Isis Narrative Charms see notes to *PCM I 7*

Iao Sabaoth Adonai Eloei Elemas

Names for the Jewish-Christian deity, drawn from Hebrew and Aramaic. **Iao** (Ιαω/ιαω) is a Greek rendering of the personal name of the deity, either the Tetragrammaton, ‘four-letter name’ יהוה (*YHWH*) or the shorter three-letter name יהו (*YHW*), the latter found in names such as “Elijah” (Hebrew *ʿĒlīyāhū*; Weippert 1980: 249–250; Vasileiadis 2013: 6–8; Vasileiadis 2015: 68; Vasileiadis 2017: 34–39).

In Egypt, the form *Yahō* seems to have been commonly in use among the Jewish population of Elephantine from the fifth-century BCE (Weippert 1980: 249; van der Toorn 2019: 102–107), and is likely the form represented by *Iao*, the most common writing in Greek. Writings in Demotic, Old Coptic, and Latin suggest that this would originally have been pronounced as *Yaho*, even though the /h/ could not be clearly written in Greek (Vasileiadis 2017: 49 n. 72; *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv.169 etc.; *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV.92). Other forms attested in Greek suggest that the full Tetragrammaton was pronounced as *Yahwe* (Weippert 1980: 249; Marjanen 2004), implying that ‘Iao’ may be the three-letter name.

Nonetheless, ‘Iao’ is the usual form in which the name appears in the Greek magical papyri. It is one of, if not the, most common divine names in this corpus, although it is often unclear if it is understood as the name of the specifically Jewish-Christian deity, or rather as another name for a different powerful god (such as the sun god), or simply a powerful word (Fauth 2014: 17–62). In Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism, speaking of the name was avoided, being replaced with **Adonai** (“my lord”) in reading the scriptures; this taboo surrounding the name likely increased its sense of power (Skehan 1980; Bohak 2000: 5; Vasileiadis 2015: 57–58).

Early Christian authors show awareness of the pronunciation of the personal name of the Jewish-Christian god as *Iao*, even if they did not use it extensively (Vasileiadis 2013: 9–13; Vasileiadis 2015: 57–59). It notably appears as a secret name of Jesus in the Coptic apocryphal *Book of Bartholomew* (CC 27; Westerhoff

1999: 76–77).

Sabaoth (Σαβαώθ) is the Greek rendering of the biblical epithet, “(of) hosts” (חַבְרָוֹת, *ṣəḥḇā’ōt*), usually found after the Tetragrammaton, with the sequence thus commonly rendered in English translation as “Lord of Hosts”. Unlike the Tetragrammaton, ‘Sabaoth’ was transliterated into Greek, and appears in the Septuagint (e.g., Joshua 15.17) and in the *Sanctus in liturgical texts (e.g., Johnson 2010: 24), so would certainly have been very familiar to most Christians.

Eloei comes from the Aramaic אֱלֹהֵי (*elōhāi* “my god”), rendered in Mark (15.34) as Ἐλωὶ *Elōi* in the citation of Psalm 21 (22) 2 “God, my god, listen to me, why have you forsaken me?”

Elemas seems to derive from a reinterpretation of λεμὰ σαβαχθανί (*lema sabakhthani*), the following part of the citation of Psalm 21.2 (22.2) as given in Matthew 27.46, from Aramaic לָמָּה שְׁבַקְתָּנִי (*lāmā šəḇaqtanī* “why have you forsaken me”). In the absence of knowledge of Aramaic, it seems likely that the whole sequence was understood by the Christian composers of the magical papyri as part of the name of God (cf. Kropp 1930: III: 128 (§218); Piwowarczyk 2021: 159–182, 241–261).

Examples of these names in sequence can be seen in, for example, *PCM* I 11 p. 2 ll. 9–10, p. 5 ll. 5–6, p. 16 ll. 14–15; *PCM* I 12 p. 10, ll. 17–18; *PCM* I 22 front ll. 11–12; *PCM* I 26 p. 13 ll. 25–26.

Invocation see pp. 22–24 (*genre of magical text*), 32–33 (*speech act*)

Isis see *Pharaonic Deities*

Katam see note to *PCM* I 25 l. 6

Kufic Ink

As recognised by Richter (2023), the Coptic αλμιτετ παλκωβι (*almitet n-alkhōbi*, from Arabic المداد الكوفي *al-midād al-kūfī*), refers to a type of ink known as ‘kufic’, for which recipes are attested in Arabic from the eleventh century CE. It is a type of black carbon ink, produced by the pyrolysis (prolonged heating in the absence of oxygen) of organic matter—including, depending on the recipe, cloth, pomegranate rind, gallnuts, and date seeds—mixed with gum arabic and formed into solid cakes which would be moistened by the scribe when writing (Richter 2023; Levey 1962: 7, 16, 31, 34). The word αλμιτετ (“ink”) also appears, but without the specification ‘kufic’, in P.Vindob. K 11088 (Hevesi 2015; KYP M374) B l. 5).

Linear Kufic see note to *PCM* I 21 ll. 1–3

LOVE IS ABSTINENCE (motif) see note to *PCM* I 17 back l. 44–front l. 36

LOVE IS FIRE (motif) see note to *PCM* I 3 front col. 2 ll. 33–38

Mastic

Greek/Coptic μαστίχη/μαστιχη (*mastikhē*), or σκῖνος/σκινος (*skhinos*), Arabic مصطكا (*maṣṭakā*) refers to the resin of the lentisk or mastic tree (*Pistacia lentiscus* L.), common around the Mediterranean, and, at least in the eleventh century, imported to Egypt from the Greek islands. It seems to be very rare in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri; in the Betz *PGM* and volume 1 of *GEMF*, we find it only in *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV (KYP M3) ll. 2582, 2648 (as σκῖνος), in descriptions of hypothetical offerings in spoken formula, but not in ritual instructions. In the Coptic corpus, however, it is very common (see the index of Greek words, s.v. μαστίχη). As with many of the items used as offerings, it is also attested in Greek, Coptic, Jewish, and Arabic medicine.

Sources and further reading: Till 1951: 75; Lev/Amar 2008: 203–205.

Menstrual Blood *see note to PCMI* 22 l. 59

Michael *see Angelic Beings*

Musk (Incense)

In Coptic the word for “musk” or “musk incense” is usually that derived from the Greek μωσχάτον (*moskhaton*); as noted by Fournet (2008), the translation of “muscat wine”, originally proposed by Crum, is incorrect. In other texts, we find (ⲁⲗ)ⲙⲓⲥⲕ from the Arabic المسك (*al-misk*). More rarely we find ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲉ (*maskhe*), which may be derived from the Greek μόσχος (*moskhos*), or else represent a miswriting of ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲕⲉ (*mastikhe*), that is, *mastic. Musk is a pungent substance produced in the scent glands of male musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), found in the Himalayas and Tibet, during the mating season. After extraction it is black in colour and may be sold as a liquid or a solid. The earliest mentions of musk in the Mediterranean region are found in the fourth century, but it did not become widely available until new trade routes to India were set up following the Arab conquests, and so is absent from magical texts from Egypt before the seventh century. Technically *moskhaton* probably refers to a compound perfume whose primary ingredient is musk, leading us here to translate it as “musk incense”. While commonly used as a component of perfumes, musk was also used in medicine, and in the Coptic magical papyri we find it, usually used in burnt offerings, in *PCMI* 7 back l. 9; *PCMI* 22 ll. 13–14; *PCMI* 25 p. 16 l. 14, p. 17 ll. 17–18; *PCMI* 26 p. 15 l. 33, p. 16 l. 32; *PCMI* 28 p. 12 l. 19; *PCMI* 37 back l. 29; *BKU* I 26 (KYP M525) l. 8; BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302) front l. 57; *P.Köln Kopt.* 3 back l. 5; P. Stras. K 19 (Fournet 2008; KYP M188) l. 2.

Sources and further reading: Till 1951: 76; Fournet 2008; Lev/Amar 2008: 215–217; Amar/Lev 2013: 23–24; King 2017; Dosoo 2018: 17–18.

Myrrh

Coptic ⲙⲁⲗ (*šal*) refers to the resin of the tree *Commiphora myrrha* (T. Nees);

στακτη (from Greek στακτή, both *staktē*) refers to the liquid form, considered to be of a higher quality. The names σμῆρνης (*smērnēs*, from Greek σμύρνα *smurna*) and μωρ (from Arabic مurr *murr*) are more common in Coptic medical texts (Till 1951: 64). Like frankincense, the plant is native to the Horn of Africa and southern Arabia, and was imported to Egypt and the Mediterranean from pre-Christian times. Dioscorides (*Materia medica* 1.60, 64) describes myrrh as “bitter” (πικρά), “fragrant” (εὐώδης, in particular *staktē*), “sharp” (δριμεῖα), and “warming” (θερμαντική). The name in most languages derives from the Semitic root *m-r-r*, meaning “bitter”, a quality noted in some Greek magical papyri (Klein 1987: 380; cf. LiDonnici 2001: 77). Myrrh in the Jewish Scriptures and New Testament is generally used for anointing (e.g., Exodus 30.23; Luke 7.46), and, along with *frankincense and gold, was one of the gifts of the *magoi* to the infant Jesus in Matthew 2.11. Like frankincense, myrrh is regularly used in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, with the soot produced by burning it often being used to make ink (LiDonnici 2001: 66–77). As with many other fragrant objects, its use is also attested in Greek, Coptic, Jewish, and Arabic medicine (Till 1951: 78; Lev/Amar 2008: 221–223); cf. Asensi Amorós 2003: 4–7. For instances in this volume, see the index under ὡλλ.

Names see *Horkōmotoi*

Nails see *Sator Square*

Narrative Charm see pp. 24–25

NN (*nomen nescio*) see pp. 33–34

Osiris see *Pharaonic Deities*

Petbe see *Pharaonic Deities*

Pharaonic Deities

Between the third and fifth centuries, most traditional Egyptian temple cults ceased to operate (see p. 2), but certain Pharaonic Egyptian deities are continuously mentioned in Coptic magical texts up to the eighth or ninth century (cf. Dosoo/Blumell 2018; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a). Most commonly, the texts contain narrative charms in which the main protagonists are **Isis** (ἰσε) and her son **Horus** (χορ). Isis and Horus are both deities with wide ranging associations—Isis is associated with motherhood, queenship, and magic (Griffiths 2001), among other phenomena, and Horus with kingship, the sky, and the sun (Meltzer 2001). In these Coptic texts, however, their most important characteristic is their nature as archetypal mother and son. In Pharaonic narrative charms, Horus is often injured or sick, and Isis must heal him. The Coptic-language charms continue this pattern, with Horus often being afflicted by the burning ‘sickness’ of love.

Rarer in the Coptic magical papyri are **Osiris** (οὐσιρι)—the king of the dead, husband of Isis and father of Horus—and **Nephthys** (νεβωθ)—the sister of Isis and Osiris (Kitchen 2001). In *PCM* I 9, Nephthys is referred to as *cβωθ* *Sbthō*

(“Sephthys”) a contraction of the name Isis-Nephthys (σενεβθω, Ἡσενεφθυς). This combined form of the name represents a case in which the two goddesses are assimilated to one another as a result of Nephthys’ primary role as Isis’ companion (Quaegebeur 1991).

In *PCM I* 4 (p. 4 ll. 12, p. 5 ll. 2, 5) we find three other deities mentioned: Apis (ἁπῆ *hape*), Petbe (πετβε), and Seth (σῆθ). **Apis** was the sacred bull who lived in the temple of Ptah at Memphis from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period (Vercoutter 1975; Dodson 2005). **Petbe**, “the avenger” was a deity (or sometimes, plural deities) worshipped in the Ptolemaic and Roman period as a god of justice, often depicted as a griffin (and more vaguely, as a hybrid monster) (Quaegebeur 1983; Brashear 1991: 24–34; Aufrère 2005). **Seth** is the brother and killer of Osiris, a god of storms and the desert understood as powerful and lawless, associated in the Greek tradition with the giant Typhon, and often called upon in the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus (te Velde 1967; Fabre 2001; Cruz–Uribe 2009). Note that within Judaism and Christianity, ‘Seth’ is also the name of an unrelated figure, the third son of Adam and Eve (Genesis 4.25).

Phylacteries see *Horkōmotoi*

NB: Outside the context of *horkōmotoi*, the word “phylactery” refers simply to an amulet.

Pig’s senna see note to *PCM I* 26 p. 16 l. 17

Platter

In this volume we use “platter” to translate the Coptic ⲁⲗⲥⲉⲙⲉ (*alceme*) and variants, from the Arabic الجām *al-ġām*, following Richter 2016a: 155, who suggests the translation “cup”. While this word can refer to a cup, it seems more often to refer to a tray or platter; see Lane 1863: 490b s.v. جوم; Nasrallah 2017: 581. The word is masculine in Arabic, but apparently treated as feminine in Coptic; this may be because of its plural form, which resembles that of a feminine noun (جامات *ġāmāt*; we thank Marijn van Putten for this suggestion).

Pot

The Coptic word ⲉⲁⲗⲁⲩⲧ (*calaht*, Demotic *glḥt*) refers to a pot or cauldron, usually made out of terracotta and with one or more handles (referred to as “ears” in Coptic), although examples made of bronze and glass, and without handles, are also recorded. The word is used, in both magical and literary contexts to translate the Greek χύτρα (*khutra*; Crum CD 813b–814a; cf. Łajtar/van der Vliet 2017: no. 9 l. 39), a word with the same meaning. The *calaht/khutra* was used for cooking both meat and vegetables, being placed directly on the fire so that its bottom became blackened (Richter 2020: 174–175; Bonati 2016: 197–229), but it could also be used for storage and transporting goods, such as bread and pickled fish

(O. Sarga 188.5–6). The Coptic word was borrowed from a Semitic language around the time of the 19th Dynasty (1295–1069 BCE), and is cognate with the Hebrew *qallahat* (קלחת). This Semitic word was itself a loanword from the older Egyptian word *krh.t* (“pot”), which survives in Coptic only as *καλαχη* (*kalahē*), with the sense of “womb” (Sauneron 1961; CED: 329; DELC: 339–340; Hoch 2014: 331–332; Richter 2020: 174–175; Vitmann 2021: 286). In magical texts, the *calaht* serves two purposes: first, its blackening on a fire may serve as a metaphor for someone becoming hated (*PCM* I 22 ll. 35–36: cf. Bernardin 1937: 126.33; Weingarten 2013: 345); secondly, and more commonly, it may serve as a container for liquid to be activated in rituals, often with the addition of other ingredients, and the practitioner speaking a formula over it. For attestations, see *σαλαχτ* in the glossary, and cf. BL Ms Or. 6795 l. 48 (Kropp 1931: I no. f; KYP 307); BL Ms Or. 6796 (1 verso) ll. 13, 14 (Kropp I 1931: no. H’; KYP M118); BL Ms Or. 6796 (2–3) l. 105 (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118); BL Ms Or. 6796 (4) + Ms Or. 6796 ll. 49, 61 (Kropp 1931: I no. J; KYP M308); *P.Macq.* I 1 l. 20 (KYP M167); P. Stras. K 204 + 205 + 282 §2.5 l. 3 (Hevesi 2018; KYP M92); BM EA 10414a l. 19 (Zellmann-Roher 2022a: no. 3).

Powers see *Angelic Beings & Horkōmotoi*

Presbyters see *Twenty-Four Presbyters*

Principalities see *Angelic Beings*

Raphael see *Angelic Beings*

Releasing see *Binding and Releasing*

Request see pp. 32–34, and note to *PCM* I 12 p. 9 l. 7

River of Fire see note to *PCM* I 12 p. 27 l. 20–p. 29 l. 3

Sabaoth see *Iao Sabaoth Adonai Eloei Elemas*

Sanataël i.e., *Satanael*; see note to *PCM* I 26 p. 4 l. 3

Satanael see note to *PCM* I 26 p. 4 l. 3

Sanctus

The term ‘Sanctus’ or ‘Trishagion’ refers to the modified version of a phrase taken from Isaiah 6:3 which describes how the seraphim, flying around the throne of God, hymn him by singing “Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory” (ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου). In many Christian traditions, including the Orthodox churches, this phrase is part of the anaphora, the Eucharistic prayer, spoken both by the celebrant and the congregation. In Egypt, this passage is usually in Greek, although the repetition by the priest may spoken in Coptic (Mihálykó 2019: 374; de Bruyn 2017: 193). The speaking of this praise in the liturgy was seen as bringing together the faithful and the angelic hosts in the act of worship (de Bruyn 2017: 191). Witnesses of the Sanctus as part of the anaphora from Egypt survive from as early as the fourth century, in the Euchologion of Serapion of Thmuis (Johnson

1995: 46–47) and a book of liturgical prayers now kept in Monserrat (P.Monts. Roca fol. 154b–155a in Roca-Puig 1996); de Bryun 2017: 6.1.2.). The phrase is commonly borrowed in the Coptic magical corpus (cf. Kropp 1930: III 190–242), in which we find it in various genres of texts—most commonly in invocations for healing and protection (*PCMI* 11 p. 18 l. 27 – p. 19 l. 3; *PCMI* 12 p. 4, ll. 17–21; *PCMI* 25 p. 6 ll. 7–9, p. 15 ll. 9–10; *PCMI* 26, p. 9 ll. 4–6; British Library MS Or 6796 2, 3 (verso)=KYP M118, ll. 38–40), but also in a curse (Bodleian MS. Copt. c (P) 4; Crum 1896 (KYP M412) front ll. 13–14), and in a spell for a good singing voice (*BKU* I 8 (KYP M81) front ll. 6–7). For the Sanctus in Greek amulets, see de Bruyn 2006: 18–19.

Sator Square

The Sator square is a sequence of names which, when written in a square, form an acrostic which can be read in any direction. Likely Latin in origin, their original form is *sator arepo tenet opera rotas*, while the standard Greek form is *σατωρ αρεπω τενετ οπερα ρωτας*. Most of the individual words have a meaning in Latin: *sator* “sower”, *tenet* “he holds”, *opera* “work”, *rotas* “wheels”. The letters can be rearranged to read *pater noster* (“our Father”) (cf. Matthew 6.9), leading some to suggest a Christian origin for the square, but the earliest clear attestation is found in an inscription from Pompeii predating the eruption of 79 CE, and thus the sequence may also predate the Christian Lord’s Prayer, which begins with the words “our Father”.

The Sator square is attested several times in the Coptic magical corpus, e.g. P.Vindob K 2435 (Stegemann 1934: no. 48; KYP M276); P.Vindob K 2436 (Stegemann 1934: no. 49; KYP M277); P.Berol. 8096 (Beltz 1984: no. III 17; KYP M210); P.Berol. 982 (Beltz 1985: no. IV 1031; KYP M226); *BKU* III 387 (KYP M336) ll. 24–28 (in which they are written as *kharaktēres*).

The sequence also occurs in Coptic magical texts as individual names (e.g. P.Vindob. K 8638 (Stegemann 1934: no. 28; KYP M362)), sometimes as part of longer lists of *voces magicae* and names (e.g., *PCM* I 25 p. 16 ll. 23–26), while at other times we find the word *Sator* standing alone (e.g., *P.Ryl.Copt.* 105 (KYP M325) l. 1).

In Coptic, the sequence is often written in such a way that it would no longer form a palindrome even if arranged in a square, with, for example, *opera* written as *ωτεπα* (a visual confusion of π and τ), or *rotas* written as *ρωΔοc* (interchange of unvoiced τ with voiced Δ and of unstressed vowels).

By the eighth century, we have evidence of a tradition common to Nubia and Egypt according to which the Sator names were understood as those of the five nails which pierced Jesus on the cross (e.g., *PCM* I 25 p. 10 ll. 19–20; *PCM* I 29 front ll. 15–16; Griffith 1927: no. 25 (KYP M91); EES 39 5B.125/A (Alcock 1982; KYP M280) ll. 3–19). These “five nails” may have been understood as his five wounds—the four nails (one in each hand and foot) and the spear with

which he was pierced in the side (John 19.34; *cf.* Worrell 1909: 169 n. 8; Schiller 1971–1972: II 91), although in *PCM* I 13 ll. 20–22 the five nails and the spear are mentioned separately. This association of the Sator-names with the nails of Christ is also well-attested in Ethiopian Christianity. As recognised by Basset (1894: 517) the surprising forms that they take in Ethiopian texts—such as *Sador Alador Danat Adera Rodas* (ሳዶር : አላዶር : ዳናት : አደራ : ሮዳስ : from Griaule 1930: 27)—is partially explicable by the changes already found in Coptic (*cf.* Worrell 1915: 88–89 n. 7), while a *Copto-Arabic intermediary would explain many of the rest.

Sources and further reading: Grosser 1926; Carcopino 1948; Hofmann 1977; Marcovich 1983; Sheldon 2003; Hofmann 2006.

Sephthys see *Pharaonic deities*

Seraphim see *Angelic Beings*

Seth see *Pharaonic Deities*

Storax

Storax (Coptic ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲗ *stēr̄x* from Greek στύραξ *sturax*) is the term used for the resin of the trees *Styrax officinalis* (L.) and *Liquidambar orientalis* (Mill.), the latter found in a range from southern Europe to the Levant, the latter in Rhodes and southwest Asia Minor. The first of these produces solid styrax, more expensive and rarer, while the second produces a liquid. It is often described by Greek authors as “heavy” (βαρύ) in scent. Storax is common in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, *e.g.* *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I.285; *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv.330 (?), 417, 913; *GEMF* 55/*PGM* III.23; *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV.1213, 1832, 2460, 2462, 2872; *GEMF* 60/*PGM* XIII.17, 353; *GEMF* 74/*PGM* VII.434. In the Coptic magical papyri, it is found in *PCM* I 22 l. 12; *PCM* I 26 p. 16 ll. 8, 25; *PCM* I 32 l. 26; *PCM* I 34 p. 4 l. 17 (?); BL Ms Or. 6796 (1–3) (Kropp 1931: I no. H; KYP M118) back l. 103; BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1) front l. 11.

Sources and further reading: Till 1951: 96; Ghica 2006; Amigues 2007; Bellini 2019: 17–18. Piperakis 2022: 266–267.

Sukk see note to *PCM* I 24 l. 18

Sun-Facing Water see note to *PCM* I 25 p. 17 ll. 25–27

Suriel see *Angelic Beings*

Tabernacle and Veils

In the Hebrew Bible, the term “tabernacle” (Greek/Coptic σκηνή/σκηνή *skēnē* translating Hebrew מִשְׁכָּן *miškān*) refers to a large tent which served as the sanctuary of the Jewish god, within which was kept the Ark of the Covenant (Exodus 25–30). Within the tabernacle (as in the later Temple of Solomon and Second Temple), the innermost part, the Holy of Holies, was separated from the rest of the temple, and by extension the outer world, by a curtain or veil (Greek/Coptic

καταπέτασμα/καταπετασμα *katapetasma* translating Hebrew פֹּרֶכֶת *pōreket*). In the Coptic magical papyri, the term is used in a sense derived from later Judaism and Christianity in which the tabernacle on earth has a counterpart in the heavenly tabernacle (*cf.*, Revelation 15.5), which designates the highest heaven in which God resides. Since the heavenly dwelling place of God was the equivalent of the Holy of Holies, it was likewise understood as being separated from the world by veils, often seven in number, likely inspired by the seven planetary spheres understood to separate earth from the highest heaven in Late Antique cosmological schemes. In this volume, the heavenly tabernacle and its veils are mentioned in *PCM* I 12 p. 1 ll. 1–2, p. 21 ll. 5–6; *PCM* I 15 p. 7 l. 21 (?); *PCM* I 17 front l. 4; *PCM* I 18 l. 4; *PCM* I 28 p. 3 ll. 12–14, p. 7 l. 16. For the rending of the veil of the temple, see the notes to *PCM* I 28 p. 8 ll. 18–20.

Sources and further reading: Charlesworth 1983: 249, 296 n. 45a; Westerhoff 1999; Lajtar/van der Vliet 2017: 166–167; Suci 2017a: 49–50; 249–251.

Tartaruchus see *Hell*

Tartarus see *Hell*

Temeluchus see *Hell*

Three Evil Things

The term “three evil things” (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲟϥ *p-šomnt et-hoou*) appears in several ritual prescriptions as part of burnt offerings in tenth and eleventh century texts (*PCM* I 27, front l. 23; *PCM* I 30 front l. 5; *PCM* I 31 front l. 38, back 17–18). It is probably to be associated with the “three of destruction” (ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲁⲕⲟ), found in a text of a similar date (*PCM* I 37 back l. 20). These are all curses of separation or destruction. The burnt offerings found in other curses and separation spells are not consistent enough to suggest what these three items were—common incenses (such as *mastic or myrrh) or other objects (such as menstrual blood or carbon). “Evil” in this context should probably be understood primarily in the sense of “causing harm” rather than as metaphysical evil (*cf.* Dosoo 2023a: 174 n. 254; Young 1970: 195 for the case of Ethiopia), although the two can easily blur together; in *PCM* I 30, for example, “doing evil” is associated with the demons and their ruler, Beelzebub.

Thrones see *Angelic Beings*

Tobi Water see note to *PCM* I 17 back l. 20.

Twenty-Four Presbyters

The Twenty-Four Presbyters (Greek/Coptic πρεσβύτερος/πρεσβύτερος *presbuteros*) first appear in the vision of heaven in Revelation 4–5. They are described as sitting on twenty-four thrones surrounding that of God, dressed in white and wearing golden crowns, holding harps and bowls of incense. The term

presbuteros in Greek originally meant “elder”, and is often translated as such in English, but in the context of the Christian church it came to refer to the clerical rank whose primary task was the performance of the divine liturgy, in English, the “priest” (a word ultimately derived from *presbuteros*). In the Christian Egyptian tradition, they are thus understood as the angelic priests whose role it is to transmit the prayers of the faithful to God, and carry out the liturgy in the church which exists in heaven. The number twenty-four led to a secondary association with the letters of the Greek alphabet, so that in some schemes the names of the Twenty-Four Presbyters each began with a different letter of the alphabet—Akhaēl, Banouēl, Ganaēl, and so on. In this volume, the Twenty-Four Presbyters are mentioned in *PCM* I 12 p. 41 ll. 16–17; *PCM* I 17 front l. 9; *PCM* I 25 p. 5 ll. 13–20; *PCM* I 26 p. 9 l. 16.

Sources and further reading: Müller 1959: 85–87; Łajtar/Vliet 2017: 181–190; Dosoo 2021d: 414; Mihálykó 2022; Richter forthcoming.

Veils see *Tabernacle*

Wellbeing see *Horkōmotoi*

Water from the Month of Tobi see note to *PCM* I 17 back l. 20

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Bibliography

Abbreviations

B	Bohairic (Coptic dialect)
b.	back
Bélangier Sarrazin#	R. Bélangier Sarrazin, “Catalogue des textes magiques coptes” (2017)
CAVT	J-C Haelewyck, <i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i> (1998)
CC	<i>Clavis coptica</i> , for which see Buzi <i>et al.</i> , <i>PAThs Archaeological Atlas of Coptic literature</i> , online at https://atlas.paths-erc.eu
CDO	Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA) (ed.), <i>Coptic dictionary Online</i> , online at https://coptic-dictionary.org
Crum CD	W.E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (1939)
CED	J. Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> (1976)
CLM	<i>Coptic Literary Manuscript</i> number, for which see Buzi <i>et al.</i> , <i>PAThs Archaeological Atlas of Coptic literature</i> , online at https://atlas.paths-erc.eu
CMPT	<i>Coptic Magical Papyri Team</i> , indicates the readings adopted in this volume
D	depth
DBMNT	G. Ochała, <i>Database of Medieval Nubian Texts</i> (2011–2022), online at http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl
DELC	W. Vycichl, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte</i> (1984)
<i>ed. pr.</i>	<i>editio princeps</i> (first edition)
EL	Edward O.D. Love (editor)
F	Faiyumic (Coptic dialect)
f.	feminine (grammatical gender) or front (in index)
fc.	forthcoming
fem.	feminine (grammatical gender)
Förster WBGW	H. Förster, <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten</i> (2002)
GEMF	C.A. Faraone & S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), <i>Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies</i> , 2022 & forthcoming.
H	height
JS	Julia Schwarzer (editor)
Kasser CDC	R. Kasser, <i>Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum</i> (1964)
KD	Korshi Dosoo (editor)

KYP M	<i>Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects</i> Manuscripts number, online at https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/
KYP T	<i>Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects</i> Texts number, online at https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/texts-search/
l.	<i>lege</i> , “read” (in italics), line (in Roman)
Lampe	G.W.H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> (1961)
LBG	E. Trapp (ed.), <i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität</i> (2020), online at http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg .
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon, online at http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsj/
m	<i>manus</i> , scribal hand (in text editions)
m.	masculine (grammatical gender) (in word indices)
MP	Markéta Preininger (editor)
MTKG	P. Schäfer & S. Shaked, <i>Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza</i> , 3 vols. (1994–1999).
pap.	papyrus
PDM	<i>Papyri demoticae magicae</i> , numbering from H.D. Betz (ed.), <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> (1986).
PG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca</i> (1857–1866).
PGM	<i>Papyri graecae magicae</i> , numbering from K. Preisendanz & A. Henrichs, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> (1973–1974), and H.D. Betz (ed.), <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> (1986).
pl.	plural
q	qualitative (verb form)
r.	reigned (used of political and religious leaders)
RBS	Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin (editor)
s	Sahidic (Coptic dialect)
s	style (in text editions)
s.	singular
SM	R.W. Daniel & F. Maltomini, <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> (1990–1992).
SVS	Selina Schuster (editor)
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae</i> , online at https://tll.degruyter.com
TM	<i>Trismegistos</i> text number, online at https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/
TM arch id.	<i>Trismegistos</i> archive identified, online at https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/
W	width
Westendorf HWB	W. Westendorf, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> (1965–1977)

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Word Indices for *PCMI* 1

Note that here *f.* and *b.* refer to ‘front’ and ‘back’ respectively.

I. Personal Names and *Voces Magicae*

- ααμεκτωλ 11 26.1
 ααροαβαηλ 12 41.11
 . ααε 27 f.25
 αβ... 12 21.24
 αβαθιθαλ 25 15.14
 αβαθοϋ 12 37.9
 αβακτανι 25 15.13
 αβακτανη 28 8.14
 αβια 25 15.13
 αβιηλ 25 15.21
 αβινιχοx 4 1.4
 αβιοϋθ 25 12.7, 13.4
 αβκω 26 12.23
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 15.26, 16.20, 18.7; **26** 2.1, 3.20, 22, 27, 5.14,
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 ΣΟΥΡΕС **37** b.8
 ΣΟΥΡΙΝΑ “Suriel” **3** b.I.4; **25** 7.2, 10, 10.24,
 11.3, 15.27, 16.21; **26** 14.13, 19, 17 [tableau]
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3 f.2.20–21, f.2.28
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 ΤΟΜΝΟΣ “Domnus” **11** 29.22
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 ΤΩΡΑΣ **25** 11.9, 16.26
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 ΥΛΙΤΟΜΝΟΣ **11** 29.18
 ΥΜΙΝΑ **25** 5.18
 Φ[. . . ?] **14** 3
 ΦΑ **23** 19
 ΦΑΝΟΥΝΑ **12** 7.15
 ΦΑΡΑΡΑ **25** 15.16
 ΦΑΡΙΝΑ **12** 27.3
 ΦΑΥCΙΝΑ **26** 3.26
 ΦΕΛΛΩΘ **18** 20
] . ΦЕР **23**
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 ФЕҮ **23**
 ФНГ **23** 17
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 ΦΩΡΙΝΑ **34** 4.3
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 ХАРІН **28** 3.19
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κεβοϥθανιϥ 12 23.2
 κερϥν 25 3.12
 κερινανη 11 17.6
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 κογδιων "Chudion" 11 29.16
 κογναχα 25 15.22
 κκωωχαν 12 45.29
 κωβαντα 25 5.16
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 κωρωει 26 12.22
 Ψάις 1 b.10
 ϣπρϥ . . 34 2.9
 ωβια 28 3.20
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 ωθωρ 22 44
 ωλαλβωριν 26 9.8
 ωнар 25 15.17
 ωμινη 37 f.18
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 ωρικως 26 8.6
 ωρνεθαγ 30 f.17
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 ωτερα 25 10.19, 11.8, 13.19, 16.25
 ωφα 25 14.11
 ωχαν 12 45.6
 ωρει 23 17
 ωρϥ 29 b.5
 φαειν 16 1.1
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 φογρωναξ 23 33
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 φαρнаρος 25 15.16
 φμινη 25 15.8
 φπακαλε 12 23.2
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 ρак 26 11.16
 ρанаγτως 26 12.24
 ραπϥ "Apis" 4 4.5, 12
 ρηλιας 23 30

ρητως 23 16
 ρραβαλττ 34 2.11
 ρραβογνϥ 11 18.22
 ρρακογνη "Raguel" 25 7.11
 ρραζ 16 1.5
 ρραφаниη "Raphael" 11 6.17, 9.19, 17.14–15;
 12 7.4; 25 7.2, 9, 11.3, 12.3, 10, 15.26–27,
 16.20; 26 14.16, 17 [tableau]; 29 f.2; 34 4.2
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 ραφаниη 25 10.24–25
 ρριζ 16 1.4
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 ρωρ "Horus" 6 1, 9; 9 7; 16 1.6
 ρωρмосϥη "Hormosiel" 17 f.16
 ρωρмосϥη 17 f.19
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II. Place-names and Ethnonyms

Ἀραβία "Arabia" 1 f.11
 Βαβυλῶν "Babylon" (king of) 25 18.6
 Ἑβραῖος "Hebrew" 11 6.3–4
 Ἐδεσσα "Edessa"
 αἰδεσσα 11 21.25
 ετεσσα 11 20.6–7, 24.6, 11, 20
 ετνι "Eden" 28 7.6
 Ἐφεσος "Ephesus" 11 28.23
 εσωω "Kushite, Ethiopian" 24 27; 25 9.3
 σωω (?) 31 f.38
 Ἱερουσαλήμ (*cf.* Ἱεροσόλυμα) "Jerusalem"
 ιηνη 11 26.6
 θιληνη 11 28.20
 Ἰσραήλ "Israel" 11 28.18
 ιηλ 11 23.2, 26.7
 ιογδαи "Jews" 31 f.19, b.9
 κηне "Egypt" 1 f.6; 11 6.5–6
 Νίκαια "Nicaea" (faith of) 25 6.5–6
 Πέρσης "Persian" 11 5.26–27
 πια ιωсафат "Valley of Josaphat" 28 9.7
 псѣллит "Pcellēt" 23 51
 Σεβαστή "Sebaste" 11 29.1–2
 Σίнай "Sinai" 11 7.16
 соγαν "Aswan" (dish) 31 b.16; 32 1.19
 Χαλδαῖος "Chaldeans" 1 f.7; 11 6.1–2
 χογϥ "Kush (?)" 9 4
 ρави "Habin" (temple of) 6 6
 الاسواني *al-aswānī*
 αλεσογϥη "Aswan" (dish) 30 f.2–3

III. Numbers

half

хес 3 f.2.38

сас 26 5.9, 6.24, 10.28

one

оҕа “one, someone” 10 16; 11 4.2, 5.14 (twice), 20, 21, 9.4 (twice); 12 29.15 (twice), 18; 25 4.10, 11, 12, 13, 5.7, 6.13 (twice), 15.19, 16.5; 26 2.22, 23, 10.28, 16.19–20; 28 6.12

оҕе 1 f.42, b.1

оҕеi (fem.) 6 4, 5, 13, 14

ҕеi 26 17.15

һһтоҕа “unity” 11 12.14, 15

first

фарп 37 b.15

фареп 26 11.19

фарп 25 6.25, 8.13, 13.10; 26 12.5–6

форт 10 2; 12 11.3, 5, 35.24

фортп 28 8.22

фортпе (fem.) 11 16.8–9; 12 31.15–16, 43.3

фарепи 26 13.15

фарпи 26 6.14, 12.19

сһнефортп 12 35.4–5

cf. s.v. nice in Words of Egyptian Origin

first

роҕеҕе 11 30.16

two

в 4 3.2; 26 9.7; 32 1.19; 37 b.18

снах 6 19; 11 26.25; 12 13.2, 19.18, 29.14, 16, 17, 18, 9.9; 37 b.29

снеу 26 7.29, 9.11

сһну 25 14.18, 22

сһну 27 f.20

сноос 6 20

сһте (fem.) 9 5; 11 4.15

сеҕте 9 9

сһһт 26 8.14, 17, 11.23, 12.23

three (also “Tuesday”)

ҕ 12 19.23; 17 b.30; 22 44; 25 13.1, 5, 7, 24, 14.1; 26 7.2, 10.21, 11.24, 12.16, 23, 13.24, 27, 31, 15.30, 16.9, 17.5, 24, 23; 28 8.10, 14, 12.20, 21, 13.6; 30 f.5; 31 b.17; 37 f.10? (twice), 11?

фомһт 11 19.7; 12 17.3–4

фһт 4 4.4, 10

фомет 20 f.11–12

фомт 12 35.7

фомте (fem.) 6 3, 11; 11 4.15, 12–17

four

ᠠ 24 27; 25 8.10; 26 8.30, 11.25; 26 16.1

втооҕ 12 11.19

вᠠ 25 8.6; 26 6.17

үᠠ 25 14.25

үтооҕ 3 f.1.29–30; 11 25.10, 26.19, 20, 29.23; 12 1.1, 17.5, 9, 10, 15, 19.3, 29.5, 39.6, 43.1

үто (fem.) 6 4, 12; 11 16.4; 12 43.2

five

ᠡ 26 11.26, 13.20, 16.3

тоҕ 25 10.20, 13.16

тһ 3 f.2.38

т 29 f.14

six

ᠬ 25 6.13; 26 2.22, 11.26, 14.8, 16.6

ᠬоҕ 30 b.3

сооҕ 12 29.15; 29 b.3

seven

з 3 b.1.1; 7 31; 12 27.17; 25 6.23, 9.1 (twice), 2 (twice), 3 (twice); 26 2.12, 3.22, 5.11, 7.24, 11.27, 14.10, 12, 16.9, 34 17.13, 25; 27 f.15; 28 3.12, 8.20, 12.20; 34 1.18 (twice), 3.6, 4.19

зв 26 2.12

сауҕ 7 4, 26, 30, 21; 11 17.19, 28.22; 12 21.6, 27.10, 39.12

зауҕ 3 b.1.9

саув 26 4.20, 6.9, 11.6; 28 2.13; 34 1.10

сауеҕ 17 f.34

сауҕе (fem.) 6 2, 7, 8, 13; 7 20

сауви 26 5.7, 8

зауҕе 3 b.1.11

сауве 26 6.10; 35 f.16

сәуаҕе 17 f.4

eight

һ 26 16.13

nine

ᠢ 25 13.10, 13, 16, 21, 24, 27, 14.1, 6, 11, 17, 21, 25, 15.3, 20; 26 12.14, 16.15

үтс 34 1.16

ten

т 26 16.18

eleven

тᠠ 26 16.21; 23 51; 28 9.7

twelve

тв 3 f.2.7, 10, 30, 34; 12 39.2; 26 16.24

һтв 3 f.2.31

һ[ет]тв 29 f.2–3

һһтв 4 2.4

MHTCCHNOOC 17 f.34
 MHTCYNOOC 17 f.7, 14, 15
 thirteen
 IΓ 26 16.26
 fourteen
 IΔ 26 6.24, 16.28
 MHHTAQTE 12 11.11, 18, 13.16, 19.4
 MHHTABT 26 5.9
 fifteen
 IΕ 26 16.31
 MHHTH 26 8.26
 sixteen
 IΣ 26 16.33
 seventeen
 IΖ 26 17.1
 eighteen
 IΘ 26 17.3
 nineteen
 IΘ 26 17.7
 twenty
 K 26 17.10
 twenty-one
 KΔ 26 17.13; 25 2.1; 28 13.5; 37 f.15
 twenty-four
 KΔ 25 5.13, 7.21; 26 9.16, 20
 XOYTAQTE 12 25.16, 41.15, 16; 29 f.3
 XOYTABTE 17 f.8
 XOYTAQTTH 12 43.14
 thirty
 HΔB 26 8.26
 HΔOB 26 10.28
 forty
 ZHE 7 33, 34; 11 29.1
 sixty
 CE 12 23.19, 21, 22, 24, 25.1, 2, 4, 39.7, 8,
 10
 seventy
 QHE 20 f.15
 QHE 6 20; 18 13
 seventy-five
 CBVTTH 9 12
 six hundred and eighty-four
 XPΔ 23 51
 hundred
 QE 3 f.2.38
 one hundred and fifty-five
 QE HXEC TH 3 f.2.38
 thousand
 QO 12 29.11 (twice)
 QΔ 26 14.32, 33

ten thousand
 TBA 12 23.20, 21, 23, 24, 25.1, 3, 4, 25.1–2,
 3, 4, 39.7, 9, 10; 26 5.9, 10.28, 14.33 (twice)
 TBE 26 6.24
 one hundred and forty-five thousand
 MHHTABT NTBA OYCAC 26 5.9
 IΔ · TBE : OYCAC 26 6.24
 three hundred and fifteen thousand
 HΔOB HN OYΔ : OYCAC NTBA 26 10.28
 six hundred thousand
 CE NTBA 12 23.20–21, 21–22, 22–23, 24,
 25.1–2, 2–3, 4, 39.7, 8–9, 10

IV. Calendrical Vocabulary

μήν “month”
 MEN ? 23 52
 παοπε “Paopi” (month)
 πααπ 23 51–52
 πογωω “Thursday” 28 12.22, 13.1?
 τωβε “Tobi” (month)
 τωB 17 b.20
 XPΔ “six-hundred and eighty-four” (year) 23
 51
 φονHT “Tuesday” (lit. “three”) 28 12.21
cf. s.v. κυριακή in Words of Greek Origin;
εβοτ, ρομπε, σογ-, ροογ, xπ- in Words of
Egyptian Origin

V. Abbreviations

ἀμήν “amen”
 ZΔH/ 25 2.5
 απε “head”
 Θ 25 16.10
 ἀπολογία “request”
 Δπολ 37 f.32
 Δπολο/ 12 9.7, 17.20
 απολο/ 12 21.16, 23.14, 25.5, 27.9, 29.8,
 13, 31.2, 6, 14, 20, 33.2, 7, 15, 21, 35.2, 6, 9,
 18, 37.3, 39.11, 41.9, 43.3, 7, 20; 36 f.1.2
 πo 24 36
 ἀρχή “first fruits”
 ΔP\X/s 37 b.2
 ΔPX 37 b.24
 ΔPXE 37 f.3
 γράφειν “to write”
 ΓP 31 f.36, b.15, 18; 31 1.19 (twice), 21,
 2.27; 37 f.3, b. 4, 11, 18, 24
 ΓP 37 b.2, 6, 7, 9, 13, 16

- ρρ/ **35** b.10
 ρρ **32** 1.19 (twice), 21
 ρρ ? **25** 16.11
 δείνα “NN”
 Δ **17** f.21, 32; **20** f.13; **29** 10;
 ΔΔ **18** 9, 14, 16; **31** f.7, b.11; **32** 1.6, 9, 11,
 17 (twice), 2.2, 8, 14, 15, 20 (twice), 33, 34;
35 b.6, 9; **36** f.I.12, f.II.8; **37** f.21, 23
 Δ **1** f.19, 20 (three times); **3** f.I.34; **16** II.1,
 13; **17** f.37
 ΔΔ **4** 2.7, 4.17, 5.1, 9, 6. 1, 2; **5** b.1; **6**
 f.21; **7** f.1; **8** f.8 (twice), b.7; **16** I.10, II.8;
17 f.21, 31, b.41; **18** f.9, 14, 16; **19** 3; **28** 4.20
 (twice), 6.4 (twice), 10 (twice), 16 (twice),
 19 (twice), 7.10 (twice), 9.12, 13, 16 (twice),
 10.9 (twice), 13.15 (twice), 17, 18; **31** f.6, 14,
 b.6, 12; **32** 14
 ΔΔ **17** b.41 (twice), f.37
 ΔΔ **27** f.9; **35** b.1, 5
 ΔΔ **21** 22 (twice); **22** 45, 50, 55; **23** 11
 (twice), 13, 19 (twice), 25, 26, 34 (twice), 35,
 38–40; **24** 6, 7, 10 (twice), 12 (twice), 13, 16
 (twice), 17, 32, 34; **25** 2.23, 4.18 (twice), 5.3,
 21, 22, 25, 6.27, 7.6, 26, 8.4, 24, 10.9, 18,
 11.8, 11, 12.14, 13.6, 12, 15 (twice), 20, 23,
 26, 31, 14.5, 16, 20, 24, 15.2, 8, 19, 23, 16.1,
 20, 24, 27, 17.35, 41 (twice), 44, 18.9; **26**
 4.15, 5.2, 18, 6.4, 23, 28, 10.5, 6, 17, 11.14,
 12.2, 13.7, 14.4, 32, 15.2, 22
 διάκονος
 ΔΙ **23** 49
 ἐπικαλεῖν “to invoke”
 ε **3** f.II.25, 29; **4** 2.3, 7–13
 επ **3** f.II.2, 14, b.I.1
 επ **3** f.II.9
 επι/ **4** 2.6
 εὐχή “prayer”
 ερχ **32** 1.19
 ἑῷδιον “image”
 ζωΔ **32** 1.19 (twice)
 ζ **27** f.15
 ζ **3** f.II.5, 9, 11
 ζιγ **26** 16.27, 31, 17.4, 7
 ζογτι **37** f.20
 ζγ **25** 10.9, **26** 16.21
 ζω **14** 9
 ζωτ **28** 9.11
 θυσία “offering”
 θ **12** 1.6
 θυ **17** b.30; **24** 18; **29** f.21
 θυ **21** 10; **22** 19, 62; **23** 45; **25** 16.13; **26**
 15.29, 31, 16.8, 12, 14, 23, 25, 27, 36, 17.9,
 12, 16; **27** f.23; **28** 12.19; **31** b.17; **32** 1.26; **36**
 f.I.2; **37** f.4, b.3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 17, 20, 22
 ἱερουσαλήμ “Jerusalem”
 ιηλη **11** 28.20
 ιηλη **11** 26.6
 ιησογς “Jesus”
 ις **11** 2.3, 18, 4.24, 8.6, 11.27, 19.28, 20.9,
 24.1, 4, 25.23, 29.27, 30.4; **15** f.1; **25** 6.4
 (twice), 5, 8.16, 29, 9.9, 10.20, 11.5 (three
 times), 12.3, 10, 13.5, 18, 22, 25, 29, 14.4, 8,
 15.11, 14, 19, 23, 16.1, 4, 16.22 (three times),
 17.34; **26** 4.22, 12.8, 26, 27, 29, 31, 13.1, 3
 (twice), 5, (twice), 17, 29, 34, 15.10; **28** 3.2,
 7.11, 8.9, 16, 21, 9.3; **29** f.1; **31** f.33 (?), b.9
 ἱσραήλ “Israel”
 ιηλ **11** 7.19, 28.18
 ιωδαννης “Iōhannēs”
 ιω **23** 50
 κοινά “usual”
 κιο/ (?) **3** b.II.8, 10
 κοι/ **4** 2.7, 3.2, 6.2
 λίβανος “frankinsense”
 λι/ **12** 1.6
 λιβα **37** f.5, 8, b.15
 μαστίχη “mastic”
 μηλς **37** b.10, 17
 μαζ **32** 1.26; **36** f. 1.2; **37** b.3, 12, 17
 μαζτϣ **26** 15.31
 μαζ/? **12** 1.6
 νογτε “God”
 φτ **34** 2.11
 παντοκράτωρ “almighty”
 παντορ **22** 32; **25** 13.2
 παντορ **22** 31; **25** 2.7, 8.11, 11.5, 14.18, 22;
 16.22, 18.1; **26** 11.4
 πνεῦμα “spirit”
 πν **25** 6.1, 7.24; **26** 10.1, 23
 πνα **26** 14.24, 25
 πνα **7** 32; **11** 12.13, 28, 19.25, 26, 23.25,
 25.15; **12** 5.16, 9.10, 17, 13.22, 19.12, 16,
 37.17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 39.3, 43.6; **15** b.4; **25**
 3.18, 5.5, 24, 8.27, 10.12, 13, 12.1, 13.8, 25;
26 2.8, 3.1, 7, 12, 4.19, 6.27, 7.6, 11, 9.25,
 10.19, 14.3, 7, 26, 15.25; **28** 1.13, 3.2, 21, 5.3,
 18, 11.19, 12.13; **29** f.13
 (π)οοζ “moon”
 ζ **24** 24; **25** 9.5; **31** b.20

σκουτέλλιον “dish”
 σκωτελ 32 1.19
 στακτή “myrrh”
 στακ/ 12 1.6
 σταυρός “cross”
 σϣοc 12 37.2
 σϣοc 22 62; 25 13.23, 30, 14.5; 26 8.8,
 13.9, 17, 23; 28 8.7, 10, 17
 σϣοϣ 23 26
 σϣοc 11 28.9, 13, 17
 σϣ 33 3 (?)
 ϣ 26 13.25
 σ(αυρ)οὺν “to crucify”
 σϣοϣ 11 6.15
 στύραξ “storax”
 στη/ 12 1.6
 στηρ 26 16.8
 στηc 34 4.17 (?)
 σύν “with”
 ϣην 36 b.1
 σωλωμων “Solomon”
 σωλω 30 f.8
 σωτήρ “saviour”
 σωρ 25 10.20
 †ταρκο (± εροκ/ερο ± ηποου) “I adjure (you
 today)”
 †ρα 25 9.25, 26 (twice), 9.25, 26
 † 26 6.17, 19, 7.2, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 26,
 8.1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13–14, 16, 18, 20,
 25, 30, 9.7, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 10.21, 11.22, 28,
 12.5, 8, 14, 17, 19, 13.9, 14, 18–19, 24, 26, 30,
 14.8, 10, 14, 16, 32
 †ωρκ “I adjure”
 † 22 25; 25 7.20, 22, 8.10; 26 12.24
 †ρ 27 f.4
 υἱός “son, child”
 υ 34 4.21
 υ 24 12, 16; 25 13.3, 9, 15, 17.41; 28 4.20,
 6.3, 16, 19, 7.10, 9.13, 16, 10.9, 13.15; 30 b.4;
 31 f.7; 35 b.1
 υc 31 f.7, 13, b.12; 32 2.24
 φυλακτήριον “phylactery”
 φυ 22 48; 26 5.29; 27 f.15
 φυριον 21 16
 φογριων 25 18.3
 χριστός “Christ”
 χc 11 2.3, 18, 4.25, 8.6, 11.27, 17.10, 19.28,
 20.2, 9, 24.1, 4, 25.23, 28.10, 13, 17, 29.27,
 30.4; 12 31.6; 23 24; 25 6.4, 5, 8.16, 29, 10.20,
 12.3, 10, 13.5, 12, 18, 15.11, 14, 19, 23, 16.1,

4, 22, 17.12, 34; 26 4.22, 11.3, 12.8, 13.6, 17,
 29, 34, 15.10; 28 3.2, 8.9, 9.3; 29 f.15, 7; 31
 f.32 (?)
 χοειc “Lord”
 χc 10 12
 σε 25 5.9, 9.28, 17.34; 26 4.11, 28, 29,
 9.14, 32, 11.16, 13.34, 15.9, 19; 28 3.15, 7.6,
 10.1, 2; 29 f.7

VI. Words of Arabic Origin

الاسواني *al-aswānī* “of Aswan”
 αλεσοϣενι 30 f.2–3
 الأنبا *al-anbā* “(the) *anba*” (ecclesiastical title)
 αλαμπε 30 b.2
 الجام *al-ġām* “(the) platter”
 αλσεεν 25 16.10
 αλσεενια 32 1.21 and 23
 αλσεене 37 b.3
 αλσεене 37 b.29
 الجني *al-ġinnīyy* “(the) djinn”
 αλσenni 21 f.14
 الزعفران *az-za farān* “(the) saffron”
 αc (?) 29 b.7; 37 b.2, 11
 асавраи 25 16.8
 асвраи 26 17.20–21
 ассаавраи 32 1.27
 السكّ *as-sukk* “(the) *sukk*”
 αcογx 24 f.18 cf. note ad loc.
 الساحر *as-sukr* “(the) intoxication, enchantment”
 αcοcογxαρε (?) 37 b.1
 الصندل *aṣ-ṣandal* “(the) sandalwood”
 [α]cααντελ 37 b.3
 العروس *al-‘arūs* “(the) bridegroom”
 αλαρωαc 29 f.21–22
 αλαλωce 33 f.10
 العود *al-‘ūd* “(the) agarwood”
 αλογθ 22 20; 24 f.18; 25 17.16 26 15.31,
 17.23
 αλαωθ 32 1.26
 αλωθ 37 b.3
 αλω\θ/ 37 b.10
 قطن *quṭun* “cotton”
 κογτων 24 f.20
 الكوفي *al-kūfī* “kufic”
 αλxωβια 23 6
 αλxωβι 23 46
 αλxογβι 36 f.I.5–6
 الکتام *al-katam* “(the) *katam*”
 αληxτaи ? 25 9.6

المورد *al-māward* “(the) rose water”

αλμαδαρτ **25** 16.9

αλμαρτε **25** 16.15

αλμαγарт **26** 15.28

αλμαογарт **26** 16.10–11

المجرب *al-muğarrīb* “tested”

αλμογсар **37** b.28

αλμογсарρηп **37** f.35

المداد *al-midād* “(the) ink”

αλμιτε **23** 5

αλμιтет **23** 45–46

αλμιтет **36** f.I.4–5

المر *al-marr* “(the) shovel”

αλμερε **30** f.11

المسك *al-misk* “(the) musk”

αλμισix **37** b.28

النورج *an-nawrağ* “(the) thresher”

αναγρηα **30** f.10

ورق *waraq* “paper”

γaλix **21** f.6–7

γaρнк **23** 11

γaρpак **32** 1.20; **33** f.7

γaρpнк **25** 16.9

الوسواس *al-waswās* “(the) whisperer”

αλογaσιoγaс **25** 10.14–15

αγγελoυ **25** 3.4

αγγελoс **22** 44; **26** 2.17; **27** 3.3; **26** 4.26; **26** 5.10; **26** 10.28–29; **26** 14.21

αγγιloc **9** 10

αγγελoс **27** f.5; **28** 2.17

ἅγιoс “holy” **25** 15.10

αγια **28** 3.2

ακιoн **2** 5

θαγια **25** 8.1, 20

ξαγιαс **12** 9.20–21, 29.23

ἀγιαζειν “to sanctify”

ξαγιαζε **25** 8.21–22

ξαγιαсce **26** 5.16, 6.3, 10.2–3

ἀδελφός “brother” **1** b.10 (twice)

ἀετός “eagle” **12** 29.7, 33.19

ἀήρ “air” **11** 26.13; **12** 15.3, 25.3–4, 20; **26** 10.14, 14.34

ἀθετειν “to reject”

αθετι **11** 22.18

αἰτειν “to ask”

εαι **3** f.I.15

ε† **30** f.19; **34** 2.14

αἵτημα “demand” **11** 18.10–11

αητημα **6** 24

ετεμα **18** 18

ετημα **3** b.I.8

αἰών “aion”

εon **28** 2.23

εon **12** 2.8, 11; **25** 2.13; **28** 3.15, 4.20

ἀκάθαρτον “unclean” **11** 25.15–16; **12** 9.11, 15.1, 19, 21.13, 37.18, 39.3, 41.6

αγαθартон **11** 19.26

ἀκτίν “ray” **26** 5.11

ἀλλά “but” **3** f.I.16; **8** b.4; **11** 6.27; **12** 21.14–15, 39.2; **23** 39; **28** 7.8, 12.8; **29** f.10; **30** f.24; **34** 2.16

ἀλυκή “salted fish”

αληγτε (?) **24** 23

ἄλφα **11** 19.14–15

ἄμα “also”

αμα **11** 20.25

ἀμελειν “to be neglectful”

αμελει **1** f.41, b.2

αμεли **28** 5.1–2, 9.8–9

ἀμήν “amen”

αμηην **4** 2.26; **11** 14.12, 20.5, 23.26, 24.2, 25.21, 23, 26.7, 28.21; **12** 15.6, 19.23, 27.17, 37.15, 39.2, 15 (?), 22, 43.20; **25** 6.3, 6.4, 5 (three times), 8.28 (three times), 15.11, 16.15; **26** 15.26 (three times)

VII. Words of Greek Origin

ἀγαθός “good” **13** 12

αγαθoс **16** 2.2

ακαθoс **12** 13.13, 23.1; **27** 19; **25** 14.3

ακαθoс **25** 13.26; **26** 14.6

ακακαθoс **12** 31.19

ἀγαθόν (n.) **11** 10.5

ακαθoн **25** 17.40

ἀγαπᾶν “to love”

ακαπα **28** 10.17

ἀγάπη “love”

αγαпи **11** 23.13, 24.25

ἀγγελική “angelic”

ακελικη **12** 37.21

αγγελικη **26** 5.24–25

ἄγγελoс “angel” **3** f.I.3, 36, f.II.2–3, 9, 15;

4 2.15; **6** 19; **11** 6.17–18, 12.2, 17.21–22, 18.25–26, 27.7–8; **12** 1.1, 2.12–14, 19, 11.8, 15.11, 17.9, 15, 17–18, 19.15, 21–22, 21.9, 23.12, 35.16, 39.19, 41.3, 15–16, 43.4, 12, 18–19; **18** 5; **22** 33; **25** 7.23; **26** 3.16, 4.18–19, 6.9, 14.21; **31** f.17

ρα\η/ 25 2.5
 ἀμίαντον “asbestos” 32 8
 αμητεν 32 6
 ἀμμωνιακός “amoniac”
 αμογνιακογ 12 1.4–5
 ἀμνός “lamb”
 αμηογ (?) 31 f.38
 ἀμπύλλη “flask”
 αμηπογλλε 37 b.14,25
 αήπογλλι 26 15.28
 ἀναγαγεῖν “to report”
 αηαηαγε 11 20.10
 ἀναγκάζειν “to compel”
 αηαγκαζε 32 2.8
 ἀνάθεμα “anathema”
 αηαθεα 26 10.17; 28 11.15
 ἀνάστασις “resurrection”
 αηαστασις 26 13.31
 ἀνατολή “east”
 αηατολη 11 15.1
 ἀναφορά “offering”
 αηαφωρα 28 9.2
 ἀναχωρεῖν “to withdraw”
 αηαχωρει 11 19.28
 αηαχωρη 11 5.8, 8.25
 αηαχωρι 12 9.11–12
 αηαχω 26 14.31
 ἡαχωρι 25 3.1, 5.2–3
 ἀνθηλιακόν “sun-facing” (?)
 αθελικον (?) 25 17.26–27
 αθηλικων (?) 25 9.5
 ατθελικον (?) 25 16.11
 ἀντίγραφον “copy” 11 24.3
 ἀντικείμενος “adversary”
 αλτικεονος 27 f.18
 αητικιμενος 11 25.14
 αητικιμενος 25 2.4
 ἀξιοῦν “to ask”
 αηιογ 1 f.36; 11 21.22
 ἀξιωμα “rank”
 αηιωηα 32 2.10
 ἀόρατος “invisible”
 αηορατον 11 23.22–23
 ἀπαντᾶν “to meet”
 αηαπατα 24 29
 αηαηατα 11 19.12; 18.8
 ἅπαξ “once”
 ραπαξ 11 1.18, 6.6
 ἀπαρχή? “first fruits”
 αηα..... 12 7.20

cf. sv. ἀρχή
 ἀπατᾶν “deceive”
 πατα 26 11.2
 ἀπλῶς “generally”
 ραπλος 25 4.15
 ραπλωс 11 1.18, 6.6–7
 ἀποθήκη “storehouse”
 αηωθηке 30 f.13; 32 2.13
 ἀπόκρισις “payment”
 αηωκρεσις 28 2.17, 7.11–12, 12.16
 αηωкρε 27 f.1
 ἀπολογία “request” 28 12.1–2; 32 1.35
 αηογλeгia 17 f.32
 αηπωλλαγια 21.21–22
 αηωλακia 34 2.13
 αἰωλογία 26 9.31, 10.24; 28 3.11, 17
 αηωλaгia 28 7.3, 11.5
cf. sv. ἀπολογία in Abbreviations
 ἀπόστολος “apostle”
 αηωστοлос 26 13.33
 αηωcтaлoс 29 f.3
 ἀποφαίνειν “to appear”
 αηωφaηи 28 4.21
 ἀποφάνεια “appearance”
 αηωφaηia 28 4.22, 12.3–4
 ἄπρακτος “idleness” 11 1.16
 ἄρμα “chariot”
 ραpηa 4 2.4; 18.2; 25 6.11; 26 2.4
 ἀρπάζειν “to snatch”
 ραpαζε 32 1.8, 2.5
 ραpηa[c]ce 4 6.1
 ἀρχάγγελος “archangel” 11 9.26–27, 17.13,
 18.26–27; 17 f.4; 26 15.15; 32 1.4; 12 27.10
 αpχαγγeлoс 26 5.14
 αpχαηγγeлoс 28 2.18
 αpχηaγγeлoс 3 f.II.30, b.I.1–2; 12 2.14,
 11.9, 43.14; 17 f.4; 25 3.4–5
 αpχηaγγeлoс 25 6.23, 18.7; 26 2.19, 10.29
 αpχηaγγeлoс 28 2.18
 ἄρχειν “to rule”
 αpχει 11 2.15
 αpчи 11 23.12
 ἀρχή “beginning, source, rule, ruler, Principality”
 1 f.1; 3 f.I.29; 11 12.20, 29.23, 30.3; 17 f.5;
 22 53; 28 3.15; 32 1.22; 37 f.12
 “first fruits” 21 8; 24 18; 25 16.8, 11; 26
 17.7, 13, 18; 37 b.12
cf. sv. ἀπαρχή; ἀρχή in Abbreviations
 ἀρχίπλασμα “first-formed one”
 αpχηплaсηa 12 15.17, 23.15–16, 17–18,

37.22–23, 41.20; **26** 4.4
 ἄρχων “ruler”
 ἀρχων **17** f.14–16; **26** 4.17; **30** f.22
 ἀσεβής “impious” **31** f.24–25
 ἄσφαλτος “bitumen”
 ἀσπαρτον **17** b.30
 ἀσώματος “incorporeal”
 ἀσωνάτως **25** 5.14
 ἄσωτος “desperate” (?)
 ἀσωτος **37** f.26
 ἄτιμος “not honoured”
 ἀτιμος **4** 2.15–16
 αὐθεντία “authority”
 ἀγθεντία **11** 21.14
 αὐλή “courtyard”
 ἀγλη **11** 3.9, 4.11–12
 βάπτισμα “baptism” **11** 12.25
 βασανίζειν “to torture”
 βασανίζει **25** 5.1
 βασιλεύς “king”
 βασιλεος **28** 3.19
 βάσις “base” **17** b.16; **26** 7.13
 *βισάκκιον “bag” (Latin *bisaccium*)
 βεσεκῖν **20** f.3
 βοήθεια “help”
 βοηθία **11** 10.4, 30.22–23; **12** 2.18, 7.9, 13.20
 βοιθι **25** 5.8, 6.2
 βοηθεῖν “to help”
 βοηθι **12** 41.17
 βοηθία **12** 15.15–16, 19.6
 βοιθι **25** 10.26, 11.10, 15.11, 19, 16.1, 26
 βοήθημα “remedy”
 βοηθημα **11** 14.2–3
 βοηθός “helper” **12** 25.9
 βοιθος **25** 3.9
 βοτάνια “herbs”
 βητανία **11** 21.1
 γάμος “marriage”
 καμος **19**.2, 4
 γάρ “for” **10**.2; **11** 10.9, 24, 22.1, 23.5, 27.3; **12** 2.17, 17.20; **25** 5.9
 γενεά “generation” **11** 20.19, 25.4
 γένος “race”
 γεννος **25** 7.12–13, 17.41; **26** 13.11
 κενος **11** 19.9; **22** 50
 γῆ “earth”
 κη **12** 9.20, 29.22; **25** 6.8, 15.10
 κρ **12** 9.20
 γραμματεὺς “scribe” **15** f.7

κρῆματεὺς **25** 16.18
 γράφειν “to write”
cf. s.v. γράφειν in Abbreviations
 δαιμονιακός “demoniac”
 τεμονιακος **18**.19
 δαιμόνιον “demon” **11** 11.13–14, 20.8
 δεμονιον **25** 4.24
 δεμωνιων **25** 3.1, 4.9–10, 5.1
 δημονιον **17** b.42
 τεμωνιων **26** 10.8, 11, 13.13
 τημονιον **36** f.I.14–15
 τινωνιων **26** 12.28
 τινωνιον **26** 15.27
 δαίμων “demon” (**30** f.23, b.3)
 τεμον **12** 41.6–7
 δάφνη “bay”
 ταφην **25** 9.1
 δέ “but, and” **1** f.14, 7.8, 28; **11** 11.3, 20.23, 26, 23.7, 26.25; **15** f.1; **25** 2.6; **26** 6.12
 τε **26** 4.15
 δεῖνα “NN”
cf. δεῖνα in Abbreviations
 δεκανός “decan”
 τεκανος **37** f.15
 δεσμός “binding”
 λισμος **25** 9.31
 δεσπότης “lord” **1** b.9
 δεσποτα **10**.1
 δημοσίᾳ “publicly”
 δημοσια **11** 21.12
 διαβολή “slander”
 διαβολη **11** 13.9
 διαβολικόν “devilish”
 τιαβολικων **28** 5.23
 διάβολος “Devil” **8** b.6; **11** 13.19, 18.7, 17, 19.22–23; **25** 10.17; **26** 3.14
 δεαβωλος **25** 10.14; **26** 7.10
 διαβολως **26** 13.12–13;
 διαβωλωс **26** 6.30; **31** f.8, 14–15
 τιαβολος **3** f.II.26
 διάκονος “deacon”
cf. διάκονος in Abbreviations
 δίκαιος “just”
 δικηως **31** f.9
 δικαιοσύνη “justice” **11** 9.12, 21; **12** 15.11–12, 17.18, 19.15, 22, 21.10, 39.19–20, 43.4, 19; **17** f.3
 δικεωσhne **26** 14.23
 τικαιосhnh **12** 23.12–13, 41.3–4
 διστάζειν “to hesitate, doubt”

τισταζε 11 20.25
 †ϥταϥϥε 37 f.33
 διώκειν “to persecute”
 Δι[οικει] 12 2.1–2
 Διωκει 11 19.28
 τιωκι 26 14.34
 †ογκε (?) 13.16
 †ωκε 11 22.21
 δόκιμον “tested”
 τοκιμων 36 f.1.9
 δόξης “glory” 12 9.21
 τοξιωϥ 25 6.9
 Δωζος 25 15.11
 δράκων “serpent”
 Δρακω 8 f.14
 τρακων 28 1.18
 δρόμος “course”
 Δρονος 11 26.12
 δύναμις “power” 26 12.16; 32 2.22
 Δεναμις 26 10.13
 Δηναμις 11 25.13
 Τεναμις 24 27; 25 7.19, 8.17, 10.13, 2.24;
 26 3.6, 8.21, 26–27, 16.29, 17.11, 13–14, 30,
 31; 28 2.20
 Τεγναμις 25 7.3–4
 Τηναμις 12 15.18, 17.1, 19.20–21, 23.16,
 41.21; 17 f.12–13
 Τγναμις 17 f.8
 δυνατός “might”
 Δενατωϥ 24 3–4
 δωρεά “gift” 11 23.6–7
 δῶρον “gift”
 τωρων 28 10.21
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 ειμε† 28 10.9
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 ειγτε 3 f.1.34
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 ἐνεργεῖν “to work”
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 15.27; 22 53; 25 3.2–3; 26 14.30–31, 16.28;

28 2.21, 3.16
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 ἐπάνω “over” 1 f.2
 ἐπειδή “for”
 επιδη 11 24.12
 ἐπειδήπερ “inasmuch”
 επιδηπερ 11 30.10
 ἐπενδύτης “garment”
 επινητης 26 7.21
 ἐπί “upon” 1 f.1
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 9–10, 20, 9.14, 20
 ἐπικαλεῖν “to invoke”
 επικαλε 3 f.I.1; 3 f.II.12
 επικαλι 3 f.I.35; 4 2.1
cf. s.v. ἐπικαλεῖν in Abbreviations
 ἐπικαλοῦμαι “to invoke” 1 f.1
 ἐπισκοπή “episcopacy” 26 9.17
 ἐπιστολή “letter” 11 24.1, 3–4, 25.9, 22
 ἐπουράνιον “heavenly”
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 ἔτι “furthermore”
 ατι 11 7.27, 18.14
 εὐαγγέλιον “gospel” 11 29.24–25, 30.1, 3, 8,
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 εγαγγελιου 11 29.25
 εὐφραίνειν “to rejoice”
 εγφρανε 11 17.26
 εὐχή “prayer” 4 2.2; 11 1.1; 28 12.20
 τογχι 26 15.27, 16.22, 34, 17.1
 εγχοc 37 b.6
cf. s.v. εὐχή in Abbreviations
 ζῶδιον “image”
 σωτογν 21.17; 22 47; 25 10.8, 16.5; 26
 5.29, 15.32, 16.19
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cf. s.v. ζῶδιον in Abbreviations
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 ἦ (article)
 ει 25 6.8, 15.10
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 ἦ “or” 11 2.20, 3.26, 27, 4.5–22, 5.11, 23–27,

6.1–5, 8.10–12, 9.1, 6; 12 29.21; 18.7
 ε 12 9.20
 ει 25 4.15
 ἤδη “now”
 ετι 4 3.2; 6.25
 ετη 9.13
 ετ† 16 2.6
 ἡδύνειν “to delight”
 ητογνη 17 f.18
 ἥπαρ “liver”
 ηπαρον 3 f.II.37
 θάλασσα “sea” 12 7.16; 25 6.20
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 θεός “God” 10.1; 28 4.9
 θεοτόκος “Mother of God”
 θεοτακος 25 8.19
 θεωρεῖν “to see”
 θεωρι . 34 1.19
 θεωριστής “screyer (?)”
 [ε]θοριστας 34 1.17–18
 θηρίον “beast”
 θεριων 26 15.12
 θρόνος “throne, seat” 4 5.13; 8 f.2; 11 22.15; 12
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 26 9.1, 26, 15.18
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 θυσία “sacrifice”
 θεσιδ/ 17 b.36
 θνσια 18.7; 28 9.1
 θνσιας 26 6.14
cf. s.v. θυσία in Abbreviations
 θυσιαστήριον “altar”
 θνσιαστηριον 18.5
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 ἰάσμη “jasmine”
 (ι)асне 23 8
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 κάδος “jar”
 κατος 17 f.36
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 καθαρίζειν “to purify”
 καθαριze 12 23.19, 20, 22, 23, 25.1–3,
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κεθαλιςι 28 3.9
 καθαρὸν “pure” 12 33.12
 καθέδρα “seat” 12 27.7
 κάθημαι “to sit” 1 f.1
 καί “and” 1 f.3; 11 22.1, 23.5, 29.21
 κε 25 6.8; 25 15.10
 κακία “wickedness” 11 22.19–20
 κακοῦργος “evil-doing”
 κακοῦργως 26 10.10
 καλῶς “completely, well” 17 b.29; 25 16.15; 26 6.25
 καλος 23 49; 24 18; 26 10.26, 17.12
 κἄν “even if, whether” 11 8.9, 22; 20.10; 32 2.6 (twice), 2.7 (twice)
 καει (?) 6.14
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 καπνός “smoke” 11 28.11, 14–15
 κάπρος “boar”
 καπρς 7 36
 κάρβων “charcoal”
 καρβωνε 12 1.8
 χαβανι 26 16.36
 κάρδαμον “garden cress”
 καρταμα 33 12
 καρπός “fruit” 11 3.15–17, 4.13, 17; 12 7.15
 καρύα “nut, nut tree”
 καιρε 17 b.21
 καρϣ ? 29 b.7
 κασσίτερος “tin”
 κασιτηρη 17 b.30
 κατά “according to” 10.2; 11 24.14, 28.3, 30.1, 5, 14; 12 17.3, 19.8–9; 26 3.25; 26 10.30; 27 f.19; 28 11.5
 κατακλιτικόν “striking-down spells”
 καντακλητικον 26 10.12–13
 καταλαλία “slander” 11 13.1
 καταλύειν “to destroy”
 καταλη 11 18.6
 καταξιούν “to deem worthy”
 καταξιοϣ 11 23.9
 καταπέτασμα “veil” 12 1.2, 21.6
 καταπετισμα 25 7.21
 καταπεψμα 28 3.13–14; 8.18–19
 καταχθόνιον “subterranean”
 καταιπτομιον 3.f.I.32
 κατέχειν “to restrain”
 κατηχε 28 12.17
 κατηχη 28 5.1, 7.12–13
 κατηχι 28 9.8
 κατιχε 4 5.1

κατχε 32 1.18
 κάτοχος “binding curse”
 κατοχοςχος ? 37 f.30
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 καύσων “burning” 28 6.14
 κελεύειν “command”
 κελεγε 11 28.10, 14
 κενταύριον “centaury”
 κενταλρ/ 5 b.3
 κεραυνός “thunderbolt”
 σεραγνος 1 f.19
 κεφαλίς “capital” 12 33.1
 κήπος “garden” 11 4.14
 κιννάμωμον “cinnamon” 12 1.7
 κλάδος “branch, shoot”
 κ[λ]ατος 12 1.3; 26 8.23
 κοινά “usual, common”
 κοιανα (?) 36 f.I.10
cf. sv. κοινά in Abbreviations
 κοιτών “bedroom” 11 3.10
 κόλασις “punishment” 11 27.12
 κόσμησις “ornament” 34 1.24
 κόσμος “world” 11 16.13–14, 20.13, 28.19–20; 12 33.6, 35.17
 κωσμος 25 2.22; 26 7.4, 12.10, 12–13; 34 1.14, 26
 κρίσις “judgement” 8 b.4
 κριτής “judge” 18.8
 κτίσις “creation”
 κτησις 12 35.9
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 κυριακή “Sunday, week”
 κεριακη 28 12.21
 κύριος “lord” 10.1; 11 19.1; 12 9.19, 29.20
 κηριως 26 9.5
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 κύριε (voc.)
 κῑριε 20.12
 λαλιά “song” 26 9.13
 λαός “people” 11 7.9, 11.23–24, 22.6, 23.2, 16, 24.24; 31 b.8–9
 λειτουργεῖν “to serve”
 λιτογργι 11 26.21
 λιτογρκος 28 4.3
 λείψανον “remains”
 λιψανον 25 14.6–7
 λευκόν “white”
 λεγκων 17 b.4–5, 18, 19

λιμὴν “harbour”

ληνην **26** 7.7

λίμνη “lake”

λη[μ]νη **12** 7.19

λίβανος “frankincense” **23** 47–48; **24** 18; **26**

17.3; **37** b.5,8

λιβανως **21** 10

cf. sv. λίβανος in Abbreviations

λογική “rational”

λωκινη **28** 9.1

λογισμός “reason” **32** 1.11

λόγος “word” **26** 4.21, 12.6

λόγχη “spear”

λονχι **26** 13.21

λωγχι **15** 13.28

λουτήρ “baptistery” **26** 6.10

λυπεῖν “to grieve”

λγπε **9** 6, 9

λύπη “grief”

ληπε **17** b.40

ληπι **28** 1.11

μαγεία “magic”

μαγια **25** 4.3; **15** 4.22, 5.26

μάγος “magician” **3** f.I.30; **11** 5.25, 8.10; **26** 10.15–16

μακος **18** 15; **28** 1.17

μαθητής “disciple” **11** 19.13

μάλιστα “especially” **26** 15.21

μανία “madness” **28** 3.5; **36** f.II.9

μάννα “manna” **11** 7.20

μαργαρίτης “pearl”

μαρκαριτης **12** 33.13–14

μάρτυρος “martyr”

μαρτηρος **11** 29.1

μαστίχη “mastic”

μασϝ **26** 17.9

μασϝη **28** 12.19

μασϝχι **22** 19; **25** 16.14, 17.15; **26** 16.20, 23, 17.12, 16, 22

μασϝχι **26** 17.12

μαστιχεν **33** 2

μασχε (?) **17** b.9

cf. sv. μαστίχη in Abbreviations

μεθ’ ἡμῶν “with us”

see μεθεμον in Personal Names and Voces Magicae

cf. sv. μαστίχη in Abbreviations

μέλαν “ink”

μελα **15** b.1

μέλος “body part” **3** f.II.38; **11** 6.23

μετάνοια “repentance”

μητανι **26** 15.17

μη[τ]αηια **31** f.30–31

μήποτε “lest”

μηπατι **25** 5.7

μήτρα “womb” **3** f.1.21

μοῖρα “fate”

μερρα **25** 4.25

μονογενής “only-begotten” **11** 21.19–20

μονογηνης **12** 2.3–4

μωνογενης **25** 8.15–16

μωνωγενης **26** 12.7–8, 20–21; **28** 8.16

μωνωκενης **28** 3.1, 12.11–12

μορφή “form”

μορφυ **4** 2.3

μοσχάτον “musk incense”

μοσχατεν **22** 22–23

μοσχατεν **25** 16.14, 17.17–19; **26** 15.33, 16.32

μόσχος “musk”

μασχε **17** b.9

μοσχсс **28** 12.20

μοχλός “bolt”

μοχλос **11** 27.11

μυρσίνη “myrtle”

μωρσνη **12** 1.4

μυστήριον “mystery”

μωστηριων **25** 8.6–7; **26** 3.23; **28** 9.3

νηστευεῖν “to fast”

μωστευε **28** 6.13, 12.22, 13.3

μωσϝ **26** 17.29

μωστευ **25** 9.5

νόμος “law” **11** 7.17

νοῦς “mind” **12** 2.6; **24** 30, 33; **28** 2.15, 5.3, 9, 22, 11.7

νυκτέριον “nocturnal”

μωκρηκτηριον ? **12** 7.13

ξύλον “wood”

μηл[он] **12** 1.8–9

сτεлогс (?) **29** f.18

οἰκονόμος “steward”

ωκωμωс **12** 13.5, 19–20, 25.8

οἰκουμένη “(inhabited) world”

ωωμνη **3** f.II.23

ϝωωμνη **26** 12.26

ϝωωμνη **28** 9.6

ὅλως “completely, at all”

ωωωс **11** 7.24

ὁμοούσιον “consubstantial” **11** 14.9

ωωωωωωω **28** 7.15

ὀνομάζειν “name”

ονομαζε **11** 17.23; **32** 2.11, 13–14

ανωμαζε **25** 7.4, 8.17–18

ὀποκάλαμος “calamus juice”

απογκαλαμων **17** b.7–8

ὀργή “anger”

ωρκη **28** 3.4

ὀρμή “impulse”

ωρηη **28** 4.18

ὅταν “whenever”

ροταν **11** 10.9

οὐδέ, οὔτε “neither... nor; and not”

ογαε **3** f.1.15–16; **11** 11.1, 25.15, 17; **17** b.44, 45; **18** 6–8, 15, 16; **25** 4.25

ογτε **12** 15.5; **16** 2.2, 12–13; **32** 1.12

οὐράνιον “heavenly” **12** 15.2

οὐρανός “heaven” **12** 9.20, 29.21

ογρανογс **25** 6.8, 15.10

οὔτε *see s.v.* οὐδέ

πάθος “passion” **32** 1.33

πάλιν “again” **11** 7.4, 10.10

παντοκράτωρ “almighty” **10.1**; **11** 1.27; **28** 12.10–11

πανωκρατωρ **12** 2.6, 13.11–12, 15.8–9, 13–14, 17.21, 19.13, 19–20, 21.3, 37.8

πανωκρατωρ **12** 11.4–5

παντωκρατωρ **12** 25.12

παντωκρατωρ **11** 2.24, 7.8; **18** 4; **28** 9.6

cf. s.v. παντοκράτωρ in *Abbreviations*

παρά “than” **25** 16.19; **28** 11.10

παραβαίνειν “to transgress”

παρβε **11** 27.8

παράγειν “to go by”

παργε **15** f.1

παραπε **11** 5.22

παράδεισος “paradise”

παραιcos **9**.11; **11** 26.26–28; **15** f.1

παραιcos **17** f.11; **26** 6.8

παρϣicos **25** 16.7

παρϣicos **29** f.4–5

παρϣicos **26** 11.1, 21, 12.4–5, 13.8–9

παριδιδόναι “to hand over”

παραιιδου **11** 27.7

παρακαλεῖν “to invoke, entreat”

παλακαλι **5** f.1

παργαλε **17** f.18

παρακαλει **11** 1.25–26, 2.22–23, 3.17–18, 8.2, 19.16, 14.6 (?); **34** 3.8–9

παρακαλι **10**.7; **12** 2.1, 17.14, 21.16, 23.5, 14, 25.5–6, 10, 19, 27.1, 9, 18, 29.4–5, 9, 13,

31.2, 7, 9, 21, 33.3, 8, 16, 22, 35.2, 6, 10, 18–19, 23, 37.3–4, 13, 39.11–12, 21, 23, 43.12–13; 14.6 (?); 21.12; **24** 1–2, 26; **25** 5.22, 10.1

παράκλητος “Paraclete” **1** f.27

παρθενία “virginity” **19**.2, 4; **23** 26, 27, 28, 39

παρθένος “virgin” **7** 5, 26; **12** 35.3; **23** 29; **25** 2.2, 8.1, 20; **28** 2.10

παρθενως **28** 6.23

παρθνος **28** 8.3, 11.21

πατάσσειν “to strike”

παταcce **11** 7.12–13

πατριά “lineage” **11** 25.5

πείθειν “to persuade, seduce”

πιθε **7** 7, 21, 22

πειρασμός “temptation”

πρασμος **11** 13.16–17

πέπερι “pepper”

πιπρε **24** 22

περίεργος “meddlesome” **11** 1.23

περιουργός “meddlesome man”

περικοργος **25** 4.6

πέταλον “leaf”

πεταλων **17** b.30

πέτρα “stone” **3** f.1.12; **11** 9.19; **26** 13.5, 15.7

πηγή “well” **7** 20

πικη **26** 11.20

πγην **7** 6

πικρία “bitterness” **11** 13.11

πίναξ “dish” **30** f.2; **37** b.4,7

πιναг **25** 17.28–29

πιναкес **31** b.15–16

πιστεύειν “to believe”

πιστεγ **29** f.20

πιστεγε **11** 20.12–13, 24, 24.13, 28.12–13, 16

πίστις “faith” **11** 24.14, 24–25

πιττάκιον “sheet”

[π]τaκiων **2** 5

πλάσσειν “to mould”

πλαcce **12** 35.12

πλατεῖα “street”

πλαгга **11** 24.26

πλήρης “full”

πληρος **12** 9.20, 29.21; **25** 15.10

πλιpс **25** 6.8

πνεῦμα “spirit” **12** 41.5; **17** f.4; **26** 2.18

пнегма **17** f.28

cf. s.v. πνεῦμα in *Abbreviations*

πόλις “city” **11** 20.7, 22.13, 23.11, 24.10–11, 29.2

- πονηρία “wickedness” **32** 1.34
 πονηρός “evil” **11** 1.9, 25, 7.3, 13.21
 πονηρόν (n.) **11** 13.22–23, 19.25; **12** 13.22, 15.19–20, 43.6
 πωneverων **25** 4.4, 10.12
 πορνεία “fornication”
 πορνία **28** 5.8
 πορφύρα “purple”
 πορφωρα **26** 7.19
 ποταμός “river” **12** 29.2
 πράγμα “matter” **11** 1.18
 πρέπει “to be fitting”
 πρεπι **11** 12.12
 μπρεπε **26** 15.24
 πρεσβύτερος “presbyter”
 пересвѣтерос **26** 9.16
 пересвѣтерос **25** 5.13
 пресвѣтерос **12** 41.17
 ίpresvntepoc **29** f.4
 πρεσβητηρος **17** f.9
 προαίρεσις “good intention”
 προερεσις **11** 24.15–16
 προσευχή “prayer” **11** 2.20, 28, 3.26, 5.10–11, 6.25, 7.26, 8.27, 10.22–23, 25, 27, 11.6–7, 13.28, 14.13, 19.24, 20.3; **25** 2.1
 προεχχ **28** 13.5
 πρωσεχχη **28** 12.3
 προσκυνεῖν “to prostrate”
 проскннѣ **28** 10.14
 проскеегнѣ **20** 12
 проскыней **11** 5.2, 22.6
 προσκύνησις “adoration” **11** 12.10–11
 πρόσταγμα “ordinance” **11** 7.18
 προστάτης “benefactor” **12** 13.19, 25.8
 προσφορά “offering” **32** 1.22
 πρόσωπον “person” **11** 12.23–24; **12** 15.7, 17.4
 προσωπον **12** 13.4–5, 25.11
 προφητεύειν “to prophesy”
 πρωφεѣ **28** 2.16
 προφήτης “prophet” **11** 30.6–7; **32** f. 29–30
 πύλη “gate” **11** 16.4–5, 23, 17.1
 ηλη **16** 2.6
 πηλη **11** 16.9; **16** 1.8, 2.7
 ῥάβδος “staff”
 равтѡс **16** 2.3
 [pa]πτοс **37** f.14
 ῥεῦμα “discharge”
 зрегма **18** 10
 σάλπιγξ “trumpet”
 сальпѣ **26** 11.9
 σαλπίζειν “to trumpet”
 сальпѣ **25** 7.10
 σάρξ “flesh” **11** 2.16, 21.18; **23** 24, 40
 сарез **26** 13.34
 сарнз **28** 1.6
 Σατανᾶς “Satan” **11** 18.15–16; **28** 2.11
 σεραφίμ “Seraphim”
 саруфѣн **1** f.3
 серафин **11** 3.22, 17.8–9, 27.2–3; **12** 11.6, 29.14–15, 33.5; **26** 2.21
 сграпфен **17** f.8–9
 серафин **26** 9.7; **28** 2.19
 σκάνδαλον “offence”
 скаталон **11** 10.19
 σκεπάειν “shelter”
 скепасе **25** 6.27
 σκηνή “tabernacle”
 сгнн **28** 7.16
 скенн **28** 3.12
 скгнн **17** f.3; **18** 4
 σκουτέλλιον “dish”
 скогтелле **37** b.11–12
 cf. s.v. σκουτέλλιον in *Abbreviations*
 σκύλλειν “to trouble”
 скнлѣ **11** 22.7, 23.10
 σουδάριον “shroud”
 согтарѣон **26** 13.28–29
 σοφία “wisdom”
 сѡфѣа **25** 7.22; **28** 1.14
 σπέρμα “seed” **10** 12
 σπλάγχνον “innards”
 сплaxанѡн **28** 1.4–5
 στακτή “myrrh”
 cf. s.v. στακτή in *Abbreviations*
 σταυρός “cross” **10** 21; **26** 16.32
 сѣѡс **25** 13.23
 cf. s.v. σταυρός in *Abbreviations*
 στερέωμα “foundation”
 стерегма **4** 5.12; **12** 11.12, 19.4; **26** 11.6
 терегма **26** 2.12
 στήλη “stele” **17** b.39
 στολή “garment” **12** 33.8–9
 сѡлн **17** b.38
 στρατηλάτης “general”
 сѣраѣлатнс **26** 14.12
 στῦλος “pillar”
 сѣнлѡс **12** 11.19–20, 17.5, 10–11, 31.22, 43.1; **25** 14.26; **26** 6.17

στύραξ “styrax”

στηρεξ **17** b.6

στηρηξ **22** 21; **25** 16.14, 17.16; **26** 19.25

στηρηξ **28** 12.19–20

ετηρηξ **32** 1.26

cf. s.v. στύραξ in Abbreviations

συκωτόν “liver”

σιχογτον **3** f.II.37–38

συνευδοκεῖν “to consent”

συνευδοκει **11** 5.18–19, 9.8

σφραγίς “seal” **11** 6.10, 13.26; **26** 6.8, 7.34

φρακις **12** 13.15, 15.13, 25.14, 31.10

σῶμα “body” **1** f.25; **12** 31.3, 37.17, 43.15; **18**.9, 14; **23** 35; **25** 4.19 (twice), 5.4, 5.25, 27, 6.27, 10.4, 13.2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 14.8, 12, 16, 15.2; **26** 5.17, 19, 6.5, 6.29, 9.11, 10.6, 15, 13.6–7, 21, 14.5, 15.3; **28** 5.14

σωμ **33** 12

σωτήρ “saviour” **25** 16.23

σωτωρ **25** 16.22

σωρ **25** 10.20

cf. s.v. σωτήρ in Abbreviations

τάξις “rank” **26** 5.24; **28** 11.18

ταράσσειν “to trouble”

ταρασσε **24** 32

ταραχή “disturbance” **28** 5.6, 9.15

τάρταρος “Tartarus” **11** 27.9

ταρταρούχος “Tartaruchus”

τᾱ[ρ]τᾱρουχος **3** f.II.20–21

τάφος “grave” **34** f.12

ταφος **23** 43; **26** 13.27

τάχα “perhaps” **1** f.36

ταχύ “quickly” **1** f.41

ταχε **20** f.16

ταχη **3** b.I.19; **4** 3.2; **6** 25 (twice); **9** 13 (twice); **12** 19.2, 8, 29.4, 41.18, 16 3.6–7; **17** f.32, 37, b.41; **18** 19 (twice), 20 (twice); **21** 23; **22** 58; **23** 43; **24** 17, 36 (twice); **25** 7.6, 8.5 (twice), 8.29 (twice), 10.18, 11.11 (twice), 13.12, 15, 20, 14.5, 16, 24, 15.23, 16.27, 17.45, 18.9; **26** 4.15, 10.20, 12.5, 14.32; **27** f.14 (twice); **28** 7.4; **29** f.21 (twice), b.6 (twice); **31** f.35 (twice), b.14 (twice); **32** 1.15 (twice), 18 (twice), 2.26; **34** 2.3, 18 (twice); **35** b.9; **36** f.II.10 (twice); **37** f.23 (twice)

ταχι **22** 39

ταχ **28** 7.13 (twice), 11.11, 13.14 (twice)

ταχύνειν “to hurry”

ταχυ **1** f.29

τετράς “quaternion” **1** f.37

τέχνη “craft”

τεχνη **26** 10.10–11; **28** 1.16

τιμᾶν “to honor”

τῆμα **28** 11.17

τιμή “honor”

τῆμη **11** 25.3

τολμᾶν “to dare”

τολμα **11** 10.20

τόπος “place” **11** 4.20, 25.18; **12** 2.16, 9.4, 13.18, 23.19, 37.12, 39.3; **17** f.30

τωπος **21** 18

τριάς “trinity” **11** 12.15–16, 13.12, 13, 23, 14.5, 8, 20.4; **21** 19; **28** 7.14–15

τρίκλινον “dining-room” **11** 4.11

τροχός “wheel” **17** f.24

τύπος “model”

τεп[oc] **2** 5

тиπως **26** 8.8, 13.9

τύραννος “tyrant”

Δηρανος **17** b.29

υἱός “son, child” *see s.v. υἱός in Abbreviations*

ὕμνεῖν “to sing”

зенинeci **26** 3.12

зенинече **28** 12.12

ὕμνητήριος “singer”

зенинeгтpиων **26** 3.11–12

ὕπηρεσία “servants”

згпeрpиcia **11** 26.18–19

ὕποδесμός “suppression”

згпocтicмoc **22** 37–38

зeпaтcмoc **28** 9.17–18

ὕποπόδιον “footstool”

згпoпoдиoн **11** 23.18

згпaтoн **25** 2.16

ὕπόστασις “hypostasis”

згпocтacиc **11** 12.18

ὕποταγή “subjection”

пaтaхи **23** 12

ὕποτάσσειν “to be subject”

зпoтacе **3** f.I.5

згпoтacce **12** 2.15

ὕπουργεῖν “to serve”

згпoгpгe **11** 15.21

ὕπόρα “fruit”

згпapa **25** 4.14

φαντασία “illusion” **34** 1.21, 2.9, 15–16

Φαραώ “Pharaoh” **11** 7.13

φαρμακεία “sorcery”

фapмaгia **25** 4.4, 10.16

фaлмaкиa **33** 1

- αλααγ 37 b.12
 αλε[(?) 32 2.27
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 αλοος “thigh, knees, arms, shoulders” 12 13.1
 αηητε “hell” 8 b.5; 11 27.12
 αμεντε 3 f.2.21, 27, 28; 20 f.1, 6–7
 αηαρετε “to prevail, rule, grasp, possess”
 11 2.8, 23–8; 17 f.34; 35 b.13; 36 f.1.11
 αηαρετι 28 2.7
 αηαρε† 26 7.27, 11.28
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 αηαι “to be pleasing; beauty” 28 11.6
 αηοκ “I, me” (first-person singular independent
 pronoun) 3 f.1.34; 4 2.6; 7 1, 37; 8 f.8,
 b.9; 10 9; 11 1.2, 28, 4.23, 7.27, 11.21, 22.5,
 23.16, 24.27 (twice), 28, 25.8; 12 23.9,
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 23, 5.22, 7.27, 13.3, 6, 9, 16.17; 26 3.19, 22
 (twice), 27, 6.22–23, 15.15; 28 1.15, 7.10; 29
 f.20
 αηον “we, us” (first-person plural independent
 pronoun) 11 27.4
 αηαω “oath” 4 2.3
 απε “head” 6 22; 11 5.15, 18, 8.4; 12 17.16,
 19.1, 23.6, 25.6, 27.1, 31.5, 33.11, 14, 18, 20,
 43.2; 17 f.27, 35; 25 4.9, 7.10; 37 f.13–14?,
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 20, 14.10; 28 1.7, 21, 5.7, 6.17, 17, 8.15; 29
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 αταρηα “limitless” 11 25.14–15
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 ατ- privative prefix 1 f.40; 4 2.15
 ατχοοη “undefiled/ineffable/inaccessible”
 (?) 11 5.3–4
cf. s.v. αρηα, καρ, κωρετ, ηιφε, σηογ, ρωλ,
ροτε
- αγαν “colour” 28 1.5
 αωαι “to be, become many” 11 24.23
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 αωαροη “to sigh, groan” 6 2, 10, 11; 7 10,
 13; 20 7, 8
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 αq “flesh”
 αβογρε (pl.) 25 4.21
 αq “fly, bee” 32 2.17
 αβ 5 b.3
 αρο “treasury, storehouse”
 αρωωρ 28 2.7
 αρο “what is wrong?” (interrogative pronoun
 with suffix) 6 9 (twice); 7 12; 15 f.3; 20 f.8
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 αβρηη 10 4
 βααβε “to regard as foolish, despise”
 βααβο 28 11.16
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 βεεβε “to bubble, well up, to pour forth, rain
 down” 12 33.17
 βοκ “to go” 7 1, 3, 16, 18, 24; 8 f.7, b.5; 11
 4.7, 5.14, 9.3; 16 1.7, 2.6; 18 6; 24 28, 32; 25
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 12 37.1, 39.13; 15 f.4, 5, b.2; 16 1.11, 2.9;
 25 2.6, 14.3; 28 5.19, 6.28, 9.10, 22, 11.8;
 34 1.18; 35 f.2
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 5.7, 6.8, 18.8, 26.8; 15 b.3; 23 12, 13, 18, 27,
 28, 36, 38; 25 2.25, 4.2, 16; 26 15.6, 16.8,
 17.12; 32 2.3; 33 f.10, 13
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 вηλ^Q 18 6
 वोλ 3 f.1.8; 8 b.1
 ατβωλ 32 2.26
 वोλβλ “to dig up, be undermined”
 वोлвел 4 5.6
 вλλе “blind (person)”
 велη 26 12.31

- βελεεγε (pl.) **11** 21.3
 μετβελλη "blindness" **25** 4.6–7
 βλχε "ostrakon"
 βηλχι **26** 15.30; **28** 13.4–5
 (?) **37** b.21
 βνηε "swallow"
 βηηη **26** 17.6
 βηηηη **26** 17.5
 βηνηπε "iron"
 μεηηπε **16** 1.9, 2.7–8
 πεηηπε **3** f.1.8; **4** 3.1; **7** 3, 18, 25–26; **8** b.1; **25** 2.24
 π̣ηη̣πε **20** 4
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 ῑ̣ηη̣π̣ **34** 1.24–25
 βωωρε "to be excrescent"
 βyre (?) **35** f.4
 βpre "new, young"
 βηpi **25** 9.4; **26** 15.30
 βepi **25** 9.7
 βapωт "brass, bronze" **34** 1.25
 βηт "palm-leaf" **26** 17.26
 βηθ **25** 16.23
 βηт "edge" **22** 48, 59; **28** 6.12
 βηтe "metal plate, lamella"
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 βηтe (?) **29** b.6
 ῑ̣т̣η (?) **21** 6
 воте "abomination" **11** 5.17
 вaт **28** 10.8
 вωω "to be unsheathed"
 βηω^Q **12** 21.11, 41.4
 воγρε "eyelid"
 βογιγi **28** 6.27–28
 еβω "honey"
 eβia **5** b.3
 еβηηη "wretched, miserable person"
 eβηeη **34** 4.13
 еβηηсе "lightning"
 βηηхе **12** 9.3
 евот "month" **32** 2.15
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 екive "breast" **11** 3.3–4; **32** 2.7
 [e]ḳiβ̣i **28** 2.2
 ελοοле "pupil (?)"
 ε̣ло̣о̣л̣e "pupil (?)"
 ε̣м̣η̣т̣ "west" **1** 17.1; **12** 25.2
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 epηγ "one another" **1** f.11, 14, 16
 aρηoγ **4** 5.15
 epεγ **27** f.21
 epωтe "milk" **33** f.2; **37** b.4
 epωт **28** 2.1
 ecooy "sheep" **8** f.14
 ecoγ **33** f.2
 eooy "glory" **11** 2.12–13, 5.1, 7.7, 12.9, 14–6,
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 19.7, 21.8, 25.21, 27.19, 31.1, 19; **17** f.5; **25**
 7.11; **26** 3.5, 10, 4.5, 6, 27, 8.6, 15, 14.22, 23
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 eeooy **16** 11.3
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 epω "sow (female pig)"
 p̣oγ **7** 36
 epε "cow"
 aγooγ **37** b.9
 eσωω "Ethiopian (Kushite)" **24** 27; **25** 9.3
 σωω (?) **31** f.38
 ηη "house" **1** f.16; **24** 6, 34; **25** 17.41; **26** 16.36,
 17.8; **31** f.21; **32** 2.12, 22?; **35** f.15; **37** f.6, 21
 ηpη "wine" **29** b.4
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 epηп **10** 10; **17** b.19
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 eceη (?) **31** f.36
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 ei "to come" **1** f.17; **3** f.2.2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 25,
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 23.10, 27.22; **12** 9.7, 8, 11.21, 13.18, 17.22,
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 17, 20, 22, 39.10, 43.19; **15** b.1, 2; **16** 2.7;
 17 f.20, 21, 37, 18.13; **22** 32; **24** 34; **25** 6.26,
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 14.1, 36, 6; **28** 4.17, 9.10; **30** f.7, 22
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 23, 35; **28** 12.16, 17
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 е҃а “eye”
 е҃тз (?) **15** f.5
 е҃ѡ “to wash”
 е҃аав **31** f.39
 ѳѡе **1** f.12, 13
 іааз **25** 16.10; **37** b.5, 7, 14, 19?; **30** f.3
 еооз **23** 7
 іаѡз **26** 16.19
 іѡ “donkey” **28** 6.4 (twice)
 е҃ѡѡ “nail, hoof, claw, sting” **3** f.1.23
 е҃нѡѡ **28** 5.6–7
 е҃аѡѡ “pus”
 іаѡѡ **35** f.7, 21
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 е҃нѡ “to know” **16** 2.16; **25** 5.5–6, 6.1–2
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 ннѡе **1** f.39
 е҃ѡѡ “river” **32** 1.33
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28 6.22, 7.17, 8.12, 15, 21, 11.17, 12.10; **29**
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 ѡт (sic) **26** 7.8; **28** 8.2
 е҃іѡѡ “to hang, suspend”
 а҃ѡѡ **17** f.36 (twice); **26** 13.17
 а҃ѡн **28** 6.11
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 а҃ѡ- **12** 11.14; **26** 16.22
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 е҃іѡт “nail”
 е҃іѡ **25** 10.20
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 κωκκαρηγ 24 30–31
 κακε “darkness” 11 11.24; 26 6.1, 14.35; 28 1.15
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 κλον “crown” 12 1.3, 7.8, 33.13; 17 f.35; 37 f.13
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 гин (?) 28 1.6
 κενонти “movement of hearts” (?) 23 48
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 ка 16 1.11
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 κμον “to be, become black”
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 κнос “to stink, be putrid; stink”
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 κηпe “vault, canopy”
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 κως “corpse, burial”
 коос 27 f.22
 κаскς “whisper”
 каскнς 28 2.6
 κсоγρ “ring”
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 кот “wheel” 6 22
 кто “to turn”
 кта= 28 7.7
 ктe “sleep” 9 4, 11, 12
 κωτε “to turn, go around, surround; surroundings” 4 4.1, 2, 6, 7; 9 8 (twice); 12 27.5–6, 29.2, 31.19, 39.6, 7; 17 f.13, 24; 20 15, 16
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ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲣ “without earth” 28 7.7
 ⲕⲟⲣ “corner” 12 19.4
 ⲕⲱⲉ “to be envious, zealous; envy, zeal” 11
 1.15, 13.2, 23.14
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 26 13.3–4; 28 1.8, 4.5, 6, 7 (twice), 12, 13,
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 ⲕⲁⲃⲟⲓ “lioness, bear” 8 f.10
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 ⲕⲓⲃⲉ “to be mad; madness” 17 b.41; 18 12; 32
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 ⲕⲉⲕⲙⲉ “piece, fragment” 1 f.30–31
 ⲕⲱⲕⲥ “to bite” 29 f.10
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 28 10.8
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 26 8.4; 34 2.14
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 ⲕⲟⲓⲉⲉ 9 2
 ⲕⲱⲭ “to be sticky; to crush, bruise”
 ⲕⲁⲭ^Q 25 4.11
 ⲕⲱⲭⲕ “to stick, be sticky; to crush, bruise”
 ⲕⲱⲭⲕⲉ 36 f.1.2, 7
 ⲕⲱⲭⲕⲁ “to be sickly; sickness, infirmity”
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 ⲙⲉ “to love; love” 8 b.8; 11 19.22, 24.29; 32
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 ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲏⲕ 28 2.14, 5.22
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 ⲙⲁⲕⲉ “neck”
 ⲙⲁⲕⲉ 26 8.11
 ⲙⲟⲱⲕⲉ “to afflict, oppress”
 ⲙⲟⲟⲱⲕ 9 6
 ⲙⲟⲟⲱⲕⲉ 9 9
 ⲙⲏⲕⲁⲉ “to be painful, difficult; pain, grief”
 ⲉⲙⲕⲁⲉ 31 f.26–27
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 ⲙⲉⲕⲁⲉ 25 4.8
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 ⲙⲟⲱⲕⲁ 27 f.17, 20
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 ⲙⲏⲏⲉ 11 25.10
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 ⲙⲏⲏ 28 6.20, 11.4
 ⲙⲏⲏⲉ “daily” 37 b.15; 28 12.21, 22
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- нпе “no” **9** 3
 нпо “dumb (person)” **11** 21.4
 нпо **26** 13.3
 нптемпо “dumbness” **11** 8.17
 нптейпо **24** 11
 нпор “no, by no means” **1** b.2; **8** b.2; **29** f.9
 моур “to bind; bond, binding” **10** 15; **11** 4.2;
 23 21 (twice), **22** (twice), **23** (twice), **24–25**,
 25, **26**, **30**, **34**; **24** 7
 нар- **28** 13.6
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 15, **17.19**
 моур- **27** b.7
 нптреқмоур “binding” **11** 1.12
 нпре “chain, bond, joint” **11** 4.3, **18.8**, **16**
 мере **10** 18
 насе “calf” **12** 29.7
 нисе “to give birth” **10** 4
 мисі **26** 12.21
 қерпнисе “firsborn” **12** 5.7, **11**
 қерепнисе **17** f.7
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 нест- **31** 25–26
 мост- **27** f.3; **31** f.3
 мест- **31** b.9
 местод- **31** b.6–7
 местод- **22** 55; **31** f.7
 несонт “breast, chest”
 ннстнонт **12** 21.13
 нсаг
 ннсаг **28** 6.9
 ноег “road, path”
 налет **26** 11.10–11
 моут “sinew, vessel” **20** 15; **25** 4.21–22; **26**
 6.6
 мате “greatly, very”
 енате **11** 24.29
 нмате **11** 6.26–27, **20.14–15**, **21.7**
 ннте “middle, midst” **4** 4.8–9, **13**, **16**; **9** 8
 (twice); **11** 4.12; **12** 13.1, **17.4–5**; **25** 16.7;
 37 b.18
 мет- **31** f.6, b.6, **11**; **34** 2.6?, **11**
 ннт- **4** 4.3
 ннт- **26** 4.21, **6.8**, **16**, **11.21**, **12.4**, **25**, **13.8**
 моте “neck” **17** b.26
 нат- **25** 16.13, **14**; **26** 9.23
 нар- (?) **26** 17.4
 моуте “to call, recite, name” **6** 18, **37**; **8** f.4, **5**
 (twice), **6**, b.10; **10** 17; **11** 12.1, **27.2**
 моут- **28** 1.19, **19–20**, **11.22**
 атмоуте “speechless” **35** b.8
 нптреқмоуте “enchantment” **11** 1.11
 нто “face, presence” **12** 9.15, **15.4–5**, **21.14**,
 27.13–14, **37.24**; **31** f.31
 нт- **34** 1.9
 нт- **11** 6.19; **12** 15.5, **25.22**; **37** f.15
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 нтоу **17** f.22
 нтоу- **35** b.7
 нета **26** 5.15
 нтон “to rest; rest”
 нта **25** 8.25
 нтан **1** b.5; **26** 14.9; **28** 1.10, **12**
 моутсе “female cat” **28** 6.4
 маау “mother” **6** 6; **10** 5; **25** 2.21; **26** 12.15;
 32 2.24
 мау **16** 2.3, **5–6**; **34** 1.8
 моу “water” **3** f.1.9–10, **25**, **31**; **6** 16; **7** 6,
 21; **9** 2; **11** 17.26; **12** 7.14, **18**, **35.21**; **14** 10;
 17 f.36; **23** 22; **25** 7.26, **8.23**, **23**; **25** 13.30,
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 11, **33**, **17.2**; **28** 6.11; **30** f.3
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 1.23; **35** f.7?, **21**
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 13.1, **2**, **10**, **21.24**, **25.2**; **28** 5.19, **21**, **11.7**
 меуе **28** 5.22–23
 мааа “alone” **11** 2.15; **12** 21.5
 мауаа **26** 7.5

ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ “to kill”

ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ 3 f.1.6, 7

ⲙⲉⲱⲉ “NN” 8 b.7; 10 11

ⲁⲱⲉ? 20 f.13

ⲙⲱⲉ “to fight, strike” 1 f.4, 18; 31 b.5

ⲙⲁⲱⲉ 15 f.4

ⲙⲟⲩⲱⲉ “to walk” 20 f.1; 24 33; 32 1.13

ⲙⲁⲁⲱ 26 13.1

ⲙⲁⲁⲱⲉ 29 f.1

ⲙⲁⲁⲱⲓ 26 16.15

ⲙⲁⲟⲱ 26 13.2

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ⲙⲉⲛ- ordinal number prefix 25 2.1; 26 11.23, 24, 25, 26 (twice), 27, 12.22, 23, 14.10; 34 1.15; 37 b.29

ⲙⲉ 3 f.2.7

ⲙⲟⲩⲉ “to burn” 12 29.1; 25 9.7; 28 1.8, 4.13

ⲙⲟⲩⲉ “to fill, be full” 24 18, 25; 25 9.6, 17.33; 26 6.6; 28 4.6, 10, 11; 32 2.24; 34 1.17; 37 f.7

ⲙⲉⲟⲩ 3 f.2.34

ⲙⲙⲉ 17 f.24; 26 9.15

ⲙⲉⲛ 11 4.26, 10.4, 19.2, 29.3; 25 17.43; 26 9.6, 11.4, 16.10; 28 5.2; 32 1.6

ⲙⲉⲛ 3 f.2.31

ⲙⲁⲉⲣ 26 10.3, 12.1, 14.3, 16.22; 28 5.6; 32 1.33; 34 1.9

ⲙⲁⲉⲣ 17 f.22

ⲙⲁⲩⲉⲣ 26 6.26

ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲉⲣ 9 2

ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲣ 26 15.1

ⲙⲁⲉ “flax”

ⲙⲁⲉ 32 1.25

ⲙⲁⲉ “cubit” 12 23.20, 21, 23, 24, 39.7, 9, 10

ⲙⲁⲉⲧ “bowels, intestines” 5 f.12

ⲙⲉⲛⲧ “north” 11 16.10; 12 23.24

ⲙⲉⲁⲁⲩ “tomb, cavern” 11 21.15

ⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ “ear, handle” 32 2.16; 37 b.9

ⲙⲁⲁⲭⲓ 28 5.10–11

ⲙⲉⲭⲓ 26 17.24

ⲙⲉⲭⲉ 26 3.21

ⲙⲁ “to take pity; grace” 18 15, 17; 25 7.24; 28 5.16

ⲙⲟⲉⲓ “place where loaves and wine are deposited” 32 1.22

ⲙⲟⲩⲃ “gold” 9 1; 25 17.39; 26 7.13, 15, 17, 9.21, 23; 28 10.18; 34 1.23

ⲙⲟⲩⲥ 12 33.1

ⲙⲟⲩⲉ “sin” 11 24.18–19

ⲙⲁⲩⲓ 26 16.18

ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲧⲥ “to be blessed” 11 24.8, 10

ⲙⲕⲁ “thing, vessel, property”

ⲉⲛⲁ 25 17.39

ⲙⲁⲁⲕⲉ “pain, labour pang”

ⲙⲁⲁⲕⲓ 26 12.23 (twice)

ⲙⲁⲕⲓ 25 13.11

ⲙⲙⲕⲙ 26 12.20

ⲙⲕⲟⲧⲕ “to sleep, lie down; sleep” 11 4.9–10

ⲉⲛⲕⲁⲧ 28 5.12, 9.20–21

ⲉⲛⲕⲁⲧⲉ 25 2.3

ⲕⲁⲧⲙⲉ 26 26.20

ⲛⲕⲁⲧ 29 f.5

ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲕ 28 1.8

ⲙⲙ “NN, who” 1 f.9, 10; 3 f.1.34; 4 5.8 (twice); 7 8 (twice), 22, 23, 28 (twice), 33; 8 b.7; 9 3, 4, 12 (twice); 10 9 (twice), 11 (twice); 17 f.37; 20 f.13; 25 17.35; 27 f.13; 29 f.10; 30 f.23, b.4 (twice); 34 4.15, 21

ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲛ “to shake” 11 17.25

ⲙⲟⲩⲛ “abyss” 3 f.1.6; 8 f.13; 9 6, 10; 12 11.14, 17.12, 23.21, 39.8, 43.1?; 32 2.32

ⲙⲟⲩ 28 1.18

ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ “root” 11, 13.7, 18.15

ⲙⲁⲙⲟⲩⲥ “to be good, beautiful” 11 20.16, 24.7–8; 25 16.16; 34 1.20

ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥ 25 17.34

ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲙⲟⲩⲥ “what is good” 11 19.20; 12 9.5; 30 f.9, 24

ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲉ “vulture”

ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲓ 26 16.2

ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲉ “woman (?)” 6 3, 7, 8, 13

ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ “god” 10 14 (twice); 11 1.3, 26–27, 2.3, 4, 10, 11, 23–24, 3.18–19, 6.14, 7.7, 8.1, 8.6; 11 9.9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 9.25, 10.6, 8, 11, 17, 23, 11.2–3, 8, 16–17, 18, 23, 26, 12.3, 4, 27, 20.8, 21.21, 23.4, 24.5, 23, 26.8, 13–14, 27.6, 30.4–5, 19, 20, 25; 12 9.14, 15.6; 12 19.19, 21.5, 22, 39.18 (twice); 18 6; 25 2.7, 3.15, 5.6, 6.22, 7.17, 9.27, 13.12, 14, 18, 22, 29; 26 3.20, 13.30, 15.14, 31; 28 5.19–20; 31 f.16; 34 2.6

ⲙⲟⲩⲧ 34 2.11

ⲙⲟⲩⲧ 26 7.5, 16.2; 28 8.5

ⲉⲛⲧⲙⲣ “deity” (pl.) 12 41.8

ⲉⲧⲙⲣ 4 4.4, 10

ⲙⲟⲩⲣ 25 4.25

ⲙⲙⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ “divinity” 11 12.16, 21.26–27; 12 23.8

ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ 28 4.8–9

ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ (sic) 28 4.14

нтoк “you” (second-person masculine singular independent pronoun) 7 37; 8 b.10; 9 10 (twice); 10 1, 3, 4; 11 21.19, 22.25, 26.17, 27.3; 32 2.10, 16, 19
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 сәә^Q **1** f.30, 39; **11** 30.6; **12** 31.12, 33.2; **26** 5.29, 7.25
 сәвһһтә “foam”
 сәвһтә **17** b.31
 сәһһә “woman, wife, female” **11** 3.1, 5.25, 27, 6.2, 4, 6; **12** 15.2, 37.20, 41.7, 8; **16** 1.10; **18** 15; **20** f.9; **26** 9.12, 12.11; **33** f.7; **35** f.1, 721; **36** f.1.1; **37** b.11
 сәһһ **3** f.1.13; **16** 2.8; **17** b.29, 32; **24** 35
 сәһһ **23** 10; **26** 9.16, 16.3, 6, 21, 17.7, 13; **29** f.22
 сәһһә **26** 17.8
 сәһһ **26** 17.9; **29** f.12
 сәһһ (pl.) **8** f.17
 сәһһ **28** 11.21
 сооүрәс “congregation; collection” **22** 38
 сооүс **25** 17.34, 38
 сәәтә “to kindle, heat, fire” **4** 4.4–5, 11
 сәәт **22** 48–49, 61; **28** 5.15
 соә “fool”
 сәәә **1** b.4
 сәә “to become rigid, paralysed”
 сәә **26** 13.1

ταειο “to honour; honour”

ταια **28** 11.1, 12.9

ταiei **10** 4

ταïo **11** 14.7; **26** 3.3

ταihγ^Q **11** 5.1–2, 20.11–12; **12** 21.17, 35.3

† “to give, cause, offer, sell” **1** f.15, b.5; **8** f.12; **11** 2.25, 3.16, 7.16, 11 13.12, 24, 19.13, 22.27; **12** 9.21 (twice), 11.1, 3, 7, 9, 12, 15, 20, 13.2, 4, 6 (twice), 7 (twice), 8, 9, 10, 11, 15.7; **14** 10; **15** f.1, 3; **22** 34, 35, 41; **23** 38; **24** 9, 34; **25** 7.6, 9, 12, 9.6, 13.25, 16.26, 17.34, 44; **26** 2.13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 3.1, 5, 4.12, 27, 5.31, 6.6, 8.19, 22, 12.3, 13.8, 14.23, 15.4, 20, 16.9; **27** f.1, 10, 18; 28 1.20, 5.14, 9.12, 10.18, 11.19, 12.11; **29** b.4; 31 f.3, 4, 5 (twice), b.4 (twice), 5, 10; **31** b.23, 25, 27; **32** 2.7; **34** 2.18, 4.21; **35** f.23; 36 f.2.8

ι (sic) **26** 14.21

αι **12** 7.7; **20** f.5, 9

τι **10** 16; **11** 3.15; **26** 3.2; **28** 5.18, 11 5, 12.13

τε- **16** 2.1; **26** 2.22, 16.21

Δφ- (?) **20** f.6, 10

τα= **27** f.17

ταΔ= **8** b.2; **10** 11; **11** 11.23; **25** 13.28; **26** 9.19, 12.9, 20, 13.21, 24; **27** f.20; **28** 8.11, 15, 21, 9.6; **32** 2.14; **33** f.1, 12; **35** f.20, 23; **37** b.14

το= **26** 10.21

ταο= **25** 13.11

τω= (?) **1** f.13

τεπ= **26** 4.21, 13.32

на (imp.) **11** 11 8; **32** 2.22

α† “without giving” **28** 5.1

ρεϥ† “giver” **31** b.3–4

cf. s.v. των, τηνοογ, ραπ

τηнве “finger” **12** 31.4

тннв **25** 11.13

тннви **26** 8.13

τωве “seal”

τωви **25** 9.30

τωове “brick”

τωви **22** 61

тво “to purify, to be pure; purity, purification”

11 2.26, 11.18, 21.6

тево **17** f.28

тево **19** 2, 5

твва **25** 8.3

тево- **11** 13.14

твво= **11** 11.8

тевнγ^Q **26** 12.30

тввнγ^Q **28** 13.3

твнн “livestock, (domestic) animal”

тевнн **26** 17.10

теϥнн **34** 1.25

твнноογε (pl.) **11** 3.4

†нє “village”

†н **26** 16.31

τωβε “to pray, entreat, console; prayer” **10** 9

τωκ “to be strong, firm”

ток= **7** 9, 30

тако “to destroy, perish; perdition” **26** 11.18; **37** b.6, 7, 20

така **26** 4.5; 30 f.9

таϥ **15** f.5

тако= **35** f.25?; **37** b.21

така= **30** f.11 (twice), 12 (twice), 13, 13.14, 14

ατταко “imperishable” **11** 2.5

τωκн “to pluck, draw, drag” **12** 23.17, 43.4

τωκс “to pierce, bite, fix”

такс **29** f.14

τωχ **26** 2.3

таχ= **25** 13.17; **26** 12.20

ткас “pain” **11** 8.20, 14.4; **18** 10

†кес **25** 4.13, 22–23

†кас **26** 16.13

ταλο “to lift, offer up, mount; offering” **32** 1.24

ταλα= **26** 6.15, 13.10, 19

ταлнγ^Q **18** 2

талноγ^Q **4** 2.5

тенл “to rejoice; joy” **11** 18.27

τωлн “to defile; defilement”

αττωлєн “undefiled” **11** 2.5–6

тл†лє “drop”

телтл **17** b.46

телтлн **28** 6.11

тел†л **25** 14.2

талсо “to heal; healing” **11** 2.26, 9.11, 19, 14.3, 20.27, 22.10; **36** f.II.7

талса **25** 8.25, 16.27; **26** 12.1, 15.1

телса **26** 4.13; **26** 15.20

талсо= **11** 24.17

телса= **26** 4.11, 10.3

των “to shut” **28** 5.11

таnio “to make, create; creation” **10** 2; **11** 26.18, 27.6

таниа **25** 6.25, 7.21, 9.27, 29; **26** 2.9, 13, 14–15, 16; **26** 2.17, 20, 3.24, 26, 4.10, 24, 14.27–28, 15.11

- ΤΑΜΙΕ- **12** 19.10, 35.5
 ΤΑΜΙΟ- **12** 19.17–18
 ΤΑΜΙΑ- **26** 3.1, 5.27, 8.20, 9.18, 10.23
 ΤΑΜΟ “to tell, inform” **11** 23.7
 ΤΩΜΕ “to bury”
 ΤΩΜΕ- **17** b.32; **24** 5
 ΤΟΜΕ- **11** 21.16
 ΤΑΜΕ- **22** 61; **26** 17.11; **27** f.16
 ΤΑΜΕ- **31** f.40
 ΤΑΜΕ- **26** 16.31, 17.8; **31** b.19
 ΤΩΝ “where” **12** 9.14
 ΤΩΝ “dispute, quarrel” **31** b.5
 †ΤΩΝ **1** f.4, 7, 18–19; **22** 45
 ΡΕΦ†ΤΩΝ “quarreller” **31** b.3
 ΤΥΝΟ “to pound, tread down”
 ΤΑΝΟ **32** 1.23
 ΤΥΝΟΟΥ “to send” **32** 1.3
 ΝΟΥ **25** 7.25
 Ν:ΝΟΥ **25** 5.23
 ΤΕΝΕΥ **11** 9.6–7
 ΤΕΝΟΥ **12** 15.10, 17.17, 19.14, 21, 21.8,
 23.10, 39.18, 41.2, 43.17; **25** 8.18
 ΤΕΝΝΑΥ **26** 5.13
 ΤΥΝΟΥ- **11** 23.23–24
 ΤΕΝΕΥ- **11** 5.16, 8.13
 ΤΥΝΑΥ- **1** b.2, f.29, 32, 34, 35, 38, 42
 ΤΕΝΝΑΥ- **26** 6.2
 ΜΑΤΥΟΥ (imp.) **28** 13.23
 ΤΩΝΟΥ “very, greatly”
 ΤΟΝΟΥ **1** f.23, b. 5
 ΤΥΓ “wing”
 ΖΩΓ (?) **11** 26.20
 ΤΥΑΓ **12** 29.15
 ΤΕΝΑΓ **12** 33.19; **25** 6.13; **26** 2.5, 22, 5.23,
 10.26–27; **28** 4.12
 ΤΑΝΟ “to make alive, preserve; sustenance,
 salvation”
 ΤΑΝΟ- **11** 2.19?
 ΡΕΦΤΑΝΟ “life-giver” **11** 14.10
 †ΠΕ “loins” **36** f.1.2
 †ΠΕ “taste” **25** 13.21–22
 ΤΑΠΡΟ “mouth” **24** 10, 12; **26** 10.18
 ΤΑΠΡΑ **9** 25.28; **26** 8.5, 15.9
 ΤΕΡ “branch” **25** 9.2 (twice), 4
 ΤΟΕΙ “piece of cloth, rag”
 ΤΑΙ- **27** f.22
 ΤΗΣ **26** 17.4
 ΤΑΡΚΟ “to adjure” **11** 4.23, 7.5, 16.8, 18.2; **12**
 17.2, 8, 23, 19.3, 8; **32** 1.9, 2.16; **37** f.13
 ΤΑΡΚΑ **8** f.12
 ΤΕΡΚΑ **21** 14; **25** 10.6, 18.1; **26** 4.20, 25,
 5.7, 12
 ΤΕΡΚΟ **25** 13.10, 13, 16, 21, 24, 27, 14.1, 6,
 11, 17, 21, 25, 15.3
 cf. †ΤΑΡΚΟ *in Abbreviations*
 ΤΩΡΩ “to be red”
 †ΩΡΕ (?) **15** f.6
 ΤΩ- “to harden, dry” **23** 37
 ΤΗΣ **24** 21
 ΤΩ “to cause to drink” **12** 35.15; **26** 16.14;
 35 f.20
 ΤΩ- **35** f.6
 ΤΩ- **26** 16.11; **28** 2.1
 ΤΩΒΟ “to make wise, teach, show”
 ΤΩΒΑ **26** 4.26
 ΤΩΒΟ- **11** 28.2, 5
 ΤΩΤΟ “to bring back, repeat, turn back, cause to
 return” **11** 23.4
 ΤΩΤ “to be joined, persuaded, agreeable”
 11 30.13
 ΤΗΥ “wind” **17** f.25; **24** 13; **28** 2.7; **32** 1.26
 ΤΗΟΥ **1** f.5
 ΤΟΥ “mountain, desert” **3** f.1.11; **11** 7.16,
 17.25; **32** 2.7; **37** b.4, 16
 ΤΑΥ **23** 22; **25** 9.31?; **26** 16.15
 ΤΑΔΥ **22** 42
 ΤΑΟΥ **23** 31
 ΤΟΥΕ “shoe”
 ΤΑΥΕ **26** 7.14–15
 ΤΑΥΟ “to send, recite, proclaim”
 ΤΑΔΥ (?) **32** 1.24
 ΤΑΟΥ **11** 2.20, 3.25, 5.10, 6.26
 ΤΕΟΥ **1** f.8, 20–21
 ΤΑΟΥΑ **25** 16.16; **26** 15.7, 27, 16.4, 6–7, 9,
 13, 34
 ΤΑΥΑ **28** 3.11, 7.6
 ΤΑΟΥΑ **26** 17.1
 ΤΑΟΥΕ- **11** 22.11
 ΑΤΤΑΥΟ- “indescribable” **11** 5.3
 ΤΩΟΥΝ “to rise, support” **11** 10.2, 19.6, 27.26;
 12 17.6, 13, 41.19, 43.2; **23** 36; **26** 6.17–18,
 11.10, 12.27, 15.9; **28** 1.9, 8.23; **32** 1.13
 ΤΩΟΥ **25** 14.25
 ΤΩΟΥΝ **26** 13.2
 ΤΟΥΝ **31** b.4
 ΤΩΝ **29** f.10
 ΤΟΥΝΟΥ- **31** f.17–18
 ΩΝΤΩΟΥΝ “resurrection” **26** 13.28
 ΤΟΥΝΟС “to wake, raise, set up; raising”
 ΤΟΥΝΟΥС **1** f.19

- τοῦωτ “figurine, idol” 27 f.17
 τοῦωτ 27 f.20
 τῶω “to ordain; ordinance” 11 29.23; 26 2.19, 24, 7.24–25
 τῆω^Q 11 4.1, 22; 17 f.14, 15
 τῶω “to mix, disturb” 29 9.29
 ταῶ “to set up, reach, meet, arrest”
 ταῶω 26 9.17
 ὁαβ “leaven”
 αἰαβ “unleavened” 26 17.26
 ὁαβ “spittle” 17 f.26
 ὁββιο “to humiliate, be humble; humility”
 ὁββια 28 10.15
 ὁλο “to scatter; scattering”
 ὁλα 22 43–44; 27 f.11, 19
 ὁαλο 27 f.3
 ὁηκο “to cause to sit”
 ὁηκαω 28 2.2
 τῆρωω “to make heavy, terrify”
 ὁερῶα 28 3.3
 τῶω “to anoint” 26 16.20; 37 b.3, 15, 31
 ταῶω 23 9; 26 16.4, 23
 ταῶω 8 f.3
 ταῶω 26 5.6
 τοῦωω “to make whole, save; salvation”
 τοῦωω 11 7.2, 11.11
 ταῶω “to strengthen, make firm”; firmness, strength” 12 11.18
 ταῶω 25 4.20, 5.27, 8.24
 ταῶω 12 37.14
 ταῶω^Q 11 19.15; 12 7.4
 ταῶω^Q 12 17.11
 τῶω “to join, affix”
 τῶω 11 25.11
 τῶω 26 16.6
 τῶω 11 13.29
 τῶω “to make ugly; disgrace, condemnation”
 τῶω 26 17.3
 ὠ “what” 7 15, 25
 ὠ “to be distant” 9 7; 11 7.22
 ὠω 11 8.22–23
 ὠ (?) 35 f.1
 ὠω “bud, blossom” 12 35.13; 26 6.6, 12.3, 13.7, 15.4
 ὠω “finish, run out” 1 b.3; 7 12; 25 9.7
 ὠω “reply” 6 6; 7 12
 ὠωω “white”
 ὠωω 12 33.9
 ὠωω 12 33.12
 ὠωω 16 1.11
 ὠωω (f.) 16 2.9
 ὠωω “melody, music”
 ὠωω 17 f.24
 ὠωω “to damage, break” (?)
 ὠωω 3 f.1.8
 ὠωω “to eat; food” 4 4.3–4; 11 7.20; 16 3.2; 17 b.44; 24 30; 28 1.10, 4.7, 5.11; 28 10.20; 32 1.12, 2.6
 ὠωω 28 13.1
 ὠωω 4 4.10
 ὠωω “drain”
 ὠωω 31 b.17
 ὠωω 37 b.5, 20
 ὠωω 32 1.23
 ὠωω “light” 11 9.13, 11.25, 14.20, 15.7, 17.27, 24.26, 25.14; 12 19.9, 31.22, 33.3, 23; 15 f.5; 32 2.9
 . . . ὠωω 34 1.11
 ὠωω 25 3.3; 26 2.5, 15, 3.17, 19, 7.21, 29, 8.8–9, 10, 18, 11.7; 28 5.10; 34 1.11–12, 12, 18
 ὠωω 11 9.17; 17 f.12
 ὠωω “someone, something” 10 13; 11 1.5, 2.19, 4.21, 5.9
 ὠωω 11 9.5
 ὠωω “to open” 26 3.13, 16
 ὠωω 3 f.1.22
 ὠωω 25 3.7; 34 1.13
 ὠωω “to pass by” 28 1.1
 ὠωω 28 2.9
 ὠωω “right” 3 f.1.14, 26, 2.1, b.1.14; 12 13.17, 15.14, 15.15, 21.12, 23.7, 25.16, 31.5, 10, 35.15, 41.5, 43.5; 17 f.26–27, 33; 18 2; 22 35; 25 7.5, 13.13, 14.14, 19; 26 8.13, 15, 27; 28 2.2; 37 b.2, 10
 ὠωω 26 16.28; 28 2.2, 3.8
 ὠωω 25 13.29, 14.23, 15.4; 26 17.14–15
 ὠωω 3 f.1.3–4
 ὠωω “hour” 3 f.2.7–8, 10; 11 18.13, 19.6
 ὠωω 28 10.5, 11.10
 -ὠωω 14 7?; 15 b.2; 22 46, 54; 24 5, 13–14; 25 8.3–4, 23, 10.8; 26 5.5, 10.4, 11.15; 28 9.11, 19; 32 2.11; 37 f.20
 ὠωω “now” 11 14.10, 27.6–7
 ὠωω 17 f.18
 ὠωω 1 b.1; 26 4.11, 29, 15.18
 ὠωω, “to reveal, be revealed, appear, show”
 ὠωω 12 15.20, 21, 17.19, 19.2, 14, 20; 24 17; 25 2.14, 22, 3.3; 25 6.16, 10.11, 11.11
 ὠωω 25 3.5

- օղանալ՝ 26 7.3, 12.12
 օղոյ “to be pure, holy”
 օղաւօ՞ 8 f.1; 11 5.4, 6.11, 6.18, 21, 12.13–14, 13.12, 14, 23–24, 14.5, 9, 20.4, 23.7, 21, 25; 12 9.17–18, 21.1, 8, 25.21, 31.1, 37.5; 15 b.4; 17 f.28, b.36; 18 3, 5; 23 29, 31; 25 3.22, 4.17, 5.24, 6.9, 10 (twice), 21, 7.19, 24, 26, 8.1–2, 11–12, 19, 20, 27, 13.8, 14.7; 26 2.8, 25, 7–8, 3.11, 18, 4.5, 14, 19–20, 6.27, 7.3, 7.6, 11, 8.6, 13 (twice), 15, 26, 10.2, 19, 23, 11.5, 30, 13.17, 31, 33, 14.3, 7, 16, 18, 27, 15.18, 25; 28 3.3, 5.18, 6.23, 8.8, 9.2, 4, 11.19, 12.13; 29 f.13
 օղաւօ՞ 26 14.20
 օղաւօ՞ 12 17.12; 25 12.1
 օղրտ “rose”
 օղրտ 12 1.3
 օղրտ 37 b.29
 օղրտ (?) 12 1.8?
 օղրտե “foot, leg” 3 f.1.23; 11 23.19; 24 33; 28 3.9–10
 օրիտ 26 9.9
 օղրիտ 25 2.17, 13.17; 26 7.15, 8.17
 օղրտի 32 1.14
 օղրրտե 35 f.3
 յրիտե 12 29.10, 17
 օղրիտ 25 14.21; 26 2.1
 օղրիտ 34 4.14–15
 օղաւ “to be idle, brought to naught”
 օղաւ 26 5.19–20, 13.12
 օղաւ 28 1.15–16
 օղաւ “single” 11 12.16–17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27; 12 19.19; 28 9.9; 32 2.10
 օղաւ “to pour, make molten”
 օղաւօ՞ 6 2
 օղաւօ՞ 6 12
 օղաւ “to want, desire; wish, desire, will”
 1 b.1; 3 b.1.7; 4 5.2–3; 6 10, 11, 24; 7 6 (twice), 7, 9, 16, 21, 22, 23, 27 (three times), 29, 32, 38; 8 f.7, 11, b.4, 10; 11 22.23, 27.14; 12 5.17–18, 17.21; 16 2.1, 5, 12, 3.5; 17 f.31; 18 17; 20 f.9; 22 25; 26 4.9, 15.31, 16.2, 31; 28 4.10, 5.4–5, 8, 6.2, 10, 19, 9.13, 11.12–13; 29 f.20; 32 1.6, 14, 15, 34, 2.3; 32 3.25 (twice); 37 f.10 (twice), 11 (twice), 22, b.9, 13, 27
 օղաւ 16 1.11
 օղաւ 1 f.13
 օղա 7 21
 աղա 37 b.13
 օղաւ 1 f.6; 13 15
 օղաւ 25 5.11
 օղաւ “time, occasion” 11 14.11, 20.14; 27 f.6
 օղաւ 22 58; 26 10.1, 11.1; 31 f.20
 օղաւ 1 f.24, b.9
 օղա 10 5
 ղաւ 28 10.4
 օղա “night” 7 34
 ղա 37 b.15
 ղա 3 f.2.11; 6 4, 12; 17 f.14; 25 3.11, 4.24–25, 5.2, 9.4; 28 11.11
 օղա “to consume” 22 63
 օղա “to knead, bruise; dough”
 օղա 32 1.22
 օղա “to be/become broad”
 օղա 11 4.5–6
 օղա “to worship” 11 23.17–18; 26 2.1, 3.28, 4.1–2, 5.26; 28 4.16–17
 օղա 18 7
 օղա 1 f.25
 օղա “lung” “to damage” 3 f.2.36
 օղա “to place, dwell” 6 19, 21; 11 7.22, 26.16; 26 12.10; 28 8.5; 32 2.12; 37 f.20
 ղա ? 9 11
 ղա 22 60; 26 3.22
 ղա 26 16.27
 ղա 5 f.11; 11 6.20, 17.18, 30.22
 ղա 27 f.18
 ղա 26 3.27, 6.16; 30 f.10, 25
cf. s.v. օղա
 օղա “scorpion”
 ղա 29 f.11, 12
 օղա “to repeat, answer; answer”
 ղա 11 9.15, 18.23
 օղա “dog” 7 35; 11 23.3
 ղա 28 6.5–6; 31 b.8; 37 b.19
 ղա 17 b.45
 ղա 32 2.17, 18
 ղա (fem.) 7 35
 ղա 28 6.5
 օղա “to command; command”
 11 21.12–13; 28 4.19
 ղա 28 2.22–23
 ղա 26 8.29–30; 28 11.13–14
 օղա “to be whole, safe, sound; health, safety, salvation” 11 2.25, 20.22, 22.9, 25.20, 28.19; 17 b.43; 21 15; 25 5.13, 6.23, 7.6, 15, 16, 8.3, 5; 26 7.7, 13.10, 18; 28 7.14; 30 b.3; 32 1.9–10; 34 3.9

- γχαλ **12** 7.5
 ογχετε **1** f.24, b.7
 ογαχ^ο **25** 4.18, 22, 5.4
 ογωσπ “to break, be broken”
 ογωσπ **4** 5.14
 ογοβογες “to chew, crush”
 βακβεκ **32** 2.17
 βηκβηκ **28** 6.7
 ωω “to conceive, be pregnant; conception”
 ετ **3** f.1.13
 ωωω “to forget, sleep”
 αβω **29** f.6
 ωκη “to be dark”
 οκεη **3** f.1.25
 ωλ “to gather, contain” **3** f.1.33; **5** f.12; **25**
 16.19, 24; **36** f.1.3
 βωλ (?) **25** 11.7, 10
 ωнк “to swallow”
 ωнк **26** 3.14
 ωне “stone, rock” **3** f.1.9, 28; **7** 2, 17, 25; **11**
 10.18; **16** 1.8, 2.7; **20** f.2
 ωни **25** 2.24
 ωнз “to live; life” **1** b.6; **11** 22.16, 22.27–
 23.1; **26** 12.4, 13.8
 онз **11** 1.4, 6.12, 8.1–2, 20.9, 23.5, 24.5,
 30.5
 ωназ **12** 27.8, 35.21–22, 37.15–16, 39.5;
25 3.10, 16.7; **26** 6.7, 8.1, 24, 11.21, 13.32;
27 f.12; **28** 10.5, 11.3; **31** f.28
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10 19; **17** b.36, 40, 41, 43; **25** 5.12, 6.22, 8.6,
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11 8.27, 12.9, 18.12, 26.22; **12** 5.5, 10, 21.3;
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 ⲱⲱⲙⲉ "to swell; swelling"
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 ⲱⲱⲧⲉ "sweat"
 ⲃⲱⲧⲉ (?) 5 b.2
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 ⲱⲱⲧⲉ "to wipe (off), obliterate"
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 ⲱⲱⲟⲩⲉ "to move hastily, seize; violence"
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- γε “way, manner” **10** 7; **11** 25.26, 27.15; **24** 31; **25** 2.24, 25, 3.2, 18; **27** f.20; **35** b.5
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 гн “path, road” **11** 3.6 (twice), 4.6, 7; **26** 11.10
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 го “face” **3** f.2.13; **6** 7, 9, 14; **11** 17.10; **12** 7.2, 9.10 (twice), 12, 21.15, 29.6, 7 (three times), 16; **37** b.3, 12, 15, 31
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 манергов “workshop” **25** 17.35; **26** 16.33; **30** b.1
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 гнве “grief, mourning”
 гнви **2** 4; **28** 10.10
 гва “straits, embarrassment, misfortune” **32** 2.23
 гвоҗр “left” **3** f.2.3; **12** 35.14
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 говс “to cover; covering” **7** 11, 14; **12** 11.13, 29.16, 17; **26** 9.7, 11
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 гнвс **25** 9.7
 гик “sorcery, magic” **11** 19.27; **25** 10.15; **26** 10.9 (twice), 17.10
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 говк “to gird, brace”
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 гол “to fly”
 гн^Q **11** 26.12; **12** 29.17; **26** 14.33
 гол “to be hoarse”
 атөөл “not hoarse” **17** f.25
 гол “to throw, bring”
 гал **16** 15.30, 17.5?
 гооле “moth”
 галл **26** 15.4
 глпе “navel”
 гнлпе **36** f.1.2
 глопн “to be weary, despondent; weariness, distress”
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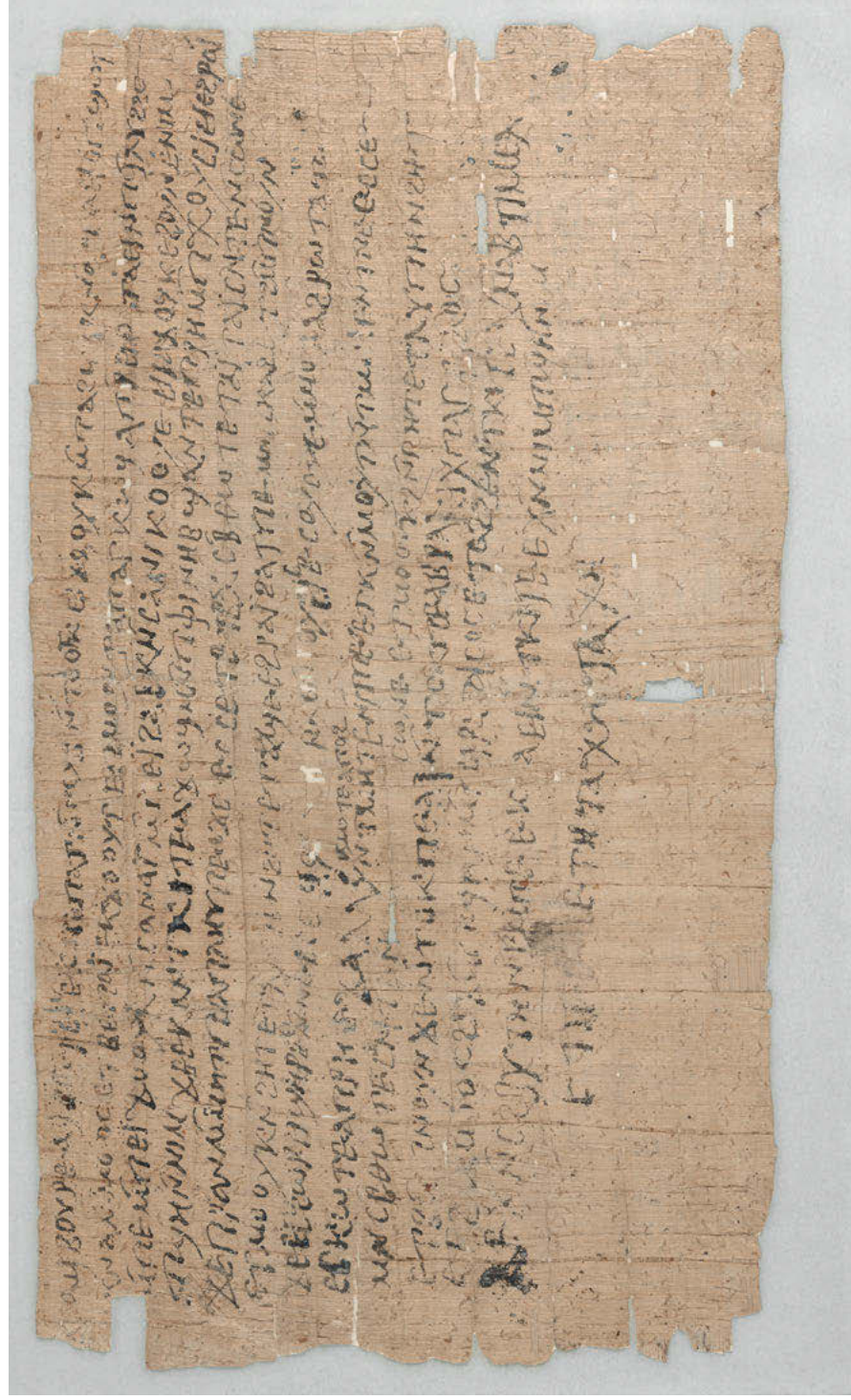
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 σemo 17 b.22
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- σβοι “arm, foreleg” **11** 7.11
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 сонсам **25** 2.11–12
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 σαмоγλ “camel” **32** 2.17
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 си- **1** b.4; **10** 1.17; **16** 2.8, 16
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 сωпе “to seize, take”
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 . роїпѣ (?) **12** 1.7

- ⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ **11** 27.16
 ⲉⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ **26** 15.32
 ⲉⲣⲟⲡⲉ **17** b.2–3
 ⲉⲣⲛⲡⲉ “diadem, sceptre”
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 ⲉⲱⲣⲉ “to prepare”
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 ⲉⲱⲣⲉ “to be inhabited” **26** 16.31, 32
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 ⲉⲱⲭⲱ̅ **11** 20.19
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Plates



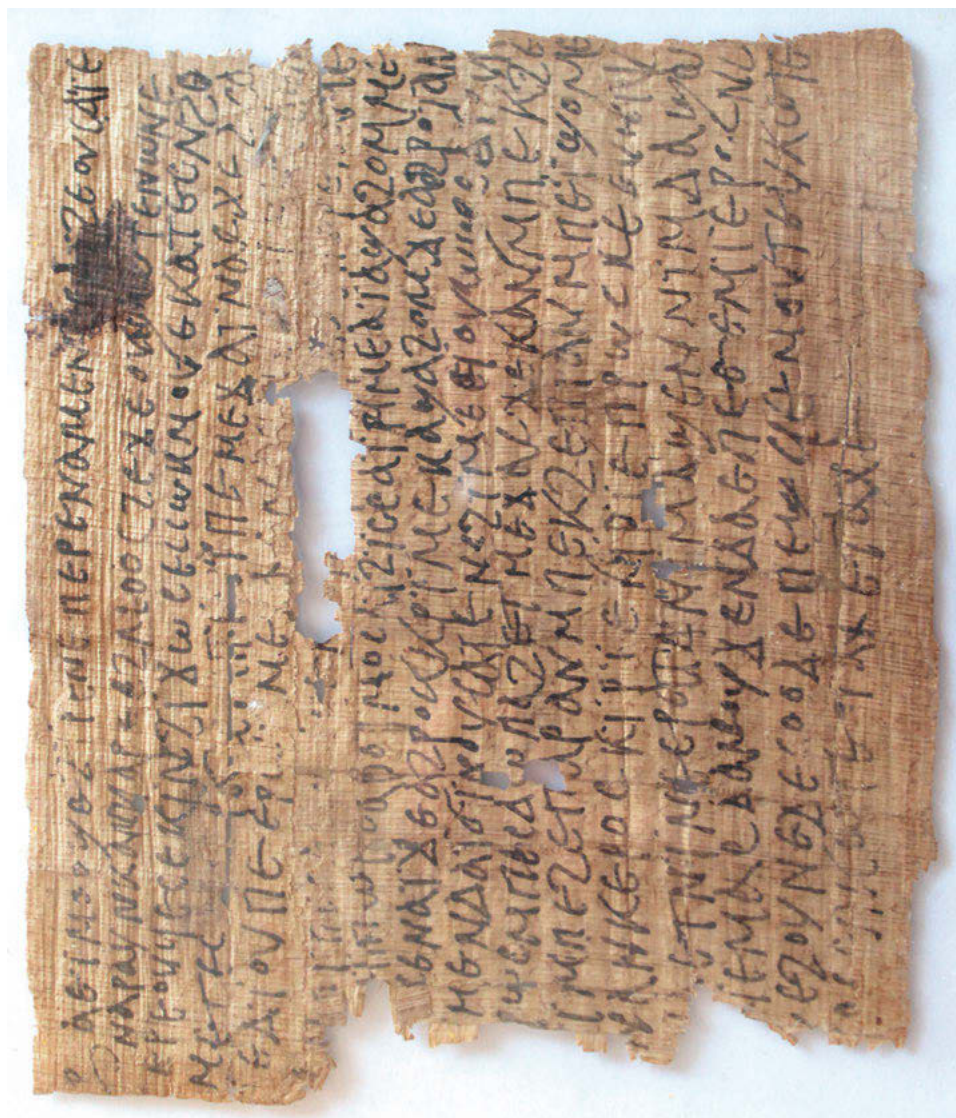


Plate II. *PCMI 20* (P. Donadoni) front. Photography: Massimo Giuseppetti.
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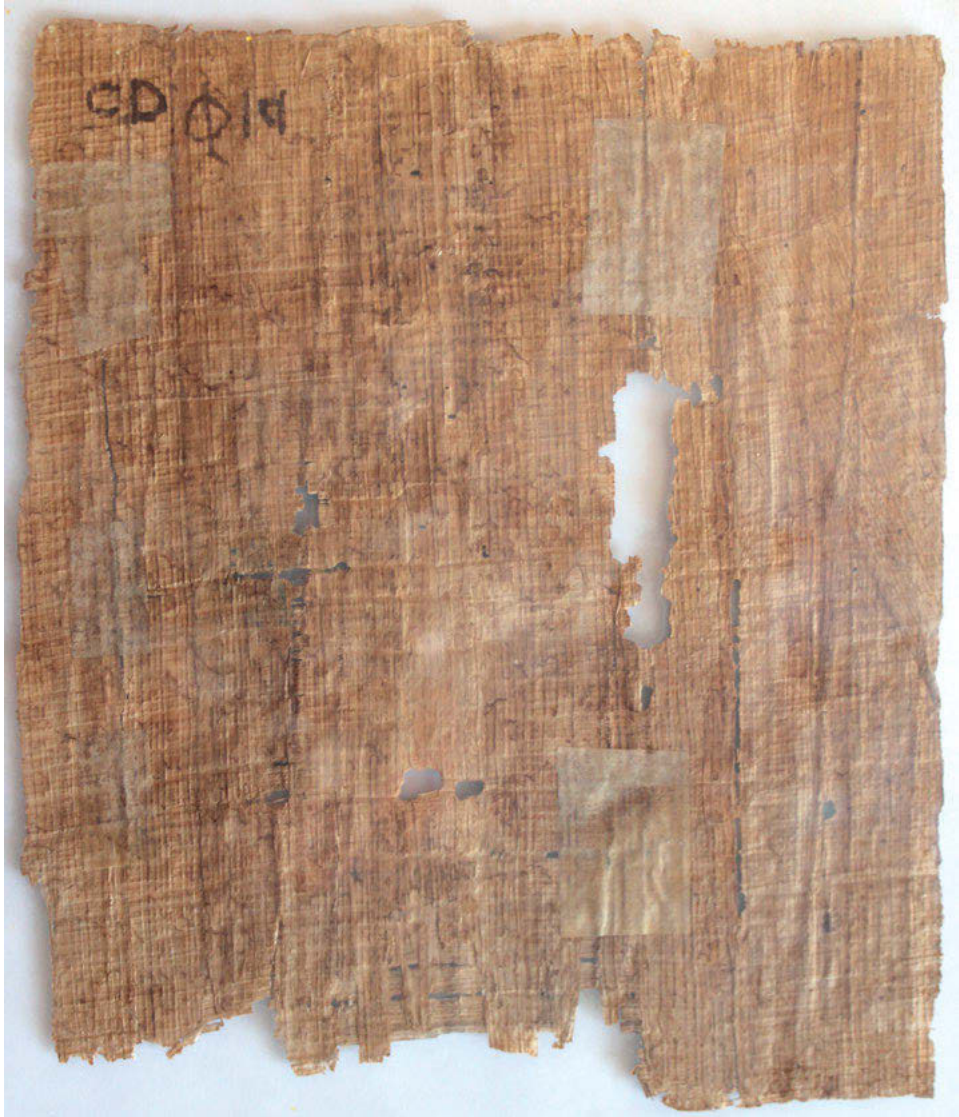


Plate III. *PCMI 20* (P.Donadoni) back. Photography: Massimo Giuseppetti.
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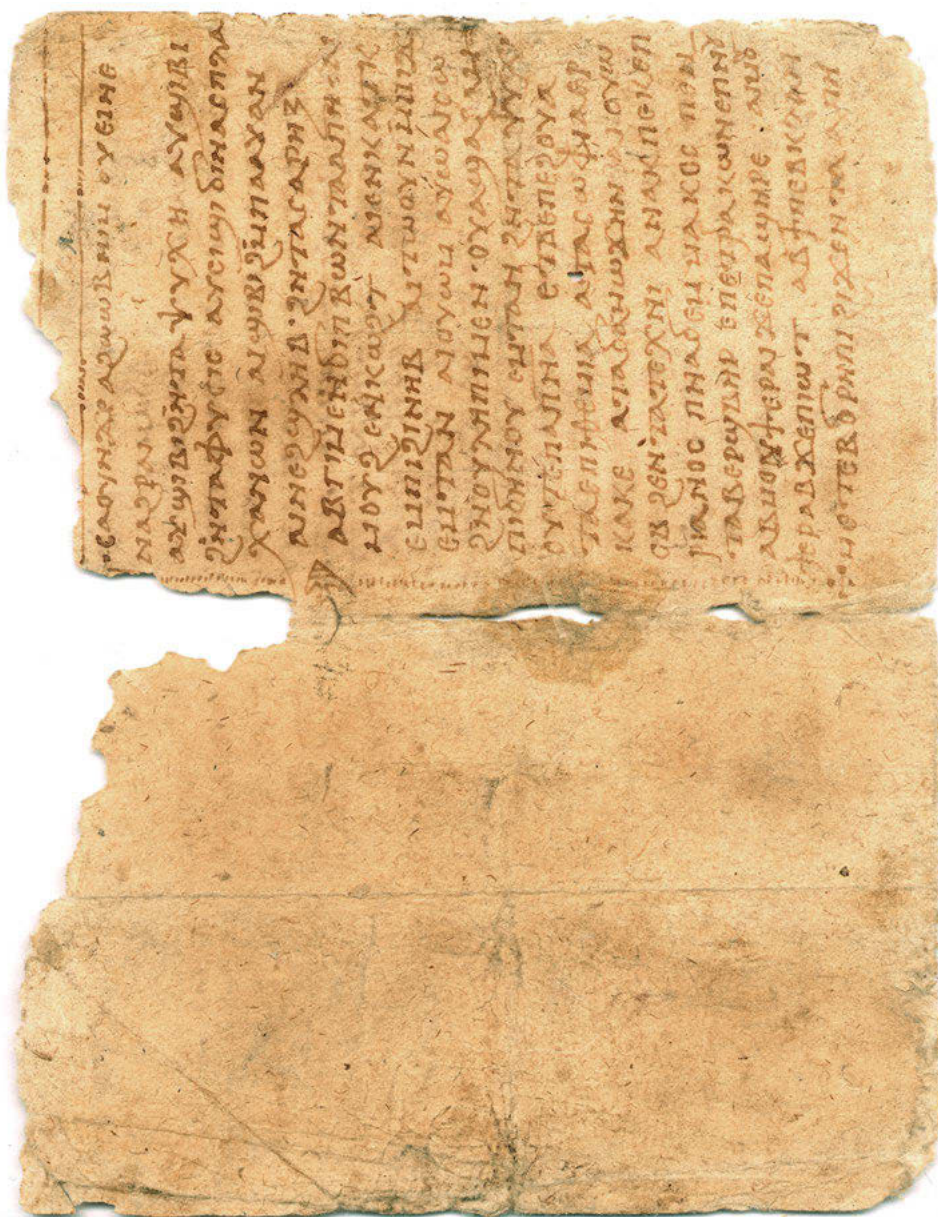


Plate IV. PCMI 28 (P.Bad. V 122) pages 16 & 1. Photography: Elke Fuchs
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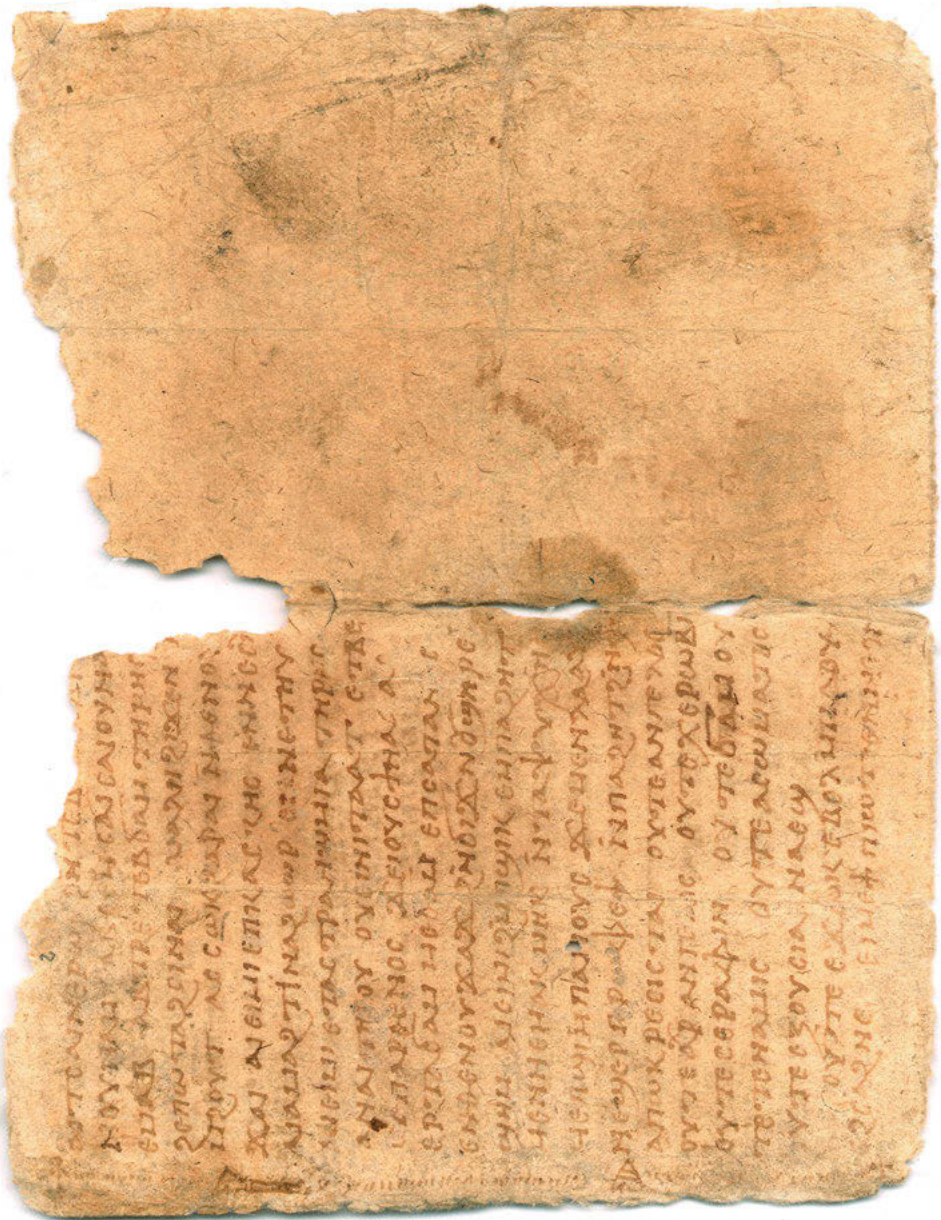


Plate V. PCMI 28 (PBad. V 122) pages 2 & 15. Photography: Elke Fuchs
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Plate VI. PCMI 28 (P.Bad. V 122) pages 14 & 3. Photography: Elke Fuchs
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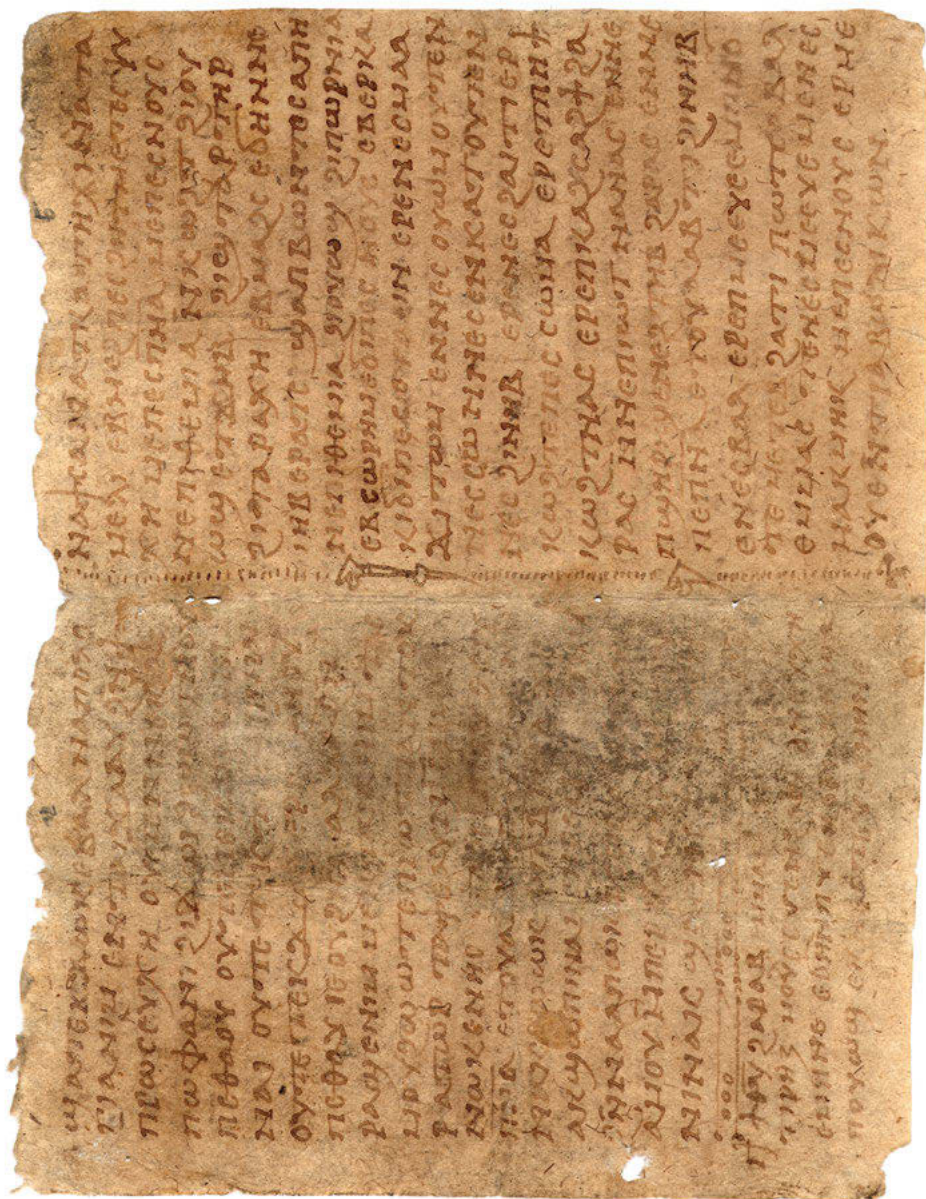


Plate VIII. PCMI 28 (PBad. V 122) pages 12 & 5. Photography: Elke Fuchs
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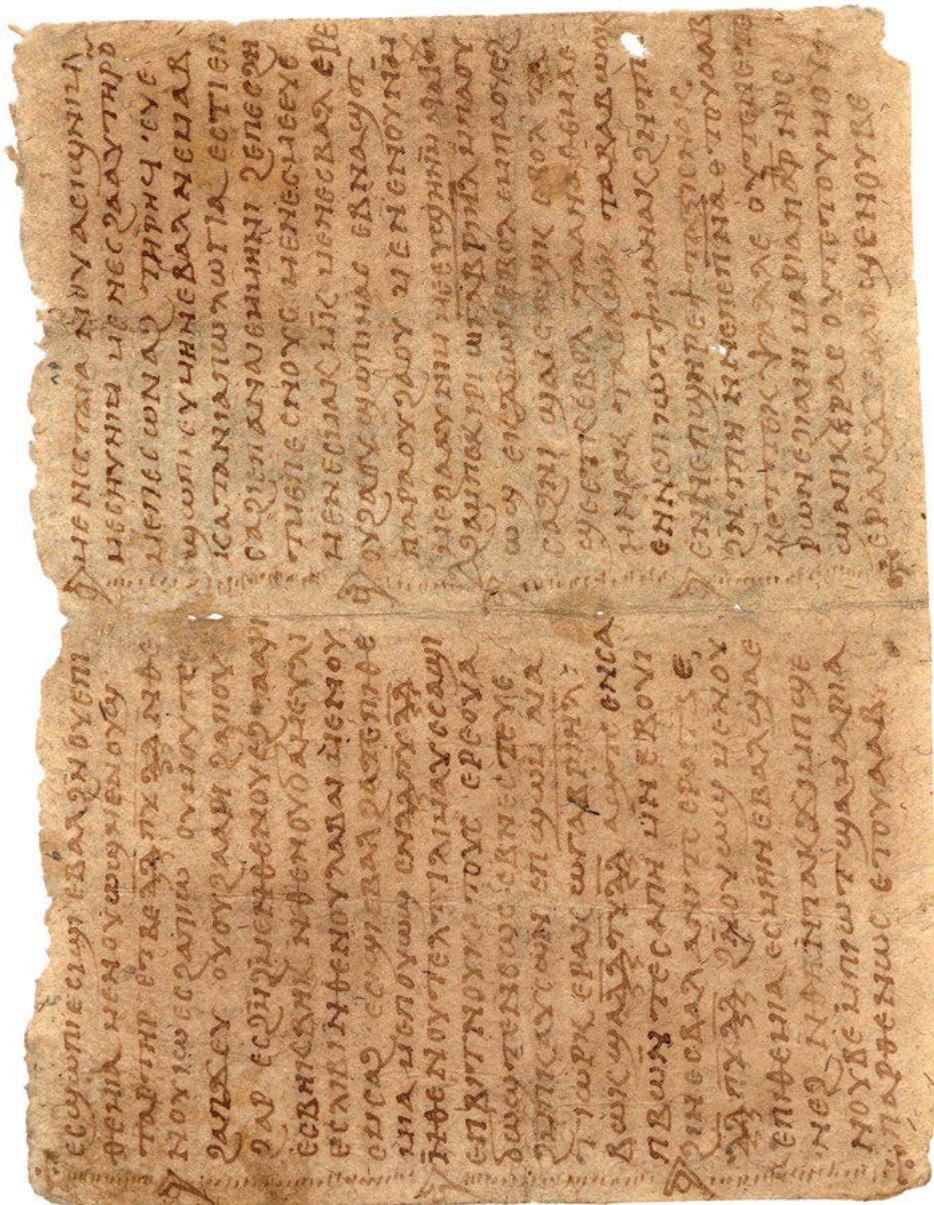


Plate IX. PCMI 28 (P.Bad. V 122) pages 6 & 11. Photography: Elke Fuchs
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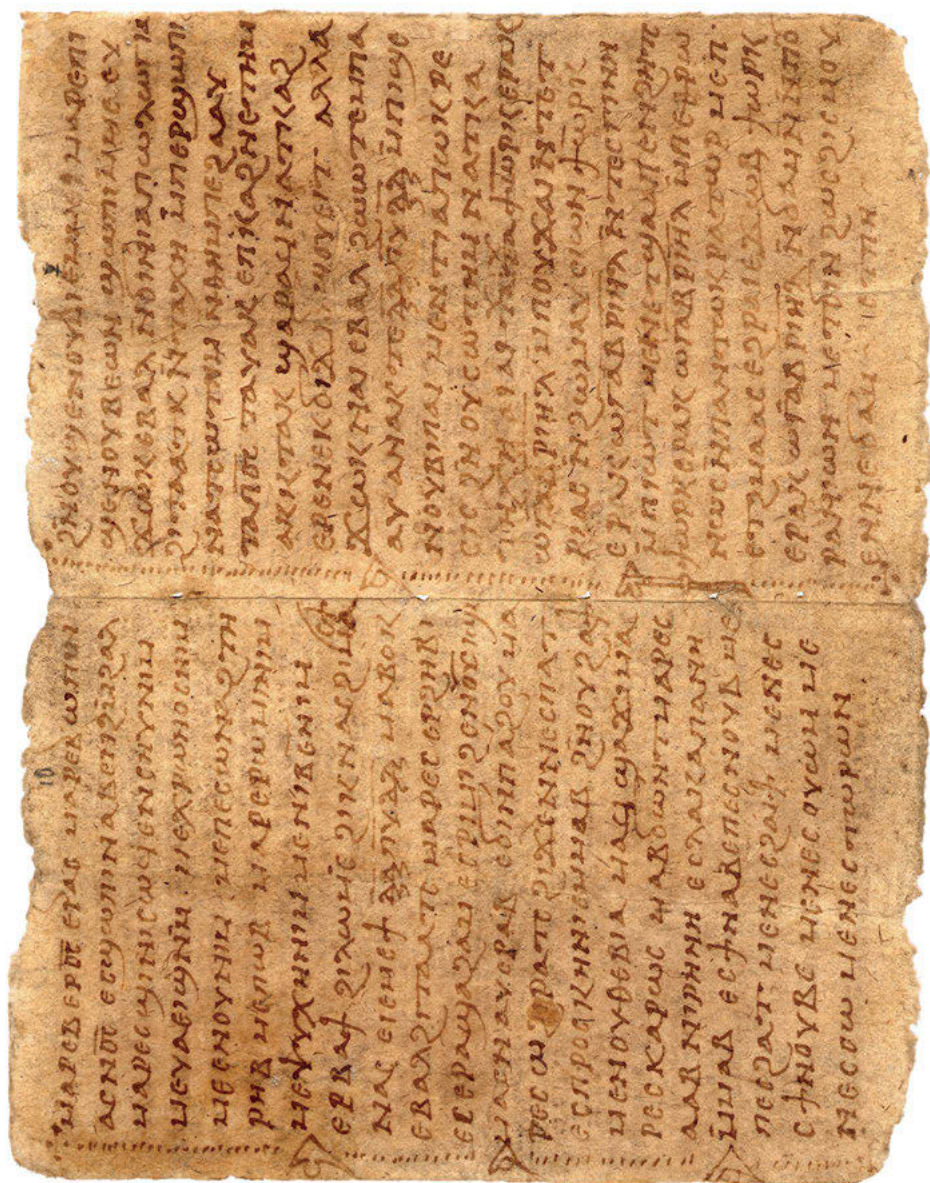


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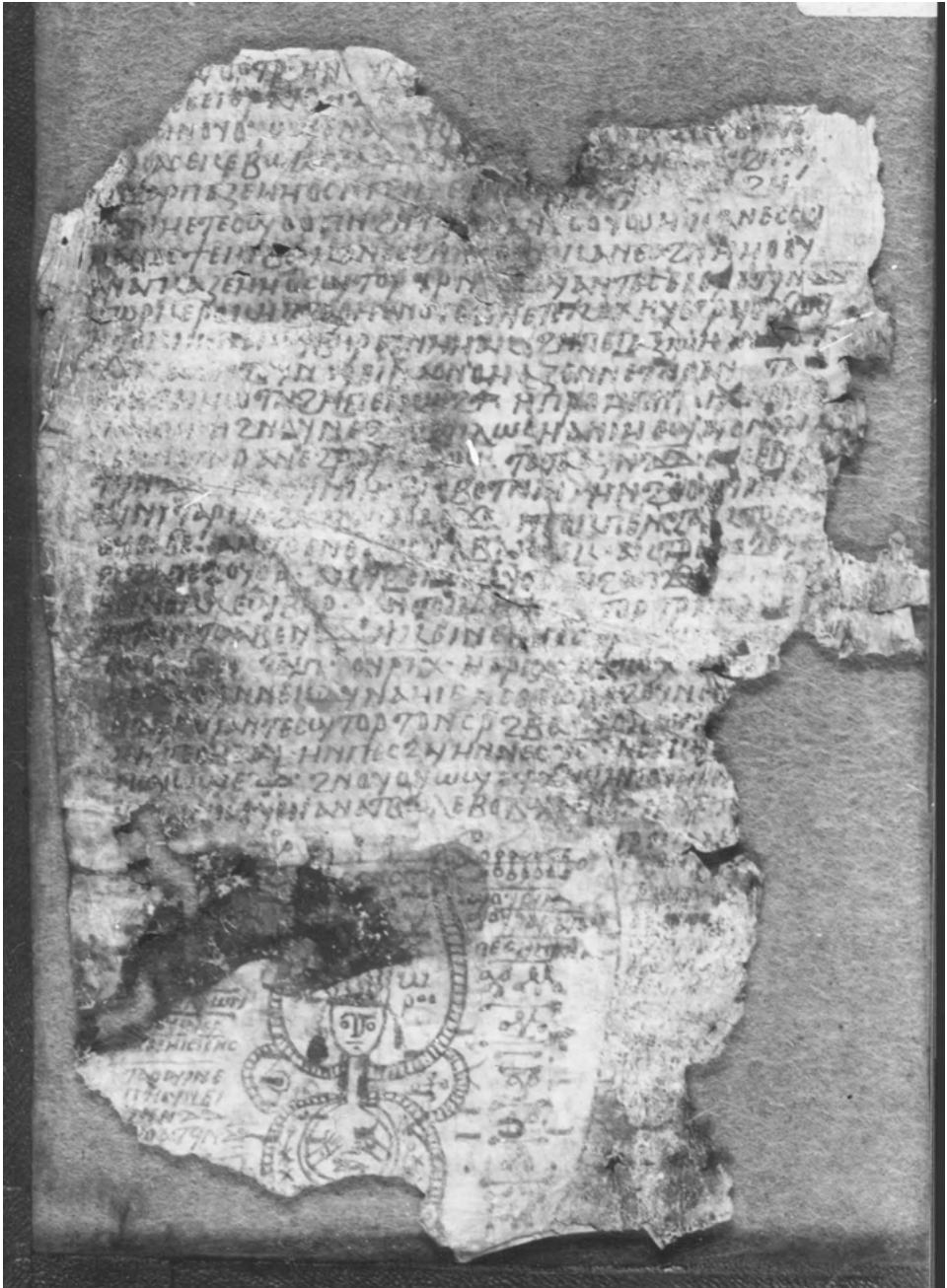


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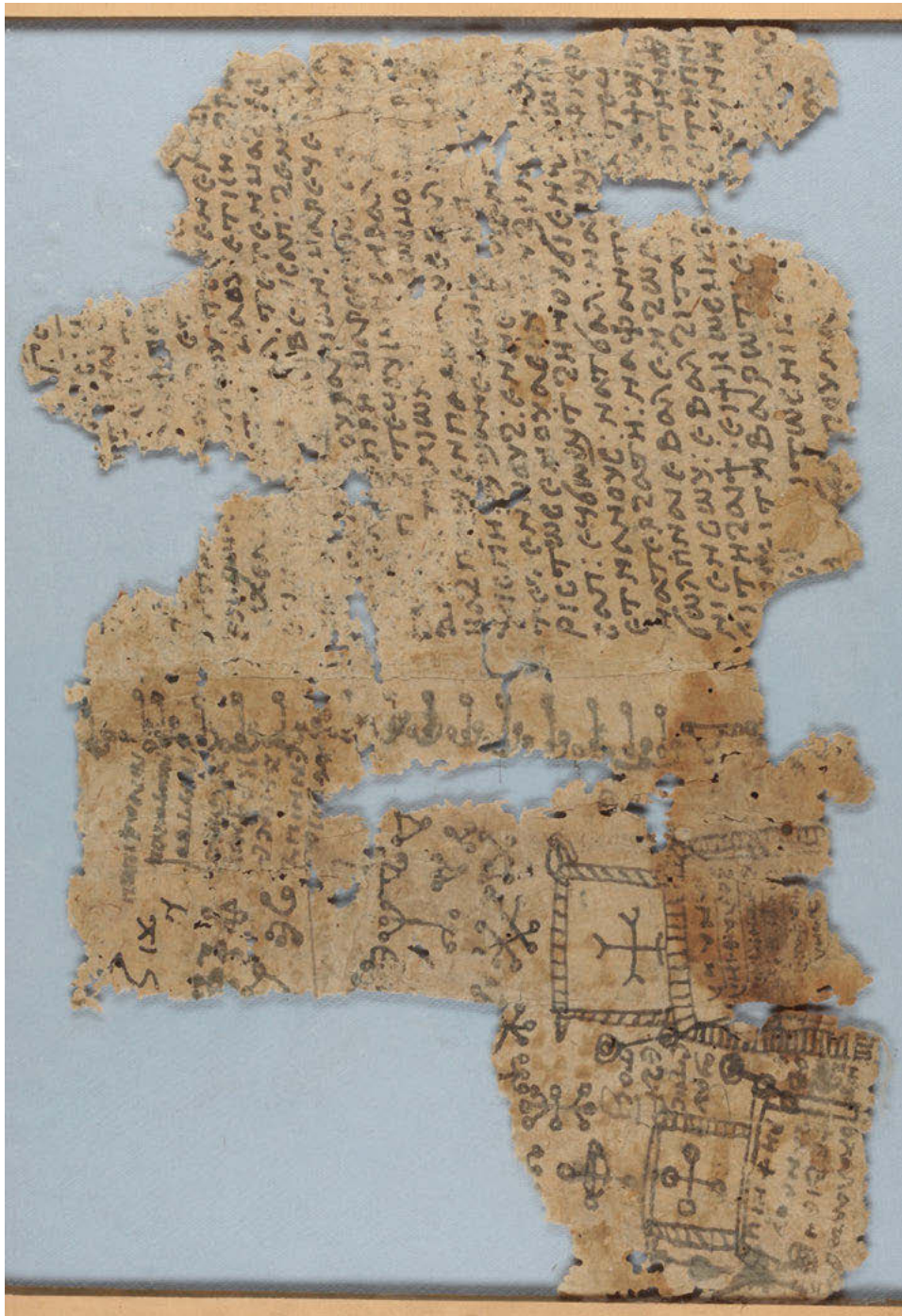


Plate XIII. *PCMI 34 (P. Stras. Copt. 9)* pages 4 & 1.
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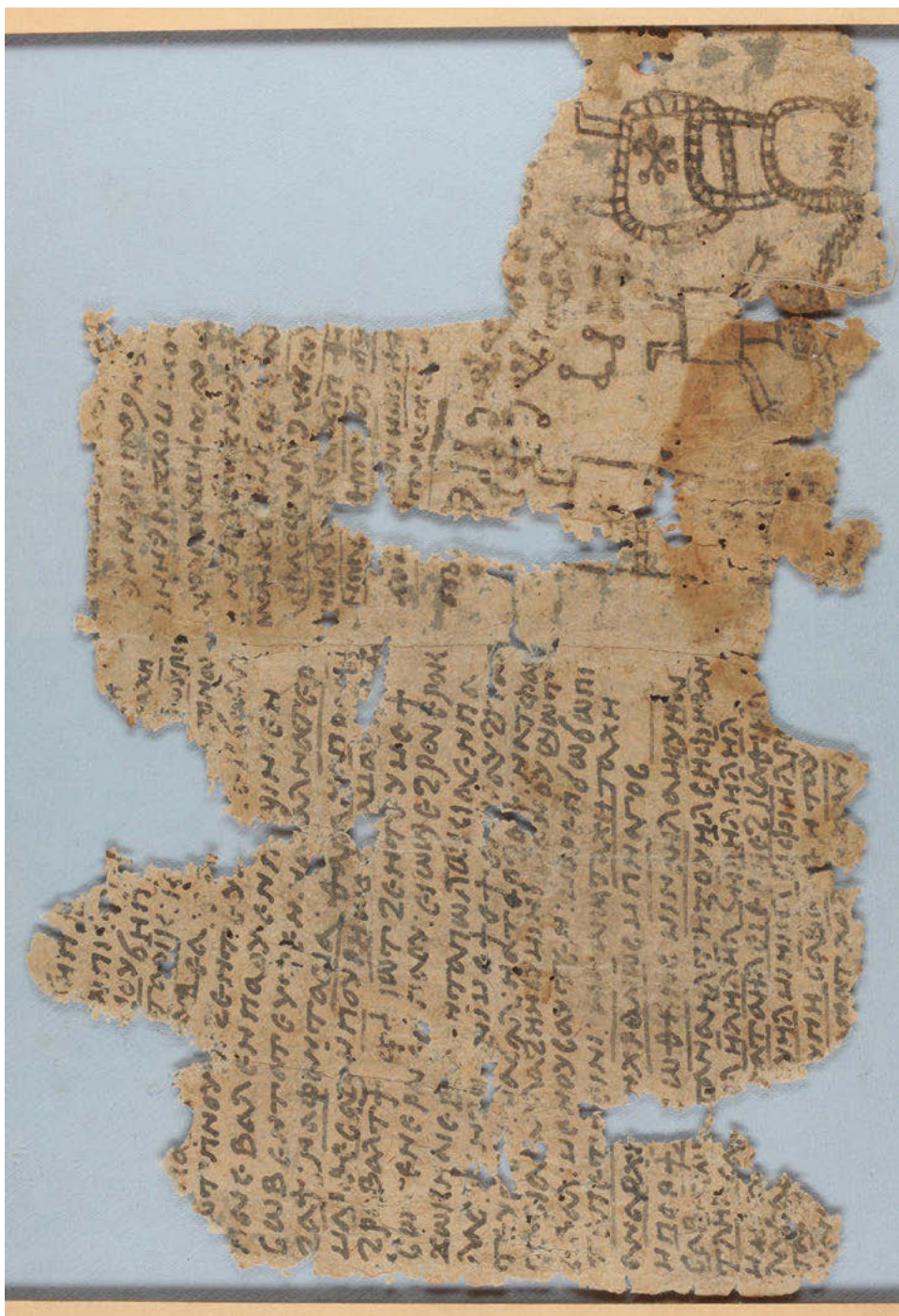
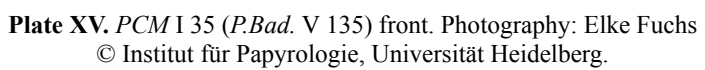
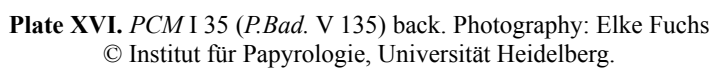


Plate XIV. *PCM I 34 (P. Stras. Copt. 9)* pages 2 & 3.
Coll. and fotogr. Bnu de Strasbourg.





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THE DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF LONDON AND LEIDEN

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE
DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF
LONDON AND LEIDEN

EDITED BY

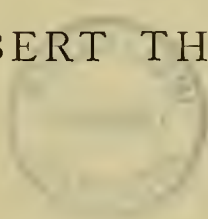
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HERBERT THOMPSON



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P R E F A C E

THE MS., dating from the third century A.D., which is here edited for the first time in a single whole, has long been known to scholars. Its subject-matter—magic and medicine—is not destitute of interest. It is closely connected with the Greek magical papyri from Egypt of the same period, but, being written in demotic, naturally does not reproduce the Greek hymns which are so important a feature of those papyri. The influence of purely Greek mythology also is here by comparison very slight—hardly greater than that of the Alexandrian Judaism which has supplied a number of names of Hellenistic form to the demotic magician. Mithraism has apparently contributed nothing at all: Christianity probably only a deformed reference to the Father in Heaven. On the other hand, as might have been expected, Egyptian mythology has an overwhelmingly strong position, and whereas the Greek papyri scarcely go beyond Hermes, Anubis, and the Osiris legend, the demotic magician introduces Khons, Amon, and many other Egyptian gods. Also, whereas the former assume a knowledge of the *modus operandi* in divination by the lamp and bowl, the latter describes it in great detail.

But the papyrus is especially interesting for the language in which it is written. It is probably the

latest Egyptian MS. which we possess written in the demotic script, and it presents us with the form of the language as written—almost as spoken—by the pagans at the time when the Greek alphabet was being adopted by the Christians. It must not be forgotten, too, that this is the document which contributed perhaps more than any other to the decipherment of demotic, partly through its numerous Greek glosses.

We have therefore thought that a complete edition, with special reference to its philological importance, would be useful. The vocabulary is extensive, comprising about a thousand words. The present volume, containing the introduction, the transliteration, translation, and notes, will be followed by a complete glossary, with separate indices of Greek words, invocation names, names of animals, plants, and minerals, and a list of the glosses, &c., besides a chapter dealing with the principal grammatical forms met with in the MS., and a hand-copy of the text; the photographic reproduction by Hess of the pages in the British Museum and Leemans' facsimile of those at Leiden will of course preserve their independent value for reference, as, for instance, in judging the condition of the MS. and the precise forms of the signs in particular passages.

There is considerable inconsistency in the spelling of words in the papyrus itself. So much having to be rendered more or less conventionally, while fresh light is thrown daily on the intricacies of demotic, it is probable that there are a good many inconsistencies in our transliterations, translations, and notes, in spite of the watchfulness of the excellent reader at the Clarendon

Press. Those, however, who have dealt with the subject at all will probably not judge these too hardly.

In conclusion, we have to record our gratitude, first, to our predecessors in publication and decipherment of the papyrus—to Reuvens, Leemans, and Hess, to Brugsch, Maspero, Revillout, and W. Max Müller—but for whose varied contributions our task would have been infinitely more laborious even in the present advanced state of the study: and secondly, to the authorities of the Egyptian department in the British Museum, and of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, for their courtesy in affording every facility for studying the original MS., and more especially to Dr. Boeser of the Leiden Museum for much kindness and assistance.

F. LL. G.

H. T.

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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE MS.

THE demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden was discovered at Thebes with other papyri, principally Greek but dealing with subjects of a like nature, in the early part of the last century, and was bought by Anastasi, who was at that time Swedish consul at Alexandria, and made a large collection of Egyptian MSS. When Anastasi obtained the MS. it must already have been torn into two parts, and it is even probable that he obtained the two parts at different times, since he sold his Egyptian collections, including the Leiden MS., to the Dutch government in 1828, while the London portion was bought at the sale of his later collections at Paris in 1857 for the British Museum (No. 1072 in Lenormant's Catalogue).

The Leiden fragment was made known to the world much earlier than that in the British Museum. Its importance for the deciphering of the demotic script by the help of the numerous glosses in Graeco-Coptic characters was at once perceived by the distinguished scholar Reuvens, at that time Director of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, who proceeded to study it carefully, and in 1830 published an admirable essay¹ in which he sketched the principal contents of the MS. and indicated its value for the progress of demotic

¹ Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs, par C. J. C. REUVENS. Leide, 1830. (Première lettre, Papyrus bilingues.)

studies. He then took in hand its reproduction, and the MS. was lithographed in facsimile under his direction, and he had corrected the proofs of the first plate when he was cut off by a premature death in 1835; his work was carried to completion and published by his successor in the Directorship of the Museum, Leemans, in 1839¹. Heinrich Brugsch studied it closely, and drew from it most of the examples quoted in his *Demotic Grammar* published in 1855; but, although later scholars have frequently quoted from it and translated fragments of it, the MS. has hitherto remained without complete translation, commentary, or glossary.

The London MS., however, lay from 1857 onwards almost unnoticed in the British Museum. To the late Dr. Pleyte, Leemans' successor at Leiden, belongs the credit of discovering that the two MSS. originally formed one. He had studied the Leiden portion, and at once recognized the handwriting of its fellow in London. Without publishing the fact, he communicated it to Professor Hess of Freiburg, when the latter was working in Leiden on the MS. there. Professor Hess went on to London, and, having fully confirmed Dr. Pleyte's statement, published in 1892 a reproduction of the British Museum MS. with an introduction, including the translation of one column, and a glossary².

Reuvers in his essay dwelt at some length on the 'gnostic' character of the MS. He devoted his attention mainly to the parts which contain the glosses, and those are almost exclusively magical invocations, among which occur the names of gods, spirits, and demons, Egyptian, Syrian, Jewish, &c., strung together in a manner similar

¹ *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide: papyrus égyptien démotique à transcriptions grecques I. 383, publié par le Dr. CONRAD LEEMANS. Leide, 1839.*

² *Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar von J. J. HESS. Freiburg, 1892.*

to those found in gnostic writings and on gnostic gems. He even went so far as to associate them with the name of a particular gnostic leader, Marcus, of the second century, chiefly on the ground of his recorded use of Hebrew and Syriac names in his invocations and the combinations of vowels. In consequence the MS. has acquired the name of the 'Leiden Gnostic,' and the term 'Gnostic' has been passed on to the London MS. But as will be seen from the complete translation here published, there is nothing in the work relating to the gnostic systems—it deals with magic and medicine, and it seems a misnomer to call the MS. gnostic merely because part of the stock-in-trade of the magician and medicine-man were a number of invocation names which he either picked up from the gnostics or derived from sources common to him and them. Hence it has been thought desirable to abandon the epithet 'gnostic,' and to call the work the 'Magical papyrus of London and Leiden' (Pap. mag. LL.).

II. CONDITION OF THE MS.

The London portion is in far better condition than the Leiden portion. The papyrus is pale in colour and the ink very black; consequently where the MS. has not suffered material damage it is easy to read, as the scribe wrote a beautiful and regular hand.

The Leiden papyrus, on the other hand, has unfortunately suffered much, as Leemans, with a view to protecting the surface, covered both recto and verso with 'vegetable' paper, which probably could not be removed now without serious injury to the MS.; but either the paper or the adhesive matter employed with it has darkened and decayed, rendering the writing illegible in places.

In 1829, while the MS. was still in charge of Reuvens and before it had been subjected to the operation above described, he took a tracing of it which has been preserved, and which, though of little assistance in points of minute detail, may be relied on for filling up with certainty many groups which are now wholly lost in the original.

The main body of the writing is on the recto (horizontal fibres) of the papyrus, while on the verso are written memoranda, medical prescriptions, and short invocations.

The London MS. is Pap. No. 10070 of the British Museum (formerly Anast. 1072).

The Leiden MS. is known as I. 383 (reckoned among the Anastasi MSS. as A. 65).

The London portion forms the initial part of the MS. and joins on to the Leiden portion without a break, the tenth and last column of the London MS. and the first of the Leiden forming one column.

The first London column is imperfect, and it is not possible to say with certainty whether the MS. began with it or whether there was an anterior part now lost. It is quite possible that it began here. On the other hand, it is certain that the MS. is imperfect at the end, since the broken edge of the papyrus at Leiden shows traces of a column of writing succeeding the present final column.

It is impossible to estimate how much is lost, as the MS. is not an original composition on a definite plan, but a compilation of heterogeneous material collected together without any logical order.

The two portions, if joined together, would measure, roughly speaking, some 5 m. (about 16½ feet) in length. In height it averages nearly 25 cm. (10 in.). The writing is in columns, of which there are twenty-nine on the

recto, while on the verso are thirty-three small columns or portions of columns; but these are not marked off, as are the recto columns, by vertical and horizontal framing lines¹, nor are they written continuously, but they seem to have been jotted down there on account of their brevity and discontinuous character.

The recto columns vary somewhat in size, but average 20 × 20 cm. (8 in. square). The writing is frequently carried beyond the framing lines.

In each column of the recto the number of lines is on the average about thirty to thirty-three; but the number is very irregular, ranging from forty-three in one column to five in another.

III. CONTENTS.

As has been stated above, the MS. is a compilation. An analysis of the contents will be found on page 14. From this it will be seen to consist mainly of directions for divination processes involving numerous invocations, together with erotica and medical prescriptions, in which, however, magic plays as large a part as medicine.

The MS. is far from being unique in regard to its contents. Fragments of similar works in demotic exist at Paris (Louvre, No. 3229, published by Maspero, *Quelques papyrus du Louvre*, 1875), and at Leiden (I. 384 verso, Anast. 75, published by Leemans, *Mons. du musée de Leide*, 1842, pl. ccxxvi-vii) a MS. partly demotic and partly Greek, the latter portion being published by Leemans in *Pap. graeci mus. lugd. bat.* 1885, ii. *Pap. V*, and re-edited by Dieterich, *Pap. Mag. Mus. Lugd. Bat.* The Greek papyri containing similar texts are numerous, many examples having been pub-

¹ The horizontal lines on the recto are continuous for the whole length of the papyrus.

lished from the museums of Berlin, Leiden, London, and Paris by Goodwin, Parthey, Leemans, Wessely, and Kenyon.

The well-known codex of the Bibliothèque Nationale published by Wessely, *Denkschr. Kais. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, xxxvi. 1888, contains a few invocations in Old Coptic along with the Greek (cf. Griffith, *A. Z.* 1901, p. 85, and bibliography, *ibid.* p. 72).

Magic was from the earliest times largely developed by the Egyptians in relation both to the dead and the living. Under the former head fall both the pyramid texts and other texts found in the tombs, including most of the Book of the Dead, which consists mainly of magical invocations intended to make smooth the path of the deceased in the next world.

Magical texts for the use of the living are found in the Harris magical papyrus (ed. Chabas, 1860), the Metternich stela (ed. Golenischeff, 1877) and kindred stones, the Berlin papyrus edited by Erman (*Zauber-sprüche für Mutter u. Kind*, 1901), &c. Reference may be made to the volume on Egyptian magic by Dr. Wallis Budge, 1899, and to a special study on vessel-divination by E. Lefébure, 'Le vase divinatoire,' in *Sphinx*, 1902, VI. 61 seq. Cf. also Dieterich, 'Abraxas'; Kenyon in *Cat. Greek Pap. in B. M.*, I. 62 seq.; Miss Macdonald in *P. S. B. A.*, xiii. 160 seq.; Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, &c.

In the closely allied department of medicine, it is sufficient to refer to the Ebers papyrus, the Kahun papyri, and the Berlin medical papyrus (ed. Brugsch, *Rec. Mon.* pl. 87-107), which offer many parallels. Among the Greek medical writers it is noticeable that Alexander of Tralles seems much more closely allied to the Egyptian school, if that be represented by our MS., than Galen.

But though the subject-matter of the MS. is not without its interest for the history of magic and medicine, its chief claim to publication lies in its philological interest. From the first its numerous glosses have attracted the attention of scholars, and have been the means of fixing the value of a large number of demotic groups. Further it is in date probably the latest known papyrus written in the demotic script; most of the glosses are really Coptic transcriptions, and under this head may likewise be included all the Egyptian words written in cipher; so that the MS. in these furnishes us with a series of very early Coptic words, including several grammatical forms of great interest. Possibly too the text may be of importance in relation to the question of dialects in pagan Egypt; but that is a subject too little worked out at present to allow of definite statements. The vocabulary is very extensive, and includes a number of Greek words, the names of over 100 plants, besides numerous animals and minerals.

IV. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE MS.

It may be useful to record here the names of those who have dealt with the MS. at greater length than a mere passing reference or quotation, and to whom we are indebted for many suggestions:—

REUVENS. *Supra*, p. 1.

LEEMANS. *Mons. &c., texte; Aegyptische Papyrus in demotischer Schrift, &c.* 1839.

MASPERO. *Rec. trav.*, i. 18-40 (1870).

REVILLIOUT. *Setna*, introd. pp. 3-48 (1877); *Rev. Égypt.*, i. 163-172 (1880), ii. 10-15, 270-2 (1881); *Poème satyrique* (1885).

PLEYTE. *P. S. B. A.*, 1883, 149.

BRUGSCH. *Wtb. pass.*, *A. Z.*, 1884, 18 seq.

MAX MÜLLER. *Rec. tr.*, viii. 172 (1886), xiii. 149 (1890).

HESS. Setna pass. (1888), Zur Aussprache des Griechischen, in the *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, vi. 123; Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar, 1892.

GROFF. Mém. de l'Institut Égypt. iii. 337 seq. (1897), and Bulletin du même, 1897, 1898.

As the London portion of the MS., which in the order of contents is the first part, was published fifty years later than the second part at Leiden, it follows that each publication has an independent numbering of the columns, starting from I. In view of the fact that there are many references in demotic literature already to the columns by their numbers as established by the publications of Leemans and Hess, it would have been desirable to retain the existing numbering if possible. But, as will be seen by comparison of the hand copy of the whole MS. which accompanies this edition with the former publications, the changes in the way of consolidation of the columns, and in some cases necessary re-numbering of the lines, have made it compulsory to introduce a new and continuous numbering of the columns. For instance, Hess col. X and Leemans col. I form a single column, and the same is the case with Leemans cols. II and III and cols. IV and V, and with verso, cols. XVI and XVII, XXII and XXIII. A comparative table of the old and new numbers will be found at the end.

V. THE GLOSSES.

There are about 640 words with transcriptions in Coptic characters in addition to a few inserted in the text.

Besides all the letters of the Greek alphabet we find the following used:—

fl (= R 26/15).	6 (= t : w 9/11).
z (= R 7/33, 25/34).	y (= c 2/10, 9/14).
h (= l 25/34, 35 text).	^ (= z 9/14, 25/34).
⌘ (= w 2/13, 5/23, 8/8).	9 (= z 2/4).
3 (= w 1/25, 8/9, 13, V. 5/9).	5 (= s 9/6, 29/10).
λ (= w 2/18).	♯ (= x 2/26, 29/10).

The glosses were undoubtedly written by the same scribe who wrote the demotic text. And it seems that he wrote the glosses before he filled in the rubrics. For the handwriting of the demotic text and of the rubrics is unquestionably the same; and in filling up in red the empty spaces he had left for rubrication, the scribe took occasion to fill in with his red ink occasional lapses in the black writing. In the text this can be observed in e.g. 24/1, the omitted σ of the second *str* (?) has been filled up in red, and also the omitted determinative in the last word of 28/8, an omitted letter in *phr* 29/11, an omitted word *šn* interlineated in 29/12, and a plural sign in 25/26; and so too the gloss *ewe* in 28/8, overlooked when the glosses were originally inserted in black ink.

It is a fact that there is often a considerable difference between the Greek letters in the passages written in Greek and in the glosses (e.g. *παπιπρετου* in 15/25 and 15/29), but this may be accounted for by the fact that the former are written in a cursive hand with ligatures, while the glosses are carefully written with separately formed letters without ligatures for distinctness' sake in the narrow space between the lines.

The above considerations, however, only show that the text and glosses were written by the same hand in our existing MS. It does not follow that they were written by the original compiler. Max Müller has argued (Rec. tr., viii. 175) that they must be due to another individual since they are mostly in the Fayumic

dialect, while the dialect of the demotic text is 'Untersahidisch' (i. e. Achmimic, so called by Stern). In Rec. tr., xiii. 152 *u.*, he replaces the latter term by a more precise definition: 'Die Mundart steht zwischen Fayumisch u. dem Mittel-ägyptischen von Akhmîm, letzterem näher.' But it is very doubtful whether this distinction between the text and the glosses can be maintained. The only example quoted by Max Müller that distinctly suggests Fayumic is the gloss $\lambda\omega$ and λ over a group in 16/5 and 25/34, which he reads as = (ε) $\rho\sigma\sigma$, regarding the interchange of ρ and λ as evidence of Fayumic dialect. But the demotic group in question does not read *er-w*, but *mr* as in *mr- γ $\frac{1}{2}$* (1/17, 2/7, 14/6, 28), and the gloss $\lambda\omega$ represents the absolute form of the late Egyptian word which we see in its construct form in Sahidic $\lambda\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ and in $\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omega\nu\iota\varsigma$. From the detailed examination of the dialect (in vol. ii) it appears probable that the dialect of the text does not show any distinction from that of the glosses, and it is not necessary to go behind the scribe of the present MS. and place the compiler earlier. He may well have been one and the same.

VI. DATE.

Reuvens (u. s. p. 151) placed the date of the MS. in the first half of the third century A. D., and this was repeated by Leemans.

Groff and Hess attributed it on palaeographical grounds to the second century; but in the light of recent additions to the knowledge of Greek palaeography, and the opinions based on them of Kenyon, Grenfell, and Hunt (see A. Z., xxxix. (1901) p. 78), the third century must be accepted as the date of the MS. But this, of course,

is the date at which the papyrus was written, and merely furnishes a *terminus ad quem* for deciding as to the date of the contents.

That the whole of the papyrus, in its present state, was written by one and the same scribe—with the possible exception of verso XXVIII—can scarcely be a matter of doubt to any one who has studied closely the handwriting of the original MSS. It must be stated, however, that Reuvens and Leemans were of opinion that the glosses were written by a later hand than that of the body of the text: but this question has been discussed above (p. 9), and apart from the identity of ink, and the material proof given there, it may be added that the hieratic glosses in 27/8 are certainly written by the same hand as the numerous hieratic passages scattered through the text.

The date of the contents is a much more complicated question. Written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic, and partly in Greek, they wear the aspect of a compilation, which is borne out by the varied and disconnected nature of the subject-matter.

It has been suggested that the work is a translation into demotic of a Greek original, and perhaps this is the first question demanding discussion. *Prima facie* it may be said to be likely, as so many similar works exist in Greek. The introduction of three invocations of considerable length written in Greek characters almost compels us to accept that origin for those particular sections, viz. 4/1–19, 15/24–31, 23/7–20. It seems probable that the translator felt he could transfer to Egyptian the prescriptions and preparations, while the formula of incantation had to be left in the original language. Had these sections been written in Egyptian originally, it is not likely that an incantation in a foreign tongue would be inserted in the place presumably of an Egyptian one.

And in the first named instance there is the additional evidence of two true Greek glosses, i.e. not *Coptic transcriptions* of the demotic words, but Greek equivalents of the two words 'table' and 'goose,' which seem to be inserted clearly to prevent a misunderstanding of the original terms. In the second instance 15/24-31, the original Greek lines 25-28 are immediately followed by a demotic translation of the same passage (ll. 29-31), which points in the same direction. Translation from the Greek is rendered probable, outside the passages already referred to, by the transcription of Greek prescriptions and substances in 24/1-25, and verso I, II, VIII, IX. According to an ingenious suggestion of Max Müller, in verso II the otherwise unintelligible phrase *m^cnes n rm* is almost certainly a mistranslation of *μαγνησία ἀνδρεία*. Max Müller has also (Rec. tr., viii. 175-6) given strong reasons for regarding the passage 25/23-37 as being translated from a Greek original. However, even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian—certainly so in the case of the Greek passage in 15/25-28, which has itself clearly an Egyptian origin.

On the other hand, some of the chief sections of the MS. show no traces of Greek influence, e.g. cols. VI and XV. 1-20; but it would be rash to say that they are older; they may well represent only a purer Egyptian source. Max Müller (Rec. tr., viii. 172) has suggested that some of the magic formulae go back to the period from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty. This cannot be true of more than a few phrases. The language indeed is not entirely uniform, but throughout the papyrus the vocabulary and grammar are distinctly not 'Late Egyptian'; they are 'demotic,' and that too

of a kind which approaches Coptic much more closely than in any other known papyrus. Certain passages, such as the spell in 13/1-10, show more or less archaism, but in all cases it is mixed with late forms.

The use of hieratic might be thought to indicate some antiquity where it occurs. But the writing is a strange jumble; the hieratic is inextricably though sparingly mixed with the demotic, a single word being often written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic. Where hieratic signs occur the language is not generally more archaic than when the demotic is pure. In 23/24 the word *Abrasax* is written in hieratic. Now *Abrasax* is usually regarded as a typical gnostic invocation name, Irenaeus having stated that it was invented by Basilides (fl. 125 A. D.). This statement is now generally regarded as an error, and the name may be earlier; but there is no authority for placing it in pre-Christian times (cf. Hort, s. v. *Abrasax*, in Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; Dieterich, *Abrasax*, p. 46; C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Kopt. Spr.*, 1892, p. 562).

Not many documents written in hieratic have been ascertained to be later than the first century A. D.; but they were plentiful at Tanis amongst the burnt papyri found by Professor Petrie in the house of 'Bakakhuui' (Asychis), the destruction of which Mr. Petrie was disposed to date to 174 A. D. (Tanis, i. p. 41); and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. v. 237) mentions hieratic as still taught in the schools (circa A. D. 160-220). Hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the name of Decius (249-251), are found in the temple of Esneh, and the existence of hieroglyphic almost implies that of hieratic.

Judging by the language, it is difficult to believe that any part of the work in its present redaction is more than a century or two older than the papyrus itself.

The contents of the papyrus may be classified as follows :—

1. Divination—

- (a) by the vessel of oil I-III, IX-X. 22, XIV, XVIII. 7-33, XXI. 1-9, XXII(?), XXVIII, verso XXII, verso XXVI.
- (b) by a lamp V, VI-VII, VIII. 1-12, XVI, XVII-XVIII. 6, XXV. 1-22, XXVII. 13-36, verso XVIII, verso XXIV, verso XXXI.
- (c) by the sun X. 22-end, XXVII. 1-12, XXIX.
- (d) by moon XXIII. 21-31.
- (e) by the Foreleg constellation (Great Bear) verso XVIII.
- (f) by stars ? IV. 23-4.
- (g) through the priest Psash (?) VIII. 12-end.
- (h) through Imuthes IV. 1-22.
- (i) by dreams verso XVII, eye-paint XXI, invocation XXVII ? XXVIII.
- (k) for thief-catching III. 29, or shipwreck (?) verso XV.

2. to obtain favour and respect XI, verso XXXII.
to avert anger of superior XV. 24-31.

3. Erotica—

- by potions XV. 1-21, XXI. 10-43, XXV. 23-XXVI.
- by salves XII, verso III. 14-16, XII-XIII. 9, XIII. 10-11, XIV, XXIII, XXV, XXX, XXXII.
- αγωγιμον* verso XVI, XVII, XIX.
- διακοπη* XIII. 1-10.

4. Poisons, &c.—

- blinding XIII. 11, XXIV. 30.
- soporifics XXIII. 1-20, XXIV, verso II. 16-III. 3.
- maddening (magic) verso XXIX.
- slaying XXIII. 7, XXIV. 28, verso XXXII.
- uses of the shrew-mouse, &c. (chiefly in erotica) XIII. 11-end and verso XXXII.

5. Healing—

- poison XIX. 10-21.
- sting XX. 1-27.
- dog's bite XIX. 9, 32-40.
- bone in throat XIX. 21-32, XX. 27-33.
- gout and other affections of feet verso VIII-X, XI.
- water in ears verso IV. 1-5.
- ophthalmia (?) verso XX.
- fever verso XXXIII.
- haemorrhage, &c. in woman verso V. 1-3, 9-13, V. 4-8.
- to ascertain pregnancy verso V. 4-8.

6. names or descriptions of plants, drugs, &c. verso I-II. 15, III. 4-13, 17-18, IV. 6-19, V. 14-17.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

COLUMN I-III. Divination by vessel with medium.

1/2-3/5 invocation ; 3/5-3/35 directions.

IV. 1-19. Process employed by Imuthes.

1-8 directions ; 9-19 Greek invocation.

IV. 20-22. For a horoscope (?).

IV. 23-24. Eye-paints.

V. 1-2. fragmentary.

3-32. Divination by lamp without medium.

3-8 directions ; 9-23 invocations ; 24-32
prescription for eye-paint and further
directions.

VI-VIII. 11. Divination by lamp, with medium and alone.

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VIII. 12-18. Divination alone, according to the priest
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IX-X. 22. Divination of Chons by vessel.

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for use with medium ; 10/20-10/22 for
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X. 22-35. Divination by vessel to see the bark of Ra, alone.

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XI. Formula for acquiring praise and honour.

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1-14 directions ; 15-18 invocation ; 18-27
alternative invocation ; 27-31 further
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XIII. To separate a man from a woman.

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plete) ; 11-29 uses of shrew-mouse (?) and
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and procuring the woman.

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COLUMN XV. 1-20. Eroticon.

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XV. 21-23. Another eroticon.

XV. 24-31. Formula for averting anger of a superior.

25-28 Greek invocation; 29-31 demotic translation of the same.

XVI. 1-14. Divination by lamp; invocation.

XVI. 15-17. Invocation before the sun for success generally.

XVI. 18-30. Divination by lamp with a medium.

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XVII. 1-21. Another method of divination by lamp with medium.

1-11 invocation; 11-21 directions.

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XVII. 27-XVIII. 6. Another method of the same.

XVIII. 7-33. Divination by vessel with medium or alone.

8-23 invocation; 24-33 directions.

XIX. 1-9. Formula for the bite of a dog.

1-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XIX. 10-21. Formula for extracting poison from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a philtre.

11-19 invocation; 19-21 directions.

XIX. 21-32. Formula for a bone in the throat.

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XX. 1-27. Formula for the sting of a scorpion (?).

2-13 invocation; 14-27 directions and invocation to the oil.

XX. 27-33. Formula for a bone in the throat.

XXI. 1-9. Divination by vessel through Osiris.

2-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XXI. 10-43. Eroticon (a scarab in wine).

10-20 directions; 20-43 invocations.

XXII. 1-5. Divination by vessel for spirit summoning (incomplete).

XXIII. 1-20. Formula to inflict catalepsy and death.

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COLUMN

- XXIII. 21-26. Vessel-divination by the moon.
 21-24 directions ; 24-26 invocation.
- XXIII. 27-31. Another method of the same.
- XXIV. Various prescriptions for producing sleep,
 catalepsy, death, &c.
- XXV. 1-22. Divination by lamp with a medium.
 2-8 invocation ; 9-22 directions.
- XXV. 23-31. Eroticon.
- XXV. 31-XXVI. 18. Eroticon.
 25/31-33 directions ; 25/34-37 invoca-
 tion ; 26/1-18 alternative invocation.
- XXVII. 1-12. Divination by vessel with medium, for
 seeing the bark of Ra.
 1/9 invocation ; 9-12 directions.
- XXVII. 13-36. Divination by lamp with medium.
 13-19 directions ; 20-24 invocation ;
 24-36 prescription for eye-paint and
 further directions.
- XXVIII. 1-9. Divination by vessel, alone.
 1-4 invocation ; 4-9 directions.
- XXVIII. 10-15. Another method of the same.
- XXIX. 1-20. Divination by the sun with medium.
 1-4 directions ; 5-12 invocation ; 12-
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 further directions.
- XXIX. 20-30. Another method of the same.

VERSO.

- I. Names of plants.
- II. 1-15. Names of plants and minerals.
- II. 16-20. Prescription for sleeping draught.
- III. 1-3. Another.
- III. 4-13, 17-18. Names of minerals.
- III. 14-16. Eroticon.
- IV. 1-5. Prescription for the ears.
- IV. 6-19. Names of animals and plants.
- V. 1-3, 9-13. Prescriptions for haemorrhage in women.
- V. 4-8. Prescription for ascertaining pregnancy.
- V. 14-17. Names of plants.

- VI-VII. Prescriptions for ailments of women.
- VIII-X. Prescriptions for gout.
 - XI. Prescriptions for ailments of the feet.
 - XII-XIV. Erotica.
 - XV. Formula for thief-catching and against shipwreck (?).
 - XVI. Eroticon.
 - XVII. Formula for dreams.
- XVIII. Divination by lamp, or by the Fore-leg (Great Bear)
Constellation.
 - XIX. Formula for summoning a woman.
 - XX. Prescription for ophthalmia (?).
 - XXI. Formula for an eye-paint (?).
 - XXII. Vessel-divination, alone.
- XXIII. Eroticon.
- XXIV. Lamp-divination.
 - XXV. Eroticon.
 - XXVI. Invocation for use in vessel-divination.
- XXVII. Invocation for the same (?).
- XXVIII. Directions for spirit-summoning (?).
 - XXIX. Formula to produce madness.
 - XXX. Erotica.
 - XXXI. Invocation for use in lamp-divination.
- XXXII. Formula for producing love or death of a woman, and
acquiring praise.
- XXXIII. Formula for removing fever.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

TRANSLATION.

RESTORATIONS are placed in *square* brackets []. Lacunae in the original, for which no restoration is suggested, are represented by dots. Words in *round* brackets () are not in the original, but are added by the translators; those between angular brackets < > are intended to be omitted.

The second person singular has been rendered by 'thou, thee' in invocations, by 'you' elsewhere. In the very few instances in which the second person plural occurs, it is indicated by the use of 'ye' or 'you' (plur.); (*bis*) following a word indicates that the word is followed in the original by the sign *sp sn*, implying that the word or phrase is to be repeated.

An accurate transcription of the magic names is given in the transliteration; in the translation we have rendered the sound approximately without strict adherence to any one system, generally following the glosses where they exist, as it was thought that this would be the most useful course for such readers as are not Egyptian scholars.

TRANSLITERATION.

For the system, see note preceding the demotic glossary. Words transliterated with Coptic letters *between asterisks* are written in *cipher* in the original.

REFERENCES.

In referring to the plates of the papyrus in vol. ii, Col. I. l. 1 is quoted as 1/1 and verso, Col. II. l. 3 as V. 2/3, &c.

TRANSLITERATION

COL. I.

1. ḥn p tš n Pr-mze z-mt
2. štte n pe-f ryt ḥtp n Pr- . . . e ḥr-f mw tyk
3. n ʾm t(?) e ne-f(?) šḥ(?)n ʿre-t ʿnh·t
4. tkr my p wyn p wstn ḥn pe hn
5. a·wn n-y p t a·wn n-y t ty·t a·wn n-y p nwn
6. ʿo·t n ḥmt n ʾrq-ḥḥ n ntr·w nt n t p·t nt θse
ʾm-n
7. wyn p wstn ḥn pe hne pe
8. ḥm-ḥl nte ḥr-f pḥt a py hne (nhē) my wz

COL. I.

l. 1. Restore from 18/7. The parallel text to ll. 13-17 shows that more than half of the page is lost, but the heading line was probably not of full length. *Pr-mze* is *περμζε* (Oxyrhynchus), capital of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

l. 2. *Pr- . . . e* (?). The group suggests a reading *Pr-ʾr-ʾmn* for *περρμρν* (Pelusium), but the ʾr (?) sign is perhaps too upright, and it is more likely that the two signs following *Pr* are a special group for some divine name. Nothing is known of the religious importance of Pelusium, or even of its name in Egyptian, but the city is mentioned in a Greek invocation quoted below at l. 12.

l. 3. *šḥ* (?). This group, here in the plural, may represent  *šḥ*, 'toes' (LANGE, A. Z., 1896, 76). Cf. LEPSIUS, Todtenb., c. 42, l. 9 *iw zḥ·w-ḥ šḥ·w-ḥ m ʿr·tw* (sic) *ʿnh·w*, 'my fingers and toes are as rearing serpents.' But the same group recurs in 7/2 as a masc. sing. subst. where the context rather suggests the meaning 'testicles.'

ʿnh·t, of a serpent, cf. 12/17; in Egyptian PLEYTE, Pap. Tur., cxxxii. 4 and (very late) Mar. Pap. Boul., I. Pl. 9, ll. 5-6. It seems to mean 'darting forward for attack.' Similar meanings, 'rise,' &c., are common, esp. in late texts, BR., Wtb., 198-9; cf. also 9/16, 10/7. But in GRIFFITH, Tell el Yahudiyeh, xxv. 15, an enraged serpent *ʿnh nf·w-f* 'breathed its vapour' at a god, *ʿnh* being there a transitive verb surviving in Sah. *ⲁⲛⲩⲩ-ⲧⲏⲧ* 'breathe,' BSCAI, Rec. tr., vii. 25 (Job ix. 18).

TRANSLATION

COL. I.

(1) [A vessel-divination which a physician?] of the nome of Pemze [gave to me]. Formula: (2) '[O god N.] the border of whose girdle (?) rests in Peremoun (?), whose face is like a spark (3) of (?) an obscene (?) cat, whose toes (?) are a rearing uraeus (4) quick[-ly ?]; put light and spaciousness in my vessel (5) Open to me the earth, open to me the Underworld, open to me the abyss, (6) great of bronze of Alkhah, ye gods that are in heaven, that are exalted, come ye (7) [put ?] light and spaciousness in my vessel, my (8) [this] boy, whose face is bent over this vessel

l. 4. *p wryn p wstn*, cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. v. 17 (ed. DIETERICH) γενεσθω βα(θους) πλα(τος) μη(κος) αυγη in an ονειρου αιτησις.

l. 5. Or perhaps '[Open to me, O heaven!], open to me, O earth!' &c. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1180 ανοιγητι (sic) ουρανε.

ty-t transcribed *THI* in Gloss. 17/20, O. C. Par. *TH* (A. Z., 1883, 94). In II Kham. ii. 10, &c., the judgement of the dead takes place in Tei, which seems convertible with Amenti.

p nwn. It is a question whether this is the hieroglyphic . The latter occurs only twice in this papyrus, but in one of the instances it is clearly parallel to *nwn*. Cf. xxi. 33 *nte-k py k km hyt 'r pyr n p*  with ix. 15 *'nk p hf 'r pyr n p nwn*.

l. 6. *'rq-hh*. BRUGSCH, Dict. Geog., 130, 1121 = [a]λχαυ 15/27, O. C. Par. αλχαι (A. Z., 1883, 104), the necropolis at Abydos where the head of Osiris was preserved. It is spelt with *l*, *'lg-hh* only once in 15/30, cf. the converse in *gh'ikter* = χαρκτηρ 5/5.

'm-n. αλωιη, cf. MÜLLER, A. Z., 1893, 50, who suggests that it is cohortative 1st plur. 'let us come,' or for *'m-w n-y*, 'come ye unto me,' with the *n-y* unaccented being reduced to an enclitic, but cf. 11/16 *'m-n n-y*.

l. 8. *nhe*, 'oil,' and *hne*, 'vessel,' confused in the writing. Parallel passages authorize either.

9. c ze py šn-hne p šn-hne n 'S:t pe e-s qte
 10. 'm n-y a hn . . . pe ḥtr ze hb nb . . .
 11. . . . [nte-]k t wn yr-t-f n py 'lw a bl ar-w tre-w
 12. z 'nk pe p pr-^o my-sr sr-my-srpt rn-yt
 13. [a]r-k ty n p-hw z 'nk pe syt-t'-k stm rn-yt stm
 14. hrenwte l'ppt-t-th^c l'ksnth^c s^c
 15. l bwel sp-sn lwtery g's^cnt^c y^ch-^o
 16. [p]šft n t p't 'bl'n^cth^cn^cl^cb^c p srrf
 17. [e-^rk] zt-f e-^rk sq n ḥrw-k p mr-^rḥ-nfr pe ḥtr

l. 10. *ḥtr* here and elsewhere perhaps 'compeller,' meaning him (here Anubis) who compels the gods to do the magician's will.

l. 11. *aa*. Note this gloss as a variant or correction of *nte-k ty*, also in l. 18.

l. 12. *z 'nk*. For the essentially Egyptian identification of the utterer of the spell with his god see DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 136 note, and cf. *Iambl. de Myst.* vi. 6.

p pr-^o my-sr, cf. the corrupt *τον μονισδρω τον αναξ* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. ix. 11-12.

sr-my-srpt. The same signs recur grouped together in varying order as a divine appellative in 9/6 and 11/8. The knife  and hide  are the zodiacal signs of Leo and Aries (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22); the flower or seed-head is the peculiar determinative of the *καρποτ* throughout this papyrus. The same divine name, composed of a lotus bud (?)  with lion and spelt-out name of ram (*srw*), occurs in LEPS., *Todt.*, cap. 162, l. 5, variants giving *srpd* for the lotus bud (?) (BR., *Wtb.*, 1265) and *m'y* for the lion (Leyd. *Lijkpap.*, No. 16). Cf. also PLEYTE, *Chapitres Suppl.*, Pl. 14 and 131. The group of a lotus leaf, lion, and ram is figured on several hypocephali, the best example being in BUDGE, *Lady Meux Cat.*, 2nd ed., Pl. VI. Cf. PLEYTE, *ib. text*, Pl. opp. p. 60. Probably none of these instances are earlier than the Persian invasion. Outside our papyrus the normal order is evidently lotus-lion-ram, and Greek versions agree with this: *Brit. Mus. Pap.* CXXI. l. 499 *εγω εμι ο εν τω Πηλουσιω καθιδρυμενος Σερφουθ: μονισρω:* (so facs.), similarly l. 557; in Leyd. Pap. V. col. 3 a, l. 6, the spelling is varied and corrupt. In each case *σερφουθ* is marked off from *μονισρω*, the latter appearing as one word. On a gnostic gem in the Wilson Collection belonging to Aberdeen University is the legend:—*σερφουθ μονισρω λαιλαμ dos μοι χαριν πραξιν νεικην*. In this combination the lotus (*καρποτ*, see below, 2/17), the lion (*αιστ*, see below, 5/11), and the ram (*ερσ*, see below, 11/8 and 14/13, and decan names in BR., *Wtb. Suppl.*, 995) probably all represent solar attributes.

rn-yt. This abnormal spelling apparently arises from a combination

(oil); cause to succeed (9) for this vessel-divination is the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought (10) come in to me, O my compeller (?), for everything (11) and cause the eyes of this child to be opened to them all, (12) for I am the Pharaoh Lion-ram; Ram-lion-lotus is my name (13) to thee here to-day, for I am Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, Setem (14) [is my true name, &c.] Hrenoute, Lapptotha, Laxantha, Sa-(15)[risa, &c.] Bolbouel (*bis*), Louteri, (Klo-)Kasantra, Iaho (16) [is my name, &c., Balkam the] dread (?) one of heaven, Ablanathanalba, the gryphon (17) [of the shrine of God, &c.]. [You] say it, drawling (?) with your

of the earlier *rn-y* and the later form found in O. C. Par. **ερεπτ** (A. Z., 1900, 89, cf. Boh. **ερεπκ** Hyv. Actes, 108). Cf. 14/2 *yrt-yt*.

l. 13. Lines 13-17 are repeated with the missing passages complete in verso XXVII, which is written on the back of this and the following column.

syt-t'-k. The first element is written as the 'serpent' **επ** in the parallel text and *k* is bull (**κρ**, 7/33), but *t'* seems meaningless. It may possibly be 'the impregnator of the cow,' cf. BUDGE, *Nesiamsu*, iii. 6, *p' k' sty m l'wt*. In PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, i. 252, we have practically the same phrase introduced into an O. C. context which gives an entirely different meaning, 'I am Osiris whom Set destroyed,' **πεντασιτ ταρο(ς)**; see ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 109 note.

stm, i. e. 'hearing,' or perhaps 'hearer,' but the personal determinative is absent.

l. 15. *Kasantra* alone without **κλο** appears in the demotic of both texts, suggesting a reminiscence of the prophetess Cassandra.

l. 16. *srrf* the hieroglyphic *sfr* of II Beni Hasan, Pl. IV, a winged quadruped with raptorial beak. The *srrf* is described in Kufi, xv. 1 seq., as 'the image (?) of god (?), the king (?) of all that is in the world, the avenger that cannot (himself) be punished; his beak is that of the falcon, his eyes those of a man, his limbs of a lion, his ears of a . . . , his scales of a water- . . . , his tail a serpent's.' Further, he is the mightiest of beings next to God, has authority over everything on earth like Death, and is the instrument of God's vengeance.

l. 17. *sz*, cf. 6/19 for the complete phrase. The meaning 'drawl' is not quite certain. It must be some artificial way of speaking, such as whining or muttering, cf. 7/32 and Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 1, l. 38, col. 3. l. 2, and *φθογγος αναγκαστικός*, &c., Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. 765 seq.

18. a šnt-k ar-f ty n p-hw nte-k t wn yr-t-f n
py [lw]

19. nb nte-k nhm py lw nte hr-f ph[t a py]

20. n ntr hry-t p-sepe-n-p-t hry-t

21. ank pe Hr Mn nt hms a py šn-hne ty n
p[-hw]

22. py šn-hne ty n p-hw mryghry e-r-k

23. nte-w z pe šn n-y z n-w sp-sn n ntr-w nt w^b
n p nwn

24. n t n rn nte n ntr-w n Kmy h^c hr n gpe-w

25. th^c r z ank t^c-py-šteh-^cy n t n rn

26. t wz-k p pr-^co peš^cm-^cy nt htp hr r

27. ny hpš-w n nb n m^ct t m^ct n r-y p rbye

28. th^c z ank pe stel y^ch-^co wn-t

COL. II.

1. e-r-k z n p hm-hl z a-wn n yr-t-k e-f wn yr-t-f nte-f
nw a p wyn e-r-k t r-f š

2. z w sp-sn p wyn pyr sp-sn p wyn θse sp-sn p wyn
hy sp-sn p wyn p nt n bl

3. m a hn e-f hp nte-f wn yr-t-f nte-f tm nw a p wyn
e-r-k t r-f htm yr-t-f

p-mr-ʿh pronounced *p-le-ehe*, produces the common Ptolemaic proper name Πελαίας, as is proved by a bilingual (SPIEGELBERG, Strassb. Pap. No. 21, text, pp. 21-2, the reading *P-ers* to be corrected to *p-mr-ʿh*; the Greek nominative shown in GRENF. Amh. Pap. LI. 5). The religious significance of this appellation, 'the good oxherd,' is not clear, nor has it been traced in early texts; from 2/7 it is clearly applied to Anubis, and perhaps dogs were used for herding cattle in Ancient Egypt? It is probably equivalent to Gk. ποιμην, for which see GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 26, B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 31. If the Good Shepherd is the meaning, we may note the Χριστος Ανουβις of Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. vi. 17.

l. 19. *nhm* written with the lotus bud, cf. BR., Wtb., 796-7.

l. 20. πετ. In the writing of the glosses the aspirate is suppressed before p, even in 19/19 πατ for *p-hrt*, so also 16/7 ραρη, 28/9 ρορορ 29/14 ραρωτ, V. 33/3 ρραει. The initial demotic group *hry* is seen in

voice: 'O beautiful oxherd, my compeller, (18)
 ask thee about here to-day: and do thou cause
 the eyes of this boy to be opened (19)
 and do thou protect this boy whose face is bent down
 [over this (20) vessel] of god, lord of earth, the
 survivor (?) of the earth, lord of earth (21)
 I am Hor-Amon that sitteth at this vessel-divina-
 tion here to-day (22) this vessel-divination
 here to-day; Marikhari, thou (23)
 and that they tell me my inquiry. Say to them (*bis*)
 "O holy gods of the abyss (24) [I am] of
 earth by name, under the soles [of] whose [feet?] the
 gods of Egypt are placed (25) thar, for I am
 Ta-pishtehei of earth by name (26) preserve
 thee, O Pharaoh, Pashamei that resteth at the mouth (?)
 (27) these shoulders of real gold.
 Truth is in (?) my mouth, honey (28) [is in my lips?]
 Ma . . . tha for I am Stel, Iaho, Earth-opener."

COL. II.

(1) You say to the boy 'Open your eyes'; when he
 opens his eyes and sees the light, you make him cry out,
 (2) saying 'Grow (*bis*), O light, come forth (*bis*) O light,
 rise (*bis*) O light, ascend (*bis*) O light, thou who art
 without, (3) come in.' If he opens his eyes and does

Ptolemaic proper names commencing with $\Phi\rho\iota$ - 'sheikh' = $p\text{-}hry$ -. The
 pronunciation here would be $hri\text{-}to$ rather than $p\epsilon\tau$, unless the spelling is
 fanciful.

l. 21. Hor-Amon is known in figures of glazed pottery (LANZONE, Diz.
 Mit., 601).

l. 23. *sp-sn*. It seems probable that this group may be used simply as
 a mark of emphasis, e.g. after $m\text{ }šs$, 'exceedingly,' and here after the
 imperative 'say to them!' It can hardly mean 'say to them twice.'

l. 26. $hr\text{ }r$, or 'opposite,' as in Coptic $\xi\rho\epsilon\iota\text{-}$.

l. 27. *'bye*, cf. 9/16: or perhaps, 'The truth of my mouth [is] the honey
 [of my lips].'

4. e·r-k š ar-f n whm z-mt·t p kke a·l-k n ḥ-t-f p wyn a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn

5. p šy nt ḥn p nwn a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn Wsr nt ḥr nšme·t a·ny p wyn n-y

6. a ḥn py IV tw nt n bl a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn p nte p šp pa ny wne·t·w n t·t-f a (*sic*)

7. a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn Ḳp p-mr·ḥ nfr a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn z e·r-k

8. a t s·o ar-y ty n p-hw z ḥnk Hr s Ḳt p s nfr n Wsr e·r-k a ḥny n ntr·w n t s·t

9. wpe e·r-k a t ḥr-w ḥr n pe ḥb n-se t mš·e(?) te·t yp·t Ne-tbew e·r-k a ty ḥr-w ḥr n·m-s

10. z(?) twr·m-ne ḥm-ne ḥ mes sp-sn ḥo-rnw-ḥo-rf sp-sn ḥo-rnw-ḥo-rf sp-sn pḥ-ḥo-r-f

11. pḥ-r-f y·o qwy n stn tw-ḥr my wz py ḥw nte ḥr-f pḥte a py

12. nh[e nte-k(?)] t pḥ(?) n-y Sbk š· nte-f pyr stm rn-yt stm pe pe rn n mt z ḥnk

13. l . . [m] t twlot tḥt pyntḥt pe rn n mt p ntr ḥo nte ne·w rn-f

COL. II.

l. 4. *a·l-k*. The *a* is an addition above the line. *l-k* would be $\text{o}\Lambda\text{z}\kappa$, but the *a* prefixed suggests $\ast\Delta\Lambda\text{z}\kappa$ on the analogy of $\Delta\Lambda\text{z}$, hardly $\Delta\Lambda\text{o}\text{z}\kappa$ 'cease,' cf. ST., § 384. The gloss may of course be incomplete, like some others.

a·ny, the same formula in O. C. Par. $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\omega\theta\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\tau\eta$ A. Z., 1900, p. 87.

l. 5. *p šy* O. C. Par. $\pi\sigma\omicron\iota$ A. Z., 1883, p. 105: 1900, 92 and $\Psi\omicron\iota$ ib. 93 from Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1643. A god whose name often occurs in Graeco-Egyptian names, $\Sigma\epsilon\nu\psi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, &c. (cf. SPIEGELBERG, Demot. Stud., i. p. 57*), and in the titles of Antoninus Pius was translated $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$. In the older texts (*šy*) he seems to be mainly a god of destiny (LANZ., Diz. Mit., 1185).

p šy nt ḥn p nwn = $\text{o}\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu\ \text{o}\ \phi\rho\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\chi\theta\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 239.

nšme·t, the bark of Osiris: see Rec. trav., xvi. 105 seq., esp. p. 121.

l. 6. *šp*. The meaning is very uncertain. It might be 'the ruling star,' cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 9, l. 36 $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \omega\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$.

not see the light, you make him close his eyes, (4) you call to him again; formula: 'O darkness, remove thyself from before him (*sic*)! O light, bring the light in to me! (5) Pshoi that is in the abyss, bring in the light to me! O Osiris, who is in the Nesheme-boat, bring in the light to me! (6) these four winds that are without, bring in the light to me! O thou in whose hand is the moment(?) that belongeth to these hours (7) bring in the light to me! Anubis, the good oxherd, bring in the light to me! for thou (8) shalt give protection(?) to me here to-day. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of Osiris; thou shalt bring the gods of the place (9) of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do my business, and they shall make my affair proceed; Netbeou, thou shalt cause them to do it. (10) For [I am?] Touramnei, Amnei, A-a, Mes (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Pahorof, (11) Pahrof, Io, a little(?) king, Touhor; let this child prosper, whose face is bent down to this (12) oil [and thou shalt] escort(?) Souchos to me until he come forth. Setem is my name, Setem is my correct name. For I am (13) L[ot], M[oulo]t, Toulot, Tat,

l. 8. $\epsilon\omega$ may be only magical gibberish, but suggests the word for 'protection,' 'amulet.'

l. 9. *uypē*, the gods of the place of judgement are presumably the numerous gods of Egypt who assisted at the judgement of the dead. Cf. V. 33/2.

Ne-tbew, a deity (?) unknown except in the proper name Πανετβεus, GRENF. Pap. Tebt. No. 88, l. 20 (B.C. 115-4). There are said to be sixteen of them in V. 33/5 q. v.

mš, of an inanimate object in a transferred sense.

l. 11. *qwy n stn*, perhaps only gibberish, to be pronounced *kouiens* (?).

l. 12. *pḥ* or perhaps *še*.

Sšk. It seems curious that the very well-defined god Souchos should be asked for when Anubis is the one really required: doubtless he might be supposed to dwell in the liquid oil.

rn-yl, &c. Cf. O. C. Par. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau$. . . $\pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\ \rho\epsilon\kappa\ \bar{\eta}\ \alpha\eta\tau$ (A. Z., 1884, pp. 23-4, 1900, p. 89). το ονομα το αληθινον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 115.

l. 13. Lot Moulot may perhaps be the missing words, cf. 18/13.

14. wnḥ a py ḥw aph-ʿo-b-ʿo-s ʿpsewst-ʿo-s epḥetsy ʿe-r-k ʿš ny

15. sh·w n sp VII e-r-k t r-f wn yr-t-f nte p wyn aʿny nte-f z ʿNp ʿy a ḥn e-r-k ʿš ḥ-t-f

16. z-mt·t ʿy ryz mw ryz ʿy t wr t ʿy py ḥwt nfr a·ms heryew t šr·t n t neme·t

17. ʿm n-y z nte-k py sšn ʿr pyr ḥn t srpt n p nws-t-r nt ʿr wyn a p t tre-f

18. hy ʿNp ʿm n-y p ḥy p zr p ḥry-sšt n na t ty·t p pr-ʿo n na ʿmnt p wr syn

19. . . nfr n Wsr p nḥt ḥr-f ʿwt n ntr·w e-r-k ḥ ʿ n t ty·t ne-ḥr t-t-f n Wsr e-r-k šms

20. [n] by n ʿBt z e-w ʿnḥ nʿm-k tre·w ny by·w na ty·t tsre·t ʿm a p t wnḥ-k ar-y

1. 14. *aph-ʿo-b-ʿo-s*, &c. As the glosses show this is merely a transcription of the Greek words ἀφόβως ἀψεύστως ἐπ' ἀληθεία, and to mark this the determinative of that which is foreign is placed at the end of each word. It is interesting to find the initial letter /, here and in 10/30, representing the Gk. α, and so indicating that that was its normal pronunciation. In Achm. it corresponds to α, rarely ε, in Sah. and Boh. to ε, rarely α. ε is probably a wearing down or shortening of the earlier α.

1. 15. *aʿny*, a peculiar writing (as if *a-ʿn-y*) for ἀκαι, occurring also in I Kham. v. 14*.

16. *y*. The sign represents  and is transcribed **HI** twice 7/24, 16/9. This can hardly be the pronunciation of the interjection . The usual interjection in religious texts is   which occurs here frequently spelt    , but we consider  to be distinct from *hy*.

ryz mw ryz, cf. 18/13 *lot mw lot*, 27/5 *rw my rw*, V. 12/3 *lyl mw ly*.
neme·t apparently a goddess, perhaps of destruction: usually this

* The group for *ʿny* is that which spells *ne-ʿne* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) in ordinary texts, but here the *ne* is superfluous, and in this papyrus a false *ne* is always written before *ʿne*, so that ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ has to be written out *ne(-ne)-ʿne*. In other texts as well as this we find *ne-nfr* with a false *ne-*, probably due to the initial sound of *nfr*, and this may have led to the otiose *ne* before *ʿne* in the present text.

Peintat is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, (14) appear to this child without alarming or deceiving, truthfully.' You utter these (15) charms seven times, you make him open his eyes. If the light is good and he says 'Anubis is coming in,' you call before him (Anubis). (16) Formula: 'O Riz Muriz, O To-ur-to, O this beautiful male born of Herieou, the daughter of the Neme, (17) Come to me, for thou art this lotus-flower that came forth from in the lotus of Pnastor, and that illuminates the whole earth; (18) hail! Anubis, come to me, the High, the Mighty, the Chief over the mysteries of those in the Underworld, the Pharaoh of those in Amenti, the Chief Physician, (19) the fair [son?] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, thou manifestest thyself in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. Thou servest (20) the souls of Abydos, for they all live by thee, these souls (namely) those of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth, show thyself to me

name is attached to the execution-block, but here it has the determinative of fire.

l. 17. Cf. Horus on the lotus at Erment L. D. iv. 61, g. 65; and in Greek papyri, *εχεις μορφήν νηπιου παιδος επι λωτω καθήμενος* PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, ii. 106; *ο επι του λωτου καθήμενος και λαμπυριδων την ολην οικουμενην* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. iii. 15.

sšn, *srpt*, see LORET, *Rec. trav.*, i. 190, for a useful but by no means final discussion of the Egyptian names of the lotus. *srpt* (see 1/12) is a name apparently of late introduction, *sšn* is very ancient, and both words are to be paralleled, with varied meaning, in Semitic languages. From this passage one may conjecture that *srpt* is the lotus bud and *sšn* the flower.

l. 18. *wr syn*, 'chief physician,' an old Egyptian official title (O. K. in P. S. B. A., xi. 306, Persian period BRUGSCH., *Thes.*, 639), but amongst the gods most applicable to Thoth. Apparently Thoth and Anubis are here united, cf. the name Hermanubis and l. 21. *hry-sšt*, 'chief over the mysteries,' is another old title appropriate enough for either Thoth or Anubis.

l. 20. 'For they all live by thee.' Apparently Anubis was responsible for the provision of food and attendance on the souls.

21. ty n p-hw nte-k Thwt nte-k p e·r pyr n ht-f n p š·y
 ʿo p yt·w sp-sn n n ntr·w tre·w ʿm a r n r·w

22. n pe hne n p-hw nte-k z n-y wh n mt·t m·t hr mt·t
 nb nt e-y šn hr-w e·mn mt·t n ʿze nʿm-w z ʿnk ʾS·t

23. t r̥he·t nte n z n r-y hp z-mt sp VII e·r-k z n
 p hm-hl ze a·zy-s n ʿNp z

24. mš· a bl a·ny n ntr·w a hn e-f mš· m-s-w nte-f
 ʿnyt-w a hn e·r-k šn p ʿlw z hr n ntr·w

25. ʿy a hn e-f z hr-w ʿy nte-k nw ar-w e·r-k ʿš ht·w
 z-mt·t nhe-k n-y sp-sn p š·y nhs·t-k mer·

26. p wr-ty tsytsyw tnnzyw a·ry mt ar-y Thwt my ʿre
 qme mh p t n wyn hb

27. m hr-f šps šps ʿq a p ht my t hp t m·t p ntr ʿo nte
 ne·w rn-f z sp VII

28. e·r-k z n p hm-hl z a·zy-s n ʿNp z a·ny w· tks a
 hn hr n ntr·w my hms-w e-w

l. 21. *p yt·w sp-sn* is intended to be read *p yt yt·w* as 8/2. Cf. the common appellation *προπατωρ* in the Gk. papyri. 'Father of the fathers of all the gods' occurs perhaps as early as the N. K. in Boul. Pap. No. 17, p. 7, l. 6 (Hymn to Amon-Re).

l. 22. *nte-k z n-y wh*. For this formula cf. O. C. Par. *πρεσβι οτω και αφωδ επιχποτ αμμοστ εποζ* (*sic*) (A. Z., 1900, 89). *εισελθε και χρηματισον* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 445. *šn*, lit. 'inquire,' is used vaguely, both of the inquiry and of the answer in this papyrus, as *χρηματιζειν* in Greek. *ⲡⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲁ* in Copt. is 'beg for,' not 'ask a question'; possibly it has such a meaning here.

l. 24. *hr n ntr·w ʿy*, &c. = *(*ϩ*)*ⲁⲛⲏⲧⲏⲣ* *ⲉⲓ* . . . *(*ϩ*)*ⲁⲧ* *ⲉⲓ* (see chapter on grammar in vol. ii).

l. 25. 'And you see them' is an addition above the line which does not seem appropriate, as the boy, not the magician, is to see them.

nhe-k . . . *nhs·t-k*: the defective spelling *nhe* is found again in the papyrus, leaving no doubt that it represents *nhse*, 'waken,' 'raise.' The verb is 'iv^{tae} infirmæ' according to *SETHE*, and the suffix form, lost in Coptic, shows here a curious uncertainty as to the retention of the *t*.

l. 26. *wr-ty*. Originally the title of the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna (Khmun), it was perhaps applied later to the ibis-god himself (e. g. *LEGRAIN*, *Livre des transf.*, iv. 5). Evidently in connexion with this, Thoth is called 'the god five times great (ʿo), the mighty (*wr*) lord of Khmun' (II MAHAFFY, *Petrie Pap.* Pl. 13, II Kham.

(21) here to-day. Thou art Thoth, thou art he that came forth from the heart of the great Agathodaemon, the father of the fathers of all the gods; come to the mouths (22) of my vessel to-day and do thou tell me answer in truth to everything that I shall inquire about, without falsehood therein; for I am Isis (23) the Wise, the words of whose mouth of mine (*sic*) come to pass.' Formula: seven times. You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying (24) "Go forth, bring in the gods."' When he goes after them and brings them in, you ask the boy, saying 'Have the gods (25) come in?' If he says 'They have come' and you (*sic*) see them, you cry before them. Formula: 'Raise thyself for me (*bis*), Pshoi; raise thyself, Mera (26), the Great of Five, Didiou, Tenziou, do justice to me. Thoth, let creation (?) fill the earth with light; O (thou who art an) ibis in (27) his noble countenance, thou noble one that enters the heart, let truth be brought forth, thou great god whose name is great.' Say seven times. (28) You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying "Bring in a table for the

5, 7). The common Ptolemaic name Πορτις (cf. GRENFELL, Gk. Pap. I, II; Amherst Pap.; WILCKEN, Gr. Ostr.) in the witnesses of the Grey antigraph (Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. I. Pl. 27) is *P-wr-ty* in the corresponding Berlin demotic Pap. 3119 verso (Berl. Dem. Pap. Pl. 16). Πορτις is no doubt founded on an abbreviated pronunciation of the name which we have here with its full value *P-wer-tiu*. In V. 33/2 we have the normal orthography of the title, varied here and in 22/1.

my 're qme. Meaning very uncertain; if the dot after *qme* be taken as closing the phrase, the *'r* must be regarded as passive in meaning 'let a creation (?) be made,' cf. 5/22 *my wn yr-t* and GRIFF., High Priests, p. 87, n. to l. 6, and SETHE, Verb., ii. § 247, and *mḥ* following the dot suggests an imperative. Perhaps *Mareqom* (?) is to be taken as a magical name.

l. 27. *'q a p ḥt*, perhaps may be participial rather than imperative. *'q r ḥt*, lit. 'enter the heart,' is common in early demotic in the sense of 'please.' Cf. ΔΡΓΤΗΞ (SPIEGELB., Rec. trav., xxiii. 201) ΩΚ Π ΖΗΤ (BSCIAI, ib., vii. 27).

29. ḥms eꜣr-k z aꜣny wꜥ ꜣrp a ḥn klp-f a n ntr-w aꜣny
hyn-w t a ḥn my wm-w my swr-w

COL. III.

1. my wm-w my swr-w my ꜣr-w ḥw nfr e-w wh eꜣr-k z
n ꜣNp z ꜥnn (*sic*) eꜣr-k šn n-y e-f z t ḥt eꜣr-k z n-f z p
ntr nt ne ꜣr pe šn

2. n p-hw my ꜣr-f ḥ e rt-f e-f z ḥ-f eꜣr-k z n-f z aꜣy-s
n ꜣNp z fy n nk n t mte eꜣr-k ꜥš

3. ḥt-f ty hte-t z p šꜥy n p-hw p nb n p-hw p nte pe-f
pe ny wne-t-w eꜣr-k t ꜣr-f zt-s

4. n ꜣNp z p ntr nt ne šn n-y n p-hw my ꜣr-f z n-y rn-f
e-f ḥ a rt-f nte-f z rn-f eꜣr-k šn-t-f

5. a mt-t nb nt eꜣr-k wh-f pe-f swḥ-ꜣyḥ ḥr ꜣny-k tbe VII
nmy e bꜣr te-w qym nꜣm-w a pnꜥ-w

6. a p ke ḥr eꜣr-k fy-t-w eꜣr-k wꜥb n wš n zh-w a
nte(?) nb n p t nte-k smne-t-w n pe-w ky e-wne-w

7. smne-t nꜣm-f ꜥn nte-k smne tbe III ḥr p nḥe t k-t
tbe-t IV nte-k sꜥr-w n p qt n p ḥm-ḥl(?) n wš n

8. zh ꜥe-t nte-f a p ꜣytn nge bꜥe VII nte-k ꜣr-w n py
smte ꜥn nte-k ꜣny t VII e-w wꜥb

9. nte-k sꜥr-w n p qte n p nḥe erme tyk VII n ḥm
nte-k ꜣny wꜥt bꜣtꜣne-t nmy nte-k mḥ-s n

1. 29. *wꜥ ꜣrp*, 'a (vessel of) wine,' probably the *κεραμιον* of the Rosetta stone: cf. the use of *ḥt*, 'silver,' in contracts = *tbn*.

COL. III.

1. 1. *ꜣr ḥw nfr*: from this and other passages it is clear that the actual meaning of this common expression is not to pass a day of pleasure, but simply 'enjoy oneself.'

ꜣNp would seem to be an error for *p ḥm-ḥl*, 'the boy.'

t ḥt, probably as we say 'the first thing,' 'at once.'

1. 2. *n t mte*, 'from the midst,' i.e. of the gods seated at the meal.

1. 3. *p-hw . . . ny wne-t-w*, cf. note on 2/6.

1. 5. *swḥ-ꜣyḥ*, lit. 'spirit-gathering,' is the title for the material arrangements for divination as to locality, censuring, salves, &c., to be employed, not the invocations.

Egyptian bricks are crude. The use of burnt brick was introduced by the Romans and increased to Byzantine times, but crude brick remained throughout the principal building material.

gods, and let them sit.”’ When they (29) are seated, you say ‘Bring in a (jar of) wine, broach it for the gods; bring in some bread, let them eat, let them drink,’

COL. III.

(1) ‘let them eat, let them drink, let them pass a festal day.’ When they have finished, you speak to Anubis (*sic*) saying ‘Dost thou make inquiry for me?’ If he says ‘At once,’ you say to him ‘The god who will make my inquiry (2) to-day, let him stand up.’ If he says ‘He has stood up,’ you say to him (i.e. the child) ‘Say to Anubis “Carry off the things from the midst”’; you cry (3) before him (i.e. the god) instantly saying ‘O Agathodaemon of to-day, lord of to-day, O thou whose (possession) these moments are!’ You cause him (the boy) to say (4) to Anubis ‘The god who will inquire for me to-day, let him tell me his name.’ When he stands up and tells his name, you ask him (5) concerning everything that you wish.

Its spirit-gathering. You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them (6) to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you place them in their manner in which they were (7) placed, again; and you place three tiles under the oil; and the other four tiles, you arrange them about the child without (8) touching any part of him against the ground; or seven palm-sticks, you treat them in this fashion also. And you take seven clean loaves (9) and arrange them around the oil, with seven lumps of salt,

1. 6. *nte nb*. The reading not quite certain, but extremely probable.

1. 7. *p qt*. The usual group for *qt* is very much abbreviated, and is thus identical with that for *wh*, ‘wish,’ but there can be little doubt of the reading. The meaning must be that the bricks are laid about the boy so that he can stand or sit on them without touching the ground.

1. 9. *tyk* can scarcely be other than Sah. $\tau\alpha\sigma$. The otiose *y* may be

10. nḥe n whe e-f wḥb nte-k t a t bṯne-t ḥm sp-sn n wš n t ḥp ḥyṣe nte-f ḥp e-f stf

11. m šs sp-sn nte-k ʾny wḥ ḥm-ḥl e-f wḥb e b-ʾr te-f še erme s-ḥm-t e-ʾr-k sze a ḥry ḥn zz-f

12. e-f ḥa rt-f a t ḥt z ʾn e-f a ʾr šw n še a p hne e-f ḥp e-f ʾr šw e-ʾr-k t str-f a ḥr ḥe-t-f

13. e-ʾr-k ḥbs-f n wṯt šnt-t n ʾyw-t e-s wḥb e-ʾr-k ʿš a ḥry ḥn zz-f e wn wṯ ryt n t ry-t ḥry-f (*sic*?)

14. n t šnt-t e-ʾr-k ʿš py ʿš nt ḥry a ḥry ḥn zz-f e-f kšp a ḥry nw a ḥn p nḥe šṯ sp VII e yr-t-f

15. ḥtm e-ʾr-k wḥ e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f e-ʾr-k šnt-t-f a p nte ʾr-k wḥ-f ḥr ʾr-k-f šṯ p nw n p θ VII n p hw

16. p ʿš nte ʾr-k ʿš-w (*sic*) a ḥry ḥn zz-f n ḥt a znt-f n ne-f msz-w z ʾn e-f a ʾr šw n še ḥr

17. p hne z-mt-t hb šps nšr bk šps apḥte-t my wḥb-y mw ky hb šps nšr

18. bk šps apḥte-t e-ʾr-k ʿš n-y a ḥry ḥn zz-f šṯ sp VII e-ʾr-k t ʾw ny ḥr

19. mt-t ne-f msz-w e-ḥp nte pe-f msz II mt-t (ne)nfr-f m šs sp-sn e-f ḥp e pe-f msz n

20. wnm(?) pe (ne)nfr-f e-f ḥp e p . . . pe ne-bn-f pḥre-t n pḥr p hne n gtg nte n ntr-w ʾy a ḥn nte-w z

compared with that in *hyl* for *ḥal* 13/12, *P-šylem* (21/3) = O. C. *πασσαλωα*, and is brought about by such forms as *ʾny-t-k* (root *ʾny*) for *ʾn-t-k*, *my* (αοι) αα-, *rn-yt* for *rn-t* (1/12).

l. 10. Oasis oil, cf. 6/2, not mentioned elsewhere; a kind of 'real oil,' but not identical with it 25/12.

ḥm sp-sn must be read *ḥmḥm*, C. *ἡμῆμ*, cf. 2/21, 18/13, 24/12.

ḥyṣe, meaning quite uncertain: cf. perhaps *ḥsyse* in I Kham. 6/19, II Kham. 6/16.

l. 12. *a ḥr ḥe-t-f*, a curious expression, 'on the face of (?) his belly,' cf. the use of *ḥr* in l. 6.

l. 13. *šnt-t n ʾyw-t*: Boh. *σηντω πατ* (PEYRON), cf. *σινδών βυσσίνη* Hdt. ii. 86. The Egyptian *šnd-t* was the loin-cloth or tunic, and in this papyrus it still seems to signify a dress, though in Coptic it can be used simply for 'cloth.' Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 88 (A. Z., 1883, 99) and Brit. Mus. Pap. Gr. No. XLVI. l. 206, for the use of *σινδών* in magic.

Omit the words 'you call down into his head.'

and you take a new dish and fill it with (10) clean Oasis oil and add to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness (?) so that it becomes clear (11) exceedingly; and you take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman, you speak down into his head (12) while he stands, previously, (to learn) whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel. If he is profitable, you make him lie on (?) his belly; (13) you clothe (?) him with a clean linen tunic (?), <you call down into his head>, there being a girdle on the upper part (14) of the tunic; you utter this invocation that is above, down into his head, he gazing downwards <looking> into the oil, for seven times, his eyes being (15) closed. When you have finished, you make him open his eyes, you ask him about what you desire; you do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

(16) The invocation that you utter down into his head previously to test him in his ears as to whether he will be profitable in going to (17) the vessel. Formula: 'Noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, (18) hawk, noble and mighty.' You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this, then (19) his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it be his right ear, (20) he is good; if it be his left ear, he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that

l. 14. Omit 'looking' as corrected by the addition above the line.

l. 15. *n p θ VII*: for the reading *θ*, rather than *θ wne-t*, compare V. 24/6. The phrase is evidently to be connected with the Coptic idiom *ⲡⲏⲁⲣ ⲡⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲩⲣⲉ*, 'the ninth hour.' *ⲁⲡⲓⲩⲣⲉ* are feminine.

l. 19. *e-hp*, probably an unique spelling in demotic instead of the usual *e-f hp*, for *ⲉⲩⲩⲱⲛⲉ*.

l. 20. The word for left (sinister) cannot yet be transliterated. In Egyptian we have *lby* and *smh*, in Sah. *ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲣ* and Boh. *ⲁⲁⲥⲏ*: in several passages we have *ghyr*, the Achimim. *ⲥⲏⲣ* (Zach. xii. 6, in

21. n-k wh n mt-t m^c-t e^r-k t qwqe n swht n **meeg**
nge p nt hn-s a t st-t hr phre-f ty hte-t phre-t a t ^r-w

22. sze e^r-k t tp n **κροσρ** a p ^h hr ^r-w sze phre-t
a ^{ny} n ntr-w a hn n kns e^r-k t shy

23. n msh hr ^{nte} sq a p ^h e^r-k wh a t ^r-w ^y a hn n
tkr ⁿ e^r-k t h n **eme** e p ^h erme t qwqe

24. n swht nt hry hr phr-f ty hte e^r-k wh a ^{ny} rm
e-f ⁿ a hn e^r-k t g^hgⁿtsy a p ^h hr ^w-f a hn

25. e^r-k wh a ^{ny} ^yh a hn e^r-k t s-wr hr ^{ny}(?) n ylh
a p ^h hr ^w p ^yh a hn e^r-k t ht

26. n hyt-t nge wn-t(?) nfr sp-sn e^r-k wh a ^{ny} hsy a
hn e^r-k t g^hb n ^ym a p ^h

27. e^r-k wh a ^{ny} rm e-f mwt a hn e^r-k t hs n **eo**
hr s Nb-t-h-t a p ^h hr ^w-f a hn e^r-k

28. wh a t še(-w) n-w tre-w e^r-k t hs n **ew** a p ^h hr
^r-w še n-w a pe-w m^c tre-w nte-k ^s pe-w r n wt-w ⁿ(?)

Pap. Rain. Mitth. ii. 266); *gbyr* may possibly be connected with *għor*
and with the demotic ligature here; or *hm*r may be the reading of the
latter.

l. 22. *tp*. Two portions of the body are written *tp* in the demotic of
this papyrus. One has the det. of bone as well as that of flesh, and is
undoubtedly *ταν*, 'horn,' Eg. . Without the det. of bone we
have the *tp* of an ass or a hoopoe, which presumably means the head or
skull; in other cases, e.g. 19/26, one may doubt whether horn *ταν* is
not intended by the same group.

l. 23. *sq*, written with the crocodile, presumably = *cike*; see the verb
in BRUGSCH, Rec., iv. Pl. 97, l. 16, and as a participle attached to a word
meaning incense, ib., Pl. 85 A, ll. 3, 7, and 11; Pl. 96, l. 6.

eme suggests *eme* : *ame*, i. e. 'anise,' or according to some MSS.
'mint,' LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. pp. 53, 71; and it seems possible that
the tall dry stalks of the anise (as opposed to the commonly prescribed
seeds) should be denoted by *h*, lit. 'wood.'

l. 24. *g^hgⁿtsy* with gloss *καλακαποι* suggests *κολοκύνθις*; but as the
determinative here indicates a mineral and not a plant, it must be intended
for *χαλκάνθη*, 'sulphate of copper,' which is written *χαλάκανθον* in Leyd. Pap.
X. 1, 3.

l. 25. *y^h*, 'spirit' of a dead person, or a 'demon': the Gk. *δαίμων*,
which may be good or bad (Pap. Bibl. Nat. passim). On the Bentresh
Stela the demon possessing the princess is *h*.

the gods enter and tell (21) you answer truthfully. You put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame; it will be enchanted instantly.

Prescription to make them (22) speak: you put a frog's head on the brazier, then they speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: you put the bile (23) of a crocodile with pounded frankincense on the brazier.

If you wish to make them come in quickly again, you put stalks (?) of anise (?) on the brazier together with the (24) egg-shell as above, then the charm works at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man, you put sulphate of copper on the brazier, then he comes in.

(25) If you wish to bring in a spirit, you put *sa-wr* stone with stone of *ilkh* on the brazier, then the spirit comes in. You put the heart (26) of a hyaena or a hare, excellent (*bis*).

If you wish to bring in a drowned man, you put sea-*karab*-stone (?) on the brazier.

(27) If you wish to bring in a murdered (?) man, you put ass's dung with an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier, then he comes in.

If you (28) wish to make (them) all depart, you put ape's dung on the brazier, then they all depart to their place, and you utter their spell of dismissal also.

ylh. The *h* is written by a sign common enough in other texts, but in this MS. found only here, and in 6/20 *h**tn* and 23/29 *h**lby*.

l. 26. *h**sy*, 'approved,' 'deified,' as an expression for one drowned or devoured by a crocodile (19/24), cf. Hdt. ii. 90, and note to l. 31.

g^{er}b n y^m, 'sea-*karab*,' determined as a mineral can scarcely be *κάραβος* = 'palinurus vulgaris,' unless its shell be treated as such. Cf. *καρκινος ποταμιος* in Pap. Bibl. Nat. 2458, 2687. In favour of the sense 'crab' or 'crayfish' we might suppose that it was called 'sea-*karab*' to distinguish it from the *καραβος*, 'beetle.'

l. 27. *rm e-f mwt*, *pep^uoor*, but perhaps meaning 'murdered man,' not merely a 'dead' man.

l. 28. *še n-w*: this ethical dative adds a certain force to the word, of

29. e·r-k wḥ a ʿny ʿze a ḥn e·r-k t ḥqe n grwgws ḥr
ʿbn t a p ʿḥ n šḥ nte ʿr-k ʿš e·r-k šʿne

30. wt-w e pe-w(?) mʿ wt nfr wt rše

31. e·r-k wḥ a t ʿre n ntr·w ʿy n-k a ḥn nte p hn pḥr
n tkr e·r-k ʿny wʿ mḥrr nte-k t še-f n ḥsy ḥn p(?) ʿrt n
ʿḥ·t km·t

32. nte-k ty-f a p ʿḥ ḥr pḥre-f n t wne·t n rn-s nte p
wyn ḥp

33. wʿ s a mr-f a ḥ·t-f n p nt ḥr hne a t ʿr-f pḥr n tktk
e·r-k ʿny wʿ swt n ʿyw n ʿy XVI IV·t n ḥt IV·t n [wt ?]

34. IV·t sšt IV·t n ʿtme·t nte-k ʿr-w n wʿ swt nte-k
sp-w n snf n qwqwpt nte-k mr-f n wʿ mḥrr n ʿḥ-f n p rʿ

35. ḥsy e-f qs n ḥbs(?) n š-stn nte-k mr-f a ḥe·t-f n p
ḥm-ḥl nt ḥr p hn ḥr pḥr-f n tkr e [mn mt·t ?] n p [t . . .]
nʿm-f(?)

COL. IV.

1. wʿ sš-(?)mšt e·ḥr ʿr-s p ntr ʿo ʿy-m-ḥtp pe-f swḥ·yḥ ḥr
ʿny-k wʿ tks n ḥ n zyt

withdrawal into or to oneself, an idea naturally associated with sleeping or lying down (*str n-k* 4/8) and best seen with the verb *šē*, which by itself means 'go,' while *šē n-f* (ϣε ηαϣ) means 'go away,' 'go home,' 'withdraw.'

1. 29. ʿny ʿze a ḥn, probably = κλεπτην πιασαι B. M. Pap. XLVI. 172.

e·r-k šʿne = εκμῆαν-, an isolated instance at present. The following is the *απολυσις* of the Gk. papyri, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 333.

1. 31. *t še-f n ḥsy* = σοφ ηρασιε, cf. Sah. *αυγε ηρασιε εναγαγησαν* I Tim. i. 19, and *ἔωκ ηρασιε* 'be drowned' (PEYRON). The literal meaning is 'thou shalt cause him to go as one praised (pleasing).' Similarly in I Kham. iv. 9, 14, 20 drowning is expressed by *ʿr-f ḥs·t p Rʿ*, 'He did that which pleased Re (the sun god).' *ḥsy* has det. of sun and in some cases the divine det. ¶ prefixed to the word-sign, cf. 15/12. In Gk. our expression is rendered by *ἐκθέωσον*, 'deify,' or possibly 'consecrate,' which proves that the meaning 'blessed dead,' i.e. 'divinised,' was not yet forgotten: *λαβων μυγαλον εκθεωσον πηγαιω υδατι, και λαβων κανθαρους σεληνιακους δυο εκθεωσον υδατι ποταμιω* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2455; *εασον καλαβωτην εις κρινινον εως αν αποθεωθη* B. M. Pap. CXXI. 629; *αποθωσον εις [γαλα, &c.]* Berl. Pap. I. 5.

ḥsy—as a proper name = *Λσιης* (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 7*), lit. 'praised' or 'blessed'—is an euphemism for 'drowned.' No other meaning is ascertained in demotic for the word as subst.; and that it

(29) If you wish to bring in a thief, you put crocus powder with alum on the brazier.

The charm which you pronounce when you (30) dismiss them to their place: 'Good dispatch, joyful dispatch!'

(31) If you wish to make the gods come in to you and that the vessel work its magic quickly, you take a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow (32) and put it on the brazier; then it works magic in the moment named and the light comes.

(33) An amulet to be bound to the body of him who has the vessel, to cause it to work magic quickly. You take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], (34) four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe, and you bind it with a scarab in its attitude of the sun-god, (35) drowned, being wrapped in byssus, and you bind it to the body of the boy who has the vessel and it will work magic quickly; there being nothing [in the world better (?)] than it (?).

COL. IV.

(1) A scout-spreader (?), which the great god Imuthes makes. Its spirit-gathering. You bring a table of olive-

implies that condition is shown by the determinative of water added to the name on mummy tickets (SPIEGELBERG, l. c.). We may thus be sure of its meaning in l. 26 q. v. and in l. 35, as well as in the numerous parallels to the passage here under discussion. Applied to Osiris, also, the word 'drowned' is quite appropriate, see 6/12.

l. 33. See the same list of the colours in Br., Wtb. Suppl., p. 173.

l. 34. *n ḥ-f n p r*, the *καθαρον ηλιακον τον τας ιβ ακτινας εχοντα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 751: i.e. true scarab with front tarsi drawn to edge of thorax, so displaying 12 spines (4 on head and each leg), fancifully compared to sun's rays; cf. hieroglyph of the sun's glory ☀.

l. 35. The reading at the end is very uncertain: perhaps *ar-f*.

COL. IV.

l. 1. Imuthes, cf. SETHE, *Untersuch.* II, Imhotep. In B. M. Pap. CXXI. 630 he appears as *τον εν Μεμφει Ασκληπιον*; and in the demotic of Leyd. I.

2. e-f θ rt·t IV e bnp rm nb n p t ḥms ḥr ʾt-f a nḥe nte-k ḥ^c-f e-f w^cb a te-k·t qts(?) e·r-k wḥ

3. a ʾr wḥe(?) nʾm-f n mt·t m^ct n wš n mt·t n ʿze tey-s pe-f smte e·r-k ḥ^c p tks ḥn w^c . . . e-f w^cb

4. n t mt·t n p m^c e-f ḥn a zz-k nte-k ḥbs-f n w^ct šnt·t n zz-f a rt-f nte-k ḥ^c tbe·t

5. IV ḥr rt-f n p tks ne-ḥr-f e t w^ct n t r^ct ḥry·t n t w^ct nʾm-w e wn w^ct ḥw·t n s^cn ne-ḥr-f nte-k t zbe·t

6. n ḥ n zyt ar-s nte-k t ʿt n sre·t e-f nt·yt ḥr ḥl ḥr qs-ḥḥ(?) nte-k ʾr-w n bnn·t

7. nte-k t w^ct a p ʿḥ nte-k ḥ^c p sp a te-k·t qts(?) nte-k ʿš py ʿš n mt·t wyynn(?) ar-f z-mt·t nte-k str n wš n szy

8. wbe rm nb n p t nte-k str n-k ḥr nw-k a p ntr e-f n p smte n w^c w^cb e-f θ ḥbs(?) n š-stn ḥr ʾt-f e-f θ še a rt-f

9. *επεικαλουμαι σε τον εν τω αορατω σκοτει καθημενον και ανα μεσον*

10. *οντα των μεγαλων θεων δυνοντα και παραλαμβανοντα τας ηλιακας*

11. *ακτεινας και αναπεμποντα την φαεσφορον θεαν νεβουτο-σουαληθ*

384, verso I* he is invoked as 'Imhotp-wer (the Great), son of Ptah and Khretankh,' as at Deir el Medineh, SETHE, *ib.*, 24.

tks, elsewhere a 'boat,' but the gloss *τραπεσεν* defines it as a 'table.' TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 23, mentions oracles from tables. *ḥms ḥr ʾt* in l. 2 can hardly mean anything but 'sit upon,' which rather implies a 'bench,' cf. B. M. Pap. XLVI. 3 *βαθρον*.

l. 2. *a te-k qt(?)*-s, cf. *κοτε*, 'circulus,' but *wḥ-s* is a possible reading, and it may be conjectured to mean 'at your convenience,' also in l. 7.

l. 3. *wḥe* with prefixed *ʾ*(?), the reading doubtful. For a word *wḥ*, 'letter,' see II Kham. ii. 28, &c. The meaning here seems always to be a *direct* divination without medium. We have *wḥe(?) n p ḥbs*, 'lamp divination,' 27/29; *wḥe(?) n Manebai*, 'a divination named Manebai,' 27/32; *wḥe(?) a ḥrw Pe-šḥ*, 'divination for the voice of Pasash,' 8/12.

tke for *tks*, like *nhe* for *nhs* cf. 2/25.

'room(?),' the reading and meaning very uncertain.

l. 5. Or 'one by each of them (the feet),' but the expression hardly admits of this.

l. 6. *sre·t* with gloss *χιμαυριον*, perhaps a wild goose, cf. BR., *Wtb.* Suppl., 1082. Note the fem. gender, which apparently distinguishes it

wood (2) having four feet, upon (?) which no man on earth has ever sat, and put it, it being clean, beside (?) you. When you wish (3) to make an inquiry-of-god (?) with it truthfully without falsehood, behold (this is) the manner of it. You put the table in a clean room (?) (4) in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you cover it with a tunic (?) from its head to its feet, and you put four bricks (5) under the table before it, one above another (?), there being a censer of clay before it (the table); and you put charcoal (6) of olive-wood on it (the censer) and put wild-goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ankh*, and make them into balls (7) and put one on the brazier, and lay the remainder at your side (?), and pronounce this spell in Greek (?) speech to it—Formula—and you spend the night without speaking (8) to any one on earth, and you lie down and you see the god in the likeness of a priest wearing fine linen and wearing (a) nose at his feet.

(9) 'I invoke thee who art seated in the invisible darkness and who art in the midst (10) of the great gods sinking and receiving the sun's (11) rays and sending forth the luminous goddess Neboutosoualeth,

from the domesticated duck called *sr*, found from the O. K. onwards, which is masc.

l. 7. *wynn*(?), cf. V. 3/12. There as well as here the 'foreign' sign after *mt-t* refers to Greek words. In 27/35 the word is spelt out strangely *wʿyʿny*; *wynn* is the usual demotic spelling, ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲏⲏⲏ the Coptic, but ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲉⲛ is quoted by PEYRON in Sah., and perhaps this is the form indicated in 27/35. In 12/25 we have *wʿyʿnʿyne-t* for the fem.

str n-k, ethical dative: see note to *še n-w* 3/28.

szy wbe, cf. the common phrase in Greek magic *κοιμω μηδενι δους αποκρισιν* B. M. Pap. XLVI. l. 398, CXXI. l. 748, CXXII. 67; *κοιμω αναποκριτος* XLVI. l. 458.

l. 8. *ε-θ* *še*, apparently as seen in very late sculpture in figures of gods, &c., with jackals' heads on their feet indicating wariness and swiftness (?). Cf. MASPERO, *Les Origines*, p. 149; PLEYTE, Chap. Supplem., i. p. 133; in Greek papyri *εν τοις ποσιν εχων την ορασιν* (?).

12. θεον μεγαν βαρξαν βουβαρξαν ναρξαζουσαν βαρξαβουξαθ

13. ηλιον αναπεμτον μοι εν τη νυκτι ταυτη τον αρχαγγελον σου

14. ζεβουρθαννην χρηματισον επ' αληθειας αληθως αψευδως αν-

15. αμφιλογως περι τουδε πραγματος οτι εξορκιζω σε κατα του εν τη

16. πυρινη χλαμυδι καθημενου επι της αρουρας κεφαλης του αγα-

17. θου δαιμονος παντοκρατορος τετραπροσωπου δαιμονος υψιστου σκο-

18. τiou και ψυχαουγεου φωξ μη μου παρακουσης αλλα αναπεμψον

19. ταχος τη νυκτι ταυτη επιτα . αιην του θεου τουτο ειπας γ'

20. hr ʾr-f sze wbe-k n r-f wbe r-k n mt-t mʿt hr hb nb eʾr-k wh-f e-f wh e-f še n-f ʿn

21. hr ʾr-k wh wʿ pyngs n ʿš wne-t(?) hr n tbe-tw(?) nte-k wh n syw-w hr ʾt-f nte-k sh pe-k ʿs-shne a wʿ zʿm nmy

22. nte-k wh-f hr p pynʿks hr ʾr-f t ʾw ne-k syw-w n-k e-w wz hr pe-k ʿs-shne

23. n wz hyb e-f znt swḥ n *ḥeσ* hr hl hy t a yr-t-k nʾm-f hr ʾr-k wz hyb-t

24. k-t ʿn tpe hnʿ snf n *ροτροπ(?)ετ* θ-ḥ-w(?) nte-k ʾr-w n phre šwy smt yr-t-k nʾm-f hr nw-k ar-w ʿn

l. 16. *αρουρας*. Mr. Kenyon suggests that this may possibly be a corruption of *αργυρας*.

l. 18. *ψυχαουγεου*. Mr. Kenyon, who has kindly looked at this passage in the original MS., writes: 'I think the fourth letter is α, not λ, . . . and the only thing I can think of is *ψυχαγωγου*. In this case we should again have γ and ο confused (as in *αρουρας* = *αργυρας*?). This leaves *φωξ* unaccounted for, but a nominative (and from its termination it could be nothing else) is out of place here, so that the corruption must in any case be rather extensive. I do not think anything but *επιταγαιην* can be read in l. 19. Probably *επιταγή* is meant.' The word *ψυχαγωγου* is probably to be taken as associated with the idea of necromancy.

(12) the great god Barzan Boubarzan Narzazouzan Barzabouzath, (13) the sun; send up to me this night thy archangel (14) Zebourthaunen; answer with truth, truthfully, without falsehood, without (15) ambiguity concerning this matter, for I conjure thee by him (16) who is seated in the flaming vesture on the silver(?) head of the (17) Agathodaemon, the almighty four-faced daemon, the highest (18) darkling and soul-bringing(?) Phox; do not disregard me, but send up (19) speedily in this night an injunction(?) of the god.' Say this three times.

(20) Then he speaks with you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning everything that you wish. When he has finished, and goes away again, (21) you place a tablet of reading(?) the hours upon the bricks and you place the stars upon it and write your purpose(?) on a new roll (22) and place it on the tablet; then he(?) makes your stars appear which are favourable for your purpose(?).

(23) [A method] of lucky-shadows(?), that is tested: a hawk's egg with myrrh, pound(?), put on your eyes of it, then it makes lucky-shadows(?). (24) Another again: head and blood of a hoopoe; cook(?) them and make them into a dry medicament and paint your eyes with it; then you see them, again.

$\phi\omega\xi$ may be an indeclinable magic name, though the customary line has not been drawn over it. Cf. $\sigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. . . B. M. Pap. CXXIV. 20 and $\phi\nu\xi\epsilon$ below 7/22.

l. 20. $r-f\ wbe\ r-k$: $\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\ \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha$ Berl. Pap. I. 39.

l. 23. $wz\ h\gamma b$. The shadow is probably that of the god appearing in the lamp. Cf. 6/6.

l. 24. $\theta-h-w$, probably the imperative of some verb θh (?) followed by the suffix of the object, meaning e. g. 'cook them,' so also Louvre Dem. Mag. vi. 18 $ntk-k\ \theta-h-w$.

COL. V.

(1) And you set up your [planisphere?] and you stamp on the ground with your foot seven times and recite these charms to the Foreleg, turning(?) to the North seven times (2) and you return down and go to a dark recess.

(3) A question-form, tested. You go to a dark clean recess with its face open to the south and you purify it with (4) natron-water, and you take a new white lamp in which no red earth or gum-water has been put and place a clean wick (5) in it and fill it with real oil after writing this name and these figures on the wick with ink of myrrh beforehand; (6) and you lay it on a new brick before you, its underside being spread with sand; and you pronounce these spells over the lamp again another seven times. You display frankincense in front of (7) the lamp and you look at the lamp; then you see the god about the lamp and you lie down on a rush mat without speaking (8) to any one on earth. Then he makes answer to you by dream. Behold its invocation. Formula: (*In margin*: Behold the spells which you write on the wick: Bakhukhsikhukh, and figures)

gr. Zauberpap., I. l. 277. As to the use of red earth and gum with pottery cf. the quotation from SACY, s.v. $\alpha\omega\iota$, in PEYRON, p. 380 a.

l. 5. $r'w\ h\ell$, 'myrrh ink,' $\sigma\mu\upsilon\rho\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$, probably somewhat after the recipe given in PARTHEY, u. s. II. 34^a.

$gh'lg'ter$ = $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, a term. techn. for mystic symbols: cf. WÜNSCH, Sethian. Verfluchungstafeln, p. 98; SCHMIDT, Gnostische Schriften, p. 54 seq.

l. 6. $ne-zz-k$. It seems probable that 𐤎𐤕𐤕 ^Q reads zz , for apart from any other correspondences we have this compound preposition written out as $ne-zz-$ in 14/6 and Louvre Dem. Mag. iv. 19. 22.

𐤎𐤕𐤕 , * $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ * 22/17, evidently = $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\nu\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

l. 8. 𐤎𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 looks like 'Soul of Khukh, son of Khukh.' The magic-name compounds with $\chi\omicron\upsilon\chi$, $\chi\upsilon\chi$, $\chi\omega\omega\chi$ are very numerous; cf. P. Sophia, § 361, 𐤎𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 and elsewhere often $\beta\alpha\iota\chi\upsilon\chi$. SETHE, Verbum, i. § 417, suggests that the 𐤕𐤕𐤕 is the elemental god $K'K'$, 'darkness.'

9. hy ank mwr'y mwryby b'bel b'-o-th b'-my p š'y

10. 'o mwr'th-'o p . . . ḥbr n by nt ḥtp n ḥry ḥn n p't n p't-w (*sic*)

11. t'tot sp-sn bwl'y sp-sn my-ḥr . . . sp-sn ḥhy sp-sn b'-o-lbwel y sp-sn 'c tt sp-sn bwel sp-sn y-'o-hel sp-sn p šmsy ḥyt

12. n p ntr 'o p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t st:t p nte t st:t n r-f nte b-'re-s ḥm p ntr 'o nt ḥms

13. ḥn t st:t p nt n t mt:t n t st:t nt n p šy n t p't nte p 'w erme p n'š n p ntr n t:t-f wnḥ-k ar-y

14. ty n p-hw mw ky p ky n wnḥ-k a mwses nta e'r-k 'r-f ḥr p tw nte ḥr-k t ḥp p kke p wyn ne-ḥr-f

15. tg(?)a te-y tbḥ n'm-k nte-k wnḥ-k ar-y ty n py grḥ nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wh n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze z e-y a šš-k

16. n 'Bt e-y a šš'-k n t p't ne-ḥr p r' e-y a šš'-k ne-ḥr ḥ e-y a šš'-k

17. ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-'r-f thm pe p šš' 'o petery sp-sn p'ter enphe sp-sn **ⲉⲛⲡⲉ ⲛ**

18. p ntr nt n t r' ḥry:t n t p't nte p šbt nt (ne)'ne-f n t:t-f 'r t ḥp ntr e bnp ntr t ḥp-f 'm n-y

19. a ḥry a ḥn n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty ḥt-k pa bwel sp-sn nte-k t m'y p 'š-shne [nt] e-y šll ḥrr-f

20. n py grḥ n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze my m's my stm-s p ntr 'o sysyhowt sp-sn ke-z **ⲁⲡⲉⲱⲟⲩⲟⲩ** 'm

21. a ḥn ḥr zz-y nte-k z n-y wh n p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze p ntr 'o nt ḥr p tw

1. 10. Read *ḥn t p't n n p'tw* or *ḥn p't p'tw*.

1. 11. In the demotic there is one uncertain sign that may correspond to **ⲧⲁⲱⲓ** of the gloss.

1. 12. Lines 12-22 are parallel to 7/8-18, 17/1-10, 17/27-32.

1. 14. Moses was a popular hero with many legends in Jewish circles, both before and after Christ (WIEDEMANN in P. S. B. A. xi. 29, 267). Note that the form of the name employed is Greek and not Hebrew; cf. V. 12/6.

nta e'r-k: cf. note to 15/13.

(9) 'Ho! I am Murai, Muribi, Babel, Baoth, Bamui, the great Agathodaemon, (10) Muratho, the . . . form of soul that resteth above in the heaven of heavens, (11) Tatot (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Mouihtahi (?) (*bis*), Lahi (*bis*), Bolboel, I (*bis*), Aa, Tat (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Yohel (*bis*), the first servant (12) of the great god, he who giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god who is seated (13) in the fire, he who is in the midst of the fire which is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and the power of god; reveal thyself to me (14) here to-day in the fashion of thy revelation to Moses which thou didst make upon the mountain, before whom thou thyself didst create darkness and light, (15)—*insertion*—I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer in truth without falsehood; for I will glorify thee (16) in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee (17) before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he (=thou) of the great glory, Peteri (*bis*), Pater, Enphe (*bis*), (18) O god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him. Come down (in) to me (19) into the midst of this flame that is here before thee, thou of Boel (*bis*), and let me see the business that I ask about (20) to-night truly without falsehood. Let it be seen (?), let it be heard (?), O great god Sisihoout, otherwise said Armioouth, come (21) in before me and give me answer to that which

l. 15. The pointer at the beginning of the line refers to the similar sign at the beginning of ll. 33-4, which offer a variant version of l. 15. One may conjecture that the pointer represents the Eg. *dg*, Copt. $\tau\omega\varsigma$: $\tau\omega\alpha$, 'plant,' 'insert,' 'join.'

l. 17. *thm*, a mistake or metathesis for *htm*; cf. 7/12, 17/5, 30. *pety*, &c. See vol. ii, Mythological Index.

22. n ʿtwgy (ⲏⲣⲁⲃⲁⲟⲩ) ghʿbʿh-ʿo ʿm n-y a ḥn my wn yrʿt
a bl n py grḥ ḥr t mn t mtʿt

23. nt e-y šn ḥrr-s n mtʿt mʿt n wš n mtʿt n ʿze a
... ḥrw (?) n p leʿsphwt nb-lot . . lylʿs sp VII nte-k str n-k

24. n wš n sze p kys nt eʿr-k ty-s a yrʿt-k eʿr-k ʿnnʿy a
šn n p ḥbs n šn nb n ḥbs ḥr ʿny-k hyn-w ḥrre n *ḥʿλ*

25. n *ḥʿωⲕ* ḥr gm-k-ysw n p mʿ n p s-qlm ke-z p
s-trmws eʿr-k ʿnyʿt-w e-w knn eʿr-k ty-sw

26. e wʿ lq n yl eʿr-k ʿm r-f m šs sp-sn šʿ hw XX n wʿ
mʿ e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s hw XX eʿr-k

27. ʿnyʿt-f a ḥry nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k hyn-w ḥry-w
ḥn-f erme wʿ mz eʿr-k ḥʿ-f šʿ hw XL nte-k ʿnyʿt-f a
ḥry

28. nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k-f e-ḥr-f ʿr snf eʿre ḥr ʿr-k ty-f
a wʿ nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a ḥn wʿ nk

29. n blz n wʿ mʿ e-f hep n nw nb eʿr-k wḥ a ʿr
n p ḥbs nʿm-f n nw nb eʿr-k mḥ yrʿt-k n py

30. snf nt ḥry eʿr-k ʿnnʿy a ḥn a ʿš šḥ a p ḥbs ḥr nw-k
a wʿ sšt n ntr e-f ʿḥ n p bl n p ḥbs nte-f sze

31. wbe-k ḥr p šn nt eʿr-k wḥ-f nge nte-k str ḥr ʿw-f
n-k a ʿr-f tm ʿy n-k eʿr-k nhs eʿr-k ʿš pe-f thm

l. 22. Atugi with gloss Gabaon : cf. 7/17.

l. 24. Lines 24-30 are repeated in 27/24-29.

l. 25. ḥʿλ n ḥʿωⲕ = ḥⲁⲗⲁḥωⲕ, 'raven's eye,' the Greek bean.

gm-k-ysw, an extraordinary form; but, it is to be feared, no guide to the real pronunciation, which was probably *gemyoks* or *gemyoksu*; the written *y* is thus superfluous, cf. 3/9 note, or at least misplaced.

s-qlm, see note in glossary. 'The place of the garland-seller': does this mean his shop or his garden?

ty-sw: the regular form in this papyrus, as it were, *ⲧⲏⲥⲟⲩ. In *gm-k-ysw*, above, the *sw* = Eg. *st*, plur. of the absolute object-pronoun. Here, after the infinitive, it is abnormal, the *s* being inserted before the proper suffix *-w* on false analogy. In Coptic (St., § 342, p. 169, and PIEHL, A. Z., 95. 42) the only clear instance of this false form seems to be Sah. ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩ. The similar ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ, ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ, &c., are also etymologically wrong, but they seem to be helped by the causative with *stm-f*: see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 85.

l. 26. *y/l*: ⲓⲁⲗ : ⲉⲓⲁⲗ probably to be connected with *ύαλος*.

I shall ask about, truly without falsehood. O great god that is on the mountain (22) of Atuki (of Gabaon), Khabaho, Takrtat, come in to me, let my eyes be opened to-night for any given thing (23) that I shall ask about, truly without falsehood . . . the voice (?) of the Leasphot, Neblot . . . lilas.' Seven times: and you lie down (24) without speaking.

The ointment which you put on your eyes when you are about to inquire of the lamp in any lamp-divination: you take some flowers (25) of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the garland-seller, otherwise said of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh and put them (26) in a *lok*-vessel of glass and stop its mouth very well for twenty days in a secret dark place. After twenty days, if you (27) take it out and open it, you find a pair (?) of testicles in it with a phallus. You leave it for forty days and when you take it out (28) and open it, you find that it has become bloody; then you put it on a glass thing and put the glass thing into a pottery thing (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you desire to make inquiry of the lamp with it at any time if you fill your eyes with this (30) blood aforesaid, and if you go in to pronounce a spell over the lamp you see a figure of a god standing behind (?) the lamp, and he speaks (31) with you concerning the question which you wish; or you lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to

'*m*. This group cannot be read *tm*, τωμ. It must be connected with *ομ*ε, 'clay.'

l. 27. *hyn.w*, 'some,' here and elsewhere suggests the meaning of 'a pair' (Hess, Setne, p. 30).

1. 28. ε(ρ)αϥ̄ρκιοϥ, see the chapter on Grammar.

e're: probably the Eg. emphasizing particle 𓂏 , cf. 7/1.

The meaning of *hr 'r-k*, *уак*, here is not merely consuetudinal but injunctional, equivalent to the old *sdmhrf*, as used e. g. in Pap. Ebers (ERMAN, Grammar, 2nd ed. § 221).

32. e·re hr ʾr-k str hr qme wt e·r-k wʿb a s-ḥm·t e zz-k
st a rs e hr-k st a mḥty [e] hr-f n p ḥbs st a mḥty ḥ-f

33. tg(?) a ḥry te-y tḃḥ nʾm-k nte-k wnḥ-k ar-y ty n
py grḥ nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n mt·t mʿt hr
t mn t mt·t

34. nt e-y šn nʾm-k e-tbe·t[-s ?]

COL. VI.

1. wʿ šn n p ḥbs hr še-k a wʿt ry·t n kke e-s wʿb ʾt
wyn nte-k šte wʿ qel nmy hr wʿt zʿe·t

2. ybt nte-k ʾny wʿ ḥbs ḥt e bnp-w t prš mw n qme
ar-f e pe-f sʿl wʿb nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n mʿt e-f wʿb n whe

3. nte-k ʿš n šḥ·w n tʾw Rʿ tp twe m ḥʿ-f nte-k ʾny p
ḥbs wbe p rʿ e-f mḥ nte-k ʿš n šḥ·w nt ḥry ar-f n sp IV

4. nte-k θy·t-f a ḥn a t ry·t e·r-k wʿb erme p ʿlw nte-k
ʿš n šḥ·w a p ʿlw e·bnn-f nw m-s p ḥbs ʿn e yr·t-f

5. ḥtm šʿ sp VII e·r-k t ʾlbwnt a p ʿḥ e-f wʿb e·r-k t·t
n pe-k tbʿ a zz-f n p ʿlw e yr·t-f ḥtm

6. e·r-k wḥ e·r-k t ʾr-f wn yr·t-f a hr p ḥbs hr nw-f a t
ḥyb·t n p ntr n p qte n p ḥbs nte-f šn n-k

7. a p nt e·r-k wḥ-f e·re hr ʾr-k-f n mre·t n wʿ mʿ e
mn-te-f wyn e-f ḥp e·r-k šn hr ʾyḥ sšre wʿ sʿl n ht

8. n zy p nt e·r-k ty-f a p ḥbs nte-k mḥ-f n syr e-f wʿb
e-f ḥp e ge ʿš-šḥne pe sʿl e-f wʿb hr nḥe n mʿt e-f wʿb

9. p nt e·r-k ty-f a p ḥbs e-f ḥp e·r-k a ʾr-f a ʾny
s-ḥm·t n hwt skne n wrt p nt e·r-k ty-f a p ḥbs e·re
hr wḥ-k p ḥbs

1. 34. *e-tbe·t-s* must be the reading.

COL. VI.

1. 1. A niche in a wall with special orientation for magic utensils, &c., occurs in the nineteenth dynasty; see NAVILLE, *Quatre stèles*.

1. 3. *tʾw Rʿ*, &c. Perhaps the title of some specific religious work, like the hymns to the rising sun prefixed to the New-Kingdom Books of the Dead: or an invocation in an earlier part of the papyrus now lost.

1. 7. *ʾyḥ sšre*. The meaning is not quite clear. In II Kham. ii. 26

you, you rise and pronounce his compulsion. (32) You must lie down on green reeds, being pure from a woman, your head being turned to the south and your face being turned to the north and the face of the lamp being turned northwards likewise.

(33) *insert above*—‘ I pray thee to reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer truly concerning the given matter which I ask thee about.’

COL. VI.

(1) An inquiry of the lamp. You go to a clean dark cell without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall (2) and you take a white lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean, and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, (3) and you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn in his rising and you bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times, (4) and you take it into the cell, you being pure, and the boy also, and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being (5) closed, seven times. You put pure frankincense on the brazier. You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. (6) When you have finished you make him open his eyes towards the lamp; then he sees the shadow of the god about the lamp, and he inquires for you (7) concerning that which you desire. You must do it at midday in a place without light. If it be that you are inquiring for a spirit damned, a wick of sail-cloth (?) (8) is what you put in the lamp and you fill it with clean butter. If it is some other business, a clean wick with pure genuine oil (9) is that which you put in the lamp; if you will do it to bring

there is mentioned a book for *shr 'hy*, ‘ overthrowing (or laying) demons ’; cf. note 3/25.

l. 9. *skne n wrt*, *ροδιον ελαιον*, DIOSC. i. 53.

10. ḥr wꜥt tbe:t nmy nte p ꜥlw ḥms ḥ-f ḥr ke tbe:t
e yr-t-f ḥtm eꜣr-k ꜥš a ḥry ḥn zz-f šꜥ sp IV

11. n sh·w nt eꜣr-k ꜥš-w a p sꜥl a p ḥbs a t ḥꜥt
e bꜣr te-k ꜥš a p ꜥlw z-mt:t ꜥn nte-k p sꜥl wꜥt ꜥo n t
imnh·t n Thwt

12. ꜣn nte-k p ḥbs n š-stn n Wsr p ḥsy ntr n sšne
n t:t ꜣS:t n msne n t:t Nb·t-ḥ·t

13. ꜣn nte-k p ḥrt tp aꜣr-w n Wsr ḥnt ꜣmnt ꜣn nte-k
p snb ꜥo a·fy ꜣNp t:t-f erme-f a t ḥe:t n Wsr p ntr wr

14. aꜣr-y ꜣny nꜣm-k n p-hw ꜣy p sꜥl a t nw p ꜥlw a
ḥn-k nte-k ꜣr wh a mt:t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n
p-hw ꜣn

15. tm ꜣry-s p nt eꜣr-k ꜣr-f ꜣy p sꜥl aꜣr-y t nꜣm-k a
t gyzt n t ꜣḥ·t kme:t aꜣr-y t mḥ nꜣm-k ḥn t gyzt

16. n t ꜣḥ·t s-ḥm·t snf n p ḥsy p nt e-y t nꜣm-f m-s-k
ḥr nḥe t kyz n ꜣNp t nt wh ar-k n sh·w

17. n p wr ḥyq n nt e-y ꜥš n-k nꜣm-w nte-k ꜣny n-y
p ntr nte p wh-shne n t:t-f n p-hw nte-f z n-y wh a
mt:t nb nt e-y šn

18. ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt:t mꜥ·t n wš n mt:t n ꜥze
ꜣy Nw·t mw·t mw hy ꜣP·t mw·t st:t

1. 12. *p ḥsy*, cf. l. 16, and above, note to 3/31. 'Approved,' 'praised' would be a rather unexpected term to apply to Osiris himself, though it could be explained as equivalent to *mꜣ ḥrw* and 'deified.' The sense 'drowned' is quite applicable, as Osiris' body was at least sunk in the waters, cf. the text of Ptah published by BREASTED, A. Z., 1901, Pl. II, ll. 19, 62; and this sense is implied in Brit. Mus. Pap. XLVI. 259-63 *οστα Εσιηους . . . τον Εσιη (ΖΑCΙΕ) τον ενεχθεντα εν τω ρευματι του ποταμου* for three days and three nights. Plutarch's account, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 13 et seqq., hardly needs quotation.

sšne, &c. Cf. similar passage in Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 12, l. 1.

t:t ꜣS:t . . . t:t Nb·t-ḥ·t. In both cases the strong *t* is written at the end of the word for 'hand.' Presumably it is an old dual form.

1. 13. *snb a·fy*, &c., the linen used by Anubis in wrapping the mummy of Osiris.

1. 14. *aꜣr-y ꜣny*, *aseme*, rather than past relative, which would have taken *nꜣm-f* instead of *nꜣm-k*; so also in l. 15, &c.

a t. This is hardly an imperative *a·t*.

a woman to a man, ointment of roses is that which you put in the lamp. You must lay the lamp (10) on a new brick and the boy also must sit on another brick with his eyes closed. You cry down into his head four times. (11) The spells which you recite <to the lamp> to the wick previously before you recite to the boy: formula: 'Art thou the unique great wick of the linen of Thoth? (12) Art thou the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? (13) Art thou the original band that was made for Osiris Khentamente? Art thou the great bandage with which Anubis put forth his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god? (14) I have brought thee to-day—ho! thou wick—to cause the boy to look into thee, that thou mayest make reply to every matter concerning which I ask here to-day. (15) Is it that you will (?) not do it? O wick, I have put thee in the hand of the black cow, I have lighted thee in the hand (16) of the female cow. Blood of the Drowned one is that which I put to thee for oil; the hand of Anubis is that which is laid on thee. The spells (17) of the great Sorcerer are those which I recite to thee. Do thou bring me the god in whose hand is the command to-day and let him give me answer as to everything about which (18) I inquire here to-day truly without falsehood. Ho! Nut, mother of water, ho! Apet, mother of fire,

l. 15. *an *tauac*, lit. 'Is not-doing-it that which you will (?) do?' Cf. l. 37.

ʿh-t kme-t, black animals are generally prescribed in both Greek and demotic magic. Cf. B. M. Gk. Pap. CXXI. l. 301, &c., &c.

l. 16. *t ʿh-t s-hm-t*, 'the female cow,' seems curious, but is quite correct, being due to the fact that, except for the gender of the article, there is no distinction in sound between the words for 'ox' and 'cow.' Cf. 7/1, 2.

l. 17. *p wh-s-hne*. The 365 gods are mentioned V. 33/6. Probably one of these presided over the course of each day.

l. 18. Nut, goddess of the sky, wife of Geb and mother of Osiris; Apt, probably the birth-goddess, worshipped in a small temple at Karnak, in

19. ʾw(?)n-y Nw·t mw·t mw ʾm·t ʾP·t mw·t st·t ʾw(?)n-y
yḥ·ʿo e·r-k zt-f e·r-k sq n ḥrw-k m šs sp-sn

20. e·r-k z ʿn eseks p·ʿo-e e-f ḥtn(?) ke-z ḥt·ʾN sp
VII e-f ḥp e pe ny n nt e·r-k ʿš-w

21. wḥ·t-w a p ḥbs nte-k str n-k n wš n sze ʾnn-e ʿw
n ḥt ḥp e·r-k nhe e·r-k ʿš

22. pe-f thm nte pe-f ḥtr pe z-mt·t ʾnk p ḥr n srḫw
ḥwnw rn-y a·r-w ms·t ḥr p ʾšte šps

23. n ʾBt ʾnk p by n p sr wr nt m ʾBt ank p sʾwte
n t ḥe·t ʿo·t nt m ww-pq

24. ank p nte yr·t-f n yr·t n ʿḥm e-f rs a Wsr n grḥ
ank tp tw-f ḥr ḥs·t n ʾBt

25. ank nt rs a t ḥe·t ʿo·t nt m tt ʾnk nt rs n
n sh·w nt e·r-k sh·w a p ḥbs 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩢𐩨𐩣

26. nt ḫw rn-f ḥep ḥn ḥt-y by by·w rn-f z-mt·t sp VII
e-f ḥp e pe

27. ny wḥet-w n nt e·r-k ʿš-w e-f ḥp e šn n p ʿlw p
nt e·r-k ʾr-f e·r-k ʿš n·y nt ḥry a p ḥbs

28. e b·r te-k ʿš a ḥry ḥn a (*sic*) zz-f n p ʿlw e·r-k
st-k e·r-k ʿš py ke ʿš a p ḥbs ʿn z-mt·t ʾy Wsr p ḥbs

29. e-f t nw n·w hw·w ḥr-w ʾw-f t nw n·w ḥr-w

the inscriptions of which she is often identified with Nut. ROCHEMENTEIX, *Œuvres*, pp. 261, 302.

l. 20. *e-f ḥtn*, &c. The pronunciation of both groups was probably almost identical *ḥetón*.

l. 23. *ww-pq*, a sacred place at Abydos, cf. BRUGSCH, *Dict. Geog.*, 226.

l. 24. *ʿḥm*. Perhaps, according to its ancient significance, meaning one of the mummied hawk-figures placed watching at the corners of the coffin, but in Coptic the word 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩢𐩪 has acquired the meaning 'eagle.'

n grḥ: the gloss 𐩦 over the *n* is strange, as the group evidently corresponds to Boh. 𐩢𐩣𐩪𐩢𐩪.

tp tw-f. The old title of Anubis.

'desert,' probably in the sense of 'necropolis.'

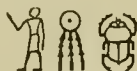
l. 25. The name written with three hieratic signs , cf. 11/9, 16, is quite uncertain. The first sign probably reads ʾḥ, 'spirit,' but might read *wyn*, 'light,' *wbn*, 'shine' or 'rise,' or possibly *šw*, 'light,' or the god 'Shu.' The scarab may read *ḥpr*, 'scarab,' 'become,' the god Khepera, but hardly *l*, 'land': and the last sign *wr*, 'great,' *ʿo*, 'great,' *sr*,

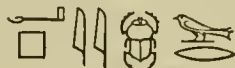
(19) come unto me, Nut, mother of water, come Apet, mother of fire, come unto me Yaho.' You say it drawling (?) with your voice exceedingly. You say again : 'Esex, Poe, Ef-khe-ton,' otherwise said, 'Khet-on,' seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, these alone are the things that you recite (21) to the lamp, and you lie down without speaking. But if obduracy take place, you rise, you recite (22) his summons, which is his compulsion. Formula : 'I am the Ram's face, Youth is my name ; I was born under the venerable persea (23) in Abydos, I am the soul of the great chief who is in Abydos ; I am the guardian of the great corpse that is in U-pek ; (24) I am he whose eyes are as the eyes of Akhom when he watcheth Osiris by night ; I am Teptuf upon the desert of Abydos ; (25) I am he that watcheth the great corpse which is in Busiris ; I am he who watcheth for Light-scarab-noble (?)'. (*In margin*) The spells that you write on the lamp, Bakhukhsikhukh (*and figures*) (26) 'whose name is hidden in my heart ; Bibiou (Soul of souls) is his name.' Formula, seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, (27) these things alone are what you recite. If it is an inquiry by the boy that you are about, you recite these aforesaid to the lamp (28) before calling down into the head of the boy, you turn round (?), you recite this other invocation to the lamp also. Formula : 'O Osiris, O lamp (29) that giveth vision

'magnate,' *ḥw*, 'old.' It is no doubt a solar name (here for Osiris?), and it occurs in ch. 162 of the Book of the Dead, but unfortunately without variants (PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 21, 130)*.

1. 29. *hw.w*. This has evidently been written by mistake for *hry.w*, which has been inserted above. The mistake is important as indicating that the *r* of *hrw*, *hw*, 'day,' was retained in the plural (sing. 200ṛ).

* Cf. perhaps the inscription on a hypocephalus at Cairo



, DARESSY, Textes Mag., p. 56, and , ib., p. 15 =  METT., ST., l. 39.

θs-phr ʾy p ḥbs sp-sn ʾMn mne nʾm-k ʾy p ḥbs sp-sn
te-y

30. ʿš n-k eʾr-k ʾnnʿ a ḥry ḥr zz p yʿm ʿo p yʿm
n [h]r p yʿm n Wsr ʿn e-y z

31. n-k ʾn eʾr-k ʾy ḥb-yt-k ʾy p ḥbs mtr ar-k n-t
gm-k Wsr ḥr pe-f rms n zwf tḥn

32. e ʾS·t ne-zz-f e Nb·t-h·t ne-rt-f e n [ntr·w] ḥwt·w
n ntr·w s-ḥm·tw n pe-f qte a·zy-s ʾS·t my z-w-s

33. n Wsr e-tbe n mt·tw nt e-y šn ḥrr-w a t ʾw p
ntr nte p wh·sh·ne n t·t·f nte-f z n-y wh a mt·t nb nt
e-y šn ḥrr-w

34. ty n p-hw e ʾS·t z my ʿš-w n-y a wʿ ntr ḥb-y-s
e n(?) šq-f a n mt·tw nt e-f a še nʾm-s nte-f mnq-s

35. šm-w ʾny-w n-s nte-k p ḥbs p-eʾny-w n-s p ḥyt
n Šhm·t te-k·t mw·t erme Ḥke pe-k yt

36. ḥwy ar-k bnn-k mḥ a Wsr erme ʾS·t bnn-k mḥ
ʾNp e bnp-k z n-y wh a mt·t nb nt e-y šn

37. ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt·t mʿ·t n wš n z n-y mt·t
n ʿze ʾn tm ʾry-s p nt eʾr-k a ʾr-f bn e-y a t n-k nḥe

COL. VII.

1. bn e-y a t n-k nḥe bn e-y a t n-k ʿt ʾy p ḥbs
eʾry e-y a t n-k n t ḥe·t n t ḥt·t s-ḥm·t nte-y t·t snf

1. 31. *ḥb-yt-k*, note the final *stm-f*, especially common in the 1 pers. sing. Cf. l. 34.

n-t with *stm-f* = *πτερε*, cf. I Kham. 5/35, II Kham. 6/3 (GRIFF., High Priests, p. 193).

rms, see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 100. Evidently the *πλοιον παπυρινον ο καλειται αιγυπτιστι ρωψ* of Leyd. Pap. U. col. 2, l. 6, 7; an *m* before *s* would naturally become *p* in the mouth of a Greek.

1. 32. *n ntr·w ḥwt·w . . . s-ḥm·tw*, O. C. Par. *πτερ ζειμε . . . πτερ ζοονκτ* A. Z., 1900, p. 88. Cf. the same expression in the Hittite treaty, L. D. III. 146, ll. 26, 30.

1. 34. *e n(?) šq-f*. Perhaps an adjectival verb of the form *παροσγ* 'he being clever' (or discreet, or swift, &c.).

1. 35. *p ḥyt n . . . ḥwy* seems to be equivalent to *ἐξορκίζω σε κατα . . .*

Ḥke, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 851, 859. As a form of the god Shu

of the things <of days> above, that giveth vision of the things below and vice versa; O lamp (*bis*), Amen is moored in thee; O lamp (*bis*) I (30) invoke thee, thou goest up to the shore of the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Do I speak (31) to thee? Dost thou come that I may send thee? Ho, lamp, witness (?) to thyself, since thou hast found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and *tehen*, (32) Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female gods about him. Speak, Isis, let it be told (33) to Osiris concerning the things which I ask about, to cause the god to come in whose hand is the command, and give me answer to everything about which I shall inquire (34) here to-day. When Isis said "Let a god be summoned to me that I may send him, he being discreet (?) as to the business on which he will go and he accomplish it," (35) they went and they brought to her; thou art the lamp that was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet thy mother and of Heke thy father is (36) cast at thee, thou shalt not be lighted for Osiris and Isis, thou shalt not be lighted for Anubis until thou hast given me an answer to everything which I ask (37) about here to-day truly without telling me falsehood. If thou wilt not do it, I will not give thee oil.

COL. VII.

(1) 'I will not give thee oil, I will not give thee fat, O lamp; verily I will give thee the body of the female

he would be connected with the lion-headed goddess Tefnut, here perhaps assimilated to the lion-goddess Sochmet.

l. 37. *bn e-y a* (sic) *t*. The *a* is false with neg. fut., but occurs commonly in this papyrus. See 7/1, &c.

COL. VII.

l. 1. *e-ry* with gloss *επε*, apparently = Eg. , as *e're* in 5/28: here 'verily' or 'but.'

2. n p ʾḥ ḥwt m-s-k nte-y t t-t-k n p ʾswe(?) n ḥft
Ḥr a·wn n-y ʾy na t ty·t t tb·t n ḥl nt n t-t-y

3. šp·t a ḥr·tn ʾy n by·w ʾqr·w(?) na bywkm t tyb·t n
ʿnte nt ḥr qh IV ʾy p ʾe nt e-w

4. z n-f ʾNp n rn nt ḥtp ḥr t tybe·t n ḥl e rt-f
smn·t ḥr t tybe·t n ʿnte my ʾw n-y

5. p kys m-s p šre ḥbs nte-f z n-y wḥ ḥr mt·t nb
nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt·t m·t e mn mt·t n ʿze
nʾm-w

6. y-ʿo tʿb-ʿo swgʿmʿmw ʿkhʿkhʿnbw sʿnʿwʿny etsie
qm-t

7. geth-ʿo-s bʿsʿe-th-ʿo-ry thmylʿ·kh·khw a·ry n-y wḥ
a mt·t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw sp VII

8. n sh·w n p ʿlw b-ʿo-el b-ʿo-el sp-sn y·y sp-sn ʿ·
sp-sn tt tt sp-sn p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t
st·t

9. p nte t st·t n r-f nte b·r-s ʿḥm p ntr ʿo nt ḥms
ḥn t st·t p nt n t mt·t n t st·t p nt n p šy n t p·t

10. nte p ʿw erme p nš n p ntr n t-t-f wnḥ-k a py
ʿlw nt ḥr pe hne n p-hw nte-f z n-y wḥ n mt·t

11. m·t n wš n mt·t n ʿze e-y a ty ʿy-k n ʾBt e-y a
ššʿ-k n t p·t ne-ḥr p rʿ e-y a ššʿ-k

12. ne-ḥr ʿḥ e-y a ššʿ-k n p t e-y a ššʿ-k ne-ḥr p
nt ḥr p bḥt nte b·r-f htm pe p ššʿ

13. ʿo petery petery pʿter enphe enphe p ntr nt n t
ry·t ḥry·t n t p·t nte p šbt nt (ne)-

1. 2. Referring to the contest between Horus and Set when Horus injured the testicles of Set, and Set, at the same time, put out the eye of Horus. The eye of Horus symbolizes light—hence the threat to the lamp. But the reading and meaning are uncertain. Cf. note to 1/3.

t tb·t n ḥl seems to be in apposition to *ty·t*; a similar construction in l. 3.

1. 3. *ʾqr*. The double figure in the underworld formed of the foreparts of two lions or of a lion and a bull. LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.*, p. 5.

bywkm seems to be the name of the Arabian desert at the latitude of El Kab, according to BRUGSCH, *D. Geogr.*, 211, 1154, where the lion-

cow and put blood (2) of the male bull into (?) thee and put thy hand to the testicles (?) of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, O ye of the underworld, the box of myrrh that is in my hand; (3) receive me before you, O ye souls of Aker belonging to Bi-wekem, the box of frankincense that hath four corners. O dog, which is (4) called Anubis by name, who resteth on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of frankincense, let there come to me (5) the ointment for the son of the lamp that he (?) may give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood therein. (6) Io, Tabao, Soukhamamou, Akhakhanbou, Sanauani, Ethie, Komto, (7) Kethos, Basaethori, Thmila, Akhkhon, give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day.' Seven times. (8) The spells of the boy: 'Boel, Boel (*bis*), Ii (*bis*), Aa (*bis*), Tattat (*bis*), he that giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, (9) he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god that sitteth in the fire, he that is in the midst of the fire, he that is in the lake of heaven, (10) in whose hand is the greatness and might of God, reveal thyself to this boy who hath my vessel to-day, and let him give me answer truly (11) without falsehood. I will glorify thee in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee (12) before the moon, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he of the great glory, (13) Peteri, Peteri, Pater, Enphe, Enphe, the god who is above heaven, in

pair Shu and Tefnut were worshipped. Possibly the latter were identified with Aker.

The animal of Anubis was strictly a fox according to its shape, but coloured black.

l. 5. *p šre ḥbs*. Is this an expression for the wick, or for the boy-medium, or for the god?

l. 8. Lines 8-18, cf. 5/12-22.

14. 'ne-f n t:t-f 'r t h̄p ntr e bnp ntr t h̄p-f 'm a h̄n
n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty h̄t-k pa bwel (אִיחָל)

15. nte-k t { m'y p 'š-sh̄ne nt e-y šn h̄rr-f ty n p-hw

16. { p zr n n bel-w n p 'lw nt h̄r pe hne a t
my m's my stm-s p ntr 'o
m-f-s erme msz-f a t stm-f p ntr 'o } s-y-s-y-hwt sp-sn

17. (אֲחֻרָּא) 'm a h̄n { h̄r zz-y n p-hw nte-k t wn

18. { n t mt:t n ty st:t
yr:t a bl n mt:t nb nt e-y šll h̄rr-w ty n p-hw } p ntr 'o nt

h̄r p tw n g'b'wn gh'b'h-ʿo (תִּכְרִית) e'r-k 'š ny

19. š' nte p wyn h̄p a're p wyn h̄p e'r-k st e'r-k
'š ty h̄t(?) sh̄ n w̄hm 'n tey-s t h̄t n p thm

20. h-s nt e'r-k 'š-s 'y a-z(?) n-y sp-sn ths ten-ʿo-r p
yt n n̄he z:t p ntr nt h̄r p t tre-f s'lk-m-ʿo

21. b'lk-m-ʿo br'k neph-r-ʿo-b-ʿn-p-r' bry's s'ry-ntr-w
melykhryphs

22. l'rnkn'nes herephes meph-r-ʿo-bry's phrg' phekse
ntsywpšy'

23. m'rm'reke-t l'-ʿo-re-grepšye my nw-y a p w̄h n p
šn nt e-y ty e-tbe-t-f my 'r-w n-y w̄h

24. a mt:t nb nt e-y šn h̄rr-w ty n p-hw n mt:t m't
n wš n mt:t n 'ze 'y 't'el 'pthe gh-ʿo-gh-ʿo-m-ʿo-le

25. hesen·myng'nt-ʿo-n 'o-rth-ʿo-b'wb-ʿo n-ʿo-ere sere·
sere sn-g'th'r'

26. eresgšyng'l s'kgyste n-t-te-g'gyste 'krwr-ʿo-b-ʿo-re
g-ʿo-ntere

ll. 15, 17. These interlineations are words to be substituted in the case of no medium being employed.

l. 19. *ly k't* was first written before *sh*, and then *h* written upon the *k*: see the Glossary.

l. 20. *y*: after this word the name of the deity invoked would be expected: a vertical line following may indicate an omission. *z ny sp-sn* would seem to be an imperative with emphasis.

l. 22. *ntsywpšy'*. *nt* represents δ and *ts* θ, so *nts* probably represents an aspirated *d*, i. e. *dh*, which is transcribed in the Greek by Δ alone; but *ts* also represents Δ in 2/26.

l. 25. Hesenmigadon, &c. A similar string of names occurs in Brit.

whose hand is the beautiful staff, (14) who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this fire that is here before thee, he of Boel, Aniel

(15) { cause me to see the business about
(16) and do thou { give strength to the eyes of the boy
{ which I am inquiring here to-day, let it be seen, let
{ who has my vessel, to cause him to see it, and to his
{ it be heard
{ ears to cause him to hear it, } O great god Sisihout,

(17) { before me and cause my eyes
(18) Akhremto, come in { into the midst of this flame,
(17) to be opened to everything for which I pray here to-day,
(18) O great god that is upon the hill of <Atugi> Gabaon, Khabaho, Takrtat.' You recite this (19) until the light appear. When the light appears, you turn round (?), you recite this spell-copy a second time again. Behold the spell-copy also (?) of the summons (20) that you recite: 'Ho! speak to me (*bis*) Thes, Tenor, the father of eternity without end, the god who is over the whole earth, Salkmo, (21) Balkmo, Brak, Nephro, Bampre, Brias, Sarinter, Melikhriphs, (22) Largnanes, Herephes, Mephrobrias, Pherka, Phexe, Diouphia, (23) Marmareke, Laore-Krephie, may I see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here, may answer be made to me (24) to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood. Ho! Adael, Aphthe, Khokhomole, (25) Hesemigadon, Orthobaubo, Noere, Sere, Sere, San-kathara, (26) Ereskhigal, Saggiste, Dodeka-

Mus. Gr. Pap. No. XLVI. l. 424, et seq.; WESSELY, *Ephes. Gram.*, 36, 244-5, 341, 377.

l. 26. Ereshkigal is the Sumerian goddess of the Underworld, cf. LEGGE, *P. S. B. A.*, xxii. 121, lit. 'mistress of the Great Land,' i.e. the infernal regions; see the myth in BUDGE and BEZOLD, *Tel-el-amarna Tablets*, No. 82, p. 140; the name is found also in an Assyrian text in R. C. THOMPSON, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 267 (from

27. e·r-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f nte-f nw m-s p ḥbs nte-k
šn-t-f a p nt e·r-k wḥ-f a·re ʿw n ḥt ḥp e bnp-f nw a
p ntr e·r-k st-k

28. e·r-k ʿš pe-f ḥtr z-mt-t seme·g·n-tw gen-tw
g·o-n-tw geryn-tw nt·reng·o lek·wks

29. ʾm n-y g·n·b a·ry k·t·y b·ryk·t·y ʾtn ʿḥ n n
ntr-w ʾtn stm ḥrw-y my z-w n-y wḥ

30. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʾy p ste
ns·l·b·ḥ·o n·syr· h·ke tw·n-f p my sr·w

31. my nw-y a p wyn n p-hw erme n ntr-w nte-w z
n-y wḥ a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t
m·t n·n·n·n·n rn-k

32. n·n pe-k rn n mte e·r-k ʿš šmšeke n ḥrw-k e-f
ʿy e·r-k ʿš z ʾm n-y y·h·o y·w

33. y·h·o ʿwḥ·o y·h·o h·y k hw qʾ n·šbt ʾr-py-hpe
ʿbl·bl·n·bk

34. ḥr n bk ny·by·t th·tl·t my·ry·bl

COL. VIII.

1. a [ʾre p ntr(?)] ʾsq a tm ʾy a(?) ḥn e·r-k ʿš

2. my·ry·bl·qml·kykh p-yt-yt-w n n ntr-w pḥr w·t
yr-t rym k·t sby y·ḥ sp-sn sp-sn ḥ·ḥ·he

3. st-st-st-st yḥʾ y·h·o ḥḥ my ʾw n-y p ntr nte p
wḥ-shne n p-hw n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wḥ a mt-t nb

4. nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw e·r-k z pf-ntr(?) n r-k
tne sp nb n e·r-k ʿš te-y ḥwy ḥyt ar-k n p nt ḥt
n·m-k n p nt ʿme n·m-k

information kindly supplied by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Hall, of the British Museum).

l. 28. The names in this line are found in Pap. XLVI above, l. 428, and also on a Gnostic gem described by Goonwin, Cambridge Essays, 1853, p. 54.

l. 30. *tw·n-f*, 'raise him up!' or with reflexive masc. suffix 'arise!' instead of fem. as in Coptic *ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲟⲥ*, 'arise!'

COL. VIII.

l. 1. The short heading seems only intended to remind the reader of the subject in hand (see 6/27), and is not a new heading.

kiste, Akrourobore, Kodere.' (27) You make him open his eyes and look at the lamp, and ask him as to that which you wish. If obstinacy appear, he not having seen the god, you turn round (?), (28) you pronounce his compulsion. Formula : 'Semea-kanteu, Kenteu, Konteu, Kerideu, Darenko, Lekaux, (29) come to me, Kanab, Ari-katei, Bari-katei, disk, moon of the gods, disk, hear my voice, let answer be given me (30) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. O perfume of Zalabaho, Nasira, Hake, arise (?) O Lion-ram, (31) let me see the light to-day, and the gods; and let them give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day truly. Na, Na, Na, Na, is thy name, (32) Na, Na, is thy true name.' You utter a whisper (?) with your voice loudly; you recite saying, 'Come to me Iaho, Iaeu, (33) Iaho, Auho, Iaho, Hai, Ko, Hoou, Ko, Nashbot, Arpi-Hap (?), Abla, Balbok, (34) Honbek (Hawk-face), Ni, Abit, Thatlat, Maribal.'

COL. VIII.

(1) If [the god (?)] delay so as not to come in, you cry : (2) 'Maribal, Kmla, Kikh, Father of the fathers of the gods, go round (?), one Eye weeps, the other laughs. Ioh (*bis, bis*), Ha, Ha, He, (3) St, St, St, St, Ihe, Iaho, seek (?); let there come to me the god in whose hand is the command to-day, and let him give me reply to everything (4) about which I ask here to-day.' You say, 'Pef-nuti (?)' with your mouth each

l. 2. This continues from 6/34, which is short because of meeting the ruling : v. the facsimile.

my 'r-y bl is repeated from the end of 6/34. Such repetition is usual where a page ends in the middle of a paragraph (e. g. in Cols. II-III, VI-VII), but there are exceptions as in Cols. IX-X. The sign over *bl* is hieratic for  (= *bl*), as in 11/12.

l. 4. *pf-ntr* (?) : possibly an archaic expression, 'that god,' but this and

5. my ʾre p kke prze a p wyn ne-ḥr-y ʾy p ntr ḥw-ḥs
rʿt ḥtm sy sp-sn ʾw ḥw ʾw ḥt b-ʾr-y

6. ghʾ ʾt rʿt šfe bybyw yʿh-ʿo ʿryʿḥ sp-sn a-ʾry n-s
e-w a st ḥr bks gs.gs.gs.gs

7. yʿnyʿn e-ʾr-n e-y bs ks.ks.ks.ks my ʾw n-y p ntr
nte p wh-shne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb nt
e-y

8. šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʾm a ḥn pyʾ-t-w ḥy-tre-t ʾy
ḥp ḥpe ḥp ʿbr-ḥme p zf n t yr-t n t wz

9. qmr.qmr.qmr.qmr qm-r a-t ḥp qm.qm wr wt š . .
knwš pe-k rn n mte my z-w n-y wh

10. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʾm n-y
bʿkʿksykhekh a-zy n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w
ty n p-hw n mt-t mʿt

11. n wš n z n-y mt-t n ʿze z-mt-t sp VII

12. wʿ a ḥrw pe-sh p wʿb n ks e-f z nʾm-f z
e-f znt n sp IX

13. ank r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw-t-f
ta p šw e-f ḥp

14. e t mn t mt-t ne ḥp mpr ʾy n-y n pe-k ḥr n pḥe-t
e-ʾr-k a ʾy n-y n pe-k ḥbr n wʿb

15. n pe-k sšt n rm ḥt-ntr e-f ḥp e bn-e-s a ḥp
e-ʾr-k ʾy n-y n pe-k smte n gʿlʿšyre

16. z ʾnk r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw-t-f
ta p šw a ḥr

other expressions that seem to have a meaning, such as 'do for her' *arainas*, 'they shall return' *euesól*, in l. 6, are likely to be only gibberish ejaculations; cf. *δωδεκακιστη* in Greek magic.

neʾr-k = conjunctive *nt*, usually written *nte-k* as Boh. *ntek*.

l. 8. *wz*. The  eye is named *ovs* (cf. gen. *ovar-os*), *ovariov* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 75 and 92, pointing to the pronunciation *ovaxe*, *ovoxe* (?), cf. *taouaris*, 'she of the sacred eye,' in SPIEGELB., Eigenn., p. 51*.

l. 12. *pe-sh*. There is no determinative to prove that this is a proper name. The previous sign instead of *ḥrw*, 'voice,' might be read as 'foreigner,' or 'Greek,' cf. 4/7, V. 3/12.

time, and you cry, 'I cast fury at thee of him who cutteth thee, of him who devoureth thee. (5) Let the darkness separate from the light before me. Ho! god, Hu-hos, Ri-khetem, Si (*bis*), Aho (?), Ah, Mai (?) ("I do not" ?), (6) Kha, Ait, Ri-shfe, Bibiu, Iaho, Ariaaha (*bis*), Arainas ("do for her"), Euesetho ("they will turn the face"), Bekes, Gs, Gs, Gs, Gs, (7) Ianian, Eren, Eibs, Ks, Ks, Ks, Ks, let the god come to me in whose hand is the command and give me answer as to everything about which I (8) inquire here to-day. Come in, Piatouu, Khitore; ho! Shop, Shope, Shop, Abraham, the apple (?) of the Eye of the Uzat, (9) Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmro, so as to create, Kom, Kom-wer-wot, Sheknush (?) is thy real name, let answer be told to me (10) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. Come to me Bakaxikhekh, tell me answer to everything which I ask about here to-day truly (11) without telling me falsehood.' Formula. Seven times.

(12) A direct (?) inquiry by (?) the voice of Pasash (?) the priest of Kes; he (the informant) tells it, saying it is tested, nine times: (13) 'I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau son of Tapshau, of his mother Tapshau, if it be that (14) any given thing shall happen, do not come to me with thy face of Pekhe; thou shalt come to me in thy form of a priest, (15) in thy figure of a servant of the temple. (But) if it shall not come to pass, thou (shalt) come to me in thy form of a Kalashire, (16) for I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau, the son of Tapshau, of his

Ks may be Cusae, or Cynopolis (El Qais), or some other town in Middle Egypt.

'Nine times tried' seems proverbial, cf. 14/31; and for the whole sentence, 29/1.

l. 14. *Phe-t*, a feline goddess worshipped at Speos Artemidos near Beni-Hasan in Middle Egypt. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 234.

l. 15. *g^hkyre*, see the Glossary.

17. p ḥpš n p mḥ III n p wrš e wn w^c yb n mzwł
ḥt n ḥlpe III e wn mḥ-n-tp III

18. n b^cnyp tks n^m-f nte-k š n-y ar-f n sp VII
nte-k ḥ^c-f ne-zz-k ḥr nw-f n-k nte-f sze erme-k

COL. IX.

1. p šn-hne n Ḥns . . . ḥr-k Ḥns m ws-t nfr ḥtp
p syf šps ʾr pyr n p sšn Ḥr nb nw w^c pw . . .

2. ʾy ḥt nb ḥt ʾy šn-ty-t nb šn-ty-t nb ʾtn p ntr ʿo
p k wt p šre n p ʾkš ʾm n-y p syf šps p ntr ʿo nt [ḥn]

3. p ʾtn nte ḥn-w . . . p-ʿo-m-ʿo nt e-w z n-f p k
sp-sn wr p ntr ʿo nt ḥn t wz-t ʾr pyr a bl ḥn p IV [ḥn]

4. n z-t p tbe n n ef-w nt e b ʾr-rḥ-w rn-f b ʾr-rḥ-w
ky-f b rḥ-w smte-f te-y ʾr-rḥ<-w> rn-k te-y ʾr-rḥ<-w> ky-k
te-y [ʾr-rḥ<-w>]

5. smte-k ʿo rn-k ʾw rn-k ʾḥ rn-yk ʾmn rn-k wr ntr-w
rn-yk ʾmn rn-f a ntr-w nb rn-yk ʿo-m

6. wr ʿm rn-k ntr-w nb rn-yk srpt-my-sr rn-yk l-ʿo-w
ʾy nb t-w sp-sn rn-yk ʾm^cḥr n p-t rn-k sšn n syw . . .

l. 17. *τριταῖας οὐσης της σεληνης* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 170.

yḏ, lit. 'tooth.' Cf. Lat. 'spica allii.'

COL. IX.

l. 1. *Ḥns-m-ws-t-nfr-ḥtp*, the title of the principal form of Khons at Thebes, see the Bekhten stela. Khons was a moon-god, son of Amen and Mut. He is here identified with Horus and other gods.

For Horus rising from the lotus-flower see LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.*, ccxiv.

'Lord of time,' as the moon regulating seasons.

l. 2. *ḥt*, 'silver,' the moon-colour.

šn-ty-t, 'circuit of the underworld (?)'.

p k wt, cf. his title 'ein feuriger Stier' in an inscription translated by BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 360; *wt* is evidently the Eg. *wʾz*.

p ʾkš, the Ethiopian, i. e. Amen, who at this time was popularly considered as, above all, the god of Meroe: see V. 20/1 and note.

l. 3. *nte ḥn-w* . . . Cf. *ḫne-ḫna=* and below l. 10, and with the idea cf. Khons' title *nb ʾw-t ḫb*, 'lord of joy.'

p IV ḥn n z-t, cf. l. 13 with gloss. *ḫnae*. *ḥn* is a vessel below 12/29. Here it may be a 'space' referring to the 'four quarters.' *z-t* may perhaps refer to 'space,' not time. One may also suggest the meaning of 'four boundaries' or 'four seasons,' and in l. 8 *ḥn* seems to mean

mother Tapshau.' [Say it] opposite (17) the Shoulder constellation on the third day of the month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic and there being three needles (18) of iron piercing it, and recite this to it seven times; and put it at thy head. Then he attends to you and speaks with you.

COL. IX.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Chons. '[Homage ?] to thee, Chons-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, the noble child that came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time (?), one he is . . . (2) Ho! silver, lord of silver, Shentei, lord of Shentei, lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian, come to me, noble child, the great god that is in (3) the disk, who pleaseth men (?), Pomo, who is called the mighty bull (*bis*), the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four [boundaries?] (4) of eternity, the punisher of the flesh (?), whose name is not known, nor his nature, nor his likeness (?). I know thy name, I know thy nature, I [know] (5) thy likeness. Great is thy name, Heir is thy name, Excellent is thy name, Hidden is thy name. Mighty one of the gods is thy name, "He whose name is hidden from all the gods" is thy name, Om, (6) Mighty Am is thy name, "All the gods" is thy name, Lotus-lion-ram is thy name, "Loou comes, lord of the lands" (*bis*) is thy name, Amakhr of heaven is thy name, "Lotus-flower of stars (?)

a 'cycle.' Cf. τα τεσσαρα μέρη του ουρανου και τα τεσσαρα θεμελια της γης, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 552.

l. 4. *p tbe*, cf. note on Petbe in P. S. B. A. xxii. 162.

te-y ʿr-rḥw: the written *w* seems meaningless, for *rḥ* is not here in *stm-f* dependent on *te-y*. The latter is the pron. 1st sing. *ḏ* followed by inf. or pseudo-part. For *ʿr-rḥ* see GRIFFITH, High Priests, p. 106.

l. 5. *ʿḥ* with gloss *as* and therefore not 'spirit,' which would be *is*. Perhaps it is the adjective 'beneficial.'

'He whose name is hidden from all the gods,' a phrase current in the New Kingdom for Amenra.

7. ʔy ʔy-y-ʕo ne-ʔy-ʕo rn-yk pe-k sšt mhrr n hr n sre
e st-f n bk e bs II hrr-f pe-k [hfe hfe]

8. n z:t pe-k hn n wrš pe-k h n h n elle ʔšt pe-k sym
n sym n ʔMn pe-k ʔrw n t p:t byn pe-k rym n [p mty?]

9. lbs km st smn:t hr p t yb rn-k n te-k:t he-t n p
yʕm pe-k sšt n ʔny a-pyr-k nʔm-f . . .

10. t p:t te-k:t qnh:t p t te-k:t hyw:t wn-ne p hnny a
mht nʔm-k ty n p-hw z ʔnk h(?) mne nw . . . y

11. ʔe e bnp-y ʔr-f hr ʔsq e bnp-y gm rn-yk p ntr ʕo
nte (ne-)ʕy rn-f p hry hte-t n t p:t a-ʔr-y ʔr-f ʔr [p hkr?]

12. n p t p ʔyb n p mw nte-k nht nte-k t wz-y nte-k
t n-y hs:t mr:t šfe:t a hr rm nb z ʔnk pe p k . . .

13. p ntr ʕo nt hn t wz:t ʔr pyr a bl hn p IV hn n
z:t ʔnk hwayne p rn ʕo nt n t p:t nt e-w z n-f . . .

14. ʔm-ph-ʕo-w sp-sn n mʕt sp-sn hs-f a ʔBt Rʕ Hr
hnn(?) pe pe rn hry ntr-w rn-t n mte nht my wz-y my
hpe pe hne . . .

15. aʔwn n-y n ʕrq-hh a hr ntr nb rm nb ʔr pyr

1. 7. The figure described may be compared with the ram-headed scarabs having hawk's wings which are common on late coffins, on the breast of the figure upon the inner coffins. What *bs* is is not evident. These scarabs often hold two Shen rings, or two sceptres with Maat feathers on the end.

pe-k [hfe hfe] *n z:t*. There seems to be space in the lacuna for the whole groups spelled out, as in l. 20. The extent of the lacuna, about 2 cm., can be judged by l. 12, where *k[wr]* has to be read. For the *hf n z:t*, cf. I Kham. iii. 31; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 22; and *τον αειζων οφιν* Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1323.

1. 8. ʔš. The identity of this fruit-tree is very uncertain, v. LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 102.

rym n [p mty?]. Cf. I Kham. iii. 13, but the precise wording required is quite uncertain.

1. 9. *lbs*. There is a fish called *λεβίας*; and there is the modern *لبيس*. On the latter Mr. G. A. BOULENGER kindly furnishes a note, 'the lebis is the Arabic name of Labeo Niloticus, a fish allied to and not unlike our carp. Like the latter, without being absolutely black, it may be of a very dark olive brown above.'

yb probably has a definite meaning, but as yet it is obscure.

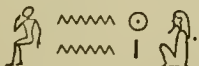
1. 10. *e hn-y*. This reading is possible, see the facsimile.

(7) cometh," Ei-io Ne-ei-o is thy name. Thy form is a scarab with the face of a ram; its tail a hawk's, it wearing (?) two panther-skins (?). Thy [serpent is a serpent ?] (8) of eternity, thine orbit (?) a lunar month, thy tree a vine-tree and perseas (?), thy herb the herb of Amen, thy fowl of heaven a heron, thy fish of [the deep (?)] (9) a black *lebes*. They are established on earth. Yb is thy name in thy body in (?) the sea, thy figure of stone in which thou camest forth is a . . . ; (10) heaven is thy shrine, the Earth thy fore-court; it was my will (?) to seize thee here to-day, for I am one shining, enduring: my . . . (11) faileth (?) if I have not done it through (?) the delay, I not having discovered thy name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor (?) of heaven. (But) I have done it, [enduring ?] hunger (12) for bread, and thirst for water; and do thou rescue (?) me and make me prosper and give me praise, love, and reverence before every man. For I am (?) the [mighty] bull, (13) the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four regions (?) of space (?). I am *Hune* (youth), the great name that is in heaven, whom they call . . . (14) Amphoou (*bis*), "True" (*bis*), "He is praised to (?) Abydos," "Ra," "Horus the boy" is my name, "Chief of the gods" is my correct name, preserve me, make me to prosper, make my vessel to become [successful ?]. (15) Open to

l. 11. *aʿr-y*. The translation is uncertain owing to the lacuna.

l. 12. *ʿnk pē p k* might mean 'I am he of the [mighty] bull'; if not, the magician identifies himself with Khons, see l. 3.

l. 14. *hs-f a ʿBt*. The *a* as a separate letter seems certain, v. the facs. The gloss *hsf* has the appearance of a construct form, but it may well be for *hsaf*. Even so it is difficult to find a meaning for the phrase.

The reading of the group following *Rʿ-Hr* is not certain. The signs are .

l. 15. The 'stone of Ptah' is not otherwise known. For Ptah as a creator see BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 110; BREASTED, *A. Z.*, 1901, 51.

a bl ḥn p ʿny n Pth z ank p ḥf ʿr pyr n p nwn
ʿnk . . .

16. bre n ʿkš ʿnh n ḥf n nb n mʿt aʿre ʿbye n sp·t
p nt e-y a z·t·f ḥr ḥpe-f tw n hy . . .

17. apḥte z ʿnk ʿNp p sst (*sic*) nhne ʿnk ʿS·t e-y a
mr-f ank Wsr e-y a mr-f ank ʿNp [e-y a mr]-f eʿr-k a
nhm-t a . . . nb

18. s·t thth nb lsmtnwt lsmʿtot nḥt my wz-y my n-y
ḥs·t mr·t šfe·t ḥn pe hne . . .

19. pe swt ty n p-hw ʿm-t n-y ʿS·t t nb ḥyq t wr
ḥyq n n ntr·w tre·w Ḥr ḥ·t ʿS·t m-s-y Nb·t·ḥ·t n te
grpe

20. wʿ ḥf n šre ʿTm p nt . . . n ʿre·t a zz-y ze p nt
e-f a myšt e-f a myš stn Mnt ty n p-hw(?) n wʿ(?) . . .

21. a my-ḥs apḥte a t še a wʿ my n šr my-ḥs a bl
e-f qby aʿn·t·w n-y sp-sn n by n ntr n by

22. n rm n by n t ty·t n by n t ʿhy·t n ʿyḥ·w n
n·mw·t·w nte-w <my ʿr-w> z n-y n t mʿt n p-hw a p
nt e-y šn m-s-f z ʿ[nk]

The snake as word-sign has six loops here and in 21/4, four loops in l. 16. This agrees with the snake determinative of šꜣy which has usually four loops, once (19/12) six loops, and twice (3/3, 5/9) two loops, and Shoi is said to be 'in Nun' 2/5. It is thus the snake of Shay. But the sign, meaning distinctly a (sacred) snake, cannot read šꜣy, which always means distinctly a divinity. *Hfe* is perhaps the most probable reading, see esp. 21/4; the det. of that word in 9/20 has only two loops, but in Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 9 five or six loops. *Syt* 14/3, V. 27/1 has four loops, but the head seems to be raised high; *syt* is derived from Eg. sꜣ-tꜣ which is represented by  in late texts, Br., Dict. Geogr., 762.

l. 16. *bre*: cf. ḥwpe, 'intumescere,' ḥope, 'fastuose se gerere,' or better ḥepi, 'juvenis.'

ʿnh is evidently the serpent word met with in 1/3. Possibly both *bre* and ʿnh are adjectives, and the construction may resemble the familiar Coptic construction with adjectives, St., § 187.

t-wn, apparently an unetymological spelling for πτορνου: cf. 18/21.

l. 17. *ss*, error for *snt*: cf. 18/22.

l. 20. *wʿ ḥf n šre ʿTm*. Atum being a form of Ra, this may refer to the

me Arkhah before every god and every man that hath come forth from the stone of Ptah. For I am the serpent that came forth from Nun, I am a (16) proud (?) Ethiopian, a rearing serpent of real gold, there being honey in my (?) lips; that which I shall say cometh to pass at once. Ho! . . . (17) mighty one, for I am Anubis, the baby creature (?); I am Isis and I will bind him, I am Osiris and I will bind him, I am Anubis [and I will bind] him. Thou wilt save me from every . . . (18) and every place of confusion (?). Lasmatnout, Lesmatot, protect me, heal me, give me love, praise and reverence in my vessel (19), my bandage (?) here to-day. Come to me, Isis, mistress of magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem, (20) a snake of the son(s) of Atum is that which . . . a uraeus-diadem at my head; for he that shall strike (?) me (?) shall strike (?) King Mont here to-day . . . (21) Mihos, mighty one shall send out a lion of the sons of Mihos under compulsion to fetch them to me (*bis*) the souls of god, the souls (22) of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead, so that they tell me the truth to-day concerning that

poisonous serpent formed by Isis from the spittle of Ra, to bite him and make him reveal his secret name (texts of New Kingdom). With the construction compare l. 21 *w^c my n šr my-ḥs*, 10/13 *ṭbe.t III n ṭbe.t nmy*, and 10/10 *š^c n ʿny*.

l. 21. *My-ḥs*, a lion-god, son of Bubastis. For the pronunciation of the name see SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 4*.

t še a: the *a* is quite certain, but is very puzzling.

a.n.t-w n-y sp-sn. This should be an imperative: see also the parallel l. 35. Possibly *sp-sn* is falsely written here.

n by, gloss. *ἡβαι*. The plural sign is often omitted with *by*, and here we see the reason, viz. that the plural had no special form.

l. 22. *n.mw.t-w*, cf. l. 25. The prefixed *n* seems to represent a reduplication of the initial *m*, *n* being regularly assimilated to a following *m*.

Here we have *νεκρες καὶ οἱ δαίμονες* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1453.

23. Hr s 'S:t e-f 'nn^c a mr n 'rq-ḥḥ a hwy qst a ḥr
n s·w a t mnḥ·t n p ḥsy

24. p ḥsy nfr n n ḥsy·w e·r-k nhs e·r-k a rpy ḥr r
n r·w n pe hne pe swt pe z^cl mt·t . . .

25. nhs n'm-w n-y [n] 'yh·w n mt·w nhs pe-w by
pe-w sst n n r·w n pe hne nhs-w n'm-w n-y . . .

26. erme n mt·w nhs n'm-w n-y sp-sn nhse(?) pe-w
by erme pe-w sst p ḥyt n py-s s wnte ta 'rb . . .

27. nhs n'm-w n-y sp-sn [n wn]te-w n ne-w s·t tbe
my 'r-w sze n r-w my 'r-w mt·t n spe-w my 'r-w z
p-e-z-y [a p nt]

28. e-y šn ḥrr-f ty n p-hw my 'r-w mt·t n . . . my
're mt·t m^c·t ḥp n-y mpr t ḥr ḥr ḥr rn ḥr rn n m^c·t
sp-sn(?) [e mn]

29. mt·t n 'ze n'm-w(?) [y] p mḥrr n ḥstb n m^c·t nt
ḥms ḥr zz p šy n p pr-^co Wsr wn-nfr . . .

30. mḥ r-k n mw n(?) . . . kš-f a zz-y erme p nt
ne-t·t my wz-y my wz-f θs-phr š^c nte p-e-z[-y ḥp m]y
're

31. p-e-z-y ḥp z e·re tm te(?) p-e-z-y ḥp e-y a t qte
t st·t n p qte n ty sewe š^c nte p-e-z-y ḥp z . . .

32. a p t stm-w n-y . . . z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
'nk 'Tm n p wtn n p r^c ank 'ry^cttw t št-^co·t n(?) . . .

l. 23. *a mr·t* in the Khamuas stories means 'on board ship' (High Priests, p. 98), but **ⲉⲙⲣ** in Coptic is 'across,' 'to the other side,' 'beyond.' *a mr n* may be 'beyond' as a preposition; the same word is used in 15/12 in the same connexion (with the tomb of Osiris at Abydos).

l. 24. *e·r-k*. The gloss is certainly **ⲉⲣ**, and must be a correction.

swt is difficult to understand. The idea must be founded on the use of knots in magic, Lat. 'ligatura.'

z^cl-mt·t probably = 'word-seeking,' from Eg. *z^cr*, preserved also in **ⲭⲙⲣ**, &c. Were all these used at once, or were they alternatives?

l. 26. *wnte*: cf. LANZ., Diz. Mit., 165, or better BRUGSCH, Wtb. Suppl., 322. It would be possible to read *ḥwnte*. From the next line the *wnte* would seem to be souls in torment or else punishing demons.

l. 27. *spe-w*, see Glossary, s.v. *sp^cl*.

after which I am inquiring: for I am (23) Horus son of Isis who goeth on board at Arkhah to put wrappings on the amulets, to put linen on the Drowned one, (24) the fair Drowned one of the drowned(?). They shall rise, they shall flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage(?), my word-seeking(?). (25) Arouse them for me (*bis*), the spirits, the dead; rouse their souls and forms at(?) the mouths of my vessel; rouse them for me (26) with the dead; rouse [them] for me (*bis*); rouse their souls and their forms. The fury of Pessiwont ("Her (whose) son is Wont"), the daughter of Ar . . . (27) rouse them for me (*bis*), the Unti from their places of punishment, let them talk with their mouths, let them speak with their lips, let them say that which I have said, [about that which] (28) I am asking them here to-day; let them speak before(?) me, let truth happen to me; do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true (*bis*) name [without] (29) falsehood in it. [Ho?] scarab of true lapislazuli that sitteth at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer! (30) fill thy mouth with the water of [the pool?], pour it on my head together with him who is at my hand; make me prosper, make him prosper, and conversely, until my words [happen?], let (31) that which I say come to pass; for if that which I have said do not come to pass, I will cause fire to go round about this *Seoue* until that which I have said do come to pass; for [they came] (32) to the earth, they listened to me . . . they said to me, "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am Atum in the sun-boat of Phre;

l. 28. *n hr(?) t-y(?)*. Perhaps a very incorrect writing for *n h.t-y*, 'before me.'

l. 29. *p šy*. Perhaps the 'lake of U-Peke' in 12/17.

l. 31. *e-re tm te*, *epetā-*, but the *te* is inexplicable.

sewe. This seems a threat to burn the bandages or even the mummy of Osiris.

l. 32. *št-o-t*, probably the chest, Eg. *šty-t*, of Osiris, BR., Wtb., 1410.

33. a·e-y kšp a bl ḥ[·t-k?] a nw m-s Wsr p ʾkš e-f
ʾn·w a ḥn a zz-y e wn šr ʾNp II ḥ·t-f šr Wpy [II m-s-f]

34. šr rr·t II mne [nʾm-]f z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
ank w^c n py bk II nt rsy a ʾS·t erme Wsr t grp·t t . . .

35. erme py-s ʿw . . . a·ny·t-w n-y sp-sn n by n
ntr n by n rm by n t ty·t n by n t ʾḥy·t

COL. X.

1. n ʾyḥ·w n mt·w my ʾr-w z n-y t m^c·t n p-hw ḥr p
nt e-y šn ḥrr-f z ʾnk ʾrtemy(?) . . . mw·t e-f ḥ^c ḥr ybt

2. ʾm n-y a ḥn ʾNp n pe-k ḥr nfr a·r-y ʾy a wšte-k
. . . sp-sn ḥ·t sp-sn . . . [rs mḥ]t ʾmnt ybt

3. tw n ʾmnt nb my ʾr-w ḥp e-w šs sp-sn e-w smn·t
e-w swtn e-w pḥr e ḥ p ḥyt [n p wr?] šfe z ʾnk

4. y^ce y^c·o y^ce^c y^c·o s^cb^c·o-th ʿ-t-ne z te-y ḥwy [ḥyt]
ar-k tsye gl^cte

5. ʾrkhe y^c·o^c ph^clekmy y^c·o^c m^ckh^ch^cy yee kh^c·o . . . n
kh^c·o-khrekhy ee^c·o-th

6. s^crby^cqw ygr^c pšybyeg m^c·o-mw mwnekh stsyth^c·o
s^c·o-th^c·o-n n^c·o-n kh^crm^cy

7. p ḥyt n ny ntr·w tre-w a·z-y rn-w ty n p-hw nhs
nʾm-w n-y sp-sn n ḥsy·w n mt·w ʿnḥe(?) pe·tn by pe·tn
sšt n-y

8. a n r·w n pe ḥbs pe swt pe z^cl^c mt·t my ʾr-f n-y
wḥ ḥr mt·t nb nt e-y šn [ḥrr-w] ty n p-hw n mt·t m^c·t
sp-sn e mn mt·t

1. 33. 'The Ethiopian,' a curious epithet of Osiris. But he was worshipped in Ethiopia, Hdt. ii. 99, as well as at Philae, and he was dark-coloured, Plut., Is. et Os., c. 22. 33.

Ophois, Eg. *wḥ-wḥwt*, a jackal god.

1. 34. *Rr·t*, the name of the sow, *pḥp*, and of the hippopotamus goddess, but here perhaps a snake goddess. The det. has only two loops.

grp·t. The det. is the uraeus, as in *ʿre·t*, l. 20. In 20/6 it seems to be simply a two-looped snake.

COL. X.

1. 1. Possibly the meaning is 'Artemi in the mother's womb.'

I am Ariotatu, the *Shto* of . . . (33) I looked out before . . . to observe Osiris the Ethiopian, he came into my head, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Ophois behind him, (34) two sons of Rere mooring him. They said to me "Who art thou?" (*bis*). I am one of those two hawks that watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . (35) with its glory(?) . . . , bring them to me (*bis*), the souls of god, the souls of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon,

COL. X.

'(1) the spirits, the dead; let them tell me the truth to-day in that about which I shall ask: for I am Artemi . . . se(?) - mau, rising in the East. (2) Come in to me, Anubis with thy fair face, I have come to pray to thee. Woe(?) (*bis*), fire (*bis*), [South, North,] West, East, (3) every breeze of Amenti, let them come into being, proved (*bis*), established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the great one] of reverence; for I am (4) Iae, Iao, Iaea, Iao, Sabaoth, Atone; for I cast fury at thee, Thiai, Klatai, (5) Arkhe, Ioa, Phalekmi, Iao, Makhahai, Iee, Kho..n, Khokhrekhi, Aaioth, (6) Sarbiakou, Ikra, Phibiek, Momou, Mounaikh, Stitho, Sothon, Naon, Kharmai, (7) the fury of all these gods, whose names I have uttered here to-day, rouse them for me (*bis*), the drowned(?), the dead; let your (plur.) soul and your (plur.) form live for me (8) at the mouths of my lamp,

1. 2. *wšt*, 'salute with reverence' is the real meaning, not altogether lost in Coptic.

1. 4. *te-y hwy hyt ar-k* clearly corresponds to *ἐξορκίζω σε*.
tsye, gloss *ⲑⲓⲁⲓ*. *ⲁⲓ* is here probably = short *ε*.

1. 7. *n hsy-w* opposed to *n mt-w*. In the Rhind. bil. *ʿh hsy-w*, 'approved spirits,' often, vii. 10, xiii. 9, xvii. 2. So perhaps here 'approved,' not 'drowned.'

ʿnhe, again with a meaning allied to that in 1/1.

1. 8. *hbs*. Hitherto it has been the *hin*, 'vessel,' not the lamp.

9. n 'ze ḥn-w ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe-f swḥ-ʿyh ḥr še-k
a w' pr n kke e [ḥr]-f wn a pr-rs nge pr-ybt

10. n w' m' e-f w'b e'r-k prḥ-f n š' e-f w'b n 'ny n
p y'r-ʿo e'r-k 'ny w' z n ḥmt e-f w'b nge

11. w' hne n blz nmy nte-k t w' lq n mw n str nge
mw e-f w'b a p z ḥn' w' lq n nḥe n m' t

12. e-f w'b nge nḥe w'et-f n wš n t mw ar-f nte-k t
w' 'ny n qs-ʿnh(?) a ḥn p hne ḥr nḥe nte-k t w' ḥt

13. n pr-nfr n p 'ytn n p hne nte-k t qte tbe:t III n
p qte n p hne n tbe:t nmy

14. nte-k ḥ' t VII e-w w'b ḥr n tbe:tw nt qte a p
hne nte-k 'ny w' ḥm-ḥl e-f w'b e-f znt

15. n ne-f msz:w a t ḥ:t z e-f [r] šw n še ḥr p hne
e'r-k t ḥms-f ḥr [w' t tbe:t] nmy nte-k ḥms ḥ-k

16. ḥr ke tbe:t e'r-k wh pe-f [ḥr?] ke-z 't-f nte-k
t t-t-k a r yr-t-f [e yr-t-f] ḥtm e'r-k 'š a ḥry

17. ḥn t mt:t n zz-f n sp VII [e'r-k] wh e'r-k fy
t-t-k ḥr r yr-t-f e'r-k p hne e'r-k t t-t-k

18. a ne-f msz:w e'r-k mḥt n'm-w n t-t-k ḥ-k e'r-k
šn n p ḥm-ḥl z 'n ae'r-k [nw a p ntr? 'o?] e-f z te-y
nw a w' t

19. kmeme:t e'r-k z n-f ze a:z-ys z te-y nw a pe-k
ḥr nfr e'r-k p ntr 'o 'Np

l. 9. *ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn* = *ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ* of the Greek papyri.

l. 11. *lq* = *Λοσ* : *Λοκ*, translating *κοτυλη*, which in the LXX. translates the Hebrew *log*. Whatever was the precise measure intended by the *Λοκ*, it seems to have taken the place of the Egyptian *ḥin* (less than a pint).

mw n str : apparently water allowed to stand for the night.

l. 12. *ḥt n pr-nfr*. The Good House is the place of embalming, GRIFF., High Priests, p. 25; but the presence of a plant det. no doubt indicates that it is a plant-name here. *Ḥt* might then be *εγκαρδιον*, as a botanical term 'core.' More probably the whole expression 'heart of the Good House' is to be taken as the name of a symbolical plant, such as the 'resurrection' plant, *Anastatica hierochuntina*, or something similar. Cf. the story of the flower enclosing the heart of Bata put in a cup of

my bandage(?), my word-seeking(?). Let him make me answer to every word [about] which I am asking here to-day in truth (*bis*) without (9) falsehood therein. Hasten (*bis*), quickly (*bis*).’ Its spirit-gathering: You go to a dark chamber with its [face] open to the South or East (10) in a clean place; you sprinkle it with clean sand brought from the great river; you take a clean bronze cup or (11) a new vessel of pottery and put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled(?) or of pure water into the [cup] and a *lok*-measure of real oil (12) pure, or oil alone without putting water into it, and put a stone of *qs-ankh* in the vessel containing oil, and put a ‘heart- (13) of-the-good-house’ (plant?) in the bottom of the vessel, and put three bricks round about the vessel, of new bricks, (14) and place seven clean loaves on the bricks that are round the vessel and bring a pure child that has been tested (15) in his ears before, that is, is profitable in proceeding with the vessel. You make him sit on a new [brick] and you also sit (16) on another brick, you being at (?) his face, otherwise said, his back, and you put your hand before [his] eyes, [his eyes being] closed and call down (17) into the middle of his head seven times. When you have finished, you take your hand from before his eyes, you [make him bend over] the vessel; you put your hand (18) to his ears, you take hold of them with your hand also, you ask the child saying, ‘Do you [? see . . .]?’ If he says, ‘I see a (19) darkness,’ you say to him ‘Speak, saying, “I see thy beautiful face, and do thou [hear my salutation ?], O great god Anubis!”’

water to revive, in the story of the Two Brothers. *qs-ankh* might similarly be ‘quicklime.’

1. 19. *wšte* is probably to be restored at the end of the gap, as in 11. 2, 26. The translation may be ‘and do thou [pray to] the great god Anubis.’

20. e·r-k wh a r-f n hne w^cet-k e·r-k mh yr-t-k n
py kys e·r-k [hms hr? p hne?] a h p nt hry e yr-t-k

21. htm e·r-k š p š nt hry n sp VII e·r-k wn
yr-t-k e·r-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb [nt e·r-k wh-f? . . .] hr
r-k-f n θ n p hw

22. n mh IV n p wrš š^c p hw n mh XV nte . . .
pe e ^ch mh wz-t [šn hn]e w^cet a nw

23. a p wtn n p r^c z-mt-t [a·]wn n-y t p-t t mw-t n
n ntr-w my [nw-y a p wt]n n p r^c e-f hty-hn[t]

24. hn-s z ank Gb rpe ntr-w šll p nt e-y r n^m-f
mbh p r^c pe y[t e-tbe] n mt-t-w r še n t-t

25. y hknē-t wr-t nb qnh-t t^r-r-št(?) a·wn n-y t
nb yh-[w a·wn] n-y t p-t hy[t]t my

26. wšte-y n n wpt-w [z] ank Gb rpe ntr-w y p VII
stn hy p [VII mnt] k syt nb šfe-t

27. shz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) mⁱ rw(?) nn(?) k kke hy
hnt-ybt-w

28. nwn wr he hy by sre by ^mmnt-w hy [by by-w k]
kke k k-w

l. 22. ^ch mh wz-t, i. e. at full moon.

šn hne w^cet = σκεψη δια λεκανης αυτοπτον, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 162; αυθο-
πτικη λεκανομαντευια, ib. l. 221; and αυτοπτ(ικος) λογος, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 53.

This passage to the end of the column is repeated in 27/1-12.

l. 23. hty hn[t]. The parallel 27/2 gives in hieratic ht followed by the
nose hnt and the det. of a boat. ht means 'float down the river,' 'go
north,' and hnt, 'sail up the river,' 'go south.' With this clue it is easy
to read in LEEMANS' facsimile the verb hty in demotic, written as in the
word mhty, V. 1; with its proper det. of water, and following it the verb
hnt, also in demotic, with its proper det. the boat. Thus, though LEEMANS'
facsimile cannot be confirmed owing to the wear of the papyrus, it is clear
that we have a compound expression hty-hnt, 'go down and up.' This is
the proper order for the two verbs, as is shown by hn m hd m hnt, 'rowing
to and fro,' in the Westcar Papyrus, V. 4. It of course refers to the
sinking to the horizon and rising to the zenith of the sun-boat.

l. 24. rpe ntr-w is a very ancient title of Geb.

l. 25. hknē-t, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 855; MASPERO, Rec. tr., i. 21.

l. 26. Whether the number 7 originally acquired its sacred character in
Babylonia or not, it had that character in Egypt, cf. BRUGSCH, Thes.,

(20) If you wish to do it by vessel alone, you fill your eyes with this ointment, you sit (?) [over the vessel ?] as aforesaid, your eyes being (21) closed ; you utter the above invocation seven times, you open your eyes, you ask him concerning everything [that you wish (?)]. . . you do it from the (22) fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the *uzat*.

[A] vessel-[inquiry] alone in order to see (23) the bark of Phre. Formula : ' Open to me heaven, O mother of the gods ! Let [me see the ba]rk of Phre descending and ascending (24) in it ; for I am Geb, heir of the gods ; prayer is what I make before Phre my father [on account of] the things which have proceeded from me. (25) O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret (?), Open to me, mistress of the spirits, [open] to me, primal heaven, let (26) me worship the Angels ! [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail ! ye seven Kings, ho ! ye [seven Mônts], bull that engendereth, lord of strength (27) that lighteth the earth, soul of the abyss ; ho ! lion as lion of (?) the abyss, bull of the night, hail ! thou that rulest the people of the East, (28) Noun, great one, lofty one, hail ! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West, hail ! [soul of souls, bull] of the night,

117 seqq. ; LEPS., Todtenb. Vorw., p. 6 ; Pap. Ebers LIV. 19 (eighteenth dynasty), the 7 Hathors (nineteenth dynasty, Pap. Orb. ix. 8 ; BR., Thes., 800) and the 42 assessors in the Book of the Dead, ch. 125. The occurrence of 7 spirits in the very ancient chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead is of special importance.

The 7 kings are not elsewhere mentioned. ' 4 Mônts in their cities ' occurs in the text, ' Que mon nom fleurisse ' (LIEBLEIN, x. 3, and parallel passages), and 7 is a number associated with Hermonthis, the city of Mônt (BRUGSCH, Relig., 164, 7 Hathors and 7 Horus, L. D., iv. 63 c).

1. 27. The reading of the name     is uncertain. *Rw*, an obscure lion-god (Hieroglyphs, pp. 17, 18).

29. s' nw·t a·wn n-y ank wb-t 'r pr n Gb hy [ank y·y·]y e·e·e [he·he·he]

30. h-^o h-^o h-^o ank e-nep-^o myryp-^o-r^c m^c·t(?) 'b thy[by-^o 'rw·]wy . . . [y^ch-^o]

31. z-mt snf n *^cⲁⲉⲟⲩⲙⲉ* snf n *^cⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧ* snf n *^cⲉ[ⲁⲉⲟⲩⲗⲁ]* 'nh-^om·w [snw-p·t]

32. ^o-^omn qs(?)-'nh hstb n m^c·t hl p-tgs-^oS·t nt 'r m bnn·t [nte-k smt yr·t]-k n^om-f t·t(?) [rym ?]

33. n by-^o-n-p·t n w^c h n hr n 'ny nge h n hbyn [nte-k mr-k] a pe-k qte [n w^c·t]

34. pke n šr-bne·t hwt n [w^c] m^c e-f θse wbe·p r^c bn-s t yr·t-k n

35. a h p nt sh ar-f

COL. XI.

1. r n t hse·t 'm n-y p pe-k rn nfr Thtwt ys sp-sn 'm n-y

2. my m^o-y hr-k nfr ty n p-hw e-y n ky 'n nte-k šme . . .

3. n hs 'e n pe-k ls n stm-]k hrw-y n p-hw nhm-k-t mw 'hy nb t·w

4. r bn(?) nb hy p nte hbr-f n hbr-f ^o št a·pry ntr hr wt·t-f

l. 29. 'Son of Nut' might be either Osiris or Set, probably here the former: 'soul (^h) of Nut' is a possible reading.

l. 30. Anepo may be 'great Anubis' or 'elder Anubis.'

The gloss ⲩⲟⲩ may be incomplete, in 27/9 it is ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ: the hieratic probably reads .

l. 32. p-tgs-^oS·t, pronounced perhaps *pteksese*. Cf. *πιτταξίς*, the fruit of the *κρᾶνεια* or cornel-tree.

l. 33. *h n hr*, apparently the name of some object made of wood, lit. wood or stick of satisfaction, possibly the kohl-stick.

'ny, possibly Eg. 'nnw (Eb.) = 'wn = w'n, 'juniper' (LORET, Fl. Phar., 2nd ed., p. 41), the *ἄρκυθις* of the Greek papyri. Its juice is used as a writing ink in Louvre dem. Mag. V. 20.

mr-k a pe-k qte, the restoration is from the parallel 27/11. The

bull (?) of bulls, (29) son of Nut, open to me, I am the Opener of earth, that came forth from Geb, hail! [I am I, I,] I, E, E, E, [He, He, He,] (30) Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat (?) Ib, Thi[bio, Ar]oui, Ououu, [Iaho.'] (31) Formula: blood of a *smun*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a n[ightjar], *ankh-amu* plant, [*senepe* plant], (32) 'Great-of-Amen' plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'footprint-of-Isis' plant, pound, make into a ball, [you paint] your [eyes] with it; put (?) a goat's-[tear] (33) in (?) a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony wood, [you bind it (?)] around (?) you [with a] (34) strip of male-palm fibre in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eyes ... (35) according to what is prescribed for it.

COL. XI.

1. A spell of giving favour: 'Come to me, O..... thy beautiful name. O Thoth, hasten (*bis*); come to me. (2) Let me see thy beautiful face here to-day..... [I stand(?)] being in the form of an ape; and do thou greet (?) me (3) with praise and adoration (?) with thy tongue of ... [Come unto me] that thou mayest hearken to my voice to-day, and mayest save me from all things evil (4) and all slander (?). Ho! thou whose form is of his great and mysterious form, from whose be-

meaning 'to your side' is indicated by 21/12, *mr-k a pe-k hr* probably referring to a phylactery or knot tied at a particular place.

COL. XI.

l. 1. *t hse-t*, apparently not *t hp hse-t* as in l. 20. Cf. 12/21.

l. 2. *šme* (?), cf. *šm* 18/9, but with different det. One may perhaps conjecture *šm-t*, 'favour (?) me,' here; it is hardly *wyw*, 'wash,' 'purify' (of clothes, BSCIAL, Rec. trav., vii. 27).

l. 3. Cf. ll. 16-17, and PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 128, *nhm-k wi m' ih-t nb dw* (var. *ih-t nb bin dw*) *hpr m 'wy n rm-t ntr-w ih-w mt-w*.

l. 4. *r bu* may mean 'evil spell.'

5. nt ḥtp a mt(?) n N ank n t srⁱt(?) ʿo·t
nt e pyr H^p(?)

6. ḥr-s(?) ank p ḥr n šfe·t ʿo by m s·w-f ank
syf šps

7. nt n pr r^c ank p nem šps nt m tph·t [h]b
n s·w n m^c·t nt ḥtp n ʿN

8. ank p nb ḥrwy ʿo nb tm m³ ph·t m
[rn]-yt(?) ank sre s sre srpt-my-[sr] θs-phr

9. rn-yt ʿḥ-ḥpr-sr(?) rn-yt n m^c·t sp-sn my n-y ḥs mr·t
[šfe·t ne-ḥr mn a·ms] mn n p-hw nte-f t n-y ʿḥy nb nfr

10. nte-f t n-y kew tfew nte-f ʿr mt·t nb nt e-y [a wh·s
nte-k tm t ʿr-f(?)] the a·ʿr-y a ʿr n-y mt·t bn(?) nte-f z n-y mt·t

11. e mst-s m hw pn m grḥ pn m ʿbt pn m rnp·t
tn m wne·t(?) e p r^c a sḥt ḥt-w nte-f knm

12. yr·t-w nte-f t ḥp p kke m ḥr-w z ank byr^cy . . .
[r^c]y ḥre-tn r^cy ank s Shm·t

13. ank bygt k lt ank g^ct s g^ct nte ty·t nte
ḥtp a mt(?) m h·t-ʿo·t m ʿN

14. ank s Hkne·t nb mke·t nt ʿrf n ḥne·t
nte n nh·t-w ʿo aph·t m sw-f

l. 5. *ḥtp a mt(?)*, cf. l. 13. *mt(?)* is written differently from *ⲙⲏⲧⲉ* and may well be a masculine word, such as *mt*, 'depth.' It can hardly be *ⲙⲏⲣ*.

 *srⁱ·t* seems a possible reading.

pyr. The reading of the following words is uncertain. The construction with  (ⲉⲣⲉ) suggests *nt e pyr H^p* (cf. V. 5/1) *ḥr-s*, and the facsimile admits of it.

l. 7. *pr r^c*, 'House of Re,' Heliopolis.

l. 8. *nb ḥrwy*. It seems as if the scribe had substituted 'hostility' for *ḥrwy*, 'testicles,' unless the words here are mere gibberish.

The tail of  *sr* is traceable in the gap after  in the Leiden facsimile.

l. 9. Cf. l. 17 for the restoration.

l. 11. *mst-s*, probably for *mst-y-s*, 'which I hate,' unless it be passive, 'which is hated.' Note the present sense of the *stm-f* in a relative clause, apparently confined in demotic to the verbs *mr*, 'love,' and *mst*, 'hate' (see chapter on Grammar).

getting came forth a god, (5) who resteth deep (?) in Thebes; I am of the great Lady, under whom cometh forth the Nile, (6) I am the face of reverence great soul (?) in his protection; I am the noble child (7) who is in the House of Re: I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern the ibis as a true protection, who resteth in On; (8) I am the master of the great foe, lord of the obstructor (?) of semen, mighty my name (?) I am a ram, son of a ram, Sarpot Mui-Sro (and vice versa) (9) is my name, Light-scarab-noble (?) is my true name (*bis*); grant me praise and love [and reverence from N. son of] N. to-day, and let him give me all good things, (10) and let him give me nourishment and fat things, and let him do for me everything which I [wish for; and let him not] injure me so as to do me harm, nor let him say to me a thing (11) which (I) hate, to-day, to-night, this month, this year, [this] hour (?) . . . [But as for my enemies ?] the sun shall impede their hearts and blind (12) their eyes, and cause the darkness to be in their faces; for I am Birai . . . rai, depart ye (?), Rai; I am the son of Sochmet, (13) I am Bikt, bull of Lat, I am Gat, son of Gat, whose the Underworld, who rests deep (?) in the Great Residence in On, (14) I am son of Heknet, lady of the protecting bandage (?), who binds with thongs (?) [I am the] phallus (?) which the great and mighty Powers guard,

kmm. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 488, and the early Christian curse invoking blindness (CRUM, A. Z., 96. 85).

l. 12. **paï**, with det. of hide, may be the name of the lion (?), but there is a tendency to write **ai** words with this det. Cf. **ḡaei**, 7/33.

hre-ln r'y suggests a fanciful writing for 'be far from me (*a r-y*, **apai**).

'Son of Sochmet,' perhaps Nefertem or Mihos, both being lion gods.

l. 13. The 'Great Residence in On' is the name of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis.

l. 14. *nhl*. Cf. Rit. Pamonth, ii. 8, 'Hear ye, O divine powers of

15. nt ḥtp mw ḥn pr-wbst.t ank p ʿmʿm ntr nt
ḥn shym.t nb ʿy.t nb ʿot(?)

16. rn-yt ʿḥ-ḥpr-sr(?) rn-yt n mʿt sp-sn ʿy ny ntr.w
tre-w [a.z-y rn-w(?)] ty n p-hw ʿm-n n-y stm-tn n e.z-y
n p-hw

17. nḥm-tn[-t] m nene nb ze nb ʿḥy nb t nb m hw pn
my n-y ḥs.t mr.t šf[e.t ne-ḥr] t mn p pr-ʿo erme pe-f mšʿ

18. p tw erme ne-f ʿw.w nte-f ʿr mt.t nb nt e-y a
zt-w n-f erme(?) [rm nb nt e-w a.nw(?)] a.r-y nt e-y
a sze erme-w nt e-w a sze

19. erme-y ḥn ḥwt nb s-ḥm.t nb ḥm-ḥl nb ḥl-ʿo nb
ḥr nb [n p] t tre-f [nt e-w] a nw a.r-y ḥn ny
wne.tw n p-hw

20. nte-w ty ḥp te.t ḥse.t n ḥt-w n mt.t nb nt e-y
a n mne erme n nt e-w a ʿy n-y e šḥr ḥfe(?)
nb.w(?)

21. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn e b-ʿr te-y zt-w nte-y whm
zt.w . . . [ʿ]h *een* n mnḥ tbt(?) nte-k ty-f

22. a ḥn w(?) sšn ke-z tšps tp nge nḥe n bq e-f
. . . . n *nepebe* ar-f ḥr ʿnt tp ḥnʿ pr.w(?)

Bubastis, who have come out of your shrines,' and below, V. 33/5;
I Kham. iv. 7; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 109.

l. 15. ʿmʿm. Cf. 13/11, 13, and in cipher  24/34, V. 32/2. This must be the shrew-mouse. Here it appears connected with Letopolis, where the shrew-mouse was sacred to the blind Horus (RENOUF, P. S. B. A., viii. 155). In 13/11 the animal is prescribed to produce blindness, and in 13/12 and 24/34 it produces death in a man, and in V. 32/2 erotic feeling in a woman. The ʿmʿm, with determinative of an animal, is prescribed in Pap. Eb. 91/10; and in Pap. Kah. 7/9 the remains of a determinative will suit very well the picture of a mouse. It is curious that the cipher writing yielding  (which is certainly the same creature, cf. 13/19-21 with V. 32) makes its name almost identical with Sah. , which in Sap. 12/8 corresponds to σφηκες of LXX. In Coptic, however, the shrew-mouse is  :  (PEYR., Lex. and Gramm.). The μυγᾶλος (*sic*) is prescribed several times in Pap. Bibl. Nat. in ἀγωγαί.

Shym (Бот-шйм) and ʿy.t are both names of Letopolis in the Delta. The last group in the line looks like ʿl, but is probably intended for wʿl.

l. 16. For the restoration cf. 10/7.

(15) which rests in Bubastis; I am the divine shrew-mouse which [resteth with-] in Skhym; lord of Ay, sole(?) lord ... (16) is my name Light-scarab-noble(?) is my true name (*bis*). Ho! all ye these gods, [whose names I have spoken] here to-day, come to me, that ye may hearken to that which I have said to-day (17) and rescue [me] from all weakness(?), every disgrace, everything, every evil(?) to-day; grant me praise, love [and reverence before] such an one, the King and his host, (18) the desert and its animals; let him do everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who shall see] me or to whom I shall speak or who shall speak (19) to me, among every man, every woman, every child, every old man, every person [or animal or thing(?) in the] whole land, [which] shall see me in these moments to-day, (20) and let them cause my praise to be in their hearts of everything which I shall [do] daily, together with those who shall come to me, to(?) overthrow every enemy(?), (21) hasten (*bis*) quickly (*bis*), before I say them or repeat them.' Over an ape of wax.

An oxyrhynchus(?) fish—you put it (22) in prime lily otherwise *tesheps*-oil or moringa(?) oil which [has been ... and you put liquid?] styrax to it, with prime frank-

l. 17. *šfe.t*. In the conspiracy against Rameses III(?) of the twentieth dyn., we hear of a spell to give *nrwy* and *šfe.t*, 'valour and respect.' NEWBERRY, Amherst Pap. II, l. 2.

l. 20. The last words may perhaps be *ḥf nb*(?), 'every enemy,' *nb* being written over the line as a correction of the plural signs. 'Enemy' is written *ḥf* (without *t*) as in I Rhind dem. 2, 3. The passage is very obscure.

l. 21. *ʾh*, for a similar direction following the invocation, cf. V. 33/8.

The fish is here masc., and therefore different from that in 12/31.

l. 22. *sšn*, 'lotus,' may be an error for *skn sšn*, 25/26, *σουσινον*, Diosc. i. 62, oil of lilies (*κρίνα*), and *ελαιον σουσινον*, Pap. Berl. II. 249.

šps as an oil, BR., Wtb., 1602, made from *laurus cinnamomum* according to LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 51.

bq. v. LORET, Rec. trav., vii. 101.

nepehe. v. LORET, Rec. trav., xvi. 148 *لبنى* styrax.

23. wr-mr·t ḥn w^c ḥn(?) n thne nte-k ʾny w^c ʿnh n
 ths-f n py nḥe nt ḥry nte-k ʿš

24. ny [šḥ ?]·w ar-f n sp VII mbḥ p r^c n twe e b-ʾr
 te-k sz[e wbe] rm nb n p t nte-k šty-f nte-k ths ḥr-k
 nʾm-f

25. nte-k ḥ^c [p]ʿnh ḥn t·t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb
 ʾwt mš^c nb ḥr te-f t ḥp n-k

26. ḥs·t ʿo·t ʾwt-w m šs sp-sn py sp n šḥ pa p pr-ʿo
 [Ntryw (?)]š pe mn p nt (ne-)ʿne-f ar-f

COL. XII.

1. [w^c ky(?) a t ʾre] s-ḥm·t mr ḥwt hepwb^cls^cmw
 sttr(?) I hbʾryr(?) sttr(?) I

2. qwšt sttr(?) I n sty sttr(?) I mrwe sttr(?) I
 nḥe n m^c·t lq II e-ʾr-k nt ny [phre·tw(?)]

3. e-ʾr-k ty-sw a w^c [ʿngen(?)] e-f w^cb nte-k t p nḥe n
 pe-w ḥr·w ḥr t ḥ·t n p wrš w^c hw a-ʾre p w[rš]

4. ḥp e-ʾr-k ʾny w^c·t qeš [k]m(?) e-s ʾr n tb^c IX
 ke-z VII n ḥy·t e yr·t-s šel n ʾwn n [p nt(?)]

1. 26. The *pa* is for *πα-*. *περο* in O. C. Par. corresponds to *p pr-ʿo* in 21/2. So also we have in B. M. Pap. XLVI, l. 113 *εγω ειμι αγγελος του φαπρω οσοροννωφρις*, 'of Pharaoh Osoronophris,' where *φαπρω* = our *p pr-ʿo*. Undoubtedly the initial letter of *pr-ʿo* had already been lost by assimilation to the article. The tautology of *του φα-* is precisely the same as in *Αμενωφρις του Πααπιος*, 'Amenophis, son of Hapis,' in JOSEPHUS, *Contra Ap.* i. 26.

. . . . š. The only kings whose names end in š are Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and the native Khebbesh. Of these Darius is doubtless the name to be restored here; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 95, and for his reputation as a magician in particular, *μαγικων διδασκαλος*, PORPHYRY, *de Abstin.*, iv. 16. That kings, as well as aspirants to the throne, used these arts is suggested by the spell 'of Rameses III' being given to the herdsman Penhuyban in order to give him 'valour and respect.' See note to l. 17 above.

COL. XII.

1. 1. Restore [w^c ky(?) a t ʾre] s-ḥm·t from 25/23, 31.

hepwb^cls^cmw: cf. *αποβαλσαμνα* (ξύλα) Leyden Pap. W. ix. 21 = *οποβαλσαμον*, 'juice of balsam tree'; cf. SIGISMUND, *Aromata*, pp. 14, 15.

ααλαεαθοτ = *μαλαβαθρον*, 'leaf of Laurus Cassia'; SIGISMUND,

incense together with seeds of (23) 'great-of-love' plant in a metal (?) vase; you bring a wreath of flowers of
 . . . and you anoint it with this oil as above, and recite (24) these spells over it seven times before the sun in the morning, before speaking to any man on earth; you extract it, you anoint your face with it, (25) you place the wreath in your hand, and proceed to any place [and be] amongst any people; then it brings you (26) great praise among them exceedingly. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius] (?); there is no better than it.

COL. XII.

(1) [A method for making] a woman love a man. Opobalsamum, one stater(?); malabathrum, one stater(?). (2) *kushl*, one stater(?); scented , one stater(?); *merue*, one stater(?); genuine oil, two *lok*; you pound these [medicaments]. (3) You put them into a clean [vessel], you add the oil on the top of them one day before the lunar period (?); when the lunar period (?) (4) comes, you take a black *Kesh* . . . -fish measuring nine fingers—another says seven—in length, its eyes being variegated (?) of

Aromata, p. 33, and LEMM., Kopt. Apocr. Apostelacten (Mél. Asiat. t. x. p. 351). It occurs in magic prescriptions, Leyden Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10. The demotic group *hb* corresponding to it is strange in form and difficult to read: there seems to be a gap between the *r* and the measure.

Graphically $\odot$, $\odot$ (fem.) are hieroglyphic equivalents of the demotic for $\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$, 'didrachma,' but from 24/15, 18 the former should be a small multiple of the latter. $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ (Copt. $\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$, fem.) is common as a weight = 'tetradrachma,' in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.

1. 2. *qṣšt*, perhaps $\kappa\sigma\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Diosc. i. 15), which follows $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ in a prescription, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2680; cf. Leyd. Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10.

17. The Hebrew log is .56 litre, about one pint, and the Coptic $\lambda\omicron\kappa$ translates $\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\lambda\eta$, which in all its varieties is no larger than a pint.

ny [*phre-tw* (?)] : cf. 29/28, 29.

1. 3. *w^c* [*engen* ($\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ of l. 11) *e*]-*f* *w^cb* seems to fill the gap, which is too wide in the Pl. of vol. ii. in this and the following line according to the evidence of the succeeding lines.

4. *qēš* . . . , in l. 27 *qš* . . . , in both cases broken. In l. 9 it is referred

5. [e·r-k] gm hn w^c mw(?) nte-k ty-s a py nhe
nt hry n hw II e·r-k š n py š ar-f n twe

6. e b·r te-k y n p [bl n pe-k(?)] y e b·r te-k sze
wbe rm nb n p t a·r p(?) hw II sny [e·r-k]

7. hrp a bl n twe e·r[-k še] a w^c km e·r-k ny w^c
šlhe n elle e b·r te-f wth elle

8. e·r-k fy·t-f n te-k·t [t·t n] e·r-k ty-f a te-k·t
t·t n wnm e·r-f r n tb^c VII e·r-k θy·t-f [a pe-k(?)]

9. y nte-k ny p [tbt(?)] a hry hn p nhe nte-k mr-s (*sic*)
a py-s st n tyb n mhe nte-k yh·t-s m-s [zz-f]

10. n p h n elle [nte-k h^c] p nk nt hr nhe hrr-s š^c
nte-s zlzl p nt n he·t-s a hr[y]

11. e p ngen nt hr[r-s] hr w^ct tbe nmy š^c ke hw III
a·re p hw III sny e·r-k [ny·t-s]

12. a hry e·r-k qs[-s] n hl hsm hbs n š-stn e·r-k
h^c-s n w^c m^c e-f hep hn pe-[k pr]

13. nge e·r-k r ke hw II e·r-k š a p nhe n
a hw VII e·r-k hrh ar-f e·r[-k wh (?)]

14. a t r-f te-f ypt e[r-k th]s pe-k mt n hwt hn^c
pe-k hr e·r-k str erme t s-hm·t nt e·r-k r-f a·r-s

15. n sh nt e·r-k š-w a p nhe ank šwy(?)
glb·n·o ank r^c nk qm-r^c nk s r^c ank

16. syšt s šwy(?) qme(?) n mw n N py srrf nt n Bt
nte·t tp·t wr·t wr hyq

to apparently as *p tbt*, 'the fish'; and in l. 31 is written with the fish sign, but with feminine article and termination. It seems characteristically female, the gender of the pronoun changing to fem. ungrammatically immediately after the masculine *tbt*, in l. 9, and no doubt it was sacred to some goddess. The lates niloticus (which according to MM. Lortet and Hugounenq is found of all sizes mummified at Latopolis, and is therefore the *Latus*, Ann. du Serv. iii. 15) is called in Arabic *qīšr*, قشّر.

l. 6. *a·r*. The original reads perhaps *a r p*. In either case it is probably a slip for *a·re p*.

l. 8. Vice versa of 'Lotus Lion-Ram' is 'Lion-Ram Lotus,' not 'Ram Lion Lotus'; see note to 1/12.

l. 9. *p [tbt]*. The remains favour this restoration. The word does

the colour of(?) the . . . (5) [which you(?)] find in a water(?) . . . you put it into this oil above-mentioned for two days; you recite this formula to it (the oil) at dawn . . . (6) before going [out of your] house, and before speaking to any man on earth. When two days have passed [you] (7) rise early in the morning [and go] to a garden; you take a vine-shoot before it has ripened grapes, (8) you take it with your left hand, you put it into your right hand—when it has grown seven digits (in length)—you carry it [into your] (9) house, and you take the [fish] out of the oil, you tie it by its tail with a strip(?) of flax, you hang it up to . . . (10) of(?) the vine-wood. [You place] the thing containing oil under it until it (the fish) pours out by drops that which is in it downwards, (11) the vessel which is under [it] being on a new brick for another three days; when the three days have passed, you [take it] (12) down, you embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and fine linen; you put it in a hidden place or in [your chamber] (13)

You pass two more days; you recite to the oil again for seven days; you keep it; when you [wish] (14) to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it. (15) The spells which you recite to the oil, 'I am Shu, Klabano, I am Re, I am Komre, I am son of Re, I am (16) Sisht(?), son of Shu; a reed(?) of the water of On, this gryphon which is in Abydos. Thou (fem.) art Tepe-were (first, great) great of sorcery,

not occur elsewhere in the papyrus. For the change of gender in *mr-s* see note to l. 4.

m-s [zz-*f*], see l. 29.

l. 12. *pe-[k pr]* restored from the parallel l. 31.

l. 13. *nge* here and in l. 31 seems to be placed after the alternative phrase, as is the case with *r-pw* in older Egyptian.

l. 14. *a'r-s* for *ar-s*, ερος, 'to her.'

l. 15. *šwy*. The name of the god Shu (cf. l. 20) is here falsely written like ται.

17. t ʿre-t ʿnh-t nte-t [p w]tn p šy n wʿpke my n-y
 ḥs-t mr-t šfe-t ne-ḥr

18. ʿte-t nb s-ḥm-t nb mr-t pe rn n mte ʿš nte-s
 ʿn ʿnk šwy(?) klʿkyn-ʿo-k ank yʿrn

19. ʿnk gʿmren ʿnk se pe pʿeaypʿf ynpen
 ntynhš gʿm-r-n mw n ʿN ʿnk

20. šwy(?) šʿbw šʿ šʿbʿh-ʿo lʿh-ʿy-lʿhs(?) lʿh-ʿe-t
 p ntr ʿo nt ḥr pr-ybt-t

21. lʿbrʿthʿ a[nk p] srrf nt n ʿBt ky nʿm-y(?) ʿn(?)
 a t ḥs-t n ḥwt a ḥr s-ḥm-t θs-phr a ḥr . . .

22. nte-t t wr-t t wr ḥyq ʿkš-t s-t n rʿ t nb
 ʿre-t nte-t Šhm ʿo-t nb ʿs-t

23. ʿr šḥme sʿbe nb a t n p rʿ n t wz-t
 a.ms ʿḥ n t XV-t n grḥ nte-t qm

24. wr nwn nte-t qm wr-t nt n ḥ-t-bnbn
 m(?) ʿN nte-t t yʿl n nb [nte-t t]

25. skte-t p wtn n p rʿ lʿnzʿ p ḥrt p šr n t
 wʿyʿnʿyne-t t pyt-t n t

26. n gwg ny št-t n by-wekm t ḥs-t t mr-t nta
 p rʿ pe-t yt ty-s n-t m[y] . . .

27. n-y a ḥry ḥn py nḥe ḥr ḥt yr-t nb s-ḥm-t
 nb nt e-y ʿn-nʿ a ḥn a ḥr-w a wʿt qš

28. n tbʿ IX e-s km nte[-k ty-s a] ḥn wʿ sknn n wrt
 nte-k ʿr-s n ḥsy ḥn-f nte-k ʿnyʿt[-s a ḥry]

l. 18. ʿš nte-s ʿn. The blank before ʿš is perhaps for the insertion of a word (*ke* (?)) in red ink; *nte-s* is нтас , ST., § 299, and the invocation is still to the fish.

l. 20. *lʿh-ʿe-t*. The plural of *ʿe-t*, 'limbs,' is ноѣ in O. C. Par. The singular may have been * не .

l. 21. *nʿm-y*. Probably an error for *nʿm-f*, but the facsimile would admit of the reading *nʿm-w ʿn*.

l. 22. Thoueris is generally figured as a hippopotamus.

ʿs-t must be the place *is-t*, dem. *ʿs*, mentioned in BRUGSCH, Dict. Geogr., pp. 70-71, as being under the rule of Sochmet.

l. 23. *wz-t*: sun or moon as eyes of heaven; cf. 8/8, 10/22, 29/23.

l. 24. *ḥ-t-bnbn* [*m*] *ʿN* is the best restoration. The 'house of the obelisk' was a famous shrine in the temple of Heliopolis.

(17) the living uraeus, thou art the sun-boat, the lake of Ua-peke; grant to me praise, love, and lordship before (18) every womb, every woman. Love (?) is my true name.' [Another (?)] invocation of it again: 'I am Shu, Klakinok, I am Iarn, (19) I am Gamren, I am Se Paer(?)ipaf, Iupen, Dynhs, Gamrou, water of On, I am (20) Shu, Shabu, Sha , Shabaho, Lahy-lahs, Lahei, the great god who is in the East (21) Labrathaa, I am that gryphon which is in Abydos.'

[Another] form of them (?) again (?) to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa, before 'Thou art Thoueris, the great of sorcery, [cat (?)] of Ethiopia, daughter of Re, lady of the uraeus; thou art Sochmet, the great, lady of Ast, (23) who hast seized every impious person [eye-ball(?)] of the sun in the *uzat*, born of the moon at the midmonth at night, thou art Kam (?) (24) mighty, abyss, thou art Kam (?) great one (fem.) who art in the House of the obelisk in On; thou art the golden mirror, [thou art ?] (25) the *sektet*-boat, the sun-boat of Re Lanza, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Amazon (?) in the . . . (26) of dûm-palm fruit (?), these of Bywekem; the favour and love which the sun, thy father, hath given to thee, send [them] (27) to me down into this oil, before the heart, and eyes of (?) every woman before whom I come in.' [Invocation] to a *Kesh* . . . -fish (28) of nine digits and black; [you put it] in an ointment of roses; you drown it therein; you

l. 25. *skte.t*. It is interesting to find this clear spelling, not *smkt.t*, which seems to be that of the Pyramid Texts.

w'y'n'yne.t, an extraordinary spelling for *oreenn*, 'Greek.'

pyt.t. *pdty* in Eg. seems to be a foreign soldier or mercenary. This is evidently a feminine derivative.

l. 26. *gwg* = *kwk* in Kufi, p. xx; probably the dûm-nut, as in Kufi it is evidently the fruit of a tree, so not *ꜥꜣꜥꜥ*: *ꜥꜣꜥꜥ*, carthamus.

l. 28. *sknu n wrt*, *μυρον ποδινον* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 759. That it was of a consistency to choke a fish is seen by its use as a lamp-oil in 6/9.

29. nte-k 'yh m-s zz[-f] e·r-k wh e·r-k ty-s
a w^c hn(?) n yl e·r-k (*šic*) w^c hm n mw n s^csmrem

30. erme w^c hm n s·S·t e-f . . . [-f] nt nte-k š ny
ar-f n sp VII n hw VII wbe t pr n p r^c e·r-k ths
hr-k n'm[-f]

31. n p nw nt e·r-k str erme s-hm·t [nte-k] qs t . . . t
n hl hsm e·r-k tms-s n pe-k pr n w^c m^c e-f hep nge

COL. XIII.

1. p ky n prz hwt a s-hm·t s-hm·t a py-s hy

2. wy sp-sn ho sp-sn r(?) Gb hbr-f n k nq-f
mw·t-f Tfn·t m whm . . .

3. mw wwhe(?) p 'b n yt-f hr-f p hyt n p nte by-f
m st·t e he-f (*šic*) m 'n nte-f . . .

4. mh p t n st·t nte n tw·w syt n s^cl(?) p hyt n ntr
nb ntr·t nb 'nh wr l'lt(?)

5. b'rešk bel-kš . . . hwy mn p šr n t mn . . t mn
t šr·t n t mn

6. my t st·t m-s ht-f t sht·t n pe-f m^c n str e b(?)
. . . . n st·t n mst . . .

1. 29. *t*, or a similar word, has dropped out between *e·r-k* and *w^c*. Such omissions have often been supplied over the line by the scribe.

s^csmrem, probably *sisymbrium*, of which there were two sorts, growing respectively on land and on water, Diosc. ii. 154-5. The former being also known as *Αφροδιτης στεφανος*, *herba venerea* (ib.), is very appropriate for this *ἀγωγή*. It may be *mentha sylvestris*, and the second species is *nasturtium* (SPRENGEL). Unfortunately the determinative is lost of our word, so that we cannot be sure that a plant was intended: cf. V. 13/7.

1. 30. *s-[n?]'S·t*. Among the ingredients of a sacred oil, Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 38, col. 1, is a plant called by this name. Here there is no det.

1. 31. *t h'(?)-t* might mean 'the carcass,' but having no determinative almost certainly represents the *qeš* . . . -fish of ll. 6, 27.

COL. XIII.

1. 1. For the subject, compare Leyd. Pap. Graec. V. col. 11, l. 15 (see LEEMANS' cd.), headed *w^c prz*, *διακοπος*.

1. 2. The first sentence, as far as *p hyl*, is in clumsy archaistic language,

take it [out], (29) you hang it up by [its] head [. . . days (?)] : when you have finished you put it on a glass vessel ; you [add] a little water of sisymbrium (30) with a little amulet (?) - of Isis and pounded ; you recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You anoint your head with [it] (31) in the hour when you lie with [any (?)] woman. [You] embalm the fish with myrrh and natron ; you bury it in your chamber or in a hidden place.

COL. XIII.

(1) The mode of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband. (2) 'Woe! (*bis*), flame! (*bis*) ; Geb assumed his form of a bull, coivit [cum filia ?] matris suae Tefnet, again (3) because (?) the heart of his father cursed (?) his face ; the fury of him whose soul is as flame, while his body is as a pillar (?), so that (?) he (4) fill the earth with flame and the mountains shoot with tongues (?) :—the fury of every god and every goddess Ankh-uer, Lalat (?), (5) Bareshak, Belkesh, be cast upon (?) N. the son of N. [and (?)] N. the daughter of N., (6) send the fire towards his heart and the flame in his place of

employing the obsolete ʾb for heart, *mw* for  or  the suffix with the noun *hbr*, the past *stm-f*, &c.

wy sp-sn : cf. Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 16.

Geb is *Kpovos*, the planet *Kpovos* being named 'Horus the Bull,' and Nut, daughter of Tefnut, is the heavenly cow in the Destruction des Hommes, &c. The restoration before 'his mother' is, however, very uncertain. Cf. the Greek myth of *Kpovos*, and Plutarch, de Iside et Or., cap. 12, where 'P ϵ a is Nut.

1. 3. *he-f*, 'his body,' must be for *he-t-f*, but this spelling occurs elsewhere in the papyrus. Cf. 21/22.

ʾn might represent the city of On, but the determinative is apparently a stone.

1. 5. *hwy a (?) mn*, 'is cast upon (?) N.'

There are traces of writing covering $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the end of this line, perhaps erased by the original scribe, and wholly illegible now.

7. a ḥn a ḥt-f n hte:t nb š' nte-f ḥwy t(?) mn t šrt mn (*sic*) a bl ḥn ne-f 'y-w e-s lk(?)

8. mst n ḥt-f e-s ḥr ḥnt(?) n ḥr-f my n-f p wywy p w'w' p ḥe(?) p ḥnt 'wt-w

9. n hte:t nb š' nte-w prz a ne-w 're-w e bnp-w ḥtp a šwe a nḥe ***ꜥꜣꜣꜣ*** * . . . p*

10. ***ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-k t 'rp ar-w nte-k 'r-w n w' twt(?) n Gb e wn w' ws n t:t-f

11. n p 'm'm nt ḥr še-f ar-w e'r-k 'ny w' 'm'm nte-k 'r-f n ḥsy ḥn ḥyn-w ***ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-k t swr p rm n (*sic*)

12. n'm-f ḥr 'r-f ***ꜥꜣꜣꜣ*** n p byl II e'r-k nt pe-f ***ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*** ḥr nk nb(?) n wm nte-k t wm-f-s p rm ḥr 'r-f(?)

13. ***ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-f ***ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-f ***ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*** e'r-k 'r-f a 'ny s-ḥm:t e'r-k 'ny w' 'm'm e'r-k ḥ'f ḥr w't blz n

14. ḥr nte-k wh-f ḥr t θse n w' 'o nte-k t pe-f st ḥn w't(?) blz n ḥr nge yl 'n nte-k wrḥ-f e-f 'nḥ a ḥn

15. n p r n w't s:t-eyw n t s-ḥm:t nte-k . . . -f n nb nte-k qs pe-f st nte-k t ḥl e-f nt ar-f nte-k ty-f a ḥn w't 'lykt n nb

1. 7. At the end read *e-s ḥr* (?).

1. 9. **ꜥꜣꜣꜣ** is probably the true native pronunciation of the word for gum, unaffected by the Greek.

1. 10. *twt* (?). The determinative of a star must mean that the planet form *Ḥr-p-k*, a bull-headed man standing with *was*-sceptre, is intended, Br., Thes., p. 68. With regard to the reading, the sign is the det. of *twt* in Bul. Pap. I. Pl. 37, l. 14, and in l. 15 stands for *twt*. *Twt*, 'figure,' seems to be the reading here, and wherever it occurs with the det. of divinity (15/10, &c.); but without det. (16/22, &c.) it means 'style,' 'method,' and is probably to be read *ky*. Max Müller, however (Rec. trav. ix. 26), shows reason for reading it *qte*, comparing Louvre dem. Mag. v. I, vi. 19; *qte*, though apparently masc., may be the origin of the fem. **ꜥꜣꜣꜣ**.

1. 11. *ḥyn-w ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*, some water: cf. 21/13 *ḥyn-w 'rt:t*.

1. 12. The word in cipher reads **ꜣꜣꜣꜣ**, a word unknown in Egyptian. Probably it is a mis-writing for **ꜥꜣꜣꜣ** (l. 17) = *swm'* (*σῶμα*) of V. 32/5.

sleeping, the . . . of fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] (7) into his heart at any time, until he cast N. daughter of N. out of his abode, she having (?) (8) hatred to his heart, she having quarrel to his face; grant for him the nagging (?) and squabbling (?), the fighting and quarrelling between them (9) at all times, until they are separated from each other, without agreeing again for ever.' Gum, . . . , (10) myrrh; you add wine to them; you make them into a figure of Geb, there being a *was*-sceptre in his hand.

(11) [The uses (?)] of the shrew-mouse (?) to which it is put (goes). You take a shrew-mouse (?), you drown it in some water; you make the man drink (12) of it; then he is blinded in his two eyes. Grind its body (?) with any piece of food, you make the man eat it, then he makes a (13) . . . and he swells up and he dies. If you do it to bring a woman, you take a shrew-mouse (?), you place it on a Syrian (14) pot, you put it on the backbone (?) of a donkey, you put its tail in a Syrian pot or in a glass again; you let it loose (?) alive within (15) the door of a bath of the woman, you gild (?) it (*sic*) and embalm its tail, you add pounded myrrh to it, you

wm-f-s p rm: note the superfluous *f*.

l. 13. *ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲧⲟ*, probably a compound word, *ⲙⲟⲩ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟ*. It might mean 'water of spot (*τοε*)' or 'death of spot,' referring to a disease with spots or blisters.

blz n hr. Wine was imported from Syria in amphorae, but probably some special ware was denoted by this name.

l. 15. The word for bath is determined with the sign of fire: its name in Coptic is *ⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲏⲉ*: *ⲥⲓⲉⲱⲟⲩⲏⲏ* with variations; in the demotic there is no trace of the *ⲡ*, and it evidently means 'place of washings,' **ce-ⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲏⲉ*.

'You gild and embalm its tail' is perhaps the meaning.

l. 15. *ʿlykt* (fem.), an unknown word, apparently the *gswr*, 'ring,' of l. 27. It is perhaps to be connected with *ἐλιξ* or *ἐλικτός*. *ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲁⲕ*, 'ring,' and *ⲁⲗⲁⲕⲟⲩ*, 'vase,' have been suggested, but these are both masculine, and ignore the *t*, which seems to be firm. The determinative appears to be that of silver, also found in *znf*, &c.

16. nte-k ty-s a pe-k tb^c bn-s š ny sh·w ar-f nte-k mš^c a m^c [nb?] erme-f a(?) s-ḥm·t nb nt e·r-k a mḥt n'm-s ḥr [wh?]-s m-s-k

17. ḥr 'r-k-f e ḥ mḥ e·r-k 'r-f a t 're s-ḥm·t lyb m-s ḥwt e·r-k fy pe-f *coaa* e-f šwy e·r-k nt[-f e·r-k] fy

18. w^c ḥm n'm-f erme w^c ḥm n snf n pe-k tb^c n mḥ II n p s'c'py[n] n tek·t t·t n e·r-k th·f erme-f e·r-k ty-f

19. a w^c z n 'rp e·r-k ty-f n t s-ḥm·t nte-s swr-f ḥr 'r-s lyb [m]-s-k e·r-k t pe-f *caue* a w^c 'rp

20. nte p rm swr-f ḥr *ateq* ty hte·t nge ty-f a nk nb [n wm] e·r-k t pe-f *zet* a w^c ḥtm(?)

21. n nb nte-k ty-f a t·t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb ḥr te-f t ḥp n-k [hs·t mr·t šfe·]t e·r-k 'r w^c *hes* n ḥsy ḥn

22. w^c 'rp nte-k t swr-s p rm ḥr *ateq* e·r-k t p *caue* n [w^c g'c]e n r'qt a nk nb n wm

23. ḥr *ateq* e·r-k t w^c·t *zaqla'la* n st II a p nḥe [nte-k psy·]t-s nte-k ths p rm n'm-f ḥr

24. e·r-k wh a t ḥp *paeue* ḥr rm nte-s tm l'k-s w^c·t *[z]aitoc* [erme?] *zaqla'[la]* nte-k psy·t-w ḥr

25. nte-k zqm p rm n'm-w e·r-k wh a t 'r-f *top*(?) e·r-k t ḥr 'r-f *top*(?) e·r-k ty ḥnk(?) . . .

26. a yr·t-f n rm ḥr 'r-f *šawae*

1. 16. 'The charms' are those at the foot of the column, l. 27 et seqq.

There seems scarcely space for the *a* before *s-ḥm·t*, and it should no doubt be omitted.

1. 17. There is a variant version in V. col. 32 of the prescriptions in ll. 17-20.

1. 18. *s'c'py*. The finger is always thus elaborately described in the pap., the blood being used in erotica as here 15/4, 22, V. 32/7. It is evidently the Boh. *ceλoσnyu*. *الخنصر* 'middle finger' in KIRCHER. But Sah. *ceλemny* is 'heart,' also *ὑποχόνδρια* (cf. 21/25, 33); and that a nerve connected the third (ring-) finger of the left hand with the heart is said

put it in a gold ring (?), (16) you put it on your finger after reciting these charms to it, and walk with it to any place, and any woman whom you shall take hold of, she [giveth herself(?)] unto you. (17) You do it when the moon is full. If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, you take its body, dried, you pound [it, you] take (18) a little of it with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand; you mix it with it, you put it (19) in a cup of wine; you give it to the woman and she drinks it; then she has a passion for you. You put its gall into a (measure of) wine (20) and the man drinks it; then he dies at once; or (you) put it into any piece [of food]. You put its heart (?) into a seal-ring (?) (21) of gold; you put it on your hand, and go anywhere; then it brings you [favour, love, and] reverence. You drown a hawk in (22) a (measure of) wine; you make the man drink it, then he dies. You put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any food, (23) then he dies. You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and [cook] it, and anoint the man with it; then [he dies (?)]. (24) You wish to produce a skin-disease on a man and that it shall not be healed, a *hantous*-lizard [and (?)] a *hafleele*-lizard, you cook them with [oil (?)], (25) you wash the man with them. If you wish to make it troublesome (?), you put, then it is troublesome (?). You put beer (?) (26) to the eye of a man, then he is blinded.

(APION, frag. 7, MACROB. Saturn. vii. 13) to be a discovery of Egyptian anatomy. For fingers of the right hand see 16/29, 29/5.

l. 20. *hr* **ⲁⲧⲉϥ**. It is very interesting to obtain the *slm-f* form following *hr*; but whether it would be ***ⲁⲧⲟϥ** or ***ⲁⲧⲁϥ** in Sah. may be a little doubtful. The vowel seems however to represent *ε*, not *α*, and should therefore correspond to *α*, not *ο*, in Sah.; but a Sah. form ***ⲁⲧⲉϥ**, or even ***ⲁⲧⲏϥ**, would be conceivable.

l. 21. *l* over the line seems to be a correction of *hr*.

27. n sh·w nt hr ʾr-k š-w a p gswr n p nw nt e·r-k
mht n(?) t s-ḥm·t nʾm[-f] yḥ-ʿo ʾbrʿsʿks

28. my ʾre mn a·ms mn mryt my ʾr-s mḥ m-s-y a
p myt nte-k zrp(?) hr ʾr-s wh-s m-s-k hr sh-
k[-s?] . . .

29. ʿn a t tys nt hr ʾr-k qs p [ʿmʿm(?)] nʾm-f

COL. XIV.

1. p-e·ze ke rm n-y z a·wn n yr·t sp-sn šʿ sp IV(?)

2. a·wn n yr·t-yt a·wn n yr·t-k θs-phr šʿ . . .
sp III a·wn tt a·wn nʿp III sp

3. a·wn III(?) z ʾnk ʾrtʿm-ʿo a·ms ḥme-ʿo p syt
ʿo n pr-ybt [nt] ḥʿ erme pe-k yt

4. n twe hy sp-sn ḥḥ(?) a·wn n-y hḥ hr z-k-f e·r-k
sq n ḥrw-k ʾrtʿm-ʿo a·wn n-y hḥ e·r-k

5. tm a wn n-y hḥ e-y a t ʾr-k wn n-y hḥ hb sp-sn
nwzh nte nw [a] p ntr ʿo ʾNp p nʿš

6. nt n-ne-zz-y p nʿšt ʿo n wz·t p nʿš ʾNp p mr ʾḥ
nfr a·wn nb e·r-y

7. wnḥ-k a·r-y z ʾnk nesthom neszot neshotb b-ʿo-
rylʿmmʿy sp-sn

l. 27. See l. 16 above for the employment of this spell.

l. 29. *qs*: the only embalming is of the tail of the shrew-mouse in l. 15.

COL. XIV.

l. 1. This line is merely a gloss on l. 2.

l. 2. The mark over *sp* occurs also in 29/22 and V. 9/8. In 29/22 it is placed over *sp* without any number following, in the other instance over a blank space where a numeral would be expected. Here a number has been written under *sp*, but below the line, as if inserted later, and the inference may be drawn that the sign in question indicates that a number is wanting.

l. 3. *Ham-o* might mean 'great carpenter,' but many Egyptian words in these magic names are no doubt almost meaningless, and it is difficult in translating to decide whether to give English equivalents or to transcribe them phonetically.

l. 5. *tm a wn*. The *a* is a mistake, or at least superfluous.

(27) The charms which you recite to the ring at the time of taking hold of the woman 'Yaho, Abrasax, (28) may N. daughter of N. love me, may she burn for me by the way (?).' You Then she conveys herself(?) after you ; you write it (29) again on the strip with which you wrap up the [shrew-mouse (?)].

COL. XIV.

(1) That which another man said to me: 'Open my eyes,' unto four times. (2) [A vessel-divination:] 'Open my eyes; open thy eyes,' (and) vice versa, unto three times. 'Open, Tat; Open, Nap,' three times; (3) 'open [unto me?]' three [times?], 'for I am Artamo, born of Hame-o(?), the great basilisk of the East, rising in glory together with thy father (4) at dawn; hail (*bis*), Heh, open to me Hah,' you say it with a drawling(?) voice 'Artamo, open to me Hah; if thou dost (5) not open to me Hah, I will make thee open to me Hah. O Ibis (*bis*), sprinkle (?), that I may (?) see the great god Anubis, the power, (6) that is about (?) my head, the great protector(?) of the Uzat, the power, Anubis, the good ox-herd, at every opening(?) (of the eye?) which I have (?) made, (7) reveal thyself to me; for I am Nasthom,

mwzḥ is used of sprinkling a floor with water for the reception of visitors.

nta would mean 'that I may,' the demotic equivalent of which is usually written *nte-y*, though the *y* was not pronounced. Here we have *nte* alone written, unless the group be read *nte-w* 3rd pl., which would give the meaning 'that the god may be seen.'

l. 6. *n-ne-zz-y*: the *n* is a doubling of the initial.

'That I may see the god every time I open my eyes(?).' *e-r-y* is only past relative in ordinary demotic, but in early demotic is often future. Possibly it retains this meaning here, but if so it is a very exceptional usage.

Arian is repeated three times, each time with a different epithet, but the reading of the second is uncertain: it might mean 'this bringer of prosperity.'

8. m^cstsynks ʾNp mekyste ʾry^cn p nt ʿy ʿry^cn py n(?)-wzy ʾryʾn

9. p nt n bl hy phryks yks ʿn^cksybr-ʿo-ks ʿmbr-ʿo-ks eb-ʿo-rks ks-ʿo-n

10. nbr-ʿo-khr^c . . p hrt wr ʾNp z ʾnk py mty ne-ʾtef ne-pephnwn m^csph-ʿo-nege

11. hy my hp n-e-z-ŷ nb ty n p-hw ze hy nte-k th^cm th^cmth-ʿo-m th^cm^cth-ʿo-m

12. th^cm^cthwmth^cm th^cm^cthwtsy ʾMn sp-sn pe-k rn n mte nt e-w(?) z rn-f z th-ʿo-m

13. ʾnkth-ʿo-m nte-k yt·th thwtsy rn-yk sythom ʿnythom ʾp-sʾ . . . š^ctn-sr

14. km a·wn n-y n n r·w n pe hne ty n p-hw ʾm n-y a n r·w n pe hne pe swt my ʾre

15. pe ʾpt ʾr p(?) w[be?] n t p·t my ʾre n wḥ·r·w n p hwlot t n-y p nt n m^c·t n p nwn my z-w n-y

16. p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f ty n p-hw n m^c·t sp-sn e mn mt·t n ʿze nʾm-w א·ע·ח·י·ו·ט·ו· m^ckh-ʿo-pnewm^c

17. z-mt·t ḥr ʾny-k w^c z n ḥmt nte-k pth w^c twt n ʾNp ḥn-f nte-k mḥ-f n mw n str n

18. mnt(?) b·r p r^c gm·t·f nte-k zq ḥr-f n nḥe n m^c·t nte-k wḥ-f ḥr tb·t nmy e ḥrr-w prḥ

19. n š^c nte-k t ke tb·t IV·t ḥr p ḥm-ḥl nte-k t ʾre p ḥm-ḥl str a ḥr ḥe·t·f

20. nte-k t ʾr-f(?) wḥ te-f mrt a t tb·t n p hne nte-k t ʾr-f kšp a ḥn p nḥe e wn w^c ḥbs prḥ a zz-f

l. 13. *š^ctn-sr-km* looks like 'sacrifice of black ram.'

l. 15. *wbe* (?). The facsimile gives *e* as the last letter of the word, and so excludes *wyn*. The previous group, apparently written *ʾre*, we have taken as *ʾr p*.

p hwlot has the determinative of locality.

l. 18. *mnt* (?), perhaps 'custodian,' as in I Kham. iv. 7. It might represent the name of the god Mōnth.

b·r with final sense? Cf. I Kham. iv. 12, note, and below 22/3. The facsimile would perhaps admit of a reading *e b ʾr*.

Naszot, Nashoteb, Borilammai (*bis*), (8) Mastinx, Anubis, Megiste, Arian, thou who art great, Arian, Pi-anuzy (?), Arian, (9) he who is without. Hail, Phrix, Ix, Anaxibrox, Ambrox, Eborx, Xon, (10) Nbrokhria, the great child, Anubis; for I am that soldier. O ye of the Atefcrown, ye of Pephnun, Masphoneke; (11) hail! let all that I have said come to pass here to-day; say, hail! thou art Tham, Thamthom, Thamathom, (12) Thamathomtham, Thamathouthi, Amon (*bis*), thy correct name, whom they call Thom, (13) Anakthom; thou art Itth; Thouthi is thy name, Sithom, Anithom Op-sao (?), Shatensro (14) black; open to me the mouths of my vessel here to-day; come to me to the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), let (15) my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven; may the hounds of the *hulot* give me that which is just in the abyss; may they tell me (16) that about which I inquire here to-day truly (*bis*), there being no falsehood in them $\alpha\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\omega$, Makhopneuma.' (17) Formula: you take a bowl of bronze, you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with water left to settle (?) and (18) guarded (?) lest (?) the sun should reach it; you finish its (sur-)face (of the water) with fine oil, you place it on [three?] new bricks, their lower sides being sprinkled (19) with sand; you put four other bricks under the child; you make the child lie down upon (?) his stomach; (20) you cause him (?) to place his chin on the brick of the vessel; you make him look into

zq: reading not quite certain, but probably *zq hr-f* means $\alpha\omega\kappa$, 'complete its (sur-)face,' i.e. fill up the vessel with a thin layer of oil on the top of the water.

lb.t: the facsimile shows a numeral III (?) following, and 'a brick' is always *w.t lb.t*. The plural *hr-w* also follows; yet in l. 20 'the brick of the vessel' is spoken of in the singular.

l. 19. *a hr he-t-f*, a curious expression, possibly meaning 'on his face-and-stomach.'

21. e wn w^c ḥbs e-f θ-r-t ḥr pe-f wnm w^c ḥb ḥr st-t
ḥr pe-f . . . nte-k t w^c ḥlp n sym n

22. 'Np ḥr p ḥbs nte-k t py sty a ḥry nte-k ṣ ny
sh·w nt ḥry a p hne n sp VII p sty nt e·r-k t-t-f

23. a ḥry ḳbwnt mrḥe(?) 'mwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s bne
nt-w ḥr 'rp nte-k 'r-w n

24. bnn nte-k t a ḥry n'm-w e·r-k wh e·r-k t 're p
ḥm-ḥl wn yr-t-f e·r-k šn-t-f ze ne(?) p ntr 'y a ḥn e-f

25. z ḥr p ntr 'y [a ḥn] e·r-k ṣ ḥ-t-f z-mt-t pe-k q'
m^o 'y 'Np py . . . oy py g^cm

26. py km pe(?) . . . py srytsy sp-sn srytsy sp-sn
'brytsy rn-yk n pe-k rn n mte

27. nte-k šn-t-f a p nt e·r-k [wh-f] e·r-k wh n pe-k
šn nt e·r-k šn ḥrr-f e·r-k ṣ ar-f n sp VII e·r-k wt
[p ntr] a pe-f 'y pe-f wt z-mt-t

28. wt nfr sp-sn 'Np p mr 'ḥ nfr 'Np sp-sn p šr n
nw wnš whr p(?)[-e·ze?] ke-zm(?) z p šr n ne te(?)

29. 'S-t whr n'bryš-^co-tht(?) p gerwb n 'mnt pr-^co n
te . . . z sp VII e·r-k fy

30. p ḥbs a p ḥlw e·r-k fy p hne nt ḥr mw e·r-k fy
t šnto-t [ḥr] 't-f ḥr 'r-k-f 'n

31. n šn-hne [w^ce]t-k nfr sp-sn 'p e-f znt n sp IX p
sym n 'Np ḥr rt-f n hhe n m^c

32. te-f gbe-t m q[ty t] gbe-t [n sym?] n ḥr e-f θy
wbḥ te-f ḥrre m q-t[y t ḥ]rre n 'nq

l. 21. *sym n 'Np*, the *ανουβιαδα την του σταχυν* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 901. Cf. below, l. 31.

l. 22. *t a ḥry* is the regular expression for putting incense on the censer or brazier.

l. 23. *'mwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s* Ἀμμωνιακὸν πόα ἐστὶν ὅθεν τὸ ἀμμωνιακὸν θυμίαμα, Diosc. iii. 98. The very slight alteration of *r* to *h* in the demotic would produce *θυμιάματος*.

l. 28. *p šr n nw wnš whr . . . p šr n ne te(?) 'S-t whr*. For *te* = τα- cf. 8/13, 'the son of those of (?) a (?) jackal and (?) hound . . . , the son of those of Ta-Ese and (?) hound'; possibly a form of pedigree in breeding animals.

the oil, he having a cloth spread over his head, (21) there being a lighted lamp on his right, and a censer with fire on his left; you put a leaf of (22) Anubis-plant on the lamp, you put this incense on (the fire); you recite these spells, which are above, to the vessel seven times. The incense which you put (23) on (the fire): frankincense (?), wax (?), styrax, turpentine (?), date-stone (?); grind them with wine; you make them into a (24) ball and put them on (the fire). When you have finished, you make the child open his eyes, you ask him, saying, 'Is the god coming in?' If he says (25) 'The god has come in,' you recite before him: formula: 'Thy bull (?) Mao, ho! Anubis, this soldier (?), this Kam, (26) this Kem . . . Pisreithi (*bis*), Sreithi (*bis*), Abrithi is thy name, by thy correct name.' (27) You ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry which you are asking about, you call to him seven times; you dismiss the god to his home. His dismissal: formula: (28) 'Farewell (*bis*) Anubis, the good ox-herd, Anubis (*bis*), the son of a (?) jackal (and ?) a dog . . . another volume saith: the child of . . . (29) Isis (?) (and ?) a dog, Nabrishoth, the Cherub (?) of Amenti, king of those of'. Say seven times. You take (30) the lamp from (?) the child, you take the vessel containing water, you take the cloth off him. You do it also (31) by vessel-inquiry alone, excellent (*bis*), tried (?), tested nine times.

The Anubis-plant. It grows in very numerous places;

l. 29. *gerwb* probably = גֵּרֵיב. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 3061; Leyd. Pap. Gr. V, col. 9, l. 16.

l. 30. *fy* must refer to the removal of the apparatus.

l. 32. [*sym*] *n hr*. There seems hardly room for more than the sign *sym*, and some slight remains agree with it.

The leaves of stachys are λευκά (Diosc. iii. 110), coloris in luteum inclinati (PLINY, N. H., xxiv. 86). The former compares it with the

33. e-r-k yr-t e b-r te-k
p hne

COL. XV.

1. w^c t swr e-r-k ny w^c hm n h^h n pe-t n w^c rm
e-f mw-t n htb-t

2. erme VII n blbyle-t n yt(?) n tms hn w^ct be-t n
rm e-f mw-t nte-k nt-w erme p-t X-t

3. ke-z IX-t pr-w n zph nte-k t snf n w^ct h^cl^cm^ct^c
n w^c e(?) km a h-t-w erme w^c hm n

4. snf n pe-k tb^c n mh II n p s^cl^cpyn n te-k-t t-t n
gbyr erme te-k-t mt-t nte-k

5. hm-w n w^c sp nte-k ty-sw a w^c z n rp nte-k t-t
wth III ar-f n t

6. h^cyt-t n p rp e b-r te-k tp-f e b-r te-w wtne hn-f
nte-k š py š ar-f n sp VII

7. nte-k t swr-s t s-hm-t n'm-f nte-k mr p h^cr n p
syb nt hry n w^ct tys n š-stn

8. nte-k mr-s a pe-k zn^h n gbyr pe-f š z-mt-t nk
pa(?) Bt n m^ct n

9. mnqe n ms n rn-s n S-t t sbb hh ta t s-t-sbh n
p šy

10. nk py twt n p r^c s-t^cme-sr rn-yt nk py twt n
mr mš^c a-ph^t py

marrubium, the latter (through misunderstanding of *πράσιον*) with the leek. Here we have it compared to the *nye* εινε: (ειοστκ?) κόρυζα, BSCIAT, Rec. trav., vii. 25; LORET, Florc Phar., 2nd ed., p. 68. Curiously enough, amongst the synonyms of *κоруζα* in Diosc. iii. 126 *ἀνουβιας* occurs. Evidently there is some confusion here with stachys.

ty wbh probably 'tends to whiteness.'

COL. XV.

1. 1. *htb-t*: this might represent an Achmimic infinitive ending in ε, but in the Hist. Rom. no. 245 there is a fem. subst. *htby*.

1. 2. *rm e-f mw-t*, no doubt again a man slain or murdered. Parts of the body of those who had suffered a violent death were considered peculiarly efficacious for magical purposes. Cf. P. S. B. A. xiii. 169-70.

1. 3. *pr-w*, a genitive *n* has probably been omitted by mistake.

(32) its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant(?)]; it turns (?) white; its flower is like the flower of conyza.

(33) . . . you . . . eye . . . before you . . . the vessel.

COL. XV.

(1) A potion. You take a little shaving of the head of a man who has died a violent death, (2) together with seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave of a dead (?) man; you pound them with ten *oipe*, (3) otherwise nine, (of) apple-seeds (?); you add blood of a worm (?) of a black dog to them, with a little (4) blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand, and with your semen (?), and you (5) pound them together and put them into a cup of wine and add three *utch* to it of (6) the first-fruits of the vintage, before you have tasted it and before they have poured out from it; and you pronounce this invocation to it seven times (7) and you make the woman drink it; and you tie the skin of the parasite aforesaid with a band of byssus (8) and tie it to your left arm. Its invocation, formula: 'I am he of Abydos in truth, (9) by formation (?) (and ?) birth in her (?) name of Isis the bringer (?) of fire, she of the mercy-seat of the Agathodaemon. (10) I am this figure of the sun, *Sitamesro* is my name. I am this

h'le'm'e'te, referred to in l. 7 as *syb*. *Syb*, cf. 25/25, 28, = *cih* : *cin* (Eg. *sp*), the meaning of which seems vague—parasitic worms and insects and even sores. Possibly our word may be connected with *ελμυς*.

a *h-t-w* : see chapter on Grammar.

l. 7. *swr-s* : *s* is duplicated either as the object by *n'm-f* or as the subject by *t s-hm-t*.

l. 9. *n mnqe n ms* is difficult.

n rn-s : it seems as if Abydos were here personified as Isis, cf. l. 13, or else we may translate 'by the name of Isis'; see 19/16.

TAH : TA- represents Eg. *tni*, to which *ta-* corresponds in Ptolemaic transcriptions of proper names. But possibly the *n* was retained in O. C. in looser combinations.

11. štꜥ py šhr-ʿo·t t ḥo ʿo·t rn-yt ʾnk py twt n Ḥr
py štꜥm py štꜥ py

12. šhr-ʿo·t rn-t ʾnk py twt n ḥsy-ntr(?) nt mtr n šḥ
nt ḥtp a mr ty ḥr

13. t ḥtp·t ʿo·t n ʾBt nta mtr p snf n Wsr a rn-s n
ʾS·t e-w ty-f a ḥry ḥn

14. py z py ʾrp my nʾm-f snf n Wsr te-f n ʾS·t a t
ʾr-s wꜥ mr n ḥt-s ar-f

15. n grḥ mre·t n nw nb e mn nw šr my nʾm-f p
snf n mn a·ms mn a ty-f

16. n mn a·ms mn ḥn py z py ʾpt n ʾrp n p-hw a t
ʾr-s wꜥ mr n ḥt-s ar-f

17. p mr nta ʾr-s ʾS·t a Wsr e-s qte m-s-f a mꜥ nb
my ʾr-s mn t šr n mn

18. e-s qte m-s mn p šr n mn a mꜥ nb p pz nta ʾr-s
ʾS·t a Ḥr Bḥtt my

19. ʾr-s t mn s(?) mn e-s mr nʾm-f e-s lby m-s-f e-s
rqḥ n t·t-f e-s qte m-s-f

20. a mꜥ nb e wn wꜥ·t ḥo n st·t ḥn ḥt-s n ty-s wne·t
n tm nw ar-f

21. ke ky nʾm-f ʿn p znf n p ḥbys n te-k·t ʿne·t n
pr·w zpḥ ḥnꜥ snf

22. n pe-k tbꜥ nt šḥ a ḥry ʿn nte-k nt p zpḥ nte-k
t snf ar-f nte-k ty-f a p z n ʾrp

23. nte-k ʿš ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm·t n p
nw n rn-f

l. 12. *ḥsy*:  inserted after the *ḥ* seems to be a kind of determinative, also in 19/24. The reference here is, of course, to Osiris.

a *mr*: the geographical significance of this is difficult to grasp, but cf. 9/23.

l. 13. *t a ḥry ḥn*, 'pour into,' of liquids: cf. 19/29.

nt a seems to be the form for the relative before *stm-f* in this papyrus when used instead of the old relative form *a·stm-f*. Cf. l. 17, &c.

l. 14. *my nʾm-f*: above this is a letter resembling  erased by two lines; the following words are very difficult to understand. *Tē-f* may be intended for the past relative *a·tē-f*, 'which he gave.'

figure of a Captain of the host, very valiant, this (11) Sword (?), this Overthrower (?), the Great Flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this Fortress (?), this Sword (?), this (12) Overthrower (?) is my name. I am this figure of One Drowned, that testifieth by writing, that resteth on the other side (?) here under (13) the great offering-table (?) of Abydos; as to which the blood of Osiris bore witness to her (?) name of Isis when it (the blood) was poured into (14) this cup, this wine. Give it, blood of Osiris (that ?) he (?) gave to Isis to make her feel love in her heart for him (15) night and day at any time, there not being time of deficiency. Give it, the blood of N. born of N. to give it (16) to N. born of N. in this cup, this bowl of wine to-day, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, (17) the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N. the daughter of N. feel it, (18) she seeking after N. the son of N. everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu, (19) let N. born of N. feel it, she loving him, mad after him, inflamed by him, seeking him (20) everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.'

(21) Another method of doing it again. The paring (?) of your nail's point (?) from an apple-fruit (?), and blood (22) of your finger aforesaid again; you pound the apple and put blood on it, and put it in the cup of wine (23) and invoke it seven times, and make the woman drink it at the moment named.

l. 21. *znf*: an obscure word; cf. 25/32, V. 7/1. It occurs also in a Philae inscription (Br., Thes., 1017), perhaps with the meaning of a 'small portion.'

prw: cf. perhaps Sah. εἱρα, pl. εἱριτε. It is not clear whether the fruit or the pips are intended.

l. 22. *a hry*. The MS. appears to have the *a*, but it must be a mistake of the scribe.

24. n še ne-ḥr ḥry e-f ⟨sre-w(?)⟩ myḥ erme-k
nte-f tm sze ar-k

25. μη με διωκε οδε· ανοχ παπιπετου μετουβανες· βασταζω

26. την ταφην του οσιρεως και υπαγω καταστησαι αυτην
εις αβιδος

27. καταστησαι εις ταστας και καταθεσθαι εις [α]λχας εαν μοι
ο ♠ κοπους

28. παρασχη προσρεψω αυτην αυτω pe-f ʿš n mt-t
rm n kmy ʿn pe py nt [ḥr]y

29. mpr ptt m-s-y t mn ank pʿpypetw metwbʿnes e-y
fy ḥr t qs:t n Wsr

30. e-y ʿnnʿ a θy:t-s a ʾBt a ty ḥtp-s n ʿLghʿh e-f ḥp
nte t mn myḥ erme-y n p-hw

31. e-y a hwy:t-s abl z sp VII

COL. XVI.

1. ke-zʿm thew ye ʿo-e ʿo-n yʿ wʿ ke-zʿm elon
nfr sp-sn

2. n mt·wt n p ḥbs b-ʿo-th thew ye we ʿo-ʿo-e yʿ wʿ
pthʿkh el-ʿo-e

3. yʿth e-ʿo-n peryphʿe yew yʿ y-ʿo yʿ ywe ʾm a ḥry

4. a p wyn n py ḥbs nte-k wnḥ a py ʿlw nte-k šn
n-y ḥr p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f

1. 24. *ḥry* probably means 'Sovereign,' 'king,' but may perhaps only mean a 'superior officer.' *sre-w* would seem to mean 'range soldiers,' 'array battle.'

1. 25. The Greek formula, ll. 25-28, is translated into demotic in ll. 29-31.

ανοχ, &c. This passage invites interpretation as Old Coptic, but if it really meant anything it must be corrupt, and the demotic version in l. 29 renders it phonetically as if it consisted of magic names. One may perhaps suggest *ʾnk pe pa p nt ʿo my t wʿb n-s*, 'I am the servant of him that is great; give discharge (ⲁⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ) (of the fault or the liability) to her' (*sic* for 'to me'?).

1. 26. *ταφην*. At this time *ταφή* in Egypt = 'mummy,' as is seen by the mummy tickets (Pap. Rainer Mitth. V. 14).

(24) [A spell] of going to meet a sovereign (?) when he fights with you and will not parley (?) with you. (25) 'Do not pursue me, thou! I am Papipetou Metubanes. I am carrying (26) the mummy of Osiris and I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, (27) to take [it] to Tastai (?) and to deposit it in Alkhai; if N. deal blows at me, (28) I will cast it at him.' Its invocation in Egyptian also is this as below: (29) 'Do not pursue me, N., I am Papipetu Metubanes. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, (30) I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to cause it to rest in Alkhah. If N. fight with me to-day, (31) I will cast it away.' Say seven times.

COL. XVI.

(1, 2) The words of the lamp: 'Both, Theou, Ie, Oue, O-oe, Ia, Oua—otherwise, Theou, Ie, Oe, Oon, Ia, Oua—Phthakh, Eloë—otherwise, Elon, excellent (*bis*)—(3) Iath, Eon, Puriphae, Ieou, Ia, Io, Ia, Ioue, come down (4) to the light of this lamp and appear to this boy

l. 27. *ταστας*: an unknown name. This phrase is not translated in the demotic.

[α]λ*χας*: the λ is sufficiently recognizable in the facs.; see the note on 1/16. The *ς* of *κοπους* is likewise seen in the facs.

εαν μοι, &c. WÜNSCH, in the Supplement on magic tablets to the Corp. inscript. Attic., quotes in his preface an inscription from the Collections du mus. Alaoui I. p. 57 (publ. also MASPERO, Et. myth. arch. ii. 297), a Latin eroticon of the 2nd cent. A.D. from Hadrumetum written in Greek characters: 'Si minus descendo in adytus Osyris et dissolvam τὴν ταφήν et mittam ut a flumine feratur. Ego enim sum magnus decanus magni dei Achrammachalala,' i.e. as WÜNSCH says, a sepulcro Osiridis arcam illius eripiet et in Nilum coniciet, idem quod olim Typho fecerat.

COL. XVI.

l. 1. This is only a gloss on the second line.

l. 2. The apparent *n* at the beginning before *n mt-wt* is probably false.

l. 4. *šn*. In this papyrus this word is often used in such a way as to suggest the meaning 'answer' rather than 'inquire.' Perhaps it may mean both 'to inquire' and 'to be inquired of.'

5. ty n p-hw y^c-o y^c-o-mr therenth-o psykšyme^ckhe-
mr bl^c

6. kh^cnspl^c y^ce we-by b^crb^crethw yew ^crp-o-n·ghnwph

7. brynt^cten-o-phry he^c g^crhre b^clmenthre meneb^cry-
^ckhegh y^c

8. khekh bryn·sk(?) ^clm^c ^crwns^crb^c meseghryph nyptw-
mykh

9. m^c-o-rkh^cr^cm ^cy l^cnkhekh ^co-mph brymb^cynwy-o

10. th sengenb^cy gh-o-wghe l^cykh^cm ^crmy-o-wth nte-k
zt-f

11. e-f w^cb n py smte p ntr nt ^cnh p hbs nt θ-r·yt
t^cgrt^ct pa zt wy

12. b-o-el a hn š^c sp III ^crbeth b^cy wtsy-o p ntr o
o a(?)wy b-o-el

13. a hn t^ct sp-sn a·wy b-o-el a hn š^c sp III t^cgrt^ct
pa zt [a·]wy

14. b-o-el a hn š^c sp III bewtsy p ntr o a·wy b-o-el
a hn s^c sp III

15. p š^c nt e^cr-k š^c-f a hr p r^c n hrp e b^cr te-k š^c
a p ^clw z a^cr p nt e^cr-k ^cr-f a hp

16. p ntr o t^cb^c-o b^cswkh^cm ^cm-o ^ckh^c·gh^c·r^c·kh^c·n^c·
gr^cbwns^c

17. nwny·etsyqme-t g^cthwb^cs^cthwry·thmyl^cl-o sp VII

18. ke gy n^cm-f ^cn e^cr-k tw^cn-k n twe hr pe-k klk n
hrp n p hw nt e^cr-k a ^cr-f n^cm-f nge hw nb

19. z a^cr p nt e^cr-k a ^cr-f nb a mte n t^ct-k e^cr-k
w^cb a bte nb e^cr-k š^c py š^c a hr p r^c n sp III nge sp VII

20. y-o·t^c·b^c-o s^c·o-kh^cm·mw^c ^co-kh^c·o-kh^c·kh^c·n^c·bwns^c·
nw ^cn

21. yesy eg-o-m-p-t geth-o sethwry thmyl^c ^clw^cp-o-
khry my ^cre hb nb

1. 5. The demotic sign corresponding to the glosses λo, λω is identical with that for *r* in *R-qty* = **PAROTE**, and with that for *mr*- = **Λe-**, 'superintendent'; λo, λω is evidently the absolute form of the construct **Λe-**.

and inquire for me about that which I ask (5) here to-day, Iao, Iaolo, Therentho, Psikhimeakelo, (6) Blakhanspla, Iae, Ouebai, Barbaraithou, Ieou, Arponknouph, (7) Brintatenophri, Hea, Karrhe, Balmenthre, Menebareiakhukh, Ia, (8) Khukh, Brinskulma, Arouzarba, Mese-khriph, Niptoumikh, (9) Maorkharam. Ho! Laankhukh, Omph, Brimbainouioth, (10) Segenbai, Khooukhe, Laikham, Armioouth.' You say it, (11) it (*sic*) being pure, in this manner: 'O god that liveth, O lamp that is lighted, Takrtat, he of eternity, bring in (12) Boel!'—three times—'Arbeth-abi, Outhio, O great great god, bring Boel (13) in, Tat (*bis*), bring Boel in!' Three times. 'Takrtat, he of Eternity, bring (14) Boel in!' Three times. 'Barouthi, O great god, bring Boel in!' Three times.

(15) The invocation which you pronounce before Phre in the morning before reciting to the boy, in order that that which thou doest may succeed: (16) 'O great god, Tabao, Basoukham, Amo, Akhakharkhan-krabounzanouni-(17)edikomto, Kethou-basa-thouri-thmila-alo.' Seven times.

(18) Another method of it again. You rise in the morning from your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, (19) in order that everything which you will do shall prosper in your hand, you being pure from every abomination. You pronounce this invocation before Phre three times or seven times. (20) 'Io, Tabao, Sokhom-moa, Okh-okh-khan-bouzanau, An-(21) iesi, Ekomphtho, Ketho, Sethouri, Thmila, Alouapokhri,

l. 7. *kappe*: the aspiration of the second *p* is interesting. Cf. note to I/20.

l. 11. *e-fwēb*: the lamp must be pure as described in ll. 22 et seqq.

a-wy, sometimes perhaps written *wy*, is *aw*, *awei*, *St.*, § 384, and is synonymous with *a·ny*: cf. I7/10, &c.

l. 15. *z a·r* = *æpe*, 'final.'

22. nt e-y a θy t·t ar-f ty n p-hw my ʾr-f ḥp pe-f ky
ḥr ʾny-k w^c ḥbs nmy e bnp-w t prš ar-f nte-k (*sic*)

23. w^c s^cl e-f w^cb ar-f nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n m^c·t e-f w^cb
nte-k wḥ-f n w^c m^c e-f w^cb n mw n ḥsm e-f hep

24. nte-k wḥ-f ḥr w^c·t tbe·t nmy nte-k ʾny w^c ḥlw nte-k
t ḥms-f ḥr k·t tbe·t nmy e ḥr-f

25. st a p ḥbs nte-k ḥtm n yr·t-f nte-k ṣ ny nt ḥry
a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ḥlw n sp VII e·r-k t ʾr-f wn

26. yr·t-f e·r-k z n-f ṣn e·r-k nw a p wyn e-f z n-k
te-y nw a p wyn ḥn t st·t n p ḥbs e·r-k ṣ ty hte z

27. hewe 𐤀𐤓𐤀 n sp IX e·r-k šn·t-f a p nt e·r-k wḥ-f
nb bn-s ṣ p ṣ a·r-k t ḥ·t mbḥ p r^c n ḥrp

28. ḥr ʾr-k-f n w^c m^c e r wn a pr(?)·ybt nte-k ḥ^c ḥr-f
n p ḥbs e-f st nte-k ḥ^c ḥr-f n p ḥlw

29. e-f·st a ḥr p ḥbs e·r-k ḥr nʾm-f e·r-k
ṣ a ḥry ḥn zz-f e·r-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tb^c n mḥ II n p(?)
ḥyne(?) n te-k·t t·t

30. n wnm

COL. XVII.

1. ke ky nʾm-f ṣn nfr sp·sn a p ḥbs e·r-k (z?) b·o-el
sp III y·y·y· 𐤀𐤀𐤀 tṭ tṭ tṭ p šmsy ḥyt n p ntr ʾo p nt
t wyn m šs sp·sn

2. p ḥbr n t st·t nte t st·t n r-f pa t st·t nte my-s htm
p ntr nt ṣnh nte b·r-f mw p ntr ʾo ⟨p⟩ nt ḥms ḥn t st·t
nt n t mt·t n t st·t nt

1. 22. θy t·t a, 'undertake,' 'apply hand to': cf. 17/26 θ w^cb a.
pe-f ky: this seems to correspond to py smt in l. 11.

t has been omitted by the scribe at the end of the line.

1. 28. f is omitted after r and pr is incomplete before ybt. The scribe has moreover been confused in describing the positions of the lamp and the boy.

1. 29. Thus the middle finger of the right hand must have had a different name from that of the left, see 13/18 and cf. 29/5 with this passage. ḥyne(?) has the det. of flesh and should be some part of the body.

let everything (22) that I shall apply(?) my hand to here to-day, let it happen.' Its method. You take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you (put) (23) a clean wick in it, and you fill it with pure genuine oil and lay it in a place cleansed with natron water and concealed, (24) and you lay it on a new brick, and you take a boy and seat him upon another new brick, his face being (25) turned to the lamp, and you close his eyes and recite these things that are (written) above down into the boy's head seven times. You make him (26) open his eyes. You say to him, 'Do you see the light?' When he says to you 'I see the light in the flame of the lamp,' you cry at that moment saying (27) 'Heoue' nine times. You ask him concerning everything that you wish after reciting the invocation that you made previously before Phre in the morning. (28) You do it in a place with (its) entrance open to the East, and put the face of the lamp turned (*blank*). You put the face of the boy (29) turned (*blank*) facing the lamp, you being on his left hand. You cry down into his head, you strike his head with your second finger, (that) of the . . . , of your (30) right hand.

COL. XVII.

(1) Another method of it again, very good, for the lamp. You (say?): 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, A, A, Tat, Tat, Tat, the first attendant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, (2) the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame which is not quenched,

COL. XVII.

l. 1. *e'r-k*. 'Thou art Boel' would need *nle-k*: probably *e'r-k z* was intended.

l. 2. *pa t st-t*: the stroke over the *t* is merely a line separating off the interlineation.

nle my-s = *ετε μεσ-*, elsewhere (l. 27, &c.) written etymologically *nle b'r-s*. Cf. ο ασβεστος λυχνος Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1218.

3. n p šy n t p·t nte p 'w erme p n'š n p ntr
n t·t-f 'm a ḥn n t mt n ty st·t nte-k wnh-k <wnh-k>
a py 'lw ty n p-hw nte-k t 'r-f šn n-y ḥr mt·t nb
nt e-y

4. a šn·t-f [a]r-w ty n p-hw z e-y a š'š-k n t p·t ne-ḥr
p r' e-y a š'š-k ne-ḥr 'ḥ e-y a š'š-k n p t

5. e-y a š'š-k ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-'r-f htm pa
p š'š 'o nte p 'w erme p n'š n p ntr n t·t-f pa p

6. š'š 'o petery sp-sn p'ter emphe sp-sn p ntr 'o 'o
nt n t r' ḥry·t n t p·t nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)'ne-f n t·t-f
p-e'r t ḥp ntr e bp ntr

7. t ḥp-f 'm n-y a ḥn erme b-'o-el 'nyel nte-k t p zr
n n byl·w n py 'lw nt ḥr pe hne

8. n p-hw a t nw-f ar-k a t stm msz-f ar-k e'r-k sze
nte-k šn n-f ḥr hb nb mt·t nb nt e-y a šn·t-f ar-w ty
n p-hw

9. p ntr 'o sy·s'-'o-th 'khrem-p-t 'm a ḥn n t mt·t n
ty st·t p nt ḥms ḥr p tw

10. n g'b'-'o-n t'grt' pa zt p nte b-'r-f mw nt 'nh š'
nhḥ <a·wy> a'ny b-'o-el a ḥn b-'o-el sp-sn

11. 'rbethb'y·nwtsy 'o p ntr 'o sp-sn <a·(?)wy> a'ny
b-'o-el a ḥn t't sp-sn <a·wy> a'ny b-'o-el a ḥn
e'r-k

12. z ny sp VII a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p 'lw e'r-k t 'r-f wn
yr·t-f e'r-k šn·t-f z 'n ḥr p wyn ḥp

13. e-f ḥp e bnp p wyn pyr e'r-k t 're p 'lw ḥ-f sze
n r-f a p ḥbs z-mt·t 'w p wyn pr

14. p wyn θs p wyn ḥy p wyn pr p wyn n p ntr
wnh-k a'r-y p šmsy n p ntr nte p wh·shne n p-hw [n
t·t]-f

15. nt ne šn n-y ḥr 'r-f wnh-f a p 'lw n p nw n rn-f
ḥr 'š-k ny a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p 'lw e-f nw

the great god that dieth not, the great god he that sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, (3) who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come within in the midst of this flame and reveal thyself to this boy here to-day; cause him to inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall (4) ask him here to-day; for I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee on Earth, (5) I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who perisheth not, he of the great glory, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of the great glory, (6) Petery (*bis*), Pater, Emphe (*bis*), O great great god, who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having (7) created him, come in to me with Boel, Aniel; do thou give strength to the eyes of this boy who has my vessel (8) to-day, to (?) cause him to see thee, cause his ears to hear thee when thou speakest; and do thou inquire for him concerning everything and every word as to which I shall ask him here to-day, (9) O great god, Sisaouth, Akhrempto, come into the midst of this flame, he who sitteth on the mountain (10) of Gabaon, Takrtat, he of eternity, he who dieth not, who liveth for ever, bring Boel in, Boel (*bis*), (11) Arbethbainouthi, great one, O great god (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in, Tat (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in.' You (12) say these things seven times down into the head of the boy, you make him open his eyes, you ask him saying, 'Has the light appeared?' (13) If it be that the light has not come forth, you make the boy himself speak with his mouth to the lamp. Formula: 'Grow, O light, come forth (14) O light, rise O light, lift thyself up O light, come forth O light of the god, reveal thyself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is the command of to-day, (15) who will ask for me.' Then he reveals himself to the boy in the moment named.

16. m-s p ḥbs mpr t ʾr-f nw m-s ge m^c m-s p ḥbs
w^ce-t-f e-f tm nw m-s-f ḥr ʾr-f htye-t

17. e-ʾr-k ʾr ny tre-w e-ʾr-k wh n pe-k šn e-ʾr-k st-k
e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f e-ʾr-k sze a ḥry ḥn zz-f n py ke

18. ʿš nt ḥry ze a-ʾre n ntr-w še n-w nte p ʿlw lk-f e-f
nw ar-w ʾrkhe-khem-phe nsew

19. hele s^ctr^cpermt ḥrh a py ʿlw nte-k tm t ʾr-f htye-t
ḥnwḥe škl-t nte-k t

20. st-f a pe-f myt n ḥrp a-wn ty-t a-wn ty te-y z n^cm-s
z ne-(ne)-^cne py šn-hne n p ḥbs(?)

21. a p ḥrp py smt ʿn pe pe-f ky ḥr ʾny-k w^c ḥbs nmy
e-bp-w t prš ar-f nte-k t w^c s^cl n

22. ḥbs e-f w^cb ar-f nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n m^ct e-f w^cb
nte-k wh-f ḥr w^ct tbe-t nmy nte-k t ḥms p ʿlw ḥr k-t tbe-t

23. wbe p ḥbs nte-k t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f nte-k ʿš a ḥry
ḥn zz-f a ḥ p ke ky ʿn ke ʿš e-ḥr

24. ʾr-k ʿš-f wbe p r^c n twe n sp III nge sp VII
z-mt-t y-ʿo-t^cbe-ʿo s-ʿo-kh-ʿo-mmw^c ʿo-kh

25. ʿo-kh-kh^cn bwns^c-nw ʿn yesy eg-ʿo-mth-ʿo geth-ʿo
seth-ʿo-ry thmy

26. k^clw^cp-ʿo-khry my ḥp mt-t nb nt e-y a ʾr-w n p-hw
nte-w ḥp e-f ḥp nte-k tm θ w^cb ar-f b-ʾr-f ḥp te-f mt-t
ʿo-t w^cb ke

27. ʿš a ḥ p nt ḥry ʿn z-mt-t b-ʿo-el sp III 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
𐤀𐤁𐤁 t^ct sp III p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥbr n t st-t pa
t st-t nte b-ʾr-s

28. htm p ntr nt ʿnh nte b-ʾr-f mw p nt ḥms ḥn t st-t
nt n t mt-t n t st-t nt n p šy n t p-t nte p ʿw erme p n^cš

29. n p ntr n t-t-f wnh-k a py ʿlw hew 𐤀𐤀𐤀 sp-sn he-ʿo

1. 19. *hele* has the Greek symbol of the sun (☉) above it.

1. 20. The demotic sign for  at the end apparently stands for *ḥbs*, 'lamp.'

1. 26. *θ w^cb a*: cf. 14/32.

lc-f mt-t ʿo-t: cf. *εστιν δε το αγυθον ζωδιον* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 171.

You recite these things down into the head of the boy, he looking (16) towards the lamp. Do not let him look towards another place except the lamp only; if he does not look towards it, then he is afraid. (17) You do all these things, you cease from your inquiry, you return, you make him close his eyes, you speak down into his head this other (18) invocation which is below, that is, if the gods go away and the boy ceases to see them: 'Arkhe-khem-phai, Zeou, (19) Hele, Satrapermet, watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or scared, and make (20) him return to his original path. Open Teï (the Underworld), open Taï (Here).' I say it that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better (21) than the beginning. This is the method again; its form: you take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you put a wick of (22) clean linen in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick, you make the boy sit on another brick (23) opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes, you recite down into his head according to the other method also.

Another invocation which (24) you recite towards Phre in the morning three times or seven times. Formula: 'Iotabao, Sokh-ommoa, Okh-(25)-okh-Khan, Bouzanau, Aniesi, Ekomphtho, Ketho, Sethori, (26) Thmilaalouapokhri may everything succeed that I shall do to-day,' and they will (?) succeed. If it be that you do not apply (?) purity to it, it does not succeed; its chief matter is purity.

Another (27) invocation like the one above again. Formula: 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, I, I, I, A, Tat (*thrice*), he who giveth the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which does not (28) perish, the god who liveth, who dieth not, he who sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might (29) of the god, reveal thyself to

nte-f šn n-y nte-k ty ʾr-f nw nte-f kšp nte-f stm a mt-t
nb nt e-y

30. šn-t-f ar-w z e-y a šš-k n t p-t e-y a šš-k n p t
e-y a šš-k ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-ʾr-f htm

31. py ʿw petery sp-sn emphe sp-sn p ntr ʿo nt n
ḥry (?) n t p-t nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)ʿne-f n t-t-f ʾr t ḥp ntr

32. e bnp ntr t ḥp-f ʾm a ḥn n t mt-t n ty st-t erme
b-ʿo-el ʾnyel nte-k t p zr n n byl-w n hew sp-sn

COL. XVIII.

1. n hew sp-sn p šr n hew sp-sn z e-f a nw ar-k n
yr-t-f nte-k t stm msz-f

2. nte-k sze wbe-f n hb nb e-f a šn-t-k ar-f nte-k z
n-y wh n mt-t mʿt nte-k p ntr ʿo sʿ

3. bʿʿo-th ʾm a ḥry erme b-ʿo-el tʾt sp-sn a-wy b-ʿo-el
a ḥn ʾm a ḥn n t mt-t n ty st-t

4. nte-k šn n-y ḥr p nt ne-(ne)ʿne-f tʾgrtʾt py zt a-wy
b-ʿo-el a ḥn šʿ sp III ʾrbth

5. bʿynwtsy-ʿo p ntr ʿo a-wy b-ʿo-el a ḥn sp III e-ʾr-k
z ny a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ʿlw

6. e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f e-ʾr-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb a ḥ p
ky nt n bl ʿn

7. šn-hne e te-s n-y wʿ syn ḥn p tše n pr-mz ḥr
ʾr-k-f ʿn n šn-hne wʿ-t-k

8. sʾbʾ nm nn(?) byrybʾt hy sp-sn p ntr sysyʾh-ʿo nt
ḥr p tw n qʾbʾh-ʿo

9. nte t wt-t n p šʿy n t-t-f šm a py ḥm-ḥl my phr-f
p wyn z ʾnk

1. 32. Gloss goy goy : the word is spelt in the demotic like gnoy , 'money,' with the det. of silver.

COL. XVIII.

1. 6. *n bl*: zēw in the Revenue Pap., WILCK., Ostr., i. 19 n., 'on the verso,' 'on the other side.' Cf. V. 15/7. The verso columns I and II are on the back of this Col. XVIII, but they do not contain the passage here indicated.

this boy, Heou (*bis*), Heo, that he may inquire for me, and do thou make him see and let him look and let him listen to everything which I (30) ask him, for I will glorify thee in heaven, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who does not perish, (31) he of greatness, Peteri (*bis*), Emphe (*bis*), O great god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, (32) deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with Boel, Aniel, and give strength to the eyes of Heu (*bis*).

COL. XVIII.

‘(1) Of Heu (*bis*), the son of Heu (*bis*), for he shall see thee with his eyes, and thou shalt make his ears to hear, (2) and shalt speak with him of everything; he shall ask thee about it, and thou shalt tell me answer truly; for thou art the great god (3) Sabaoth; come down with Boel, Tat (*bis*); bring Boel in, come into the midst of this flame (4) and inquire for me concerning that which is good; Takrtat, he of eternity, bring Boel in,’ three times, ‘Arbeth, (5) Bainouthio, O great god, bring Boel in,’ three times. You say these things down into the head of the boy, (6) you make him open his eyes, you ask him as to everything according to the method which is outside, again.

(7) [Another?] vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchus nome gave me; you (can) also make it with a vessel-inquiry alone by yourself: (8) ‘Sabanem, Nn, Biribat, Ho! (*bis*) O god Sisياهو who (art) on the mountain of Kabaho, (9) in whose hand is the creation of the Shoy, favour (?) this boy, may he enchant the

l. 9. *t wt-l n p šy*: ‘the generation of the Agathodaemon’ probably signifies ‘the fortune produced by the god of Fate.’

10. ḥr 'nw pe p ze k-z'm z 'nk ḥr nwn n twe ḥlḥ-ḥr
n mre-t 'nk

11. 'h n ḥr rhwe 'nk p r' p ḥrt šps nt e-w z n-f g'rt'
n rn ank p-e'r pyr a bl

12. ḥr p znḥ n t rpy-t n pr-ybt 'nk 'o sp-sn rn-yt 'o
pe pe rn n mte 'nk

13. rn-yt 'w pe pe rn n mte ank l-'o-t mw l-'o-t pe
p 'r-y g'm sp-sn p nte te-f

14. g'm-t ḥn t st-t pa py qlm n nb nt n zz-f th-'y-yt
sp-sn t sp-sn

15. h'tr' sp-sn p ḥr n 'e sp-sn hy 'Np p pr-'o n t
ty-t my še n-f p kke

16. a-'ny p wyn n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne z 'nk Ḥr s
Wsr a.ms 'S-t

17. p ḥrt šps nte mr-s 'S-t nt šn m-s pe-f yt Wsr
wn-nfr hy 'Np

18. p pr-'o n t ty-t my še n-f p kke a-'ny p wyn
n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne

19. pe swt ty n p-hw my wz-y my wz p nte ḥr-f pḥt
a py hne ty n p-hw

20. š' nte n ntr-w 'y a ḥn nte-w z n-y wḥ n mt-t m't
ḥr pe šn nt e-y šn

21. e-tbe-t-f ty n p-hw n mt-t m't n wš n mt-t n 'ze
twn hy 'Np

22. p snt nḥne mš' a bl ty wne-t a-'ny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t erme

23. p ntr nt θ wḥ n p-hw nte-f z n-y pe šn nt e-y
šn ḥrr-f n p-hw n sp IX

24. e'r-k wn yr-t-k nge p ḥm-ḥl nte-k nw a p wyn
e'r-k 'š a p wyn z 'we-t-f

1. 10. *ḥr 'nw* possibly means 'ape-headed'; the word *šm* (l. 9) occurs with the name of the ape also in 11/2. The copula usually follows *'nk* and *nte-k* immediately in this papyrus, but is separated here as in l. 13 *'nk l-'o-t mw l-'o-t pe*.

1. 12. *trpy-t*: either the goddess Triphis or possibly the constellation Virgo.

light, for I am (10) Fair-face'—another roll says, 'I am the face of Nun—in the morning, Halaho at midday, I am (11) Glad-of-face in the evening, I am Phre, the glorious boy whom they call Garta by name; I am he that came forth (12) on the arm of Triphis in the East I am great, Great is my name, Great is my real name, I am Ou, Ou (13) is my name, Aou is my real name; I am Lot Mulot, I have prevailed(?) (*bis*), he whose (14) strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, They-yt (*bis*), To (*bis*), (15) Hatra (*bis*), the Dog-face (*bis*). Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, (16) bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis, (17) the noble boy whom Isis loves, who inquires for his father Osiris Onnophris. Hail! Anubis, (18) Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, (19) my knot(?) here to-day; may I flourish, may he flourish whose face is bent down to this vessel here to-day (20) until the gods come in, and may they tell me answer truly to my question about which I am inquiring (21) here to-day, truly without falsehood forthwith(?). Hail! Anubis, (22) O creature(?), Child, go forth at once, bring to me the gods of this city and (23) the god who gives answer(?) to-day, and let him tell me my question about which I am asking to-day.' Nine times.

(24) You open your eyes or (those of) the boy and you see the light. You invoke the light, saying, 'Hail,

ⲟⲣ ⲟⲣ: the hieratic (?) symbols below are of uncertain meaning.

1. 13. $p \rightarrow y$. It is difficult to make sense of this as it stands. Possibly the p may be a copyist's error for e , in which case the meaning could be that given above.

g^m *sp-sn* read $g^m g^m = \text{ææææ}$, cf. 3/10.

1. 17. *nte mr-s*: perhaps present relative, see chapter on Grammar.

1. 23. *nt θ wh n p-hw* seems to correspond to *nte p wh shne n t-t-f n p-hw* 6/17, &c., and so may mean 'who governs to-day': see 21/2.

25. p wyn pr sp-sn p wyn θs sp-sn p wyn ʿw sp-sn
p wyn p nt n bl ʾm a ḥn eʾr-k z-t-f n sp IX

26. šʿ nte p wyn ʿw nte ʾNp ʾy a ḥn aʾre ʾNp ʾy
a ḥn nte-f smne nʾm-f

27. eʾr-k z n ʾNp z twn mšʿ a bl aʾny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t tym

28. a ḥn ḥr še-f a bl n t hte-t n rn-s nte-f ʾny n ntr-w
a ḥn eʾr-k rh-s

29. z a n ntr-w ʾy a ḥn eʾr-k z n ʾNp z aʾny wʿ
tks a ḥn ḥr n ntr-w

30. nte-w ḥms e-w ḥms eʾr-k z n ʾNp aʾny wʿ ʾrp(?)
a ḥn erme hyn-w t-w my wm-w my swr-w

31. e-f t wm-w nte-f t swr-w eʾr-k z n ʾNp z n se
ne šn n-y n p-hw e-f z se ʿn eʾr-k z n-f z

32. p ntr nt ne šn n-y my ʾr-f t ʿḥʿ t-t-f n-y nte-f
z n-y rn-f e-f z rn-f n-k eʾr-k

33. šn-t-f a p nt eʾr-k wh-f eʾr-k wh eʾr-k šn ḥr p
nt eʾr-k wh-f eʾr-k wt-w

COL. XIX.

1. [r(?)] n mt-t a p phs n p whr

2. aʾr-y ʾy a bl n ʾrq-ḥḥ e r-y mḥ n snf n ʾʾe(?) km

3. e-y syt nʾm-f p(?) tšer(?) n whr py whr nt ḥn p X
n whr

4. nte wn-te ʾNp s-f n ḥet-f šte n te-k-t mt-t ʿl n
pe-k zʾk nʾm-y(?) ʿn

5. eʾr-k tm šte n te-k-t mt-t nte-k ʿl n pe-k
zʾk e-y a θy-t-k

6. a ḥry a p ḥft-ḥ n Wsr pe nw e-y a ʾr n-k n
p-eʾr-e-p-e ge-t(?) ʾpt-w(?)

1. 27. *bk-t tym*: cf. Matt. ix. 35, x. 11, 14.

1. 31. *se*, lit. 'they' (are so), = *ce*, 'yes.'

COL. XIX.

1. 1. Supply *r*, 'spell,' before *n mt-t*: cf. l. 32.

(25) O light, come forth (*bis*) O light, rise (*bis*) O light, increase (*bis*) O light, O that which is without, come in.' You say it nine times, (26) until the light increases and Anubis comes in. When Anubis comes in and takes his stand, (27) then you say to Anubis, 'Arise, go forth, bring in to me the gods of this city (or?) village,' (28) then he goes out at the moment named and brings the gods in. When you know (29) that the gods have come in, you say to Anubis, 'Bring in a table for the gods (30) and let them sit down.' When they are seated, you say to Anubis, 'Bring a wine-jar in and some cakes; let them eat, let them drink.' (31) While he is making them eat and making them drink, you say to Anubis, 'Will they inquire for me to-day?' If he says 'Yes' again, you say to him, (32) 'The god who will ask for me, let him put forth his hand to me and let him tell me his name.' When he tells you his name, you ask him as to that which you desire. When you have ceased asking him as to that which you desire, you send them away.

COL. XIX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the bite of the dog. (2) 'I have come forth from Arkhah, my mouth being full of blood of a black dog. (3) I spit it out, the . . . of a dog. O this dog, who is among the ten dogs (4) which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract thy venom, remove thy saliva (?) from me (?) again. (5) If thou dost not extract thy venom and remove thy saliva (?), I will take thee (6) up to the court of the temple of Osiris, my watch-tower (?). I will do for thee the *parapage* (?) of

1. 4. *šte* seems to mean 'extract' rather than 'enchant.'

1. 6. *p-e-r-e-p-e ge-t* might mean 'that which he of *ge-t* did.'

ge-t, perhaps 'sort,' II Kham. vii. 7.

ʔpt-w. REUVENS has clearly *ʔptḥ-w*, the *ḥ* being apparently inserted by error between *t* and the determination of birds.

7. a ḥ p ḥrw n ʾS·t t šte·t t nb šte nt šte n nt nb
nte b·ʾr-w šte

8. n-s n rn-s n ʾS·t t šte·t nte-k nt *𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤍*
ḥr *𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤍*

9. nte-k ty-f a t tm·t n p phs n p whr nte-k mt·t ar-f
n mne šc nte-f (ne-)nfr

10. [r(?)] n mt·t a šte n t mt·t ḥr ḥt-f n rm e·ḥr-w t
swr-f phre·t nge(?)

11. zw·t ʾwe·t-f sp-sn yʾblw p z n nb n Wsr

12. e swr ʾS·t Wsr p šcy ʿo n ḥe·t-k e swr-w p III
ntr·w e swr-y

13. m-s-w ḥ·t ze n-k t ʾr-y th n-k t ʾr-y byk n-k t
ʾr-y hy

14. a bl n-k t ʾr-y hbrbr n-k t ʾr-y the n ḥt n-k t
ʾre r-y

15. z w^c my wz-y a kr^co(?) mw-bn mtw·t nb a·e-w
ḥt(?)·w a ḥt-y

16. e-y swr-k my te-y hwy·t-w a ḥry n rn-s n sʿrbyth^c
t šr·t

17. n p šcy z ʾnk sʾbr^c bryʾth^c brysʿr her

18. rn-yt ank Hr šc-r-n(?) e-f n·w n p θ ʾwe·t-f y^ch-ʿo

19. p ḥrt rn-yt n pe rn n mte a w^c z n ʾrp

20. nte-k t *𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤍* e-f knn nte-k ty-f ar-f nte-k
mt·t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-f

21. p rm n twe e b·ʾr te-f wm [r(?)]n mt·t a p rm e
wn qs zthe

22. ḥr te-f šnbe·t nte-k pe šlʾte lʾte bʾlʾte

1. 7. ʾS·t ʾ šd·t is figured on a stela of Horus and the crocodiles in the British Museum, BUDGE, Mummy, p. 359; WILKINSON, Anc. Eg., 3rd ed., vol. iii. Pl. 33. For šte see note to l. 4.

1. 8. πρασον is prescribed for θηριονδεκτροις, Diosc., ii. 178.

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤍 (𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤍?): cf. kmw, BR., Wtb. Suppl., 1245; or qmḥ, kmḥ, ib., Suppl., 1249; Wtb., 1455, 1495 = 𐤍𐤏𐤍, 'fine meal.'

1. 9. tm·t, 'wound'; the word is best known in the Eg. ḥr dm·t = person stung, bitten, or wounded, written out in the Metternich stela, l. 32.

birds (?) (7) like the voice of Isis, the sorceress (?), the mistress of sorcery (?), who bewitches (?) everything and is not bewitched (?) (8) in her name of Isis the sorceress (?).’ And you pound garlic with *kmou* (?) (9) and you put it on the wound of the bite of the dog; and you address it daily until it is well.

(10) [Spell] spoken for extracting the venom from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or (?) (11) . . . ‘Hail to him! (*bis*) Yablou, the golden cup of Osiris. (12) Isis (and) Osiris (and) the great Agathodaemon have drunk from thee; the three gods have drunk, I have drunk (13) after them myself; for, dost thou make me drunk? dost thou make me suffer shipwreck? dost thou make me perish? (14) dost thou cause me confusion? dost thou cause me to be vexed of heart? dost thou cause my mouth (15) to speak blasphemy? May I be healed of all poison, pus (and) venom which have been . . . ed to my heart; (16) when I drink thee, may I cause them to be cast up in the name of Sarbitha, the daughter (17) of the Agathodaemon; for I am Sabra, Briatha, Brisara, Her (18) is my name. I am Horus Sharon (?) when he comes from receiving acclamation (?), Yaho, (19) the child is my name as my real name.’ (Pronounced) to a cup of wine (20) and you put (*sic*) fresh rue and put it to it; and you make invocation to it seven times, and make (21) the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

[Spell] spoken to the man, when a bone has stuck (22)

l. 15. *kr'o* (?): the reading is very uncertain, and the remains will admit of reading *gl'o*, i. e. *κλo*.

a-e-w, perhaps for *εασ*, or simply *εσ*.

l. 16. *n rm-s*: there is no fem. word preceding to which this can be attached. Apparently the pronoun is explained by the subsequent *S'rbytha*, and the passage may be translated ‘by the name of Sarbitha.’

l. 20. Seeds or leaves of rue as an antidote to poison, &c., Diosc., 3/45. *km* is a word applied to leaves and flowers in this papyrus.

23. p msh wbl̥ nt hr̥ t stp-p̥t(?) n p y^cm n h^co-h
nte h̥e-t-f

24. m̥h n qs n h̥sy nb h^cy e^cr-k a syt n py qs n-y
a h̥ry n p-hw e-f ^cr

25. qs e-f ^cr wšym(?) e-f ^cr l . . . s n tys-t e-f ^cr nge
nb e mn n

26. ge šre z ^cnk w^c h̥^ct n my ank w^c tp n sr ank
w^c š^cl

27. n ^cbyw srrf pe pe rn n mte z Wsr p nt m t-t
p rm n rn-f

28. p nt sp VII nte-k mt-t a w^c h̥m n *ueg^{*}
nte-k

29. t hr̥-f n p rm a h̥ry nte-k ty-f a h̥ry h̥n r-f nte-k
h̥n pe-k tb^c erme

30. te-k-t ^cne mwt II n te-f šnbe-t nte-k t ^cr-f
^cm p n̥he nte-k t

31. tw̥n-f-s n h̥tp nte-k t p n̥he nt h̥n te-f šnbe-t a
bl ty hte-t

32. hr̥ ^cw p qs a h̥ry erme p *ueg^{*} r n mt-t a p
phs n p whr

33. p h̥yt(?) n ^cMn t rp̥t z ^cnk py hkr nh̥t šl^cm^cl^c
m^clet št(?)

34. a-ph̥t št^ce-t grš^ce-t grš^ce nb rnt t^chne(?) b^chne(?)
py ^ce(?)

35. py km p ^ce(?) ^cr(?) št(?) py ^ce(?) pa ty IV-t ^clw̥t
p wnš n šr wpy

36. p šr n ^cNp glz n pe-k š^cl h̥^c n pe-k ryt a h̥ry
e^cr-k n hr̥

37. n St a Wsr e^cr-k n hr̥ n ^cpp a p r^c Hr̥ s Wsr
a-ms ^cS-t nta e^cr-k m̥h r-k ar-f

1. 25. Copies and the original seem to admit the reading *wšym*, which may be connected with Eg. *wšm*, meaning perhaps a fine point; and *qs* in Egyptian is a harpoon-head.

1. 26. *^cnk*, perhaps possessive 'mine is'; *tp*, parallel to *š^cl*, may here be 'horn': see 3/22.

in his throat. 'Thou art Shlate, Late, Balate, (23) the white crocodile, which is under (?) the . . . of the sea of fire, whose belly (24) is full of bones of every drowned man. Ho! thou wilt spit forth this bone for me to-day, which acts (?) [as] (25) a bone, which, which as (?) a bandage, which does everything without (26) a thing deficient; for I am (?) a lion's fore-part, I am a ram's head (?), I am a leopard's tooth; (27) Gryphon is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand, the man named (28) is he who gives (?) my' Seven times. You make invocation to a little oil. You (29) put the face of the man upwards and put it (the oil) down into his mouth; and place your finger and (30) your nail [to the ?] two muscles (?) of his throat; you make him swallow the oil and make him (31) start up suddenly, and you eject the oil which is in his throat immediately; (32) then the bone comes up with the oil.

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. (33) The exorcism (?) of Amen (and ?) Thriphis; say: 'I am this Hakoris (?) strong, Shlamala, Malet, secret (?) (34) mighty Shetei, Greshei, Greshei, neb Rent Tahne Bahne (?) this [dog ?] (35) this black [one], the dog which hath bewitched (?), this dog, he of these four bitch-pups (?), the jackal (?) being (?) a son of Ophois. (36) O son of Anubis, hold on (?) by thy tooth, let fall thy humours (?); thou art as the face (37) of Set against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop against the Sun; Horus the son of Osiris, born of Isis (is he ?) at whom thou didst fill thy

l. 27. *m t-t*, or 'beside me,' *πτοοτ*.

l. 31. *n htp*: in older demotic *n hp*, II Kham. 3/18; possibly the *t* may be an error.

l. 33. *hyt*(?): cf. 21/30.

hkr is determined with the signs of a foreigner and a man. It is perhaps the same word that constituted the name of king Akoris (*Hgr*) of the twenty-ninth dynasty.

l. 37. Apop, the dragon-enemy of the sun.

38. mn a·ms m[n nta(?)] e·r-k mḥ r-k ar-f stm n py
sze Hr ʔr t ʔlk ḥmm ʔr še a p nwn

39. ʔr snt p t stm p yḥ-ʕo sḥ-ʕo ʔbyḥ-ʕo n rn e·r-k
lšš(?) t tm·t e·r-k nt

40. ḥm ḥ tt t ar-f ke e·r-k nt bšwš ḥr ʔby t ar-f nte-k
z-t-f ʕn a wʕ z n mw nte-k t swr-f-s

COL. XX.

1. n mt·t a t plege

2. ʔnk pe s stn wr tp ʔNp te mw Shm·t ʔS·t(?) ʔre-s(?)
ʔy m-s-y

3. a bl a p t n ḥr a p sbt n p t n ḥḥ a p tš n ny
wm-rm z

4. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʔNp z twnt-k
nte-k ʔy

5. a Kmy z pe-k yt Wsr e-f n pr-ʕo ⟨a⟩ n Kmy
e-f n wr a (*sic*) p

6. t tre-f n ntr·w tre·w n Kmy swḥ a θ t grept n t·t-f

7. t wne·t n z ny a·re-s fy n-y n wʕ·t fks·t hy te
nmte·t a·r-y

1. 38. This seems to imply an original chaos of burning.

1. 39. *p* seems distinct, *stm* is extremely doubtful.

lšš(?) : the reading is from REUVENS' copy. τῶσθε, 'purify,' is
determined by  in 5/3, and 'cleanse' fits the sense here.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *plege* = πλῆγή, as MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 174. πλῆγη is used especially of the sting of a scorpion, B. M. Gr. Pap. CXXI, l. 193, &c., but also of bites and stings of venomous animals in general, Diosc., Περι Ιοβολ. 19, and of wounds in general. Except that it bleeds (l. 14) there is little here to show what is meant by *plege* so long as ll. 7-8 remain unintelligible.

1. 2. According to this Anubis was the eldest son of Osiris (l. 5), and his mother was Sekhmet-Isis, called in l. 9 Isis. The liaison of Osiris with Nephthys (cf. PLUTARCH) is referred to in the O. C. of Pap. Bibl. Nat. *nle-s(?)y* is a possible reading, *a·r-s* is not possible.

1. 3. *wm-rm* : there were Anthropophagi and Cynamolgi caninis capibus (cf. 21/7) associated in Africa, apparently on the Upper Nile, Plin.,

mouth (i.e. bite), (38) N. son of N. (is he) (?) at whom thou hast filled thy mouth; hearken to this speech. Horus who didst heal burning pain (?), who didst go to the abyss, (39) who didst found the Earth, listen, O Yaho, Sabaho, Abiaho by name.' You cleanse (?) the wound, you pound (40) salt with . . . ; apply it to him. Another : you pound rue with honey, apply it; you say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it (?).

COL. XX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the sting : (2) 'I am the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis(?), she came (?) after me (3) forth to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh, to the nome of those cannibals, saying, (4) "Haste (*bis*), quick (*bis*) my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis," saying, "Arise and come (5) to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt, he is ruler over (6) the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand." (7) The moment of saying those things she brought me a blow (?),

H. N., 6. 35 ad fin. Northward, Anthropophagi were placed in Syria, ib. 7. 2, or in Parthia (ROBINSON, Apocr. Gosp., p. 23, and Preface): cf. Rec. tr., xxv. 41. The land of Hah (Millions) is not known.

l. 5. *a n Kmy . . . a p t* must be for *n Kmy . . . n p t*. Possibly the Faiyumic pronunciation *ε* for *ñ* has produced this exceptional writing.

l. 7. The following may be suggested as an alternative translation for this difficult passage: 'At the moment when she said this, a wasp (?) flew to me, my spittle (?) fell down upon me (from fright); it (the wasp) drew near (or gathered itself together) to me, coming unto me with a sting.' Here *a're-s* is taken as a relative attached to *z* as regularly in other demotic texts (I Kham. v. 1, &c.); the *n* before *fks.t* is omitted. *fy* is taken in the sense of 'fly' (see GRIFF., H. Priests, p. 178, note to l. 19), and *fks.t* as possibly an Egyptian rendering of σφιγξ. The Coptic ϣορκας, meaning an aquatic (?) animal of some kind, can hardly be the same word for phonetic reasons; for the form of the *f* see l. 21. The word recurs in 21/7.

nmte.t as 'power' = *noet*†: this makes no sense. Cf. Kufi, xii. 30, 'he swallowed his *nmty.t*' (of the monkey when terrified).

8. a·r-s swḥ a·e-s ʿy n-y n nw plege a·e-y ḥms a
ḥry a·e-y

9. rym ḥms ʾS·t te mw·t n pe mte a bl e-s z n-y mpr

10. rym sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp lkh n ls·t-k a
ḥt-k θs-phr

11. šʿ n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) lkh n n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) šʿ n
r·w n te-k·t

12. nmte·t p nt e·r-k a lkh-f e·r-k ʿm-f bn p·y n·m-f
a p t z pe-k

13. ls p ls n p šʿy pe-k sʿl pa ʾTm

14. nte-k lkh-f n pe-k ls e-f ḥr snf ty hte·t m-s-s e·r-k
mt·t a wʿ ḥm

15. n nḥe nte-k mt·t ar-f n sp VII e·r-k t n·m-f a
t plege m-mne e·r-k

16. sp wʿ·t tys n ʿyw e·r-k ty-s ar-f

17. nt e·r-k zt-f a p nḥe a ty-f a t plge
m-mne

18. ḥms ʾS·t e-s mt·t a p nḥe ʿb·rt·t e-s tyt a p nḥe

19. n mʿ·t z e·r-k ḥsy te-y ne ḥys·t-k p nḥe te-y
ne ḥys

20. n·m-k e·r-k ḥse n t p šʿy e·r-k mḥy n t·t ḥ·t
te-y ne ḥys-k

21. šʿ zt p nḥe sp-sn n sym ke-z mʿ·t p fty n p šʿy
p s n Gb ʾS·t t nt

22. mt·t a p nḥe p nḥe n mʿ·t t tltyl·t n hwm-p·t
p zlḥ n Ḥr-št

1. 10. *ls·t-k*. This form seems due to a confusion in endeavouring to write in archaic style. The *t* is quite unwarranted by Egyptian. We may compare the *t* added before the object pronouns following *stm-f*: cf. also note to l. 20. We have here a passage in which very modern forms *ⲁⲡⲁⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ* are mixed with older forms *ḥms ʾS·t* (past *stm-f*) and this *ls·t-k*.

1. 12. *nmte·t*: if this means 'tail' we may compare Pist. Sophia, p. 323 *ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲁⲧ*, 'the point of the tail of the dragon.'

bn p·y: the Achmimic vetitive *ⲁⲡ=ⲁⲡⲣ*, cf. 21/23, probably derived from the old vetitive *m*. It occurs in Eg. as *bn*, Pap. Mag. Harris 8/7.

fell my tail (?) upon me. (8) It (?) gathered together (?), it (?) coming to me with a sting (?): I sat down and (9) wept. Isis, my mother, sat before me, saying to me, "Do not (10) weep (*bis*), my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis; lick with thy tongue on thy heart, repeatedly (?) (11) as far as the edges of the wound (?); lick the edges of the wound (?) as far as the edges of thy (12) tail (?). What thou wilt lick up, thou swallowest it; do not spit it out on the ground; for thy (13) tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaemon, thy tongue (?) is that of Atum."

(14) And you lick it with your tongue, while it is bleeding, immediately; thereafter, you recite to a little (15) oil and you recite to it seven times, you put it on the sting daily; you (16) soak a strip of linen, you put it on it.

(17) [The spell] which you say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: (18) 'Isis sat reciting to the oil Abartat and lamenting (?) to the true oil, (19) saying, "Thou being praised, I will praise thee, O oil, I will praise (20) thee, thou being praised by the Agathodaemon; thou being applauded (?) by me myself, I will praise thee (21) for ever, O herb-oil—otherwise true oil—O sweat of the Agathodaemon, amulet (?) of Geb. It is Isis who (22) makes invocation to the oil. O true oil, O drop of

l. 17. *pʿge*: the word has been extensively corrected; *p*, originally ʾ, and *g* and *e* being written above the line—see the facsimile.

l. 18. *tyt* = τοιτ, *plangere*. The songs at funerals both in ancient and modern Egypt are in praise of the deceased, so the word may really mean, or at least imply, 'pronounce eulogy.'

l. 19. *hys-t-k*, and in l. 20 *hys-k*. It seems as if in one case the *t* was preserved and in the other lost. Compare the fact that this τ of verbs *iii^{ae}* inf., is often preserved in Sah. when lost in Boh.

l. 21. *nhe n sym* = ηεζ ηεια, i. e. ῥαφάνιον, Diosc. i. 45 and Peyr. Lex. *fty*, cf. 21/16, is the reading = ϣωτε, not šty, 𐤥𐤔𐤕. For the form of š in this papyrus see šty in 19/7, 8; *f* over another sign has the tail very short.

l. 22. *zlh* means to pump, draw water.

23. nt ʾnʾw a ḥry n p wtn n twe eʾr-k a ʾr p nfr n
t yt-t n twe a hwy

24. t p-t a p ʾytn a ḥr šn nb eʾr-k a t nfr t ʿe-t ʾr wh (?)
eʾr-k a ʾr plret

25. a p nt ʿnh z e-y a bk-k a t plege n s stn wr tp
ʾNp pe šr

26. z eʾr-k a mḥ-s n eʾr-k t nfr-s z e-y a bk-k a
plege n mn a-ms mn

27. z eʾr-k a mḥ-s n eʾr-k t nfr-s sp VII r n
mt-t a ʾny qs a bl ḥn šnbe-t

28. ʾnk p nte zz-f θy n t p-t e rt-t-f θy a p nwn ʾr
nhe n py msh mrh (?) ḥn pr-zm (?)

29. n N z ʾnk sʾ syme tʾmʿh-ʿo pe pe rn n mte ʿnwg
sp-sn z swḥ-t n bk

30. p nt n r-y swḥ-t n hb p nt n ḥe-t z qs n ntr qs
n rm qs n hʿlet qs n rym

31. qs n ʾw qs n nk nb e mn nk ge z p nt n ḥe-t-k
my ʾw-f a ḥt-k p nt n ḥt-k

32. my ʾw-f a r-k p nt n r-k my ʾw-f a t-t ty n p-hw
z ʾnk p nt ḥn t VII n p-t nt smne-t

33. ḥn t VII n qnḥ-t z ʾnk p šr n p ntr nt ʿnh a
wʿ z n mw n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t

l. 24. ʾr wh, past part. perhaps of ⲟⲩⲱ, cessare, or of ⲟⲩⲱⲉ, per-
manere.

l. 25. bk would seem here to mean 'employ,' 'apply.'

l. 27. a bl: or a ḥry would be a possible reading.

l. 28. θy n . . θy a: cf. note to l. 5.

ʾr nhe n py msh meaning very uncertain; perhaps 'who has risen,
ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲉ, as this crocodile,' or, if nhe = ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ, 'who has expelled this
crocodile.' Cf. note to 2/25.

pr-zm. This, though usually written without the pr, must be the
ⲭⲏⲙⲉ, situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, and well known
in Coptic literature. The name zm may be written with the figure of
a crocodile.

rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter (23) which cometh down from the sun-boat at dawn, thou wilt make the healing effect (?) of the dew of dawn which heaven hath cast (24) on to the earth upon every tree, thou wilt heal the limb which is paralysed (?), thou wilt make a remedy (25) for him that liveth; for I will employ thee for the sting of the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis, my child, (26) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well? For I will employ thee for (the ?) sting of N. the son of N., (27) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well?"' Seven times.

Spell spoken to fetch a bone out of a throat.

(28) 'I am he whose head reaches the sky and his feet reach the abyss, who hath raised up (?) this crocodile . . . in Pizeme (?) (29) of Thebes; for I am Sa, Sime, Tamaho, is my correct name, Anouk (*bis*), saying, hawk's-egg (30) is that which is in my mouth, ibis-egg is that which is in my belly; saying, bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, (31) bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides; saying, that which is in thy belly let it come to thy heart; that which is in thy heart, (32) let it come to thy mouth; that which is in thy mouth, let it come to my hand here to-day; for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who standeth (33) in the seven sanctuaries; for I am the son of the god who liveth.' (Say it) to a cup of water seven times: thou causest the woman (*sic*) to drink it.

1. 29. Egg of ibis and hawk, the same collocation in B. M. Pap. XLVI. 241.

1. 31. *e mn nk ge*, 'there being nothing else,' i. e. nothing not included in my words—a curious expression: cf. *emn nge šre*, 19/26.

COL. XXI.

1. p šn-hne n Wsr
2. ʾwe-t-f Wsr p pr-ʿo n t ty-t p nb n t qs-t p nte
zz-f n Tny e rt-t-f n N p nt θ wh n ʾBt
3. e te-f ʾwhe-t pr-šylem p nt hr p nbs n mrwe p nt
hr p tw n p-ʿo-r-ʿnws p nt hr pe pr šʿ nhe
4. p pr n Ne-tbew šʿ z-t p nte hr-f m sn n hr n bk
n š-stn a-ph̄te-t nte pe-f st n st n hf(?)
5. e te-f ʾt n ʾt n mnt(?) e te-f gyz n rm nt elθ(?)
n py mzh n ryt nte py bʿ n wh-sh̄ne n te-f gyz
6. ʾwe-t-f yʿhw sʿbʿh-ʿo ʾt-t-ne mystemw yʿwyw ʾwe-t-f
mykhʿel sʿbʿel
7. ʾwe-t-f ʾNp n p tše n n hr-n-ʾe(?)·w p nte pe-f pe
py qh p nt fy fks hr t rt-t wʿt-t
8. hp p kke n t mt-t a-ʾny p wyn n-y a hn ʾm n-y a
hn a-z-y n-y p wh n p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw n
sp IX
9. šʿ nte p ntr ʾy nte p wyn hp hr ʾr-k-f a h p ky
n p sp nt <bl> hry ʿn e hr-f n p ʿlw a pr-ybt e hr-k h-k
a pr-ʾmnt e-ʾr-k ʿš a hry hn zz-f

COL. XXI.

l. 1. The first lines of this column have been made the subject of special study in connexion with the Old Coptic texts of Paris (written on the first pages of the Pap. Bibl. Nat., edited by WESSELY), which contain a variant version of them: ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 89; GRIFFITH, A. Z., 1900, 85; 1901, 86.

l. 2. Parallel to this line the O. C. (A. Z., 1883, Pl. 3) gives εοσωτεϥ οϣσιρε, пероѡти пинѣ ѡткансе петѡприсѡтин ет+ισω ѡεϥ(ωτ петζα ζѢа пноѡѣс. ѡпероѣе. ете пец, εοοѡ ѡ па ѡαλωα. The notes to the foregoing in A. Z., 1900, 86 seq., may be consulted by those who wish to study its connexion with the demotic text.

Tny. The Edfu geographical list (Br., Dict. Geogr., 1359) states that the head of Osiris was preserved at Abydos (in the nome of This) and a *sbq*, 'foot (?)', at Thebes.

θ wh, O. C. αισω : cf. 18/23.

l. 3. ʾwhe-t has the determinative of wood : cf. ʾwhy, Kufi, xi. 21.

pr-šylem, πασαλωα, perhaps Jerusalem, or Siloam. Probably *n pr-šylem* is to be read.

COL. XXI.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Osiris. (2) 'Hail to him! Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in This, and his feet in Thebes, he who giveth answer (?) in Abydos, (3) whose . . . is (in?) Pashalom, he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranos, who is on my house to eternity, (4) the house of Netbeou for ever, he whose countenance is as the resemblance (?) of the face of a hawk of linen, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a serpent, (5) whose back is the back of a crocodile (?), whose hand is a man's, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, in whose hand is this wand of command, (6) hail to him Iaho, Sabaho, Atonai, Mistemu, Iaiiu; hail to him, Michael, Sabael, (7) hail to him, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who carries a wound (?) on one foot, (8) hide the darkness in the midst, bring in the light for me, come in to me, tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here to-day.'—Nine times, (9) until the god come and the light appear. You must do it in the manner of the remainder as above again; the boy's face being to the East and your own face to the West; you call down into his head.

p nbs n mrwe: cf. MASPERO in P. S. B. A., xiii. 496. Cf. *n pr-wt* in l. 36.

p-o-r-nws, perhaps *Ὀλύμπιος*, in the sense of Olympus.

l. 4. *Ne-tbeu*: see note on 2/9.

hy: a 'snake's' head or tail is regularly described as *n hy* in Eg.: cf. Leyd. I. 384, V. II*. 12.

l. 5. *mnt*: some monster or reptile with spiny back, perhaps a crocodile, to judge by the determinative, for which cf. 3/23. It may mean a guardian (ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ) dragon, as in I Kham. iv. 7.

nt elθ (?): very obscure, though the writing is clear.

l. 7. *hr-n-ew*: cf. ⲭⲟⲛⲟⲩⲭⲱⲡ, Z., 235, and see the note to 20/3 and A. Z., 1900, 88 (Hdt. iv. 191).

t rt-t wt-tt, ote-pnte is thus perhaps one foot as opposed to dual *pat-*.

l. 9. *nt n bl* and *nt hry* have both been written.

10. n p mḥrr n p z n ʾrp a t (*sic*) s-ḥm·t mr
ḥwt e·r-k ʾny wʿ mḥrr n ḥr (?)  ★ nte py mḥrr ḥm
pe nte mn-te-f tp e-f θ n III n ʾkym

11. ḥr t ḥ·t n zz-f ḥr gm-k pe-f ḥr e-f šm a bl nge
p nt θ tp II ʿn e·r-k ʾny·t-f n t pr n p rʿ e·r-k mr-k
n wʿ ḥbs(?) n p ḥrw n ʾt-k

12. nte-k mr-k a pe-k ḥr n wʿt pke·t n šr-bne·t e p
mḥrr ḥr t ḥ·t n t·t-k nte-k mt·t ar-f a ḥr p rʿ e-f a pr
n sp VII e·r-k wh e·r-k θ-f n ḥsy

13. ḥn ḥyn·w ʾrt n ʾḥ·t kme·t e·r-k ḥn a zz-f n wʿ
. . . n ḥ n zyt e·r-k ḥ·f šʿ rhwe ḥn p ʾrte a·re rhwe
ḥp e·r-k

14. ʾn·t-f a ḥry e·r-k prḥ ḥrr-f n šʿ nte-k t wʿt mnfre(?)
n ḥbs(?) ḥrr-f ḥr p šʿ šʿ hw IV e·r-k ʾr ʿnte ʾh st·t
mbḥ-f a·re p ḥrw IV sny nte-f šwy

15. e·r-k ʾn·t-f ne(?)·rt·t-k e wn wʿ ḥbs(?) prḥ ḥrr-f
e·r-k prz-f n te-f mt·t n wʿ tk n ḥmt e·r-k fy te-f pše·t
n wnm erme ne-k yb·w n t·t-k rt·t-k n wnm

16. e·r-k zffz-w ḥr wʿt blz n ššw nmy n ḥ n elle e·r-k
nt-w ḥr IX·t n blbyl·t n zph erme te-k·t mt·t nge te-k·t
fty n wš n nḥe

17. n t s·t·eyw·t nte-k ʾr-f n wʿt bnn·t nte-k ty-f a
p ʾrp nte-k mt·t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm·t
nte-k fy te-f ke pše·t n . . . ḥnʿ ne-k yb·w n t·t-k

18. rt·t-k n . . . ʿn nte-k mr-w n wʿt tys n š-stn ḥr

1. 10. *a t s-ḥm·t mr*: supply ʾre after *t*; cf. 25/31, V. 3/14, 13/10.

‘Fish-faced (?)’: possibly the weevil as having the oxyrhynchus’ snout. In Horap. the weevil (?) is *μονόκερως καὶ ἰδιό- (ἰβιό-?)μορφος*.

tp: cf. 3/22; ʾkym probably = Eg. *ikm*, ‘shield.’

1. 11. *p nt θ tp II* = ‘stag-beetle (?)’. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1, 65 *καθαρον τον ταυρομορφον*, and see Horap. I. 10 for Scarabaeidae, Lucanidae (*δίκερως καὶ ταυροειδής*) and Rhynchophora.

1. 12. *mr* sometimes means ‘wrap,’ but see 11/33.

ḥ·t must be a mistake for *ḥ·l*, probably through confusion of the sounds *ḥ* and *l*.

θ·f, not from *ⲁⲓ : Ⲅⲓ*, which would give *θ·t·f*, but a false writing for *t še·f* above 3/31 = **ⲁⲟϥ* from *ⲁⲟ : Ⲅⲟ*.

(10) [The method] of the scarab of the cup of wine, to make a woman love a man. You take a fish-faced (?) scarab, this scarab being small and having no horn, it wearing three plates (11) on the front of its head; you find its face thin (?) outwards—or again that which bears two horns—. You take it at the rising of the sun; you bind (?) yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back, (12) and bind (?) yourself on (?) your face with a strip of palm-fibre, the scarab being on the front (?) of your hand: and you address it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you drown it (13) in some milk of a black cow; you approach (?) its head with a hoop (?) of olive wood; you leave it till evening in the milk. When evening comes, you (14) take it out, you spread its under part with sand, and put a circular strip of cloth under it upon the sand, unto four days; you do frankincense-burning before it. When the four days have passed, and it is dry, (15) you take it before you (lit. your feet), there being a cloth spread under it. You divide it down its middle with a bronze knife; you take (?) its right half, and your nails of your right hand and foot; (16) you cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood, you pound them with nine apple-pips together with your urine or your sweat free from oil (17) of the bath; you make it into a ball and put it in the wine, and speak over it seven times, and you make the woman drink it; and you take its other half, the left one, together with your nails of your left hand (18) and foot also, and bind them in a strip of fine linen, with myrrh and saffron, and bind them to your

l. 15. *ne-rt-t-k*: a strange spelling.

 *fy*: so also in l. 17.

l. 16. *fly*, &c. *ρύπος βαλανείων* was actually prescribed as a drug, Diosc., i. 34.

hl grwgws nte-k mr-w a pe-k znḥ n gbyr nte-k str erme
t s-ḥm.t e-w mr ar-k

19. e-f ḥp e-ṛ-k wh a ʾr-f ʿn n wš n še-f n ḥsy ḥr ʾr-k-f
ʿn n p mḥ III n p wrš e-ṛ-k ʾr n py smte nt ḥry n-f ʿn
e-ṛ-k šs pe-f šs ar-f a ḥr p rʿ n twe e-ṛ-k zfsf

20. e-ṛ-k prz-f e-ṛ-k ʾr-f a ḥ p nt ḥry ʿn n mt.t nb
nt e-ṛ-k šs-f ar-f mbḥ p rʿ n twe nte-k pe
p mḥrr n ḥstb n m-ʿt a-ṇ-y.t-k a bl n p r n pe ʾrpe e-ṛ-k

21. θy(?) zmyz ḥmt a šy.t-k nta rḥ wm p sym e-f hm
p sḥ.t e-f gmʿ a n sšt(?)·w ʿy·w n na Kmy e-y hb nḥm-k
a mn a.ms mn

22. a myḥ.t-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s sp-sn a ty-s mḥt sp-sn
a ty-s ʿte.t z nte-s p-e-ṛ ʾr ty-s mḥt a ḥr p rʿ n twe
e-s z n p rʿ

23. z bn pr n p ʿḥ z bn wbn n p mw z bn ʾy n na
Kmy n t sh.t z bn wlʿ n šn·w ʿy·w n na Kmy z bn wtw

24. e-y hb nḥm-k a mn a.ms mn a škʿ-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s
sp-sn a ty-s mpt (*sic*) sp-sn a ty-s ʿte.t nte-s wh-s a p
myt m-s mn a.ms mn n nw nb(?)

25. nt e-ṛ-k šs-f ar-f e-f ḥn p ʾrte a·wy ʿo
sp-sn a·wy pe ʿo sp-sn a·wy nwn-f(?) a·wy mr-f p mḥrr
sp-sn nte-k t yr.t n p rʿ p sʿlʿpyn

26. n Wsr t shn-t.t(?) n šwy e-ṛ-k nʿy n py ky nta
Wsr pe-k yt še nḥm-f e-tbe mn a.ms mn šʿ nte-w t t
st.t m-s ḥt-s t ḥo.t

27. m-s ny-s ef-w šʿ nte:s ⟨ne⟩ še mn a.ms mn a mʿ

l. 23. Read (*n*) *n šn·w*.

l. 24. *mpt* (*sic*) for *mḥt*.

The last group is  *n nṯw nb*: cf. l. 43; but in 27/10 we have *sm* written similarly.

l. 25. *sʿlʿpyn*, see note to 13/18.

l. 26. *shn-t.t* looks like a compound with *sh*, 'the toes' collectively, or 'a toe.' *shn-t.t* may therefore mean the toes, or the fingers (collectively) of Shu, referring perhaps to his hands which support the sky. The eyes of Ra and Atum were the most important instruments of their rule.

py ky, i. e. the condition of one drowned, *Εσιγς*, cf. 6/12.

left arm, and lie with the woman with them bound upon you. (19) If you wish to do it again without its being drowned, then you do it again on the third of the lunar month. You do it in this manner that is above for it again. You pronounce its invocation to it before the Sun in the morning, you cook (it), (20) you divide it, you do it according to that which is above again in everything. [The invocation] which you pronounce to it before the Sun in the morning; 'Thou art this scarab of real lapis-lazuli; I have taken thee out of the door of my temple; thou carriest (?) (21) of bronze to thy nose (?), that can eat (?) the herbage that is trampled (?), the field-plants (?) that are injured for the great images of the men of Egypt. I dispatch thee to N, born of N. (22) to strike her from her heart to her belly (*bis*), to her entrails (*bis*), to her womb; for she it is who hath wept (?) before the Sun in the morning, she saying to the Sun, "Come not forth," to the Moon, "Rise not," to the water, "Come not to the men of Egypt," to the fields, "Grow not green," and to the great trees of the men of Egypt, "Flourish not." (24) I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to injure her from her heart unto her belly (*bis*), unto her entrails (*bis*), unto her womb, and she shall put herself on the road (?) after N. born of N. at every time (?).'

(25) [The spell] that you pronounce to it, while it is in the milk, 'Woe (?), great (*bis*), woe (?), my (?) great, woe (?) his (?) Nun, woe (?) his (?) love. O scarab (*bis*), thou art the eye of Phre, the heart (?) (26) of Osiris, the open-hand (?) of Shu, thou approachest in this condition in which Osiris thy father went, on account of N. born of N. until fire is put to her heart and the flame (27) to

l. 27. *ne*. This group occurs in a similar phrase in l. 41 and in l. 32, if the reading in the latter instance be correct. If it stands, then *ne* is difficult to explain; it looks like a preposition 'to,' but if l. 32

nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e'r-k š-f ar-f e'r-k kk n'm-f
hy pe hrt nfr p syf n wm·w(?) nhe(?)

28. p-e'r syt nt syt 'wt n ntr·w tre-w py nta p nt
n hm erme p nt 'y gm·t-f 'wt t p't(?) 'o·t II·t hr pr-ybt
n Kmy

29. e-f pr n nw mhrr km hr w't bw n qme zwf te-y
'r-rh n pe-k rn te-y 'r-rh n te-k·t hm·t(?) t yp·t n syw
II(?) rn-k

30. te-y hwy hyt(?) ar-k n p-hw nph'lm b'lk b'lkh'
y-'o-phphe z zf nb hmm nb sht nb nt e'r-k n'm-w

31. n p-hw e'r-k-sw hn p ht p wef p mws p nyš t
'te·t p mht 'o p mht hm n spyr·w n ef·w n qs·w n 'e nb

32. n p h'r n mn a·ms mn š' nte-s še(?) ne(?) mn
a·ms mn a m' nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e'r-k š- ar-f
hn p 'rp p mhrr sp-sn nte-k pe p mhrr

33. n hstb n m't nte-k t yr·t n p r' nte-k p byl n
'Tm t shn·t·t(?) n šwy p s'l'pyn n Wsr nte-k py k km
hyt 'r pyr n p nwn

34. e p nfr n 'S·t erme-k nte-k r'ks r'p'r'ks p snf n
py 'š hwt a'n-w-f n p t n hr a Kmy hr p bl(?) a p 'rp(?)

be left out of the question, the fact that both in 21/27 and 21/41 š is written over *ne*, as if by an afterthought, suggests that *ne*, which is identical in spelling with *na* the auxiliary of the future, must be the verb *na*, 'go' (attaching itself to *nos* : *nosī*, 'futurus esse'), as opposed to *nnos*, 'come' (which is qualitative of *ei*; see KABIS, A. Z., 75. 107). *na* is practically the qualitative of *ye* (STERN, § 348). The correction of *ne* to š in both passages would therefore be particularly remarkable. Although, according to STEINDORFF, § 251, the qualitative is admissible in the conjunctive it seems difficult after *yante* : hence no doubt the correction; but if it be possible, the meaning would be 'until she be going,' while š expresses 'until she go.' It would seem that the scribe was puzzled by the *ne*, hence the mistakes and corrections. The following table of forms of the verbs 'come' and 'go' may be useful:—

	Inf.	Inf.	Qual.	Stm-f.
'go'	Copt. <i>ye</i> : <i>yey</i>	<i>nos</i> : <i>nosī</i> , <i>na-</i>	<i>na</i>	(τ)εππο(οτ)?
	Dem. <i>š</i>	<i>n'</i> <i>ne-</i>	<i>ne</i> (?)	<i>n'-f</i>
'come'	Copt. <i>ei</i> : <i>i</i>	—	<i>n-nos</i>	(τ)απο
	Dem. <i>y</i>	—	<i>n-aw</i>	<i>'w-f</i>

her flesh, until she shall follow (?) N. born of N., unto every place in which he is.' [The spell] which you utter to it when you cook it: 'O my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), (28) thou who didst cast semen and who dost cast semen among all the gods, whom he that is little (and ?) he that is great found among the two great enneads in the East of Egypt, (29) who cometh forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus-reed; I know thy name, I know thy "the work of two stars" is thy name, (30) I cast forth fury upon thee to-day: Nephalam, Balla, Balkha (?), Iophphe; for every burning, every heat, every fire that thou makest (31) to-day, thou shalt make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver (?), the spleen, the womb, the great viscera, the little viscera, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, (32) in the skin of N. born of N. until she follow (?) N. born of N. to every place in which he is.'

[The spell] that you pronounce to it in the wine: 'O scarab (*bis*), thou art the scarab (33) of real lapis-lazuli, thou art the eye of Phre, thou art the eye of Atum, the open-hand (?) of Shu, the heart (?) of Osiris, thou art that black bull, the first, that came forth from Nun, (34) the beauty of Isis being with thee; thou art Raks, Raparaks, the blood of this wild boar (?) which they brought from the land of Syria unto Egypt

l. 28. *pꜣt ꜥꜣt*. It is very rarely that the Ennead is written without the addition of the word 'gods.' The double Ennead of eighteen gods is frequently mentioned from the earliest times onwards.

l. 29. *no*. Can this gloss represent a qualitative of *nꜣpe* as *o* of *ꜥꜣpe*? The usual qual. is *nope*.

n nw mꜥrr for *n wꜥ mꜥrr*: cf. 14/28, 20/8.

hm.t (?), 'trade,' 'art' (?).

l. 30. *hyt*. In spite of its peculiar form this word can scarcely be other than *hyt*, both on account of its meaning and of its association with *hyw*. We may translate 'fury of Phalam,' &c.

l. 31. *mws*, O. C. *ⲙⲟⲩⲥ*, probably from Eg. fem. *mꜣs.t*, 'liver' or 'kidneys.' *p mꜥt hm* named *p ky mꜥt* in Pap. Rhind. iv. 6.

35. e-y hb-k n e-r-k n^c n pe hb n e-r-k a y-f hr-k
hb-t a p b nte-w thm-f a t hny-t nte-w t šwy-s a p š^c
n p snyt nte-w h-h-f n wš

36. n tw p zwf n(?) pr-wt nte-w t p hmt m-s-f e Hr
wz n Št n hyrhr-w y-w n na Kmy nte-w tm h^c hwt
s-hm-t n te-w mt-t e-y hb

37. n'm-k yn a ny e-y hb n'm-k a hry a p ht n mn a-ms
mn nte-k r st-t n he-s šht hn ny-s mht my p lyb m-s ht-s

38. p trwš m-s ny-s ef-w my r-s m qte n p hpš m-s
t ryr-t my r-s

39. n [p?] mš^c n p hy m-s t h-yb-t e-s qte m-s mn a-ms
mn a m^c nb nt e-f n'm-w e-s mr n'm-f e-s lby m-s-f e
b-r-rh-s m^c n p t

40. e-s n'm-f θy ty-s qt n grh my n-s p hm p rwš n
mre-t mpr t wm-s mpr t swr-s mpr t str-s mpr t hms-s hr

41. t h-yb-t n ny-s y-w š^c nte-s <ne> še n-f a m^c nb nt e-f
n'm-w e ht-s bh e yr-t-s hl e ny-s nw pn^c e-b-r-rh-s m^c

42. n p t e-s n'm-f š^c nte-s nw ar-f e yr-t-s m-s yr-t-f
b-s m-s b-f t-t-s m-s t-t-f e-s t n-f ty . . . nb my hr t
h-t n rt-t-s

43. m-s ne-f tbs-w n p [h]yr n nw nb e mn nw šr ys
sp-sn tkr sp-sn

COL. XXII.

1. tey-s n(?) p rn n wr-ty nt e-w š-w a yh nb e mn
p nte

1. 35. *y-f* here and in V. 12/5-8 must represent the infinitive form of
r, 'do,' with suffix *ⲁⲁϣ* : *ⲁⲓϣ*.

hr-k: cf. V. 33/3.

thm seems to be the actual reading in the original, but if so it must
be an error for *hm*.

hmy-t: cf. *ⲕⲉ-ϩⲱⲛⲉ*, CRUM, Pap. Fay. No. 34.

1. 37. *ⲉⲓⲛⲉ* : *ⲓⲛⲓ*, 'be like,' takes *ⲓ* in Coptic, but here is used with *ⲁ*.

1. 38. The reading is uncertain: perhaps *my r-s p qte*, or more likely
the plural *n qte*. The Shoulder and Hippopotamus are the two well-
known constellations: cf. BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, i. 126-7; MASPERO, *Les*
Origines, p. 94.

1. 39. The first words may be *n n mš^c*, hardly *n p mš^c*.

to the wine, (35) I send thee; wilt thou go on my errand? Wilt thou do it? Thou sayest, "Send me to the thirsty, that his thirst may be quenched, and to the canal that it may be dried up, and to the sand of the *snvt* that it may be scattered without (36) wind, and to the papyrus of Buto that the blade may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for (?) Isis, catastrophes grow great for the Egyptians, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst." I (37) send thee; do like unto these; I send thee down to the heart of N. born of N. and do thou make fire in her body, flame in her entrails, put the madness to her heart, (38) the fever (?) to her flesh; let her make the pursuit of the "Shoulder"-constellation after the "Hippopotamus"-constellation; let her make (39) the movements of the sunshine after the shadow, she following after N. born of N. to every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing the place of the earth in which (40) she is. Take away her sleep by night; give her lamentation and anxiety by day; let her not eat, let her not drink, let her not sleep, let her not sit under (41) the shade of her house until she follow (?) him to every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glance turned (?), she not knowing the place (42) of the earth in which she is, until she see him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every Let fly (?) the tip of her feet (43) after his heels in the street at all times without fail at any time. Quick (*bis*), hasten (*bis*).'

COL. XXII.

(1) Behold! (spell?) of the name of the Great-of-Five which they pronounce to every spirit. There is none

COL. XXII.

l. 1. No more than the heading has been written. It can hardly refer to the spell in 2/25.

2. n-nh̄t-f ar-w(?) ḥr n z'm·w e·r-k š ny sh·w a hne nb
3. b·re n ntr·w še n-w e bnp-k šn·t-w a mt·t nb nte-w
z n-k
4. p wh̄ ḥr t p·t p t t ty·t šn e-f wwy p mw
5. t sh·t sh̄ e-f n t·t-f n rm a š-f

COL. XXIII.

1. w^c r a t hy z-mt·t
2. ḥr ny-k w^c tp n 'o nte-k smn·t-f wt rt-k wbe p
r^c n twe e-f a pr
3. wbe-f 'n n rhwe e-f n·n^c a p ḥtp nte-k ths te-k·t
rt·t n wnm n st
4. n ḥr te-k·t rt·t n n s'n n 'ršyn(?)·w n te-k pt
'n nte-k smn te-k·t wnm
5. ḥr t ḥ·t te-k·t ḥr ph̄ e p tp n te-w mte·t
nte-k ths t·t-k n te-k·t t·t II·t n snf n
6. 'o ḥn^c t fnz II·t n r-k nte-k š ny sh·w a ḥr p r^c
n twe rhwe n hw IV ḥr
7. str-f e·r-k wh̄ a t r-f ** e·r-k r-f n hw VII
e·r-k r pe-f θ·we·t e·r-k mr w^c·t 'y n šr-
8. bne·t a t·t-k w^c·t pk n šr-bne ḥwt a ḥn·t-k ḥn^c zz-k
nfr nfr pw py(?) (p?) š nt e·r-k š-f a ḥr p r^c
9. επικαλουμαι σε τον εν τω κενεω πνευματι δεινον αορατον
10. παντοκρατορα θεον θεων φθοροποιον και ερημοποιον ο
μισων

1. 2. Reading *n-nh̄t-f e·r-w* (?).

1. 3. Or final 'that the gods depart not.'

1. 5. Probably this spell was never copied out, the remainder of the page having been left blank.

COL. XXIII.

1. 1.(?). The signs are   , suggesting catalepsy or an evil dream, but the reading is quite uncertain. The result is sleep (l. 7), and, if further prolonged, death.

1. 5. *ḥr bl* or *ḥr ph̄* (?).

t·t-k n te-k·t t·t II·t: probably meaning 'your two hands.' Cf. V. 10/4, 5, of the feet.

that is (2) stronger than it in the books. If you pronounce these charms to any vessel, (3) then the gods depart not before you have questioned them concerning every word and they have told you (4) the answer about heaven, earth, and the underworld, a distant inquiry (?), water, (5) (and) the fields. A charm which is in the power(?) of a man to pronounce.

COL. XXIII.

(1) A spell to inflict (?) catalepsy (?) Formula. (2) You take an ass's head, and you place it between your feet opposite the sun in the morning when it is about to rise, (3) opposite it again in the evening when it goes to the setting, and you anoint your right foot with *set*-stone (4) of Syria, and your left foot with clay, the soles (?) of your foot also : and place your right hand (5) in front and your left hand behind, the head being between them. You anoint your hand, of your two hands, with ass's blood, (6) and the two *fnz* of your mouth, and utter these charms towards the sun in the morning and evening of four days, then (7) he sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you do it for seven days, you do its magic, you bind a thread of palm-fibre (8) to your hand, a mat (?) of wild palm-fibre to your phallus and your head ; very excellent. This is the invocation which you utter before the sun : (9) ' I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, (10) almighty, god of gods, dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou

1. 6. *fnz* : possibly the corners of the mouth.

1. 7. *θ-wei-t* seems to mean literally 'taking pledge,' *χι-εορω* : *σι-αορω*, so as to get power over a man or god ; hence 'magic.' See I Kham. iv. 32.

1. 9. See a very similar invocation in *διακοπαί*, Leyd. Gr. Pap. V. 11/17, 15/21.

11. οικίαν ευσταθουσάν ὡς ἐξεβρασθῆς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτου καὶ ἐξῶ

12. χώρας ἐπενομασθῆς ὁ πάντα ρησῶν καὶ μὴ νικῶμενος

13. ἐπικαλουμεῖ σε τυφῶν σηθ τὰς σὰς μαντείας ἐπιτελῶ

14. ὅτι ἐπικαλουμεῖ σε τὸ σὸν ἀνθεντικὸν σου ὄνομα ἐν οἷς οὐ δύνη

15. παρακουσάι ἰω ἐρβῆθ ἰωπακερβῆθ ἰωβολχῶσηθ ἰωπαταθναξ

16. ἰωσωρ ἰωνεβουτοσουαληθ ἀκτιῶφι ἐρεσχιγαλ νεβοπο-
σοαληθ

17. ἀβεραμενθῶν λερθεξαναξ ἐθρελυῶθ νεμαρεβα αεμίνα

18. ὅλον ἦκε μοι καὶ βαδίσον καὶ καταβάλε τον ♠ ἡ τὴν
♠ ρίγει καὶ πύ

19. ῥετῶ αὐτὸς ἠδίκησεν με καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦφυωνὸς ἐξεχύσεν
παρ εαυ

20. τῶ ἡ αὐτῇ δια τοῦτο ταῦτα ποίω κοίνα

21. a šn wbe ḥ e·r-k ʾr f n šn·hn wʿe·t nge ḥm-ḥl
e-f ḥp e nte-k nt ne šn e·r-k mḥ yr-t-k

22. n wyt mstme e·r-k ḥ ḥr zz wʿ mʿ e-f θse ḥr zz
pe-k pr e·r-k sze wbe ḥ e-f mḥ

23. wz·t n e·r-k wʿb n hw III e·r-k š py š
wbe ḥ n sp VII nge sp IX š nte-f wnḥ ar-k

24. nte-f sze wbe-k ḥy s-ʿks ʾMn s(t)-ʿks ʿbr-
s(t)-ʿks ze nte-k ḥ

25. p wr n n syw·w p-e·r ms·t-w stm m-s n-e·z-y mšʿ
m-s na r-y wnḥ-k a·r-y tʿh·nw

26. tʿhe·nwnʿ tʿhnwʿthʿ pfe pe rn n mtr IX n z·t-s
šʿ nte-s wnḥ-s ar-k

l. 13. σηθ: the name of the brother of Osiris is usually written in the Greek papyri with the line over it. Cf. B. M. Pap. CXXI. 965, &c.

l. 15. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 893 *ονομασιν σου α ου δυνασαι παρακουσαι.*

l. 18. Frost and fire—probably ague and fever, as REVILLOUT suggests. Cf. *ριγοπύρετος* GALEN; *ριγοπυρετιον* Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 218.

l. 19. Read *τιφῶνος* (?).

l. 20. *κοίνα*: cf. WESSELY, N. gr. Zauberpap., numerous references in index.

l. 22. *sze wbe* is not *ἀποκρίνεσθαι* here.

that hatest (11) a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of (12) the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." (13) I invoke thee, Typhon Set, I perform thy ceremonies of divination, (14) for I invoke thee by thy powerful name in (words?) which thou canst not (15) refuse to hear: Io erbeth, Iopakerbeth, Iobolk-hoseth, Iopatathnax, (16) Iosoro, Ioneboutsoualeth, Aktiophi, Ereskhigal, Neboposoaleth, (17) Aberamen-thoou, Lerthexanax, Ethreluoth, Nemareba, Aemina, (18) entirely(?) come to me and approach and strike down Him or Her with frost and (19) fire; he has wronged me, and has poured out the blood of Typhon(?) beside(?) him (20) or her: therefore I do these things.' Common form.

(21) To divine, opposite the moon. You do it by vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a child. If it is you who will inquire, you fill your eye (22) with green eye-paint (and) stibium, you stand on a high place, on the top of your house, you address the moon when it fills (23) the *uzat* on the 15th day, you being pure for three days; you pronounce this invocation to the moon seven or nine times until he appear to you (24) and speak to you: 'Ho! Sax, Amun, Sax, Abrasax; for thou art the moon, (25) the chief of the stars, he that did form them, listen to the things that I have(?) said, follow the (words) of my mouth, reveal thyself to me, Than, (26) Thana, Thanatha, otherwise Thei, this is my correct name.' Nine (times) of saying it until she (*sic*) reveal herself to thee.

1. 24. The acrophonic use of the group   *st* in *sz* is remarkable.

1. 26.   is read first *sa* and then *thi*.

After IX probably *sp* should be supplied.

nle-s wnh-s: it seems as if the feminine referred to the Greek moon *σελήνη*, the Egyptian being masculine.

27. ke ky n'm-f 'n a 'š-f wbe 'h e'r-k smt yr-t-k n
py smt e'r-k a hry a hr 'h e-f mḥ wz-t hr nw-k a p
sšt n p ntr ḥn t wz-t

28. e-f sze wbe-k 'nk h'ḥ q' 'm(?) -r m'cmt mte
pe pe rn z 'nk . . . by s-o 'g'n'gwp

29. mlḥ 'h(?) 'h(?) hy mlḥ rn-yt n m'c t sp-sn . . . z-t
ank ḥl(?) -by stt ḥn(?) m nfr rn-yt sr 'o šnbt pe rn n mte

30. z m sp IX e'r-k 'h wbe 'h e yr-t-k mḥ n py kys
wy(t) mstme nt hr 'by n hr nte-k t w' shy n w' ppy

31. 'o ar-f nte-k ty-f a w' nk n yl nte-k ḥ'f n-k n w'
m' e-f hep š' p nw nt e'r-k a 'h n-f hr 'r-k-f 'n a ḥ
p nt hry

COL. XXIV.

1 a. a k·t

2 a. nyt n bne ḥwt

3 a. e-f š'kh n 'rte

4 a. *ε(?)**ΚΙΛ***

5 a. nte-k 'r-w n w' m bnn t a p 'rp(?)

1. phre-t e'r-k wh a ***ρωεε*** e-f znt

2. ***κραεεσνια** **ριι*** (δραχμή) I

3. ***οπιος*** (δραχμή) I nt hr 'rte

4. nte-k 'r-f n bnn nte-k ty-f a w' ***κιοσσε***

5. e-f zf(?) nte-f ***οσαεεγ*** hr 'r-f ***εραδ***

6. k·t e'r-k wh a t str rm n hw II

7. ***εαηαρακοροσ** **ριζα*** (οὐγκία) I

8. ***εελακρετικοσ*** (οὐγκία) I

1. 29. The group before *z·t* is difficult to read.

1. 31. 'ḥ *n-f*, 'wait for, be ready for, it.'

COL. XXIV.

1. 1 a. The five short lines at the top corner have been taken first and numbered 1 a, &c.

1. 1. *e-f znt* seems to belong to **ρωεε**, but may perhaps be loosely attached, like *nfr* in l. 17 to *phre-t*, without reference to its gender.

1. 2. *Convolvulus scammonia*, Diosc. iv. 168, found chiefly in Syria

(27) Another form of it again, to be pronounced to the moon. You paint your eye with this paint, you (going?) up before the moon when it fills the *uzat*, then you see the figure of the god in the *uzat* (28) speaking unto you. 'I am Hah, Qo, Amro, Ma-amt, Mete is my name; for I am . . . bai, So, Akanakoup, (29) Melkh, Akh, Akh, Hy, Melkh is my true (*bis*) eternity, I am Khelbai, Setet, Khen (?) -em-nefer is my name, Sro, Oshenbet, is my correct name.' (30) Say it nine times. You stand opposite the moon, your eye being filled with this ointment:—green eye-paint (and) stibium, grind with Syrian honey and put the gall of a chick (31) full grown to it, and put it on a thing of glass, and lay it (by) for yourself in a hidden place till the time when you are ready for it; then you do it again as above.

COL. XXIV.

(1 *a*) For catalepsy (?)—another: (2 *a*) flour of wild dates (3 *a*) which has been beaten up (?) with milk, (4 *a*) (5 *a*) you make them up together into a ball, (and) put in the wine.

(1) A medicament, when you wish to drug (?) a man—tested:—(2) scammony root, 1 drachm, (3) opium, 1 drachm; pound with milk, (4) you make it into a ball and put it into some food (?), (5) which is cooked (?), and let him eat it; then he is upset.

(6) Another, when you wish to make a man sleep for two days:—(7) mandragora root, 1 ounce, (8) liquorice (?),

and Asia Minor; a strong cathartic, very griping. The root is used, and from it is obtained a gum resin (Brit. Pharmacop.). ρηι is probably a mistake for ριζ, *ρίζα*, *σκαμβωνίας ρίζα* occurring amongst the synonyms in Diosc., l.c.

1. 7. Mandragora, Diosc. iv. 76.

1. 8. μελακρετικοσ might be *μηλα κρητικα* (?) (*κυδωνια*), meaning quinces.

9. ***δοκταλλοσ*** (*οὐγκία*) I
 10. ***ριccοσ*** (*οὐγκία*) I
 11. e·r-k nt-w a ḥ w^c lq n 'rp e·r-k wh 'r-f n mt-t
 rm-rḥ
 12. e·r-k t ḥt(?) IV·t a p w^c sp-sn n'm-w erme(?) w^c
 wth n 'rp nte-k
 13. <nte-k> tḥb-w n θ n twe š^c rhwe nte-k stf-w
 14. nte-k t swr-w-s nfr sp-sn k·t III·t ***κετορ***
 15. ***αποξ*** sttr·t(?) I qt I t n^c ḥr ***ωωτι***
 16. nte-k 'r-f n ***σασι*** nte-k t wm-s p rm nt e·r-k
 wh-f
 17. pḥr·t a t 're rm 'n-q<te>tk nfr sp-sn
 18. pr·w ***απωξ*** sttr·t(?) I $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t I nn·t n m'nt^cgwrw
 IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
 19. gyss-^co-s IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t nt n w^c sp nte-k t
 20. wth n 'rp XV ar-f nte-k ty-f a w^c·t glyt·t n yl
 21. nte-k ḥrḥ ar-f e·r-k wh a ty-f e·r-k t w^c ḥm a
 w^c z n 'rp
 22. e·r-k ty-f n p rm p gyss-^co-s ḥr rt-f ḥn n km·w
 23. te-f gbe·t m qty gbe·t n šk'm e-s prz n III ḥlp
 24. m qty gbe·t n elle ḥr 'r-s šp I n ḥy te-f ḥrre
 25. m qty ḥt ke-z nb k·t šhy n ***σαλε*** n R^cqt
 26. nte-k(?)t a nk nb n wm k·t w^c·t ***σαλαλε uceτ*** II
 27. pḥre a šhy n fy pr·w zpḥ n pr·mnt sym(?)
 n ***κλο***
 28. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p wm(?)

But more probably it is the *μελίκητον*, 'honey and water,' of Hipp., Aph. v. 41 &c.; cf. also *γλυκὴ κρητικόν*, GALEN, de Antid. i. 12, &c., 'liquorice.'

l. 9. Hyoscyamus, henbane, Diosc. iii. 69, used as hypnotic, &c., Brit. Pharm.

l. 10. *κισσος*, Diosc. ii. 210.

l. 11. *a ḥ*: a curious usage.

mt-t rm-rḥ: cf. I Kham. iv. 37.

l. 12. The meaning may be that you take each of the four ingredients separately and soak it in wine. Perhaps the four *uteh* of wine make the *lok*.

1 ounce, (9) hyoscyamus, 1 ounce, (10) ivy, 1 ounce; (11) you pound them like (*sic*) a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly (?) (12) you take four portions to each one of them with an *uteh* of wine, (13) you moisten them from morning to evening; you clarify them, (14) you make them drink it; very good.

Another, the fourth (?) :—pips (?) [of ?] (15) apple, 1 stater (?), 1 *kite*, pound with flour. (16) You make it into a cake (?); you make the man eat it, whom you wish.

(17) A medicament for making a man sleep; very good :—(18) pips (?) of apple, 1 stater (?), 1 drachma, mandragora root, 4 drachmas, (19) ivy, 4 drachmas; pound together; you put fifteen (20) *uteh* of wine to it; you put it into a glass *glyt*; (21) you keep it. If you wish to give it, you put a little into a cup of wine, (22) you give it to the man.

Ivy: it grows in gardens; (23) its leaf is like the leaf of *shekam*, being divided into three lobes (24) like a vine-leaf; it (the leaf) is one palm in measurement; its blossom (25) is like silver—another says gold.

Another: gall of an Alexandrian weasel, (26) you add it to any food.

Another: a two-tailed lizard.

(27) A medicament for catalepsy (?): gall of cerastes, pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*, (28) pound them together; make into a pill, put (it) into the food (?).

w^c sp-sn = oṣa oṣa.

l. 14. *t swr-w-s*, 'let them absorb it,' or 'let the patient (?) drink it.'

l. 18. $\frac{1}{2}gt.t.$ This group of the *kite*, written with the sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ either over it, as twice in this line, or preceding it, as in l. 19 and V. 7/5, 9/3, doubtless represents the Coptic ⲉⲕⲓⲣⲓⲧⲉ : ⲉⲕⲉⲣⲓⲧ , which is also a fem. word, meaning half a didrachma, or drachma.

l. 26. *nle-k* seems superfluous, see note on plate.

ll. 27-28. A parallel passage, V. 3/1-3.

l. 27. * ⲕⲗⲟ *: LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. x. (Bull. St. Pet. xiii. 12) has shown that ⲕⲗⲟ was the name of a vegetable arrow poison.

29. k·t e·r-k t snf n *σεουσι(?)λ* ḥr snf n rm e-f mw·t

30. a p ṛp nte·k t swr-f p rm ḥr *ατεγ*

31. k·t e·r-k t snf n ṁwlz a *ιετεγ* ḥr ṛ-f *σωιιι*

32. k·t e·r-k t snf n *σεισλω* py smt ṽn pe

33. k·t e·r-k ṛ wᶜ *δεσ* n ḥsy ḥn wᶜ ṛp nte·k t swr-f p rm

34. ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t wᶜ *ειιιι* n py smt ṽn ḥr ṛ-f

35. te-f yp·t ṽn pe-f *σεξε* ṽn e·r-k ty-s a p ṛp

36. ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t m šs e·r-k t *σεξι* n

37. gᶜle·t n Rᶜqt a nk nb n wm ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t e·r-k t wᶜ·t

38. *ζαγλαλε* n st II a p nḥe nte·k st(?)·t-s erme-f nte·k ths

39. p rm nṁm-f ḥr ṛ-f te-f yp·t

COL. XXV.

1. n mt·tw n p ḥbs a šn n p ᶜlw
 2. z-mt·t te·te yg tᶜᶜk thethe
 3. sᶜty sᶜn·tᶜskl kr-ᶜo-mᶜkᶜt
 4. pᶜᶜksurᶜy kᶜlew·pᶜnkt ᶜᶜtsyewy
 5. mᶜkt·syᶜkᶜt ḥt-y ḥt r y-ᶜo-y
 6. ḥᶜw(?) y my z-w n-y wh ⟨a⟩ n mt·t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw

7. z ṁnk Ḥr p ḥrt ḥr ṛb tt z ank ṛS·t t rḥ·t

8. n n z n r-y ḥp z sp VII ḥr ṛny-k wᶜ·t mšprt·t(?) nmy

9. nte·k t wᶜ sᶜl n ḥbs(?) e-f wᶜb ar-s n ṛny a bl ḥn ḥ·t-ntr nte·k

10. smn·t-s ḥr wᶜ·t tbe·t nmy n ṛny n p myḥl e-s wᶜb e bnp

l. 30. *t swr-f (sic) p rm*: so also l. 33.

l. 35. *ty-s* for *ty-f*.

l. 38. *st-s*: can *ps-t-s* be intended? Cf. 27/14.

(29) Another: you put camel's blood with the blood of a dead man (30) into the wine; you make the man drink it; then he dies.

(31) Another: you put a night-jar's blood into his eye; then he is blinded.

(32) Another: you put a bat's blood; this is the manner of it again.

(33) Another: you drown a hawk in a jar of wine; you make the man drink it; (34) then it does its work. A shrew-mouse (?) in the same way; it does (35) its work also. Its gall also, you add it to the wine, (36) then it does its work very much. You put the gall (37) of an Alexandrian weasel into any food; then it does its work. You put a (38) two-tailed lizard into the oil and you cook it with it; you anoint (39) the man with it; then it does its work.

COL. XXV.

(1) The words of the lamp for inquiry of the boy.
(2) Formula: 'Te, Te, Ik, Tatak, Thethe, (3) Sati, Santaskl, Kromakat, (4) Pataxurai, Kaleu-pankat, A-a-tieui, (5) Makat-sitakat, Hati, Hat-ro, E-o-e, (6) Hau (?), E; may they say to me an answer to everything concerning which I ask here to-day, (7) for I am Harpocrates in Mendes, for I am Isis the Wise; (8) the speech of my mouth comes to pass.' Say seven times. You take a new lamp(?), (9) you put a clean linen wick into it brought from a temple, (10) and you set it on a new brick, brought from the mould (?) and clean, on which

COL. XXV.

l. 6. $\tau\alpha\tau$: the demotic group is probably a ligature for some divine name.

l. 8. $n n z$, probably for $\epsilon\eta\chi\omega$, pronounced $\bar{n}\bar{n}\chi\omega$.

$m\check{s}prt:t$: here and in l. 11 the first sign might be $\bar{h}$ as in the facs.

l. 10. $myhl$, possibly $\mu\alpha\varsigma\omicron\tau\alpha$, المنقر, in any case probably means the brick-maker's mould; my may well represent $\mu\alpha$, as in imperative $\mu\alpha-$.

11. rm ʿly ar-s nte-k t ʿh-s a rt-s nte-k smn t mšprt-t
 12. hr ʾt-s nte-k t nhe n mʿt ar-s nge nhe n whe
 13. nte-k smn tbe-t II-t nmy hrr-k nte-k hʿ p ʿlw ʾwt
 14. rt-k nte-k ʿš n sh-w nt hry a hry hn zz-f n p ʿlw
 15. e t-t-k hr r yr-t-f nte-k t hl a hry hr gbe-t n twre-t
 16. ne-hr p hbs hr ʾr-k-f n wʿ mʿ e-f n kke e-f (*sic*)
 pe-f r
 17. wn a pr-ybt nge p rs e mn ʿy n p ʾytn hrr-f
 18. nte-k tm hʿ wyn a ʾy a hn a p mʿ n rn-f nte-k
 s-wʿb p mʿ n rn-f a t ht
 19. nte-k hwy ʾt-f n p ʿlw a p r n t ry-t eʾr-k wh
 eʾr-k ʿš sh
 20. eʾr-k fy t-t-k hr r yr-t-f wʿ ʿlw e bʾr te-f še erme
 s-hm-t
 21. [p] nt eʾr-k t še-f ne-t-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z ʾh p nt
 eʾr-k nw ar-f
 22. hr mt-t-f erme-k n mt-t nb nt eʾr-k šn-t-f aʾr-w
 23. wʿ ky a t ht s-hm-t m-s hwt ʾr n wʿt wne-t nte-f
 hp ty hte-t hr ʾny-k
 24. wʿt ***ḥey**(?)**ε*** <e-s ʿnh> erme ***ροσροσπ**(?)**ατ***
 e-w ʿnh kys n ʾr n-w
 25. snfe n ʿo hwt snf n syb n ʾh-t km nte-k ths ne-w
 26. ʿpe-t-w n skn sšn nte-k ʿš wʿ skp a hr p rʿ n te-f
 wne-t n hʿ
 27. eʾr-k ht(?) zz-w n t II-t eʾr-k ʾny pe-w ht a bl
 n ne-w spyr n wnm
 28. n t II-t nte-k ths-f n p snf n ʿo hnʿ p snfe(?)
 n syb n ʾh-t km-t
 29. nt hry eʾr-kt y-sw a hn wʿ hʿr n ʿo eʾr-k hʿ-w
 n p rʿ šʿ nte-w

l. 11. ʿly would seem to represent **αλε:αλι**; the gloss **αλο** is strange.

a *rt-s* presumably means 'set it up on end.'

l. 17. ʿy n p ʾytn, probably to be taken together, meaning 'cellar.'

(11) no man has mounted(?); you set it upright, you place the lamp(?) (12) on it; you put genuine oil in it, or Oasis oil, (13) and you set two new bricks under you; you place the boy between (14) your feet; you recite the charms aforesaid down into the head of the boy, (15) your hand being over his eyes; you offer myrrh upon a willow leaf (16) before the lamp. You do it in a dark place, the door of it (17) opening to the East or the South, and no cellar being underneath it. (18) You do not allow the light to come into the place aforesaid; you purify the said place beforehand. (19) You push the boy's back to the opening of the niche. When you have finished, you recite a charm, (20) bringing your hand over his eyes. A boy who has not yet gone with a woman, (21) is he] whom you make come before you(?); you question him, saying, 'What do you see?' (22) then he tells you about everything that you ask him.

(23) A method to put the heart of a woman after a man; done in one moment(?), and it comes to pass instantly. You take (24) a swallow(?) alive, together with a hoopoe, (both) alive. Ointment made for them: (25) blood of a male ass, blood of the tick(?) of a black cow; you anoint (26) their heads with lotus ointment; you utter a cry before the sun in his moment of rising; (27) you cut off the heads of the two; you take the heart out of the right ribs (28) of both of them; you anoint it with the ass's blood and the blood of the tick(?) of a black cow, (29)

l. 21. Read [*p*] *nt e.ʿr-k*, which is required by the space and the meaning. *ne-t-t-f*: either *-f* must refer to the lamp, or to the action in general, or else it is a slip for *-k*.

l. 23. *w.ʿt wne-t*: the preparation of the materials would take several days, but they could be kept ready for immediate use.

l. 24. **Внѣ** seems a likely word, but there is no authority for reading the third sign in the cipher word as **н**.

e-w ʿnh does not mean that several hoopoes were required. There were only two birds: see l. 27.

30. šewy n hw IV a·re (?) p hw IV sny e·r-k nt-w
e·r-k ty-sw a w^c

31. ʔrky^c e·r-k h^c-f n pe-k ʔy e·r-k wh a t ʔre s-ḥm-t
mr ḥwt e·r-k θy

32. p znf n w^c ḥ n hr e·r-k š ny rn-w n mte a ḥr-w

33. e·r-k ty-f a w^c z n ʔrp nge ḥnke e·r-k ty-f n t
s-ḥm-t nte-s swr-f

34. ank byr^c-qhl lʔqḥ s'smryʔ-mr

35. pls-plwn ank ʔo-ʔn-ne s'bʔthl s'swpw

36. nythy my ḥt mn a.ms mn m-s mn a.ms mn ḥn

37. ny wne·t·w n p-hw sp VII ḥr ʔr-k-f n p mḥ
XIV n p wrše nfr sp-sn

COL. XXVI

1. ke š ʔn n py z n ʔrp

2. byr^cgetht

3. s'm^cr^c

4. pylpywn

5. y^chwt

6. s'b^cwth

7, 8. s'ypwnyth^cs

9. ke š nte-f ʔn ḥr ke-zm

10. ank byr^cg^ctht

11. l^ctht

12. s'smyr^c

13. plyprn

14. ʔo-hw

15. s'b^cqht

16. s'swpwnyth^c

17. my ḥt mn m-s

COL. XXVII.

1. ke šn-hne w^ce·t a nw a p wtn n p r^c p š nt e·r-k
š-f a·wn n-y t p't t mw·t n n ntr·w

2. my nw-y a p wtn n p r^c e-f ḥt-ḥnt ḥn-s z ʔnk Gb
ʔrpe ntr·w šll p nt e-y ʔr nʔm-f mḥ p r^c pe yt

as aforesaid; you put them into an ass's skin; you lay them in the sun until they (30) are dry for four days; when the four days have passed, you pound them, you put them into a (31) box; you lay it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you take (32) the shaving (?) of a pleasure-wood (?); you recite these correct names before them; (33) you put it into a cup of wine or beer; you give it to the woman and she drinks it. (34) 'I am Bira, Akhel, La-akh, Sasmrialo(?), (35) Ples-plun, Ioane, Sabaathal, Sasupu, (36) Nithi, put the heart of N. born of N. after N. born of N. in (37) these hours to-day.' Seven times. You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Very excellent.

COL. XXVI.

(1) Another invocation again of this cup of wine: (2) 'Birakethat, (3) Samara, (4) Pilpioun, (5) Iahout, (6) Sabaouth, (7, 8) Saipounithas.'

(9) Another invocation belonging to it again, in another book: (10) 'I am Biraka-that, (11) Lathat, (12) Sasmira, (13) Plipron, (14) Takou, (15) Sabakhot, (16) Sasoupounitha, (17) send the heart of N. after (18) Sasoupounithas.'

COL. XXVII.

(1) Another vessel-divination, (to be done) alone, for seeing the bark of Phre. The invocation which you recite: 'Open to me O (?) heaven, mother of the gods! (2) Let me see the bark of Phre going up and going

l. 34. *cacupia*λ: note λ transcribing *mr*.

l. 35. Notice the transcription of the group for 'ass,' here 10, in 26/14 1a-.

COL. XXVI.

l. 8. A gloss to l. 7.

COL. XXVII.

Lines 1-12 are a repetition of 10/22-34; see notes there.

3. e-tbe mt-t ʔr šc n t-t ʔy ḥkne-t wr-t nb qnḥ-t tʔ rʕ(?)
št-rd(?) a·wn n-y t nb ʔyḥ·w

4. a·wn n-y t p-t ḥyt-t my wšte-y n n wpt-w z ʔnk
Gb ʔrpe ntr-w ʔy p VII stn ʔy p VII

5. Mnt k syt nb šfe-t šḥz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) mʔ rw(?)
nn(?) k kke

6. hy ḥnt-ybty·w nwn wr ḥʔw hy by srʔw by ʔmnty·w
hy by by·w

7. k kke k k·w sʔ nw-t a·wn n-y ank wbʔ t ʔr pyr n
Gb hy ʔnk

8. y·y·y e·e·e he·he·he h-ʕo h-ʕo h-ʕo ank ʕnep-ʕo
myry·p-ʕo-rʕ mʕ-t(?) ʔb thyby

9. ʕo ʔrw·wy wʔw yʕh-ʕo p swḥ-ʔyḥ snfe n smnw snf
n qqwpt snf n ʔmwlz

10. ʕnh-ʔm·w snw-p-t ʕo-ʔMn qs(?) ʕnh ḥstb n mʕ-t ḥl
p-tgs-ʔS-t nt ʔrw m bnn-t nte-k smt

11. yr-t-k nʔm-f ḥr rym-t n by-ʕo-n-p-t n wʕ ḥ n hr n
ʔny nge hbyn nte-k mr-k a pe-k qte

12. n wʕ-t pke-t n šn-bn-t ḥwt

13. p ky n ʔr p šn-hne n p ḥbs e·ʔr-k ʔny wʕ ḥbs e-f
wʕb e-f wbḥ n wš n t prš mw n qme ar-f e pe-f šʕl n
š-stn nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe

14. n mʕ-t nge nḥe n yt-t nte-k mr-f n ʕy IV-t n ʕyw
e bnp-w st-t-w nte-k ʕyḥ-t-f a wʕ-t zʕy-t n pr·ybt

15. wʕ-t šmwe-t n ḥ n tphn nte-k t ʕḥ p ḥm-ḥl n pe-f
mt a bl e-f wʕb e b·ʔr te-f še erme s-ḥm-t nte-k ḥbs yr-t-f
n t-t-k

16. nte-k θ-r p ḥbs nte-k ʕš a ḥry ḥn te-f ʕpe-t šʕ sp
VII nte-k t ʔr-f wn yr-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z ʔḥ n-e·nw-k a·ʔr-w

l. 8. Note the hieroglyphic transliterations of demotic.

l. 10. *snw-p-t*, possibly *σίναπι*, 'mustard'; it occurs in Louvre dem. mag. iii. 27 with gloss . . . *ροχλου* (?).

l. 14. *st-t-w*, or perhaps *ps-t-w*, which have not been boiled.

l. 15. *tphn*, probably *δάφνη*, Diosc. i. 106.

A good instance of *ανεμετο εἶδη*.

down in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father (3) on account of a thing that hath proceeded from me. O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret open to me, mistress of spirits, (4) open to me primal heaven; let me worship the angels! for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven kings; ho! ye seven (5) Môts, bull that engendereth, lord of strength, that enlighteneth the earth, soul of the abyss (?). Ho! lion as lion of (?) the abyss (?), bull of the night; (6) hail! thou that rulest the people of the East, Noun, great one, lofty one; hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West; hail! soul of souls, (7) bull of the night, bull (?) of (two ?) bulls, son of Nut. Open to me, I am the Piercer of earth, he that came forth from Geb; hail! I am (8) I, I, I, E, E, E, He, He, He, Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat (?) Ib, Thibai (9) great, Aroui, Ouoou, Iaho. The spirit-gathering: blood of a *smune*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night jar, (10) *ankh-amu* plant, *senepe* plant, Great-of-Amen-plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'foot-print (?) -of-Isis' plant, pound and make into a ball, and paint (11) your eyes with it upon (?) a goat's tear, with a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony; you tie yourself at your side (12) with a strip (?) of male-palm fibre. (13) The way of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp. You take a clean bright lamp without putting minium (or) gum-water into it, its wick being of fine linen; you fill it with genuine oil (14) or oil of dew; you tie it with four threads of linen which have not been cooked (?); you hang it on an East wall (on) (15) a peg of bay-wood; you make the boy stand before it, he being pure and not having gone with a woman; you cover his eyes with your hand; (16) you light the lamp and you recite down into his head, unto seven times; you make him open

17. e-f z ḥr e-y nw a n ntr·w e-w n p qte n p ḥbs
ḥr z-w n-f wḥ a p nt e-w a šn·t-w ar-f e-f ḥp e·r-k wḥ
a r-f n t·t-k w·t-k

18. e·r-k mḥ yr·t-k n p kys nt ḥry e·r-k ḥ a rt-k
wbe p ḥbs e-f mḥ nte-k š ar-f n sp VII e yr·t-k ḥtm
e·r-k wḥ e·r-k wn

19. yr·t-k ḥr nw-k a n ntr·w n pe-k pḥ nte-k sze wbe-w
ḥr p nt e·r-k wḥ-f e·ḥr r-k-f n w· m· n kke p š nt
e·r-k š-f

20. z-mt·t ank m·neby ghthethwny 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 my
wšte-y·t-k p šr n rpythn·-

21. pyr· pyle·s' gnwryph·rys· tny-yryss' psy psy
yrys·s'

22. gymythwrw·phws·s' 'o-qm'tsys' 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀
pert·-o-mekh

23. per·g·-o-mekh s·kmeph 'm n·y a ḥn nte-k šn n·y
ḥr p šn nte-y šn ḥrr-f n mt·t m·t n wš

24. n mt·t n 'ze pe-f swḥ·yḥ p kys nt e·r-k ty-f a
yr·t-k e·r-k 'n·n· a r nb n p ḥbs

25. ḥr 'ny-k hyn·w ḥrre n bel n *𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀* ḥr gm-k-sw
n p m· n p s-trmws e·r-k 'ny·t-w e-w gnn

26. nte-k ty-sw a w· lq n yl e·r-k 'm r-f m šs sp-sn
š· hw XX n w· m· e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s

27. hw XX e·r-k 'ny·t-f a ḥry e·r-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k
hyn·w ḥryw erme w· m·z ḥn-f e·r-k ḥ·f š· hw XL nte-k
'ny·t-f

28. a ḥry nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k-f e·ḥr-f r snf a·re
ḥr r-k ty-f a w· nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a ḥn w· nk
n blz

29. n m· e-f hep n nw nb e·r-k wḥ a r n p ḥbs

l. 19. *n pe-k bl* or *pḥ(?)*: cf. l. 30.

ll. 24-29 are a repetition of 5/24-30; see notes there.

l. 24. *wḥe(?)*. *šn* stands in the parallel. It seems that *wḥe(?)* is used of *μαντεία αὐτοπτική* (cf. note to 10/22), and *šn-lme*, when opposed to it (l. 34), means divination with a medium.

his eyes; you ask him, saying, 'What are the things which you have seen?' (17) If he says, 'I have seen the gods about the lamp,' then they tell him answer concerning that which they will be asked. If you wish to do it by yourself alone, (18) you fill your eyes with the ointment aforesaid; you stand up opposite the lamp when alight; you recite to it seven times with your eyes shut; when you have finished, you open (19) your eyes; then you see the gods behind(?) you; you speak with them concerning that which you desire; you ought to do it in a dark place. The invocation which you recite, (20) formula: 'I am Manebai, Ghethethoni, Khabakhel, let me worship thee, the child of Arpithnapira, (21) Pileasa, Gnuriph-arisa, Teni-irissa, Psi, Psi, Irissa, (22) Gimituru-phas-sa, Okmatsisa, Oreobazagra, Pertaomekh, (23) Peragomekh, Sakmeph, come in to me, and inquire for me about the inquiry which I am inquiring about, truthfully without (24) falsehood.' Its spirit-gathering: the ointment which you put on your eyes, when you are about to make any divination by the lamp. (25) You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh, (26) and put them into a *lok* of glass; you close its mouth very carefully for twenty days in a hidden dark place; after (27) twenty days you take it forth, you open it; then you find a pair(?) of testicles and a phallus inside it; you leave it for forty days; and you take it (28) forth; you open it; then you find that it has become bloody; you must put it into some thing of glass, and you put the glass thing into a pottery (thing) (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you wish to make a divination(?) by the lamp with it, you

l. 29. *n nw nb*: the parallel 5/29, where this is repeated with the next sentence, shows that it cannot mean 'from all sight.'

fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, you proceed to lie down, (30) or you stand opposite the lamp; you recite this invocation aforesaid; then you see the god behind (?) you, while you are standing up or lying down. Excellent (*bis*) and tried (?). (31) You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink, 'Bakhukhsikhukh,' or, as says another book, 'Kimeithoro Phosse'; (32) this method which is written above is the method of the divination of Manebai. If you wish to do it (33) by inquiry of the lamp, this also is the form, it is also profitable for (?) the divination of Muribai. If you do it (34) by vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you make the boy stand upright (35) before the lamp, he having his face covered; you recite to his head, standing over him, this Greek invocation; when you have finished, you uncover (36) his face, then he answers you truthfully.

COL. XXVIII.

(1) Another mode of vessel-inquiry, alone. Formula: 'I am the lord of Spirits, Oridimbai, Sonadir, Episghes, Emmime, (2) Tho-gom-phrur, Phirim-phuni is thy name; Mimi, Bibiu (*bis*), Gthethoni, I am Ubaste, Ptho, (3) Balkham born of Binui, Sphe, Phas, I am Baptho, Gammi-satra is thy name, Mi-meo, (4) Ianume.' Its spirit-gathering: you go to a clean place, you take a vessel of bronze, you wash it with water of natron, you put a *lok*-measure (5) of oil to it; you place it on the ground; you light a bronze lamp; you put it on the ground by the bronze vessel; (6) you cover yourself with a clean

COL. XXVIII.

l. 1. *epysghes emmyme*: MAX MÜLLER, Rec. trav., viii. 178, reads here *episkhes epimme*, and regards it as a transcription of ἐπίσχεις ἐπὶ με, 'come to me.' The reading is probably *emymme*, but it may still be a corruption of the Greek phrase he has suggested.

l. 5. *θ-s*, *αoc*.

7. e·r-k šn·t-f a p nt e·r-k wh·f e·r-k wh a t ·re n
ntr·w n p hne sze wbe-k n r-w wbe r-k e·r-k š y·h-·o

8. yph e·o-e gynntethwr neph·r ·ph-·o-e hr ·r-w n-k wh
a mt·t nb nt e·r-k a šn·t-f a·r-w ·n a·r-w tm z n-k wh
e·r-k š

9. py ke rn ng-·o-ngethygs m·ntwn-·o-b-·o-e g-·o-
kšyrhr-·o-nt-·o-r nt-·o-ntr-·o-m· leph-·o-ger

10. gephr·s-·o-re e·r-k š ny hr ·r-w šn n-k n mt·t m·t

11. ke šn-hne e·hr ·r-k t·t n·e n sym ar-f e·hr ·r-k-f
a h p nt h·ry z-mt·t sze wbe-y sp-sn h·mst p ntr n n ntr·w
n p kk

12. ·yh nb hyb·t nb nt hn ·mnt e·r-s p-e·r mw nhse
n-y sp-sn py by n ·nh py by n sns n my pry

13. pe hne pe swt ty n p-hw e-tb p hne n ·S·t wr·t
e-s šn m-s py-s hy e-s qte m-s py-s sn hwt mn·š sp-sn ·

14. mn·nf sp-sn a·zy-s z mn·š sp-sn mn·nf sp-sn ph-·o-
ny sp-sn n hh n sp nte-k z·t-s n p hm-hl ze a·zy-s

15. z my š n-k p kke ·m n-y p wyn nte-k wn yr·t-k
ty hte·t hr ·w n ntr·w a hn nte-w z n-k wh n mt·t nb

COL. XXIX.

1. tey-s ky n šn n p r· e-w z n·m-f z e-f znt m šs sp-sn
pe-f sw·-·yh hr ·ny-k w· hm-hl e-f w·b nte-k ·r . . .

2. ·yh nt sh ar-f nte-k ·ny·t-f n p mt n p r· nte-k t ·h·f
a rt-f hr w·t tbe·t nmy n p nw nt e·re

3. p r· ne h· n·m-f nte-f ·y a h·ry tre-f m tre p ·tn nte-k
t ·w w·t qbe·t n ·yw nmy n pe-f ph (?) nte-k

1. 11. *p ntr n n ntr·w*: cf. *φρονθι νυθηρ*, Pap. Bib. Nat. 1643, and *προυτε νυθηρ τηρου*, B. M. XLVI. 8.

1. 12. *pr·mnt*, the det. of *hn* being the same sign as *pr* that should have followed, one has been omitted.

e·r-s p-e·r mw: their meaning is obscure.

COL. XXIX.

1. 1. The end of the line is quite uncertain after *·r t* (?).

1. 3. *qbe·t*: Boh. 1061, in the Vienna ritual means a mat (?); in l. 23 we have a parallel passage with *šnt·t*.

linen robe, you and the vessel; you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, for seven times; you open your eyes; (7) you ask it concerning that which you wish; if you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths to your mouth, you cry: 'Iaho, (8) Iph, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, Aphoe.' Then they make answer to you concerning everything concerning which you will ask of it again. If they do not tell you answer, you recite (9) this other name: 'Gogethix, Mantounoboe, Kokhir-rhodor, Dondroma, Lephoker, (10) Kephaersore.' If you recite these, then they inquire for you truthfully.

(11) Another vessel-inquiry: you put vegetable oil into it; you must proceed as above. Formula: 'Speak unto me (*bis*), Hamset, god of the gods of darkness, (12) every demon, every shade that is in the West and the East, he that hath died hath done it (?), rise up to me (*bis*), O thou living soul, O thou breathing soul, may (13) my vessel go forth, my knot (?) here to-day, for the sake of the vessel of Isis the Great, who inquireth for her husband, who seeketh for her brother; Menash (*bis*), (14) Menanf (*bis*). Say, 'Menash (*bis*), Menanf (*bis*), Phoni (*bis*),' a multitude of times; and you say to the boy, 'Say, (15) "Depart, O darkness; come to me O light," and open your eyes at once.' Then the gods come in and tell thee answer to everything.

COL. XXIX.

(1) Behold a form of inquiry of the sun, of which they say it is well tested. Its spirit-gathering: you take a young boy who is pure, you make the spirit-formula (?) (2) which is written for it; you take him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment at which (3) the sun shall rise, and it comes up entirely with the entire (?) disk; you put a new mat (?) of linen

4. t ʔr-f ḥtm yr-t-f nte-k ḥ a rt-k ḥr ʔt-f eʔr-k š a ḥry ḥn zz-f eʔr-k qlhe a ḥry ḥn

5. zz-f n pe-k tbʕ n p rʕ n te-k.t t.t n wnm bn-s mḥ yr-t-f n p smt aʔr-k n ḥt

6. nʕsyrʕ ʕo-ʕpkys šfyw(?) sp-sn bybyw sp-sn rn-yk n mʕt sp-sn srpt aʕwn n-y t p.t n py-s

7. <n py-s> wsh py-s mt aʕny n-y p wyn nt wʕb my ʔw n-y p ntr nte p wh-shne n t.t-f nte-f z n-y

8. wh a mt.t nb nte iw-y šn ḥr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw n mt.t mʕt e mn mt.t ʕze ḥn(?)w ʕrkhnwtsy etʕle tʕl

9. nʕsyrʕ yʕrmekh nʕserʕ ʕmpthw ḥ-ʕo ʕmʕmʕrkʕr tel yʕ-ʕo

10. nʕsyrʕ hʕkyʔ srpt ḥzysyphth ḥ-ʕo ʕt-ne y.y.e(?)w bʕlbel my

11. ʔw n-y p wyn e-f wʕb my phre p ʕlw my z-f n-y wh my ʔw n-y p ntr nte p wh-shne n t.t-f nte-f z

12. n-y wh a mt.t nb nt e-y šn ḥr-ʔr-w n mt.t mʕt e mn mt.t n ʕze ḥn-w bn-m-s-s eʔr-k š pe-f ḥtr

13. n ke sp VII e yr-t-f ḥtm z-mt.t sy.sy.py.tsyrypy s.ʕ.ʕ.ʕ.ʕ.nkhʕb

14. hrʕb-ʕo-t phʕkthy-ʕo-p ʕnʕsʕn krʕʕnʕ krʕtrys tmʔ

15. ptʕrʕphne ʕrʕphnw ʔm n p ʕlw my ʔw n-f p ntr nte p wh-shne n t.t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt.t nb

16. nt e-y šn ḥr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw aʕre p wyn ʕsqe a ʔy a ḥn eʔr-k z ke ke sʕls-ʕo-ʕthʕ yppel

17. syrbʕ n sp VII eʔr-k t *אלהוטיות* a p ḥ eʔr-k z py rn ʕo m-s ny tre-w eʔr-k š-f

18. n ḥt-f a ph.t-f θs-phr n sp IV ʕueb-ʕo-th.yʕbʕthʕ bʕyth-ʕo-beuʕ

19. eʔr-k z my mʔ p ʕlw p wyn my ʔw p ntr nte p wh-shne n t.t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt.t nb nt e-y šn

20. ḥr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw n mt.t mʕt e mn mt.t n ʕze ḥn-w tey-s ke ky nʕm-f(?) ʕn eʔr-k θy p ʕlw a wʕ

1. 5. *lʕ n p rʕ*: possibly the 'Apollo-finger' of modern chiromancy, i.e. the third (ring-) finger. The operation described in 3/12, 16, is the *προκωδωνισας παιδα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 89.

behind (?) him ; you (4) make him shut his eyes ; you stand upright over him ; you recite down into his head ; you strike down on (5) his head with your Ra-finger of your right hand, after filling his eye with the paint which you made before : (6) ' Nasira, Oapkis, Shfe (*bis*), Bibiou (*bis*) is thy true name (*bis*), Lotus, open to me heaven (7) in its breadth and height, bring to me the light which is pure ; let the god come to me, who has the command, and let him say to me (8) answer to everything which I am asking here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein (?), Arkhnoutsi, Etale, Tal, (9) Nasira, Yarmekh, Nasera, Ampho, Kho, Amamarkar, Tel, Yaeo, (10) Nasira, Hakia, Lotus, Khzisiph, Aho, Atone, I . I . E . O, Balbel, (11) let the pure light come to me ; let the boy be (?) enchanted ; let answer be given me ; let the god who has the command come to me and tell (12) me answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth without falsehood therein.' Thereafter you recite his compulsion another (13) seven times, his eyes being shut. Formula : ' Si . si . pi . thiripi S . A . E . O . Nkhab (14) Hrabaot, Phakthiop, Anasan, Kraana, Kratris, Ima- (15) ptaraphne, Araphnu, come to the boy ; let the god who has the command come to him, let him tell me answer to everything (16) which I shall ask here to-day.' If the light is slow to come within, you say, ' Ke, Ke, Salsoatha, Ippel, (17) Sirba,' seven times ; you put frankincense (?) on the brazier, you utter this great name after all those, you utter it (18) from beginning to end, and vice versa, four times, Auebothiabathabaithobeua ; (19) you say : ' Let the boy see the light, let the god who has the command come in ; let him tell me answer to everything about which I shall ask (20) here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein.'

1. 8. *hn-w* : this seems to be the reading, cf. l. 12.

21. m^c h^{ry} e-f *θ*se e^r-k t *ϕ*-f a rt-f n w^c m^c e wn w^c ššt *ʿo* n pe-f mt e r-f wn a pr-ybt e h^r [re(?)] p r^c wbne

22. a hⁿ n h^e-t-f nte-k smt yr-t-f n p *ϕ*lw n p smt nt sh ar-f nte-k *š* ar-f n . . . sp ke-z VII e^r-k *ϕ*h h^r *ʾ*t-f nte-k t *ʾ*r-f

23. kšp a h^r p r^c e-f m^h wz-t e-f *ϕ*h a rt-f h^r w^c-t tbe-t nmy e wn w^c-t šnto-t n *ʿ*yw nmy n pe-f p^h(?) e yr-t-f htm

24. e^r-k *š* a h^{ry} hⁿ zz-f e^r-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tb^c nt sh h^{ry} *ʿ*n e^r-k t **ⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧ** a h^{ry} ne-h^r-f e^r-k wh e^r-k t *ʾ*r-f wn yr-t-f

25. h^r nw-f a n ntr-w n pe-f p^h(?) e-w sze wbe-f nt h^r *ʾ*r-k ty-f a yr-t-f n p *ϕ*lw e-f *ʾ*nⁿ a šn-hne nb n p r^c

26. h^r *ʾ*ny-k **ⲙⲁ*(?)* II n p y^r e-w *ʿ*nh n p II nte-k wš p w^c n^m-w n h n elle n p mt n p r^c nte-k t p snf n p ke a h^r-f

27. nte-k t n^c-f erme-f h^r hl nte-k *ʾ*r-w n bnn-t e-w h^y n tb^c w^c(?) e^r-k š^cse(?) t a yr-t-f e^r-k *ʾ*ny w^c *ʾ*b n lyl(?) erme w^c h n

28. hr n ll *ʿ*n nte-k h^y ty phre h^r(?) w^c hm n st n t(?)-nhš h^r mw n elle n Kmy nte-k m^h yr-t-k n^m-f e^r-k

29. m^h yr-t-k n ty phre nte-k q(?)šp a h^r p r^c e-f m^h wz-t e yr-t-k wn a h^r-f h^r *ʾ*r-f wnh-f ar-k nte-f z(?) n-k(?) wh(?)

30. a mt-t nb te-f mt-t *ʿo*-t(?) w^cb h^r *ʾ*r-f *ʾ*r šw a hm-hl nte-f *ʾ*r šw n-k h-k n rm w^c-t

l. 21. *e h^r p r^c* should be *e h^r ʾre p r^c*; the condition of the MS. is very unsatisfactory in this part of the column.

l. 23. *m^h wz-t*, i. e. at the summer solstice, BR., Thes., 296.

l. 26. For the use of vine-twigs as fuel for magic purposes, cf. HYVERN., Actes, p. 311; Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 544, &c.

Behold, another form of it again. You take the boy to an upper lofty (21) place, you make him stand in a place where there is a large window before him, its opening looking to the East where the sun shines (22) in rising into it; you paint the boy's eye with the paint which is prescribed for it, you recite to him times or seven times; you stand over him; you make him (23) gaze before the sun when it fills the *uzat*, he standing upright on a new brick, there being a new linen robe behind him (?), and his eyes being closed; (24) you recite down into his head; you strike on his head with your finger described above; you offer frankincense (?) before him; when you have finished, you make him open his eyes, (25) then he sees the gods behind him (?) speaking with him.

[The ointment] which you put in the boy's eyes when he goes to any vessel-inquiry of the sun (26). You take two of the river both alive, you burn one of them with vine-wood before the sun, you put the blood of the other to (?) it, (27) you pound it with it with myrrh, you make them into a pill, they measuring one finger (in length); you put into his eyes; you take a kohl-pot (?) of and a kohl-stick (?) of (28) *lel* (?). You pound this drug with a little *set*-stone (?) of Ethiopia and with Egyptian vine-water; you fill your eyes with it, you (29) fill your eyes with this drug, you look towards the sun when it fills the *uzat*, your eyes being open towards it; then he appears to you, he gives you answer (?) (30) to everything. Its chief point is purity; it is profitable for the boy, and it is profitable to you yourself as a person (acting) alone.

l. 27. *šēše* or *šēme* ? The reading is uncertain.

l. 29. *qšp* or *kšp* ? The latter is the correct form of the word.

l. 30. *mt-t ʿo-t wʿb*: cf. 17/26.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

1. ʔnh n r^c οφρυσ ηλιου
2. ʔnh n ʔh οφρυσ (σεληνης)
3. hyn·w sym·w ne
4. ηλιογονον
5. σεληνογονον
6. hyn·w sym·w ne
7. θιθυμαλος
8. nte py sym hm nt hr n km·w pe
9. nt hr ʔre t ʔw ʔrte a bl
10. e·ʔr·k t pe-f ʔrt a hʔr n rm
11. hr ʔr-f blbl

VERSO COL. II.

1. χαμεμελον thw-w^cb rn-f
2. λευκανθεμον šq-ht^r rn-f
3. κριναθεμον mn p nfr a hr-y rn-f
4. χρυσανθεμον nfr hr rn-f ke-z a t hrr·t nb

COL. I.

1. 1. ὀφρὺς ἡλίου is a synonym of the *σχοῖνος ἐλεία* in Diosc. iv. 52.
1. 4. *ηλιογονον*: cf. *ελιογωνον* as synonym of *σους* in Peyr. Lex. 422 along with *κνίκος* (*carthamus tinctorius*, Diosc. iv. 187), *ἀτρακτυλὶς* (ib. iii. 97), &c.; so apparently a sort of thistle.
1. 5. *σεληνογονον*: the name given by *προφήται* to the *παιονία* (the modern *paeonia*) according to the synonyms in Diosc. iii. 147. The plant-names ascribed to the *προφήται* are naturally connected with deities, heavenly bodies and the like. SPRENGEL (Praefat., p. xvi) identifies the *προφήται* with those of Egypt, but this is perhaps too precise.
1. 9. The grammatical construction seems confused; one would expect *εμψαγ* or *ετεμψαγ*, ST., §§ 426, 427. The writer has given the form of the relative *ετρωτεα*, but has inserted *hr*, which seems to be an anomaly.
1. 10. GALEN, de Simpl. medic., viii. 19/7, makes the same remark about the juice of the *τιθύμαλλος* (Diosc. iv. 162), viz. that if dropped on the skin it burns it.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

(1) Eyebrow of Ra: ὀφρὺς ἡλίου. (2) Eyebrow of the moon. ὀφρὺς σελήνης. (3) These are some herbs.

(4) *Heliogonon*. (5) *Selenogonon*. (6) These are some herbs.

(7) Spurge, (8) which is that small herb that is in the gardens (9) and which exudes milk. (10) If you put its milk on a man's skin, (11) it causes a blister.

VERSO COL. II.

(1) *Chamaemelon*. 'Clean-straw' is its name.

(2) *Leucanthemon*. 'Prick-horse' (?) is its name.

(3) *Crinanthemon*. 'None is better than I' is its name.

(4) *Chrysanthemon*. 'Fine-face' is its name, otherwise

COL. II.

1. 1. χαμαίμηλον, chamomile (synonym of ἀνθεμῖς in Diosc. iii. 144, of παρθένιον, ib. 145).

lhw-w'ḥ = τὸξ + ὀτηή (?) , 'clean hay,' probably on account of the scent. According to Apul. c. 24 *thaboris* (MS. var. *tuoris*) was the Egyptian name of the plant χαμαίμηλον (WIEDEMANN, *Altaeg. Wörter v. Klass. Aut. umschr.*, p. 22).

1. 2. λευκανθεμον: synonym of ἀνθυλλίς, ἀνθεμῖς, παρθένιον, Diosc. iii. 143-145, but none of these plants seem to suit the Egyptian name šḡ *ḥtr*, 'prick(?)-horse.' Cf. ἡῶκ, fodere, and Ar. ٤٧, 'prick.'

1. 3. κρινάνθεμον is said to be the houseleek; perhaps its occurrence in Diosc. iii. 127, as synonym of ἡμεροκαλλίς, gives a better explanation.

1. 4. χρυσάνθεμον, Diosc. iv. 58 = *Chrysanthemum coronarium*. The name also occurs as a synonym for ἀρτεμισία (ib. iii. 117) χρυσοκόμη, ἐλίχρυσον, and αἰίζων τὸ μέγα (ib. iv. 55, 57, 88).

t ḥrr-t nb: cf. LEMM, *Cypr. v. Ant.*, 12 a, 13, and p. 64, περρηρε (*sic*) αἰπισῶ. The Hawara wreaths contained specimens, PETRIE, *Hawara*, p. 53.

5. n p s-qlm te-f gbe·t nht pe-f h 'kf
6. te-f hrre·t n nb te-f gbe·t m qty gryn^cthemwn
7. p m^cknesy^c
8. *μανεσια*
9. w^c 'ny n ty e-f km m qty
10. stem e·r-k nt-f e-f km
11. *μαγνης* p m^cknes nt 'nh hr 'n-w-f
12. *μακνης* e·r-k hyt-f e-f km
13. p m^cnes n rm hr 'n-w-f
14. n t 'n-tsyke e·r-k hyt-f
15. hr 'r-f t 'w snf a bl
16. a t pe-k zz
17. w^c·t *επυε* nte-k ws[-s(?)] n *μενεεε(?)*
18. nte-k nt-s erme qt I·t n *σπωε*
19. erme w^c·t *ε(?)εεωλ* nte-k . . .
20. nte-k t w^c·t

VERSO COL. III.

1. phre[·t a shy n fy]
2. pr·w zph n(?) pr(?)·'mnt sym(?) n *ελο*
3. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p 'rp(?)
4. *φηκλης*
5. w^c 'ny e-f wbh pe e-f m qty
6. g'rb'n^c wn ke w^c e.hr 'r-w 'r-f

l. 7. *m^cknesy^c* is magnetic iron ore: cf. Diosc. v. 147; PLIN., H. N., 36. 25.

l. 10. *e-f km*: here *km* is probably pseudo-participle, but in l. 12 infinitive.

l. 11. *m^cknes nt 'nh* = *μάγνης ζών*, frequently referred to by ALEXANDER TRALLIANUS (ap. Fabricius, Bibl. gr. Hamburg, 1724, t. xii), e.g. p. 640 in prescriptions.

hr 'n-w-f: cf. l. 13, it is probably an imperfect sentence, unless it means 'it is imported.'

l. 13. *m^cnes n rm*: perhaps 'human magnes,' on account of the blood. Cf. PLIN., H. N., 36. 25, where the haematites magnes of Zimiris in Aethiopia is described as sanguinem reddens si teratur. He also

said 'the gold flower' (5) of the wreath-seller; its leaf is strong, its stem is cold (?), (6) its flower is golden; its leaf is like *crinanthemon*.

(7) Magnesia, (8) *manesia*. (9) A stone of black like (10) stibium; when you grind it, it is black.

(11) *Magnes*. Magnesia viva; it is brought (i.e. imported?).

(12) *Maknes*. When you scrape it, it is black.

(13) *Maknes* of man. It is brought (14) from India (?); when you scrape it (15) it exudes blood.

(16) To drug (?) your enemy; (17) an *apshe*-beetle (?); you burn it with styrax (?), (18) you pound it together with one drachma of apple (19) and a and you (20) and you put a

VERSO COL. III.

(1) Medicament [for a catalepsy (?). Gall of ceras]tes, (2) pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*. (3) Grind them together, make into a ball, put it into wine(?), and drink (?).

(4) Lees of wine. (5) It is a white stone like (6) gal-

speaks of *magnes mas* and *femina*, the former being strongly magnetic and of reddish colour; and W. MAX MÜLLER has suggested to us that *n rm* may here be for *ἀνδρείος*.

l. 14. *ἡ-ἰς-ῥῆ* = *Ἰνδική* (MAX MÜLLER). For Coptic forms of the name cf. LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. ii. (Bull. de l'Acad. St. Petersburg, x. 405).

l. 16. Probably the word is that in 23/1.

l. 17. *ἐνψυε*: cf. the beetle *ῥῥῥ* of ch. xxxvi of the Book of the Dead.

ll. 19-20. REUVENS' tracing and the facsimile show many scraps in the last lines, but they are too vague to be legible.

COL. III.

l. 1. Restored from 24/27.

l. 4. *φέκλη*, 'lees of wine,' 'salt of tartar' (REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 51, who gives references).

l. 6. *ῥῥῥ*: probably *χαλβάνη*, galbanum, the resinous sap of *Bubo galbanum* L., a plant of the fennel tribe used in medicine: see Diosc. iii. 87. Cf. also *χαρῆαι*, *Costum dulce*, قسط حلو, Kircher, 186.

7. n sgewe p ky n rh-s
8. ar-f z nte-f n m^ct pe e^r-k nt w^c hm
9. hr mw nte-k ths-f a p h^cr
10. n w^c rm n w^ct hte hm hr ^r-f
11. hl(?) p h^cr
12. pe-f rn n mt:t wynn(?) αφροσεληνον
13. z^h n ^h w^c ^{ny} pe e-f wbl^h
14. phr:t a ty ^{re} s-hm:t mr hwt θθ:t n šnt:t
15. nt hr ^{by} ths hnt-f (sic) n^m-f
16. nte-k str erme t s-hm:t
17. z^h n ^h w^c ^{ny} e-f wbl^h pe e-f m qty
18. yl e-f h^yt n pke sp-sn m qty ^rsenygnw

VERSO COL. IV.

1. phre:t n msze e-f n mw
2. hm zf hr ^{rp} e-f nfr
3. nte-k t ar-f bn-s šty n h:t
4. nte-k h^y(t?) hm w^ct(?) zf(?) hr ^{rp}
5. nte-k t ar-f a hw IV
6. σαλαματρα
7. w^ct hfle^c hm
8. e-s n ^{wn} n k^r^cyne
9. e mn-te-s rt:t
10. tp n sr κεφαλεκη rn-f
11. w^c sym e-f m qty w^ct bw n šmr hwt

1. 7. *sgewe*. MAX MÜLLER (Rec. tr., viii. 174) suggests that σκευή may have the meaning 'quick-lime,' though this sense is not found in the dictionaries.

1. 12. *wynn* (?): cf. 4/7.

αφροσεληνον = αφροσέληνος, Diosc. v. 158, another name for σεληνίτης λίθος, selenite or foliated sulphate of lime (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 51, with reffs.).

11. 14-16. These lines are repeated in V. 13/10-11.

1. 18. *^rsenygnw* = αρσενικόν, yellow orpiment, i. e. sulphide of arsenic: cf. Diosc. v. 120. ALEX. TRALL., u. s., p. 632, mentions it in a prescription for gout.

banum. There is another sort which is made (7) into lime (?). The way to know it (8) that it is genuine is this. You grind a little (9) with water; you rub it on the skin (10) of a man for a short time; then it (11) removes the skin. (12) Its name in Greek (?) ἀφροσέ-
ληνον, (13) 'foam of the moon.' It is a white stone.

(14) A medicament for making a woman love a man: fruit (?) of acacia; (15) grind with honey, anoint his phallus with it, (16) you (*sic*) lie with the woman.

(17) 'Foam of the moon'; this is a white stone like (18) glass, (when?) it is rubbed into fragments like orpiment.

VERSO COL. IV.

(1) Medicament for an ear that is watery. (2) Salt, heat with good wine; (3) you apply to it after cleansing (?) it first. (4) You scrape salt, heat with wine; (5) you apply to it for four days.

(6) σαλαμάνδρα, (7) a small lizard (8) which is of the colour of chrysolite. (9) It has no feet.

(10) 'Ram's horn,' κεφαλική is its name, (11) a herb which is like a wild fennel bush; (12) its leaf and its stem

COL. IV.

l. 1. The cross x at the beginning of sections in this and the next column seems intended to catch the eye in the crowded writing on the original—see the facsimile.

Flux from the ears: cf. Pap. Eb. 91/3.

l. 7. *w^c.t* (?). The sign in the original is like *hmt*, 'bronze,' and scarcely like *w^c.t*.

l. 8. *k^rγ^{ne}* = καλαίνη, chrysolite, greenish-yellow: cf. GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 44 (B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 197), and KRALL, Pap. Rain. Mitth., iv. 141.

l. 9. The σαλαμάνδρα of Diosc. ii. 67 has feet.

l. 10. *tp n sr*: probably κρίς Diosc. ii. 126 = Cicer arietinum, PLINY, Nat. Hist. xviii. 32. See SPRENGEL, ad loc.

l. 11. *šmr hwt* = שמר בר, TATTAM, Lex. from MS. Par. 44, p. 340. The Semitic word is interesting.

12. te-f gbe:t pe-f ḥ zq^c m qty
13. p mr-rm e·r-k nt-f e-f šwy nte-k s^cl-f(?)
14. nte-k ·r-f n kser-^co-n nte-k ty-f a šḥ nb
15. ḥr lk-f ταμονιακη
16. ḥr rt-s m qty slom(?)
17. n te-f gbe:t ne-f pr·w t-qtyt
18. m qty tp n sr e-f θ
19. swre:t ḥm n pe-f ph(?)

VERSO COL. V.

1. phre:t a(?) ·rz snf mw n ḥ^cp(?)·^co
2. ḥr ḥnqe nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm:t n·m-f n twe
3. e b·r te-s wm ḥr ḥ-f
4. p ky a rh-s n s-ḥm:t z e-s ·wrt e·r-k t ·re
5. t s-ḥm:t ty-s m^c a ḥr py sym nt ḥry ·n
6. ḥr rhwe a·re twe ḥp nte-k gm p sym
7. e-f šhl^clt bn e-s a ·wrt e·r-k gm-t-f
8. e-f wtwt e-s a ·wrt
9. phre:t a ḥt(?) snfe gbe:t n šyš^c
10. gbe:t n ḥmt-^cf e-f knn nt t
11. ar-k e·r-k str erme t s-ḥm:t k·t ḥl
12. ḥzn šḥy n *σζαε* nt ḥr
13. ·rp ·s n sty t ar-k e·r-k str erme-s
14. ασφοδελος
15. ke-z a mzwł hwt

l. 13. *p mr rm*: cf. *φιλάνθρωπος*, synonym of *ἀπαρίνη*, Diosc. iii. 94, a bedstraw 'cleavers' (*προσέχεται δὲ καὶ ἰματίους*, Diosc. ib.).

šl-f(?): cf. *ὑλῦελ*, *cribrare* (?).

l. 14. *kseron* = *ξηρόν*, as suggested by MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 173.

l. 15. *ἀμμωνιακή*: cf. DIOD. iii. 88, and above.

l. 16. *slom*: perhaps = *ὑλωα*, *μολόχη*, a mallow.

COL. V.

l. 1. *ḥ^cp(?)·^co*, 'great Nile,' as name of some perhaps very juicy plant: cf. V. 33/5 for the reading.

ll. 4-8. A similar prescription in the nineteenth dynasty, BR., Rec., ii. pl. 107: cf. RENOUF, A. Z., 1873, 123, for recent parallels.

are incised like (13) the 'love-man' plant; you pound it when it is dry, you gather (?) it, (14) you make it into a dry powder; you apply it to any wound; then it is cured.

Styrax, (16) it grows like *słom* (?) (17) as to its leaf; its seed is twisted (18) like the 'ram's horn' plant, it bearing (19) a small spine at its end.

VERSO COL. V.

(1) A medicament to stop blood: juice of 'Great Nile (?)' plant (2) together with beer; you make the woman drink it in the morning (3) before she has eaten; then it stops.

(4) The way to know it of a woman whether she is enceinte: you make the woman (5) pass her water on this herb as above again (6) in the evening; when the morning comes and if you find the plant (7) scorched (?), she will not conceive; if you find it (8) flourishing, she will conceive.

(9) A medicament to stop blood: leaf of *sheisha*, (10) leaf of 'fly-bronze,' fresh; pound, put (it) (11) on you, you lie with the woman. Another: myrrh, (12) garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with (13) old scented wine; put (it) on you, you lie with her.

(14) Asphodelos, (15) otherwise called 'wild onion.'

l. 4. *rḥ-s . . . z*: a characteristic construction in demotic: cf. II Kham. vi. 21. 27.

l. 9. *ḥt* (?). This seems a curious use of the word.

l. 10. *ḥmt-f*. This looks like the literal translation of some foreign name. It is clearly a plant-name; but *χαλκόμυια*, which it suggests, is found only as the name of a kind of fly: cf. our 'corn-bluebottle.'

l. 13. *ῥρ ῑs*, 'old wine,' frequently prescribed in ALEX. TRALL.: cf. Corp. Pap. Rain. II. 183.

n sfy = *οἶνος εὐώδης*, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1837.

l. 14. *ἀσφodelός*, *φύλλα ἔχων πρᾶσφ μεγάλη ὁμοια*, Diosc. ii. 199.

l. 15. *χελκεβε*: evidently some bulbous plant like the last; called *βατανην χελκεβει* in Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 70. Cf. perhaps *γέλγυς*.

16. $\chi\epsilon\lambda\kappa\epsilon\beta\epsilon$

17. ke-z ḥzn hwt

VERSO COL. VI.

1. phre·t a t ʿlk mw ḥr s-ḥm·t t ḥyt·t n phre·t ḥm
ḥr nḥe nt . . . n-s(?) hw(?) II

2. bn-s p hw II phr n mḥ II·t psymytsy nte-k nt-f
erme wʿ ḥm n ʾnzyr n s-nḥe

3. m šs sp-sn nte-k t nḥe n mʿ·t ar-f e-f nfr erme
wʿ·t swḥ·t nte-k nt-w nte-k ʾny wʿ ʿl(?)

4. n ḥbs(?) n ʿyw e-f šmʿ·t nte-k sp-f n ty phre·t nte-s
zqm n t s·t-eywe·t nte-s

5. yʿ n ʾrp e-f ⟨ne-⟩nfr nte-k t p ʾ·o-l n phre·t a
ḥry nʾm-s nte-k sʿ·y nʾm-f n ḥn

6. a bl ḥn ty-s ʿte·t n wʿ·t hte·t ḥm n p smt n p
mz n p ḥwt šʿ nte t phre·t

7. ḥlḥl nte-k ʾny·t-f a bl nte-k ḥ·s šʿ rhwe a·re rhwe
ḥp e·r-k sp wʿ·t qlme·t n ʾby

8. n mʿ·t nte-k ty-f a ḥry nʾm-s šʿ twe šʿ hw III
ke-z IV

VERSO COL. VII.

1. k·t m-s-s mw n šwbe e-f ḥm znf wʿ mw n msz n
qle·t znf wʿ a ḥ p znf

2. n wʿ z nte-k t wʿ wth n ʾrp e-f ⟨ne-⟩nfr a ḥe·t-w
nte-s swr-f n mre·t e bnp-s

3. wm nt nb n p t bn-s zqm n t s·t-eywe·t a·r-s t
ḥ·t a·re rhwe ḥp e·r-k t p ʾl n

4. ʾbye a ḥry nʾm-s a ḥ p nt ḥry šʿ hw VII k·t
m-s-s e·r-k ʾny wʿ·t lwps nmy e·r-k t

COL. VI.

1. 1. The last signs must be *hw II*, 'two days': cf. l. 2. The group before this is unusual. The first sign may be ʾ, the uterus, reading *k·t* or *ḥm·t*(?) (Kah. Pap. V. 2 note), and the last two might stand for *n-s*, 'to her,' or for *n mn*, 'daily.'

(16) Khelkebe, (17) otherwise called 'wild garlic.'

VERSO COL. VI.

(1) A remedy to cure water in a woman. The first remedy: salt and oil; pound; apply to the vulva(?) daily (?) two days.

(2) After the two days, the second remedy: white lead, you pound it with a little pigment from an oil-dealer (3) very carefully; you put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg and pound them; you take a strip (4) of linen cloth which is fine-spun (?); you dip it in this medicament. She must bathe in the bath, she must (5) wash in good wine; you put the medicated strip on her; you draw (?) it in (and) (6) out of her vulva for a short time, like the phallus of a man, until the medicament (7) spreads (?); you remove it, you leave her till evening; when evening comes, you dip a bandage (?) in genuine honey, (8) you put it on her until morning, for three, otherwise said four, days.

VERSO COL. VII.

(1) Another to follow it: juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed down, one ladleful (?), water of the ears of a *khe*-animal, one ladleful (?) like the ladle (2) of a (wine-) cup; you add a *uteh*-measure of good wine to them; and she drinks it at midday, before she has (3) eaten anything whatever, after bathing in the bath, which she has done before; when evening comes, you put the rag (?) (4) with honey on her as above for seven days.

l. 2. *psymy'tsy*, as REVILLOUT pointed out, is ψιμύθιον, 'white lead': cf. ZOEGA, 626; DIOSC. v. 103.

5. X n wth n 'rp 's e-f hlk ar-s e'r-k t w't $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
n bšwš e-f knn a h·t-f n θ

6. n twe š' mre't nte-s zqm n t s·t-eywe nte-s 'y a
bl nte-s swr-f a're rhwe

7. hp e'r-k t 'bye a hry n'm-s a h p nt hry 'n š'
hw VII

VERSO COL. VIII.

1. ποδακραν

2. e'r-k t hms p rm nte-k t š s'n hr rt-f n p rm

3. nte-k t š . . . m-s-f a rt-f hr 't-f e'r-k šn

4. p rm z hr-f stm š' hw III m-s-s e'r-k 'ny qppp

5. e'r-k psy·t-f hr nhe n qwpre e'r-k ths rt-f

6. n'm-f e'r-k wh e'r-k 'ny qnt'e R'qt hr ell šw

7. hr sym n gyz e'r-k nt-w hr 'rp e'r-k slk-f n`p bl

8. ny nte-k nyf m-s-f n r-k

VERSO COL. IX.

1. k·t

2. ευφορβιου I·t qt·t

3. πεπτερεως $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t

4. περηθου sttr·t(?) I·t

5. αυταρχες sttr·t(?) I·t

6. sttr·t(?) I·t διοναπερον

7. mn 'rp sttr·t(?) VI

COL. VIII.

l. 5. *nhe n qwpre* = *ελαιον κύπρινον*, Diosc. i. 65; PLIN., H. N., 12. 51; 13. 1, 2; 23. 46, made from the seeds or leaves of *ἡ κύπρος*, *χουπερ*, KIRCHER, p. 179, *Lawsonia inermis*, the henna of the Arabs. The red dye made from the leaves is now the commonest cosmetic in the East, but was perhaps little known anciently. The oil frequently occurs in prescriptions in ALEX. TRALL.

l. 7. *sym n gyz*: lit. 'hand-plant,' with gloss *πιτακταλος*, which no doubt stands for *πεντεδάκτυλος*, Diosc. iv. 42 = *πεντάφυλλον* (potentilla). According to LENZ, p. 702, it is still called in Greece by both names. Cf. PARTHEY, *Zauberpap.*, ii. 34. 40; *Pap. bibl. nat.* 287.

ll. 7-8. *n p bl ny*: a curious construction, if correct.

COL. IX.

l. 3. *πεπτερεως* for *πεπέρεως*, 'pepper' (REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 50), cf.

Another to follow: you take a new dish; you put (5) ten *uteh*-measures of old sweet wine on it; you put a half *kite* of fresh rue on it from (6) dawn till midday; let her bathe in the bath, and come out and drink it. When it is evening (7) you put honey on her as above again for seven days.

VERSO COL. VIII.

(1) Gout. (2) You make the man sit down; you place clay under the feet of the man; (3) you put to it (?), his feet resting on it; you ask (4) the man, saying, 'Has it hearkened?' for three days. Thereafter you take an ant (?), (5) you cook it in oil of henna; you anoint his feet (6) with it. When you have finished, you take Alexandrian figs and dried grapes (7) and potentilla; you pound them with wine; you anoint him besides (?) (8) these; and you blow on him with your mouth.

VERSO COL. IX.

(1) Another: (2) 1 *kite* of Euphorbia, (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of pepper, (4) 1 stater (?) of pyrethrum (?), (5) 1 stater (?) of adarces, (6) native sulphur, 1 stater (?), (7) any wine 6

Diosc. ii. 188; and for its use as a magico-medical ingredient, WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 25; and below V. 14/3; SIGISMUND, Aromata, p. 41.

l. 4. *περηθου* = *πυρέθρον*, apparently an umbellifer hot to the taste: cf. Diosc. iii. 78.

l. 5. *αυταρχες* = *ἀδάρκης*, Diosc. v. 136, a salt efflorescence on marsh plants. It is noteworthy that these four ingredients, spurge, pepper, *πύρεθρον*, and *ἀδάρκης*, are all found with many others in a prescription for gout given by ALEX. TRALL., lib. xi. p. 628.

l. 6. *διοναπερον* = *θείον ἄπυρον* (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50), native sulphur. For its use cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 168; ZOEGA, 626 *οηη πατωσα*. The *οηαπερον* of KIR. 203 = sulphur rubrum, is doubtless a corruption of the above.

8. n^he n m^c·t . . . ntek nt-w
9. nte-k ʔr-w n w^c·t splelyn t a p m^c
10. nt šn n p rm

VERSO COL. X.

1. ke s a(?) rt-f n p-etʔgrwn
2. e·ʔr-k š^h ny rn-w a w^c pq
3. n ^ht nge tren e·ʔr-k ty-f
4. a w^c ^hr n ʔywr nte-k mr-f a rt-f
5. n p rm n rn-f δερμα ελαφιον n t rt·t II·t
6. θεωβαραθεω
7. οσρεωβρενοστιπε
8. διοχθοσ
9. σεωβαραθεωσ
10. παισοσ my lk mn a·ms mn
11. n šn nb nt ^hn ne-f pt·w te-f rt·w II·t
12. ^hr ʔ -k-f e ʔ^h my

VERSO COL. XI.

1. p^hre·t n rt(?) . . .
2. ^hzn ʔlbwnt
3. ʔs
4. n^he n m^c·t nt ths-f
5. nʔm-f e-f šwy e·ʔr-k y^c-f
6. n mw qbe ^hr lk-f
7. p^hre·t n rt·t e-f sk m šs sp-sn nfr sp-sn
8. e·ʔr-k y^c rt-f n mw n šwbe·t
9. nte-k ^hyt-f m šs sp-sn ^hr rt-f
10. k·t ʔlqw n . . . θθ n šnt·t
11. šew nt t ar-f

1. 9. *splelyn*: cf. ZOEGA, 630 σπελελιν, apparently a 'plaster' or 'poultice,' probably = σπλήν, σπληνιον.

staters(?); (8) genuine oil you pound them, (9) you make them into a poultice; apply to the part (10) which is painful of the man.

VERSO COL. X.

(1) Another talisman for the foot of the gouty man: (2) you write these names on a strip (3) of silver or tin; you put it (4) on a deer-skin; you bind it to the foot (5) of the man named, *δέρμα ἐλάφιον*, with the two feet. (6) ' *θεμβαραθεμ* (7) *ουρεμβρενουτιπε* (8) *αιοχθου* (9) *σεμ-μαραθεμμου* (10) *ναιοου*. Let N. son of N. recover (11) from every pain which is in his feet and two legs.' (12) You do it when the moon is in the constellation of Leo.

VERSO COL. XI.

(1) Remedy for a foot(?): (2) garlic, frankincense, (3) old (4) genuine oil; pound (together); anoint him (5) with it. When it is dry, you wash it (6) with cold water; then he recovers.

(7) Remedy for a foot which is much sprained(?); very excellent. (8) You wash his foot with juice of cucumber; (9) you rub it well on his foot.

(10) Another: sycomore figs(?) of . . .; fruit(?) of acacia, (11) persea fruit(?); pound (together); apply (it) to him.

COL. X.

l. 1. *p-ei'grwn* = *ποδαγρῶν*.

l. 2. Cf. ALEX. TRALL, lib. xi. p. 656, for a similar method of dealing with gout. Such charms are as common in ancient times as in modern.

l. 3. Tin is frequently used for similar purposes: cf. WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 11.

l. 5. *n t rt-l II-l*, that is with the two feet of the skin.

l. 12.  the knife is the sign of the Zodiac for Leo (BRUGSCH, Nouv. Rech., p. 22, Stobart tables, &c.): cf. 5/11 and note 1/12.

COL. XI.

l. 10. *twne* is perhaps the reading of the imperfect group.

VERSO COL. XII.

1. ke-z wr šerʿy(?)
2. ʾnk pe wr š(?)ʿy nt ʾr hyq a t rpy·t ʿo·t nb
qwow(?)
3. ll mw ll p mw n sn-t(?) p nt n r-y p ʿt n H·t-hr·t
šw mr
4. p nt n ht-y ht-y pz pe ht mr p(?) whe e·hr ʾre ʾm·t
5. ʾy-f a ʾm-mw whe e·hr ʾre wnš·t ʾy a wnš whe
e·hr ʾre whr·t ʾy·t-f
6. a whr p wh nt a p ntr šr spd(?) ʾy-y·t-f a mw-s·t-s
e-f ʾn·nʿ a t sbt·t n nynʿre-t-s
7. a wh mw n [p]e-f ntr pe-f hry pe-f yʿh-ʿo sʿbʿh-ʿo
pe-f glemwrʿ mwse plerwbe s my
8. ʾbrʿsʿks senklʿy my ʾre mn a·ms mn ʾy-f a mn a·ms
mn
9. my ʾr-s wʿ pz wʿ mr wʿ lyb ʿo e-s qte
m-s-f a mʿ nb p hyt
10. n yʿh-ʿo sʿbʿhw h-ʿo-ry-ʿo-n(?) pʿn-t-rgʿ-t-r ʾn-t-rgʿ-t-r
ʾrbʿ
11. nthʿʿ thʿʿ-ʿo thʿʿks z te-y hwy hyt a·ʾr·tn

VERSO COL. XIII.

1. n n ntr·w ʿy·w n Kmy mḥ t·t·tn n st·t šḥt·t (bk-f)
hwy·t-f a p ht n mn a·ms mn
2. hbq nʾm-s nge ʾyh θ n ty-s qt·t mge rm ʾmnt my
ʾre p ʿy

COL. XII.

1. 1. A gloss on l. 2.

1. 2. *qwozw* (the first *w* may be a determinative ¶). BRUGSCH, Dict. Geog., 819, identifies this with the modern Qau (Antaeopolis). But Qau is derived from Copt. $\pi\kappa\omega\sigma\tau$, which in its turn is perhaps from the hierogl. *dw-qʿ*.

1. 3. *p ʿt*: obesity is a mark of beauty in the East.

1. 5. *ʾy-f*: cf. note 21/35. *ʾy* in this line must be an error for *ʾy-f*. *ʾy·t-f* at the end of the line must be the same word: cf. Boh. $\Delta\iota\gamma$ and $\Delta\iota\tau\sigma$, and *hsy-k* 20/20, beside *hsy·t-k* 20/19.

VERSO COL. XII.

(1, 2) 'I am the great Shaay (otherwise said, the great Sheray?), who makes magic for the great Triphis, the lady of Kooou(?) (3) Lol Milol, the water of thy brother(?) is that which is in my mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, is (4) that which is in my heart; my heart yearns, my heart loves. The(?) longing such as a she-cat (5) feels for a male cat, a longing such as a she-wolf feels for a he-wolf, a longing such as a bitch feels for (6) a dog, the longing which the god, the son of Sopd(?), felt for Moses going to the hill of Ninaretos (7) to offer water unto his god, his lord, his Yaho, Sabaho, his Glemura-muse, Plerube . . S Mi (8) Abrasax, Senklai—let N. daughter of N. feel it for N. son of N.; (9) let her feel a yearning, a love, a madness great, she seeking for him (going) to every place. The fury (10) of Yaho, Sabaho, Horyo . . Pantokrator, Antorgator, (11) Arbanthala, Thalo, Thalax: for I cast fury upon you

VERSO COL. XIII.

(1) 'of the great gods of Egypt: fill your hands with flames and fire; employ it, cast it on the heart of N. daughter of N. (2) Waste her away, thou(?) demon; take her sleep, thou(?) man of Amenti; may the house

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1. 6. Cf. *Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος ὑψίστοις*, quoted from the Orac. Sibyll.
2. 247 by PARTHEY, 2 Gr. Zauberpap., p. 58. *s-t* is **CH*, 'seat.'
1. 7. *wḥ mw*: very common as a title equivalent to *χοαχύτης*.
[*p*]*e-f*: this correction of the text seems almost certain.
plerwbe perhaps = *πλήρωμα*.

COL. XIII.

1. 2. *nge* . . . *nge* must be *πσι*: *πξε* before the subject, though here before the imperative, which is not allowed in Coptic (W. MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., xiii. 151).

3. n py-s yt ty-s mw·t n ny-s m^c nte e-s n hē·t-w . . .
 ʕš e h-ʕo-h n st·t

4. ar-s e-s z ze n-ny e-s <ʕh> qrmrm n bl z ne-ʔy z
 ʔnk w^c·t ryt·t n Gb

5. Hr r(?)·ʕo-n p r^c rn-yt prq rn-s a bl n Kmy š^c hw
 XL ʔbt XXXIII CLXXV n hw p zq-r n VI n ʔbt

6. gyre thee(?) pysytw ek-ʕo(?)·ymy ʔt^cm sp VII
 hs n *~~u~~ceq* w^c hm n mw·t n ʕo·t

7. hn^c sʔsmrym(?) ʔp·t VII·t n hs n *~~ʃ~~gec* shy n
 ~~h~~ee~~u~~ne n hwt h·t n yp·t n nhe

8. nte-k st·t-w n glm n mḥ nte-k ʕš ar-f n sp VII
 n hw VII nte-k ths hn·t-k

9. nʔm-f nte-k str erme t s-ḥm·t nte-k ths h·t-s n t
 s-ḥm·t ʕn

10. a t ʔre s-ḥm·t mr py (*sic*) hy θθ·t n šnt·t nt hr
 ʔbye nte-k ths hn·t-k nʔm-f

11. nte-k str erme t s-ḥm·t a t ʔre s-ḥm·t mr
 nq-s hbete n r-f n w^c htr hwt nte-k ths

12. hn·t-k nʔm-f nte-k str erme t s-ḥm·t

VERSO COL. XIV.

1. a t

2. ʔbn (δραχμη) I

3. *~~n~~mip* (δραχμη) I

4. mḥ n knwt(?) e-f šwy (δραχμη) IV

5. sʔterw (δραχμη) IV

6. nt n phre šwy a-ʔry yp·t nʔm-f

7. a h p nt e-ʔr-k swne nʔm-f erme s-ḥm·t nb

1. 3. *n hē·t-w*. Note this Coptic form ~~u~~šntw instead of the usual demotic *hn-w* lost in Coptic. In this particular phrase, however, *nʔm-w*, not *hn-w*, is usual.

1. 4. *n-ny . . . ne-ʔy*. It is suggested that, in spite of the strange orthography, ~~u~~ḥ misereri is here intended.

1. 5. It is difficult to see what is intended by the numbers.

1. 6. The first words of this line have been read by PLEYTE (P. S. B. A.,

(3) of her father and her mother (and) the places where she is; call out "There is flame of fire (4) to her," while she speaks, saying, "Have mercy(?)," she standing outside and murmuring "Have mercy(?)." For I am an agent(?) of Geb, (5) Horus Ron Phre is my name, tear her name out of Egypt for forty days, thirty-three months, 175 days, the complement of six months, (6) Gyre, Thee, Pysytu, Ekoimi, Atam.' Seven times. Dung of crocodile, a little placenta(?) of a she-ass, (7) together with sisymbrium, seven *oipi* of antelope's dung, the gall of a male goat, and first-fruits of oil; (8) you heat them with stalks of flax. You recite to it seven times for seven days; you anoint your phallus (9) with it, you lie with the woman; you anoint the breast(?) of the woman also.

(10) To cause a woman to love her husband: pods of acacia, pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it (11) and lie with the woman.

To make a woman *amare coitum suum*. Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

VERSO COL. XIV.

(1) To make (2) alum, 1 drachm, (3) pepper, 1 drachm, (4) *mhnknwt*, dried, 4 drachms, (5) satyrium, 4 drachms. (6) Pound together into a dry medicament; do your business with it (7) like that which you know with any woman.

v. 152) as κύριε θεῖε πιστὲ ἐξίημι Ἀδάμ, 'O divine faithful Lord, I cast out Adam.'

l. 10. *py*: error for *py-s*.

COL. XIV.

l. 5. *s'terw* = σαρπίνιον, MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 176-177. For the plant (which is not identified) see Diosc. iii. 133. It is a venereal stimulant.

VERSO COL. XV.

1. n rn·w n n ntr·w nt hr wḥe-k-s e·r-k ḥn·n(?) a
ḥny 'ze a ḥn swr(?)
2. m'skelly m'skell-^o phnwgent^b-^o
3. hreks(?)sygth-^o perygthe-^o-n perypeg^cneks
4. 're-^o-b's^cgr^c ke-zm 'o-b's^cgr^c
5. py rn hr z-k-f hr t ḥt n zy e-f n·n^c a byk e-tbe
n rn·w
6. n **ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΣ** nt n ḥn nte-f wzy e·r-k 'š-w a p z(?)
n **ΔΔΩΝΑΙ** nt sh
7. n bl e-f a 'r w^ct bk'yⁱ(?) 'o-t e-f ḥny 'ze a ḥn

VERSO COL. XVI.

1. 'rmy-^o-wt (ke-zm **απειροε**) syth^cny wth^cny
2. 'ry'mwsy s-^o-br-tt byrb^t my[s]yryth^t
3. a·ms-th^crmyth^t a·wy mn a·ms mn a bl ḥn ny-s
'y·w
4. nt e-s n'm-w a 'y nb nte mn a·ms mn n'm-w e-s
mr[·t]-f e-s lby m-s-f
5. e-s 'r n p šp n ḥt-f n nw nb e·r-k sh ny n
r'w ḥl a w^ct tys·t
6. n š-stn e-s w^cb nte-k ty-s a w^c ḥbs nmy e-f w^cb
e-f mḥ n nḥe n m^ct n ⟨p⟩
7. pe-k 'y n θ n rhwe a twe e·r-k gm p f'e n t
s-ḥm·t a ty-f a ḥn p s^cl nfr-f (*sic*)

COL. XV.

1. I. GROFF has written an elaborate study on this column in *Mém. de l'Inst. Égypt.* iii. 377; many of his readings are wrong, but it remains very difficult to read and interpret.

wḥe-k(?): the second sign is imperfect; wšte-k(?).

ḥn·n(?) : cf. l. 5, n·n^c(?).

'ze: cf. 3/29.

swr(?). Can this be really a trace of *hn*, to be restored *n šn hn*, 'by vase-questioning.'

1. 2. For a similar list of names see *Pap. Gr. Lugd.*, *Pap. V.*, col. 9, l. 10.

1. 5. Can **ετθε** have the meaning 'instead of'?

1. 6. The Dioscuri were the patron gods of sailors.

VERSO COL. XV.

(1) The names of the gods whom you want (?) when you are about (?) to bring in a criminal [by vase-questioning ?] (2) Maskelli, Maskello, Phnoukentabao, (3) Hreksyktho, Perykthon, Perypeganex, (4) Arco-basagra, otherwise Obasagra.

(5) This name you utter it before a ship that is about (?) to founder on account of the names (6) of Dioscoros, which are within, and it is safe.

You recite them to the bowl (?) of Adonai, which is written (7) outside. It will do a mighty work (?) bringing in a criminal.

VERSO COL. XVI.

(A row of figures, viz. 3 scarabs, 3 hawks, and 3 goats.)

(1) 'Armioout (otherwise Armiouth), Sithani, Outhani, (2) Aryamnoi, Sobrtat, Birbat, Misirythat, (3) Amsie-tharmithat: bring N. daughter of N. out of her abodes (4) in which she is, to any house and any place which N. son of N. is in; she loving him and craving for him, (5) she making the gift of his desire (?) at every moment.' You write this in myrrh ink on a strip (6) of clean fine linen, and you put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, (7) in your house from evening till morning. If you find a hair of the woman to put in the wick, it is excellent.

Bowl (?) of Adonai. Perhaps reference may be made to the familiar story of Nectanebus and the magic bowl in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

l. 7. *n bl*: see note on 18/6.

COL. XVI.

l. 7. For the use of hair in Egyptian magic, cf. the actual specimen mentioned by CHABAS, *Pap. Mag. Harris*, p. 184.

nfr-f or *nfr pe*: cf. 23/8.

VERSO COL. XVII.

1. w^c r a ʔny [s-ḥm·t?] n ḥwt a ḥb rswe·t ke-z a pre
rswe·t ʿn

2.

3. e·r-k sh ny a w^ct gbe·t n ʔqyr nte-k ḥ^c ḥr zz-k
e·r-k n·q<te>·t·k ḥr

4. ʔr-f rswe·t nte-f ḥb rswe·t e-f ḥp e·r-k a ʔr-f a ḥb
rswe·t e·r-k ty-s a r-f n w^c qs

5. ḥr ʔr-f ʔny s-ḥm·t ʿn e·r-k sh py rn a t kbe·t n
ʿqyr n snf n *𐤇𐤁* nge *𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕* (*sic*)

6. nte-k t p f^ce n t s-ḥm·t a ḥn t gbe·t nte-k ty-s a
r-f n p qs nte-k sh n p ʔytn n py rn z a·wy

7. mn t šr·t n mn a p ʿy n p m^c n str nte mn p šr
n t mn nʔm-f

8. εστι δε και αγωγιμων

VERSO COL. XVIII.

1. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕

2. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕

3. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕

4. wnḥ-k aʔr-y t mn p ntr

5. nte-k sze erme-y ḥr p nt e-y šn·t-k

6. ḥrr-f n mt·t m^c·t e bnp-k z n-y

7. mt·t n ʿze *𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕* . . . II

8. *𐤕𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕* . . . II

9. nt ḥr snf n *𐤕(?)𐤁]𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕*

10. ʔr m bnn·t nte-k ḥyt-f ḥr ʔrte

11. n ms-ḥwt t a yr·t-f n wnm nte-k ʿš(?) ar-f(?)

12. a ḥr <p> ḥbs nb nge p ḥpš n rhwe

VERSO COL. XIX.

1. w^c r n ʔny s-ḥm·t(?) a bl n py-s ʿy ḥr ʔny-k w^c
. . . . 𐤕𐤕

COL. XVII.

1. 8. αγωγιμων = ἀγωγήμον. Cf. REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50 and refs.
there; also Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. CXXI. 295, 300, and p. 115.

VERSO COL. XVII.

(1) A spell to bring [a woman] to a man (and?) to send dreams, otherwise said, to dream dreams, also.

(2) (A line of symbols or secret signs.)

(3) You write this on a rush-leaf and you place (it) under your head; you go to sleep; then (4) it makes dreams and it sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you put it (the leaf) on the mouth of a mummy. (5) It brings a woman also; you write this name on the rush-leaf with the blood of a or a hoopoe(?); (6) and you put the hair of the woman in the leaf, and put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you write on the earth with this name, saying: 'Bring (7) N. daughter of N. to the house in the sleeping-place in which is N. son of N.' (8) Now it is also an *αγωγιμον*.

VERSO COL. XVIII.

(1) ' *ἡροῦθιθου* (2) *εκτοστα* (3) *ἡρρεφεσι*.

(4) 'Reveal thyself to me, god N., (5) and speak to me concerning that which I shall ask thee, (6) truthfully, without telling me (7) falsehood.' Saffron, 2 (measures), (8) stibium of Koptos, 2 (measures), (9) pound together with blood of a lizard, (10) make into a ball, and rub it with milk (11) of one who has born a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you make invocation(?) to him(?) (12) before any lamp or the 'Shoulder' constellation in the evening.

VERSO COL. XIX.

(1) A spell for bringing a woman out of her house.

COL. XVIII.

l. 8. **στηληκητ** = *στιμμή κοπτικόν*. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. XLVI. 67, CXXI. 336; Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1071.

l. 10. *'rte n ms-hwt*: common in Old Egyptian prescriptions. Cf. *γάλα ὑρρενοτόκου γυναίκος*, Diosc. v. 99, likewise in connexion with *στιμμή*.

2. n ʾm·t (*sic*) n ḥwt nte-k t šwy-f nte-k ʾny wʿ qbh(?)

3. n ḥsy nte-k mnqe wʿ kswr e ḥ·t-f šfe n nb

4. n my e(?) r-w wn e ḥr-f n wn a wn nʾm-w e·r-k t n(?) nk ḥr(?)·f

5. e·r-k wh a ʾny s-ḥm·t n-k n nw nb e·r-k wh p kswr n p ḥrw n wʿ ḥbs

6. e-f mḥ e·r-k z ar-f(?) z a·wy mn t šr mn a py mʿ

7. nt e-y nʾm-f n tkr ḥn ny wne·t·w n p-hw ḥr ʾw-s ty hte·t

VERSO COL. XX.

1. a ty lk yr·t·bn(?) n rm ʾMn py ḥwt ḥy py ḥwt ʾkš ʾr ʾy a ḥry

2. n mrwe a Kmy gm Ḥr pe šr e-f fy·t·f a hn rt-f a·e-f škʿ·f

3. a zz-f n III r n mt·t ʾkš e-f gm mn a·ms mn a·e-f fy·t·f a hn

4. rt-f a·e-f škʿ·f a zz-f n III r n mt·t ʾkš g(?)ntyny·-tnty

5. nʾ qwqwby . . . khe ʾkhʾ

6. a wʿ ḥm n nḥe nte-k t ḥm ḥlyn ar-f nte-k ths p rm nt ḥr yr·t·bn(?) nʾm-f

7. nte-k sh ny ʿn a wʿ zm nmy nte-k ʾr-f n mze a ḥe·t·f nte-k py byl n t p·t n n sh

COL. XIX.

1. 2. *qbḥ*: the reading of the first sign is doubtful. The determinative would lead one to expect ʾbḥ, 'tooth,' but it is difficult to read so. *qbḥ* would perhaps be *ⲕⲟⲃⲟ*, 'tendo,' or it may be the name of some animal which is to be drowned.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *yr·t*(?), followed by det. or word-sign for evil, 'bad eye,' which might be either ophthalmia or 'evil-eye,' *ⲉⲓⲉⲡⲉⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ*. The prescription perhaps favours the former.

1. 2. Amon was the god of Meroe: cf. II Kham. iv. 15.

You take a (2) of a wild she-cat ; you dry it ; you take a heel-tendon (?) [of a (?) which has been (?)] (3) drowned ; you fashion a ring, the body (?) bezel) of which is variegated (?) with gold [in the form of two (?)] (4) lions, their mouths being open, the face of each being turned to the other ; you put some its face (?). (5) If you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you place the ring on the upper part of a lamp, (6) which is lighted ; you say, ' Bring N. daughter of N. to this place (7) in which I am, quickly in these moments of to-day.' Then she comes at once.

VERSO COL. XX.

(1) To heal ophthalmia (?) in a man. '[Ho?] Amon, this lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down (2) from Meroe to Egypt, he finds my son Horus be-taking himself as fast as his feet move(?), and he injured (?) him (3) in his head with three spells in Ethiopian language, and he finds N. son of N. and carries him as fast as his feet move(?), (4) and injures his head with three spells in Ethiopian language : Gentini, Tentina, (5) Kwkwby, [Ak]khe, Akha.' (6) (Say it) to a little oil : add salt and nasturtium seed to it, you anoint the man who has ophthalmia (?) with it. (7) You also write this on a new papyrus ; you make it into a written amulet on his body :—' Thou art this eye of heaven' in the writings (followed by an eye with rays, as drawn in the papyrus).

The spell seems very corrupt, but some sense may be made of it by supplying *e-f* before *gm*.

1. 3. *a hn rt-f*, 'according to the movement (?) of his feet.'

1. 6. *hlyn*, *υλαιν*, Sah. in Peyron = *κερδαμων* (*κάρδαμον*, Diosc. ii. 184) *κερδαμωμο* (*καρδάμωμον*, ib. i. 5).

1. 7. *mze* : cf. II Kham. ii. 26 ; P. S. B. A., 1899, p. 269 ; perhaps connected with *μαγία*.

VERSO COL. XXI.

1.
2.
3.
4. t-nḥs(?) ḥnḥ-m
5. nt ʾr(?) n p yʿr
6. smt yr-t-k nʾm-f

VERSO COL. XXII.

1. [e-f] znt
2. tey-s [p kys nt ḥr ʾr-k(?)] ty-f a yr-t-k e-ʾr-k ʾn-
3. nʿ a p hn n šn wʿe-t-k wyt
4. ms-tme qs(?)-ḥnḥ s(?) . . . ḥrrw n šr-ʿo-t(?)
5. km nte *επερο(?)ε* pe snf n qwqwpt
6. nt . . . m bnn nte-k smt yr-t-k nʾm-f ḥr mw
7. n elle n(?) Kmy(?) ḥr st n t(?)-nḥs ḥr
8. nw-k a t ḥyb-t n ntr nb ntr-t nb
9. -f te-y ʿš n-tn n ntr-w ʿy nt ḥʿ-w erme p rʿ
t(?)semwks
10. ʾmp(?) p-yʿm-enpʿyʿ yb-ʿo-th yʿe sʿbʿ-ʿo-th
11. a[wn] n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ʿy nt ḥʿ-w erme p rʿ
my wn yr-t a p
12. [wy]n nte-y mʾ p ntr nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn ze
p s ʾblʿ
13. n[ʿth]nʿlbʿ p ntr wr mʿrʿrʿ ʿn-t-ne ʾbyʾth
14. n snn(?) . . ʿe n-t-sʿtrʿperqmʿe Wsr ly
15. l[ʾ]m rn-f a-wn n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ʿy my wn yr-t
a p wyn
16. nt[e-y] mʾ p ntr nt šn n p-hw a-wn n-y sp-sn te-y
ḥwy ḥyt a-ʾr-tn n p ntr ʿo sp-sn
17. . . . nte(?) ne-ʿy(?) te-f pḥt-t nt ḥnḥ šʿ z-t my
pḥt-w sp-sn n p rnn

COL. XXII.

1. 4. šr-ʿo-t km-t = the edible seed šr-t km-t, E. E. F. Paheri, Pl. III. top
ine; BRUGSCH, Wtb., 1405: cf. the white šr-t ḥz-t from which beer was

VERSO COL. XXI.

(1-3) (Fragments) (4) of Ethiopia (?), *ankh-amu* flowers, (5) pound, make (?) of the river, (6) paint your eye with it.

VERSO COL. XXII.

(1) tested. (2) Behold [the ointment which you] put on your eye when you (3) approach the vessel of inquiry alone: green eye-paint, (4) stibium, *ges-ankh* (?), amulet of , flowers of black *sher-o* (?) (5) which are beans (?), blood of hoopoe, (6) pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice (7) of Egyptian (?) grapes, and *set-stone* (?) of Ethiopia; then (8) you see the shadow of every god and every goddess.

(9) Its 'I invoke you (plur.), ye great gods who shine with the sun, Themouks (10) Amp . . . Piam, Enpaia, Eiboth, Eiae, Sabaoth, (11) open (?) to me (*bis*), ye great gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the (12) light, and let me see the god who inquires to-day, hasten (*bis*); for the protection (13) Ablanathanalba, the mighty god, Marara, Atone, Abeiath, (14) N Senen (?), [Psh]oi, Zatra-perkemei, Osiris, (15) Lilam is his name. Open to me (*bis*), ye great gods, let my eyes be opened to the light, (16) and let me see the god who inquires to-day. Open to me (*bis*). I cast the fury on you (plur.) of the great (*bis*) god, (17) whose might is great (?),

prepared, ib., Suppl., 1200. Here the former is made equivalent to *επερος*, presumably ἄρακος (= *Vicia cracca* L., common vetch according to LENZ, Bot. d. alten Griechen u. Römer, p. 726), which was a common cultivated plant in Egypt. Cf. Oxyrhynchus Pap. II. cclxxx. 16, Tebtunis Pap. pass.; in Coptic Corp. Pap. Rain. II. p. 176 (αρακι), Crum Copt. MSS. Fay. p. 78 verso, l. 35 (αρακα).

1. 7. *elle n*(?) *Kny*(?): cf. ελελκναιε, 'black grapes,' but see 29/28, which is practically a parallel.

18. sp-sn p rn n p [ntr?] . . . a·wn n-y
sp-sn

19. [n ntr·w] 'y nt h^c-w erme p r^c my wn [yr·t a p
wyn nt]e-y

20. [m' p ntr] nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn . . . sp . . .

VERSO COL. XXIII.

1.

2. nt

3. hr(?)

4. ke

5. . . . naḡ

6. 'ny

7. pr·w

8.

9. ke 'n

10. hs šwy e-f wš . . . II

11. nt [hr nḥe(?) n q]wpr hr 'by

12. ths [hn·t-k(?)] n'm-f nte-k str erme-s

VERSO COL. XXIV.

1.

2. ar-f nte-k

3. n š-stn ar-f e py(?) rnn III šh ar-f

4. hr hl nte-k θ-r-f nte-k wh-f

5. zz-k nte-k 'š-w ar-f 'n n sp IX

6. hbs hr 'r-k-f n p nw n p θ III n rhwe

7. ·t-k z-mt·t y-^co-b's'wmpth-^co

8. [ghr-^co-me lw]gh^cr my wn yr·t a bl

9. [n mt·t] m^c·t hr t mn t mt·t nt e-y šll hrr-s ty

10. [n p-hw n] mt·t m^c·t n wš n z n-k mt·t n 'ze

11. ιωθακαοσϑεπτοωχρωεελοσχαρ

12. my wn yr·t a bl n mt·t m^c·t hr t mn t mt·t nt
e-y šll

13. hrr-s ty n p-hw

who lives for ever, give power to the name(?) (18)
 the name of the god(?) open to me
 (*bis*), (19) ye great [gods] who shine with the sun, let
 [my eyes] be opened [to the light, and let] me (20) [see
 the god] who answers to-day, hasten (*bis*) . . . times . . .’

VERSO COL. XXIII.

(Lines 1-9 fragments.) (10) dung dried and
 burnt, 2 (measures), (11) pound (with oil of) henna and
 honey, (12) anoint [your phallus] therewith, and lie
 with her.

VERSO COL. XXIV.

(1) (2) on it, and you (3)
 of fine linen on it (? him); these three names being
 written on it, (4) with myrrh; you light it and
 place it (5) your head; you recite them to
 it again nine times. (6) the lamp; you do it
 at the time of the third hour (?) of evening (7) [and you]
 lie down(?). Formula: ‘Iobasaoumptho (8) [Khrome(?)
 Lou]khar; let my eyes be opened (9) in truth concern-
 ing any given matter which I am praying for here (10)
 [to-day, in] truth without telling thee (*sic*) falsehood.’

(11) ‘Iobasaoumpthokhromeloukhar, (12) let my eyes
 be opened in truth concerning any given thing which
 I am praying (13) for here to-day.’

COL. XXIII.

l. 1. Probably some five or six short lines have completely disappeared
 before the beginning of the existing fragments of this column.

COL. XXIV.

Following this on LEYDEN, Pl. XIV., there are several scraps of Greek,
 &c., numbered 1-7. They are written on pieces of papyrus used for
 patching worn places, and have no necessary connexion with the text.

VERSO COL. XXV.

1.

2. hs n bk ḥm ʾsy

3. bel nt n w^c sp ths

4. ḥn·t-k nʾm-f nte-k str erme

5. t s-ḥm·t e-f ḥp nte-f šwy eʾr-k

6. nt w^c ḥm nʾm-f ḥr *epn* nte-k

7. ths ḥn·t-k nʾm-f

8. nte-k str erme t s-ḥm·t nfr sp-sn

VERSO COL. XXVI.

1. eʾr-k [wḥ a t ʾre n] ntr·w n p hne(?) sze wbe-k

2. aʾre n ntr·w ʾy a ḥn eʾr-k z py rn [aʾr-w] sp IX

3. yʾ-ʿo yph e-ʿo-e gynntʾthwr nephʿr

4. ʾph-ʿo-e ḥr ʾr-f wḥ-shne n-k a p nt eʾr-k a šn·t-f
ar-f aʾr θ-ḥr5. ḥp a tm z n-k wḥ eʾr-k z py ke rn aʾr-w n sp
IX š^c6. nte-w šn n-k n mt·t m^c·t ng-ʿo-ngetsyks m^cntw7. n-ʿo-b-ʿo-e g-ʿc-ghyr hr-ʿo-n-t-r nt-ʿo-ntr-ʿo-m^c8. leph-ʿo-ger gep^cers-ʿo-re sp VII

9. 𐤀𐤁𐤕𐤕 · 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍 · 𐤕𐤍 · 𐤕𐤍𐤁𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 · 𐤍𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕 · 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕

VERSO COL. XXVII.

1. a ḥ p nt ḥry ḥn z ank pe syt·t²-k stm rn-yt2. stm pe pe rn n mt ank g²nth^c gyn-tw gyy-tw3. ḥry-ntr ʾrynwte l^cbt²th^c l^cptwth^c4. l^cks^cnth^c s^cr^cys^c m^crk^ch^cr^chwt-tw5. ʾrsyng^cghl^c k-zm ʾrsyng^cl^cbel b-ʿo-l-b-ʿo-el6. b-ʿo-el sp-sn l-ʿo-tery gl-ʿo-g^cs^cntr^c y^ch-ʿo7. rn-yt y^ch-ʿo pe pe rn n mt b^clk^ch^cm p šft n t p·t

COL. XXVI.

1. 1. This column is a reproduction of 28/7-10 with slight variations.

1. 4. θ-ḥr = Boh. 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤕, 'delay.' This phrase is omitted in the parallel.

VERSO COL. XXV.

(1) (2) hawk's dung, salt, *asi* plant, (3) *bel*, pound together, anoint (4) your phallus with it and lie with (5) the woman. If it is dry, you (6) pound a little of it with wine, and you (7) anoint your phallus with it (8) and you lie with the woman. Excellent (*bis*).

VERSO COL. XXVI.

(1) If you wish [to make] the gods of the vessel(?) speak with you, (2) when the gods come in, you say this name to them nine times: (3) 'Iaho, Iphe, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, (4) Aphoe.' Then he makes command to you as to that which you shall ask him about. If delay (5) occur, so that answer is not given you, you recite this other name to them nine times until (6) they inquire for you truthfully: 'Goethix, Mantou, (7) Noboe, Khokhir, Hrodor, Dondroma, (8) Lephoker, Kephaersore.' Seven times. (9) Iaho . Eiphe . On . Kindathour . Nephar . Aphoe.

VERSO COL. XXVII.

(1) According to that which is above within, saying, 'I am this Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, (2) Setem is my correct name. I am Gantha, Ginteu, Giriteu, (3) Hrinoute, Arinoute, Labtatha, Laptutha, (4) Laksantha, Sarisa, Markharahuteu, (5) Arsinga-khla; another volume (says) Arsinga-label, Bolboel, (6) Boel (*bis*), Loteri, Klogasantra, Iaho, (7) is my name, Iaho is my correct name,

l. 9. Repeats the invocation names in ll. 2-3.

COL. XXVII.

l. 1. This column is parallel to 1/13-16.

nt hry (n?) hn: hn must refer to the recto. Cf. *n bl* = 'verso,' 18/6, V. 15 7.

8. ʔbl'n'th'n'lb' srrf n t qnh·t n p ntr nt 'h n p-hw(?)

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

1. e·r-k ne t š(?) syw(?) . . m(?) a hry(?) . . .

2. e 'h zl·t(?)

VERSO COL. XXIX.

1. . . . ty lb rm nb nge s-hm·t nb

2. e·r-k θ p f'e n p rm nt e·r-k wh·f erme p f'e

3. n w' rm e-f *𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢* nte-k mr-w erme ne-w ʔre-w

4. nte-k mr-w a he·t-f n w' *𐎢𐎡𐎠* nte-k wrh·f

5. e-f 'nh e-f hp e·r-k wh a ʔr-f n hyn·w hw·w

6. e·r-k h' p *𐎢𐎡𐎠* n w' m' e·r-k s·nh n'm-f n
pe-k 'y

VERSO COL. XXX.

1. e·r-k hs n *𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡*

2. hr hy he·[t]-s

3. k·t e·r-k ths hn·t-k n hs n

4. *𐎢𐎡𐎠* nte-k str erme s-hm·t hr ʔr-s mr·t-k

5. e·r-k nt hs n *𐎢𐎡𐎠(?)𐎢𐎡* hr ʔby

6. nte-k ths hn·t-k n'm-f a h p nt hry 'n

7. ke hs n *𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡* hr sknn n

8. wrt a h p nt hry 'n

9. ke e·r-k qp s-hm·t n hs n *𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡*

10. e p snf hrr-s hr lk-s

11. hs n *𐎢𐎡𐎠* 'n py smte

COL. XXVIII.

1. 1. This short column appears to be the only part of the papyrus written in a different hand from the rest. It is very obscure, and the words seem much abbreviated. The group elsewhere reading *nk* (𐎢𐎡𐎠) is conspicuous, but is without the determinative, and perhaps has another meaning here.

1. 2. Cf. V. 10/12. The zodiacal sign 𐎢𐎡𐎠 ★ stands for Scorpio (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22). For the reading *zl·t* (?), cf. O. L. Z., 1902, V. col. 6, 223.

Balkham, the mighty (?) one of heaven, (8) Ablanathanalba, gryphon of the shrine of the god which stands to-day (?).'

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

(1) You shall cause a star (?) to go . . . place (?) under the earth (?) (2) when the moon is in the constellation of Scorpio.

VERSO COL. XXIX.

(1) [Spell to] make mad any man or any woman.

(2) You take the hair of the man whom you wish, together with the hair (3) of a dead (murdered?) man; and you tie them to each other, (4) and tie them to the body of a hawk, and you release (?) it (5) alive. If you wish to do it for some days, (6) you put the hawk in a place and you feed it in your house.

VERSO COL. XXX.

(1) If you dung of a *smoun*-goose, (2) then her body falls.

(3) Another: you anoint your phallus with dung of (4) a *kel*, and you lie with (the) woman, then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee). (5) You pound dung of with honey, (6) and you anoint your phallus with it as above again.

(7) Another: dung of hyaena (?) with ointment of (8) roses as above again.

(9) Another: you fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung (10) when the menstruation is on her; then she is cured.

(11) Ass's dung also—this method (of treatment).

COL. XXIX.

1. 5. *n hyr'w hw-w*. Does this mean 'for several days' or 'after several days'?

COL. XXX.

1. 2. *hy he-t-s*: perhaps of abortion, *gorge: orse*.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

1. $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\sigma\tau$
2. ke-z $\alpha\rho\omega\omega\sigma\theta$
3. p ntr nt 'wh p hbs nt θ -
4. r-yt 'm a hn
5. hr zz-y nte-k z n-y wh
6. hr p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw

VERSO COL. XXXII.

1. a t 're * $\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon$ *(?) m-s hwt
2. e'r-k 'ny w' * $\epsilon\omega\omega\omega$ * e-f 'nh
3. nte-k 'ny pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon[\xi]\epsilon$ * a bl nte-k h'-f n w' m'
4. nte-k 'ny pe-f * $\xi\epsilon[\tau]$ * nte-k h'-f n ke m' e'r-k
5. fy pe-f swm' tre-f e'r-k nt-f m šs sp-sn
6. e'r e-f šwy nte-k fy w' hm n p nt nt-yt erme w'
7. hm n snf n pe-k tb' n mh II n p s'l'pyn
8. n te-k t't n gbyr nte-k ty-f a w' z n 'rp
9. nte-k t swr-s t hm't hr 'r-s * $\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon$ * m-s-k
10. e'r-k t pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon\xi\epsilon$ * a w' z n 'rp hr * $\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ *
11. ty hte't nge ty-f a ef nge nk n wm
12. e'r-k t pe-f * $\xi\epsilon\tau$ * a w' htm n nb nte-k ty-f
13. a t't-k hr ty-f n-k hs't 'o't mr't šfe't

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

1. a Hr [e-]f mš' a hry hr tw n mre't
n 'h e-f t 'lyt a w' htr ht a w' htr km
2. e n zm . . . [hr '.]t-f na p wr-ty hn que-f a-e-f gm
n n ntr-w tre-w e-w hms't a hry a t s't wype't
3. e-w wm [n p rt] n h'p pe wr hr-w Hr 'm n e'r-k
wm Hr 'm n e'r-k ne wm hr-f 'l-wt-tn a hr-y

COL. XXXII.

1. 1. This column is a paraphrase of 13/17-21.
1. 6. e'r e-f: possibly for $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$. The parallel has e-f šwy.

COL. XXXIII.

1. 1. a Hr. a in this papyrus appears as the auxiliary of the past α -, but not of the present ϵ -.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

(1) 'Sisihooout (2) otherwise Armiooth, (3) the god who liveth, the lamp which is (4) lighted, come within (5) before me, and give me answer (6) concerning that which I ask about here (7) to-day.'

VERSO COL. XXXII.

(1) To make rave for a man.' (2) You take a live shrew-mouse (?), (3) and take out its gall and put it in one place, (4) and take its heart and put it in another place. You (5) take its whole body, you pound it very much; (6) when it is dry, you take a little of the pounded stuff with a (7) little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart, (8) of your left hand, and put it in a cup of wine (9) and you make the woman drink it. Then she has a passion for you.

(10) You put its gall into a cup of wine, then she dies (11) instantly; or put it in meat or some food.

(12) You put its heart in a ring of gold and put it (13) on your hand; then it gives you great praise, love, and respect.

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

(1) Horus he was going up a hill at midday in the verdure season, mounted on a white horse on a black horse, (2) the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his bosom. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgement (3) eating [of the produce ?] of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief.

[e?]-] *f mšc*, &c. : cf. O. C. in A. Z., 1883, 100; 1900, 90 *петинотъ ѿпотоот ѿмере ѿсѡм*.

For Horus on horseback, cf. PLUT., de Is. et Osir., c. 19.

l. 2. *hms.t*: probably as Ach. *εμαστ* (as used for infinitive in l. 6) rather than *εμασνοτ*.

l. 3. *hsp*(?): cf. l. 6 and V. 5/1. A feminine word similarly spelt is found in connexion with embalming in BRUGSCH, Thes., 893, 895.

4. mn [ky?] n'm-y n wm te-y šn zz-y te-y šn ħe·t a
w^c g^cwm^c θy·t a w^c tw rs ty 'h-y

5. ne 'S·t [lk]-s e-s šte ne Nb-ħt lk-s e-s s·wze ne p
XVI n Ne-tbew·w ne pe(?) w^c n nħt

6. n ntr n[e p? 3?]65 n ntr ħms·t a ħry a wm n p
rt n t sh·t n ħ^cp pe wr š^c nte-w šte n p g^cwm^c

7. n zz[-f n p] šr n 'S·t n zz-f n mn a·ms mn n n
g^cwm^c n grħ n n g^cwm^c n mre·t p šn zz py srrf

8. py ħmm [n n g^c]wm^c·w n ne 'r n rt-f šte
a bl n zz-f n mn a·ms mn 'h nħe n m^c·t

9. n sp VII [nte-k th]s t·t-f ħe·t-f rt-f nte-k mt·t ar-f

Probably the word here, with divine determinative, is different, and may well represent *H'p*, 'the Nile.' The same group occurs in Pap. In-singer 16/21.

pe wr is difficult, 'belonging to the Great,' or 'son of the Great,' or 'my Great one.'

ⲁⲣⲁⲉⲓ: cf. note 1/20.

l. 5. *ne*: probably fut. neg. *nne*.

XVI n Ne-tbew·w: cf. 2/9 note; perhaps *οι δεκαεξ γιγαντες* of Berl. Pap. (PARTHEY), II. 102. There were also the 16 cubits of the Nile, and according to one account the body of Osiris was torn into sixteen pieces, Rec. tr., iii. p. 56, v. p. 86; other texts give fourteen parts (PLUTARCH) or seventeen (Rhind. bil. i. p. 3).

l. 6. [3]65 gods, i.e. one for each day of the year. Cf. the 365

Said they, 'Horus, come, art thou eating? Horus, come, wilt thou eat?' He said, 'Take yourselves from me; (4) there is no [desire?] in me for eating. I am ill in my head; I am ill in my body; a fever hath taken hold of me, a South wind hath seized me. (5) Doth Isis [cease] to make magic? Doth Nephthys cease to give health? Are the sixteen Netbeou, is the one Power (6) of God, are [? the 3]65 gods seated to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief, until they remove the fever (7) from the head of the son of Isis (and) from the head of N. born of N., the fevers by night, the fevers by day, the headache, this burning, (8) this heat of the fevers of of his feet, remove from the head of N. born of N.' (Say it) over genuine oil (9) seven times, and anoint his hand, his body, his feet, and pronounce the words to him.

names of the great god in Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. 4, 32, and the 365 gods, ib. W. 3, 13.

n t sh:t: erased in original.

l. 7. *srrf*: probably for *sr̥f*.

l. 8. *ne 'r*  (?).

š̥te: a participle resuming the idea of *š̥te* in l. 6 after the long parenthesis.



ERRATUM

Page 40, note to line 2, *for* $\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$ *read* $\kappa\omicron\tau\varsigma$



CORRESPONDENCE OF COLUMNS

Recto.			Verso.		
Old No.	New No.		Old No.	New No.	
LONDON	I =	I	LEIDEN	I =	I
"	II =	II	"	II =	II
"	III =	III	"	III =	III
"	IV =	IV	"	IV =	IV
"	V =	V	"	V =	V
"	VI =	VI	"	VI =	VI
"	VII =	VII	"	VII =	VII
"	VIII =	VIII	"	VIII =	VIII
"	IX =	IX	"	IX =	IX
"	X } =	X	"	X =	X
LEIDEN	I }		"	XI =	XI
"	II-III =	XI	"	XII =	XII
"	IV-V =	XII	"	XIII =	XIII
"	VI =	XIII	"	XIV =	XIV
"	VII =	XIV	"	XV =	XV
"	VIII =	XV	"	XVI-XVII =	XVI
"	IX =	XVI	"	XVIII =	XVII
"	X =	XVII	"	XIX =	XVIII
"	XI =	XVIII	"	XX =	XIX
"	XII =	XIX	"	XXI =	XX
"	XIII =	XX	"	XXII =	XXI
"	XIV =	XXI	"	XXII, XXIV =	XXII
"	XV =	XXII	"	XXV, XXVI =	XXIII
"	XVI =	XXIII	"	XXVII =	XXIV
"	XVII =	XXIV	LONDON	I =	XXV
"	XVIII =	XXV	"	II =	XXVI
"	XIX =	XXVI	"	III =	XXVII
"	XX =	XXVII	"	IV =	XXVIII
"	XXI =	XXVIII	"	V =	XXIX
"	XXII =	XXIX	"	VI =	XXX
			"	VII =	XXXI
			"	VIII =	XXXII
			"	IX =	XXXIII

It has been found necessary to make some changes in the numbering of the lines in Leid. I-V, XVII, and Verso Leid. III, VIII, XXII-XXVI.

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THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

Edited by
HANS DIETER BETZ

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Chicago & London

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Preface

This volume of translations of the Greek magical papyri has been a long time in the making. The project began in a planning colloquium at Claremont, California, May 31 to June 4, 1978. At this meeting, a team of scholars resolved to produce this translation volume as part of a research project on the Greek magical papyri, the project as a whole being designed as a contribution to the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*.

The translations turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than had been expected. Since it seemed desirable to expand the Preisendanz collection to include as many newly discovered and newly published magical papyri as possible, the number of papyri increased from 81 to 131. In this respect, the translation volume differs from the Preisendanz volumes. It differs also in that while Preisendanz reproduced only the Greek sections of bilingual Greek-Demotic papyri, this volume includes the full translations of all bilingual texts.

All translations are based on the Greek, Demotic, and Coptic texts. *PGM* I–LXXXI follow the Preisendanz edition, while *PGM* LXXXII–CXXX and *PDM* Supplement follow their critical editions, which are indicated in the notes. Translators were free to make changes in the texts when they thought it necessary; these changes are also indicated in the notes. Where earlier translations exist, they have been consulted, but all the translations included in this volume are new.

Unlike the Preisendanz edition, this new volume does not have an *apparatus criticus*. Instead, it has notes explaining difficulties in the text and the translation, and notes alerting readers to important information. It has been necessary to limit these notes to a degree which many readers may find drastic, but the team decided not to attempt what could only be a lengthy commentary on the papyri. Instead, they agreed that other research tools should be developed to encourage and assist further research on the papyri. The following research tools are presently being prepared:

1. An index of Greek words is being prepared by Professor Edward O'Neil.
2. A subject index based on the English translation is being worked out by Ms. Marjorie Menaul.
3. A collection of parallels between the magical papyri and early Christian literature is being prepared by the research team. This part of the project is most directly related to the task of the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, namely, the collection of parallels from ancient literature to the New Testament and the other Christian literature up to approximately A.D. 150.

4. A comprehensive bibliography, including editions and investigations of the magical papyri, is being assembled by Professor David Hellholm.

The present volume would not have come about without the generous support of institutions and individuals. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the entire venture from the beginning by substantial grants from 1978 to 1983. Without this financial assistance, the project would simply not exist; schol-

arly team projects of this magnitude cannot live on enthusiasm alone. Apart from the purely financial aspect, the officers of the NEH have helped more than they may realize by their quiet encouragement and confidence expressed over a number of years.

A great deal of assistance also came from the institutions where the project was initiated and where it is now based. These include the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, where the project was based during the years 1977 and 1978, and the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion at the University of Chicago, where it has been from 1978 to the present. Thanks are especially due to the officers of these institutions, Professors James M. Robinson and James Brashler of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; and Professors Joseph M. Kitagawa, formerly dean, and Franklin I. Gamwell, currently dean, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, as well as to Martin E. Marty, program coordinator for the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion of the University of Chicago.

The present project could not have succeeded without the unfailing loyalty and generosity of the members of the team, both contributors and consultants. Among these should be named Professors Jan Bergman, Walter Burkert, Franco Maltomini, and P. J. Sijpesteijn. The research specialists of the project, Professor William C. Grese (1977–80), and Mr. Roy Kotansky and Ms. Marjorie Menaul (1980–83), not only helped to carry the burdens of administration and editorship, but made substantial contributions to the project as well. To all of them sincere thanks are due.

H. D. Betz

Table of Spells

This list of spells presupposes the divisions in the texts and the identification of section titles made by the editor. In the Demotic spells, section titles are sometimes indicated by red lettering (but this is not done consistently). If no titles are given, this fact is stated (No title) and a short description of content is added.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Translator</i>	<i>Short Title</i>
<i>PGM I</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM I. 1–42</i>	E.N.O.	[Rite] for acquiring an assistant daimon
<i>PGM I. 42–195</i>	E.N.O.	The spell of Pnouthis (for acquiring an assistant daimon)
<i>PGM I. 195–222</i>	E.N.O.	Prayer of deliverance
<i>PGM I. 222–31</i>	E.N.O.	Invisibility spell
<i>PGM I. 232–47</i>	E.N.O.	Memory spell
<i>PGM I. 247–62</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for invisibility
<i>PGM I. 262–347</i>	E.N.O.	Apollonian invocation
<i>PGM II</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM II. 1–64</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM II. 65–183</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Alternative spell for revelation
<i>PGM III</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM III. 1–164</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Cat ritual for many purposes
<i>PGM III. 165–86</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Oracular request (?)
<i>PGM III. 187–262</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM III. 263–75</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 275–81</i>	E.N.O.	[Horoscope]
<i>PGM III. 282–409</i>	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for foreknowledge
<i>PGM III. 410–23</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 424–66</i>	W.C.G.	A copy from a holy book (spell for foreknowledge and memory)
<i>PGM III. 467–78</i>	W.C.G.	Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 479–83</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 483–88</i>	W.C.G.	Another (foreknowledge charm to detect a thief)
<i>PGM III. 488–94</i>	W.C.G.	Another (spell to detect a thief?)
<i>PGM III. 494–611</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios
<i>PGM III. 612–32</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Spell for gaining control of one's shadow
<i>PGM III. 633–731</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for a direct vision
<i>PGM IV</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM IV. 1–25</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 26–51</i>	H.M.	Initiation
<i>PGM IV. 52–85</i>	H.M. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 86–87</i>	M.W.M.	Phylactery against daimons

<i>PGM</i> IV. 88–93	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	Another, to Helios
<i>PGM</i> IV. 94–153	M.W.M.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 154–285	J.P.H. / E.N.O.	Nephotes to Psammetichos (letter concerning bowl divination)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 286–95	E.N.O.	Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 296–466	E.N.O.	Wondrous spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> IV. 467–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 469–70	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 471–73	H.M.	(No title) Verses from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 474	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 475–829	M.W.M.	(No title) The “Mithras Liturgy”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 830	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 831–32	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 833–34	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 835–49	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological text
<i>PGM</i> IV. 850–929	W.C.G.	Charm of Solomon that produces a trance
<i>PGM</i> IV. 930–1114	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Charm that produces direct vision
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1115–66	W.C.G.	Hidden stele (prayer)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1167–1226	W.C.G.	Stele (spell for deliverance)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1227–64	M.W.M.	Rite for driving out daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1265–74	E.N.O.	Aphrodite’s name (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1275–1322	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1323–30	W.C.G.	Another (Bear charm)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1331–89	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1390–1495	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1496–1595	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1596–1715	M.S.	Consecration for all purposes
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1716–1870	E.N.O.	Sword of Dardanos (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1872–1927	E.N.O.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1928–2005	E.N.O.	King Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2006–2125	E.N.O.	Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2125–39	M.S.	A restraining seal
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2140–44	W.C.G.	Pitys the Thessalian’s spell for questioning corpses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2145–2240	H.M.	Divine assistance from three Homeric verses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2241–2358	E.N.O.	Document to the waning moon
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2359–72	R.F.H.	Business spell
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2373–2440	R.F.H.	Charm for acquiring business
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2441–2621	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2622–2707	E.N.O.	Slander spell to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2708–84	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2785–2890	E.N.O.	Prayer to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2891–2942	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2943–66	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2967–3006	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3007–86	W.C.G.	Charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3086–3124	W.C.G.	Oracle of Kronos, called “little mill”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3125–71	M.S.	(No title) Spell for favor
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3172–3208	W.C.G.	Dream-producing charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3209–54	J.P.H.	Saucer divination of Aphrodite
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3255–74	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> V		(No title) Magical handbook

<i>PGM</i> V. 1–53	W.C.G.	Oracle of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> V. 54–69	W.C.G.	Direct vision spell
<i>PGM</i> V. 70–95	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell to catch a thief
<i>PGM</i> V. 96–172	D.E.A.	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (letter)
<i>PGM</i> V. 172–212	W.C.G.	Another way (spell to catch a thief)
<i>PGM</i> V. 213–303	M.S.	Hermes' ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 304–69	M.S.	(No title) Defixio
<i>PGM</i> V. 370–446	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM</i> V. 447–58	M.S.	(No title) Instruction concerning a magical ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 459–89	D.E.A.	Another way (spell for many purposes)
<i>PGM</i> Va. 1–3	H.M.	(No title) Spell for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VI. 1–47	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer for encounter with Helios
<i>PGM</i> VII		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM</i> VII. 1–148	H.M.	Homer oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 149–54	W.C.G.	To keep bugs out of the house
<i>PGM</i> VII. 155–67	W.C.G.	Days and hours for divination
<i>PGM</i> VII. 167–86	R.D.K.	Demokritos' "table gimmicks"
<i>PGM</i> VII. 186–90	R.F.H.	Favor and victory charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 191–92	E.N.O.	Spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> VII. 193–96	J.S.	For scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> VII. 197–98	J.S.	For discharge of the eyes
<i>PGM</i> VII. 199–201	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> VII. 201–2	J.S.	Another (for migraine headache)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 203–5	J.S.	For coughs
<i>PGM</i> VII. 206–7	J.S.	Another (for coughs)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 208–9	J.S.	For hardening of the breasts
<i>PGM</i> VII. 209–10	J.S.	For swollen testicles
<i>PGM</i> VII. 211–12	J.S.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 213–14	J.S.	For daily fever and nightly fever
<i>PGM</i> VII. 215–18	H.M.	Stele of Aphrodite (spell for favor)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 218–21	J.S.	Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 222–49	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle from Besas
<i>PGM</i> VII. 250–54	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 255–59	W.C.G.	Another to the same lamp
<i>PGM</i> VII. 260–71	J.S.	For the ascent of the uterus
<i>PGM</i> VII. 272–83	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological calendar
<i>PGM</i> VII. 284–99	E.N.O.	Orbit of the moon (horoscope)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300a–310	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 311–16	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 317–18	M.S.	Another phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 319–34	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 335–47	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 348–58	W.C.G.	Divination by means of a boy
<i>PGM</i> VII. 359–69	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 370–73	W.C.G.	(Spell) against every wild animal
<i>PGM</i> VII. 374–76	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> VII. 376–84	R.F.H.	Another (charm to induce insomnia)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 385–89	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 390–93	R.F.H.	Victory charm for the races
<i>PGM</i> VII. 394–95	R.F.H.	Coercive spell for restraining
<i>PGM</i> VII. 396–404	R.F.H.	Spell for silencing, subjecting, and restraining

<i>PGM VII. 405–6</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 407–10</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Dream spell
<i>PGM VII. 411–16</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for causing talk while asleep
<i>PGM VII. 417–22</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 423–28</i>	R.F.H.	To win at dice
<i>PGM VII. 429–58</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 459–61</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 462–66</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 467–77</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM VII. 478–90</i>	H.M.	(No title) Spell for dream revelation
<i>PGM VII. 490–504</i>	M.S.	(No title) Spell for protection
<i>PGM VII. 505–28</i>	H.M.	Meeting with your own daimon
<i>PGM VII. 528–39</i>	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 540–78</i>	J.P.H.	Lamp divination
<i>PGM VII. 579–90</i>	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM VII. 591–92</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Prayer of invocation
<i>PGM VII. 593–619</i>	D.E.A.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM VII. 619–27</i>	E.N.O.	From the Diadem of Moses (spells for invisibility and love)
<i>PGM VII. 628–42</i>	M.S.	(No title) Rite involving a magical ring
<i>PGM VII. 643–51</i>	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 652–60</i>	R.F.H.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM VII. 661–63</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 664–85</i>	E.N.O.	Request for dream revelations
<i>PGM VII. 686–702</i>	H.D.B.	Bear charm
<i>PGM VII. 703–26</i>	W.C.G.	Request for dream oracle
<i>PGM VII. 727–39</i>	W.C.G.	Charm for a direct vision of Apollo
<i>PGM VII. 740–55</i>	W.C.G.	[Request for a dream oracle]
<i>PGM VII. 756–94</i>	W.C.G.	Prayer
<i>PGM VII. 795–845</i>	J.P.H.	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination
<i>PGM VII. 846–61</i>	W.C.G.	Shadow on the sun (spell for revelation)
<i>PGM VII. 862–918</i>	E.N.O.	Lunar spell of Klaudianos
<i>PGM VII. 919–24</i>	R.F.H.	Hermes' wondrous victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 925–39</i>	R.F.H.	Another, charm to subject
<i>PGM VII. 940–68</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to subject
<i>PGM VII. 969–72</i>	E.N.O.	A good potion (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 973–80</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction . . .
<i>PGM VII. 981–93</i>	E.N.O.	[Love spell of attraction]
<i>PGM VII. 993–1009</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM VII. 1009–16</i>	W.C.G.	Divination by a dream
<i>PGM VII. 1017–26</i>	R.F.H.	[No title] Spell for favor and victory
<i>PGM VIII. 1–63</i>	E.N.O.	Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos
<i>PGM VIII. 64–110</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Request for a dream oracle of Besas
<i>PGM IX. 1–14</i>	R.F.H. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to subject and silence
<i>PGM X. 1–23</i>	E.N.O.	(No title [?]) Love spell
<i>PGM X. 24–35</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM X. 36–50</i>	R.F.H.	Apollo's charm to subject
<i>PGM XIa. 1–40</i>	H.M.	Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman
<i>PGM XIb. 1–5</i>	R.D.K.	(No title) "Table gimmick" (?)
<i>PGM XIc. 1–19</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM xii (PGM XII)</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM xii 1–5</i>	J.H.J.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PDM xii 6–20</i>	J.H.J.	A ring to cause praise

<i>PDM</i> xii 21–49	J.H.J.	(No title) Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease
<i>PGM</i> XII. 1–13	H.M.	Rite (to produce an epiphany of Kore)
<i>PGM</i> XII. 14–95	H.M.	Eros as assistant daimon
<i>PGM</i> XII. 96–106	R.F.H.	Himerios' recipes
<i>PGM</i> XII. 107–21	W.C.G.	Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 121–43	R.D.K.	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 144–52	W.C.G.	Request for a dream
<i>PGM</i> XII. 153–60	W.C.G.	Spell for a divine revelation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 160–78	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to release from bonds
<i>PGM</i> XII. 179–81	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for restraining anger
<i>PGM</i> XII. 182–89	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XII. 190–92	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear
<i>PGM</i> XII. 193–201	J.S.	[To make] a tincture of gold
<i>PGM</i> XII. 201–69	M.S.	A ring
<i>PGM</i> XII. 270–350	M.S.	A little ring for success and favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XII. 351–64	J.P.H.	Demokritos' "sphere"
<i>PGM</i> XII. 365–75	R.F.H.	Charm for causing separation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 376–96	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> XII. 397–400	H.M.	To gain favor and friendship forever
<i>PGM</i> XII. 401–44	H.D.B. / J.S.	Interpretations
<i>PDM</i> xii. 50–61	J.H.J.	Spell for separating one person from another
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 445–48]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 62–75	J.H.J.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 449–52]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 76–107	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 453–65]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 108–18	J.H.J.	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 466–68]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 119–34	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	A spell for it (fetching spell?)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 469–73]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 135–46	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 474–79]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 147–64	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	Another (love spell of attraction)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–734	M.S.	A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth Book of Moses"
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–343	M.S.	[Part A: Initiation ritual and magical handbook]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 343–646	M.S.	[Part B: A second, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 647–734	M.S.	[Part C: A third, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 734–1077	M.S.	(No title) A collection of miscellaneous spells
<i>PDM</i> xiv		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1–92	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 93–114	J.H.J. / W.C.G.	(No title) Spell for revelation
[<i>PGM</i> XIVa. 1–11]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 115	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vision (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 116	J.H.J.	Another spell for vision (?)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 117–49	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 150–231	J.H.J.	An inquiry of the lamp
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 232–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 239–95	J.H.J.	The vessel inquiry of Khonsu
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 295–308	J.H.J.	[A] vessel [inquiry]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 309–34	J.H.J.	A spell for causing favor
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 335–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 355–65	J.H.J.	Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 366–75	J.H.J.	The method (spell for separating man and woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 376–94	J.H.J.	(No title) Various recipes
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 395–427	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 428–50	J.H.J.	(No title) Two love potions
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 451–58	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for going before a superior
[<i>PGM</i> XIVb. 12–15]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 459–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 475–88	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 489–515	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 516–27	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 528–53	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 554–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 563–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of poison
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 574–85	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone struck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 585–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 594–620	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for sting
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 620–26	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone struck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 627–35	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 636–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love potion
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 670–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Introduction to a collection of spells (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 675–94	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	A spell (to cause “evil sleep”)
[<i>PGM</i> XIVc. 15–27]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 695–700	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 701–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 706–10	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell against “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 711–15	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 716–24	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 724–26	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 727–36	J.H.J.	A prescription (three prescriptions to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 737–38	J.H.J.	A prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 739–40	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 741	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 742	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 743–49	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 750–71	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 772–804	J.H.J.	A method (love spells)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 805–40	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 841–50	J.H.J.	Another method (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 851–55	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 856–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Inquiry of the sun
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 875–85	J.H.J.	Here is another (inquiry of the sun)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 886–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipes involving herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 897–910	J.H.J.	(No title) List of herbs and minerals
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 912–16	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 917–19	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 920–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 930–32	J.H.J.	A prescription (love spell)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 933–34	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 935–39	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a watery ear
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 940–52	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning sala- mander and herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 953–55	J.H.J.	A prescription (to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 956–60	J.H.J.	(No title) Test of pregnancy
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 961–65	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 966–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 970–77	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 978–80	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 981–84	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 985–92	J.H.J.	Gout (prescription)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 993–1002	J.H.J.	Another (prescription for gout)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1003–14	J.H.J.	(No title) Amulet for gout
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1015–20	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for unidentifiable ailment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1021–23	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1024–25	J.H.J.	(No title) Another prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1026–45	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1046–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1047–48	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1049–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1056–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spells involving <i>voces magicæ</i>
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1063–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1070–77	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to send dreams and make a woman love
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1078–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Request for revelation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1090–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Fetching spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1097–1103	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to heal an eye disease
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1104–9	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipe concerning eye ointment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1110–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to open eyes for divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1130–40	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1141–54	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1155–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1163–79	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1180–81	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragment from invocation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1182–87	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause madness
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1188–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1190–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1194–95	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1196–98	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1199–1205	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1206–18	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1219–27	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for fever
<i>PGM</i> XV. 1–21	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVI. 1–75	E.N.O.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XVIIb. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer
<i>PGM</i> XVIIc. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIa. 1–4	J.S.	(No title) Amulet for headache
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIb. 1–7	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XIXa. 1–54	E.N.O. / R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 1–3	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 4–18	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XX. 1–4	E.N.O.	[Spell for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XX. 4–12	E.N.O.	[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara for any inflammation
<i>PGM</i> XX. 13–19	E.N.O.	The charm of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XXI. 1–29	W.C.G.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Magico-medical recipes
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 1–26	D.E.A.	Prayer of Jacob
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 27–31	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 32–35	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIII. 1–70	E.N.O.	Fragment of the <i>Kestoi</i> of Julius Africanus
<i>PGM</i> XXIVa. 1–25	W.C.G.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIVb. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> XXVa–d	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulets (?)
<i>PGM</i> XXVI. 1–21	—	(No title) <i>Sortes Astrampsychi</i> (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXVII. 1–5	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIa. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIb. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIc. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXIX. 1–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer (poem)
<i>PGM</i> XXX a–f	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXI a–c	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXII. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIII. 1–25	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XXXIV. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Fragment from a novel
<i>PGM</i> XXXV. 1–42	R.F.H.	Charm for favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 1–34	M.S.	Charm to restrain
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 35–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 69–101	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 102–33	E.N.O.	Divination by fire (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 134–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 161–77	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger, and for success
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 178–87	M.S.	Charm to break spells
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 187–210	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 211–30	R.F.H.	Prayer to Helios: charm to restrain anger, and for victory and favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 231–55	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 256–64	M.S.	(No title) Charm to break enchantment
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 264–74	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 275–83	H.M.	Charm for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 283–94	E.N.O.	Pudenda key spell

<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 295–311	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 312–20	R.F.H.	Charm to open a door
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 320–32	J.S.	Contraceptive spell
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 333–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 361–71	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVII. 1–26	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVIII. 1–26	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIX. 1–21	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XL. 1–18	R.F.H.	(No title) Curse
<i>PGM</i> XLI. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLII. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIII. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLIV. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet against fever (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 1–4	R.F.H.	(No title) Request for revelation (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 4–8	R.F.H.	Spell to silence and subject
<i>PGM</i> XLVII. 1–17	M.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLVIII. 1–21	M.W.M.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIX	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> L. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Oracle (?)
<i>PGM</i> LI. 1–27	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LII. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 9–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 20–26	R.D.K.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> LIII–LVI	—	(No titles) Spells (?) of uncertain purpose (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LVII. 1–37	R.F.H.	(No title) Rite to acquire an assistant daimon (?)
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 1–14	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 15–39	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LIX. 1–15	M.S.	(No title) Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LX. 1–5	M.S.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 1–30	R.K.R.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 30–41	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 42	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 43–48	J.H.J. / R.D.K.	Remedy for [an] ulcer (?) of the head
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. i–v]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 49–57	J.H.J.	[Remedy for the] head (?)
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 58–62	R.D.K.	For an erection
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. xi, x]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 63–78	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for a dream revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 79–94	J.H.J.	Way of finding a thief
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 95–99	J.H.J.	Spell of giving praise and love in Nubian
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 100–105	J.H.J.	The red cloth of Nephthys
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 106–11	J.H.J.	Prescription for a donkey not moving
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 112–27	J.H.J.	Prescription for making a woman love
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 128–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 148–58	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 159–96	E.N.O.	Love charm
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 1–38]		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 197–216	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 39–71]		
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction

<i>PGM</i> LXII. 24–46	W.C.G. / J.P.H.	(No title) Saucer divination
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 47–51	M.S.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 52–75	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 76–106	J.S.	(No title) Spell (or two spells), to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 1–7	E.N.O.	(No title) Love-potion (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 7–12	E.N.O.	[Spell to make a woman] confess the name of the man she loves
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 13–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 21–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 24–25	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 26–28	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIV. 1–12	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 1–4	J.S.	Spell to [prevent pregnancy]
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 4–7	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> LXVI. 1–11	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> LXVII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXVIII. 1–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> LXIX. 1–3	D.E.A.	(No title) Victory spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 1–4	H.D.B.	Charm for favor, etc.
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 4–25	H.D.B.	Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 26–51	H.D.B.	Against fear and to dissolve spells
<i>PGM</i> LXXI. 1–8	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LXXII. 1–36	W.C.G.	[Rite concerning the Bear]
<i>PGM</i> LXXIII–LXXVI	—	(No titles) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LXXVII. 1–24	W.C.G.	(No title) Charm for getting a revelation
<i>PGM</i> LXXVIII. 1–14	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> LXXIX. 1–7	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXX. 1–5	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXXI. 1–10	W.C.G.	(No title) Greetings to deities
<i>PGM</i> LXXXII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Recipe for ingredients (fragment of formula?)
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIII. 1–20	R.D.K.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIV. 1–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> LXXXV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) For daimon possession
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 1–2	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 3–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVII. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVIII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIX. 1–27	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for fever, phantoms, daimons, etc.
<i>PGM</i> XC. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) Rite or phylactery
<i>PGM</i> XC. 14–18	H.D.B.	Salve for fever
<i>PGM</i> XCI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCII. 1–16	R.D.K.	[Charm] for favor
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Sacrificial rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 7–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 4–6	R.D.K.	Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 7–9	R.D.K.	For excellent health
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 10–16	R.D.K.	A phylactery for [fever]

<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 17–21	R.D.K.	For those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 22–26	R.D.K.	For the eyes
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 27–35	R.D.K.	[For] tumors [and] . . .
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 36–38	R.D.K.	[For . . .] and strangury
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 39–60	R.D.K.	Another, for migrainic headache
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for subjugation
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 7–13	R.D.K.	Concerning the mole-[rat]
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 14–18	R.D.K.	A remedy for all cases of . . . [epilepsy]
<i>PGM</i> XCVI. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 1–6	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell against eye disease (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 7–9	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 10–13	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 15–17	H.D.B.	For every [disease]
<i>PGM</i> XCVIII. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCIX. 1–3	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> C. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> CI. 1–53	H.D.B.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CII. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> CIII. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CV. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Invocation of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> CVI. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CVII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIX. 1–8	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> CX. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> CXI. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Instruction for making magical figures
<i>PGM</i> CXII. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIII. 1–4	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIV. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for attacks by daimons and for epilepsy
<i>PGM</i> CXV. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CXVI. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Invocation of Typhon-Seth
<i>PGM</i> CXVII. Fr. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXVIII	—	(No title) Magical scroll (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 1	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment from formulary
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 2–3	R.D.K.	Love spell through touch
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 4–6	R.D.K.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 7–11	R.D.K.	Charm to subject
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 4–5	R.D.K.	[For fever with shivering fits]
<i>PGM</i> CXX. 1–13	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for a variety of evils
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 1–5	H.D.B.	An excerpt for enchantments
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 5–25	H.D.B.	Enchantment using apples
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 26–50	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell (fetching charm?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 51–55	H.D.B.	For headache
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>

<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 24–47	R.D.K.	Erotylos
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 48–50	R.D.K.	For childbearing
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 51–52	R.D.K.	For sleep
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 53–55	R.D.K.	For strangury
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 56–68	R.D.K.	For a shivering fit
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 69–72	R.D.K.	For victory
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIb	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIc	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIId	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIe	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIf	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 6–43	R.D.K.	Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> CXXVa–f	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragments of spells
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIa. 1–21	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIb. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of formulary of magico-medical prescriptions
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	Phylactery for fever
<i>PGM</i> CXXIX. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of unidentifiable spell
<i>PGM</i> CXXX. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) For a shivering fever
<i>PDM</i> Supplement		
1–6	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
7–18	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
19–27	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
28–40	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
40–60	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
60–101	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
101–16	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
117–30	J.H.J.	{Spell} for sending a dream
130–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Osiris
138–49	J.H.J.	Spell for . . . (subjection?)
149–62	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Thorh
162–68	J.H.J.	Spell for finding your house of life
168–84	J.H.J.	Spell for reciting a document
185–208	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragments of rites and formulae

List of Papyri in Preisendanz

Reference	Location	Number	Date
I	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5025	IV ^P /V ^P —
II	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5026	IV ^P
III	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frags. 1–4)	IV ^P —
IV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	<i>P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl.</i> gr. no. 574	IV ^P —
V	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 46	IV ^P ?
Va	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet	<i>P.Holm.</i> , p. 42	
VI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 47	II ^P or III ^P
VII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 121	III ^P /IV ^P —
VIII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 122	IV ^P or V ^P
IX	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 123	IV ^P or V ^P
X	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 124	IV ^P or V ^P
XIa	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 125 verso	V ^P
XIb	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 147	III ^P
XIc	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 148	II ^P /III ^P
XII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV ^P
XIII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 395 (W)	IV ^P —
XIV	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.demot.</i> 10070	III ^P
	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 383	III ^P
XV	Alexandria, Musée gréco- romain d'Alexandrie	<i>P.Alex.</i> inv. 491	III ^P
XVI	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 3378	I ^P
XVIIa	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1167	IV ^P
XVIIb	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1179	II ^P
XVIIc	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 574	
XVIIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 955	III ^P /V ^P
XVIIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 956	III ^P /V ^P
XIXa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9909	IV ^P or V ^P
XIXb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 11737	IV ^P
XX	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 7504 + <i>P.Amb.</i> ii, Col. II (A) + <i>P.Oxy. inedit.</i> (=Pack ² 1872)	I ^a
XXI	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9566 verso	II ^P or III ^P
XXIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> IV 1026 (inv. no. 9873)	IV ^P or V ^P
XXIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 13895	IV ^P

XXIII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 412	III ^p
XXIVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 886	III ^p
XXIVb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 887	III ^p
XXVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 959	III ^p
XXVb	Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. Un. Bibl. Freib.</i> (w/o no.)	VI ^p
XXVc	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P. Cairo</i> 10434	
XXVd	Florence, Società Italiana per la ricerca de papiri	<i>P. Flor.</i> (w/o no.)	
XXVI	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1477	III ^p /IV ^p
XXVII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1478	III ^p /IV ^p
XXVIIa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2061	V ^p
XXVIIb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2062	VI ^p
XXVIIc	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2063	VI ^p
XXIX	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1383	III ^p
XXXa–f	[omitted]		
XXXIa–c	[omitted]		
XXXII	London, University College Institute of Archaeology	<i>P. Haw.</i> 312	II ^p
XXXIII	Berkeley, University of California	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 275	III ^p
XXXIV	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	<i>P. Fay.</i> 5	II ^p /III ^p
XXXV	Florence, Università degli Studi, Istituto di Papirologia	PSI I 29	V ^p
XXXVI	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 1	IV ^p
XXXVII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 2	IV ^p
XXXVIII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 3	IV ^p
XXXIX	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 4	IV ^p
XL	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 1	IV ^p
XLI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 339 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 4	V ^p /VI ^p
XLII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 331 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 8	VI ^p
XLIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 335 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 9	V ^p
XLIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 328 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 10	NA
XLV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 334 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 11	VI ^p /VII ^p
XLVI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 332 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 12	V ^p
XLVII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8034 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 2 [no. 526, Wessely]	NA
XLVIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8031 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 6 [no. 529, Wessely]	VI ^p /VII ^p
XLIX	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8035 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 7 [no. 525, Wessely]	NA
L	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8033 = <i>P. Rain.</i> [no. 527, Wessely]	VI ^p
LI	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 9.418	III ^p
LII	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 9.429	III ^p
LIII–LVI	[omitted]		
LVII	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	cryptogr. pap. [otherwise uncataloged]	I ^p /II ^p
LVIII	Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek	inv. no. 266 = <i>P. Iand.</i> 87	IV ^p
LIX	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P. Cairo</i> 10563	II ^p or III ^p
LX	Brussels, Fondation Eryp- tologique Reine Elisabeth	<i>P. Brux.</i> in. E 6390, 6391	VI ^p

LXI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Brit.Mus.</i> inv. 10588 (Egyptian Dept.)	III ^p
LXII	Leiden, Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae	<i>P.Warren</i> 21	III ^p
LXIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 323	II ^p /III ^p
LXIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29273	IV ^p
LXV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29272	VI ^p /VII ^p
LXVI	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60139	III ^p /IV ^p
LXVII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60140	NA
LXVIII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60636	II ^p /III ^p
LXIX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 1463 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 156	II ^p
LXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 7 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 154	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXI	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 193 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 155	II ^p or III ^p
LXXII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	inv. no. 75 = <i>P.Osl.</i> III, 75	I ^p /II ^p
LXXIII–LXXVI	[omitted]		
LXXVII	Birmingham, Woodbroke College	<i>P.Harr.</i> 55	II ^p
LXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Hcid.</i> 2170	III ^p
LXXIX	Prague, National and Univer- sity Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 18	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXX	Prague, National and Univer- sity Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 21	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXXI	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1566	IV ^p

List of New Papyri Not in Preisendanz

Note: Bibliographical references are provided at the end of the translation of each spell.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>
LXXXII	Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski	<i>P. Vars.</i> 4	III ^P
LXXXIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 8963	<i>P. Princ.</i> II 107	
LXXXIV	Princeton, Princeton University Garrett Dep. 7665	<i>P. Princ.</i> II 76	III ^P
LXXXV	Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Central Library	<i>P. Harris</i> 56	I ^P /II ^P
LXXXVI	Paris, L'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Paris	<i>P. Rein.</i> II 89 inv. 2176	IV ^P
LXXXVII	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. Erlangen</i> 37	IV ^P
LXXXVIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 11230	<i>P. Princ.</i> III 15	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXXIX	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Lund Univ. Bibl.</i> IV 12 inv. no. 32	IV ^P
XC	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	<i>P. Med.</i> inv. no. 23	IV ^P /V ^P
XCI	Collection, G. A. Michailidis	<i>P. Michael.</i> 27	III ^P or IV ^P
XCII	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	<i>P. Merton</i> II 58	III ^P
XCIII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P. Ant.</i> II 65	V ^P
XCIV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P. Ant.</i> II 66	V ^P
XCV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P. Ant.</i> III 140	V ^P /VI ^P
XCVI	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P. Palau Rib.</i> inv. 126	IV ^P /V ^P
XCVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P. Köln</i> inv. 1886	III ^P /IV ^P
XCVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P. Köln</i> inv. 1982	III ^P
XCIX	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P. Köln</i> inv. 2283	V ^P /VI ^P
C	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P. Köln</i> inv. 2861	V ^P /VI ^P
CI	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P. Köln</i> inv. 3323	V ^P

CII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2753	IV ^P
CIII	Athens, Archaeological Society	<i>P.S.A. Athen.</i> 70	II ^P
CIV	Genoa, Università di Genova	<i>PUG</i> I 6	III ^P
CV	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21227	III ^P /IV ^P
CVI	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21165	III ^P /IV ^P
CVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5512	III ^P or IV ^P
CVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5514	III ^P or IV ^P
CIX	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 50.4 B23 J(1–3)b	ca. A.D. 300
CX	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 181	II ^P or III ^P
CXI	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 139	III ^P /IV ^P
CXII	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 242	IV ^P /V ^P
CXIII	Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam	<i>P.Amst.</i> inv. 16	V ^P
CXIV	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 989	III ^P /IV ^P
CXV	Budapest, Collection of Erno Gaál	<i>P.(Mag.) Gaál.</i> ined.	IV ^P
CXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> inv. 54	VI ^P
CXVII	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung	<i>P.Mon.Gr.</i> inv. 216	I ^a
CXVIII	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 200	before X ^P ?
CXIX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 57 (PL II/52)	III ^P
CXX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 58 (PL III/442)	III ^P
CXXI	Milan, Università Cattolica di Milano	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. 71.58	III ^P /IV ^P
CXXII	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 21243	I ^a /I ^P
CXXIIIa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. I–6	V ^P
CXXIV	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , no. 7	V ^P
CXXVa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 8–13	V ^P –VI ^P
CXXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III/472	V ^P
CXXVII	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 1206	III ^P or IV ^P
CXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitäts-Papyrussammlung	<i>P.Heid.G.</i> 1386	V ^P
CXXIX	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums (?)	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21260	III ^P
CXXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	<i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 6666	III ^P
PDM	Paris, Musée du Louvre	<i>P.Louvre</i> E3229	III ^P
Supplement			

Note on Editions

For the editions of the Greek papyri as cited, see the bibliography in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980), pp. 154–77, with the following exceptions:

- | | |
|--|--|
| PGM XC: A. Traversa, <i>Aegyptus</i> 33
(1953): 57–62 | PGM CXVIII: J. O'Callaghan, <i>StPapy</i> 17
(1978): 85–87 |
| PGM XCVI: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 25
(1977): 150–53 | PGM CXIX–CXX: R. Pintaudi, <i>Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P.Laur. III)</i> , <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 5
(Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979), nos. 57–58 |
| PGM XCVII–CI: D. Wortmann, <i>BoJ</i> 168
(1968): 85–111 | PGM CXXI: G. Geraci, <i>Aegyptus</i> 33
(1979): 63–72 |
| PGM CV–CVI: W. Brashear, <i>ZPE</i> 17
(1975): 25–33 | PGM CXXII: W. Brashear, <i>ZPE</i> 33
(1979): 261–78 |
| PGM CVII–CVIII: R. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 19
(1975): 249–64 | PGM CXXIII–CXXV: F. Maltomini, <i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> 29 (1979): 55–124 |
| PGM CIX: P. Gorissen, <i>ZPE</i> 37
(1980): 199–200 | PGM CXXVI: F. Maltomini, in R. Pintaudi, ed., <i>Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P.Laur. IV)</i> , <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983): 46–53 |
| PGM CX–CXII: Z. M. Packman, <i>BASP</i> 13
(1976): 175–80 | PGM CXXVII: G. M. Parássoglou, <i>Hellenica</i> 27 (1974): 251–53 |
| PGM CXIII: P. J. Sijpesteijn, <i>ZPE</i> 22
(1976): 108 | PGM CXXVIII–CXXIX: F. Maltomini, <i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> 31
(1981): 111–117 |
| PGM CXIV–CXV: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 25
(1977): 145–54 | PGM CXXX: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 50
(1983): 147–54 |
| PGM CXVI: R. Pintaudi, <i>ZPE</i> 26
(1977): 245–48 | |
| PGM CXVII: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini, ed., <i>Papiri Letterari Greci</i> (Pisa: Giardini, 1978), no. 34 | |

For the Demotic magical papyri, see Janet H. Johnson's Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri below, pp. 00–00. The editions are accordingly:

- | | |
|--|--|
| PDM xii: J. H. Johnson, <i>OMRM</i> 56
(1975): 29–64 | PDM lxi: Bell, Nock, and Thompson, <i>Magical Texts</i> |
| PDM xiv: F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, <i>The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden</i> , 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904) | PDM Supplement: J. H. Johnson, <i>Enchoria</i> 7
(1977): 55–102 |

Explanation of References and Textual Signs

PGM I.
262–347

References cited thus refer to translations of the corresponding Greek text of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, with each roman numeral (including those with appended letters, e.g., *PGM* Va) corresponding to a separate papyrus manuscript. Roman numerals after *PGM* LXXXI refer to texts whose translations are based on editions published since, and sometimes overlooked by, Preisendanz. The bibliographies of these editions are mentioned in the introductory note (*) to each spell. Arabic numerals usually delineate the compass of individual spells within the papyrus manuscript. The use of the separate designations for each independent spell or charm represents a new feature designed to enable easy identification and ready reference to an individual spell.

PDM xxi. 6–20

References listed thus refer to Demotic (bilingual) spells corresponding to the texts whose editions are listed in the introductory note (*) to each spell. *PDM* stands for *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, referring to this volume and not to be confused with *DMP*, an abbreviation for Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, a work often referred to in the notes. Lower-case roman numerals are used simply to avoid confusion with spells labeled *PGM*. Arabic numerals are used as above.

[*PGM* XII.
445–48]

PGM references bracketed thus come immediately after references for bilingual Greek sections with the given spell. The references correspond to the appropriate Greek portions in Preisendanz, whose edition contained only the Greek sections of the Greek/Demotic spells. Since this translation volume contains all the Demotic spells, Preisendanz's numbering system is retained, but it is subsumed under the new Demotic collation.

A,b,c

Texts set in roman type represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Greek.

A,b,c

Texts set with leader dots beneath represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Demotic (Egyptian).

A,b,c

Texts with a thin underscore represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Old Coptic. Coptic is found both in the Greek texts of Preisendanz's edition and as glosses in portions of the Demotic/Greek bilingual spells; however, the purely Coptic magical spells form a separate corpus not dealt with in this volume.

- * An asterisk introduces an independent spell or a spell that contains most of the constituent parts necessary to effect the whole charm, though organic connections with adjacent spells can be recognized (e.g., spells entitled “*Another . . .*,” or the like). The asterisk directs the reader to the contributor, whose name is given at the end of the spell. Some introductory comments may be found here as well. Bibliographical data, if appropriate, may also be listed.
- Tr.: This abbreviation stands for “translator” or “transcriber” (if the text contains no recognizable words that can be translated).
- Victory spell: Phrases set in roman boldface type refer to general titles of charms which usually stand at the beginning of the spell and which are often followed by one or more subtitles. Many spells do not possess a title, either because of a scribal omission or because it has been lost in a lacuna in the text.
- Spell to be spoken* Phrases set in italic boldface type refer to various subtitles and a number of types of rubrics (subsumed under the main title) that function in a titular sense to introduce a component feature of a spell. These may introduce ingredients, additional instructions, invocations, figures, magical names and characters, and so on, which are mentioned in the instructions in the text. In a long, multifunctional spell (cf. *PGM* IV. 2145–2240 and *PGM* XIII. 1–343), general titles are subordinate to the larger title, which describes an often elaborate ritual. In description, these general titles are identical to the main titles of most spells but are set as subtitles since they usually depend on a prior set of conditions to guarantee their efficacy.
- IAŌ SABAŌTH
ADŌNAI Small capital letters indicate magical names (*voces magicae*) which are usually untranslatable and often meaningless to the reader. In some instances, small capital letters preserve recognizable Greek, Egyptian, or Semitic words that merit special attention. Portions of texts whose fragmentary nature precludes the possibility of proper translation, but which may in fact have been readable in the original, are also set in small capitals.
- A diagonal slash indicates every fifth line of translated text, corresponding to the number given in the left-hand margin. Usually these are numbered consecutively until a new papyrus number is introduced.
- 35 [5] A bracketed number alongside the regular number refers to the line number of the original edition (in a Greek/Demotic text). Occasionally at the beginning the column number and line are also cited (e.g., [Col. III,5]).
- 30 (4) A number in parentheses refers to the original line of Preisendanz in a Greek/Demotic spell. The number corresponds to the *PGM* reference given within the bracketed number at the head of the spell.

- ... An ellipsis in the body of the text refers to a lost portion regardless of the size of the lacuna. Some punctuation (e.g., a comma or a period) may also be added at the end of the ellipsis.
- [spell] Brackets enclosing words indicate that the words are not preserved in the original text. These include (1) suggested restorations of lacunae; (2) editorial expansions of the text to elucidate the sense of the original language; and (3) phrases traditionally set off by pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩, namely, modern corrections to scribal omissions or errors. Scholars interested in determining which use the bracketed text refers to are recommended to consult the texts of the original editions. As a general rule, bracketed texts will not divide a word, but will surround the whole word if its reading is fairly uncertain.
- (add the usual) Parentheses enclosing words simply indicate material in the original texts best understood as parenthetical comments of the ancient authors and redactors.
- “Come to
me . . .” Quotation marks enclosing words indicate material that is spoken (or intended to be spoken) or written (or intended to be written). Material not enclosed in quotation marks usually refers to parts of a formulary that contain instructions and directions apart from the material to be written or spoken. Such instructions are peculiar to the papyri that have preserved magical formularies, whereas the actual amulets and phylacteries found on papyrus usually contain simple invocations that have been transcribed as a result of following the instructions in such magical handbooks.
- Incantations originally written in Greek meter are set as verse, that is, they are indented *en bloc*, with the first letter of each line capitalized. In cases where the meter falters within such a hymnic portion, the original margin is restored to indicate prose.
- NN In the magical formularies, this abbreviation stands for a name or names to be inserted by the reader, the names of the persons against or for whom the magic is to be carried out. In the case of “(the) NN matter,” the reader understands that specific requests are to be named at this point.
- [R.K.R.] At the end of each footnote, the bracketed initials refer to the contributing scholar responsible for the material immediately preceding. Notes that carry no initials represent the joint efforts of the contributors and scholars.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series Titles, and General Reference Works

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AKA	<i>Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der (K.) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
APAW.PH	<i>Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Bauer	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire</i>
BoJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
Bonnet, RÄRG	Hans Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952)
ByZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CEg	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary	J. Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976)
CIR	<i>Classical Review</i>
Crum, Coptic Dictionary	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
DMP	<i>Demotic Magical Papyri</i> (see Griffith and Thompson)
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien</i> 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971 repr.)
GGA	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>
Kropp, <i>Koptische Zaubertexte</i>	A. M. Kropp, <i>Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte</i> 3 vols. (Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31)
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LdÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddel-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexikon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
<i>N.F.</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>NHSt</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>
<i>NT.S</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum, Supplements</i>
<i>OMRM</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>Orph. Frag.</i>	<i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. O. Kern (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, ³ 1972)
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Papyrus Oxyrhynchus</i>
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> (as cited in this volume only)
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, et al. (Stuttgart: Teubner, ² 1973–74)
<i>PRE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften</i>
<i>PRE.S</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Supplementa</i>
Preisendanz	See <i>PGM</i> ; on Preisendanz, vol. III, see the Introduction below, n. 37
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RÄRG</i>	See Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i>
<i>RVV</i>	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i>
<i>SCHNT</i>	<i>Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>StPapy</i>	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Abbreviations of Major Titles Used in This Volume

Ancient authors are cited with name and title, the latter following the customary abbreviations. In cases of doubt, see *LSJ*, pp. xvi–xxxviii: “Authors and Works.”

Abt, <i>Apologie</i>	A. Abt, <i>Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei</i> . Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift <i>de magia</i> (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908)
Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>	A. Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt</i> . . . (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904)
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, <i>Magical Texts</i>	H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, <i>Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933)
Bergman, <i>Ich bin Isis</i>	J. Bergman, <i>Ich bin Isis</i> . Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien, <i>Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis</i> 3 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968)
Berthelot and Ruelle, <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i>	M. Berthelot and C.-E. Ruelle, <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i> (Paris: Steinheil, 1888)
Blau, <i>Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen</i>	L. Blau, <i>Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen</i> (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898)
Betz, “The Delphic Maxim”	H. D. Betz, “The Delphic Maxim ‘Know Yourself’ in the Greek Magical Papyri,” <i>HR</i> 21 (1981): 156–71
Betz, “Fragments”	H. D. Betz, “Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus,” <i>HR</i> 19 (1980): 287–95
Betz, <i>Lukian</i>	H. D. Betz, <i>Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament</i> , TU 76 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
Bleeker, <i>Hathor and Thoth</i>	C. J. Bleeker, <i>Hathor and Thoth</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1973)
Bonner, <i>SMA</i>	C. Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
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Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri

Hans Dieter Betz

"The Greek magical papyri" is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To be sure, this body of material represents only a small number of all the magical spells that once existed.¹ Beyond these papyri we possess many other kinds of material: artifacts, symbols and inscriptions on gemstones, on ostraka and clay bowls, and on tablets of gold, silver, lead, tin and so forth.²

I

The history of the discovery of the Greek magical papyri is a fascinating subject.³ We know from literary sources that a large number of magical books in which spells were collected existed in antiquity. Most of them, however, have disappeared as the result of systematic suppression and destruction. The episode about the burning of the magical books in Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19:10) is well known and typical of many such instances. According to Suetonius,⁴ Augustus ordered 2,000 magical scrolls to be burned in the year 13 B.C. Indeed, the first centuries of the Christian era saw many burnings of books, often of magical books, and not a few burnings that included the magicians themselves.

As a result of these acts of suppression, the magicians and their literature went underground. The papyri themselves testify to this by the constantly recurring admonition to keep the books secret.⁵ Yet the systematic destruction of the magical literature over a long period of time resulted in the disappearance of most of the original texts by the end of antiquity. To us in the twentieth century, terms such as "underground literature" and "suppressed literature" are well known as descriptions of contemporary phenomena. We also know that such literature is extremely important for the understanding of what people are really thinking and doing in a particular time, geographical area, or cultural context. Magical beliefs and practices can hardly be overestimated in their importance for the daily life of the people. The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion—calling the former "religion" and "church" and the latter "magic" and "cult"—did not exist in antiquity except among a few intellectuals.⁶

Thus the suppression of this magical literature has deprived us of one of our most important sources of ancient religious life. Modern views of Greek and Roman religions have long suffered from certain deformities because they were unconsciously shaped by the only remaining sources: the literature of the cultural elite, and the archeological remains of the official cults of the states and cities.

But not everything was lost.⁷ At the end of antiquity, some philosophers and theologians, astrologers and alchemists collected magical books and spells that were still available. Literary writers included some of the material in their works, if only

to make fun of it. It is known that philosophers of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic schools, as well as Gnostic and Hermetic groups, used magical books and hence must have possessed copies. But most of their material vanished and what we have left are their quotations.

The Greek magical papyri are, however, original documents and primary sources. Their discovery is as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism.⁸

Like these manuscript discoveries, the discovery of the Greek magical papyri was and often still is the outcome of sheer luck and almost incredible coincidences. In the case of the major portion of the collection, the so-called Anastasi collection, the discovery and rescue is owed to the efforts (and, if one may use the term, cooperation) of two individuals separated by more than a thousand years: the modern collector d'Anastasi and the original collector at Thebes.

In the nineteenth century, there was among the "diplomatic" representatives at the court in Alexandria a man who called himself Jean d'Anastasi (1780?–1857). Believed to be Armenian by birth, he ingratiated himself enough with the pasha to become the consular representative of Sweden.⁹ It was a time when diplomats and military men often were passionate collectors of antiquities, and M. d'Anastasi happened to be at the right place at the right time. He succeeded in bringing together large collections of papyri from Egypt, among them sizable magical books, some of which he said he had obtained in Thebes.¹⁰ These collections he shipped to Europe, where they were auctioned off and bought by various libraries: the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre in Paris, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. Another papyrus was acquired by Jean François Mimaout (1774–1837), also a diplomat, whose acquisition ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale (PGM III).¹¹ Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the circumstances of the actual findings. But it is highly likely that many of the papyri from the Anastasi collection came from the same place, perhaps a tomb or a temple library.¹² If this assumption is correct, about half a dozen of the best-preserved and largest extant papyri may have come from the collection of one man in Thebes. He is of course unknown to us, but we may suppose that he collected the magical material for his own use. Perhaps he was more than a magician. We may attribute his almost systematic collections of *magica* to a man who was also a scholar,¹³ probably philosophically inclined, as well as a bibliophile and archivist concerned about the preservation of this material.¹⁴

Although the person who collected the Anastasi papyri remains unknown, comparable figures are known from later Egyptian literature. In the Demotic Papyrus no. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, there appears Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis. This legendary figure belongs to the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, published by Francis Llewelyn Griffith,¹⁵ stories that in many ways can serve as illustrative companions to the Greek magical papyri. Miriam Lichtheim has given this summary portrait in the third volume of her *Ancient Egyptian Literature*:

Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-ka-ptah), who lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accom-

panied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession. . . .¹⁶

The collection of the Anastasi papyri, if it was brought together by one person, may have been buried with him, either in his tomb or in the rubble of collapsed buildings. At any rate, when d'Anastasi came to Thebes and the papyri were offered to him, he sensed their value and acquired them, thus saving them from destruction.

It took almost another century, however, before scholars learned to appreciate the value of the papyri and started investigating them. It is noteworthy that the auction catalog of d'Anastasi's collection calls the material simply "fromage mystique."¹⁷ Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the papyri were stored in the museums simply as curiosities.

Scholarly investigations began when the great Dutch scholar Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (1793–1835) described some of the content of the Leiden papyrus J 395 (*PGM* XIII) in his *Lettres à M. Letronne* published in 1830.¹⁸ This work was reviewed almost immediately by the German historian of religion Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), who also translated Reuvens's excerpts into German.¹⁹ But Reuvens died before his edition of the Leiden papyri could appear. It was forty years before another Dutch scholar, the Egyptologist Conrad Leemans (1809–93), published the edition (*PGM* XII, XIII)²⁰ together with a Latin translation (1885).²¹

The first publication, however, is due to the efforts of the British scholar Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (1817–78), who published one of the papyri (*PGM* V) together with an English translation and commentary for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1853.²² Then the German philologist Gustav Parthey (1798–1872) edited the two papyri from Berlin in 1865 (*PGM* I, II).²³ A very important new phase began when the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931) published in 1888 a transcription of the great magical papyrus of Paris (*PGM* IV), the London papyrus (*PGM* V), and the Mimant papyrus (*PGM* III),²⁴ followed in 1889 by corrections.²⁵ In 1893 both Wessely²⁶ and Frederick George Kenyon (1863–1952)²⁷ independently edited and published the magical papyri of London (*PGM* VII–X). The last major papyrus was published in 1925 by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem (1872–1966),²⁸ who had acquired in Egypt a valuable magical scroll with many drawings (*PGM* XXXVI).

With these important publications, the major pieces of the Greek magical papyri known to this period had become available. It seems to have been a suggestion first made by the great scholar of Greek religion, Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), that all the available papyri should be published in a handy study edition. But this idea developed only gradually after Dieterich began teaching a seminar on the subject of the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg in 1905.²⁹

Today it is astonishing to learn that teaching such a seminar at that time was quite a daring enterprise. Magic was so utterly despised by historians and philologists that the announcement of the seminar did not mention the word "magic" but was simply phrased as "Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri."³⁰

How far the dislike of the magical papyri could go is illustrated by a remark made by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that these papyri were found because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism."³¹

Dieterich,³² however, was at the edge of a wave of interest generated by the new

discipline of history of religions. His seminar therefore had a surprising attraction for students, some of whom wrote their dissertations on related subjects and became contributors to the study edition. The plan for such a study edition was seriously threatened by Dieterich's sudden death on 6 May 1908, but the work was taken over by Dieterich's students, foremost of whom was Richard Wünsch, chief editor. Adam Abt, Ludwig Fahz, Adolf Erman, Georg Möller, and other contributors³³ stepped in to carry on the work.

When the body of the material of *PGM* I–IV was almost ready, World War I broke out and interrupted the work. Wünsch, Abt, and Möller were killed in the war. Despite these terrible losses and the desperate economic situation following the war, the publisher, B. G. Teubner of Leipzig, did not give up the project, but decided to start over. The edition was entrusted to Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), another of Dieterich's former students.³⁴ Scholars at that time faced difficulties scarcely conceivable to us today, yet they persisted. In addition, a remarkable degree of international cooperation existed among the scholars.³⁵ Sam Eitrem from Oslo and Adolf Jacoby from Luxemburg joined the team, and British, French, and Dutch scholars gave their support to the effort. The *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* as well as other governmental agencies gave financial support, so that despite all the problems the first volume of the first edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* could appear in 1928, with a second volume following in 1931.³⁶

While all this was happening, new magical papyri were being discovered and published. A third volume, which was also supposed to contain extensive indexes, therefore became necessary. But this volume never appeared, for World War II broke out.

Despite the war, the work had progressed to the actual production of galley proofs, with the preface dated "Pentecost, 1941,"³⁷ when on 4 December 1943 the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig was bombed and everything was destroyed.³⁸ Fortunately, however, the galley proofs survived the war and are at present being used by a number of scholars in the form of xerox copies. When Karl Preisendanz, the editor of the first edition and tireless promoter of the study of the Greek magical papyri before and after World War II, died on 26 April 1968, the publishing house of Teubner, which had in part been relocated in Stuttgart, West Germany, decided to bring out a new edition. This new edition was prepared by Albert Henrichs, a papyrologist from Cologne, who has been on the faculty of Harvard University since 1973.³⁹ It appeared in two volumes in 1973–74.⁴⁰ The first volume is mostly a reprint of the first edition, though many corrections have been made. The second volume, however, is considerably different from the first edition. A number of papyri were reedited completely, and the papyri originally planned to appear in vol. III were added so that vol. II of the 1974 edition contains all pieces up to *PGM* LXXXI. The idea of a third volume containing the indexes was postponed because all indexes would have to be redone in view of the changes and additions in the material.

II

What is the significance of the Greek magical papyri? Scholars since Albrecht Dieterich have consistently pointed out the importance of the Greek magical papyri to the study of ancient religions; thus we can limit ourselves here to a summary of the issues.⁴¹

Historians of religion are intrigued by the Greek magical papyri for a number of reasons. If, as Dieterich rightly says,⁴² the papyri are a depository of a great reli-

gious literature over many centuries, the recovery of the sources becomes a task of primary interest. In fact, throughout these sources we find citations of hymns, rituals, formulae from liturgies otherwise lost, and little bits of mythology called *historiolae*. These older materials are now embedded in a secondary context, but by careful application of the methods of literary criticism they are often recoverable.⁴³

Taken as a whole, the material presents a plethora of interesting problems for modern scholarship. One must realize first that the material assembled under the name Greek magical papyri represents a collection of texts of diverse origin and nature. This collection includes individual spells and remedies, as well as collections made by ancient magicians, from the early Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Since the material comes from Greco-Roman Egypt, it reflects an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. Not surprising is the strong influence of Egyptian religion throughout the Greek magical papyri, although here the texts nevertheless show a great variety. Expressed in Greek, Demotic, or Coptic, some texts represent simply Egyptian religion. In others, the Egyptian element has been transformed by Hellenistic religious concepts. Most of the texts are mixtures of several religions—Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, to name the most important.

The picture presented by the Greek magical papyri has been changed substantially by the inclusion of the translation of the Demotic magical papyri. In Preisendanz's edition, the Demotic material was deleted, even when it occurred in the same papyrus as Greek sections apparently written by the same scribe. The inclusion of the Demotic material in the present translation raises new and intriguing questions regarding the relationship between the Greek texts and the antecedent Egyptian sources. Further studies must clarify the process of transmission and transformation of these texts. Such studies will gain new insights into the complex phenomena of the hellenization of religious traditions. (See also the Introduction to the Demotic texts below.)

Another interesting problem is posed by the fact that this material from Greco-Roman Egypt contains many sections that are Greek in origin and nature.⁴⁴ How did this older Greek religious literature find its way into Egypt? We do not, and probably never shall, know. In this older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous, as in Greek folklore.⁴⁵ The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri found in Egypt are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.⁴⁶

Questions similar to those appropriate to the study of Greek religion must be raised in view of the material (divine names as well as entire passages) that comes from some form of Judaism. Jewish magic was famous in antiquity,⁴⁷ and more sources have come to light in recent years; but the origin and nature of the sections representing Jewish magic in the Greek magical papyri is far from clear. Did this material actually originate with Jewish magicians? How did it get into the hands of the magicians who wrote the Greek magical papyri? What kind of transformation took place in the material itself? If the texts in question come from Judaism, what type of Judaism do they represent?

The historian of religion will be especially interested in the kind of syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri.⁴⁸ This syncretism is more than a mixture of diverse elements from Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, and Jewish religion, with a few sprinkles of Christianity.⁴⁹ Despite the diversity of texts, there is in the whole cor-

pus a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity. Such assimilation and uniformity, however, includes primarily the religious traditions already mentioned: the Romans, although in control of Egypt by the time most of the papyri were written, left only a few traces in the material. Thus the papyri represent a Greco-Egyptian, rather than the more general Greco-Roman, syncretism.

In this syncretism, the indigenous ancient Egyptian religion has in part survived, in part been profoundly hellenized.⁵⁰ In its Hellenistic transformation, the Egyptian religion of the pre-Hellenistic era appears to have been reduced and simplified, no doubt to facilitate its assimilation into Hellenistic religion as the predominant cultural reference. It is quite clear that the magicians who wrote and used the Greek papyri were Hellenistic in outlook.

Hellenization, however, also includes the egyptianizing of Greek religious traditions. The Greek magical papyri contain many instances of such egyptianizing transformations, which take very different forms in different texts or layers of tradition. Again, working out the more exact nature of this religious and cultural interaction remains the task of future research.

The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomenon of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and the Hellenistic setting. One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri.⁵¹ Some of the magicians writing and using the spells may have been associated with temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu.⁵² This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adopt and adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly "ecumenical" religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture.

We should make it clear, however, that this syncretism is more than a hodgepodge of heterogeneous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs. As an example, one may mention the enormously important role of the gods and goddesses of the underworld. The role of these underworld deities was not new to Egyptian religion or, to some extent, to ancient Greek religion; but it is characteristic of the Hellenistic syncretism of the Greek magical papyri that the netherworld and its deities had become one of its most important concerns. The goddess Hekate, identical with Persephone, Selene, Artemis, and the old Babylonian goddess Ereschigal, is one of the deities most often invoked in the papyri. Through the egyptianizing influence of Osiris, Isis, and their company, other gods like Hermes, Aphrodite, and even the Jewish god

Iao, have in many respects become underworld deities. In fact, human life seems to consist of nothing but negotiations in the antechamber of death and the world of the dead. The underworld deities, the demons and the spirits of the dead, are constantly and unscrupulously invoked and exploited as the most important means for achieving the goals of human life on earth: the acquisition of love, wealth, health, fame, knowledge of the future, control over other persons, and so forth. In other words, there is a consensus that the best way to success and worldly pleasures is by using the underworld, death, and the forces of death.

Apart from this fascination with the control of death and the underworld powers, there is an equally important fascination with the universe. The older gods of the Greco-Egyptian pantheon now mostly represent the forces of the universe. Thus the Greek god most often invoked is Apollo Helios, a fact consistent with the enormous expansion of the worship of the sun in the Greco-Roman era. Besides other astral deities such as Selene, the constellation of the Bear, and the like, abstract deities, new and old, demand attention. These abstract deities personify Nature (Physis), Time (Kronos, Chronos), Destiny (the Moirai), and most important, the All (Aion). Popular Egyptian gods and goddesses are, however, called upon just as often. Yet the god most often employed is Iao, the Jewish god.

The people whose religion is reflected in the papyri agree that humanity is inescapably at the whim of the forces of the universe. Religion is nothing but taking seriously this dependency on the forces of the universe. Whether the gods are old or new, whether they come from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, or Christian traditions, religion is regarded as nothing but the awareness of and reaction against our dependency on the unfathomable scramble of energies coming out of the universe. In this energy jungle, human life can only be experienced as a jungle, too. People's successes and failures appear to be only the result of Chance (Tyche). Individuals seem to be nothing but marionettes at the end of power lines, pulled here and there without their knowledge by invisible forces.

If this world view takes hold of people, what hope can there be for human life? How could ordinary men and women in the small towns of Egypt get something out of their lives? It is at this point that the magician enters the picture. In a transitional culture like Greco-Roman Egypt, a religious functionary who operated as a crisis manager became a necessity to the lives of ordinary people. This role the magician was able to fulfill.

Applying his craft, the magician could give people the feeling that he could make things work in a world where nothing seemed to work the way it used to. He had handbooks of magic,⁵³ which contained the condensed wisdom of the past, wisdom made effective to solve the problems of the present.

The magician claimed to know and understand the traditions of various religions. While other people could no longer make sense of the old religions, he was able to. He knew the code words needed to communicate with the gods, the demons, and the dead. He could tap, regulate, and manipulate the invisible energies.⁵⁴ He was a problem solver who had remedies for a thousand petty troubles plaguing mankind: everything from migraine to runny nose to bedbugs to horse races, and, of course, all the troubles of love and money.

In short, it was this kind of world in which the magician served as a power and communications expert, crisis manager, miracle healer and inflicter of damages, and all-purpose therapist and agent of worried, troubled, and troublesome souls.⁵⁵

To raise one final question: It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of

entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they? Do people never check up on the efficiency of magicians?

The answer appears to be that, in general, people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may all be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us.⁵⁶ In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works. As the Roman aphorism sums it up, "Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur" ("The world wishes to be deceived, and so it may be deceived"). To an immeasurable extent, people's lives carry on by what they decide they want to believe rather than by what they should believe or even know, by what appears to be real rather than by what is really real, by props and by fads, and by gobbledygook of this kind today and that kind tomorrow.

Magicians are those who have long ago explored these dimensions of the human mind. Rather than decrying the facts, they have exploited them. Magicians have known all along that people's religious need and expectations provide the greatest opportunity for the most effective of all deceptions. But instead of turning against religion, as the skeptics among the Greek and Roman philosophers did, the magicians made use of it. After all, magic is nothing but the art of making people believe that something is being done about those things in life about which we all know that we ourselves can do nothing.

Magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless.

Of course, it is all deception. But who can endure naked reality, especially when there is a way to avoid it? This is why magic has worked and continues to work, no matter what the evidence may be. Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis. Magic makes an unmanageable life manageable for those who believe in it, and a profession profitable for those who practice the art.

Notes

1. For a survey of the material, see the indispensable work by T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924); idem, "Mageia," *PRE* 14.1 (1928): 201–393; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); idem, "Le monde du magicien égyptien," in *Le monde du sorcier, Sources Orientales VII* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1966) 27–65; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, "Magical Texts," in *Textes et Langues de l'Égypte Pharaonique; Hommage à J.-F. Champollion* (Le Caire: Institut d'Égypte, 1974), 3: 7–19. See also J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1137–51; H. Altenmüller, "Magische Literatur," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1151–62. A wider range of literature is discussed by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 1507–57.
2. See the collections by Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); idem, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 20 (1951): 301–45, pls. 96–100; idem, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23

(1954): 138–57; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 1964). On the latter, see especially the reviews by H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965): 409–10; K. Preisendanz, *ByZ* 59 (1966): 388–92; M. Smith, *AJA* 71 (1967): 417–19; A. A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 298–307. On the relationship between gems and papyri see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicæ und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509. For the magical tablets, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae, quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas . . .* (Paris: Fontemoling, 1904); K. Preisendanz, “Fluchtafel (Defixion),” *RAC* 8 (1972): 1–29.

3. See especially K. Preisendanz, “Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie,” in *Aus der Welt des Buches. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft* 75 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951) 223–40.

4. Suctonius, *Augustus* 31.1. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 67; K. Preisendanz, “Dans le monde de la magie grecque,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 10 (1935): 336–37; W. Speyer, “Büchervernichtung,” *JAC* 13 (1970): 123–52, with bibliography.

5. *PGM* LVII and LXXII are even written in cryptography. See also my article “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

6. A definition of the notion of magic cannot be attempted here. In order to provide an adequate definition, the complexities of the notion, its relations with “religion” and “science,” and the rather frustrating history and literature of the problem would have to be discussed first. For a good introduction to the question, see A. A. Barb, “The Survival of Magic Arts,” in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 100–125; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–19; cf. also Aune, *ANRW* II. 23.2, 1510–16 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, *Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

7. On the survival of magic, see Barb’s stimulating article mentioned in note 6 above. Also important for this question is the autobiographical account of the physician Thessalos and its discussion by J. Z. Smith, “The Temple and the Magician,” in his *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 172–89.

8. For the circumstances connected with the discoveries of the Qumran texts, see F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961); for the Nag Hammadi Library, see J. M. Robinson, “The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly,” *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 17–30.

9. C. J. C. Reuvers, *Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus bilingues et Grecs, et sur quelques autres Monumens Gréco-Egyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités de l’Université de Leide* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1830), 1: “M. le chevalier D’ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie.” For bibliographical information, see W. R. Dawson, “Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 158–66.

10. See the remark by F. Lenormant in his catalog of the Anastasi collection entitled *Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes. Cette collection rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, N° 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc.* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857) 84: “M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d’un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c’est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée.”

11. See J.-F. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments coptes et arabes composant la collection de Feu M.J.-F. Mimaui* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1837) pp. Vff.

12. Cf. the report of another collector who speaks of his "residence of eighteen years at Thebes, entirely devoted to its objects of antiquity" (p. IX). This man, a Greek named Giovanni d'Athanasī, from the island of Lemnos, the son of a Cairo merchant, wrote his story at the suggestion of English travelers: Giovanni d'Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum* (London: John Hearne, 1836). As d'Athanasī reports, the papyri are found mostly in or near tombs; so he says about the Demotic papyri: "they are very rare, and are found not in the mummies, but in the terra-cotta urns which are found closed up and buried in the earth around the tombs" (p. 79). See also the *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d'Athanasī, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o'Clock precisely* (London: J. Davy, 1837) 23–24: "Manuscript Rolls of Papyrus, found in the tombs at Thebes." On the whole subject, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970), esp. 44ff.: books placed as gifts in tombs.

13. PGM V.a is a loose page stuck into a work on chemistry, the *Papyrus graecus Holmiensis* in Stockholm. This indicates that the owner and collector of the magical material also possessed works on chemistry. See also B. Olsson, "Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 355–56; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* 91–92.

14. See my article mentioned in note 5 above.

15. Francis Llewelyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

16. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3: *The Late Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 127; cf. also 8–9. See also Farouk Gomaà, *Chaemwese. Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), esp. 70ff. The papyrus was found in a Christian (!) tomb in Thebes. It should be noted that the story dealing with the search for the secret book has a parallel in Pseudo-Democritus, who may be identical with Bolos of Mendes. According to this text, Democritus went to Memphis where he was received by Ostanēs and his students in the temple of Ptah, but Ostanēs died before he initiated Democritus into his mysteries and handed his secret books over to him. Democritus also brought up the shadow of Ostanēs from Hades and asked him about the books. Ostanēs replied that they were in the temple, where they were finally discovered. Both names occur also in PGM (Democritus: VII.167, 795; XII. 351; Ostanēs: IV.2006; XII.122). The text is given in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938) 317–18; see J. H. Waszink, "Bolos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 502–8; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* 26–27, 72–73.

17. Lenormant, *Catalogue* 87 about PGM IV: "En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutent par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la *gnose*."

18. See note 9 above.

19. GGA, 56. Stück, den 9. April 1831, pp. 545–54. Müller remarks (p. 547): "Es gibt wohl keine Urkunde, die es so deutlich machte, wie die Magie, diese Seuche der Geister, vor allem in Aegypten sich entwickelt, und von dem alten Religionssystem dieses Volkes ausgehend, mit Hilfe metaphysischer Speculationen und verworrener Naturkenntnisse, sich zu einem Schrecken erregenden Umfange ausgebildet habe."

20. Leemans's edition was based upon Reuven's manuscript. See Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 225 n.13.

21. C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi. Regis augustissimi jussu edidit, interpretationem latinam, annotationem, indicem et tabulas addidit C. L.*, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1843, 1885). On Leemans, see *L'Egyptologue Conrad Leemans et son correspondance. Contribution à l'histoire d'une science, à l'occasion du cent-cinquantième an-*

niversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centenaire des Congrès des Orientalistes (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

22. C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic: From a Papyrus in the British Museum, Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a Translation and Notes*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. II (Cambridge: Deighton, 1852).

23. G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1865 (Berlin: Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866) 109–80.

24. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 36 (1888): 27–208. On Wessely's achievements in particular, see H. Gerstinger, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 250–55; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 120–22.

25. K. Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale," *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889) 3–23. See the review by A. Dieterich, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 11 (1891): 9–10.

26. "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Wien], philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42 (1893), II. Abhandlung.

27. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. I (London: British Museum, 1893).

28. S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1925).

29. See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), p. 164 n.1, and his remark in a review article, "Griechische und römische Religion," *ARW* 8 (1905): 486–87:

Es nimmt mich immer wieder wunder, dass der unermeßliche Gewinn, der aus den Zauberpapyri nach so vielen Seiten hin zu erlangen ist, nur so wenige Arbeiter lockt. Wie mancher, der religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit tun will, täte besser hier sich zu bemühen als um Probleme herumzureden, zu deren Lösung er doch nichts beitragen kann. Nach dem Schema der 'Papyrologie' gehören sie weder zu den Urkunden noch zu den literarischen Papyri; denn daß sich hier die große religiöse Literatur von Jahrhunderten niedergeschlagen hat, ist nur sehr wenigen deutlich. Die Unbekanntheit mit den magischen Papyri macht sich zum Schaden so mancher religionshistorischer Arbeiten, auch der letzten Jahre, bemerklich, und da die wichtigste Publikation von Wessely in den Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Klasse XXXVI Band 1888, allerdings ohne eigene recensio und emendatio kaum benutzbar ist, habe ich es mit einem meiner Schüler zusammen unternommen, zunächst wenigstens das kapitalste Stück dieser Literatur, das grosse Pariser Zauberbuch, in einer neuen Ausgabe vorzulegen.

See also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1928), p. VI.

30. S. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I*, p. V.

31. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin: Weidmann, ²1902) 254–55. The remark in full reads as follows:

Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, dass diese Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Dass sie das thun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehen, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden,—soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muss er den Menschen menschlich sehn.

32. It should be noted, however, that Dieterich's doctoral dissertation was already devoted to the subject, a work that posed most of the pertinent problems. The dissertation was published in an expanded form under the title "Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi . . .," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband 16 (1888): 749–830; its prolegomena were reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) 1–47.

Dieterich's commentary on the Leiden papyrus J 395 (=PGM XIII) followed under the title *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). Related is the work entitled *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, ²1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). Still indispensable is his commentary on PGM IV. 475–834, entitled *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; ²1909 ed. R. Wünsch; ³1923 ed. O. Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For biographical details and a bibliography see R. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* pp. IX–XLII; H. J. Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule. Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–80): 5–106.

33. See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I* (1928) pp. VIII–IX.

34. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. IX–XII.

36. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz, vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931).

37. See the *Vorrede* to vol. III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), reprinted in the new edition of vol. II, ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), pp. VII–XVII.

38. See K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," in *Miscellanea critica Teubner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964) 215 n.1.

39. See the *Vorwort zur Neuauflage* by Henrichs in vol. I of the new edition (see n. 40 below), pp. XIII–XIV.

40. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974).

41. See A. Dieterich, "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," *Kleine Schriften* 449–539; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929): 219–35, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1: 176–94; A. J. Festugière, "La valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 281–328; M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1960) 129–66; S. Eitrem, "Aus 'Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte': Die magische Papyri," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933*, hrsg. von W. Otto und L. Wenger, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19 (München: Beck, 1934) 243–63.

42. See note 29 above.

43. See, e.g., the attempt to recover ritual fragments from PGM LXX in my article "Fragments of a Catábasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

44. Cf. Nilsson's remark concerning the magical hymns, "Die Religion," 132: "Jedoch sind die Hymnen das Griechischste der Zaubervliteratur. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es ein älteres Zauberesen gegeben hat, das an die griechischen Götter angeschlossen, von dem die auf uns gekommene ägyptische Zaubervliteratur Brocken sich einverleibt hat."

45. Since then fundamental changes have occurred in the interpretation of Greek religion, of which the success of the book by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951) was symptomatic. See also on this point E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 180–81. For recent developments, see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 21ff.; idem, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Sather Classical Lectures 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46. Cf. the comment made by A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 4 n.16: "Much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off. . . ."

47. On Jewish magic and related bibliography, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberesen*

(Strassburg: Trübner, 1898, ²1914); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk-Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vols. 4 and 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1969, 1970); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

48. See for surveys A. A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1971) 138–69; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 520–43 and passim; K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magic im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Neue Serie, V. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Wien: Rohrer/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1956) 111–25.

49. On Jesus and early Christian magic, with related bibliography, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

50. On Egyptian magic of the later periods, see the collection by Lichtheim (see note 16 above); G. Roeder, *Volksglaube im Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1952); idem, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, = *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild*, vol. 4 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1961).

51. On the figure of the magician, see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–89.

52. See W. Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (see note 5 above), 1–22.

53. Some of these handbooks are among the *PGM*. How they were made can still be seen from the partly unfinished, late Byzantine (16th c.) copy in the Gennadios Library in Athens (Codex Gennadianus 45), the text of which was published by A. Delatte, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature magique, le codex Gennadianus 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres*, 5^e série, tome 45 (1959): 280–321.

54. As I have tried to show, even the human self was regarded as a daimon which could be handled by the magician in the same way as all the other energies of the universe. See H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71.

55. A beautiful testimony of this self-understanding is cited by D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 84–85, where the great magician Amenhotep says about himself:

I am really magnificent among any people, one with a heaving heart when he is looking for a plan in some unknown problem, like one whose heart knows it already; who finds a sentence even if it was found destroyed; master of wisdom, friend of the ruler, who does useful things for the Horus, who makes his monuments splendid in order to cause everybody to remember him forever at the august place. Who guides the ignorant through the events since the primeval times, who shows their place to everybody who forgot about it; useful in his ideas, when he is looking for monuments to make immortal the name of his lord; who relates the proverb and acts with his fingers; leader of mankind, of engaging manners as a pleasant one. Who venerates the name of the king and his power, who praises his Majesty at any time of the day, who is on his guard in all his decisions. . . ."

56. A good illustration of the phenomenon is the social and psychological syndrome called "cognitive dissonance." The syndrome can be observed among persons of strong conviction who, when faced with evidence to the contrary of their convictions ("disconfirmation"), become more intense and close themselves off from their social context, rather than develop doubts about these convictions. See the study by Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). The authors of this study themselves may have become another instance of the syndrome: apparently they entered into the project armed with strong convictions about the origins of religion and, without ever becoming suspicious, found nothing but confirmation.

Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri

Janet H. Johnson

As important as the Greek magical papyri are to the understanding of Greco-Roman religion, as noted by Betz in his Introduction to the Greek magical texts, their full significance can be perceived only when it is realized that these texts written in Greek are part of a larger corpus that also includes texts written in that stage of the Egyptian language known as “Demotic,” and that the corpus as a whole derives in very large measure from earlier Egyptian religious and magical beliefs and practices. The interrelationship between the Greek and Egyptian aspects of these magical texts is emphasized by the fact that not only did the major find of such texts, the collection of Anastasi noted by Betz, occur in Egypt, in the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor) and include both Greek and Egyptian documents, but it also included documents that were bilingual—some of the spells were written in Greek, others in Egyptian, all within the same texts and all for use by the same magician. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that even in the spells written in Greek, the religious or mythological background and the methodology to be followed to ensure success may be purely Egyptian in origin. Thus it is only with the inclusion of the Egyptian materials together with the Greek, and the study of the complete corpus, that the full ramifications of this extraordinary body of material can be studied and appreciated.

All four of the Demotic magical texts appear to have come from the collections that Anastasi gathered in the Theban area. Most have passages in Greek as well as in Demotic, and most have words glossed into Old Coptic (Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet [which indicated vowels, which Egyptian scripts did not] supplemented by extra signs taken from the Demotic for sounds not found in Greek); some contain passages written in the earlier Egyptian hieratic script or words written in a special “cipher” script, which would have been an effective secret code to a Greek reader but would have been deciphered fairly simply by an Egyptian.

The longest of the four Demotic texts was at some time torn into two sections (*PDM* xiv; *PGM* XIV). The longer second section was acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1828; it now bears number *P.Lugd.Bar.* J 383 (formerly Anastasi 65). The shorter beginning section was purchased by the British Museum in 1857; it now bears number *P.Lond.demor.* 10070 (formerly Anastasi 1072). The definitive publication of the two sections, including hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with extensive commentary and glossary, is the work of F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson.¹ Attention was attracted to the Leiden section very early when Reuvens recognized the value that the glosses into Greek letters provided for the deciphering of Demotic script.² The entire preserved text (both the beginning and the end of the original manuscript are lost) consists of twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller columns on the verso. All are in Egyptian with the exception of three short passages in three separate columns, which are written in Greek. Elsewhere occasional Greek words occur as glosses to Egyptian

words or are written in the Egyptian text in an alphabetic Demotic script apparently developed for writing magical and foreign words. Much more common than the Greek passages is the use of the older Egyptian hieratic script in the midst of Demotic passages (as if the scribe were transcribing from an earlier manuscript and occasionally forgot to update what he was copying) and glosses into Old Coptic, most frequently for the writing of magical names and presumably to indicate proper pronunciation (which would have been very difficult to do given the abbreviated nature and great age of the traditional Egyptian scripts). Each column of the recto is written within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines; chapter or section headings are written in red ink (a tradition in Egyptian literature from Old Kingdom times³). In some cases, the scribes, while writing the body of the text in black ink, left room for the heading to be added later in red ink but failed to do so. Such headings can easily be restored.

The same scribe who wrote the London and Leiden text also wrote a second manuscript in the Leiden Museum (*PDM* xii; *PGM* XII) that contains Demotic magical texts—the verso of P.Lugd.Bat.J 384 (formerly Anastasi 75).⁴ Of the nineteen columns of magical spells on the verso, the two columns at the beginning (the left end of the manuscript) are purely Demotic, the following thirteen columns are in Greek (although two headings are written in Demotic), the next two columns are again in Demotic, and the last two columns at the right end of the papyrus are largely in Demotic although they have short passages in Greek cited in the middle. (Note that the papyrus is broken at both ends, so it is impossible to determine how many more columns there were originally and in what language.) Within the Demotic sections of the manuscript are occasional passages written in the earlier hieratic script and in alphabetic Demotic as well as Old Coptic glosses. It appears that this text was written before the London and Leiden text since it is in this text that one can see the development of the Old Coptic script being used for glosses. In the columns at the left end of the papyrus, the Old Coptic glosses were written letter by letter above the corresponding Demotic letter. Since the Demotic runs right to left, the glosses run the same direction. This would have been quite confusing to someone reading what appeared to be Greek, so by the glosses in the second group of Demotic spells, at the right end of the papyrus, the scribe had taken to writing the glosses word for word, left to right, over the appropriate Demotic word. It is this latter system that is found throughout the papyrus of London and Leiden. In Leiden J 384, the scribe did not write within a frame or use red ink for headings. That both the papyri of London and Leiden and Leiden J 384 were written in Thebes, where they were found and sold to Anastasi, is indicated further by the fact that the dialect of Coptic to which the glosses and other alphabetic spellings most closely correspond has been identified as “archaic Theban.”⁵

The British Museum also contains a second bilingual Greek and Demotic magical text (*PDM* lxi; *PGM* LXI), P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588.⁶ The recto contains eight columns of Demotic; two have occasional magical names written in Old Coptic and one has the names of some ingredients written in Greek in addition to two Greek sections within the Demotic. The verso contains two columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic and four columns of Greek. The Demotic sections use red ink for chapter headings (italicized in the translations), as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

The fourth Demotic magical text is P.Louvre E3229 (formerly Anastasi 1061).⁷ The preserved fragments (*PDM Supplement*) contain seven columns of Demotic on the recto and one column on the verso; the papyrus is broken at both ends. Both

the earlier hieratic script and Old Coptic are used, together with the alphabetic Demotic script developed for writing magical names and attested in each of these texts except P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588. Section headings are written in red ink on the recto (italicized in the translations); the columns on the recto are written within a red frame, as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

In all four of these texts, all of which can be dated paleographically to the third century A.D. or only slightly later, there is every indication that all the various scripts were written by, and for, the same scribe, a bilingual person equally at home in Egyptian (old, current, and future) and Greek. The contents and the methodology are overwhelmingly Egyptian. Most of the material is completely Egyptian and its origins are easily traceable in earlier Egyptian religious and magical literature. The methods used are likewise standard Egyptian practices. Some of this is indicated in the notes to the translations.

By contrast, Egyptian divinities (in their own names or in the guise of their Greek counterparts) and Egyptian mythological references abound in the Greek texts and Egyptian methodology is also frequent. For example, although threats against gods who might fail to do what one wants go back to the earliest Egyptian religio-magic literature (Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), but are unparalleled in classical Greece, they are frequent in the Greek magical texts as well as those written in Egyptian. Much of the Egyptian background of the Greek texts has been pointed out in the numerous textual notes added by Robert K. Ritner. The common source of the Greek and Egyptian language texts is also indicated by their frequent use of identical strings of invocation names, including, in addition to Egyptian and Greek divinities, western Asiatic divinities, "abracadabra" names, and what appear to the modern reader as gibberish.

Because the bulk of the texts is written in Greek, and because there are short passages of Greek in some of the Egyptian texts,⁸ it has been suggested that the Egyptian texts are translations from the Greek. But there are passages in Egyptian, written in Old Coptic, within many of the Greek texts and, as indicated above, the religious and magical background of many of the spells, both Greek and Egyptian, is decidedly Egyptian. In discussing the Egyptian texts, Griffith and Thompson concluded: "even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian."⁹ The same may be true for much of the Greek material. One must, at any rate, be leery of overstating the Greek case and attributing too much to Greek influence.

The present collection of all the texts, Greek and Egyptian, in one easily usable volume, points this out conclusively. This will, in turn, allow and encourage the comparative study of the purposes, methods, props, magical names, and the like, of the Greek and Egyptian spells and encourage the study of the antecedents of the material in both cultures. This work will add greatly to our understanding of the cultural milieu in which these magical texts were produced and copied. Thus it is the hope of all those who have collaborated on the production of this volume that it will both further our knowledge of a dynamic period in the history of man and also encourage future study of cultural contact and cross-fertilization.

Notes

1. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904).
2. See n. 9 to Betz's Introduction, above.

3. See Georges Posener, "Sur l'emploi de l'encre rouge dans les manuscrits égyptiens," *JEA* 37 (1951): 75–80.
4. The recto contains a long Demotic literary composition known variously as the "Tefnut Legend" or the "Myth of the Sun's Eye"; for a short summary and bibliography, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, pp. 156–57. The magical spells on the verso were published by Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden J 384," *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64; for the identification of the scribe, see *ibid.*, pp. 51–53.
5. Janet H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, vol. 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 105–32.
6. Published by H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933).
7. Published by Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102.
8. But note that, e.g., one of the passages in Greek in London and Leiden concerns the purely Egyptian divinity Osiris and his burial in Abydos.
9. *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, p. 12.

THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

PGM I. 1–42

*[*Rite*]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat¹ and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circaean² falcon / and deify it³ in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it⁴ with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrth the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: "A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ." [But write this, making] two figures:⁵

A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
E E	Y Y Y Y Y Y
Ē Ē Ē	O O O O O
I I I I	I I I I
O O O O O	Ē Ē Ē
Y Y Y Y Y Y	E E
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	A

/ And take the milk with the honey⁶ and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed *spell*:

"A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,⁷ Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man's seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, ll. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, N.F. 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κυρκαιος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. "*κύρκος*," I: "a kind of hawk or falcon." See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magic," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. "Falkc."

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, "Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning," *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, "Zu dem Ausdruck *høj* 'Εστῆς,'" *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, "Ertrinken, Ertränken," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also PGM III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the PGM and called "grapelite," "heart-shaped" or "winged," may be an example of *technopaïgnion*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte" 104; G. Wojaczek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. "Milch."

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis "the good oxherd": *PDM* xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffiths and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 24 and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,⁸ you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds⁹ into the [sacred fig]tree of Heliopolis¹⁰ continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÖTH BAKCHABRĒ.”

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards¹¹ and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

*The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:¹² . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,¹³ a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun’s orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon’s head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (*δι-ηνεκέως*). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *šīd* tree (see L. Kákossy, “Ischedbaum,” *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree “in which is life and death” (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *perseu* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means “herald,” may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, “Keryx,” *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,¹⁴ it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the goddess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis¹⁵ in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess.

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel¹⁶ whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly¹⁷ learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods and Mendesian wine,¹⁸ set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy¹⁹ serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words²⁰ to the god: “I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, ‘Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!’”

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.²¹ Test this²² oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, “Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will,” and the god vanishes.

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh *troglitis*. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as “Ethiopian myrrh.”

16. This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as “the god” throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in *PGM* I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean “precisely” or “in detail.”

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendacian wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium *PGM* II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. πρόπεμπε with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: “first,” hence “preliminary words.” [E.N.O.]

21. πρὸς ἃ φράζει should be read as second-person middle (cf. I. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word “this” is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps “the oath itself” is preferable. Cf. I. 156: “the same spell.”

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings warer, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the
 105 single exception of fish²³—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,²⁴ you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered
 110 with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and
 115 you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers
 120 and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars²⁵ and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold
 125 and cold things / warm,²⁶ he will light lamps and extinguish them again.²⁷ And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air.
 130 And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: "ÖRI PI . . . AMOUNTE²⁸ AINTHYPH PICHAROUR²⁹ RAIAL KAPHIOUTH
 135 YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZÖ ZÖN TAZÖTAZÖ PTAZÖ MAU-
 IAS SOUÖRI SOUÖ ÖOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A . . . RICHAMCHÖ BIRATHAU
 ÖPHAU PHAUÖ DAUA AUANTÖ ZOUZÖ ARROUZÖ ZÖTOUAR THÖMNAÖRI AYÖI
 PTAUCHARËBI AÖUSÖBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAA AEËIOYÖYÖOÏËA CHACHACH
 140 CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ö ËI³⁰ / IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABÖEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHËR
 PHICHRÖ PHNYRÖ PHÖCHÖCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMË PHIBAÖCHNËMEÖ." This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. "Schwein"; J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, "Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics," *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see PGM VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in PGM VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikrour*, "the frog." [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning "Amon the Great." [R.K.R.]

*And engraved on the stone*³¹ is: Helioros³² as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): “ACHA ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH.” And after passing an Anubian string³³ through it, wear it around your neck.

Spell to Selene: “INOUTHŌ³⁴ PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAU- RACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU LABAU KANTANTOUMI BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH.” Having said this, you will see some star gradually free itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, kiss him and say the same spell: “ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . . TAMARA CHIŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI.” When you have spoken this, / a reply will be given. But you say to him: “What is your divine name? Reveal it to me ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it].” It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR PHTHĒ MŌTH.³⁵

And this is spoken next: “Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty, boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from me from this day forth through all the time of my life.”

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone asks you “What do I have in mind?” or “What has happened to me?” or even “What is going to happen?,” question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god,³⁶ but he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do something, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, [“Come!”] and you will see him actually standing near you. And say to him, “Perform this task,” and he does it at once, and after doing it he will say to you, “What else do you want? For I am eager for heaven.” If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, “Go, lord,” and he will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RARG* 427–429, s.v. “Löwe.”

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *i ntr* “3, “O great god,” and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body’s subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, “The Decree of Amonrasenethēr for Neskhons,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what
 190 hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure,
 and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things
 the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no
 one except [your] legitimate son³⁷ alone when he asks you for the magic powers
 imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula “IAEÖBAPHRENE-
 MOUN” and the formula “IARBATHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

***This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born
 god:** “I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
 200 whose side the Glorious Ones³⁸ stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father,
 and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the
 celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAÖ CHAÖ CHA OUPH CHTHE-
 THÖNIMEETHËCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAÖ BLATHAMMACHÖTH PHRIXA ÈKE
 . . . PHYËDRYMËÖ PHERPHRITHÖ IACHTHÖ PSYCHEÖ PHIRITHMEÖ ROSERÖTH /
 205 THAMASTRA PHATIRI TAÖCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root,
 [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear
 me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
 210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has
 borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that
 you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

“I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is
 [distressed], and I am perplexed³⁹ and in want of [everything. Wherefore, come]
 215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical
 power of aerial daimon [and] fate.⁴⁰ Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name
 which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHËZOPHÖIM ZADËAGËÖBËPHIA-
 220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKÖTHÖÖËË ACHTHÖNÖN / SA ISAK
 CHÖËIOURTHASIÖ IÖSIA ICHËMEÖÖÖÖ AÖAEI, rescue me in an hour of need.”

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.⁴¹

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with
 the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the
 purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms)
 is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a
 demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz’s reading *ἰσχυρῶ νύχ* is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom (“son of your own loins”), an idiom formed in Greek from the word *ἰσχυιον* (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to “part of the body.” [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35: 11; 1 Kgs 8: 19; Acts 2: 30; Heb 7: 5, 10. See furthermore PGM IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Doxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. “*δόξα*,” 4.

39. The translation of *ἄβουλος* follows Preisendanz (“ratlos”). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42: 6, 12; 43: 5; Jon 4: 9 LXX; Sir 37: 2; Mk 14: 34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in PGM here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l’antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l’argumentation morale anti-fataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, ²1974); H. O. Schröder, “Fatum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1969): 524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

***Indispensable invisibility spell:** Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled⁴² by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive⁴³ and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: “I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ EAŌ,” and moisten it and say in addition: “Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAE IEŌ EAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA.” 225 230

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

***Memory spell:** Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic⁴⁴ myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off⁴⁵ into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount. 235

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: “KAMBRĒ CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRJSKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOUCHA LINOUCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY ĒĒ EE ŌŌ.” After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed. 240

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,⁴⁶ spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write. 245

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

***Tested spell for invisibility:** A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,⁴⁷ say the spell as follows: “I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,⁴⁸ I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.”⁴⁹ Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me.” 250 255

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men. 260

42. The pellet (“that which is rolled”) of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also PGM VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads φακνίνου, which Preisendanz emends to (ὀμ)φακνίνου. For similar expressions, see PGM IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidr, GGA 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37): 1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, “destroyed (him).” [M.W.M.] Cf. DMP col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

“O lord Apollo, come with Paian.⁵⁷
 Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
 Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
 Whene’er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
 First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ 300
 And you, MICHAËL, who rule heaven’s realm,
 I call, and you, archangel GABRIËL.
 Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
 In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
 The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world, 305
 All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.
 I adjure God’s head,⁵⁸ which is Olympos;
 I adjure God’s signet, which is vision;
 I adjure the right hand you held o’er the world;
 I adjure God’s bowl containing wealth;
 I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
 / I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS; 310
 I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
 I adjure these holy and divine names that
 They send me the divine spirit and that it
 Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.
 / Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n⁵⁹ 315
 And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
 [Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].
 Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
 Who moves by night to orders ’neath your force,
 From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /
 In total truth all that my mind designs, 320
 And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
 That my whole body come to light intact,
 For you yourself arranged these things among
 Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name, 325
 In number equal to the very Moirai,
 ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIËLAËIA
 AIËAIËLAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA.”⁶⁰

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy,
 about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining
 revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease, 330
 about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words “Ἀναξ . . . σὺν Παίῳ” form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. *PGM* II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, “I adjure (you hy) God’s head,” here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means “Thoth the great.” [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you
 335 wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which
 you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel,
 340 which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the
 burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:⁶¹

“Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
 O elder-born, self-generating god.
 I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
 I adjure your pow’r which is greatest o’er all; /
 345 I adjure him who destroys e’en in Hades,
 That you depart, returning to your ship,
 And harm me not, but be forever kind.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

“... AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A” (speak the whole
 name thus, in wing formation).¹

“O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
 Come joyous, Leto’s son, who works afar,
 Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
 Foretell, give prophecies amid night’s hour,²
 5 ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA”³ (speak this name too, / leaving off one
 letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):⁴

“If e’er with vict’ry-loving laurel branch
 Here from your holy peak you often voiced
 Words of good omen, so may you now speed
 Your way to me with truthful oracles,
 LAETONION and TABARAÖTH AEÖ EÖ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night,
 who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons,
 10 help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus.”

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and to-
 gether with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be
 placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you
 come in from the prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of fran-
 kincense in the wick of the lamp: “BOASOCH⁵ OĒAĒ IAÖIĒ ŌIAĒ ŌIAĒ NICHARO-
 15 PLĒX / STHOM ŌTHŌ . . . Y IE IÖ ĒI LAĒL IRMOUCH ŌNOR ŌEYE IYŌ EAÖ SABAÖTH
 THĒOTĒ PAÖMIACH SIEOU IAÖ IE IEÖ . . . IOY IEÖY IÖ IĒI ĒÖ IĒAI IEÖA A E Ē I O
 Y Ō.”

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god’s self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Horuung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also PGM I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see PGM I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply (KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA) and (A) at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at PGM IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. PGM I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.⁶ Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a “breathing stone,” the heart of a hoopoe⁷ (also known as the “vulture cock”). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum. 20

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass’s milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs⁸ of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and 25 twelve right-whorled⁹ pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censer¹⁰ of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,¹¹ and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down 30 to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],¹² and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin “BOLSOCH,” etc.¹³

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: “YESSEMMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOËRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE” / (write 12 names). 35

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear. 40

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

*The character is:*¹⁴ 

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of 45

6. σύνθεμα as a variant of σύνθημα may also have the meaning of “token” or “sign.”

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. κλάδος is normally to be translated “branch,” but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. “Twig” may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. δεξιούς is either “right-turning” or simply “perfect in shape.” Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. θυμιατήριον is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for “altar.”

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (ⲁ), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads εν πιννλη. . . . Preisendanz suggests πίννη λι[τῆ], “with a simple, or plain, pen” (taking πίννη as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, I. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below¹⁵ on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one
 50 who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse¹⁶ / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: “ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus.” /

55 If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,¹⁷ and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,¹⁸ chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

60 Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–183

65 **An alternative procedure:* Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: “[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A”; the other: “SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A.”¹⁹

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,²⁰ while you begin with a sacred utterance. *This is as follows:*
 70 And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it,
 75 anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice²¹ is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, PGM II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J.H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. *γυμναζομένω* means literally “trained” or “practiced.” But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy’s sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of *ἀφθόρῳ* here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 *Sm* 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in “wing formation,” leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See I. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, “in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes.”

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and “Hermes’ finger.” You shall also speak into the lamp the following: “PERPHAËNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH²² PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU.”

*The operative name*²³ is: “AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian.”

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,²⁴ 80
when the moon is in Gemini:

*Fourth Invocation:*²⁵

“Laurel,²⁶ Apollo’s holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned 85
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.”

(Speak while the sun is rising).

*Greeting formula:*²⁷

“Hail, fire’s dispenser, world’s far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,²⁸
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband 90
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

22. MENCHTHŌTH is equivalent to *mnē Dhwti*, “Thoth is excellent/beneficent.” [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.*

74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *vores magicæ* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαίρει*, “hail,” which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαίρει-τισμός*, “greeting formula.” See on this A. Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, “I call upon you . . .,” may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλέ(ε)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *διωπετής* properly means “fallen from Zeus or heaven,” referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply “divine.” Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. “*διωπετής*,” Betz, *Lukian* 168 n. 2.

- With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
 And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
 For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
 To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
 Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
 Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
 Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
 95 Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
 From heav'n, whene'er she hears the crack of whip
 That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
 AAAAAA EEEEEEE ÊÊÊÊÊÊÊ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ;
 O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
 Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
 To earth, Icios, hair wreathed with ivy.
 And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
 100 To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
 ÊPHTHISIKÊRE, and hail, Moirai three,
 Klotho and Atropos and Lachis²⁹ too.
 I call you,³⁰ who are great in heav'n, airlike,
 Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
 Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
 you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and
 who light up the whole inhabited world;³¹ you who have designated the various
 105 living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe³² in
 the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the fig-
 ure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names,
 SESENGENBARPHARANGÊS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred
 falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXA-
 110 NAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail
 of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east
 you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you
 quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself
 115 as god in truth, ÎÎ ÎÎ ERBÊTH / ZAS³³ SABAÔTH SMARTH ADÔNAI SOUMARTA IALOU
 BABLA YAM MOLÊENTHIÔ PETOTOUBIÊTH IARMÎÔTH LAILAMPS CHÔOUCH³⁴ AR-
 SENOPHRÊ EU PHTHA ÊÔLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the
 120 day, NATHMAMEÔTH; you who rise as an infant,³⁵ / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who
 traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see PGM III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject H. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," *ZÄS* 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apuleius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* 11. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. PGM XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Êros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

33. Zas is an old name for Zeus. See also PGM XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

34. CHÔOYCH is equivalent to Egyptian *kky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

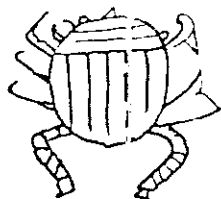
35. See on this point PGM II. 102 and n.

yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator³⁶ of many things, SESEN-
GENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommes, Kommes IASPHE³⁷
IASPHE BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN / SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI ARSAMŌSI 125
NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEX-
ANAXETHRELUOŌTHNEMAREBA, the most great and mighty god. I am he, NN,
who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of
your most great name, of which the number is 9,999: IĒ IE IA IĀ IAE IEY IĒA IŌA
IEY / IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ EŌ EĒE EĒĒ EĒE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE EŌ EĒ EAE III OOO 130
YYY ŌŌŌ IY EY OY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAE IĒA IOY IŌE IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒIE; Paian,³⁸
Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia; IĒEA IĒ IŌ
IY / IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYTE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE 135
EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor . . . AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ
ŌĒA EŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IEA IĀE IEYOY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH
PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH;³⁹ I summon you, Apollo of
Klaros, / EĒY; Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian, ŌAE; Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI.” 140

Preparation for the rite: On the first day, [collect] nails of a sheep; on the second, the nails of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet come, / make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died violently, and light a lamp from pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas, beseeching and exhorting the god to come with good will; let your place be cleansed of all pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it is very great and irresistible.

/ **Rite:** Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you are observing ritual purity, and having thus smeared on the mud, write the following inscription with a bronze stylus on the right-hand doorpost.⁴⁰

What is to be written is as follows: “𐌲𐌳𐌹𐌸𐌰 𐌶𐌵𐌿𐌱𐌴𐌽𐌺𐌰 𐌶𐌵𐌿𐌱𐌴𐌽𐌺𐌰 𐌲𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌰
 𐌼𐌰 𐌼𐌰 𐌶𐌰 𐌶𐌰 𐌶𐌰 𐌼𐌰 / 𐌲𐌴𐌷𐌰𐌾𐌰𐌻 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌽𐌰.” Similarly on the left-hand doorpost: 155
 “𐌲𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌶𐌵𐌿𐌱𐌴𐌽𐌺𐌰 𐌶𐌵𐌿𐌱𐌴𐌽𐌺𐌰 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌶𐌰 𐌶𐌰𐌼𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰” (formula).⁴¹



On the upper part of the door: “𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤀𐤕𐤁 𐤄𐤓𐤕 𐤈𐤃𐤎𐤏 𐤀𐤕𐤁.” Below the door, [inscribe] the scarab, as it stands / here,⁴² having anointed it with the blood of a goat, outside your bedchamber. Let the throne be purified, and upon it a linen cloth, and beneath it a footstool. Inscribe on the throne, on the underside: “IÊ IEA IOAY DAMNAMENEUS ABRAË ABRAÔ ABRAÔA; lord of the

36. The papyrus reads πολυφωτιστα (cf. LSJ, s.v. πολυφωτίστης), a reasonably well-formed word only attested here. However, in view of the genitive ὑδάτων following the κατὰ μαγικά, which seems to need a governing noun, Preisendanz emends to πολυφω(τε)κτίστα.

37. For similar formulas see *PGM* V. 485; XII. 80; XIII. 805ff.; XXI. 25. The formula beginning "ABERAMEN . . ." (see Glossary) should be read in Preisendanz's text as a long palindrome.

38. The following text has many epithets of the god Apollo. Cf. *PGM* II. 139–40; III. 251; VI. 24–25. See I. 263 and n.

39. The spacing of this formula has been changed to conform to the spacing of the same formula found elsewhere in the *PGM* (see I. 141–42; III. 77–78, 151–52, etc.).

40. For the ritual concerning the doorposts of the Jewish *mezuzah*, for which see Ex 12:7, 22–23; Dt 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubrewesen* 152; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* II, 479–80 (with additional references).

41. For the whole formula, see *PGM* I. 27.

42. The papyrus has *ὡσπερ ἰσχυεῖ*, which Preisendanz emends to read *ὡς περιέχει*, but the meaning is not clear.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and charioteers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.⁶ Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.⁷ / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

“Angel, . . . [SĒMEA], chthonic / . . . lord⁸ (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTŌRĒ;⁹ hold . . . restrain . . . , PHŌKENSEPSEUARE[K-TATHOUMISONKTAI],¹⁰ for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHŌCHA EIN CHOUCHEŌCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIŌR EUŌR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed” (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: “I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,¹¹ Mistress of corpses,¹² Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,¹³ LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYŌR;¹⁴ I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;¹⁵ come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACH-AXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BALACHACHYCH BAZĒTŌPHŌTH / BAINCHŌŌŌCH ANI-BŌŌŌ CHŌCHE . . . PHIŌCHEN GĒBRŌCHTHŌ MYSAGAŌTH CHEŌŌ . . . ¹⁶ SABAŌTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHŌCH]AXIN CHOUCHEŌCH.”

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: “IAEŌ” /

6. *μονάτωρ* is a late word for *μονάμπυξ*, “horse with a single frontlet,” i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Sethian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. PGM IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976): 772–75 s.v. “*εὐφραίνω*.”

8. The papyrus reads . . . *ove*. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, “drivers,” but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from PGM III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. “*ἄρκυια*,” as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), “the netter” is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκρία* is also attested in this sense only in PGM IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. *AMOY* at the beginning is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματώτης* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. PGM XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώδη*.

16. A plausible restoration is *IAŌ* in that *IAŌ* and *SABAŌTH* form a common pairing in the PGM.

60

[AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPTHNAI]-
YIANTHPHIRKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.¹⁷

65

/ On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],¹⁸ there should
be this: "TREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLEAEXANAXETHRELTHYŌETHNEMA-

70

REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

Right skeletal figure:

[Left skeletal figure]:



75

"IŌ ERBĒTH
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
IŌ APOMPS
IŌ PATATHNAX
IŌ AKOUBIA
IŌ SĒTH
PHŌKENSEPSEU-
AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,
Perform the NN deed"
(add the usual, what-
ever you wish).

80

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of
this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me,
and perform the NN [deed] both on this very
day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself /
for me against my enemies, NN, and perform
NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you
by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the
great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA
CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌ-
CHŌ BŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA

AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA
DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE]¹⁹ THORTOEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *καί*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

the tiller of the lord god,²⁰ rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,²¹ and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLÖ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter” (add your additional requests).²² Proceed toward the sunset²³ and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: “Halt, halt the sacred boat,²⁴ steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THON-TOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,²⁵ THON-TOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS²⁶ . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Harken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOUBRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “for it is those same people who have mistreated²⁷ your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue²⁸ / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,²⁹ MASKELLI MASKELLÖ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!”

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: “Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS³⁰ PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See PGM III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, “for other uses.” Cf. the list of uses at PGM XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. PGM III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, “established and beautiful,” an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see PGM III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is “by the Hebrew sound” and refers to the vowel combinations with IŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, “Jahwe-Name und Zaubrerwesen,” in his *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of “barbaric language” (ῥῆσις βαρβαρικὴ) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ* 1, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in PGM IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. “Satis.”

perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
 135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,³¹ gold-gleaming, / shining
 with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the
 day, who set in the west³² of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,³³ circle-
 140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO³⁴ / EMPHE . . . IR,
 the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH
 PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,³⁵ the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole
 inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSOEI Ō PSOEI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
 145 TĒROU;³⁶ / I adjure you by the Egg.³⁷ I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam.
 Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god
 ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURĪĒL, by the
 150 god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AK-
 RMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)³⁸ PHNESKĒR
 PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
 155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augmenter of fire and of much
 light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of
 all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
 160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the
 whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed" [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: *A charm to re-
 strain charioteers in a race, a charm for sending dreams, a binding love charm,
 and a charm to cause separation and enmity.*

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

165 *Take [some] water cress,³⁹ 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the
 plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
 170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: "AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISIRO . . .
 OUSIREN [TECHTHA⁴⁰ . . .]L, I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither φιλομαντοσύνης nor χρυσοπρόσωπος is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading λευβόρω, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means "west."

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vox magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in PGM IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in PGM IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *hm̄f*, "his shrine." Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in PGM XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 ḥy ʿ3 p3 ḥy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, "Good Daimon, Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!" PSOETŌ should be the usual PSALAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. PGM XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seelen und Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of PGM I. 141–42; II. 138–39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [.]α[.] δαμινον, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ]δ[α]μινον, an unattested adjectival form of κάρδαμον, "nose-smart" (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However, Schmidt, GGA 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ]α δάμινον, "balsam wood." Cf. PGM XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also PGM VII. 257. The name corresponds to Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, RÄRG 131–33, s.v. "Chen-rechtaï." [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . . of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of the important matter of mine.” 175

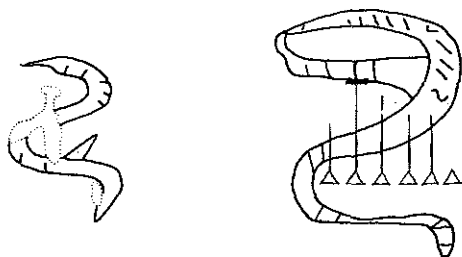
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly papyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [ouroboros]⁴¹ serpent . . . “ÖTE . . . IAM . . . GRASÖ-CHÖ . . . NÖPSITHER THERNÖPSI . . .” 180

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of PGM III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

* Pound up dry fruit (?)⁴² with a pestle (?)⁴³ and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod⁴⁴ before him. Then he will bring about⁴⁵ your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,⁴⁶ as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks. 190 195

The drawing of the tripod:



*This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:*⁴⁷

“Keep silent, everyone, the voice that’s in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o’er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].” 200

41. Supplying [οὐροβ]ορος in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. τὰ ξυρά. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, ξυρόν, “cutting, dry, sharp.” But perhaps we are to understand simply ξύλα, “pieces of wood,” assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has σχομπανον, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to κομπανον, “strawberry tree,” a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read κοπάνον, “pestle,” the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician’s basic equipment (see PGM IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future τελεῖ instead of imperative τέλει. The phrase that follows (τρανής τῇ ὁμίλῃ) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. PGM II. 83–84, where ὁμιλῶν is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo’s epiphany cf. Callimachus, Hy. 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

Now, birds of augury, stop everything
 Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
 The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
 205 [Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
 Itself's astonished by the secret words.
 King Semea,⁴⁸ [father] of the world, be gracious
 To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
 Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
 To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
 Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
 210 Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
 Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
 Of Zeus, divine ΙΑΩ; and you, too,
 Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAËL],
 Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
 O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
 O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAËL], your helper,⁴⁹ /
 215 Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
 Of Zeus, and who has both exalted⁵⁰ nature
 And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
 And I call . . . of the immortals . . .

OPASĒĒPA SESE[NGENB]ARPHARAGGĒS:

All-mighty is the god, but you are⁵¹ greatest,
 Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
 220 Lord of the world, SABAŌTH, / who veil⁵² sunset
 From dawn, ADŌNAI, who, being a world,
 Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
 Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
 To those who with a cry raise you at night.⁵³

AKRAMMACH[ARI], ΚΑ . . . Κ . . .

225 Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
 Of untamed Styx and Death the Arbiter.

48. The name Semea also appears at *PGM* III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; *PDM* xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἀ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ι]χαήλ, which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαήλ σου ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. *PGM* I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wünsch, is preferable to δεῖξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whomever is written must govern φύσιν in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as azeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fahz reads ἔσσι in lieu of ἔστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaut"). Cf. *PGM* I. 303, ἐπισκοπάζεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god's seal,⁵⁴ at whom all deathless
 Gods of Olympos quake and daimons who
 Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
 Is ordered to be silent when it hears.⁵⁵
 You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /

ΑΕἰΙΟΥΩ."

230

Also say this: "Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about everything which I order him to speak about." And he will bring this about.

*This is also [another] hymn:*⁵⁶

"I⁵⁷ sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
 Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one,
 O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying⁵⁸ [youth],
 Dodona's [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
 I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
 Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
 [With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
 [O well]-named Phoibos . . .

235

/ . . . ruler absolute . . .

240

Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
 Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
 O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god,
 Cease grow . . .

245

A greater light, for he will learn . . .
 From lips divine; someone . . . to arouse
 The seer with plectrum⁵⁹ . . .
 But come you hither, prophesying; come,
 Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus,
 Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
 Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
 For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
 In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
 Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
 They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
 O maiden who exult in tones divine
 And oracles / . . . heaven's runner,⁶⁰ light bearer,
 Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

250

255

54. O, "I adjure you [by] the god's seal." See PGM I. 306 and n.

55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with ἀκούει, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]

56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]

57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]

58. The papyrus has]ωλετοκτυπε, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [Πυθ]ολετοκτύπε. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: Πυθοκτόνος, "Python slayer," and Πυθολέτης, "Python destroyer."

59. On the instrument called πλῆκτρον, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* I. 5. 3. [W.B.]

60. Read οὐρ(αν)οδρόμε for papyrus ουροδρομε, which is meaningless. For this epithet see l. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian.”

- 260 *Dismissal*: [“Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, / leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]”
*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

- ***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue]⁶¹ before you speak to anyone.⁶² Say these things along with the [great name]: / “make me know in advance the things in each person’s mind, today, [because] I am TOM . . . IAÖ SABAÖTH IAÖ THĒAĒĒTH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAÖ . . . EA THÖĒ IABRABA ARBATHRAS[IAÖ] BATHIAÖĪA ZAGOURĒ BARBATHIAÖ AĒI AAAAAAA EEEEEEE . . . ŌE . . . SOESĒSISIETH . . . SABAÖTH IAEÖ” (formula). If you wish, you will know
270 [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

- And the formula is*: “Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree.” If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.⁶³ Whenever you say the formula,
275 also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AÖTH / SABAÖTH. The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

- *[**Horoscope**]:⁶⁴ Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divination . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invocation . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . ORÖ or love charm; in Sagittarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . .
280

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . beyond measure. . . .

- Rite that brings foreknowledge**, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] / subservient:⁶⁵ In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish.

- [But speak thus:] “Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel]⁶⁶ of Phoibos, you
290 yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms.”

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:⁶⁷

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see PGM IV. 1745–46. Cf. also V. 253–54.

62. Cf. Smirh, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: “(in the morning) before you speak to anyone.”

63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it “Zodiakalkreis.” In the parallel passage in PGM VII. 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates “Kreislauf des Mondes.”

65. Cf. PGM IV. 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term “angel” can also be read as “messenger.”

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

ZC7468Δ'Λ. Cover the tripod with clean linen, / and place a censer on the tripod. 295
It is advantageous⁶⁸ to place on the table a [hollow figurine] of Apollo out of laurel wood. Engrave [on a lamella] of gold, of silver, or of tin these characters:
ΘΣΡϞⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣⲏⲩⲙⲟⲩ. Place the lamella under the censer, near / the wooden image, 300
which was set up [at the same time as the] censer, and place [next to] the tripod a beaker or a shell containing [pure] water. In the center of the shrine, surrounding the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character. . . . It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod] must be / covered. [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] 305 garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel,⁶⁹ which on the head . . . wormwood . . . [before the] invocation, sacrifice laurel to him . . . [during the] sacrifice / honor the [god] with paian[s] [directed to the sunrise]. . . ask . . . [cardamom] . . . holy god . . . [almond blossom] . . . from balsam . . . / and taking . . . 310 my thought . . . / a buttercup, after taking, taste . . . four-footed. . . . 315 320

But the formula that is recited is . . . if you wish [to know], say these things which are in the . . . god and all such prophetic . . . worm in . . . as for ten days. Mixing . . . / . the heart [with] honey. [Recite] this formula toward the sunrise, 325 [and] you will know in advance during the hour [and during this] day. [After sacrificing,] make a drink offering with dark wine . . . middle . . . say: "Make me know in advance each of the . . . from . . . and . . . toward the sunrise early / [to know] 330 each of the men [and] to know in advance [what things] each has in his mind [and] all their essence."

Single-shooted wormwood, with a single stem, born of the sun, born of the moon⁷⁰ . . . fruit pulp of the lotus, houseleek, a turnip; [wait for] the sunrise in your house fasting. During the third hour finger . . . / . [your] face, say: “[TH]Ō- 335
OU[TH] PIŌPIŌ⁷¹ AUAPS THŌOUTH . . . ARS . . . KENON ŌOUN PACHEN NO . . .
TOOU Ê . . . T ARSASŌTA YNASPOR . . . THA P . . . MNĒPHIELŌKNĒMEŌ, give to me
from your effluence.”

[To] the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day [say:] "Come to me, greatest archangel; come to me XASR XAM [THŌ]OUT . . . come to me, ruler / of reality, ĒMI 340
THĒ . . . BA THŌOUTH THEŌREI . . . ENĒN PAUPIOU PSIBIOAU ABLANATHANALBA
. . . AMOAMMA. Give to me, NN, memory . . . sō . . . I may know all things and I
may understand the things above the. . . ."

... toward the sunrise MASĒS . . . saying thus: "I am [the lord] of the sea. Make
all things . . . / all things [that will be, so that] I know in advance. Reveal this, the 345
concerns of all men and what things will be . . . TĒOUT ANG⁷² . . . SA . . . OUT ANG

68. Fahz and Preisendanz take *καλόν* as modifying *θυμιατήριον*, "a beautiful censer." Here *καλόν* has been taken with *ἔστιν κτλ.*, and the text has been punctuated accordingly. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 2520 and Bauer, s.v. "καλός," 3a.

69. The text at this point has many lacunae, and the reconstruction is uncertain. Fahz and Preisendanz take the reference to the garments and the laurel to refer to the god who is seen.

70. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιόγονος, σεληνόγονος* translates these epithets accordingly. However, since *selēnogomon* is attested as a plant (peony) and since a plant name would be appropriate here, one should perhaps translate “peony.” “Sun-born” is not attested as a plant name.

71. THOOUTH ΠΙΘ ΠΙΘ (cf. also l. 340) is equivalent to Egyptian *Dhwtj p3 ʿ3 p3 ʿ3*, "Thoth the twice-great." Cf. PGM IV. 19. For this title of Thoth, see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 158–60; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75. [R.K.R.]

72. Following G. Möller (see the apparatus in Preisendanz ad loc.) this short section can also be read as Coptic: "[I am] Thoṯ; I am Sa[.]out; I am Em[.]c[.....]on; I am Alaboul[.....]lōrai; I am (?) Natreko; [.]m[.....] is your [true] name [...]." [M.W.M.]

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL . . . ”

350 . . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . .
ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . . / . . . just now . . . ”

355 . . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . “CHŌLŌM
CHŌL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord . . . ”

360 . . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . . / . . . anoint
. . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . .

365 you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often
repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . .
[the formula], the beginning of which is: “Cause me to know, in order that . . . ”⁷³

370 the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand accord-
ing to . . . formula.”

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh
formula: “Do for me the things that are written. . . .”

375 To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . .
pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . . / . . . fresh, pleasing, happily as
. . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily
. . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the
egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a

380 place⁷⁴ or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inac-
cessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season’s flowers . . .

to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white
bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest

385 cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the
lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following formu-
la, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . .

after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving
advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . . / . . . saying seven times

390 . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master
. . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth
and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: “Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . .”

395 . . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: “I conjure those with com-
plete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who
[created the universe]” . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to]
a holy . . . ”⁷⁵

400 “ . . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name
405 which . . . who makes . . . / . . . Gabriel, Michael, PYAOUËTE . . . NETETETET . . . the
god (?) TAAIAIAIAIALOP . . . ĒL.” Seven times you say . . . then say one time or
three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

410 *Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god⁷⁶ sets. Take cow’s milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered “a grave.” Cf. LSJ, s.v. “τόπος,” 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.⁷⁷ Put down a clean vessel⁷⁸ and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.⁷⁹ Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[*It is*]: “BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAA IITY EÏ AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ EŌA AŌĒ EŌA ŌĒA, 415 enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM EĒĒ MTHPH.” Do this monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the goddess,⁸⁰ and wear the tablet as an amulet.



The name of the soul of god is: “EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTHZ blood.” Write these things with a copper stylus: “I am KŌOU BŌOU PĈŌSM . . . HOUIT⁸¹ . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RENIM E GEINNA⁸² EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO.”⁸³ Speak into your 420 hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift: ⁸⁴ “SILIBANAGOU-NACHAOUĒL. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

*A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory: Take a kakouphon,⁸⁵ / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey 425 when the goddess⁸⁶ approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,⁸⁷ mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times, once while tasting with the forefinger, this *formula*:

“Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen, the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [today’s] activities.”

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .⁸⁸ 430

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has καταχεῖσα[s], “pour it,” which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests καταλεάζειν on the basis of Hesychius’ ἀλεάζειν, “to heat up.” The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds (εἰς), “into,” which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., “put it [into] a clean vessel.”

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *pĉōsm* [*pe*]houit, “the first darkness.” [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning “Jesus our grear one.” [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. *PGM* IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, “La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques,” in his *L’Idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term *PGM* II. 18 and n.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN]KANTHARA (add the usual).⁸⁹ [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;⁹⁰ on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOES EIRE CHRY-SOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSAITHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name],
 435 ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;⁹¹ on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA ORE-OBZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPHARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [wanes], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has
 440 been tested / by Manethon,⁹² [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . and . . . the sun: “Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM]ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ÊLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA. . . .”

445 . . . [*Foreknowledge*] . . . *Moses* . . . and . . . / *for memory*, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: “. . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ
 450 SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAE.” . . . / . . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chat-
 455 tering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [take] these and crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

“. . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I. . . .”

460 . . . pray to him. But . . . / but a swallow⁹³ of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . *formula*, which you say: “Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . .”

465 . . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semitertian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

470 ***Memory spell:** Take first . . . 2 calf’s snouts, “Hermes’ finger” . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: “[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACHAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction “add the usual” (κοινά) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. “She-wolf” is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also PGM IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Manetho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also PGM XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, “Manetho,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. [J.S.]

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . 475
in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime.”
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm:** Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of 480
the heavenly circle: “The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assem-
bly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to “prognosti-
cate” the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

***Another [copy]:** “. . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT 485
NPRŌME,⁹⁴ [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who
took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behead. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

***Another:** Take a wing . . . / “AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ 490
[PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended
to PGM III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

*[**Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios.** A procedure for every [rite], for
[all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: “[Come,] come to me 495
from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every
ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, be-
cause I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what 500
your name is.”⁹⁵

“In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree]
you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;⁹⁶ the bird . . . your name is
PHROUER.⁹⁷

“In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the
persea; the stone, the pottery stone;⁹⁸ / the bird, the halouchakon;⁹⁹ on land, the 505
ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

“In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree;
the stone, the *samouchos*;¹⁰⁰ the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is
AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

“In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the 510

94. This is Coptic and means “to the man.” [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomor-
phic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun’s creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this
Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. PGM II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means “invisible stone” (clear quartz?).
[J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for “Pre the great.” [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with *ψαμμούχος*,
a sandstone (nor attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads *γεννάς δένδρον [καὶ] λίθον*, “you produce a tree [and] stone.” This should prob-
ably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,¹⁰¹ the amethyst;¹⁰² the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

“In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

515 “In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;¹⁰³ on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is ELAU AKRI LYX. . . .

“[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] 520 . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;¹⁰⁴ / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

“In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

525 “In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

“In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon’s neck; [the bird]. . . .

530 / “In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

535 “. . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACH-RAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ¹⁰⁵ KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

“I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,¹⁰⁶ guarded the holy place of 540 the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored¹⁰⁷ widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me 545 the lord’s fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌ-RIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANYX KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOUĒALABAĒNEREDEMŌU.”

550 “Come¹⁰⁸ to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies *παυδέρως* as an opal (NH 37. 84) or an amethyst (NH 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, LCL edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means “glass fish.” [M.S.]

104. The translation of *ἡλιοπάλιος* is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name PGM I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz’s translation as “Auserwählter.”

107. The papyrus reads *κατατετιμμένη[s]*, a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be “despised.” Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation “dishonored” is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis’ husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,¹⁰⁹ created carefully, from water
 That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
 Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn
 Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
 Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.¹¹⁰
 'Tis by your counsels they attend all things."

555

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPTHŌ . . .
 IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRIN- 560
 TATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOU-
 MAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS¹¹¹ AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALE ASRISKI . . . OU BRIT-
 HEI STOMA,¹¹² master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light, 565
 sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN,
 graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today,
 with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from 570
 every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.¹¹³ From the
 right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,'
 but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPI ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' 575
 Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, suste-
 nance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing,
 goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who 580
 see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words,
 great god, to the EYAĒŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HAR-
 SAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you com-
 manded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things be-
 loved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord, 585
 accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my elo-
 quent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the 590
 petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.¹¹⁴ We give you thanks with
 every soul and heart stretched out to [you],¹¹⁵ unutterable name honored with [the]
 appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone¹¹⁶
 and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and 595
 sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we
 might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that
 we might know you.¹¹⁷ We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. PGM I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρης (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδινο-
 πλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mourning is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. C.H. 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευματίζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and NHC VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, *NHSt* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; C.H. 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Grese, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. 1 (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

- 600 because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb¹¹⁸ of all knowledge. We have come to know, O womb¹¹⁹ pregnant through the father's be-
 605 getting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father. After bowing thus before your goodness,¹²⁰ we ask no [favor except this]:¹²¹ will that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:¹²² that [we] not
 610 fall away from a [life] such as this. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

- *[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened¹²³ (?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of
 615 your own shadow¹²⁴ / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day, toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] dark-colored palmfiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right
 620 ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

- Having reached the place,¹²⁵ [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and utter the following *formula*: "Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know
 625 your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each hour], and what your name is."¹²⁶

- Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,¹²⁷ and in case he does not [hearken, say]:¹²⁸ "I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your sym-
 630 bols, wherefore, O lord,¹²⁹ cause / my [shadow] to serve me." [And] at the seventh [hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: "Follow me everywhere!" But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on PGM III. 494–611. This unique spell to acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole *Encounter with Helios* contained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (PGM III. 633–731) belongs with this section, and the mention of the "signs and symbols" in l. 625 connects this spell to the preceding; furthermore, the mention of the "formula given above" (l. 626) must refer to a formula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in PGM III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238. Cf. also PGM V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. Ibid.

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirkse and Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[ρ]έκ[χ]υρον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restoration ἀ[δ]ι[α]χ[υ]ρον, "not softened by cooking"; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for "lucky shadows" (*wd hyb.t*). [R.K.R.] See also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

125. Literally, "treading about in the place."

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appearance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with PGM III. 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect, "And when you are finished, say. . . ." [J.M.D.]

129. The "lord" addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , “Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] . . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEĒĒ]ĒĒIIIOOO[OOYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Praise¹³⁰ be to (?) SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ADŌN BARBARIŌT . . . of Lo son of Ouer¹³¹ . . . / whose face is in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram¹³² . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . For [I] am . . . all (repeat).¹³³ I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[ĒĒIOYŌ AEĒI] OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of Shmoun¹³⁴ . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name] . . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual [?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne . . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . [Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you wish). For I am Iethor,¹³⁵ who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name . . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To¹³⁶ is your name . . . father. / You are Earth-shaker,¹³⁷ the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am . . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . . ”

. . . this day . . . speak to Helios¹³⁸ . . . / on the third day, also to the moon¹³⁹ . . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled¹⁴⁰ to the right. Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will show . . . let him dwell (?)¹⁴¹ for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].¹⁴² So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and

130. Cf. PGM IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUER cf. Egyptian *wr*, “the great one.” [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUY-SRO. Cf. PDM xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* on DMP col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, “A propos de rigrammes panthéistes,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz's text at l. 682), we are to understand “(add the usual)”; thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian “eye of Horus.”

136. Possibly, *To* is “land”; hence at III. 687 “the great land.”

137. For *KMPTO* cf. PGM IV. 1323; PDM xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selene; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at PGM II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οικείτω* is to be read instead of *οικητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐπιτη*δές, following Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite
 705 the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger]¹⁴³ to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail
 710 and a crook¹⁴⁴ . . . then “ABLANATHANALBA”; in wing . . . ¹⁴⁵ / “ABRASAX”: near the back, “ΘĒAUA . . . ,” and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : “ĒFĒINTOK¹⁴⁶ . . . TE UONĒFIOUOI.” Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . .
 715 on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in
 720 each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before
 725 . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . . pure. . . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at PGM III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*“SAPHPHAIOR BAEKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the
 5 inexorable one,¹ . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK ANTRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANITH BALA SHOUPLA SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the day of Zeus² in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance³ in the fifth hour: a
 10 cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.⁴ Praise⁵ be to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the lord of embalming, he who is at the south of This, who is honored at Abydos, he who is under⁶ the noubs tree⁷ in Merouse,⁸ whose glory is in Pashalom.⁹ Praise be
 15 to Althabot; bring unto me Sabaoth. / Praise be to Althonai, great Eou, very valiant; bring unto me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Praise be to

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύλιον]. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, “in wing formation.”

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *in.fr in.t.k.*, “He shall bring you.” [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101; on the verb *παπαρεύω*, see Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to PDM xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or “under the shade of the noubs tree.”

7. According to Griffith, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the noubs tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bounet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. “Meroe.”

9. Cf. also PDM xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. *Situated to the south of This, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried.* See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n. 1.

Anubis, of the nome of Hansiese,¹⁰ upon his mountain.¹¹ Praise be to the goddesses—Thoth the great, the great, the wise. Praise be to the gods, / ACHNOUI 20
 ACHAM ABRA ABRA SABAÖTH.¹² For Akshha Shha¹³ is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the under-
 world join him who is in the air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of 25
 the matter about which I ask them” (add the usual).

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in PGM IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

*Initiation.¹⁴ Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. / On two bricks¹⁵ standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood 30
 (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which 35
 [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around¹⁶ the altar before the sun appears).¹⁷ When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with your knees]¹⁸ and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and 40
 drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what’s left of the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the clothes you have on, walk backwards¹⁹ out of the water, and, after changing into 45
 fresh garments, / depart without turning round.²⁰ After this, take bile from an owl, rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be complete. But if you can’t get hold of an owl, use an ibis’s egg and a falcon’s 50
 feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, “house of the son of Isis.” See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for “Lord, Lord of Hosts;” ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. “four”) designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen* 126; Doruseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or “JEAKSHHA SHHA”; but cf. *PGM* IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula “for . . . is my name” or “for I am. . . .”

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, “Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or “dig a trench around,” which may in fact mean “walk around” and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, “Circumambulation,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase “with your knees” is a conjecture based on *PGM* IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at *PGM* I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances *PGM* VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot’s wife (Gn 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly
 55 half / of your food in a turquoise²¹ vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by
 60 abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section
 of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels.
 Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he²² can get
 there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw
 out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two
 65 cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung
 beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has
 not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so
 that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have
 70 thrown out the morsels, gone to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one
 you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will
 try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he
 gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of
 purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7
 75 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing
 out the food). Keep it secret: “You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?)
 face,²³ come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven.”

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a preg-
 80 nant woman, / write the name²⁴ given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it
 about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. *Here is what is to be written:*
 “SHTËIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose.”

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: “Harko, Harko is my name;
 Harko is my true name.”

85 Guard these instructions / well. *The rite:* an onion.²⁵

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

**Phylactery against daimons:*²⁶ “HOMENOS OHK KOURIËL IAPHËL, deliver” (add the usual), “EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAUUCHE.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faience. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. “He” is the one summoned (l. 70), but “he” is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The “name” may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts “name” often means “full title.” The Greek *προποκείμενον* normally means “given above,” but it can also be read as meaning “set forth below.” This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, “Use the procedure that involves an onion.”

26. Or “For those possessed by daimons,” which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζόμενον(s)*. See A. Erman, *ZAS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with *OHK* is separated by a space and *-ζόμενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

* **Another,**²⁷ **to Helios:** Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,²⁸ then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,²⁹ and standing behind him say the *formula*: 90

“I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth.”

*Tr.: W. C. Gress and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

* Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday³⁰ in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs. 95

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, “O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!”

She said [to him], “He is not with me,³¹ O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother’s son.” 100

He said to her, “Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis.”

She [said] to him, “It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself.”³² 105

He said to her, “Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.³³ There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,³⁴ and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me.” 110

“/ Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,³⁵ every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne³⁶ and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Rise up to the kings of Alchah,³⁷ speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN³⁸ whom NN has borne, and I shall send 120

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. PGM IV. 1–25, 52–85). In fact, the spell is specifically a “divination using a boy,” for which cf. PGM VII. 348–58; also *Test. Sol.* I. 3.

28. Cf. for this phrase PDM xiv. 96.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. PDM xiv. 1219.

31. Or “It is not of my doing.”

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356E–F. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 316–17.

33. Cf. PDM xiv. 628.

34. Cf. PDM xiv. 440–41.

35. Or “sighing.”

36. Cf. PDM xiv. 656–58.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *ṛq-bb*, “Alxai”) and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See PGM XIVb, 12–15 (in the context of PDM xiv. 451–58). [R.K.R.]

38. Or “every god (after NN).”

125 her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;³⁹ I am the Great
son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon
King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you
130 may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her
heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day.”

If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she
135 is distressed⁴⁰ and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to
come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health⁴¹ and is
returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is dis-
tressed⁴² or even dying.

“Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.].
140 Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two
bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the
light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has
borne.”

[Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about
145 women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

“When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I
will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I
150 will bewitch / her 365 members,⁴³ I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I de-
sire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of
what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately.

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

155 *Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great
god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,⁴⁴
I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical
160 procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have
tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation.
You will observe through bowl divination⁴⁵ on whatever day or night you want, in
165 whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from
the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain⁴⁶
both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on
other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First,
170 attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided
it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, PGM III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or “lovesick.”

41. That is, “unafflicted” by the love charm.

42. Or “lovesick.”

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In PGM the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. “Abrasax”), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (PGM VII. 452–53).

44. Or “an expert magician,” as σοφιστής applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, “Λεκανομαντεία,” *PRE* 12 (1925): 1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that οἶσεις is a late future form of οἶδα. Perhaps one should emend the text to read ὄψεις, “you will see.” However, the future of φέρω can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where “carry off as a prize,” “win,” “gain,” etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.⁴⁷ And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. *Prayer*:⁴⁸

“O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm 180

Above and master, god of gods, O lord

ABERAMENTHŌOU (formula),

O dark’s disturber, thunder’s bringer, whirlwind,

Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,

Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of

The waves, disturber of the sea’s great depth, /

IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAU I MĒNI, 185

I’m He⁴⁹ who searched with you the whole world and

Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.

I’m he who joined you in war with the gods

(but others say, “’gainst the gods”).

I’m he who closed / heav’n’s double gates and put 190

To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,

Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents

Where’er you rule this realm. And as your soldier

I have been conquered by the gods, I have

Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /

Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore; 195

Thrown me not on the ground, O lord of gods,

AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,⁵⁰

O grant me power, I beg, and give to me

This favor, so that, whensoe’r I tell

One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /

Swiftly to me in answer to my chants, 200

NAINÉ BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTŌU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAU-

APTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARA-

MEI IAŌ ATHTHARAUI MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAU I MĒNI CHARCHARA 205

PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAU I TRAUPESE MAMŌ PHORTOCHA AEËIO IOY OËŌA EAI

AEËI ŌI IAŌ AEËI AI IAŌ.”

After you have said this three times,⁵¹ there will be this sign of divine encounter,⁵² but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this: 215

“I have been attached to your holy form.

I have been given power by your holy name.

I have acquired your emanation of the goods,

47. See Glossary, s.v. “Isis band.”

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

50. See for this formula PGM I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, “Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform,” in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point PGM IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.

ATHTHOUIN THOUTHOU I TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ.”

220 Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

*Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:*⁵³ Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if 225 gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / 230 the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

235 *The spell spoken over the vessel is:* “AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAU IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this⁵⁴ ACHCHŌR 240 ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU” (a hundred letters).⁵⁵

But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, 245 the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you 250 called will appear, god or dead man,⁵⁶ and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,⁵⁷ dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, “Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you.” Speak the name, and he will 255 depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

260 *There is also the protective charm itself* which you wear while performing, even while standing:⁵⁸ onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.⁵⁹

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words *θέλει καὶ ἐπιτάσσει* seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: “The Soul of the Dead.”

57. At this point the revelatory dialogue comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: “auch wenn du stehend agierst.”

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:⁶⁰

"I call you who did first control gods' wrath,⁶¹

You who hold royal scepter o'er the heavens,

You who are midpoint of the stars above,

You, master Typhon, you I call, who are

/ The dreaded sovereign o'er the firmament.

265

You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,

You who're obscure⁶² and irresistible

And hater of the wicked, you I call,

Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,

You who've walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,

270

You who are / over snows, below dark ice,

You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,⁶³

I invoked you in pray'r, I call, almighty one.

That you perform for me whate'er I ask

Of you, and that you nod assent at once

To me and grant that what I ask be mine

(add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THÖRTHÖR / KATHAU- 275

KATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MŌ ZAU OUZŌNZ ŌN YABITH,

mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your

truc names, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH OEN / TYPHON ASBA- 280

RABŌ BIEAISĒ ME NERŌ MARAMŌ TAUĒR CHTHENTHŌNIE ALAM BĒTŌR MEN-

KECHRA SAUEIŌR RĒSEIODŌTA ABRĒSIOA PHŌTHĒR THERTHŌNAX NERDŌMEU

AMŌRĒS MEEME ŌIĒS SYSCHIE ANTHŌNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the 285

NN deed."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

***Spell for picking a plant:**⁶⁴ Use it before sunrise. *The spell to be spoken:* "I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which 290 produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere *σέ* is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *ὀργίλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *ὄπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *ὄρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δῆλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll's emendation *ἄδῆλον* is paleographically sound, for "A" could have been omitted before "Δ." Second, *ἄδῆλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμήχανον*, and third, the idea of *ἄδῆλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plurarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ' εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, "over the Moirai invoked in prayer." In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, "of the longed-for Moirai," originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to PGM IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, "Pflanzenaberglaube," *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil⁶⁵ for me / the perfect charm.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

*Wondrous spell for binding a lover: Take wax [or clay] from a potter’s wheel
and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right
side of her neck. And make her⁶⁶ with her arms behind her back and down on her
knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / “ISEĒ IAŌ ITHI
OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH”; on the right ear: “OUER MĒCHAN”;
on the left ear: “LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHŌ”; on the face: “AMOUNABREŌ”; on the right
310 eye: / “ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH”; on the other: “CHOBŌUE”; on the right shoulder:
“ADETA MEROU”; on the right arm: “ENE PSA ENESGAPH”; on the other: “MEL-
315 CHIOU MELCHIEDIA”; on the hands: / “MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL”; on the breast:
the name, on her mother’s side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: “BAL-
AMIN THŌOUTH”; and below the lower belly: “AŌBĒS AŌBAR”; on the pudenda:
320 “BLICHIANEOI OΥŌIA”; on the buttocks: “PISSADARA”; on / the sole of the right
foot: “ELŌ”; on the sole of the other one: “ELŌAIAOE.”

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, “I am
piercing your brain, NN”; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the
soles, saying each time, “I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that
she may remember no one but me, NN, alone.”

330 And take a lead tablet⁶⁷ and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead
leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying
as you have learned, “ABRASAX, hold her fast!” You place it, as the sun is setting,
beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the
seasonal flowers.

335 *The spell to be written / and recited is:* “I entrust this binding spell to you,
chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS
the BARBARITHA, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCHTHA-
340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRĒ and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who
holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who
have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as
assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,⁶⁸ whoever you are,
whether male or female,⁶⁹ and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural *τελέσατε* is strange. Preisendanz suggests that *δαίμονες* is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *vores magicæ* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3^e/4^e siècle,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,⁷⁰ let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead, whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair, by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me, NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH ADŌNAI IA ROURA BIA BI BIOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILTH-THEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌS SIECHĒ. I am THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPHIA EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eternity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI	
AEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA	410
AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE	III
EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ	OEŌ
IŌ BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB	OIEE
YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA	OEYI
IO PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH	OEYY
OE PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH	IAYY
IŌAE	YYAA
EOĒI	OIII
YAOU	YAAE
IAŌI	EŌAY
AĒAĒ	OYYI

420

70. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Text,” 72.

	ĒIOI	ĒĒEA
	ŌIYA	AAIA
	AŌOE	IIIŌ
425	YIŌĒ	EEAŌ
	EOAŌA	ĒĒAŌ
	YAYA	ĒĒĒĒ
	IOĒIIĒ	OAĒI
	IAŌI	ĒIYI
430	AOAO	ĒĒOI
	YYOI	YAAI
		ĒILA
		AAŌŌ"

435 *Prayer that belongs to the procedure:* At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

“Borne⁷¹ on the breezes of the wandr’ing winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
Men’s daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and search
The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
To her, NN, at midnight hours,
To move by night to orders ’neath your force, /
450 That all I want within my heart he may
Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
And be not angry at my potent chants,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn about the threads
Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
455 I call your name, Horus,⁷² which is in number
Equivalent to those of the Moirai,

ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHILACHA AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIA THŌTHŌ PHILACHA.

Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
The world, self-gendered, fire-bringer, aglow
Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. PGM IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN" (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIŌ THŌ THŌ PHIACHA." / *In another it is:* "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IĒA ĒAI IAĒ AĒI ĒIA ŌTHŌ-THŌ PHIACHA." 465

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

***Charm to restrain anger:** "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?"⁷³

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at PGM IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

***To get friends:**

/ "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."⁷⁴

470

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10. 193) occurs in PGM IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in PGM IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in PGM IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from PGM IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a "divine assistance from three Homeric verses."

PGM IV. 471–73

* . . .

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."⁷⁵

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."⁷⁶

"and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."⁷⁷

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in PGM IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the *Iliad* and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*" . . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."⁷⁸

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on PGM IV. 469–70, and see PGM IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband* 9 (1893), section X: *Versus Homericus et Vergiliani* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of "he" is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of "him" unaccounted for. In Homer, "him" is governed by "bound" in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

475 * Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,⁷⁹ as I write these mysteries handed
down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immor-
480 tality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daugh-
ter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at
the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be
revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an in-
485 quirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

“First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS⁸⁰
490 PHR[E], spirit of spirit,⁸¹ the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to
my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, EY ÊIA EË, water of
water, the first of the water in me, ŌŌŌ AAA EEE, earthy material, the first of the
495 earthy material in me, / YE YŌË, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN,
which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world with-
out light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YEI AYI EYŌIE: now
500 if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHÊRIË, in another place)⁸²
IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying
nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze
505 upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOU-
PHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOU PARAKOUNËTH, with the most
steadfast air, EIOAË PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRA
510 R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN AP-
OTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ÊTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I
may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ
515 OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNO-
MËTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal
from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible
520 right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery
diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within
me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after
525 the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN,
whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYË YIA EËI AŌ
530 EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden
brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌËY AEŌ ÊYA EŌË YAE ŌIAE, stand, O per-
ishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexor-
535 able and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am
MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

540 Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and you
will see yourself being lifted up and / ascending to the height, so that you seem to
be in midair. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in
that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, “Soul.” Some scholars read Tyche, “Fortune.” On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the “Mithras Liturgy,” see M. W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

81. “Spirit,” “breath,” “wind” (*πνεῦμα*) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the
 skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of
 the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fash-
 ion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hang-
 ing from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the
 regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the
 east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And
 you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth⁸³ and say:

“Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /

Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!”

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

“PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PI-
 TĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ / TYRĒ PHILBA.”

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at
 you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the
 gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to
 shock you. Then say again:

“Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shin-
 ing forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH.”

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And
 after you have said the second prayer, where there is “Silence! Silence!” and the
 accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and
 immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and
 filling all the air. Then say again: “Silence! Silence!” And when the disk is open, you
 will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. *The third prayer:*

“Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O lord, you who
 have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,⁸⁴

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,

Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,

Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,

Fire-feeler, IAŌ,

Light-breather, ŌAI,

Fire-delighter, ELOURE,

Beautiful light, AZAI,

Aion, ACHBA,

/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,⁸⁵

Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,

Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, “Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets,” *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading *τετραριζώματος* with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than *τετραλιζώματος*. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests *διαζώματος* (cf. *C. H., Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For PIPPI as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
 Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
 600 Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
 Star-tamer . . .

Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA,
 605 because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke
 the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and
 610 are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal
 sound: ÊĒŌ ŌĒÊŌ IŌŌ ŌĒ ÊĒŌ ÊĒŌ ŌĒ ÊŌ IŌŌ ŌĒÊÊ ŌĒÊ ŌĒÊ IĒ ÊŌ ŌŌ ŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ
 ŌŌÊ IĒŌ ŌĒ IĒÊŌ ÊĒ IŌ ŌĒ IŌÊ ŌĒŌ ÊŌÊ ŌĒŌ ŌĒÊ ŌĒÊ ÊŌ ŌI III ÊŌÊ ŌYĒ ÊŌŌÊÊ
 615 ÊŌ ÊIA AĒA ÊĒA / ÊÊÊÊ ÊÊÊ ÊÊÊ IĒŌ ÊĒŌ ŌĒÊÊŌÊ ÊĒŌ ÊYŌ ŌĒ EIŌ ÊŌ ŌĒ ŌĒ ÊÊ
 ŌŌŌ YIŌÊ.”

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then,
 620 similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.⁸⁶
 When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the sur-
 rounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again:
 625 “Silence!” (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open and
 the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy
 of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you
 630 look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

“Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO
 PHORATHĒN ERĒI PROTHRI PHORATHI.”

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of
 635 them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in ap-
 pearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a
 fiery crown.⁸⁷ At once greet him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the
 Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your
 strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who
 645 has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,⁸⁸ whose mother is NN, / who was
 born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

M. Philonenko, “L’Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAŌ” *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In PGM see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza-Zodiac: II,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihgrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, “*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l’arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d’un myste isiaque,” in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell’impero romano*, EPRO 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MOR-IROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EÖRÖ RÖRE ÖRRI ÖRIÖR RÖR RÖI / ÖR REÖRÖRI EÖR EÖR EÖRE!”

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After saying this, you will see the doors⁸⁹ thrown open, and seven virgins⁹⁰ coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.⁹¹ They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars!⁹² / Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAËS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEËS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHËS!⁹³ Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIË! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAËS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIËS!”

There also come forth another seven gods,⁹⁴ who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

“Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERÖNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTÖ! Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRÖALITHÖ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHÖPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHË!”

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking,

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term ἐπτάπυλος, “seven-gated.” See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word “goddess.” One Egyptian Fate, *Rmnwtet* (Thermutis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurrh, *Den Himmel stützen. Die “Tw3 pt”-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, “Horus who is on the horizon.”

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,⁹⁵ and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.⁹⁶ Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

705 And at once / make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

710 “MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul!⁹⁷ Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIÖTH commands you.”

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

715 “Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGË EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THËTH MIMËÖ YENARÖ PHYRCHECHÖ PSËRI DARIÖ PHRË PHRËLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

720 After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. /
725 Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for
730 at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish
740 to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is “First origin of my origin,⁹⁸
745 AEËIOYÖ.” And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,⁹⁹ so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the
750 teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithraicae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia Zodiac,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, “Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.* 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; cf. Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of ζωή “life,” and ψυχή “soul,” suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for ζωή καὶ ψυχή, and the note on PGM IV. 377). [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see PGM IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965) 58.

Instruction for the rite: Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;¹⁰⁰ put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, / and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and / spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven:

“I have consecrated you, that your material may be useful to me, to NN alone, IE IA ËËË O Y EIA, that you may prove useful to me / alone, for I am PHÖR PHORA PHÖS PHOTIZAAS” (others: “PHÖR PHÖR OPHOTHEI XAAS”).

On the 7th day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine¹⁰¹ and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean field. / Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called *ken-tritis*, and smear, it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; / and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.

Now the encounter with the great god is like this: Having obtained the above-mentioned herb / *ken-tritis*, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion,¹⁰² take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-lettered name, as given below.¹⁰³ And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; / lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then he [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare [the scarab] on the new moon in the lion, according to the god’s [reckoning].¹⁰⁴

Now this is the name: “I EE OO IAI.” Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf /, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery / of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds,¹⁰⁵ and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of 3 times a year.”

The *ken-tritis* plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the / black earth, and is similar to the erect verbenia. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the lord / pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the *besas* plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit / like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapēs*, like the wild beet.

100. Literally, “at the seizure of the moon,” probably designating the new moon.

101. Cf. PGM I. 85–86 and n.

102. That is, at the new moon.

103. See PGM IV. 788.

104. The new moon of god, according to the heavens, in contrast to the new moon of man, according to the calendar.

105. The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.

Now the phylacteries require this procedure: copy that for the right [arm] onto
 815 the skin / of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with sinews of
 the same animal, put it on; and copy that [for] the left [arm] onto the skin of a
 white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHY-
 820 MĒRI" /, and has this memorandum:¹⁰⁶

"So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses."¹⁰⁷

"And men gasping among grievous slaughters."¹⁰⁸

"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea."¹⁰⁹

"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus."¹¹⁰

825 / Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he
 bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said:¹¹¹

"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINÖTHER NÖPSITHER
 THERNÖPSI" (add the usual).¹¹²

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 830

830 * . . . "Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."¹¹³
 Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 831–32

*Charm to restrain anger: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against
 Zeus?"¹¹⁴

Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 833–34

*To Get Friends: "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."¹¹⁵

Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 835–49

835 *From 53 years and 9 months on Hermes took the period up to 10 years and 9
 months, from which he assigned to himself 20 months, which would be 55 years 5
 840 months; then to Aphrodite 8 months, / which would thus be 56 years 1 month;

106. The relationship of the poetic quotations in the following, which repeat those in ll. 468–74, and the Mithras liturgy is obscure. They seem unrelated; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (see above, Introduction, n. 24), which shows a blank after l. 820 and a sign indicating a new paragraph. For a different view, cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 84. [M.S.]

107. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564.

108. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521.

109. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572.

110. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. See PGM IV. 467–68 above and 830–31 below. Probably this verse served as a spell to restrain anger, but it may be misplaced here.

111. That these verses are part of the *ὑπόμνημα* ("the memorandum," l. 821) seems unlikely. More probably, a heading has been lost, and the verses contain an altogether independent spell. Story spells (*historiolae*) were ancient (see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, nos. 7, 75, 148, 154, 157, 158, etc.). They usually tell of a happening such as they are meant to produce (cf., e.g., PGM VII. 199–201; IV. 1471–79). This story tells of a person compelled or bribed to give up something; it could have been used to make a person give up anger. Hence it may have been attached to the Homeric verse for that purpose and was interpolated here. The name Amara is obscure; it could mean "the bitter woman" (Hebrew or Latin; cf. Ru 1:20, Vulgate).

112. Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 136 and 142, also with permutations of ΙΑΘ. PSINÖTHER is Egyptian for "the sons of god." [R.K.R.] See also PGM III. 186 and n. See Glossary, s.v. "THERNOPSI formula."

113. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The same verse occurs in PGM IV. 474.

114. Homer, *Il.* 6. 424, quoted also PGM IV. 468, 824.

115. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193. See PGM IV. 470, where the same verse is quoted.

then to Helios 19 months, which would be 57 years 8 months. In this period assigned to Helios, that is to the 19 months, devote yourself to what you seek. After this he assigned to Ares 15 months, which would be 58 years 11 months. This is a hostile period. / Then to Selene 25 months, which would be 61 years. They are good. Then to Zeus 12 months, which would be 62 years. They are good. Then to Kronos 30 months, which would be 64½ years. They are bad for the body; within them also are the dangerous points.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The section appears to be a fragment from an astrological work about the influence of the planets upon the periods of life.

PGM IV. 850–929

***Charm of Solomon that produces a trance**¹¹⁶ (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable¹¹⁷ / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you.

Formula to be spoken: “OURIÖR AMËN IM TAR CHÖB KLAMPHÖB PHRË¹¹⁸ PHRÖR PTAR OUSIRI SAIÖB TËLÖ KABË / MANATATHÖR ASIÖRIKÖR BËEINÖR AMOUN ÖM MËNICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA AOU ALAKAMBÖT BËSINÖR APH-ËSIÖR PHRËPH AMËI OUR LAMASIR CHËRIÖB PITRËM / PHËÖPH NIRIN ALLAN-NATHATH CHËRIÖCH ÖNË BOUSIRI NINOUNO AMANAL GAGÖSARIËR MËNIAM TLËR OOO AA ETNË OUSIRI OUSIRI OURISI OURISI MËNËMB MNËM / BRABËL TNËKAIÖB. Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled / names. Come to me, you who became Hesies and were carried away by a river; inspire the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: BARBËTH MNÖR ARARIAK TARËRIM ÖAR TËRÖK SANIÖR MËNIK PHAUKEK / DAPHORIOUMIN LARIÖR ËTNIAMIM KNÖS CHALAKTHIR KRÖPHËR PHËSIMÖT PRËBIB KNALA ËRIBËTIM GNÖRI. Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice-greatest Hermes¹¹⁹ wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: ARBAKÖRIPH MËNIAM ÖBAÖB ABNIÖB MËRIM BAIAX CHENÖR PHËNIM ÖRA ÖRË-SIOU OUSIRI¹²⁰ PNIAOUSIRI / PHRËOUSIRI HÖRIOUSIRI NAEIÖROUSIRI MËN-IMOUSIRI MNËKOUSIRI PHLËKOUSIRI PËLËLOUSIRI ÖNIÖ RABKOUSIRI ANIÖB-OUSIRI AMËAOUSIRI ANÖROUSIRI AMËNËPHËOUSIRI / AMËNIOUSIRI XÖNIÖR ËOUROUSIRI. Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter.”

After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him.¹²¹ After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat¹²² and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, extend your hands / up

116. Literally, the title means “Solomon’s Collapse,” an indication of ecstatic seizure.

117. Or “for trivial reasons.”

118. The names include the gods Prë, Osiris, and Amon.

119. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. For this name, see PGM VII. 551 and n.

120. The following list, after “Osiris,” contains a series of compound deities whose second element is the god Osiris, but only some can be identified: Pre-Osiris, Horus-Osiris, Onnuris-Osiris, Amenophis-Osiris, and Amon-Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. The following account has a parallel in *Test. Sol.* I. 3, ed. McCown, p. *8, ll. 5–15.

122. The meaning of Anubis’s head of grain is not known. On the god Anubis, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, EPRO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), esp. p. 139 for ear of grain. [R.K.R.]

to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black
 910 cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the
 NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the
 bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You
 915 should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood, / both him and you,
 for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: “ANANAK ARBEOUËRI AEËIOYÖ.”

If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin
 920 while saying: / “ANANAK ÔRBEOUSIRI AEËIOYÖ, go away, lord, to your own thrones
 and protect him, NN, from all evil.” You learned thoroughly; keep it secret.

*The awakening*¹²³ [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or
 925 man, having your / palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the
 ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or
 toward the left: “AMOUN ËEI¹²⁴ ABRIATH KICHÔP ÔTEM PITH.” Then as a dog.¹²⁵

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 930–1114

930 *Charm that produces a direct vision:¹²⁶ *Prayer for divine alliance*, which you
 are to say first toward the sunrise, then the same first prayer is to be spoken to a
 lamp. Whenever you seek divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod
 935 with fibers of the doum palm and / your head crowned with a spray from an olive
 tree—but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle.
 Clasp a pebble numbered 3663¹²⁷ to your breasts, and in this way make your invocation.

*Hymn:*¹²⁸

940 “Hail,¹²⁹ serpent, and¹³⁰ stout lion, natural
 Sources of fire.¹³¹ / And hail, clear water and
 Lofty-leaved tree,¹³² and you who gather up

123. The translation of this difficult term follows Preisendanz (see apparatus ad loc.).

124. AMOUN ËEI is equivalent to Egyptian “Amon comes” (?), with Greek *ηελ* standing for Egyptian *iy*. [R.K.R.]

125. Probably referring to barking; cf. PGM IV. 1006.

126. This is equivalent to the type of Demotic spell called *ph-ntr*-spell, literally, a “god’s arrival” spell. See J. H. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

127. According to Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 184, the mystical number is 3663 and refers to BAIN-CHÔÖCH (the numerical value of the Greek letters being 2 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 800 + 800 + 600 = 3663).

128. Preisendanz ends the hymn at l. 948, but the petition to the god continues through l. 955. Ll. 949–54 include references to the spell for a direct vision, the lamp divination, and the prayer for divine alliance. Thus the present form of these lines comes from the time when the spell was put together. Ll. 949–54 contain vestiges of verse and originally may have been part of the hymn which was composed by the final author; or they may be a prose addition to part of an earlier hymn, perhaps substituting for, or expanding the petition in, the original hymn. [W.C.G.]

129. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 3; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238.

130. *τε*, though necessary to the sense, mars the hexameter. [E.N.O.]

131. A possible echo of a pre-Socratic expression, but to the author of this spell this phrase must have had a much different meaning. Preisendanz wants to emend and read *Φύσι και πυρός ἀρχή* (“O Nature and fire’s origin”), but the emendation is more clever than persuasive. For *Physis* as a goddess, see PGM I. 310 and n. [E.N.O.]

132. An adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 4. 458, which in the context of the spell indicates that the author knew not only the Homeric verse but the whole passage as well. [E.N.O.]

Clover from golden fields of beans,¹³³ and who
Cause gentle foam to gush forth from pure mouths.
Scarab, who drive the orb of fertile fire,
O self-engendered one,¹³⁴ because you are
Two-syllabled, AĒ, and are the first-
Appearing one, / nod me assent, I pray,
Because your mystic symbols I declare,

945

ĒŌ AI OY AMERR OOUŌTH IYIŌĒ MARMARAUŌTH LAILAM SOUMARTA.

Be gracious unto me, first-father, and
May you yourself send strength as my companion.

Stay allied, lord, and listen to me / through the charm that produces direct vision 950
which I do today, and reveal to me concerning those things I ask you through the
lamp divination for direct vision which I do today, I, NN, IY EYĒ OŌ AEĒ IAEĒ ALAE
E AI EY ĒIE ŌŌŌŌ EY ĒŌ / IAŌAI" (repeat).¹³⁵ 955

Light-bringing charm: Crown your head with the same spray, stand in the same
fashion facing the lamp, close your eyes and recite this spell 7 times.

Spell: "I call upon you, the living god, / fiery, invisible begetter of light, IAĒL 960
PEIPTA PHŌS ZA PAI PHTHENTHA PHŌSZA PYRI BELIA IAŌ IAO EYŌ OEĒ A ŌY EOI A
E Ē I O Y Ō give your strength, rouse your daimon, / enter into this fire, fill it with a 965
divine spirit, and show me your might. Let there be opened for me the house of the
all-powerful god ALBALAL,¹³⁶ who is in this light. / Let there be light, breadth, 970
depth, length, height, brightness, and let him who is inside shine through, the lord
BOUĒL¹³⁷ PHTHA PHTHA PHTHAĒL PHTHA ABAL BAINCHŌŌŌCH, now, now; imme-
diately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Light-retaining spell that is spoken once / in order that the light-magic might 975
remain with you, for sometimes when you invoke the god-bringing spell darkness
is produced. Therefore, you should conjure in the following way.

Spell: "I conjure you, holy light, holy brightness, breadth, depth, length, height,
brightness, by the holy names / which I have spoken and am now going to speak. 980
By IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ABLANATHANALBA AK-
RAMMACHAMARI AI AI IAO AX AX INAX, remain by me in the present hour, until I
pray to the god / and learn about the things I desire." 985

God-bringing spell to be spoken three times with your eyes open: "I call upon
you, the greatest god, sovereign HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IŌAI
DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI / ABRALAŌTH, you who enlighten the universe and by 990
your own power illumine the whole world, god of gods, benefactor, AO IAŌ EAĒY,
you who direct night and day, AI AŌ, handle and steer the tiller,¹³⁸ restrain the ser-

133. This refers to the Egyptian bean from the Nymphaean lotus mentioned in PGM IV. 1110. Thus the reference is again to Horus atop the lotus. [R.K.R.]

134. "Self-generation" is a common epithet of Khepri (see Glossary, s.v. "Scarab") and is a pun on his name which means "to come into being." [R.K.R.] See also J. Whittaker, "Self-generating Principles in Second-century Gnostic Systems," in B. Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. I: The School of Valentinus, *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)* 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 176–93.

135. Here the papyrus has the sign //, perhaps signifying doubling. See below, ll. 973 and 1046 (in the papyrus).

136. For this name, see T. Hopfner, "Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Ägyptens," *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931): 341.

137. This name is not attested elsewhere.

138. A reference to the solar bark of Re and the serpent Apophis, who attempts daily to devour the sun. Cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 6–7; E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* I (1975): 350–51. [R.K.R.]

995 pent, / you Good, holy¹³⁹ Daimon, whose name is HARBATHANŌPS IAOAI, whom
 1000 sunrises and sunsets hymn when you arise and set. You who are praised among all
 gods, angels and daimons, come and appear to me, god of gods, HŌROS / HARPO-
 KRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IAO AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRALAOŌTH. En-
 1005 ter, appear to me, lord, because I call upon you as the three baboons¹⁴⁰ call upon
 you, who speak / your holy name in a symbolic fashion, A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO
 YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ (speak as a baboon). Enter in, appear to me, lord, for I speak
 your greatest names: BARBARAI BARBARAOŌTH AREMPSOUS PERTAOŌMĒCH PERA /
 1010 KŌNĒTHCH IAO BAL BĒL BOL BE SRŌ IAOĒI OYEĒI EĒI EOYĒI AĒI ĒI IAO ĒI. You
 who are seated on the top of the world and judge the universe, surrounded by the
 1015 circle of truth and honesty, / IYAĒ IOAI, enter in; appear to me, lord, to me, the one
 who is before fire and snow and in the midst of them, because my name is BAIN-
 CHŌŌŌCH. I am the one who is from heaven; my name is BALSAMĒS. Enter in, ap-
 1020 pear to me,¹⁴¹ / lord, you who have a great name, you whom we all have each in our
 own heart; your name is BARPHANNĒTH RALPHAI NINTHER CHOUCHEI. You who
 break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you
 1025 who have in fire your power / and your strength, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. You
 who are seated within the 7 poles, AEĒIOYŌ, you who have on your head a golden
 crown and in your hand a Memnonian staff¹⁴² with which you send out the gods,
 1030 your name is BARBARIĒL BARBARAIĒL god / BARBARAĒL BĒL BOUĒL. Enter in,
 lord, and answer me with your holy voice in order that I might hear clearly and un-
 1035 erringly concerning the NN matter, IYĒYĒ OŌAEĒ (formula) IAEĒ ALAĒ EAI EYĒIE /
 ŌŌŌŌŌ IYĒŌ IAO AI.”

Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation (say the incantation one or 3 times): “The great, living god commands
 1040 you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who cre-
 ated every / soul and race, IAO AOI ŌIA AIŌ IOA ŌAI. Enter in, appear to me,
 lord, happy, kind, gentle, glorious, not angry, because I conjure you by the lord,
 1045 IAO AOI ŌIA AIŌ IOA ŌAI APTA PHŌIRA ZAZOU / CHAMĒ. Enter in, lord, appear to
 me happy, kind, gentle, [glorious,]¹⁴³ not angry” (repeat).¹⁴⁴

Salutation said once after the god enters. While holding the pebble, say: “Hail,
 1050 lord, god of gods, benefactor, HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IAO AI
 DA/GENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRALAO; let your Hours which you traverse be wel-
 comed; let your Glories¹⁴⁵ be welcomed forever, lord.”

139. The occurrence of “holy” between “good” and “daimon” makes it doubtful that the familiar Good Daimon is meant. See Glossary, s.v.; see also the apparatus ad loc.

140. Baboons were thought to praise the sun when they chattered at it. For a representation, see A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), vol. I, 39, fig. 22 and pl. I. See also Bonnet, *RARG* 7–8, s.v. “Affc.” [R.K.R.] On the magician’s imitation of the “language” of animals, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 778–80. Understanding this language of animals belongs to the traditional phenomenology of the “divine man” and magician. See, e.g., Porphyry, *De abst.* 3. 3, and on the whole topic H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921); Betz, *Lukian* 28–38.

141. Preisendanz has *ἐάνη θίμω*, which should be read as *ἐάνηθί μοι*, as in PGM IV. 1001, 1006, 1015, 1024, 1041, 1045. [W.C.G.]

142. For Memnon as a deified hero in Egypt, see A. Baraille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1952) 1–21; as recipient of worship, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977) 299, no. 82. [R.K.R.]

143. An addition by Preisendanz in order to conform to PGM IV. 1042. But such consistency is not always to be expected. Cf. ll. 1063–65 with 1079–80.

144. See the note above on PGM IV. 955, regarding the sign for doubling.

145. Cf. PGM I. 199 and n.

Charm to retain the god: When he comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not / go away unless you raise your heel from his toe¹⁴⁶ and at the same time say the dismissal. 1055

Dismissal: Close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding, lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his / toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: “I give thanks to you lord BAINCHÖÖCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my / lifetime.” 1060 1065

Dismissal of the brightness: “CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH,¹⁴⁷ holy brightness.” In order that the brightness also go away:¹⁴⁸ “Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAÖNA.” Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself / with Coptic kohl;¹⁴⁹ smear yourself by means of a golden probe. 1070

Phylactery for the rite, which you must wear for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip]¹⁵⁰ from a linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] / write with myrrh these things: “I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMÖSIS IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH, son of ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NÖPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my / lifetime.” Place inside the strip of cloth an everliving plant;¹⁵¹ roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis.¹⁵² Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite. / 1075 1080

Preparation: Take broad cords of papyrus, tie them to the four corners of the room so that they form an X. In the middle of the X attach a ring-shaped mat made from single-stemmed wormwood. Provide / a glazed lamp¹⁵³ with a wick called reed grass, and rub the wick itself with fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. Fill the lamp with good olive oil, and place it in the middle, / on the mat. Light the lamp and stand in the previously mentioned fashion, facing the sunrise, whenever you perform the rite, without distinguishing the days.¹⁵⁴ Purify yourself / from everything three days in advance, and rub the wick beforehand with the fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. 1085 1090 1095 1100

Signs of the lamp: After saying the light-bringing spell, open your eyes and you will see / the light of the lamp becoming like a vault. Then while closing your eyes say (*differently*: 3 . . .¹⁵⁵ after saying 3 times), and after opening your eyes you will see all things wide-open and the greatest brightness within, but the lamp shining nowhere. Then you will see the god / seated on a lotus,¹⁵⁶ decorated with rays, his 1105 1110

146. The translation follows the interpretation by Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc.

147. CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH corresponds to Coptic KÖ KÖ Ö KAKE, “depart, depart, O darkness.” [R.K.R.]

148. An attempt on the part of the redactor of the papyrus text to explain the need for a second dismissal.

149. Powdered antimony used as cypaint.

150. Addition by Eitrem on the basis of I. 1081.

151. A general name for plants that seem to live a long time. See R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 46 (Göteborg: Elanders, 1940) 103.

152. On the Anubian thread, see PGM I. 147 and n.

153. On this type of faïence, see PGM IV. 55 and n.

154. That is, the charm can be performed on any day. For charms that can be used only on certain days, cf. PGM III. 275–81; VII. 155–67, 284–89.

155. The text is obscure at this point but seems to include alternative instructions. See apparatus ad loc.

156. The deity seated on the lotus flower is Harpokrates, invoked here in ll. 989, 999–1000, and 1074–75. This standard depiction of Harpokrates is found in all the media during the Greco-Roman

right hand raised in greeting and left [holding] a flail, while being carried in the hands of 2 angels with 12 rays around them.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 930–38; 949–1114) and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 939–48). This spell is a composite, made by combining a lamp divination with a charm for a direct vision and including an introductory prayer for divine alliance. The repetition in the present charm (note especially the two dismissals in ll. 1057ff. and 1065ff. and the explanation in ll. 1066ff.) is a result of the inclusion of similar elements from both of the charms here combined.

PGM IV. 1115–66

- 1115 ***Hidden**¹⁵⁷ **stèle**:¹⁵⁸ “Hail, entire system of the aerial spirit,¹⁵⁹ PHŌGALŌA. Hail, spirit who extends from heaven to earth, ERDĒNEU, and from earth which is in the
1120 middle chamber of the / universe unto the borders of the abyss, MEREMÖGGA.¹⁶⁰ Hail, spirit who enters into me, convulses me, and leaves me kindly according to
1125 the will of god, IŌĒ ZANŌPHIE. / Hail, beginning and end of the immovable nature, DŌRYGLAOPHŌN. Hail, revolution of untiring service by heavenly bodies, RŌGYEU ANAMI PELĒGEŌN ADARA EIŌPH. Hail, radiance of the universe subordi-
1130 nate / to the solar ray, IEO YĒŌ IAĒ AI ĒŌY OEI. Hail, orb of the night-illuminating, unequally shining moon, AIŌ RĒMA RŌDOUŌPIA. Hail, all spirits of the aerial im-
1135 ages / RŌMIDOUĒ AGANASOU ŌTHAUA. Hail to those to whom the greeting is given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women. O great, greatest, round, incomprehensible figure of the universe, heavenly ENRŌCHES-
1140 YĒL; / in heaven, PELĒTHEU; of ether, IŌGARAA; in the ether, THŌPYLEO DARDY; watery, IŌĒDES; earthy, PERĒPHIA; fiery, APHTHALYA; windlike, IŌIE ĒŌ AYA; lumi-
1145 nous, ALAPIE; dark-looking, / IEPSERIA; shining with heavenly light, ADAMALŌR; moist, fiery, and cold spirit. / I glorify you, god of gods, the one who brought order to the universe, AREŌ PIEUA; the one who gathered together the abyss at the invis-
1150 ible foundation of its position, PERŌ MYSĒL / O PENTŌNAX; the one who separated heaven and earth and covered the heaven with eternal, golden wings, RŌDĒRY OYŌA; the one who fixed the earth on eternal foundations, ALĒIOŌA; the one who
1155 hung up / the ether high above the earth, AIE ŌĒ IOYA; the one who scattered the air with self-moving breezes, ŌIE OYŌ; the one who put the water roundabout,
1160 ŌRĒPĒLYA; the one who raises up hurricanes, ŌRISTHAUA; / the one who thunders, THEPHICHYŌNĒL; the one who hurls lightnings, OURĒNES; the one who rains, OS-IŌRNI PHEUGALGA; the one who shakes, PERATŌNĒL; the one who produces living creatures, ARĒSIGYLŌA; the god of the Aions; you are great, lord, god, ruler of the

period. Harpocrates holds the flail, the symbol of royalty, here interpreted as a whip. See A. M. El-Kachab, “Some Gem-Amulets Depicting Harpocrates Seated on a Lotus Flower,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–45, esp. 133–34. For the gesture of greeting, a modification under the influence of Helios instead of the more common gesture of finger sucking, see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

157. The exact meaning of ἀπόκρυφος is uncertain here. LSJ, s.v., II, gives as possible meanings “obscure, recondite, hard to understand.” More likely is the meaning “secret,” for which see Baucr, s.v.; cf. also PGM XIII. 344, 731, 732, 1057, 1078.

158. The term *stēlē* occurs in the PGM with several meanings. Originally it refers to a plate of stone or metal on which texts could be inscribed (e.g., VIII. 42), but most of the time the term is a literary device suggesting the text was copied from a stone slab. It can also refer to an amulet in the shape of a *stēlē* (as in PGM VII. 215; see the picture *Tafel I, Abbildung 1* in Preisendanz, vol. II).

159. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion (see I. 1164). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 200, 208–10. See also PGM I. 309 and n.

160. For this imagery, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen: Høsr, 1927) 74; furthermore, *DMP* col. XX, l. 28 (p. 133); PGM IV. 1210. [R.K.R.]

All, ARCHIZŌ / NYON THĒNAR METHŌR PARY PHĒZŌR THAPSAMYDŌ MARŌMI 1165
CHĒLŌPSA.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1167–1226

*Stele that is useful for all things; it even delivers from death. Do not investigate what is in it.

Formula: “I praise you,¹⁶¹ the one and blessed of the eons and / father of the 1170
world, with cosmic prayers. Come to me, you who filled the whole universe with
air, who hung up the fire from the [heavenly] water and separated the earth from 1175
the water. Pay attention, form, spirit, / earth and sea, to a word from the one who
is wise concerning divine Necessity, and accept my words as fiery darts, because
I am a man,¹⁶² the most beautiful creature of the god in heaven, made out of 1180
spirit, / dew, and earth. Heaven, be opened; accept my words. Listen, Helios, fa-
ther of the world; I call upon you with your name AŌ EY ĒOI AIOĒ YEŌA OUOR-
ZARA LAMANTHATHRĒ KANTHIOPER / GARPSARTHĒ MENLARDAPA KENTHĒR 1185
DRYOMEN THRANDRĒTHĒRĒ IABE ZELANTHI BER ZATHRĒ ZAKENTI BIOLLITHRĒ
AĒŌ OYŌ ĒŌ OŌ RAMIATHA AĒŌ ŌYŌ OYŌ ŌAYŌ: the only one having the origi-
nal / element. You are the holy and powerful name considered sacred by all the an- 1190
gels; protect me, so- and-so, from every excess of power and from every violent act.
Yes, do this, / lord, god of gods, IALDAZAŌ BLATHAM MACHŌR PHRIX AĒ KEŌPH 1195
EĒA DYMEŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ RŌSERŌTH THAMA-
STRAPHATI RIMPSAŌCH IALTHE MEACHI ARBATHANŌPS, / creator of the world,
creator of the universe, lord, god of gods, MARMARIŌ IAŌ. I have spoken of your 1200
unsurpassable glory,¹⁶³ you who created gods, archangels, and decans. The ten
thousands of angels stood by [you] and exalted / the heaven, and the lord witnessed 1205
to your Wisdom,¹⁶⁴ which is Aion, IEŌYĒŌE IAĒAIEŌĒYŌEI, and said that you are as
strong as he is. I invoke your hundred-lettered / name¹⁶⁵ which extends from the 1210
sky to the depth of the earth; save me, for you are always ever rejoicing in saving
those who are yours, ATHĒZE PHŌI AAA DALAGTHI THĒOBIS PHIATH THAMBRAMI
ABRAŌTH / CHTHOLCHIL THOE OELCHŌTH THIOŌĒMCH CHOOMCH SAĒSI ISACH- 1215
CHOĒ IEROUTHRA OOOOO AIŌAI (100 letters). I call upon you, the one on the gold
leaf,¹⁶⁶ before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns,¹⁶⁷ / the great God, 1220
the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem, lord, IAŌ AIĒ
IŌĒ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ IĒ AIŌAI AI OYŌ AŌĒ ĒEI IEŌ ĒYŌ AĒI AŌ AŌA AEĒI YŌ EIĒ / AĒŌ IEY 1225
AEĒ IAIA IAŌ EY AEY IAĒ EI AAA III ĒĒĒ IŌ IŌĒ IAŌ (100 letters), for a blessing,
lord.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

161. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion. See Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198, who compares the prayer with the older form in l. 196–221.

162. For different interpretations and translations, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, who thinks of the god Anthropos, “Man”; cf. also Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 169: “I am a human being, the heavenly deity’s most beautiful creation. . . .”

163. Preisendanz prints Δόξα, as if to suggest a divine hypostasis. See also PGM I. 199.

164. The notion of “Wisdom” (Sophia) is here identified with Aion, a unique instance in the PGM. Cf. PGM I. 210, and Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198–99.

165. Cf. l. 1225.

166. This protective prayer presumes a section describing a gold lamella to be worn as a phylactery. The phylactery contained the hundred-letter name of the god and was worn as protection against “every excess of power” and the “very violent act” mentioned in ll. 1193–94.

167. For the light miracle at Jerusalem, see PGM IV. 3070 and n. See also PDM xiv. 490 and K. Preisendanz, “Zum grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914): 347–48.

PGM IV. 1227–64

* **Excellent rite for driving out daimons:** *Formula* to be spoken over his head:

1230 Place olive branches before him, / and stand behind him and say:

“Hail, God of Abraham; hail, God of Isaac; hail, God of Jacob; Jesus Chrestos,¹⁶⁸
1235 the Holy Spirit, the Son of the Father, who is above¹⁶⁹ the Seven, / who is within
the Seven. Bring Iao Sabaoth; may your power issue forth from him, NN, until
you drive away this unclean daimon Satan, who is in him. I conjure you, daimon,
1240 / whoever you are, by this god, SABARBARBATHIÖTH SABARBARBATHIOUTH SABAR-
BARBATHIÖNETH SABARBARBAPHAI. Come out, daimon, whoever you are, and stay
1245 away from him, NN, / now, now; immediately, immediately. Come out, daimon,
since I bind you with unbreakable adamantite fetters, and I deliver you into the
black chaos in perdition.”

1250 **Preparation:** take 7 olive branches; for six of them / tie together the two ends of
each one, but for the remaining one use it like a whip as you utter the conjuration.
Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the daimon, hang around him, NN, a phylactery, which the
patient puts on after the expulsion of the daimon—a phylactery with these things
1255 [written] on / a tin metal leaf: “BÖR PHÖR PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN
BAUBÖ TE PHÖR BÖRPHORBA PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIË PHÖRBA
1260 PHARBA PHÖRPHÖR PHORBA / BÖPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBA BÖBOR-
BORBA PAMPHORBA PHÖRPHÖR PHÖRBA, protect him, NN.” But *another version*
has a phylactery on which this sign¹⁷⁰ occurs: §

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This Greek and Coptic exorcistic spell is discussed by Tambornino,
RGVV VII 3, 9; 10. For additional literature, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, 114 and idem,
APF 8 (1927): 115.

PGM IV. 1265–74

1265 * **Aphrodite's name** which becomes known to no one quickly is NEPHERIËRI¹⁷¹—
this is the name. If you wish to win a woman who is beautiful, be pure for 3 days,
1270 make an offering of frankincense, / and call upon this name over it. You approach
the woman and say it seven times in your soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it
will succeed.¹⁷² But do this for 7 days.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1275–1322

1275 * **Bear-charm**¹⁷³ which accomplishes everything; *Formula*: “I call upon you, the
greatest power in heaven” (*others*: “in the Bear”) “appointed by the lord god to
1280 turn with a strong / hand the holy pole, NIKAROPLËX. Listen to me, Helios, Phre;¹⁷⁴
hear the holy [prayer], you who hold together the universe and bring to life the

168. On *Chrestos*, “excellent one,” rather than *Christos*, “anointed one,” see K. Weiss, *TDNT* 9 (1974): 484–85; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 44–45; Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 63.

169. Or “below.”

170. This sign is familiar from the so-called Chnoubis amulets. See Bonner, *SMA* 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques* 54–57; A. Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnoubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 269–70. The translation of the sentence is according to the interpretation by R.D.K.

171. Nephieri is the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, “the beautiful eye,” a suitable epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor. See G. Möller, in Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.* [J.B.; R.K.R.]

172. Or “you will succeed,” the subject being the spell itself.

173. The spell invokes the astral constellation of the Bear and its powers. See *PGM* IV. 700, 1331; VII. 687; XXIII. 10.

174. That is, Helios-Prë.

whole world, THŌZOPITHĒ EUCHANDAMA ŌCHRIENTHĒR / OMNYŌDĒS CHĒMIO- 1285
CHYNGĒS IEŌY” (perform a sacrifice) “THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI KAN-
THIMEŌ ZANZEMIA ŌPER PEROMENĒS RŌTHIEU ĒNINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN
MENI KĒDEUA KĒPSĒOI” (add the usual).

Petition / to the sun at sunset. Formula: “THĒNŌR, O Helios, SANTHĒNŌR, I 1290
beseech you, lord, may the place and lord of the Bear devote themselves to me”
(while petitioning, sacrifice armara.¹⁷⁵ Do it at sunset). 1295

Charm of compulsion for the 3rd day: “ANTEBERŌYRTŌR EREMNETHĒCHŌR 1300
CHNYCHIROANTŌR MENELEOCHEU ĒESSIPO DŌTĒR EUARĒTŌ GOU PI PHYLAKE
ŌMALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA / do the NN thing.” 1300

The first formula in a different way: “THŌZOPITHĒ, Bear, greatest goddess, 1305
ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining god-
dess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the 1305
universe AEĒIOYŌ (square),¹⁷⁶ you who stand on the pole, you whom the lord god
appointed to turn the holy pole with a strong hand: THŌZOPITHĒ (formula).”

Offering for the procedure: 4 drams of frankincense, 4 drams of myrrh, 2 ounces 1310
each of cassia leaf and / of white pepper, 1 dram of bdellion, 1 dram of asphodel
seed, 2 drams each of amomon, of saffron, of terebinth storax, 1 dram of worm-
wood, . . . of vetch plant, priestly Egyptian incense, the complete brain of a black 1315
ram. / Combine these with white Mendesian wine¹⁷⁷ and honey, and make pellets
of bread.

Phylactery for the procedure: Wear a wolf knucklebone, mix juice of vetch and of 1320
pondweed in a censer, / write in the middle of the censer this name: “THERMOU-
THEREPSIPHIRIPHI¹⁷⁸ PISALI” (24 letters),¹⁷⁹ and in this way make an offering.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1323–30

**Another:* “KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN¹⁸⁰ you who shook and shake the 1325
world, you who have swallowed the ever-living serpent and daily / raise the disk of
the sun and of the moon, you whose name is ITHIOŌ ĒI ARBATHIAŌ Ē, send up to
me, NN, at night the daimon of this night to reveal to me concerning / the NN 1330
thing.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1331–89

**Powerful spell of the Bear¹⁸¹ which accomplishes anything:* Take the fat of a 1335
black ass, the fat of a dappled she-goat, the fat of a black bull, and Ethiopian cumin,
mix all together / and make an offering to the Bear, having as a phylactery hairs

175. For the recipe, see below, ll. 1308–16, and Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 803. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1990.

176. According to Preisendanz, *πλινθίον* (square) inserted here means that the letters are to be arranged in a series of lines forming a square. For this form of pictorial writing, see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* II (Leipzig: Veit, 1913) 59. For a similar piece, see A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 1975) 98 n. 11; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 905–11.

177. Cf. *PGM* I. 85 and n.

178. Thermouth is Rennutet, the Egyptian harvest goddess and Fate. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 803–4, s.v. “Thermutis.” See also *PGM* IV. 664 and n.

179. Thar is, in Greek letters.

180. Preisendanz suggests this line may contain Coptic, which according to F. Ll. Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Text of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 93, means “earth-shaker, ground-shaker, abyss-shaker.” [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 680.

181. For the meaning of the constellation of the Bear, see *PGM* IV. 1275.

from the same animals which you have plaited into a cord and are wearing as a diadem around your head. Anoint your lips with the fats, smear your whole body with storax / oil, and make your petition while holding a single-shooted Egyptian onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, kneel down, and speak the following *formula*:

1345 / "I call upon you, holy, very-powerful, very-glorious, very-stroug, holy, auto-
 1350 chthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons, you who / are inhabitants of Chaos,¹⁸² of Erebos, of the abyss, of the depth, of earth, dwelling in the recesses of heaven, lurking in the nooks and crannies of houses, shrouded in dark clouds, watchers of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those in the underworld, administrators / of the infinite, wielding power over earth, earth-shakers, foundation-layers, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, turning the spindle, freezing snow and rain, air-transversers, causing / summer heat, wind-bringers, lords of Fate, inhabitants of dark Erebos, bringers of compulsion, sending flames of fire, bringing snow and dew, wind-releasers, disturbers of the deep, treaders on the calm sea, mighty in courage, grievous / of the heart, powerful potentates, cliff-walkers, adverse daimons, iron-hearted, wild-tempered, unruly, guarding Tartaros, misleading Fate, all-seeing, all-hearing, / all-subjecting, heaven-walkers, spirit-givers, living simply, heaven-shakers, gladdening the heart, those who join together death, revealers of angels, punishers of mortals, sunless revealers, rulers of daimons, / air-transversers, almighty, holy, unconquerable AÖTH¹⁸³ ABAÖTH BASYM ISAK SABAÖTH IAÖ IAKÖP MANARA SKORTOURI MORTROUM EPHRAULA THREERSA; do the NN matter."

1380 / Then write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon,¹⁸⁴ curved as a star, and bind it in the middle of the core with the letters showing.

1385 *This is the name:* / ACHCHÖR ACHCHÖR ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHÖ CHARACHÖCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHÖRA CHÖCH APTOUMIMĒ CHÖCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHÖ CHARA CHÖCH PTENACHÖCHEOU.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1390–1495

1390 ***Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or those who have died a violent death:** Leave a little of the bread which you eat; break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. / Say the spell to the pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

1400 "To¹⁸⁵ Moirai, Destinies, / Malignities,
 To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died

182. For these names referring to the underworld places of Greek mythology, see *Orph. Frag.* 1 and 54; Homer, *Il.* 16. 327; *Od.* 10. 528; Hesiod, *Theog.* 515; etc. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952) 92.

183. The magical words contain some garbled Aramaic. On BASYM, see PGM LXX. 3 and n.; XIII. 147, 593. For an explanation from the Hebrew *ba-shem*, see G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977) 235–51, esp. 237, 240.

184. The association of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear (cf. PGM IV. 1331, 1335) is Egyptian. The Bear represents the soul of Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359D, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 373.

185. These iambic trimeters (which are sometimes rather clumsy) have been adapted to form the reconstructed Hymn 25, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 263. [E.N.O.]

- Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
 I'm sending food: Three-headed Goddess, Lady
 Of Night, who feed on filth, O Virgin, thou
 Key-holding Persephassa,¹⁸⁶ Kore out
 Of Tartaros, grim-eyed, dreadful, child girt /
 With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed 1405
 With tears and bitter groans leftovers from
 His own food, so that you, O luckless heroes
 Who are confined there in the NN place,
 May bring success to him who is beset
 With torments. You who've left the light, O you
 Unfortunate ones, / bring success to him, 1410
 NN, who is distressed at heart because
 Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
 So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!
- EIOUT ABAŌTH PSAKERBA ARBATHIAŌ LALAOITH / IŌSACHŌTOU ALLALETHŌ 1415
 You too as well, Lady, who feed on filth¹⁸⁷
 SYNTRAKABI BAUBARABAS ENPHNOUN MORKA¹⁸⁸ BRESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUA-
 LĒTH, and send the Erinys ORGOGORGONIOTRIAN,¹⁸⁹
 Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, /
 Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines, 1420
 Who in this place, who on this day, who in
 This hour, who in coffins of myrtlewood,
 Give heed to me and rouse / her, NN, on 1425
 This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
 And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
 Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
 And / for my will give her a willingness 1430
 Until she does what I command of her.
 O mistress Hekate¹⁹⁰
- PHORBA PHORBŌBAR BARŌ PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBAI
 O Lady of the Crossroads, O Black Bitch.”
 When you have done / these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use 1435
 this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the
 bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung / from a black cow and say this 1440
 and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.
The words spoken over the offering are these:
 “Chthonic Hermes and chthonic Hekate and chthonic Acheron¹⁹¹ and chthonic /

186. A poetic form of Persephone.

187. These words with some changes are included as part of Hymn 25 (ll. 14–16), and they seem to scan, but without a translation possible for the formulaic terms nothing can be gained by inserting them in the verse section. [E.N.O.]

188. A. Jacoby has proposed (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) that the name is that of the Babylonian deity Omorka. See O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/1 (1897–1902) 868–69, s.v. “Omorka.”

189. The epithet “the Orgogorgoniotrian” signifies one of the Furies (Erinys). According to LSJ, s.v., it is found only here in Greek.

190. The meter breaks down at this point and only by rearranging and omitting words can Hymn 25 (l. 28) accommodate the concluding phrases here. [E.N.O.]

191. The name Acheron refers to the mythical river or sea in the underworld. There is also a connection with the river Acheron in Epirus, where the famous underworld oracle of Ephyra was located. See E. Vermuele, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 252. The oracle of Ephyra has been excavated; see S. I. Dakaris, “Das Tau-

- 1445 flesh-eaters and chthonic god and chthonic Amphiaraos¹⁹² and chthonic attendants
 1450 and chthonic spirits and chthonic sins and chthonic dreams / and chthonic oaths
 and chthonic Ariste¹⁹³ and chthonic Tartaros and chthonic witchery, chthonic
 Charon and chthonic escorts and the dead and the daimons and souls of all men: /
 1455 come today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love
 spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me
 NN, whose mother is NN (add the usual), because I am calling
 1460 O¹⁹⁴ primal Chaos, / Erebus, and you
 O awful water of the Styx, O streams
 O Lethe, Hades' Acherousian pool,
 O Hekate and Pluto and Kore,
 And chthonic Hermes, Moirai, Punishments,
 1465 Both Acheron and Aiakos,¹⁹⁵ / gatekeeper
 Of the eternal bars, now open quickly,
 O thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis,¹⁹⁶
 Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
 Forthwith for service in this very hour. /
 1470 So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN" (add
 the usual).
 "Isis¹⁹⁷ came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow,¹⁹⁸ and
 1475 Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms / of the dead as
 they were being led to her, NN, and were performing the NN business (add the
 usual). All the immortal gods and all the goddesses came to see the phantoms of
 1480 these dead. Do not, therefore, delay; / do not loiter, but dispatch, O gods, the
 phantoms of these dead, so that having gone to her NN they may perform the NN
 1485 deed (add the usual) because I adjure you by IAO / SABAÖTH and ADÖNAI PAT-
 RAXILYTRA BOURREPHAÖMI ASSALKĒ AIDOUNAX SESENGEN (formula) BALIABA
 1490 ERECHCHARNOI ABERIDOUNA SALBACHTHI EISERSE / RATHÖ EISERDA ÖMI SIS-
 IPHNA SISAEDOUBE ACHCHARITÖNĒ ABERIPHNOUBA IABAL DENATHI ITHROU-
 1495 PHI. Send up the phantoms of these dead to her NN / whose mother is NN, so that
 they may perform the NN deed" (add the usual).
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

benorakel von Dodona und das Totenorakel bei Ephyra," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963): 35–55; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 185–86.

192. The name refers to an old underworld god who had an incubation oracle at Oropos. See R. Herzog, "Amphiaraos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 396, with further literature.

193. For this epithet of Artemis and Demeter, see Jessen, "Ariste," *PRE* 2 (1895): 876.

194. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 26, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. The reconstruction is even more extensive than usual, for in places only faint vestiges of verse remain. [E.N.O.]

195. Aiakos was one of the judges of the underworld, along with Minos and Rhadamanthys. See Plato, *Apol.* 41a; *Gorg.* 523c, and W. Schmid, "Aiakos," *PRE* 1 (1893): 923–26.

196. On Anubis with the key, see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," in his *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975) 510–20. [R.K.R.]

197. These lines, which contain vestiges of dactylic hexameters, have been arranged in an awkward verse pattern and accepted as the reconstructed Hymn 27; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. Nonetheless, the translation is prose because the lines have no more of a metrical pattern than many other passages scattered through these documents. [E.N.O.]

198. Isis aroused desire within the dead Osiris and by him conceived Horus; [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 1496–1595

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh which is offered:** While offering it over coals, recite the spell.

Spell:

“You are Myrrh, the bitter, the difficult, who reconciles / combatants, who sears 1500
and who forces those to love who do not acknowledge Eros. Everyone calls you
Myrrh, but I call you Flesh-eater and / Inflamer of the heart. I am not sending you 1505
to far-off Arabia; I am not sending you to Babylon, but I am sending you to her
NN, whose mother is NN, so that you may serve me on the mission to her, so
that / you may attract her to me. If she is sitting,¹⁹⁹ let her not keep sitting; if she is 1510
chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let
her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is
strolling about, let her not / keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep 1515
drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her
not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it;
if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping. Rather, let her hold me / NN alone in 1520
her mind; let her desire me alone; let her love me alone; let her do all my wishes.
Do not enter through her eyes or through her side or through her nails / or even 1525
through her navel or through her frame, but rather through her ‘soul.’ And remain
in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, / her breath, her bones, her 1530
marrow, until she comes to me NN, loving me, and until she fulfills all my wishes,
because I adjure you, Myrrh, by the three names,²⁰⁰ / ANOCH²⁰¹ ABRASAX TRŌ, 1535
and by the more coercive and stronger names KORMEIŌTH IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI,
so that you may carry out my / orders, Myrrh. As I burn you up and you are po- 1540
tent, so burn the brain of her, NN, whom I love. Inflame her and turn her guts in-
side out, / suck out her blood drop by drop, until she comes to me, NN, whose
mother is NN. I adjure you by the MARPARKOURITH NASAARI NAIEMARE PAI- 1545
PARI / NEKOURI. I throw you into the burning fire and adjure you by the almighty
god who lives forever: Having adjured you, I now also adjure you, / ADŌNAI BAR- 1550
BAR IAŌ ZAGOURĒ HARSAMŌSI ALAOUS and SALAŌS. I adjure you who strength-
ened man for life: Hear, hear, / great god, o Adonaios, ETHYIA, self-gendering, 1560
everlasting god, EIŌĒ IAŌ AIŌ AIŌ PHNEŌS SPHINTĒS ARBATHIAŌ IAŌ IAĒ IŌA /
AI, who are OUĒR²⁰² GONTHIAŌR RARAĒL²⁰³ ABRA BRACHA SOROORMERPHERGAR 1565
MARBAPHRIOURIGX IAŌ SABAŌTH MASKELLI / MASKELLŌ (the formula) AMON-
SŌĒ ANOCH RIGCH PHNOUKENTABAŌTH SOUSAE PHINPHESĒCH MAPHI / RAR 1575
ANOURIN IBANAŌTH AROUĒR CHNOUPH ANOCH BATHI OUCH IARBAS BABAUBAR
ELŌAI; attract for me her NN, whose mother is NN, to me / NN, whose mother is 1580
NN, on the very day, on this night, at this very hour, MOULŌTH PHOPHITH PHTHŌ-
ITH PHTHŌYTH PENIŌN. I call upon you also who hold / the fire, PHTHAN ANOCH; 1585
give heed to me, O one, only-begotten, MANEBIA BAIBAI CHYRIRŌOU THADEIN
ADŌNAI EROU NOUNI / MIŌŌNCH CHOUTIAI MARMARAUŌTH. Attract her, NN,
whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, now, now; immediately, 1590
immediately; quickly, quickly.”

And say also the spell for all / occasions.

Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

199. For parallels to this passage, cf. P. Smither, “A Coptic Love-Charms,” *JEA* 25 (1939): 175–76.

200. On this passage, see C. Bonner, “Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets,” *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; idem, “The Transcendency of Divine Attributes,” *ibid.* 37 (1944): 338–39.

201. This means in Egyptian “I am great.” [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* I. 149.

202. OUĒR corresponds to Egyptian *wr*, “great.” [R.K.R.]

203. RARAĒL occurs only here; perhaps Raphael should be read. [E.N.O.]

PGM IV. 1596–1715

*This is the consecration for all purposes: *Spell to Helios*: “I invoke you, the greatest god, eternal lord, world ruler, / who are over the world and under the world, mighty ruler of the sea, rising at dawn, shining from the east for the whole world, / setting in the west. Come to me, thou who risest from the four winds, joyous²⁰⁴ Agathos Daimon, for whom heaven has become the processional way. I call upon your holy / and great and hidden names which you rejoice to hear. The earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young / when you permitted. Give glory and honor and favor and fortune and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate²⁰⁵ today (or to the / phylactery being consecrated) for NN.²⁰⁶ I invoke you, the greatest in heaven, *ĒI LANCHYCH AKARĒN BAL MISTHRĒN MARTA / MATHATH LAILAM MOUSOUTH SIETHŌ BATHABATHI IATMŌN ALEI IABATH ABAŌTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI*, the great god, *ORSENOPHRĒ ORGEATĒS / TOTHORNATĒSA*²⁰⁷ *KRITHI BIŌTHI IADMŌ IATMŌMI METHIĒI*²⁰⁸ *LONCHOŌ AKARĒ BAL MINTHRĒ BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI / ARSIOUTH ERŌNERETHER*, the shining Helios, giving light throughout the whole world. You are the great Serpent, leader of all²⁰⁹ the gods, who control the beginning / of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world, who mate in the ocean, *PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR*.²¹⁰ You are he who becomes / visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven, and rises in the southeast.²¹¹ In the 1st hour you have the form of a cat; your name is *PHARAKOUNĒTH*. / Give glory and favor to this phylactery. In the 2nd hour you have the form of a dog; your name is *SOUPHI*. Give strength and honor to this phylactery, [or] to this stone, / and to NN. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a serpent; your name is *AMEKRANE BECHEO THŌYTH*. Give honor to the god NN. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab; your name is / *SENTHENIPS*. Mightily strengthen this phylactery in this night, for the work for which it is consecrated. In the 5th hour you have the form of a donkey; your name is / *ENPHANCHOUPH*. Give strength and courage and power to the god, NN. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion; your name is *BAI SOLBAI*, the ruler of time. Give / success to this phylactery and glorious victory. In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is *OUMESTHŌTH*. Give sexual charm to this ring / (or to this phylactery, or to this engraving). In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is *DIATIPHĒ*, who becomes visible everywhere. Let all / things [done] by the use of this stone be accomplished. In the 9th hour you have the form of a falcon; your name is *PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH*, the lotus emerged from the abyss.²¹² Give success / [and] good luck to his phylactery. In the 10th hour you have the form of a baboon; your name is *BESBYKI*. In the 11th

204. “Joyous” can also mean “benevolent” or “lucky,” meanings appropriate and probably intended here. In the writer’s mind the three were probably not distinguished. [M.S.]

205. Cf. on this point *PGM IV. 2179* and n.

206. Or “for use in relation to NN.”

207. Reading (ὁ) *οργεατῆς τ’ ὁ θορνάτης*. Both nouns seem unattested formations; perhaps the former should be corrected to *ὀργιαστής*, “participant in orgiastic rites,” which were often secret and connected with Dionysos. [M.S.]

208. From *ĒI* onward the words repeat in variations the formula with which the series begins.

209. Reading *πάντων* for *τούτων*, with Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 29. [M.S.]

210. This is equivalent to the Egyptian “the Agathodaimon, the god (of) the gods.” [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM III. 144–45*.

211. On the forms of the sun god, see *PGM II. 104* and nn.

212. On the lotus flower, see *PGM IV. 1111*; *PDM xiv. 45*; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 179–80. [R.K.R.]

hour you have the form of an ibis; your name is / MOU RÖPH.²¹³ Protect this great
 phylactery for lucky [use] by NN, from this present day for all time. In the 12th
 hour you have the form of a crocodile; your name / is AERTHOË. You who have set
 at evening as an old man,²¹⁴ who are over the world and [under] the world, mighty
 ruler of the sea, hear my voice in this present day, / in this night, in these holy
 hours, and let [all things done] by this stone [or] for this phylactery, be brought to
 fulfilment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate it. Please, / lord
 KMËPH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECHOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAÖ
 YAI. I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness and the / great god who
 created all, SAROUSIN, you, Agathon Daimonion the helper, to accomplish for me
 everything [done] by the use of this ring or [stone].”

When / you complete [the consecration], say, “The one Zeus is Sarapis.”²¹⁵
 *Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 1716–1870

*Sword²¹⁶ of Dardanos:²¹⁷ Rite which is called “sword,” which has no equal be-
 cause of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul²¹⁸ of whomever
 you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: “I am bending to my will the soul of him
 NN.”²¹⁹

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride
 Psyche²²⁰ / and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above
 her head: “ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI”; and below / Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros
 standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche.²²¹
 And below Eros these / names: “ACHAPA ADÖNAIE BASMA CHARAKÖ IAKÖB IAÖ Ë
 PHARPHARËI.” On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embrac-
 ing / one another and beneath Eros’ feet these letters: “ssssssss,” and beneath
 Psyche’s feet: “EEEEEEEE.” Use the stone, when it has been engraved and conse-

213. Here, and again below after the twelfth hour, the prayer for a gift to the phylactery or stone has
 presumably been skipped by a copyist.

214. This is a reference to Atum, the form of the sun god at setting. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 731.
 [R.K.R.]

215. On this formula, see O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, Sie-
 beck, 1919; reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften I* [Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969] 410–42); Nilsson,
GGR II, 574; W. Hombostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Wandlungen der Gestalt*
eines Gottes, *EPRO* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 353, n. 2; 396.

216. The designation “sword” apparently serves as a kind of title for certain types of formulas, here
 presumably the formula in I. 1813. See K. Preisendanz, “Xiphos,” *Roscher* 6 (1924–37) 526–28;
 Nock, *Essays* I, 190. The classical work of this kind is the so-called Sword of Moses, for which see
 M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Ar-*
chaeology I (London: Maggs, 1925) 288–337. See also PGM IV. 1813 and n.

217. Dardanos was believed to have founded the mysteries of Samothrake. See A. Hermann, “Dar-
 danus,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 593–94.

218. Since the operator does not want spiritual love, *ψυχή* here is probably the female pudenda.
 Against this interpretation is *τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεινα* (I. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned
 with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read *τῆς δεινα*. [E.N.O.]

219. It is not clear whether this spell concerns a male or a female lover. Cf. II. 1720, 1807, 1828–29.

220. The best treatment of this image is that by R. Mousterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscrip-*
tions magiques de Syrie, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930)
 53–64. See also R. Reitzenstein, “Noch einmal Eros und Psyche,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 42–87; A. Rumpf,
 “Eros (Eroten) II. in der Kunst,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 312–42, esp. 330–31.

221. For this theme and literature, see R. Helm, “Psyche,” *PRE* 23 (1959): 1434–38; S. Binder and
 R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) esp. 433–34.
 See also PGM XII. 20.

- 1745 crated, / like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say
this *spell*:
“I²²² call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the
1750 whole / world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every
1755 soul life-giving / reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn,
founder of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud reason-
1760 able / thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly in-
1765 habit every soul. You engender an unseen fire / as you carry off every living thing
without growing weary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in
1770 pain²²³ from the time when the world came into being. You also come / and bring
pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men
1775 dare beyond what is fitting and take refuge in your light which is darkness. / Most
headstrong, lawless, implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless, generator of frenzy,
1780 archer, torch-carrier, master of all living / sensation and of everything clandestine,
dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence, through whom the light and to whom
1785 the light travels, infantile when you have been engendered within / the heart, wisest
when you have succeeded; I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great name:
1790 AZARACHTHARAZA²²⁴ LATHA / IATHAL²²⁵ Y Y Y LATHAI ATHALLALAPH IOIOIO AI
1795 AI AI OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,²²⁶ first-shining, night-/shining,
night rejoicing, night-engendering, witness, ERĒKISITHPHĒ²²⁷ ARARACHARARA
1800 ĒPHTHISIKĒRE²²⁸ IABEZEBYTH IO, you in the depth,²²⁹ BERIAMBŌ / BERIAMBEBŌ,
you in the sea, MERMERGOU, clandestine and wisest, ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHA-
1805 RAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ CHAROUĒR AROUĒR LAILAM / SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA
KARBA MENABŌTH ĒILIA. Turn the ‘soul’ of her NN to me NN, so that she may love
me, so that she may feel passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her
1810 power.²³⁰ / Let her say to me what is in her soul because I have called upon your
great name.”
1815 And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword:²³¹ “One²³² THOURIĒL / MICHAĒL

222. The hymn to Eros has been called “notably elegant and literary” (Nock, *Essays* I, 183). Cf. the hymn to Eros among the *Orphic Hymns* (no. 58). See Binder and Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* 150, 386–87.

223. The words ὀδύνηρ ῥᾷ τέρψει make little sense, esp. without a verbal form in the clause. Because there are traces of poetic language here, we should perhaps read ὀδύνη ῥᾷ τέρψας, and this is what the translation renders. [E.N.O.]

224. An imperfect palindrome.

225. The spacing of this *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

226. Again, the spacing has been arranged to show the palindrome.

227. Again, the *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

228. This often attested *vax magica* can be read as Greek φθισικηρε (φθίω, κήρ), perhaps “destroying evil demons” (cf. φθισήνωρ, φθισίμβροτος, φθισίφρων). [W.B.] See also R. Merkelbach, “ΦΘΙ-ΣΙΚΗΡΕ,” *ZPE* 47 (1982): 172, commenting esp. on PGM II. 100.

229. Here, βύθιε, “you in the deep,” as well as πελάγιε, “you in the sea” (l. 800), and κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτερε, “clandestine and wisest” (ll. 1801–2) are recognizable Greek words, inserted into this series of magical palindromes. Cf. the similar formulas on a lead piece, P. Rein. II. 88, ll. 17–20. See P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*, vol. II, *BIFAO* 39 (1940): 29–32. [R.D.K.] Cf. also the figure of Bythos in Valentinian gnosticism.

230. This means “power to give”; lit., “what is in her hands.”

231. See also on l. 1717, above. This “sword” or magical formula may be so named because the words to be written on the gold lamella were to be engraved in the shape of, or enclosed by, a “sword.” For a magical gold leaf with a sword, see the facsimile in S. Reinach and E. Babelon, “Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884),” *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. [R.D.K.]

232. For a discussion of this monotheistic formula, see Bonner, *SMA* 175–76; cf. H. D. Betz, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1978): 969–71, s.v. “εἰς.”

GABRIËL OURIËL MISAËL IRRAËL ISTRAËL:²³³ May it be a propitious day for this name and for me who know it and am wearing it. I summon the immortal / and infallible strength of God. Grant me the submission of every soul for which I have called upon you.” Give the leaf to a partridge to gulp down²³⁴ / and kill it. Then pick it up and wear it around your neck after inserting into the strip the herb called “boy love.”

The burnt offering / which endows Eros and the whole procedure with soul is this: manna, 4 drams; storax, 4 drams; opium, 4 drams; myrrh, [4 drams;] frankincense, saffron, bdella, / one-half dram each. Mix in rich dried fig and blend everything in equal parts with fragrant wine, and use it for the performance. In the performance first make a burnt offering and / use it in this way.²³⁵

And there is also *a rite for acquiring an assistant*,²³⁶ who is made out of wood from a mulberry tree. He is made as a winged Eros wearing a cloak, with his right foot lifted / for a stride and with a hollow back. Into the hollow put a gold leaf after writing with a cold-forged copper stylus so-and-so’s name [and]: “MARSABOUTARTHE²³⁷—be my / assistant and supporter and sender of dreams.”

Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door / with the Eros and say: “Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, say what I propose.” And go to your / home, set the table, spread a pure linen cloth, and seasonal flowers, and set the figure upon it. Then make a burnt offering to it and continuously say the / spell of invocation. And send him, and he will act without fail. And whenever you bend her to your will with the stone, on that night it sends / dreams, for on a different night it is busy with different matters.²³⁸

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1872–1927

*. . . instruct no one, for it is very powerful and unsurpassable, effective for everyone / on the same day, absolutely binding, exceedingly powerful. And it is: Take 4 ounces of wax, 8 ounces of fruit from the chaste-tree, 4 drams of manna. Pound each of these fine / separately and mix with pitch and wax, and fashion a dog eight fingers long with its mouth open. And you are to place in the mouth of the dog / a bone from the head of a man who has died violently, and inscribe on the sides of the dog these characters: $\times \bar{Z} \bar{O} \bar{\Pi} \Xi \Psi \times \vee \Psi$ and you are to place the dog on a tripod. And have the dog raising its right paw. And write on the strip of papyrus these / names and what you wish: “IAÖ ASTÖ IÖPHE,” and / you are to place the strip of papyrus on the tripod and on top of the strip you are to place the dog and / say these names many times. And so, after you have spoken the spell, the dog

233. For a discussion of these peculiar variants of the name of Israel, see R. Ganshinietz, “Israel,” *PRE* 9 (1939): 2234; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95. Cf. *PGM* IV. 3034: Osrac; XXXVI. 259: Astrael.

234. Cf. *Sword of Moses* 324 n. 70 (see n. 216, above) for a parallel: a silver lamella is given to a cock to swallow, and the cock is then killed. [R.D.K.]

235. The excessive use of $\chi\rho\omega$ and $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\omega$ is strange. The translation of this sentence is tennative and little more than a paraphrase. [E.N.O.] Cf. the following section and also *PGM* I. 38; XII. 284.

236. The translation is based on the emended Greek in Preisendanz, but it differs from the German translation (“Erfolg hat aber auch ein Beisitzer . . .”).

237. The translation tries to make sense of what appears to be a corrupt Greek text; it differs from the German translation (“. . . den Namen eines Beliebigen geschrieben hast: ‘Marsaboutarthe, werde mir . . .’”). See the apparatus ad loc.

238. The Greek is ambiguous at this point. Cf. Preisendanz’s translation: “Denn in jeder Nacht beschäftigt er sich mit anderen.”

hisses [or barks], and if it hisses, she is not coming.²³⁹ Therefore address the spell to it again, / and if it barks, it is attracting her. Then open the door, and you will find her whom you wish at your doors. Let a censer stand beside the dog, and let frankincense be placed upon it / as you say the spell.

Spell: “Barking dog, I adjure you, Kerberos, by those who have hanged themselves, by the dead, by those who have died violently: / attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you, Kerberos, by the holy head of the infernal gods. Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, ZOUC / ZOUCI TO PARY YPHĒ-BARMŌ ENŌR SEKEMI KRIOUDASEPHĒ TRIBEPSI: attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

And you are also to say / the spell for all occasions. But you are to do these things in a level, pure place.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1928–2005

* *Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup. His / prayer of petition to Helios*: Stand facing the east and speak thus:

“I call upon you, lord Helios, and your holy angels on / this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THĒNŌR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORŌ / MISRĒN NEPHŌ ADŌNAI AUEBŌTHI ABATHARAI THŌBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTĒN ŌPHREŌPHRI ŌLCHAMAŌTH OUTE SOUTĒATH MONTRO ELAT / CHOUMIOI LATHŌTH ŌTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power / over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, [NN] as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him.”

/ *At sunset the same man’s prayer to Helios*:

“Borne²⁴⁰ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, / who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
From you, indeed, come elements which are
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n
And earth and Chaos and Hades, where dwell /
Daimons of men who once gazed on the light.
And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The regions of the dead, this daimon send
To move at midnight hours perforce at your
Commands, / from whose tent I hold this. And let

239. As the text stands, it makes no sense. We should probably follow the suggestion of Preisendanz, who inserts “or he barks” (“oder bellt”), and add to the Greek some such phrase as ἡ ὑλακτεῖ which may have fallen out by haplography. For similar alternative conditions, cf. PGM IV. 131–37; VII. 613–16. [E.N.O.]

240. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): vv. 1–17, 20–22, 18, 25, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; VIII. 74–81. [E.N.O.]

- Him tell to me (NN) whate'er my mind designs,
 And let him tell me fully and with truth.
 Let him be gentle, gracious, let him think
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. / But guard 1975
 That my whole body come to light intact;
 Let him (NN) reveal to me the what and whence,
 Whereby he now can render me his service
 And at what time he serves as my assistant, /
 For you yourself gave these for men to learn, lord. 1980
 Because I call upon your four-part name:
 CHTHETHŌ NI LAILAM IAŌ ZOUCHE PIPTOË.
 I call upon your name, / Horus,²⁴¹ which is 1985
 In number equal to the Moirai's names:
 ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIË IAË AI IAË AIË
 IAŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA (36 letters).²⁴²
 Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
 O father of the world, self-generated one.
 / After burning armara²⁴³ and uncut frankincense, go home. 1990
Enquiry:²⁴⁴ Ivy with 13 leaves. Begin from the left side and write on them one
 by one with myrrh, and after putting on the wreath / say over them the same 1995
 names. And over the skull cup place the same writing on the forehead with the
 proper words: "SOITHERCHALBAN OPHROUR ERĒKISITHPHĒ (formula)²⁴⁵ /
 IABE ZEBYTH LEGEMAS THMESTAS MESMYRA BAUANECHTHEN KAI LOPHŌTŌ BRĒ- 2000
 LAX HARCHENTECHTHA APSOIER CHALBAN."
And the ink: Serpent's blood / and the soot of a goldsmith. 2005
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2006–2125

- **Pitys' spell of attraction*:²⁴⁶ Pitys to King Ostanēs: greetings. Since you write to
 me on each occasion about the enquiry of skull cups, I have deemed it necessary to 2010
 send you this process / as one which is worthy of admiration and able to please you
 greatly. And subsequently I will submit to you the process, and finally the black ink
 will be revealed.
 Take the hide of an ass²⁴⁷ and, after drying it / in shade, inscribe on it the figure 2015
 which will be revealed and inscribe this spell in a circle: "AAMASI NOUTH I APHTHE-
 CHENBŌCH POUPAIEICHNERI TA LOUTHIANI SERANOMĒGRENTI EI BIL / LONOU- 2020
 CHICH EITA PHOR CHORTOMNOUTH THRACH PHIBŌBI ANTERŌ PHOCHOR-
 THAROCH EBOCH LESANOUGH PHEORŌBIS TRAION KŌBI INOUNIA SAPHŌBI
 CHIMNOUTH ASRŌ / CHNOUPHNEN PHARMI BOLCHOSĒTH EPHOUKTERŌ AB- 2025
 DIDANPITAAU EAE BOL SACHY ACHCHERIMA EMINTO RŌŌRIA EN AMOUN AK-
 REMPHTHO OUTRAUNEIL / LABOCH PHERACHI AMENBOL BĒCH OSTAOUA BEL- 2030

241. Horus is identified with Helios; see ll. 988–89 below.

242. That is, thirty-six Greek letters.

243. For this material, see PGM IV. 1294 and n.

244. That is, the inquiry of the spirit of the dead man (l. 1950). See PGM IV. 2140–41; 2005–7.

245. Referring to the palindrome cited also in PGM IV. 1797–99.

246. ἀγῶγῆ is a general term which sometimes, as here, indicates a spell whose primary purpose is not to "attract" for sexual purposes. The same noun, without a qualifying word, is the title of a "Love spell of attraction." For a parallel to the usage of this passage, cf., e.g., PGM IV. 244l. [E.N.O.]

247. The ass is associated with Seth/Typhon. See PGM IV. 259–60 and n.

THŌ; I adjure you, dead spirit, by the powerful and inexorable god and by his holy
 2035 names, to stand beside me in the / coming night in whatever form you used to
 have, and inform me whether you have the power to perform the NN deed; immediately,
 immediately; quickly, quickly!”

Then go quickly to where [someone] lies buried or where something has been
 2040 discarded, if you do [not] have a buried body; / spread the hide under him at about
 sunset. Return [home], and he will actually be present and will stand beside you on
 2045 that night. And he describes to you how he died, but first he tells you if / he has the
 power to do anything or to perform any service.

And take a leaf of flax and with the black ink which will be revealed to you, paint
 on it the figure of the goddess who will be revealed to you, and paint in a circle this
 2050 spell (and place on his head / the leaf which has been spread out and wreath him
 with black ivy, and he will actually stand beside you through the night in dreams,
 and he will ask you, saying, “Order whatever you wish, and I do it”): “PHOUBEL
 2055 TAUTHY ALDE MINŌOURITHI / SENECHŌ CHELĒTHICHITIATH MOU CHŌ ARIANTA
 NARACHI MASKELLI (formula) AEBITHŌ ACHAIL CHAŌSOUNISOU SOUNIARTE
 2060 NŌPH ARCHEREPHTHOU MI / BOLPHAI ARŌCHŌ ABMENTHŌ PHORPHORBA
 CHNOUCHIOCHOIME; I adjure [you], dead spirit, by the Destiny of Destinies,²⁴⁸ to
 2065 come to me, NN, on this day, on this night, and / agree to the act of service for me.
 And if you don’t, expect other chastisements.”

And when he agrees, rise up immediately and take a roll of hieratic papyrus and
 write on it with the black ink which will be revealed to you the figure which will be
 2070 revealed to you,²⁴⁹ / and write in a circle this spell and offer it to him, and straight-
 way he will attract, even if he is unmanageable, immediately without delaying a
 single day.

But often there will be no need for the leaf of flax, but in the second spell²⁵⁰ the
 2075 papyrus / sheet²⁵¹ is to be placed there after you have commanded the act of service
 for you. He attracts and causes one to be ill, and he sends dreams and restrains, and
 he obtains revelations by dreams as well. These are the things which this single spell
 2080 accomplishes. Depending on what you are performing,²⁵² / alter only the passage
 with the usual items.²⁵³ Most of the magicians, who carried their instruments²⁵⁴
 with them, even put them aside and used him as an assistant. And they accom-
 2085 plished the preceding things with all dispatch. / For [the spell] is free of excessive
 verbiage, immediately carrying out as it does the preceding things with all ease.

Spell: “I say to you, chthonic daimon, for whom the magical material of this
 2090 female (of this male) has been embodied on / this night: proceed to where this fe-
 male (or this male) resides and bring her to me NN either during the middle of the
 night or quickly. Perform the NN deed because the holy god OSIRIS KMĒPHI

248. See on this concept PGM III. 120 and n.

249. The figure is not extant. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

250. This refers to a variant in another spell available to the author but not included in the PGM.

251. Preisendanz suggests, in the apparatus ad loc., that this sheet refers to the hide of the ass mentioned in IV. 2014.

252. Preisendanz follows the papyrus and reads *πρὸς τὸ, τὸ πρᾶσσεῖς*, but this is surely impossible Greek. The easiest change is *πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πρᾶσσεῖς*, but the sense seems to require something like *πρὸς ὃ τι ποτὲ πρᾶσσεῖς*, “for whatever you do,” or “depending on what(ever) you do.” [E.N.O.]

253. This is apparently a reference to the formulas given as *κοινόν, κοινά* found elsewhere in the PGM.

254. Probably this is a reference to instruments such as were found in Pergamon. See R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergefäß aus Pergamon*, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Ergänzungsheft* 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1905).

SRÖ²⁵⁵ wishes and commands it of you. Fulfill, daimon, what / is written here. And 2095
after you have performed it, I will pay you a sacrifice. But if you delay, I will inflict
on you chastisements which you cannot endure. And perform for me the NN deed,
immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

The black ink of the procedure / is this: The hide is inscribed with blood of an 2100
ass²⁵⁶ from the heart of a sacrificial victim, with which is mixed the soot of a cop-
persmith. But the leaf of flax is inscribed with falcon's blood, with which is mixed
the soot of a goldsmith. / But the leaf of the hieratic papyrus is inscribed with eel's 2105
blood, with which acacia is mixed.

Do these things in this manner and, once you have performed them, you may 2110
know with what a marvelous nature this process is endowed, since in all case / it
considers the implements as the assistant. But guard yourself with whatever protec-
tion you want.

And this is the figure²⁵⁷ written on the hide: A lion-faced form of a man wearing 2115
a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be a serpent. / And
around all his left hand let an asp be entwined, and from the mouth of the lion let
fire breathe forth.

The figure written onto the leaf of flax is this: Hekate²⁵⁸ with three heads and six 2120
hands, holding / torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head
of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle the head of a
maiden with sandals bound on her feet.

And inscribed on the piece of papyrus: Osiris clothed / as the Egyptians show 2125
him.²⁵⁹

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2125–39

*A restraining seal for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use in divination], and 2130
also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]:²⁶⁰
Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris / and
from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and 2135
make a ring on which have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his
head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet / a skeleton (the right foot
should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these should be an owl-
eyed cat with its paw on a gorgon's head; in a circle around [all of them?], these
names: IADÖR INBA NICHAIOPLEX BRITH.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

255. The names come from the Egyptian and mean “Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince” (or “ram”). [R.K.R.]

256. For the application, see PGM IV. 2015, 2220. On the blood of the ass, see D. Wortmann, “Das Blut des Seth,” *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30; also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 276, commenting on *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353B.

257. For this figure, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 53; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 499–501 with *Tafel* V, 2a and 2b.

258. For pictures of Hekate *triformis* on gemstones, see Bonner, *SMA*, nos. 64, 66; cf. no. 156; Delarte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 189, nos. 252, 253, *254, *254 (bis); Mousterde, *Glaive* 67–71 (see above, n. 220).

259. This prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian. The Egyptian Osiris is presented here in his capacity as god of the dead. For his ability to send demons and spirits of the dead, cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 16, “The Contending of Horus and Seth,” Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* I, spell 335, pt. II. [R.K.R.]

260. Reading $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega(\iota)$ with the papyrus, instead of Preisendanz's $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega(\nu)$.

PGM IV. 2140–44

- 2140 *Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses:²⁶¹ On a flax leaf write these things: "AZĒL BALEMACHŌ" (12 letters).²⁶²

Ink: [Made] from red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen, and flax. Write [on the leaf] and put it in the mouth [of the corpse].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 2145–2240

- 2145 *Divine assistance from three Homeric verses:²⁶³

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."²⁶⁴

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."²⁶⁵

- 2150 / "and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."²⁶⁶

If a runaway carries these verses inscribed on an iron lamella,²⁶⁷ he will never be found. Likewise, attach the same lamella / to someone on the point of death, and you will get an answer²⁶⁸ to everything you ask him. Whenever anyone thinks he is under a spell, let him pronounce the verses while sprinkling with sea water and . . . against enchantments. A contestant with the / tablet stays undefeated, just as also a charioteer who carries the tablet along with a lodestone; and the same is true in court; also, these are the things for a gladiator to carry. Attach it to a criminal who has been executed, speak / the verses in his ear, and he will tell you everything you wish. Insert the lamella into his wound, and you will have a great blessing with regard to your superiors and masters and others as well, for you will have honor, 2170 / trust. It also keeps off daimons and wild animals. Everyone will fear you; in war you will be invulnerable; when you ask you will receive; you will enjoy favor; your life will change; and you will be loved by any woman or man you have contact with. / You will have honor, happiness; you will receive inheritances, have good fortune, be unaffected by potions and poison; you will break spells and conquer your enemies.

Here is the the formula to be spoken when you immerse the lamella.²⁶⁹

261. See PGM IV. 1990 and n.

262. That is, in Greek letters.

263. In the papyrus these three verses from Homer are written in exceptionally large letters. Cf. PGM IV. 470–74; 821–24, where magical power is ascribed to the same verses. See the note on PGM IV. 470.

264. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. In Homer, the referent of "he" is Odysseus.

265. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. The quotation includes only a portion of the Homeric sentence. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who "saw." The rex of *Il.* 10. 521 here and at PGM IV. 822 differs slightly, though not so as to offset the sense of that of PGM IV. 472.

266. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

267. The use of iron lamellae (as opposed to those of lead, silver, gold, and tin) is comparatively rare in magic (but cf. PGM VII. 382). See the discussion by A. M. Tupet, *La Magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1976) 39–43. An iron lamella engraved with magical words is housed in the Louvre; see A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1933) 108, no. 205. [R.D.K.]

268. The Greek verb rendered "you will get an answer to" could also mean "he will hear." Perhaps the former is the correct rendering, and the passage is expressive of the ancient notion that individuals on the point of death have prophetic power (see, e.g., *Il.* 16. 843–61, where the dying Patroclus prophesies the death of Hector; *Il.* 22. 355–66, where the dying Hector does the same of Achilles; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 605–28, 1370–96, 1516–55, where the aged Oedipus, his death approaching, delivers prophecies; and Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 607–29, where Dido utters a prophetic curse shortly before committing suicide. [H.M.]

269. Immersing the lamella is part of the consecration; see S. Eirrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *SO* 19 (1939): 57–85.

The formula: / “NN, leave the sweet light and also render me whatever service I require of you whenever I call you (add the usual) because I conjure you by the gods of the underworld GOGGYLORYGCHE OMBROLIGMATE²⁷⁰ THOËRYSËRIS. / Render me the service for which I summon you.” Speak this formula that invokes all supernatural powers.

Consecrating the plaque: Go, I say, into a clean room. Set up a table, on which you are to place a clean linen cloth and flowers of the season. / Then sacrifice a white cock, placing beside it 7 cakes, 7 wafers, 7 lamps; pour a libation of milk, honey, wine, and olive oil.

Here is the formula to be spoken when you consecrate the plaque: “Come to me! You who are master above the earth and below the earth, / who look to the west and the east and gaze upon the south and the north, O master of all, Aion of Aions! You are the ruler of the universe, Ra, Pan,²⁷¹ (H)ARPENCHNOUBI / BRINTATË-NÏPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAÏPHI IA IOY IYÏ AII OYÏ AEËIOYÏ BAUBÏ BAUBÏ PHORBA PHORBA OREOBAZAGRA OYIOËEA ER.” Speak too the formula that invokes Necessity: “MASKELLI (formula) IARCHTHA ECHTHABA CHOIX IABOUCH IABÏCH,” and the one that / invokes all supernatural powers.

So much for the ritual of consecration.²⁷² *Here are the operations for specific purposes:*

For an oracle: Write as follows on a bay leaf in myrrh mixed with blood from someone who has died by violence: “ABRAA, you are the one who reveals all things MARIAPHRAX.” / Then put it under the lamella.

For wrecking chariots: Burn garlic and a snake’s slough as an offering, and write on a tin plaque: ²⁷³ “NEBOUTOSOUALËTH BEU ERBËTH PAKERBËTH and ÏNOUPH; overturn him, NN, and his / companions.” Bury the tablet for 3 days in the grave of someone who died untimely; he will come to life for as long as it stays there.

For spells that restrain: Write on a seashell in the ink²⁷⁴ mentioned below, adding / Typhon’s blood.²⁷⁵ Then you are to bury the shell in the tomb of someone who died untimely, when the moon stands in opposition to the sun. What you are to write is the 3 Homeric verses,²⁷⁶ and the following: “IÏ BOLCHOSËTH IAKOUBIAI IÏ PATATHNAX / ERBËTH IÏ PAKERBËTH.” The lamella is to be carried, as in the examples at the beginning.

For popularity spells and love spells: Write “MYRI MYRI NES MACHESNÏN” on a gold tablet, after putting it under / the iron one for 3 days. When you remove it, carry it, keeping yourself clean all the while.

For fetching spells. Burn roses and sumac as an offering; take myrtle leaves and write on them in ink: “STHENEPIÏ ARRÏRIPHRAÏS YYY / IIII fetch her, NN, for him, NN.” Recite the formula²⁷⁷ and put the magical substance under the lamella.

270. This and the preceding *voces magicae* can be translated and mean, “you with the round snout,” and “you who lap rain.” [H.M.]

271. The interpretation of the god Pan as Aion and as god of the All is based on the assumed etymology of the name (cf. also PGM XIII. 980: $\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$, “One and the All”). See F. Brommer, “Pan,” *PRE.S* 8 (1956): 1005–6.

272. See above on PGM IV. 2186.

273. That is, the iron tablet that has been consecrated, not the tin plaque just described.

274. That is, the myrrh ink mentioned at the end of the spell.

275. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see PGM IV. 2100 and n.

276. See for these verses PGM IV. 2145–51.

277. Presumably, this formula is the one previously mentioned (“thar invokes all supernatural pow-

- 2240 You are to add some single-stemmed wormwood to the myrrh ink. Let the lamella
be worn on a cord; get it from the places where / the woolworkers have their shops.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 2241–2358

*Document to the waning moon.²⁷⁸

Spell:

- “Hail,²⁷⁹ Holy Light, Ruler of Tartaros,
Who strike with rays; hail, Holy Beam, who whirl
Up out of darkness and subvert all things
2245 With aimless plans. / I’ll call and may you hear
My holy words since awesome Destiny
Is ever subject to you. Thrice-bound goddess,
Set free yourself. Come, rage against him, NN.
For Klotho will spin out her threads for you.
Assent, O blessed one, ere I hold you
2250 As hateful, ere I seize your / sword-armed fist,²⁸⁰
And ere you grieve, O god in maiden form.
You’ll, willy-nilly, do the NN task
Because I know your lights in full detail,
And I am your priest of good offices, /
2255 Your minister and fellow witness, Maid.
What must take place, this you cannot escape.
You’ll, willy-nilly, do the NN task.
I now adjure you by this potent night,
In which your light is last to fade away,
2260 In which / a dog opens, closes not, its mouth,
In which the bar of Tartaros is opened,
In which forth rages Kerberos, armed with
A thunderbolt, Bestir yourself, Mene,
Who need the solar nurse, guard of the dead, /
2265 You I implore, Maid, by your stranger beams,²⁸¹
You I implore,²⁸² O cunning, lofry, swift,
O crested one, who draw swords, valiant,
Healer, with forethought, far-famed, goading one,
2270 Swift-footed, brave, crim/son, Darkness, Brimo,
Immortal, heedful, Persian, pastoral,
Alkyone, gold-crowned, the elder goddess,
Shining, sea-goddess, ghostly, beautiful,
The one who shows, skiff-holder, aiming well,

ers”), ll. 2186, 2204–5. The “magical substance” is usually material taken from the person to be “fetched.” See Glossary, s.v. “Material, magical.”

278. The correct reading here is Δέλτος ἀποκρουστικὴν πρὸς Σελήνην. [E.N.O.]

279. These iambic trimeters, many of which are metrically faulty or even collapse almost completely, have been adapted as the reconstructed Hymn 17; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 250–53. The text is frequently uncertain and the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

280. The magician claims later to have done so (l. 2328).

281. For ξεινή τ’ Αὐγή read ξεινήν αὐγήν; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 251, apparatus ad loc.

282. The conclusion of the line is lost. Here a long list of what seem to be epithets, now mostly corrupt, has been inserted. The translation usually follows the conjectures proposed by Heitsch, although many are questionable.

Self-gendered, wearing / headband, vigorous, 2275
 Leader of hosts, O goddess of Dodona,
 Of Ida,²⁸³ e'er with sorrows fresh, wolf-formed,
 Denounced as infamous, destructive, quick,
 Grim-eyed, shrill-screaming, Thasian, Mene,
 O Nethermost one, beam-embracer, savior,
 World-wide, dog-shaped, / spinner of Fate, all-giver, 2280
 Long-lasting, glorious, helper, queen, bright,
 Wide-aimer, vigorous, holy, benign,
 Immortal, shrill-voiced, glossy-locked, in bloom,
 Divine, with golden face, delighting / men, 2285
 Minoan, goddess of childbirth, Theban,
 Long-suffering, astute, malevolent.
 With rays for hair, shooter of arrows, maid;
 I²⁸⁴ truly know that you are full of guile
 And are deliverer from fear; as Hermes,
 The Elder, chief of all magicians, I
 Am Isis' father.²⁸⁵ Hear: Εὐ ΦΟΡΒΑ
 BRIMŌ SACHMI NEBOUTO / SOUALĒTH. 2290
 For I have hidden this²⁸⁶ magic symbol
 Of yours, your sandal, and possess your key.
 I opened the bars of Kerberos, the guard
 Of Tartaros, / and premature night I 2295
 Plunged in darkness. I whirl the wheel for you;
 The cymbals I don't touch.²⁸⁷ Gaze at yourself:
 Lo! As you see yourself, you'll wonder at
 The mirror, love charm of the Nile's goddess,²⁸⁸
 Until you cast the dark light from your eyes.
 What you must do, / this you must not escape. 2300
 You'll, willy-nilly, do this task for me,
 Mare, Kore, dragoness, lamp, lightning flash,
 Star, lion, she-wolf, Αἶϖ ἔϛ.
 A sieve, an old utensil, is my symbol,²⁸⁹

283. The papyrus reads *ειδεα*, which Wessely, whom Preisendanz follows, emends to *Ἰδαία*. This epithet means "belonging to Ida," a mountain range in Crete or Phrygia. Cf. PGM V. 455–56; LXX. 14, and Betz, "Fragments," 293 with n. 30; H. von Geisau, "Idaia," *KP* 2 (1979): 1337.

284. Here the spell that preceded the list of epithets is resumed. Some connective material may have been lost. [M.S.]

285. The elder Hermes is the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos (Thoth) who was thought to be older than the Greek god. On Hermes/Thoth as the father of Isis, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3, 352A–B, and 12, 355F–356A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 263. See also PGM IV. 99–101, where Thoth is the father. On the topic, see also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 136 n. 4; Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* III, p. cxxvii. [R.K.R.]

286. Reading *τό* for *τοῦτο*. That the symbol was the sandal is shown by the later reference to it in ll. 2334–35. The "symbols" of the gods were thought not to be mere signs of them but objects and formulas by which they could be controlled. [M.S.] See also Betz, "Fragments," 291.

287. Reading *(δ')οὐχ* and understanding the negative to refer to both verbs, as suggested by L. Koenen. The magician threatens to strike: he will not perform actions that would prevent the impending eclipse. [M.S.]

288. Reading *Νειλω(ι) Ἰ(σ)ιδος χαριν κατοπτρ(οι)σι*. For *ἀνθρώπῳ* with *ἐν*, see the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. Sturzius, 13. 20. [M.S.]

289. Perhaps "you" instead of "my" should be read (also l. 2311). Cf. the similar list in PGM VII. 780–85. [M.S.]

- 2305 And one morsel of flesh, a piece / of coral,
 Blood of a turtledove, hoof of a camel,
 Hair of a virgin cow, the seed of Pan,
 Fire from a sunbeam, colt's foot, spindle tree,
 Boy love, bow drill, a gray-eyed woman's body
 2310 With legs outspread, a black sphinx's / pierced vagina:
 All of these are the symbol of my power.
 The bond of all necessity will be
 Sundered, and Helios will hide your light
 At noon, and Tethys will o'erflow the world,²⁹⁰
 2315 Which you inhabit. Aion's / quaking; heaven
 Will be disturbed; Kronos, in terror at
 Your pole²⁹¹ o'erpowered by force, has fled to Hades
 As overseer of the dead below.
 The Moirai throw away your endless thread,
 Unless you check my magic's winged shaft,²⁹² /
 2320 Swiftest to reach the mark. For to escape
 The fate of my words is impossible:
 Happen it must.²⁹³ Don't force yourself²⁹⁴ to hear
 The symbols forward and then in reverse
 Again. You'll, willy-nilly, do what's needed.
 Ere useless light becomes your fate, do what /
 2325 I say, O Maid, ruler of Tartaros.
 I've bound your pole with Kronos' chains, and with
 Awesome compulsion I hold fast your thumb.
 Tomorrow does not come unless my will
 2330 Is done. / To Hermes, leader of the gods,
 You promised²⁹⁵ to contribute to this rite.
 Aye, in my power I hold you. Hear, you who
 Watch and are watched. I look at you, you look
 At me. Then, too, I'll speak the sign to you:
 2335 Bronze sandal of her / who rules Tartaros,
 Her fillet, Key, wand, iron wheel, black dog,
 Her thrice-locked door, her burning hearth, her shadow,
 Depth, fire, the governess of Tartaros,
 Fearing the Furies, those prodigious daimons,²⁹⁶ /
 2340 You've come? You're here? Be wroth, O maid, at him,
 NN, foe of heav'n's gods, of Helios-
 Osiris²⁹⁷ and of Isis, his bedmate.

290. Reading *κλυζήσει* for *κουφισει*. Helios' light is the moon's because the moon shines with it (see above). He will hide it in the south, because that is where the sun goes to hide in the winter. Tethys is the goddess of the primordial waters. [M.S.]

291. Reading *πολον* for *σου νουν* with H. van Herwerden, "De carminibus e papyris aegyptiacis erutis et eruentis," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. 16 (1888): 342. [M.S.]

292. Understanding *μαγείης τῆς ἐμῆς* as equivalent to the dative (commendation may not be necessary), and reading *ἀναγκασ(θ)ῆς*. [M.S.]

293. Reading *τῇ δεῖ γενέσθαι* for *ὁ δεῖ γενέσθαι*. [M.S.]

294. Reading *σα(ν)τήν* with Preisendanz, ad. loc. [M.S.]

295. Reading *ἐννευσα* for *ἐνευσας*. [M.S.]

296. Reading nominatives for accusatives. [M.S.]

297. Although the link between Helios and Osiris is possible through the connection with Sarapis,

As I instruct you, hurl him to this ill
 Because, Kore, I know your good and great /
 Majestic names, by which heav'n is illumined, 2345
 And earth drinks dew and is pregnant; from these
 The universe increases and declines;

EUPHORBA PHORBA PHORBOREOU PHORBA PHORBOR PHORBOR PHORBOR BOR-
 BORPHA ÊRPHOR / PHORBAIÔ PHORBOR PHORBOR BOROPH PHORPHOR BOR 2350
 PHORBOR AÔ IÔÊ PHORBORPHOR EUPHOR BOPHOR EUOIEÔ PHÔTH IÔPHÔTH
 IÔPHÔTH PHÔTHIÔPH AÔÔÔTHÔ ÔAI IÔ EÔÔIÔ HAHABA EE ÊÊ IOYY ÔÔÔ OYYYY
 AEËIOUÔ / YYY mistress, Harken-techtha,²⁹⁸ who sits beside Lord Osiris, Michael, 2355
 Archangel of angels, the god who lights the way, perform for me.”

Protective charm of the procedure . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The translation is based on the edition in Preisendanz, but several emendations by Morton Smith have been accepted (see the notes); see his article “The Hymn to the Moon, PGM IV 2242–2355,” *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. L. Koenen et al. (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1981) 643–54.

PGM IV. 2359–72

***Business spell:** Take orange beeswax and / the juice of the acria plant and of 2360
 ground ivy and mix them and fashion a figure of Hermes²⁹⁹ having a hollow bot-
 tom, grasping in his left hand a herald's wand and in his right a small bag. Write on
 hieratic papyrus these names, and you will see continuous business: / “CHAIÔCHEN 2365
 OUTIBILMEMNOUÔTH ATRAUICH. Give income and business to this plase, because
 Psentebeth³⁰⁰ lives here.” Put the papyrus inside the figure and fill in the hole with
 the same beeswax. Then deposit it in a wall, at an inconspicuous place, / and crown 2370
 him on the outside, and sacrifice to him a cock, and make a drink offering of Egyp-
 tian wine, and light for him a lamp that is not colored red.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2373–2440

***Charm for acquiring business and for calling in customers**³⁰¹ to a workshop or 2375
 house or wherever you put it. / By having it, you will become rich, you will be suc-
 cessful. For Hermes made this for the wandering Isis.³⁰² The charm is marvelous
 and is called “*the little beggar*.”

Take beeswax that has not been heated, which is known as bee glue, and fashion /
 a man having his right hand in the position of begging and having in his left a bag 2380
 and a staff. Let there be around the staff a coiled snake, and let him be dressed in a
 girdle and standing on a sphere that has / a coiled snake, like Isis. Stand it up and 2385

the older link between Osiris and Re may be of influence here. See A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21. [R.K.R.]

298. Harkentechtha is a male god (see Glossary s.v.); thus he is not to be addressed by “mistress,” a title belonging to the moon goddess of the preceding hymn. See also PGM IV. 2004 and n.

299. Here Hermes is portrayed as the god of merchants and of commerce. See PGM V. 390–99.

300. This name means “the son of the female falcon.” Cf. Jacoby in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., who fails to recognize the female definite article, a fact that precludes the identification with Horus, the falcon god. [R.K.R.]

301. LSJ renders κατακλητικόν (spell) “for invoking,” but Eitrem, in Preisendanz's apparatus, is probably right in translating “charm for calling in customers.” See on this point Malcomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 102; see also PGM CXXIV. 7.

302. The wandering of Isis refers to her as the widow of Osiris searching for his body. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356D–E; 39, 366F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 315, 452. For wax figurines associated with the cult of Isis, see Diodorus Sic. I. 21. 5–6 and the commentary by A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I*, *EPRO* 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1972): 93–94.

erect it in a single block of hollowed-out juniper, and have an asp covering the top
 2390 as a capital.³⁰³ Fashion him during the new moon and consecrate / it in a celebrating
 mood, and read aloud the spell over his members, after you have divided him into
 three sections—repeating the spell four times for each member. For each member
 write on strips of papyrus made from a priestly scroll, with ink of cinnabar, juice of
 2395 wormwood, and myrrh. When you have set it / up high on the place you have
 chosen, sacrifice to it a wild [ass]³⁰⁴ with a white forehead and offer it whole and
 roast the inward parts over the wood of willow and thus eat it.

2400 *Now this is what is to be written on [each] strip of papyrus. The spell on the /*
bag: “EPH EROUCHIŌ CHŌRAI DARIDA MĒTHEUEI ABACHTHIE EMESIE ECHENĒ
 IAE IEN EBAPS PHNEŌA ENTHŌNICHAEINTHA TROMOCHMOUSŌ THERAŌCHEIN
 2405 SASI SAMACHIŌTH OUASA AMAKARALA KAIŌS / LASOI.” Upon the head: “ŌAI IĒ
 ĒIŌ NAŌ OULABETHEN THERMATH ENESIE.” On the neck: “THALAA MEMARACHŌ
 CHETH THROU PHEN PHTHAI.” On the right shoulder: “ĒMAA CHNA THOU
 2410 BŌLERI.” On / the left: “ARIAŌ IĒE SYP SO ITHEN BACHTHIPHĒRPSOI THENIBON.”
 On the belly: “AMAMAMAR AIII OU MAMŌ MOU OMBA.” On the sacred bone:
 2415 “IANOA PHTHOUTHŌ OTHOM MATHATHOU.” / On the right thigh: “ARIN THEA
 RAGNI MĒTHETHIŌ CHRĒ IĒ IĒ ERE.” On the left thigh: “ĒI ĒIN YEAIŌ ERENPS
 2420 TEPHĒT PARAOU ANĒI.” On the private parts: “ĒERŌTHĒSONĒEN / THNIBITH EU-
 ECHEN.” On the right shin: “MIANIKOUĒI BIOUS.” On the left: “CHNOU TOUŌY-
 MOUCHOS ONIŌ.” Under the sole of the right foot: “OURANTON.”³⁰⁵ On the left:
 2425 / “ANOUPSIE.” On the back of the buttocks: “ETEMPSIS PSPHOPS IAIĒĒIOO.” On
 the snake the name “Agathos Daimon,” which is, as Epaphroditus³⁰⁶ says, the follow-
 2430 ing: / “PHRĒ ANŌI PHŌRCHŌ PHYYY RORPSIS OROCHŌŌI,” but as on the paper
 which I found the spell was changed thus: “Harponknouphi” (formula).

2435 *This is the spell for the rite:* “I receive / you as the cowherd who has his camp
 toward the south, I receive you for the widow and the orphan.³⁰⁷ Therefore, give me
 2440 favor, work for my business. Bring to me silver, gold, clothing, / much wealth for
 the good of it.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2441–2621

* **Spell of attraction:**³⁰⁸ (implements: those for a lunar burnt offering); it attracts those who are uncontrollable and require no magical material³⁰⁹ and who come in one day. It inflicts sickness excellently and destroys powerfully, sends dreams beau-

303. The clause ὀρυκτόν . . . κεκρυμμένον is obscure and not clearly related to its context. Preisendanz understands the snake to be buried in the basket which is put under the figure. The reference is apparently to the *cista mystica* which contained the snake and was carried on the head. See Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 11 and Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 222–26; H. Leisegang, “The Mystery of the Serpent,” in *The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, Bollingen Series XXX. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 194–260.

304. The papyrus has only here and in I. 3148 ἀγριον which Jacoby emends to (ὄν)ἀγριον, “wild ass.” Eitrem suggests ἄγριον κριόν, “wild ram.”

305. In Greek, “heavenly.”

306. Apparently the papyrus refers to another author by the name Epaphroditos, but nothing is known about him.

307. Cf. I. 2375. See also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 31. The widow and orphan refer to Isis and Horus; cf. *PGM* III. 542–43. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 450. For the importance of hospitality in the myth of the wandering Isis, cf. C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956) 41–42; Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 59–62. [R.K.R.]

308. This spell is similar to, and perhaps even parallel to, *PGM* IV. 2622–2784.

309. The translation of these adjectives is tentative and follows Preisendanz's German translation,

tifully, accomplishes dream revelations marvelously and in its many / demonstrations has been marveled at for having no failure in these matters. 2445

Burnt offering: Pachrates,³¹⁰ the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. / For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, / he ordered double fees to be given to him. 2450 2455

Take a field mouse³¹¹ and deify it in spring water. And take two moon beetles³¹² and deify them in river water, and take a river crab and fat of a dappled goat that is virgin and dung of a dog- / faced baboon, 2 eggs of an ibis, 2 drams of storax, 2 drams of myrrh, 2 drams of crocus, 4 drams of Italian galingale, 4 drams of uncut frankincense, a single onion. Put all these things onto a mortar with the mouse and the remaining items / and, after pounding thoroughly, place in a lead box and keep for use. And whenever you want to perform a rite, take a little, make a charcoal fire, go up on a lofty roof, and make the offering as you say / this spell at moonrise, and at once she comes. 2460 2465 2470

Spell:³¹³ “Let all the darkness of clouds be dispersed for me, and let the goddess ΑΚΤΙΟΦΗΣ shine for me, and let her hear my holy voice. For I come / announcing the slander³¹⁴ of NN, a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who says, ‘I have seen the greatest / goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.’ It is she, NN, who said, ‘I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.’ She, NN, said it, not I, ΑΚΤΙΟΦΗΣ ΕΡΕΣΧΙΓΑΛ / ΝΕΒΟΥΤΟΣΟΥΑΛΕΘΗ ΦΟΡΦΟΡΒΑ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΑΜΜΟΝ ΧΟΙΡΙΧΙΕ, flesh eater. Go to her NN and take away her sleep and put a burning heat in her soul,³¹⁵ punishment and frenzied passion in her thoughts, / and banish her from every place and from every house, and attract her here to me, NN.” 2475 2480 2485 2490

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and go backward as you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being attracted / so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.³¹⁶ 2495

For causing illness: Use these spells, adding, “Make her, NN, whom NN bore, ill.”

And for destroying: Say, “Draw out her breath, Mistress, from the nostrils of her, NN.”

except for *μονοήμερος* which is rendered in analogy to *μονόωρος* in ll. 2450–51. Cf. also the parallels in PGM IV. 2071–72; XXXVI. 361.

310. The prophet Pachrates may be identical with Pankrates described by Lucian, *Philops.* 34. See K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74; Nock, *Essays* I, 183–84.

311. On the role of the mouse in magic, see W. R. Dawson, “The Mouse in Egyptian and Later Medicine,” *JEA* 10 (1924): 83–86.

312. On the moon beetle and its association with the moon, see Abt, *Apologie* 126–27.

313. Although only the general term for “spell” is used here (*λόγος*), the contents show clearly that the passage is a “slander spell” (*διαβολή*). Cf. PGM IV. 2622 in the title of a spell. [E.N.O.]

314. For this slander, cf. ll. 2574–2621, below. The projection of a ritual violation onto the party to be affected by the spell, esp. the statement, “It is NN who said that. It is not I who said that,” is also found in numerous older Egyptian texts. See E. Lexa, *La Magie dans l’Égypte antique* I (Paris: Geuthner, 1925) 56–58; Pritchard, *ANET* 327 and note b. In PGM cf. also III. 5, 114–15; VII. 593–619. On the whole subject, see S. Eitrem, “Die rituelle ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ,” *SO* 2 (1924): 43–61. [R.K.R.]

315. On the “burning of the soul,” see R. Ganszyniec, “Das Märchen der Pythia,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920): 170–71. Cf. also Glossary, s.v. “Soul.”

316. Differently Preisendanz, who understands: “otherwise she will die.”

- 2500 / *For sending dreams*: Say, "Become like the god whom she worships."
For dream revelations: Say, "Stand beside me, Mistress, and reveal to me about the NN matter." And she will stand beside you and will tell everything without deception.
- 2505 Do not therefore perform the rite rashly, and do not perform / it unless some dire necessity arises for you. It also possesses a protective charm against your falling, for the goddess is accustomed to make airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm and to hurl them from aloft down to the ground. So consequently / I have also thought it necessary to take the precaution of a protective charm so that you may perform the rite without hesitation. Keep it secret.
- 2510 Take a hieratic papyrus roll and wear it around your right arm with which you make the offering. And these are the / things written on it: "MOULATHI CHERNOUTH AMARŌ MOULIANDRON, guard me from every evil daimon, whether an evil male or female." Keep it secret, son.³¹⁷
- 2520 *The second spell*, after you make / the first sacrifice, but it is better for you to say it before you make the offering. This is the spell attached to the first:
 "[I offer you]"³¹⁸ this spice, O child of Zeus,
 Dart-shooter, Artemis, Persephone,
 2525 Shooter of deer, night-shining, / triple-sounding,
 Triple-voiced, triple-headed Selene,
 Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
 And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
 Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets,
 And you who oft frequent the triple way
 And rule the triple decades with three forms
 2530 / And flames and dogs. From toneless throats you send
 A dread, sharp cry when you, O goddess, have
 Raised up an awful sound with triple mouths.
 Hearing your cry, all worldly things are shaken:
 2535 The nether gates and Lethe's / holy water
 And primal Chaos and the shining chasm
 Of Tartaros. At it ev'ry immortal
 And ev'ry mortal man, the starry mountains,
 Valleys and ev'ry tree and roaring rivers,
 2540 And e'en the restless sea, / the lonely echo,
 And daimons through the world, shudder at you,
 O blessed one, when they hear your dread voice.
 Come here to me, goddess of night, beast-slayer,
 Come and be at my love spell of attraction,
 Quiet and frightful, and having your meal
 2545 Amid the graves. / And heed my prayers, Selene,
 Who suffer much, who rise and set at night,
 O triple-headed, triple-named MĒNĒ
 MARZOUNĒ, fearful, gracious-minded, and
 Persuasion.³¹⁹ Come to me, horned-faced, light-bringer,

317. The term "son" seems to indicate the magician's apprentice. Cf. similar references in *PGM* I. 193; XIII. 214, 313, 343, 719, 755, etc. [E.N.O.]

318. These dactylic hexameters, with the usual mixture of accurate and faulty meter, also form the reconstructed Hymn 20, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 257–59. [E.N.O.]

319. For the personified Persuasion (*Peithō*) as an attribute and companion of Aphrodite cf. *PGM*

Bull-shaped, horse-faced goddess, who howl doglike; /
 Come here, she-wolf, and come here now, Mistress 2550
 Of night and chthonic realms, holy, black-clad,
 'Round whom the star-traversing nature of
 The world revolves whene'er you wax too great.
 You have established ev'ry worldly thing,
 For you engendered everything on earth
 And from / the sea and ev'ry race in turn 2555
 Of winged birds who seek their nests again.
 Mother of all, who bore Love, Aphrodite,
 Lamp-bearer, shining and aglow, Selene,
 Star-coursing, heav'nly, torch-bearer, fire-breather, /
 Woman four-faced, four-named, four-roads' mistress. 2560
 Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
 O heav'nly one, harbor goddess, who roam
 The mountains and are goddess of the crossroads;
 O nether one, goddess of depths, eternal,
 Goddess of dark, come to my / sacrifices. 2565
 Fulfill for me this task, and as I pray
 Give heed to me, Lady, I ask of you."

Use this for the spells of coercion, for it can accomplish anything, but do not use
 it frequently to Selene / unless the procedure which you are performing is worthy 2570
 of its power. For the hostile offerings, when some slander is involved, use the fol-
 lowing stele, speaking thus:

This is the 3rd coercive spell:

"She,³²⁰ NN, is burning for you, /
 Goddess, some dreadful incense³²¹ 2575
 And dappled goat's fat, blood and filth,
 The menstrual flow of virgin
 Dead, heart of one untimely dead,
 The magical material
 Of dead dog, woman's embryo,
 Fine-ground wheat husks, / sour refuse, 2580
 Salt, fat of dead doe, and mastic,
 And myrtle, dark bay, barley,
 And crab claws, sage, rose, fruit pits and
 A single onion, / garlic, 2585
 Fig meal, a dog-faced baboon's dung,
 And egg of a young ibis.
 And this is sacrilege! She placed
 Them on your altar; she set
 The flaming fire / to juniper 2590
 Wood strips and slays a seahawk
 For you, a vulture and a mouse,
 Your greatest myst'ry, goddess.

LII. 15, where the connection is not clear, however, and esp. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* passim.

320. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears just below in PGM IV. 2643–74. [E.N.O.]

321. On the accusations, see PGM IV. 2475 and n.

- She said, too, that these deeds of pain
 You had performed so harshly:
 For she said that you slew a man
 2595 And drank the / blood of this man
 And ate his flesh, and she says that
 Your headband is his entrails
 That you took all his skin and put
 It into your vagina,
 [That you drank] sea falcon's blood and
 That your food was dung beetle.
 But Pan before your very eyes
 Shot forth his seed unlawful. /
 2600 A dog-faced baboon now is born
 Whene'er there's menstrual cleansing.
 But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
 Selene, Only Ruler,
 Swift Fortune of daimons and gods:
 NEBOUTOSALĒTH IŌI LOIMOU LALON, in Syriac: ĒTARONKON BYTHOU PNOU-
 2605 SAN / KATHINBERAO ESTOCHETH ORENTHA AMELCHERIBIOUTH SPHNOUTH,
 Brand her, NN, the lawless one,
 With bitter retributions,
 Whom I again will duly charge
 To you in hostile manner.
 I call you, triple-faced goddess
 Mene, O light-beloved
 2610 Hermes / and Hekate at once,
 Male-female child together;
 MOUPHŌR PHORBA, Queen Brimo, dreaded and lawful, and Dardania, All-seeing
 One, come here, IŌIĒ, Virgin, Goddess of crossroads and bull snake are you,
 2615 Nymph and mare bitch and head / -nodder and Minoan and powerful, EALA-
 NINDŌ, come here, ATEĒS ENIDELIDIMA, Mistress Phaiara, MĒDIXA EMITHĒNIŌ,
 come to me, INDEOMĒ, come here, MEGAPHTHĒ; she will come here. Attract her
 2620 NN to me very quickly, / I myself will clearly convict her of everything, goddess,
 which she had done while sacrificing to you."
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2622–2707

- 2625 *Slander spell³²² to Selene,³²³ which works for everything and every rite. For it
 attracts in the same hour, it sends dreams, it causes sickness, produces / dream vi-
 sions,³²⁴ removes enemies when you reverse the spell, however you wish. But above
 all be protected by a protective charm and do not approach the procedure³²⁵ care-
 lessly or else the goddess is angry.³²⁶

322. See on this term PGM IV. 2475 and n.

323. For a similar slander spell, see PGM IV. 2471–92.

324. The papyrus has *ονειροιδανπτει*. For conjectures, cf. the apparatus ad loc., and for parallels PGM IV. 3172, 3197. See also K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920): 31–32.

325. Here *πραγματεία* seems to be a variant for the usual expression *πρόγραμμα*, "rite."

326. The present tense is strange here; it should perhaps be read *μηνει*, "will be angry." Preisendanz's translation has a future ring, too ("sonst zürnt die Göttin").

/ Preparation of the procedure's protective charm: Take a magnet that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty-lettered spell that is all vowels, / and wear it around your body. 2630 2635

The following name is what is written: "AEYŌ ĒIE ŌA EŌĒ EŌA ŌI EŌI." For this spell is completely capable of everything. But perform this ritual in a holy manner, not frequently / or lightly, especially to Selene. At any rate, burn upon pieces of juniper wood an offering of Cretan storax and begin the spell. 2640

The spell which is to be spoken:

"For³²⁷ you the woman NN burns
 Some hostile incense, goddess;
 The fat of dappled goat, and blood, /
 Defilement, embryo of 2645
 A dog, the bloody discharge of
 A virgin dead untimely,
 A young boy's heart,³²⁸ with barley mixed
 In vinegar, both salt and
 A deer's horn, mastic, myrtle and
 Dark bay, and mix at random,
 And crab claws, / sage, rose, pits for you 2650
 And single onion, garlic,
 Mouse pellets, dog-faced baboon's blood,
 And egg of a young ibis—
 And what is sacrilege, she placed
 These on your wooden altar
 Of juniper. She, NN, / said 2655
 That you had done this matter;
 For she said that you slew a man
 And drank the blood of this man
 And ate his flesh, and she says that
 Your headband is his entrails,
 That you took all his skin and put
 It into your vagina, /
 [That you drank] blood of a sea falcon 2660
 And your food was dung beetle.
 And Pan before your very eyes
 Shot forth his seed unlawful:
 A dog-faced baboon now is born
 From all the menstrual cleansing,
 But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
 Selene, / Only Ruler, 2665
 The Fortune of daimons and gods,

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH IŌ IMI BOULLON ENOURTILAIĒ (otherwise: NOUMILLON

327. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatelectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears above in PGM IV. 2574–2610. [E.N.O.]

328. On rituals involving a boy's heart, see A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972): 32–37, 69–72.

ESORTILĒS BATHYPTNOU SANKANTHARA MIBERATH ENTOCHE THŌ RENTHA IM-
OUĒ SORENTHA).

- 2670 Mark her, NN, the lawless one,
With bitter / retributions,
Whom I again will duly charge
To you in hostile manner
(Of all unlawful things that she
Has said against the goddess
Detail as many as you want),
For by the spell she forces
Even the rocks to burst asunder.”
- 2675 *This, then, is the beneficent offering* / which you sacrifice on the first and second
day (but on the third day, with the coercive spell also sacrifice the offering that is
coercive). *The beneficent offering, then, is:* Uncut frankincense, bay, myrtle, fruit
2680 pit, stavesacre, / cinnamon leaf, kostos. Pound all these together and blend with
Mendesian³²⁹ wine and honey, and make pills the size of beans.
- 2685 *The coercive offering:* When you say the foregoing coercive spell / on the third
day, also make an offering: it is a field mouse, fat of a virgin dappled goat, magic
material of a dog-faced baboon, egg of an ibis, river crab, a perfect moon beetle,
2690 single-stemmed wormwood picked at sunrise,³³⁰ magic material of a dog, / a single
clove of garlic. Blend with vinegar. Make pills and stamp with a completely iron
ring, completely tempered, with a Hekate³³¹ and the name BARZOU PHERBA.
- 2695 *The protective charm which you must wear:* / Onto lime wood write with ver-
milion this name: “ΕΡΟΚΟΠΤ ΚΟΠΤΟ ΒΑΙ ΒΑΙΤΟΚΑΡΑΚΟΠΤΟ ΚΑΡΑΚΟΠΤΟ ΧΙΛΟ-
2700 ΚΟΠΤΟ ΒΑΙ (50 letters). Guard me from every daimon of the air / on the earth and
under the earth, and from every angel and phantom and ghostly visitation and
enchantment, me NN.” Enclose it in a purple skin, hang it around your neck and
wear it. /
- 2705 *A protective charm on a silver leaf:*³³²

Ϟ Ϝ Ϛ ϛ ϛ Ϟ ϛ Ϛ
Ϟ ε ϛ ϛ ϛ ϛ ϛ ϛ ϛ

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 2708–84

- ***Another love spell of attraction:** Take some Ethiopian cumin and fat of a dap-
2710 pled virgin goat / and after putting the offering together, offer it to Selene on the
13th, 14th, on an earthen censer, on a lofty honsetop, on coals. *Spell:*

329. See on this term *PGM* I. 85 and n.

330. Cf. on this point *PGM* IV. 286–87. It is likely that the magician recognizes that he is to per-
form a “ritual for picking a plant” (*βοτανήσας*).

331. The ring is supposed to have an image of Hekate.

332. For an example of a phylactery consisting of magical characters, see D. Jordan, “A Silver Phylac-
tery at Istanbul,” *ZPE* 28 (1978): 84–86.

- “Come,³³³ giant Hekate, Dione’s³³⁴ guard, /
 O Persia, Baubo Phroune,³³⁵ dart-shooter, 2715
 Unconquered, Lydian,³³⁶ the one untamed,
 Sired nobly, torch-bearing, guide, who bends down
 Proud necks, Kore, hear, you who’ve parted / gates 2720
 Of steel unbreakable. O Artemis,
 Who, too, were once protectress, mighty one,
 Mistress, who burst forth from the earth, dog-leader,
 All-tamer, crossroad goddess, triple-headed,
 Bringer of light, august / virgin, I call you 2725
 Fawn-slayer, crafty, O infernal one,³³⁷
 And many-formed. Come, Hekate, goddess
 Of three ways, who with your fire-breathing phantoms
 Have been allotted dreaded roads and harsh /
 Enchantments. Hekate I call you with 2730
 Those who untimely passed away and with
 Those heroes who have died without a wife
 And children, hissing wildly, yearning in
 Their hearts.”³³⁸ (*But others* say, “with form of winds”). /
 “Go stand above her (NN) head and take 2735
 Away from her sweet sleep. And never let
 Eyelid come glued to eyelid, but let her
 Be sore distressed with wakeful cares for me. /
 And if she lies with someone else in her 2740
 Embrace, let her thrust him away and take
 Me in her heart. Let her abandon him
 At once and stand before my door subdued
 In soul at longing for my bed of love.³³⁹ /
 But you, O Hekate, of many names, 2745
 O Virgin, Kore, Goddess, come, I ask,
 O guard and shelter of the threshing floor,
 Persephone, O triple-headed goddess,
 Who walk on fire, cow-eyed BOUORPHORBĒ³⁴⁰
 PANPHORBA PHORBARA AKTIŌPHI
 ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH 2750

333. The dactylic hexameters, which are frequently interrupted by *voces magicæ* and other formulas, also form the reconstructed Hymn 21. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 259–60, where the hymn concludes with IV. 2764 but adds 2784 as a kind of postscript. [E.N.O.]

334. Dione is a name of Aphrodite; see LSJ, s.v. Here in this syncretistic hymn the name belongs to Hekate, as on the magical rools from Pergamon; see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergehörat* 23–24.

335. The epithet of Hekate may be related to the frog (cf. PGM XXXVI. 235). The animal played an important role in magic as a representative of the gods of the underworld. See M. Weber, “Frosch,” *RAC* 8 (1970): 524–38.

336. The use of the name “Lydian” with Hekate-Artemis should be noted in connection with the possible Lydian origin of Artemis. See on this point Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* I, 116–17.

337. The translation follows Reitzenstein’s emendation (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) of ἀνδ-
 ναία as Ἀιδωναία. This epithet of the goddess of Hades also occurs in PGM IV. 2855. Cf. LSJ, s.v. Ἀΐδωναιος; Suppl. s.v.

338. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9. 75. As the apparatus points out, the verse may be corrupt.

339. φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνή is a Homeric *hendiatys*. Cf. *Il.* 3. 445; 6. 25. See PGM IV. 2910.

340. The *voces magicæ* here seem intended as a part of the verse pattern and they have, however awkwardly, been treated as such. [E.N.O.]

Beside the doors, PYPYLĒDEDEZŌ
And gate-breaker; Come Hekate, of fiery
Counsel, I call you to my sacred chants.

- 2755 MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA who burst forth from
the earth, / earth mare, OREOPĒGANIX MORMORON TOKOUMBAI” (add the usual),
“In frenzy³⁴¹ may she (NN) come fast to my doors,
Forgetting children and her life with parents,
2760 And loathing all the race of men / and women
Excepr me (NN), bur may she hold me alone
And come subdued in heart by love’s great force.
2765 THENŌB³⁴² TITHELĒB ĒNŌR TENTHĒNŌR. / Many-named One, KYZALEOUSA
PAZAOUS; wherefore, KOLLIDĒCHMA and SAB set her (NN) soul ablaze with un-
resting fire. Both ŌRIŌN and MICHAĒL who sits on high: you hold the seven wa-
2770 ters / and the earth, keeping in check the one they call the great serpent, AKRO-
KODĒRE³⁴³ MOUISRŌ CHARCHAR ADŌNAI ZEUS DĒ DAMNAMENEUS KYNIOBIU
2775 EZAGRA” (add the usual). “IŌ, all-powerful goddess / and IŌ all-guarding one; IŌ,
all-sustaining One, ZĒLACHNA: and SAAD SABIŌTHE NOUMILLON NATHOMEINA,
2780 always KEINĒTH, stalwart THĒSEUS ONYX,³⁴⁴ prudent DAMNAMENEUS, / avenging
goddess, strong goddess, rite of ghosts, Persia SEBARA AKRA.

Haste quickly. Let her now stand at my doors” (add the usual).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 2785–2890

- 2785 *Prayer to Selene for any spell:³⁴⁵
“Come³⁴⁶ to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
Night’s ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
2790 O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
O queen who drive your car on equal course
With Helios, who with the triple forms
Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
2795 The stars. You’re Justice³⁴⁷ and the Moira’s threads:
Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos³⁴⁸

341. See on this point the discussion by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101–2. On the subject of madness caused by magic, see J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrhunderts, Bibliothek der Altertumswissenschaften, N. F. 2. Reihe, Band 36* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970) 44–49.

342. These lines (2764–84) retain some traces of hexameters, but only the last line comes close to being a complete line. [E.N.O.]

343. The formula seems to be textually mutilated. Cf. for similar passages PGM II. 23–24; V. 424–27; VII. 680–83. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

344. ONYX may refer to the stone onyx which was used in magic. Cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 582.

345. For a discussion of this hymn, see K. Kerényi, “Die Göttin Natur,” *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86, esp. 68–79.

346. These dactylic hexameters, some of which show the usual irregularities, also form the reconstructed Hymn 18. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 253–55. [E.N.O.]

347. Dike (Justice), the daughter of Zeus, has here and in l. 2860 become an epithet of the underworld goddess. For the association of Dike with underworld deities, see A. Dihle, “Gerechtigkeit,” *RAC* 10 (1976): 243–45.

348. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain at this point. Traditionally, the names of the Furies were Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaira (Apollodorus, *Bib.* I. 1. 4; *Orph. Hymn.* 69. 2). If the three Furies are intended here, the reading of Persephone will have to be changed to Tisiphone, as suggested by Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. See also H. Funke, “Furien,” *RAC* 8 (1971): 699–722, esp. 704–5.

Three-headed, you're Persephone, Megaira,
 Allekto, many-formed, who arm your hands /
 With dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks 2800
 Of fearful serpents on your brow, who sound
 The roar of bulls out from your mouths, whose womb
 Is decked out with the scales of creeping things, /
 With pois'nous rows of serpents down the back, 2805
 Bound down your backs with horrifying chains
 Night-Crier, bull-faced, loving solitude,
 Bull-headed, you have eyes of bulls, / the voice 2810
 Of dogs; you hide your forms in shanks of lions,³⁴⁹
 Your ankle is wolf-shaped, fierce dogs are dear
 To you, wherefore they call you / Hekate, 2815
 Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like
 Dart-shooter³⁵⁰ Artemis, Persephone,
 Shooter of deer, night / shining, triple-sounding, 2820
 Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
 Triple-pointed, riple-faced, triple-necked,
 And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
 Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets, /
 And you who oft frequent the triple way 2825
 And rule the triple decades,³⁵¹ unto me
 Who'm calling you be gracious and with kindness
 Give heed, you who protect the spacious world
 At night, before whom daimons quake in fear /
 And gods immortal tremble, goddess who 2830
 Exalt men, you of many names, who bear
 Fair offspring, bull-eyed, horned, mother of gods
 And men, and Nature,³⁵² Mother of all things,
 For you frequent Olympos, / and the broad 2835
 And boundless chasm you traverse. Beginning
 And end are you, and you alone rule all.
 For all things are from you, and in you do
 All things, Eternal one, come to their end.
 As everlasting / band around your temples 2840
 You wear great Kronos' chains,³⁵³ unbreakable
 And unremovable, and you hold in
 Your hands a golden scepter. Letters 'round
 Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave 2845
 To you to wear that all things stay steadfast:
 Subduer and subdued, mankind's subduer,
 And force-subduer; Chaos, too, you rule.

349. The phrase describing Hekate/Artemis as standing between two lions points to the older concept of the "queen of the animals." See W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur Grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (München und Wien: Oldenbourg, 1971) esp. 223–25.

350. Ll. 2819–26 are parallel to IV. 2523–28.

351. For the term "triple decades," see PGM IV. 2527.

352. For the concept of Nature, see Glossary, s.v.; for the epithet "mother of all things" see *Orph. Hymn.* 10. 1: *παμμήτερα*. See also PGM IV. 2917.

353. See also PGM IV. 3084–3124 and S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," *Université libre de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II: *Mélanges J. Bidez*, vol. I (Bruxelles: Secrétariat de l'institut, 1934) 351–60.

2850 ARARACHARA/RA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE.

Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
 I burn³⁵⁴ for you this spice, O child of Zeus,
 Dart-shooter, heav'nly one, goddess of harbors,
 Who roam the mountains, goddess of crossroads, /
 2855 O nether and nocturnal, and infernal,
 Goddess of dark, quiet and frightful³⁵⁵ one,
 O you who have your meal amid the graves,³⁵⁶
 Night, Darkness, broad Chaos: Necessity
 Hard to escape are you; you're Moira and /
 2860 Erinyes,³⁵⁷ torment, Justice and Destroyer,
 And you keep Kerberos in chains, with scales
 Of serpents are you dark, O you with hair
 Of serpents, serpent-girded, who drink blood, /
 2865 Who bring death and destruction, and who feast
 On hearts, flesh eater, who devour those dead
 Untimely, and you who make grief resound
 And spread madness, come to my sacrifices,
 2870 And now for me do you fulfill / this matter."

Offering for the rite: For doing good, offer storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, a
 2875 fruit pit. But for doing harm, offer magical / material of a dog and a dappled goat
 (or in a similar way, of a virgin untimely dead).

2880 *Protective charm for the rite:* Take a lodestone and on it have carved / a three-
 faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the
 left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is
 2885 done, / clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a
 violent death. Then make a food offering to it³⁵⁸ and say the same spell at the time
 2890 of the / ritual.³⁵⁹

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2891–2942

*Love spell of attraction:

*Offering to the star of Aphrodite:*³⁶⁰ A white dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh
 and parched wormwood. Make this up together as pills and offer them to the star
 2895 on pieces of vine / wood or on coals. And also have the brains of a vulture for the
 compulsion, so that you may make the offering. And also have as a protective charm
 a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer,
 2900 tied to your left arm with / Anubian thread.³⁶¹

354. The following lines are similar to those at PGM IV. 2522–29, but their order occasionally differs.

355. On δασπλήτη, "frightful," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 2. 14 (said of Hekate). [E.N.O.]

356. On eating amid graves, cf., e.g., Tibullus l. 5. 49–56, esp. 53–54.

357. The goddess is here identified with Erinyes, the avenging deity. This identification is somewhat inconsistent with l. 2798, where the three Furies are named; the same is true of Moira (l. 2859) as compared with the three Moirai (ll. 2795–96). See PGM IV. 1418, 2339; V. 191; and IV. 2798 with n.

358. The term παράθεσις refers to an offering of food. See PGM I. 23, 39; XIII. 1012. Cf. Eitrem's and Preisendanz's translation: "leg ihn (eine Weile) beiseite." Wunsch thinks of the term as a cover ("Hülle").

359. For the meaning of the phrase, see PGM V. 230.

360. The star of Aphrodite is the planet Venus.

361. On the Anubian thread see PGM I. 147 and n.

Compulsion element of the rite:

“But,³⁶² if as goddess you in slowness act,
 You will not see Adonis rise from Hades,³⁶³
 Straightway I’ll run and bind him with steel chains; /
 As guard, I’ll bind on him another wheel 2905
 Of Ixion;³⁶⁴ no longer will he come
 To light, and he’ll be chastized and subdued.
 Wherefore, O Lady, act, I beg: Attract
 NN, whom NN bore, to come with rapid step
 To my door,³⁶⁵ me, NN, whom NN bore, /
 And to the bed of love, driven by frenzy, 2910
 In anguish from the forceful goads—today,
 At once, quickly. For I adjure you, Kythere,³⁶⁶

NOUMILLON BIOMBILLON AKTIŌPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHROU-
 RĒXIA THERMIDOCHĒ BAREŌ / NĒ.” 2915

Hymn of Compulsion:

“O foam-born Kythereia, mother of
 Both gods and men, etherial and chthonic,
 All-Mother Nature, goddess unsubdued,
 Who hold together things,³⁶⁷ who cause the great
 Fire to revolve, who keep the ever-moving
 BARZA³⁶⁸ / in her unbroken course; and you 2920
 Accomplish everything, from head to toes,
 And by your will is holy water mixed,
 When by your hands you’ll move RHOUZŌ³⁶⁹ amid
 The stars, the world’s midpoint which you control.
 You move holy desire into the souls
 Of men / and move women to man, and you 2925
 Render³⁷⁰ woman desirable to man

362. This is a curious and confused passage. Ll. 2902–15 contain scattered snatches of verses which are obviously parts of dactylic hexameters. Ll. 2916–28 contain lines which are relatively accurate hexameters, but 2929–39 are a mixture of metrical and nonmetrical lines. Nevertheless, the whole passage has been arranged and reconstructed as Hymn 22; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 260–61. Since the tone and purpose of the whole passage seems hymnic, the translation has been made in verse but with an occasional faulty line. [E.N.O.]

363. On the cult of Adonis in Egypt and the problem concerning his “resurrection,” cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15 and, with further literature, Nilsson, *GGR* II, 35 n. 2; 650, n. 4; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 320–22.

364. Because he attempted to make love to Hera, wife of Zeus, the mythical king Ixion was condemned by being fastened to an ever-turning wheel. The myth of Ixion was very popular in antiquity. See Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, pp. 200–205 (with plates); P. Weizsäcker, in Roscher 2, 766–72, s.v. “Ixion”; H. von Geisau, “Ixion,” *KP* 3 (1979): 31–32.

365. Preisendanz states that *ἐν προθύροις* is a tag from Homer, *Od.* 10. 220.

366. Two traditional epithets of Aphrodite occur here closely together: *Kythērē* in l. 2912 and *Kythereia* in l. 2915. The name may refer to the island of Kythera which was believed to be Aphrodite’s birthplace and which had a temple of Aphrodite Urania. See LSJ, s.v.; E. Meyer, “Kythera,” *KP* 3 (1979): 423.

367. The reading of this epithet is uncertain. See the apparatus.

368. The word BARZA is Persian and means “shining light.” See Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100.

369. Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100, assumes that RHOUZŌ is confused with the Persian magical word ZOURŌ. See also K. Preisendanz, “Zuro,” in Roscher 6, pp. 763–64.

370. Preisendanz prints *πίθησι*, the reading of the papyrus, but the third person is certainly wrong here. The simplest correction is that of Wessely: *πίθησ σὺ*, and that is what is translated here.

Through all the days to come, our Goddess Queen,
Come to these chants, Mistress

ARRÖRIPHRAΣI GÖTHËTINI, Cyprus-born, SOUI ËS THNOBOCHOU THORITHE
2930 STHENEPIÖ, Lady / SERTHENEBEËI, and inflict fiery love on her, NN, whom NN
bore,

So³⁷¹ that for me, NN, whom NN bore,
She melt with love through all the days to come
But, blessed RHOUZÖ, grant this to me, NN:
Just as into your chorus 'mid the stars

A man unwilling you attracted to
2935 Your bed for intercourse, / and once he was
Attracted, he at once began to turn
Great BARZA, nor did he cease turning, and
While moving in his circuits, he's aroused:
wherefore attract to me, her, NN, whom NN bore,
To bed of love. But goddess Cyprus-born
Do you now to the full fulfill this chant." /

2940 If you see the star shining steadily, it is a sign that she has been smitten, and if it is
lengthened like the flame of a lamp, she has already come.³⁷²

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2943–66

***Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness:** Take the eyes of a bat and release
2945 it alive, and take / a piece of unbaked dough or unmelted wax and mold a little
dog; and put the right eye of the bat into the right eye of the little dog, implanting
also in the same way the left one in the left. And take a needle, thread it with the
2950 magical material and / stick it through the eyes of the little dog, so that the magical
material is visible. And put the dog into a new drinking vessel, attach a papyrus
strip³⁷³ to it and seal it with your own ring which has crocodiles with the backs of
2955 their heads attached,³⁷⁴ and / deposit it at a crossroad after you have marked the
spot so that, should you wish to recover it, you can find it.

Spell written on the papyrus strip: "I adjure you three times by Hekate PHOR-
2960 PHORBA BAIBÖ PHÖRBÖRBA, that she, NN, lose the fire in her eye or even / lie
awake with nothing on her mind except me, NN, alone. I adjure by Kore, who has
become the Goddess of Three roads, and who is the true mother of . . . (whom you
2965 wish), PHORBEA BRIMÖ NËRËATO DAMÖN BRIMÖN SEDNA / DARDAR, All-seeing
one, IÖPË, make her, NN, lie awake for me through all [eternity]."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

371. The verse resumes here after a few lines of prose; however, the NN-formula does not scan.

372. The last word of this section is either ἤξεν ("she has come") or ἤξευ ("it has attracted"). The magical sense—or the result—is the same in either case. For the rare aorist of ἄγω cf. PGM IV. 2934: ἤξας. Preisendanz prints ἤξεν in the first, ἤξευ in the second edition, but in the index lists the word under ἤκω. [E.N.O.]

373. πιττακίζω means "attach a label" (LSJ, s.v.) in the sense of attaching a papyrus strip on which writing is placed; cf. below, ll. 2956–66. [E.N.O.]

374. Whether this means "head to head" (thus Preisendanz) or "tail to tail" (thus LSJ) or "head to tail" is uncertain. Paired crocodiles appear on seals in all these positions, but head to tail is far more frequent. [M.S.] The crocodile was sacred to Sobek, with whose cult sacred prostitution seems to have been associated. Thus there may be a link with the erotic theme of this spell. See H. Thompson, "Two Demotic Self-Dedications," *JEA* 26 (1940): 68–78. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 2967–3006

* Among the Egyptians herbs are always obtained like this: ³⁷⁵ the herbalist first purifies his own body, then sprinkles with natron ³⁷⁶ and / fumigates the herb with resin from a pine tree after carrying it around the place 3 times. ³⁷⁷ Then, after burning *kyphi* and pouring the libation of milk as he prays, he pulls up the plant while invoking by name the daimon to whom the herb / is being dedicated and calling upon him to be more effective for the use for which it is being acquired. 2970 2975

The invocation for him, which he speaks over any herb, generally at the moment of picking, is as follows: ³⁷⁸

“You were sown by Kronos, you were conceived by Hera, / you were maintained by Ammon, you were given birth by Isis, you were nourished by Zeus the god of rain, you were given growth by Helios and dew. ³⁷⁹ You [are] the dew of all the gods, you [are] the heart of Hermes, you are the seed of the primordial gods, you are the eye / of Helios, ³⁸⁰ you are the light of Selene, ³⁸¹ you are the zeal of Osiris, ³⁸² you are the beauty and the glory of Ouranos, you are the soul of Osiris’ daimon which revels in every place, you are the spirit of Ammon. As you have exalted Osiris, so / exalt yourself and rise just as Helios rises each day. Your size is equal to the zenith of Helios, your roots come from the depths, but your powers are in the heart of Hermes, your fibers are the bones of Mnevis, ³⁸³ and your / flowers are the eye of Horus, ³⁸⁴ your seed is Pan’s seed. I am washing you in resin as I also wash the gods ³⁸⁵ even [as I do this] for my own health. You also be cleaned by prayer and give us power as Ares and Athena do. I am Hermes. I am acquiring you with Good / Fortune and Good Daimon both at a propitious hour and on a propitious day that is effective for all things.” 2980 2985 2990 2995 3000

After saying this, he rolls the harvested stalk in a pure linen cloth (but into the place of its roots they threw seven seeds of wheat and an equal number of barley, after mixing them with honey), / and after pouring in the ground which has been dug up, he departs. 3005

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

375. On plant picking, see PGM IV. 286 and n.

376. Natron, a natural compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate, was the primary mineral used for purification in Egypt. See J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 193–94. [R.K.R.]

377. On the ritual of walking in a circle, see W. Pax, “Circumambulatio,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52. For a humorous example, see Propertius, *Eleg.* 4. 8. 81–86. [E.N.O.]

378. Cf. the divinization of persons in Egyptian religion, documentation of which lists the individuals alongside various gods so as to identify them. See A. Maseret, “A propos des ‘listes’ dans les textes funéraires et magiques,” *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 227–46. [R.K.R.]

379. On the significance of dew (*δρόσος*), see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 424, where he refers to PGM XII. 234. [E.N.O.]

380. The association of the eye and the sun (Helios) was widely known in antiquity. See P. Wilpert (S. Zenker), “Auge,” *RAC* 1 (1950) csp. 961–63.

381. That is, the light of the moon.

382. The term *σπουδή* (“zeal”) is troublesome. Preisendanz translates “Würde” (majesty). Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [E.N.O.]

383. The epithet Mnevis, which occurs in PGM VII. 445; XIXa. 6, is the hellenized form of the Egyptian *Mr-wr*, the name of the holy bull of Heliopolis, the incarnation of the sun god Prē. See Di-odoros Sic. 1. 84. 4; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, with Griffiths commentary, 425. On the matter, see W. Helck, “Mnevis,” *KP* 3 (1975): 1374–75; L. Kákosy, “Mnevis,” *LdÄ* 4 (1980): 165–67.

384. For the eye of Horus, see PGM III. 421–26.

385. The reference is to the daily temple cult and care for the divine statues, including their washing, dressing, and feeding. See Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 87–88. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 3007–86

* A tested charm of Pibechis³⁸⁶ for those possessed by daimons:³⁸⁷ Take oil of unripe olives with the herb mastigia and the fruit pulp of the lotus, and boil them with colorless marjoram / while saying, “IÔËL ÔS SARTHÎÔMI EMÔRI THEÔCHIP-
 3010 SOITH SITHEMEÔCH SÔTHË IÔË MIMIPSÔTHIÔÔPH PHERSÔTHI AEËIOYÔ IÔË EÔ CHARI PHTHA, come out from NN” (add the usual). *The phylactery*: On a tin lamella write / “IAËO ABRAÔTH IÔCH PHTHA MESENPSIN IAÔ PHEÔCH IAËO
 3015 CHAROK,” and hang it on the patient. It is terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears. After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure. *This is the conjuration*: “I conjure you by the god of the Hebrews, / Jesus,³⁸⁸ IABA IAË ABRAÔTH AIA THÔTH ELE ELÔ AEÔ EOY IIBAECH ABARMAS IABARAOU ABELBEL LÔNA ABRA
 3020 MAROIA BRAKÎÔN, who appears in fire, who is in the midst of land,³⁸⁹ snow, and fog, TANNËTIS,³⁹⁰ let your / angel, the implacable, descend and let him assign the daimon flying around this form, which god formed in his holy paradise, because I pray to the holy god, [calling] upon AMMÔN IPSENTANCHÔ (formula). I conjure
 3030 you, LABRIA IAKOUTH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMM (formula) AÔTH IATHA-BATHRA CHACHTHABRATHA CHAMYN CHEL ABRÔÔTH OUABRASILÔTH HALLËLOU IELÔSAI IAËL. I conjure you by the one who appeared to Osrael³⁹¹ in a shining pillar and a cloud by day,³⁹²/who saved his people from the Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because of his disobedience.³⁹³ I conjure you, every dai-
 3040 mouic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal / which Solomon³⁹⁴ placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or Ebousacus or Cherseus or Pharisacus,³⁹⁵ tell / whatever sort you
 3045 may be, because I conjure you by god, light-bearing,³⁹⁶ unconquerable, who knows what is in the heart of every living being, the one who formed of dust the race of humans,³⁹⁷ the one who, after bringing them out from obscurity, packs together

386. Pibechis was a legendary magician from Egypt. See K. Preisendanz, “Pibechis,” *PRE* 20 (1941): 1310–12. Pibechis is Egyptian *P3-bk*, “the falcon.” [E.N.O.]

387. The following section contains numerous references to Jewish traditions. For a discussion and collections of parallel passages, see W. L. Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” *HTR* 31 (1938): 191–203; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 256–64.

388. On the peculiar epithet “Jesus the god of the Hebrews,” see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 14, nn. 1–2; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 260, n. 4; Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” 193–94; H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 210 (on c. Cels. 4. 34); Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 113; A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 7–9. Cf. *PGM* XXIIIb. 18.

389. See on this “field” *PGM* XIV. 8; LXXVII. 5.

390. TANNËTIS may be equivalent to the Egyptian *Ta-nt-N.t*, “She of Neith.” Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [R.K.R.]

391. Osrael is a variant form of Israel. See *PGM* IV. 1816 with n.

392. Cf. on this legendary tradition *LXX* Ex 13: 21–22 and parallels. See J. Daniélou, “Feuersäule (Lichtsäule, Wolkensäule),” *RAC* 7 (1969): 786–90.

393. On the plagues of Pharaoh, see *LXX* Ex 7: 8–11: 10 and parallels.

394. The “seal of Solomon” is the name of a famous amulet in antiquity. For bibliography, see G. Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72. Placing the amulet on the tongue of Jeremiah appears to come from haggadic tradition unknown to us. See K. Preisendanz, “Salomo,” *PRE* 5 8 (1965): 660–704.

395. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261, n. 11, derives these names of demons from *LXX* Gn 15: 20–21; Ex 3: 8, 17, etc.: The Χετταῖοι have become Χερσαῖος (“land daimon”), the Φερεζαῖοι have become Φαρισαῖος (which therefore has been confused with Pharisee), and the Ἰεβουσαῖοι have become Ἐβουσαῖος. Cf. Dietrich, *Abraxas* 139; Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

396. Ll. 3045–52 contain prayer language apparently of Jewish origin. See the biblical parallels in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261–62.

397. Cf. *LXX* Gn 2: 7.

the clouds, waters the earth with rain / and blesses its fruit, [the one] whom every 3050
 heavenly power of angels and of archangels praises. I conjure you by the great god
 SABAÖTH, through whom the Jordan River drew back³⁹⁸ and the Red Sea, / which 3055
 Israel crossed, became impassable,³⁹⁹ because I conjure you by the one who intro-
 duced the one hundred forty languages⁴⁰⁰ and distributed them by his own
 command. I conjure you by the one who burned up the stubborn giants with
 lightning,⁴⁰¹ / whom the heaven of heavens praises, whom the wings of the cheru- 3060
 bim⁴⁰² praise. I conjure you by the one who put the mountains around the sea [or]
 a wall of sand and commanded the sea not to overflow.⁴⁰³ The abyss obeyed;⁴⁰⁴ and
 you obey, / every daimonic spirit, because I conjure you by the one who causes the 3065
 four winds to move⁴⁰⁵ together from the holy aions, [the] skylike, sealike, cloud-
 like, light-bringing, unconquerable [one]. I conjure [you] by the one in holy Jerusa-
 lem,⁴⁰⁶ before whom the / unquenchable fire burns for all time,⁴⁰⁷ with his holy 3070
 name, IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN (formula), the one before whom the fiery Gehenna
 trembles, flames surround, iron bursts asunder and every mountain is afraid from
 its foundation. / I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, by the one who oversees the 3075
 earth and makes its foundations tremble,⁴⁰⁸ [the one] who made all things which
 are not into that which is.⁴⁰⁹

And I adjure you, the one who receives this conjuration, / not to eat pork,⁴¹⁰ and 3080
 every spirit and daimon, whatever sort it may be, will be subject to you. And while
 conjuring, blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face,⁴¹¹ and it
 will be assigned. Keep yourself pure, for this charm / is Hebraic and is preserved 3085
 among pure men.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

398. Cf. LXX Jos 3:13–14; Ps 113:3.

399. Cf. LXX Ex 14:27. See J. Daniélou, “Exodus,” *RAC* 7 (1969): 22–44.

400. Most Jewish sources speak of seventy nations and seventy languages in the world. But there are authorities who name 140 languages. For discussion and references, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 173; II, 214; V, 194–95.

401. Cf. LXX Gn 6:4; 19:24–29. See W. Speyer, “Gigant,” *RAC* 10 (1978): 1247–75.

402. The text has *Cherubin*. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 262, n. 8.

403. Cf. LXX Jb 38:10–11; Jer 5:22.

404. Cf. LXX Prv 8:26–29; Jb 38:30, 34.

405. Cf. LXX Ps 134:7; also Gn 8:1; Nm 11:31; Jb 28:25, etc.

406. The name is given as Hierosolymon. For the various forms of the city’s name, see G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. *Σιών κτλ.*, sections A. I. 2; B. I (esp. nn. 133, 134); C. I. 2.

407. This refers to the seven-branched candelabrum (menorah) of the Jerusalem Temple. Its undying light was legendary in antiquity. See PGM IV. 1219 and n.; Ps.-Hecataeus, in Iosephus, *c. Ap.* 1. 199; LXX Ex 27:20; Lv 6:12–13; Diodorus Sic. 34. 1. 4 (also in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976], p. 180 (# 63). For additional references, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* II (1979) 297 and n. 18.

408. Cf. LXX Ps 103:32.

409. This is a reference to the doctrine of the *creatio ex nihilo*. Cf. 2 Mc 7:28; Philo, *De spec. leg.* 4.187; etc. Cf. D. Winsron, *The Wisdom of Solomon, The Anchor Bible* 43 (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 38–40; G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*, *AKG* 48 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978).

410. The prohibition to eat pork is the Jewish one in this case, and not the Egyptian. Cf. LXX Lv 11:7; Dt 14:8; Is 65:4; etc. Cf. also PGM I. 105; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 5, 352F and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 272.

411. On this “inspiration,” see S. Eirrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966) 47–49.

PGM IV. 3086–3124

*Oracle of Kronos⁴¹² in great demand, called “little mill”: Take two measures of salt and grind with a handmill while saying the formula many times until / the god appears to you. Do it at night in a place where grass grows. If while you are speaking you hear the heavy step of [someone] and a clatter of iron, the god is coming bound with chains, holding a sickle.⁴¹³ But do not be frightened since you are protected by the phylactery that / will be revealed to you. Be clothed with clean linen in the garb of a priest of Isis.⁴¹⁴ Offer to the god sage together with a heart of a cat and horse manure.

The formula to be spoken while you are mixing is this: Formula: “I call you, the great, holy, the one who created the whole inhabited world, against whom the transgression was committed / by your own son,⁴¹⁵ you whom Helios bound with adamantine fetters lest the universe be mixed together, you hermaphrodite, father of the thunderbolt, you who hold down those under the earth, AIE OI PAIDALIS PHRENOTEICHEIDŌ STYGARDĒS SANKLEON / GENECHRONA KOIRAPSAI KĒRIDEU THALAMNIA OCHOTA ANEDEI; come, master, god, and tell me by necessity concerning the NN matter, for I am the one who revolted against you, PAIDOLIS MAINOLIS MAINOLIEUS.” These are to be said while the salt / is being ground.

And the formula which compels him is: “KYDOBRIS KODĒRIEUS ANKYRIEUS XANTOMOULIS.” You say these things when he appears threateningly, in order that he might be subdued and speak about the things you ask.

The phylactery / in great demand for him [is]: On the rib⁴¹⁶ of a young pig carve Zeus holding fast a sickle and this name: “CHTHOUMILON.” Or let it be the rib of a black, scaly, castrated boar.

Dismissal: “ANAEA OCHETA THALAMNIA KĒRIDEU / KOIRAPSIA GENECHRONA SANĒLON STYGARDĒS CHLEIDŌ PHRAINOLE PAIDOLIS IAEI, go away, master of the world, forefather; go to your own places in order that the universe be maintained. Be gracious to us, lord.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3125–71

*Whenever you want a place to prosper greatly, so that those in the place or the temple where the phylactery is hidden will marvel, [use this rite]. For wherever this [phylactery] be placed, if in a temple, the temple will be talked about throughout the whole world; / if in some other place, [the place] will prosper greatly.

This is how to make [the phylactery]: Taking Etruscan wax, mold a statue three handbreadths high.⁴¹⁷ Let it be three-headed. Let the middle head be that of a sea falcon; the right, of a baboon; / the left, of an ibis. Let it have four extended wings and its two arms stretched on its breast;⁴¹⁸ in them it should hold a scepter. And let

412. For an analysis of the agrarian features of Kronos in this spell, see Eitrem, “Kronos in der Magic,” 351–60.

413. On the sickle as a weapon (also l. 3116), see A. A. Barb, “Cain’s Murder-weapon and Samson’s Jawbone of an Ass,” *JWCI* 35 (1972): 386–89.

414. For the Egyptian priestly costume, see S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 40. See also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 4, 352C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 270. [R.K.R.]

415. That is, Zeus who castrated his father Kronos.

416. The text is uncertain at this point. See the apparatus ad loc.

417. For a wax statue of this so-called pantheistic god, see S. Sauneron, “Le Nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoës,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 269–87; esp. 284–85. Cf. PGM XII. 121–43; XIII. 50 for this figure. [R.K.R.]

418. Probably crossed. [M.S.]

it be wrapped [as a mummy] like Osiris. Let the falcon wear the crown of Horus; the baboon, / the crown of Hermanubis;⁴¹⁹ and let the ibis wear the crown of Isis. 3140 Put into the hollow inside it a heart [made] of magnetite, and write the following names on a piece of hieratic papyrus and put them into the hollow. Next, when you have made it an iron base, stand it / on the base and put it into a little juniper wood 3145 temple at moontise on the third day of the goddess.⁴²⁰ Then, having fixed it [firmly] in whatever place you choose, sacrifice to it a wild white-faced [falcon?],⁴²¹ and burn [this offering] entire; also pour to it, as a libation, the milk of a black cow, / the firstborn [of its mother] and the first she suckled. [By these sacrifices you will 3150 have completed the deification of the statue.] And [now] feast with [the god], singing to him all night long the names written on the strip [of papyrus] put in the hollow. Wreathe the little temple with olive and thus [you will prosper] throughout life. / And sing the same spell when you get up in the morning, before you open 3155 [your shop or temple]. *The names to be written and recited are these:*

"BICHŌ	MOUR	SOUMARTA	
BICHŌBI	SOURPHEŌ	AKERMORTHŌOUTH	
CHŌBIBEU	MOURĒTH	ANIMI	3160
NASSOUNAINTHI	ANIMOKEŌ	MIMNOUĒR	
NOUNAITH	ARPAĒR	IĒRI	
	SANI	ANIMI	
		MIMNIMEU."	

"Give me all favor, all success, for the angel bringing good, who stands beside 3165 [the goddess] Tyche, is with you. Accordingly, give profit [and] success to this house. Please, Aion, ruler of hope, giver of wealth, O holy Agathos Daimon, bring to fulfillment all favors and / your divine oracles." Then open [your establishment] 3170 and you will marvel at the unsurpassed holy power.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 3172–3208

***Dream-producing**⁴²² **charm using three reeds:** The picking of the three reeds is to be before sunrise.⁴²³ After sunset raise the first, look / to the east and say three 3175 times: "MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPEGANYX AEĒLOYŌ LEPETAN AZARACHTHARŌ, I am picking you up in order that you might give me a dream." / Raise the second to the south 3180 and say again the "MASKELLI" formula, the vowels and "THRŌBEIA"; hold the reed and spin around; look toward the north and the west and say three times the same names, / those of the second reed. Raise the third and say the same names and these 3185 things: "IĒ IĒ, I am picking you for such-and-such a rite."

These things are to be written on the reeds: On the first: "AZARACHTHARŌ"; on the second: "THRŌBEIA"; / on the third: "IĒ IĒ." 3190

Then take a lamp that is not painted red and fill it with pure olive oil. Take a clean strip of cloth and write down all the names. Say the same things to the lamp seven 3195 times. Let the lamp be facing east / and let it be next to a censer on which you will make an offering of lumps of frankincense. After preparing the reeds and binding them together with fibers of a date palm, make them into a kind of tripod, and

419. The name is a combination of Hermes and Anubis.

420. Third day of the goddess Selene. Cf. *PGM* III. 702; IV. 170; XII. 379.

421. For the emendation (δν)ἀγριον, see *PGM* IV. 2396 and n.

422. The word translated is *ὄνειροθαύματα*. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. and *PGM* IV. 2624–25.

423. For picking a plant, see *PGM* IV. 286 and n.

place the lamp on it. Let the head of the practitioner be crowned with olive branches.

3200 *Composition of the ink* with which it is necessary to write / on the reeds and the wick: single-stemmed wormwood, vetch, 3 pits of Nicolaus date palms, 3 Karian dried figs, soot from a goldsmith, 3 branches of a male date palm, sea foam.

3205 *The things to be written / and recited are these*: “I conjure you by the sleep releaser because I want you to enter into me and to show me concerning the NN matter, IERÖRIETHEDIEN THROU CHAÖRA ARPEBÖ ENDALĒLA.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3209–54

3210 **Saucer divination of Aphrodite*: Having kept oneself pure for 7 / days, take a white saucer, fill it with water and olive oil, having previously written on its base with myrrh ink: “ĒIOCH CHIPHA ELAMPSĒR ZĒL A Ē Ē I O Y Ō” (25 letters); and beneath the base, on the outside: “TACHIĒL CHTHONIĒ DRAXŌ” (18 letters). Wax over / with white wax. On the outside of the rim at the top: “TERMI PHILŌ 6 ERIKŌMA DERKŌ MALŌK GAULĒ APHRIĒL I ask” (say it 3 times). Let it rest on the floor and looking intently at it, say “I call upon you, the mother and mistress / of nymphs,⁴²⁴ ILAOUCH OBRIĒ LOUCH TLOR; [come] in, holy light, and give answer, showing your lovely shape.”

3225 Then look intently at the bowl. When you see her, welcome her and say, “Hail, very glorious goddess, ILARA / OUCH. And if you give me a response, extend your hand.” And when she extends it, expect answers to your inquiry.

3230 But if she does not listen say, “I call upon the ILAOUCH who has begotten Himeros,⁴²⁵ the lovely Horai and / you Graces; I also call upon the Zeus-sprung Physis of all things, two-formed, indivisible, straight, foam-beautiful Aphrodite. 3235 Reveal to me your lovely light and your lovely face, O mistress ILAOUCH. / I conjure you, giver of fire, [by] ELGINAL, and [by the] great names OBRIĒTYCH KERDYNOUCHILĒPSIN NIOU NAUNIN IOUTHOU THRIGX TATIOUTH GERTIATH GERGERIS 3240 GERGERIĒ THEITHI. I also ask you⁴²⁶ [by] the all wonderful / names, OISIA EI EI AŌ ĒY AAŌ IŌIAIAIŌ SŌTHOU BERBROI AKTEROBORE⁴²⁷ GERIĒ IĒOYA; bring me light and your lovely face and the true saucer divination, you shining with fire, bearing fire all around, stirring the land from afar, / IŌ IŌ PHTHAIE THOUTHOI PHA- 3245 EPHI. Do it.”

Preparation: having kept yourself pure, as you learned, take a bronze drinking cup, and write with myrrh ink the previously inscribed stele which calls upon Aphrodite, / and use the untouched olive oil and clean river water. Put the drinking cup on your knees and speak over it the stele mentioned above, and the goddess will appear to you and will reveal concerning what things you wish.

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM IV. 3255–74

3255 *Take an unbaked [brick] and with a bronze stylus draw an [ass] running, and on its face “IAŌ IŌ,” and on its neck in the shape of a little bell “ĒOĒOĒ,” and on its

424. For the epithet “Mistress of the Nymphs,” see *Orph. Hymn.* 52. 22–25. Aphrodite Nymphaia is discussed in Pausanias 2. 32. 7.

425. Himeros may be a personification of “the yearning of love.” See LSJ, s.v. “ἔμερος,” I. 3.

426. ἀξιῶσης, “you might ask,” could be emended to ἀξιῶ σέ, “I ask you,” and perhaps read with the following imperative as a part of the conjuration set in quotation marks. [R.D.K.]

427. The papyrus has ἀκτεβορε, which Preisendanz reads as an unattested epithet ἀκτε(ρο)βόρε, “eater of the unburied.”

back “LERTHEMINŌ,” and on its breast “[S]ABAŌTH,” and under its hooves “ABRASAX.” / Smear it with the blood of Typhon and a pig and with juice of an onion. 3260

The spell of the brick to be written down is this:

“IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH SABAŌUM KOK-
LOTOM PATATHNAX, the shaker, IŌ ERBĒTH APOMPS IAŌTH IABAŌTH SEISAŌ
PEUKRĒ, you fortunate one, TESCHŌ PATONAK PHENDE / MIEPHEOR ABIRBOLON- 3265
CHITHI RŌPHTHĒ APERMA PALELŌPS, the shaker of the world, I call upon you,
great Typhon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, because I am he, NN.
Hear me, in this business which I am performing LERTHEMINŌ AROUZORON
BATHOU / CHĒASMĒPHIS, O great, great⁴²⁸ Typhon LERTHEMINO; attend this 3270
magical operation which I am performing, because it is your great and honored
name that I am saying and writing, ABERAMENTHŌOU” (formula).

Underneath the ass: “Give her the heaving of the sea, total wakefulness⁴²⁹ of
Mendes,⁴³⁰ and give her⁴³¹ the punishments.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM V. 1–53¹

*Oracle of Sarapis, [by means of] a boy, by means of a lamp, saucer and bench: “I
call upon you, Zeus, Helios, Mithra, Sarapis, / unconquered one, Meliouchos, 5
Melikertes, Meligenetor, ABRAAL BACHAMBĒCHI BAIBEIZŌTH (ĒBAI BEBOTH)
SERIABEBŌTH AMELCHIPSITHIOUTHIPOTHŌIO PNOUTE NINTHĒRTĒROU² IY EY
ĒOŌ AIĒLA EĒOLA / ĒEAI EYĒIE ŌŌŌŌ EYĒŌ LAŌAI BAKAXICHYCH BOSIPSETĒTH 10
PHOBĒBIBŌTH, the great, great³ Sarapis SAMASPHRĒTH” (otherwise above) “O
DARGAZAS O DARMAGAS O DAPHAR YAKIABŌTH EPHIA ZELEARHTAR (AKRABAEŌ-
PHIAZALE ARBAMENOTHĪĒŌ SAMAS PHRĒTI)⁴ / METHOMĒŌS LAMARMERA OPTĒBI 15
PTĒBI MARIANOU (AKRABAEŌ EPHIAZĒLE ARBAMENOTHI ĒŌ NAMISPHRĒTI), ap-
pear and give respect to him who appeared before fire and snow, BAINCHŌŌŌCH,
for you are the one who introduced light and snow, hurler of shudderful / thunder 20
and lightning, KYPODŌKTE PINTOUCHE ETŌM THOOUT THASINAEAK AROURON-
GOA PAPHTHA⁵ ENŌSADE IAĒ LAŌ AI AOLAŌ EOĒY” (nine lettres): [Pronounce]:

the “A” with an open mouth, undulating like a wave;

the “o” succinctly, as a breathed threat, 25

the “IAŌ” to earth, to air, and to heaven;

the “E” like a baboon;

the “o” in the same way as above;⁶

the “E” with enjoyment, aspirating it, /

428. The repeated “great, great” is Egyptian *geminatio*. See also PGM I. 41 and n.

429. E. Hohl, *RhM* 68 (1913): 313, n. 4, restores [π]αναγρυστιαν in accordance with *Anth. Pal.* 7. 195. 5, where Meleager has used παναγρυστινοιο μερίμνης. Both the noun and the verb are *hapax legomena*. [E.N.O.]

430. Mendes corresponds to Egyptian *B3-nb-Dd.t*, the ram incarnation of Prē identified with Pan and Priapus. See Bonnet, *RARG* 451, s.v. “Mendes”; 868–71, s.v. “Widdcr”; Herodotus 2. 46; Diodorus Sic. 1. 88; Strabo 16. 1. 19. [R.K.R.]

431. The translation follows Preisendanz in assuming that αὐτῇ in ll. 3273–74 is τῇ δεινῇ. But the fact remains that, while ὁ δεινός occurs in l. 3248, nowhere in the spell is a woman mentioned. There is really no indication that this spell is designed to affect a woman, until this last sentence. [E.N.O.]

1. Parentheses in this spell contain words that are written between the lines. For further discussion see Preisendanz, ad loc.

2. The phrase means “O god (of) all the gods.” Cf. PGM III. 144–45 and n.

3. For the meaning of “twice great,” see PGM IV. 3270 and n.

4. See l. 46 below.

5. This is equivalent to “Thoth . . . He of Ptah.” [R.K.R.]

6. According to Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 778, this means either as the “E” in l. 27 or the “O” in l. 25.

- 30 the “Y” like a shepherd, drawing out the pronunciation.⁷
 If he says, “I prophesy,” say: “Let the throne of god enter, THRONOUZATERA KYMA
 35 KYMA LYAGEU APSITADRYΣ GĒ MOLIANDRON BONBLILON PEUCHRĒ, / let the
 throne be brought in.” If it then is carried by 4 men, as, “With what are they
 crowned, and what goes before the throne?” If he says, “They are crowned with
 40 olive branches, and / a censer precedes,” [the] boy speaks the truth.

- Dismissal*: “Go, lord, to your own world and to your own thrones, to your own
 45 vaults, and keep me and / this boy from harm, in the name of the highest god,
 SAMAS PHRĒTH.” Do this when the moon is in a settled sign, in conjunction with
 50 beneficial planets or is in good houses, not when it is full; for it is / better, and in
 this way the well-ordered oracle is completed. (But in other copies “when it is full”
 has been written.)

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 54–69

- 55 ***Direct vision spell**: “EĒIM TO EIM ALALĒP BARBARIATH / MENE BREIO ARBA-
 THIAŌTH IOUĒL IAĒL OUĒNĒIIE MESOMMIAS, let the god who prophesies to me
 come and let him not go away until I dismiss him, OURNAOUR SOUL ZASOUL /
 60 OUGOT NOOUMBIAOU THABRAT BERIAOU ACHTHIRI MARAI ELPHEŌN TABAŌTH
 KIRASINA LAMPSOURĒ IABOE ABLAMATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI.”

- 65 In a bronze cup over oil. Anoint / your right eye with water from a shipwreck
 and the left with Coptic eyepaint, with the same water. If you cannot find water
 from a shipwreck, then from a sunken skiff.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 70–95

- 70 *Take a plant *chelkbei* (?) and bugloss, strain them, burn what you strain out, mix
 [them] well with juice, and write “CHOŌ”⁹ with it on a wall. Take gallows wood
 75 and carve a hammer. With / the hammer strike the [eye]¹⁰ while saying the for-
 mula: “I conjure you by the holy names; hand over the thief who made off with it,
 80 CHALCHAK CHALKOUM CHIAM CHARCHROUM ZBAR BĒRI ZBARKOM CHRĒ / KA-
 RIŌB PHARIBOU, and by the shudderful names: A EĒ EĒE IIII OOOOO YYYYYY
 ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ.”

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|--|
| 85 | “Ō
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/ IAŌ ŌIA |  | “A
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I I I I
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E E E E E E
A A A A A A A
ĒŌA ŌAĒ.” |
| 90 | | IŌA AĒŌ | |

- 95 “Hand over the thief who stole it. As long as I strike the eye with this hammer, let
 the eye of the thief be struck, and let it swell up until it / betrays him.” While saying
 these things, strike with the hammer.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

7. Presumably, the way the formula is to be spoken; see Preisendanz’s interpretation ad loc.

8. Samas is the Canaanite solar deity Shamash, combined here with the Egyptian counterpart Prē. Cf. ll. 12–14 above.

9. CHOŌ could be Coptic KŌ which can mean “hand over,” or “put”; it would fit the sense of the spell. [R.K.R.]

10. Thus the emendation οὐ<τάρτου> in Preisendanz, based on l. 91. Cf. the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 96–172

*Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist¹¹ in his letter:

“I summon you, Headless One, who created earth and heaven, who created night and day, / you who created light and darkness; you are Osoronnophris whom none has ever seen; you are Iabas; you are Iapos; you have distinguished the just and the unjust; you have made female and male; / you have revealed seed and fruits; you have made men love each other and hate each other.

“I am Moses your prophet to whom you have transmitted your mysteries / celebrated by Israel; you have revealed the moist and the dry and all nourishment; hear me.

“I am the messenger of Pharaoh Osoronnophris; / this is your true name which has been transmitted to the prophets of Israel. Hear me, ARBATHIAŌ REIBET ATHELEBERSĒTH [ARA] BLATHA ALBEU EBENPHCHI CHITASGOĒ IBAŌTH IAŌ; / listen to me and turn away this daimon.”

“I call upon you, awesome and invisible god with an empty spirit,¹² AROGOGO-ROBRAŌ SOCHOU MODORIŌ PHALARCHAŌ OOO. Holy Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him, / ROUBRIAŌ MARI ŌDAM BAABNA-BAŌTH ASS ADŌNAI APHNAIŌ ITHŌLĒTH ABRASAX AĒŌŌY; mighty Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him. / MABARRAIŌ IOĒL KOTHA ATHORĒBALŌ ABRAŌTH, deliver him, NN AŌTH ABRAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ. /

“He is the lord of the gods; he is the lord of the inhabited world; he is the one whom the winds fear; he is the one who made all things by the command of his voice.”

“Lord, King, Master, Helper, / save the soul, IEOU PYR IOU PYR IAŌT IAĒŌ IOOU ABRASAX SABRIAM OO YY EY OO YY ADŌNAIE, immediately, immediately,¹³ good messenger of God ANLALA LAI GAIA APA DIACHANNA CHORYN.” /

“I am the headless daimon with my sight in my feet; [I am] the mighty one [who possesses] the immortal fire; I am the truth who hates the fact that unjust deeds are done in the world; I am the one who makes the lightning flash and the thunder roll; / I am the one whose sweat is the heavy rain¹⁴ which falls upon the earth that it might be inseminated; I am the one whose mouth burns completely; I am the one who begets and destroys; / I am the Favor of the Aion; my name is a heart encircled by a serpent; come forth and follow.”

Preparation for the foregoing ritual: Write the formula¹⁵ on a new sheet of papyrus, and after extending it from one / of your temples to the other, read the 6 names, while you face north saying,

“Subject to me all daimons, / so that every daimon, whether heavenly or aerial or earthly or subterranean or terrestrial or aquatic, might be obedient to me and every enchantment and scourge which is from God.” / And all daimons will be obedient to you.

The beneficial sign is: >

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

11. The term *ζωγράφος*, usually translated “painter,” is here rendered “hieroglyphist,” after the suggestion of Wünsch (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

12. On the notion of “empty spirit,” see J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, N.T.S 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 41–48.

13. The letters *ἦδε εἶδε* are indicated in Preisendanz as magical words, but they may be Greek misspelled for *ἦδῃ ἦδῃ*, “immediately, immediately.”

14. Cf. the expression *ὑδωρ ὀχεντικόν* in *C.H.* I. 17. See also Dieterich, *Abraxas* 25.

15. The term *ὄνομα* apparently refers to a formula containing a number of magical words. See also the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 172–212

**Another way*:¹⁶ “In order to catch a thief I summon you, Hermes,¹⁷ immortal god, who cut a furrow down Olympos / and a holy barge, light-bearer Iao, the great immortal, shuddersome indeed to behold and shuddersome to hear. Hand over the thief whom I seek ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXENAXSONELYSŌTHNEMAREBA.” / *This formula* is to be said 2 times during the purificatory sacrifice.

Formula of bread and cheese:¹⁸ “Come to me, LISSOIN MATERNA MAUERTĒ PREPTEKTION INTIKIOUS OLOKOTOUS PERIKLYSAI; / may you bring back to me what is lost and point out the thief today. I call upon Hermes, finder of thieves, Helios and the pupils¹⁹ of Helios, / two who bring to light lawless deeds, and Themis,²⁰ Erinys,²¹ Ammon, and Parammon, to take control of the thief’s throat and to single him out / today, in this hour.”

Preparation: The same formula during the purificatory sacrifice: Take a faïence vessel, add water, myrrh, and calf’s-snout plant. Wet a branch of laurel [and sprinkle], / cleansing each one. Take a tripod and place it on an earthen altar, offer myrrh, frankincense, and a frog’s tongue. Take unsalted winter wheat and goat-/cheese, and give to each 8 drams of winter wheat and 8 drams of cheese while saying the following formula (inscribe this name and glue it underneath the tripod): “Master IAŌ, light-bearer, / hand over the thief whom I see.” If one of them does not swallow what was given to him, he is the thief.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 213–303

**Hermes’ ring*.²² *Preparation of a scarab*: Taking a scarab / engraved as described below, put it on a papyrus table and put under the table a clean sheet and olive twigs, scattering them about, and in the middle of the table / a small censer, burning myrrh and *kyphi*. Have ready a little faïence vessel in which there should be salve of lilies or myrrh or cinnamon. / And taking the ring put it into the salve, having in advance purified [it?] ²³ from everything, and burning on the censer the *kyphi* and myrrh. Leave [the ring] 3 days and, taking it ²⁴ [from the table], put it in a pure place. Have at hand / for the consecration pure bread and whatever fruits are in season. When you have made another [incense] offering on [a fire of] grapevine twigs, during the offering take the ring from the / salve and put it on. Anoint yourself at dawn with the ointment from it and stand facing the sunrise [and] say the spell given below.

Carving of a scarab: Carve a scarab in costly green stone / and, having pierced [the stone], thread it with gold [wire?]. On the underside of the scarab engrave holy

16. That is, another spell to catch a thief. Originally this spell may have followed immediately after PGM V. 70–95 (a spell to catch a thief), but the *Stele of Jew* (V. 96–172) was inserted between the two.

17. On Hermes, the god of thieves, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 63; W. Fauth, “Hermes,” *KP* 2 (1975): 1074–75. On the identification with IAŌ (ll. 176–77), see A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 1–6.

18. See on this peculiar form of magic P. de Labriolle, “Artyrotyritac,” *RAC* 1 (1950): 718–20.

19. For the “eye of Helios,” see PGM IV. 2985 and n.

20. Themis is the personified Greek concept of justice, custom, and social law. See K. Latte, “Themis,” *PRE*, 2nd series 5 (1934): 1626–30.

21. On the Erinys, see PGM IV. 2860 and n.

22. On Hermes’ ring, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 294–95.

23. Presumably the ring, but the reference could be to the practitioner himself, or even to the salve. The Greek gives no indication of the object.

24. I.e., that in which it was laid.

Isis. And when you have consecrated it as written above, use it. The days in which it is proper to perform [the rite] are, [counting] from the rise / [of the new moon] the 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 24th, 25th. On the others, restrain yourself. 245

The spell to be said to Helios: “I am Thouth, discoverer and founder of drugs and letters. Come to me, you under the earth; arouse [yourself] for me, / great daimon, he of Noun,²⁵ the subterranean” (or [in other texts]: ‘the [plural] Noun the subterranean’). I am the famous Heron,²⁶ egg of the ibis,²⁷ egg of the falcon, egg of the air-ranging Phoenix, having under my tongue the mud of Em;²⁸ / I wear the hide of Keph.²⁹ Unless I know what is in the minds of everyone, Egyptians, Greeks, Syrians, Ethiopians, of every race and people, unless I know³⁰ what / has been and what shall be, unless I know their skills and their practices and their works and their lives, and the names of them and of their fathers and / mothers and brothers and friends, even of those now dead, I will pour the blood of the black dog-face³¹ as a drink offering in a new, faultless jar and put it on a new base and burn under it the bones of Hesies,³² and I will shout³³ / in the port of Busiris that he remained in the river 3 days and 3 nights, Hesies, that he was carried by the current of the river / into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mist of the air. Your belly is eaten by fish, and I will not / stop the fish chewing your body with their mouths, nor will the fish shut their mouths. I will take the fatherless boy away from his mother.³⁴ The pole [of the sky] will be brought down,³⁵ and the two mountains will be one. / I will let *anoixis*³⁶ loose against you and she will do what 285

25. PHNOYN refers to the primordial abyss; cf. *PGM* III. 554 and IV. 139. PHNOYN is the Bohairic spelling of the definite article before NOYN used as a vocative. [R.K.R.] See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 535–36, s.v. “Nun.”

26. Heron was a god of Greco-Roman Egypt, apparently a fusion of the “Thracian rider god” and the Egyptian god Atum; the name has no connection with the English bird name or the bird so called. [M.S.] See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 295–96, s.v. “Heron.”

27. For the egg of the ibis, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 321, s.v. “Ibis”; 162–64, s.v. “Ei”; Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 76–87.

28. For this name, see *PGM* III. 636; V. 353. For possible explanations, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 219, s.v. “Eμ.”

29. This name is unexplained; for suggestions, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 259 s.v. “κεφ.” Em may be an abbreviation of Ammon, and Keph of Kynokephalos, i.e., baboon, symbol of Thoth, with whom the magician identified himself at the beginning of the spell. [M.S.]

30. For this threat against the deity see J. Bergman, “Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellungen von Gott und Welt,” in *Mysticism, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 5 (1970): 70–72.

31. The translation of the term follows the emendation in Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc. Clearly Anubis is meant. See also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 317–19; idem, *The Isis-Book* 215–18. The reference is to the dog-headed god Anubis, assistant of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. It is not Thoth because (1) the magician has identified himself with Thoth; (2) this god face is “black,” as Anubis commonly is in Egyptian paintings, whereas the *Kynokephalos* (“dog-headed,” s.c. baboon) of Thoth is commonly tan. [M.S.]

32. For the name Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. “Esics.”

33. For the myth recounted here, cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 13, 356C–D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 312. For the threat to Busiris, cf. P. Smither, “A Ramesside Love-Charm,” *JEA* 27 (1941): 131–32.

34. The fatherless boy is Horus; the mother, Isis. Cf. *PGM* III. 543.

35. For toppling the supports in heaven, cf. *PGM* III. 537–38; IV. 669. The two mountains of east and west (Bakhu and Manu) form the horizons of Egyptian cosmography; they derive from the mountains framing the Nile valley. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 78, s.v. “Bachu”; 440, s.v. “Manu.” [R.K.R.]

36. The papyrus has ἀνοίξιν from ἀνοίξις, “opening.” The reference is obscure; it may refer to an unknown mythical or ritual item or it may be a corruption of the text. See the apparatus ad loc.; LSJ, s.v.

she wants. I will not let god or goddess give oracles until I, NN, know through and through what is in the minds of all men, Egyptians, / Syrians, Greeks, Ethiopians, of every race and people, those who question me and come into my sight, whether they speak or are silent, so that I can tell them / whatever has happened and is happening and is going to happen to them, and I know their skills and their lives and their practices and their works and their names / and those of their dead, and of everybody, and I can read a sealed letter³⁷ and tell them everything [in it] truly.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. How to carve, consecrate, and use a scarab; with the spell to be said when using it. Though the scarab is engraved with Isis and the spell is addressed to Helios, the ring is said to be “of Hermes” because the spell first identifies the magician with Hermes-Thoth. As Thoth he invokes Osiris (the Nile) from the underworld waters, to reveal to him all facts relevant to all men, and he threatens that, unless he receives this knowledge, he will destroy the remains of Osiris’ body, reveal his mysteries, and generally upset the divine order.

PGM V. 304–69

*Taking hieratic papyrus or a / lead lamella and iron ring, put the ring on the papyrus and with a pen draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, then tint the outlined area with myrrhed ink, then write on this outlined area / of the ring—writing on the papyrus—the name,³⁸ and write the characters outside [the area], then, [in the circle] inside it, what you want not to happen, and “Let so-and-so’s thoughts be bound so that he may not do NN thing.” Then / putting the ring on its outline, which you made, and turning up the [areas of the papyrus] outside the outline, wrap up the ring until it is completely covered. Piercing [the package] through the characters / with the pen and tying it, say, “I bind NN with regard to NN [thing]. Let him not speak, not be contrary, not oppose; let him not be able to look me in the face nor speak against me; let him be subjected / to me, so long as this ring is buried. I bind his mind and his brains,³⁹ his desire, his actions, so that he may be slow [in his dealings] with all men.” / And if it be a woman: “In order that she, NN, may not marry him, NN” (add the usual). Then, taking it [the package] away to the grave of someone untimely dead, dig [a hole] four fingers deep and put it in and say, “Spirit of the dead, who[ever] / you are, I give over NN to you, so that he may not do NN thing.” Then, when you have filled up the hole, go away. Better do it when the moon is waning.

The things to be written inside the circle [bounded by the inner side of the ring’s outline] *are these*: “AROA / MATHRA ERESCHIGALCH EDANTA LABOU NĒ AKĒ IAŌ DARYKNŌ MANĒL, let NN thing not be done so long as this ring is buried.” Bind [the package] with ties, [using] cords you have made, / and thus deposit it. The [wrapped] ring may also be thrown into an unused well, or [into the grave] of [anyone dead] untimely. After the characters, write also the following, under the [outline of the] ring, as a rectangle: “ARCHOOL LAILAM / SEMESILAMPH AMMO-PHORIŌN IŌAĒ PHTHOUTH EŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌTH AR-BATHIAŌ LAILAM OSORNŌPHRI EM PHRĒ PHRĒ PHTHA CHRŌIŌ IAŌ BABOURĒ THIMAM EN PHRĒ RE/NOUSI SABAŌTH BARBARTHIAŌ THACHRA OUCHEETH

“ἀνοίξῃς”; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 522, 523, 536 for the ritual of the “Opening of the mouth.”

37. For the magical ability to read sealed letters, see the tale of Khamwas in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 142–51. [R.K.R.]

38. Given below, ll. 339–41.

39. In Greek, “the midriff,” representing the classical term for the supposed location of the thinking element of the body. [M.S.]

ESORNŌPHRI” and the entire 59 [letter formula] above,⁴⁰ which you also put inside [the circle bounded by the ring’s outline].⁴¹



[The same schedule can be written on a lead lamella; then, putting the / ring in
[the middle] and folding up [the lead] around it, cover [it] with plaster. After the
rectangle underneath [write] also the IAEŌ formula⁴² and the following: “BAKAXI-
CHYCH MENEBAICHYCH AERASAX AŌ, prevent NN thing,” [or], as the names are
found in the authentic [text]: / “ARPHOOL LAILAM SEMESILAM IAEŌ (formula)
BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ ARCHŌMILAK MENESILAM IAEŌ OYŌ BAKAXICHYCH
ABRASAX ŌII, prevent the NN thing.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. This untitled text gives directions for a familiar type of magical rite called *defixio*—essentially sending a letter to underworld powers to ask or compel them to do something to a specified victim. Many *defixiones* are, like this one, intended to prevent things from happening. The gods invoked here are a curious lot—solar and subterranean, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, suggesting that the text has grown, like many, by ignorant additions.

PGM V. 370–446

*Take 28 leaves from a pithy laurel tree⁴³ and some virgin earth and seed of worm-
wood, wheat meal and the herb calf’s-snout⁴⁴ (but I have heard⁴⁵ from a certain

40. This refers to the top of the papyrus page, where the scribe has written on the margin, with a few errors, the formula IAEŌBAPHRENEMOYNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEU and the same letters (without the final U) in reverse order. Together they form a fifty-nine-letter palindrome which often occurs in magical texts, mainly in spells to the solar deities. [M.S.]

41. (On the drawing): the reading of the third line in the circle from TH on, including the letters NIN (?) written above, is uncertain. If PHTHANNI is read, Phrha contains the name of the Egyptian god revered as creator. [M.S.]

42. See ll. 366–69 and the picture, l. 357. The palindrome is also printed in Preisendanz, apparatus to l. 357.

43. Cf. on this point PGM I. 264.

44. On this plant see PGM V. 198 and III. 468.

45. Undoubtedly, these are the words of a redactor, but expressions in the first person (here and l. 383) are rare. More often such variants are introduced by *oī dē* . . . (cf. l. 390). [E.N.O.]

375 man of Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree, / which is
cultivated, the famous one). Those are carried⁴⁶ by an uncorrupted boy.⁴⁷ Also
pounded together with the foregoing ingredients is the liquid of an ibis egg⁴⁸ and
made into a uniform dough and into a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while
380 the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or / Virgo or Sagittarius. Let Hermes be
holding a herald's staff. And write the spell on hieratic papyrus or on a goose's
windpipe (again, just as I heard from the man of Herakleopolis), and insert it into
385 the figure for the purpose of / inspiration; and when you want to use it, take some
papyrus and write the spell and the matter; and shave your head⁴⁹ and roll a hair
into the papyrus, binding it with a piece from a purple cord, and put on the outside
390 of it an olive branch, and / place it⁵⁰ at the feet of the Hermes (but others say: place
it upon him). And let the figure lie in a shrine of lime wood. But when you want to
395 use it, place the shrine beside your head / along with the god and recite as on the
altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump of rock salt.
Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell without giving an
answer to anyone. /

400 "Hermes,⁵¹ lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,⁵²
With winged sandals, turning airy course /
405 Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
O eye of Helios, O mighty one,
Founder of full-voiced speech,⁵³ who with your lamps
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life.⁵⁴ / The prophet of events
410 And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
All pains of mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
415 Of Memory, / who brings full mental powers,
In your own form both graciously appear
And graciously render the task for me,
A pious man, and render your form gracious

46. Apparently the subject of βαρτάζεται is all the ingredients named above. [E.N.O.]

47. See on this medium of the "uncorrupted boy" PGM II. 56; V. 87; VII. 544, and T. Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926) 65–74; R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier, Refut. haer. IV. 28–42, TU 39/3* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) 30, 32–33.

48. See on this point PGM V. 252 and n.

49. This is done in imitation of Egyptian priests. See S. Saucron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 37. On the shaving of the head by the initiates of Isis, see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 28; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3–4, 352C; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 268–69.

50. For hair sacrifices in Egyptian religion, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 267–68, s.v. "Haaropfer"; Betz, *Lukian* 131, n. 3.

51. Although the text of the following lines is quite fragmentary, enough remains to show that they are dactylic hexameters. Consequently they have been accepted as one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–15; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 429. This version is, however, very different from that in PGM VII. 668–80 and XVIIh. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

52. Cf. l. 378 above.

53. A repetition of the idea expressed in l. 402.

54. A reference to the role of Hermes as the guide of the dead to the underworld.

To me, NN,
That I may comprehend you by your skills
Of prophecy, by your own wondrous deeds. /
I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and
Without deceit appear and prophesy to me.”

420

Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.

The stele written on the papyri belonging to the figure: “YESENNIGADŌN ORTHŌ
BAUBŌ / NOËRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL ANKISTĒ
DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE⁵⁵ KODĒRE SĒMEA KENTEU KONTEU KENTEU KĒRI-
DEU DARYGKŌ LYKYNXYNTA KAMPYCHRĒ IRINŌTON LOUMANATA . / . . ION KO-
MANDRON CHREIBACHA NOUBACHA NOUMILLON EROUPHI TETROUPHI LIBINO
NOUMILLON CHANDARA TON PHERPHEREU DROUËR MAROUËR” (say it 3 times,
then / the usual formula).

425

430

435

Spell of compulsion: “OUKRA NOUKRA PETIRINODE TMAISIA, terrible-eyed, DRY-
SALPIPS BLEMENNITHEN BANDYODMA TRIPSADA ARIBA . . . TA KRATARNA” (then
the hundred-lettered name of Hermes). . . .⁵⁶

/ *Another:* “IOUKRAIŌNIOU (spoken to the lamp) ŌCHMARMACHŌ TONNOURAI
CHRĒMILLON DERKYŌN NIA IAŌ SOUMPSĒPHISON SOUMPSĒNIS SIASIAS IAŌ, you
who shake the world, come in and prophesy / concerning the NN matter, THOIS
KOTOTH PHTHOUPHNOUN NOUEBOUË.”

440

445

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. For a discussion of ll. 370–439, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 174.

PGM V. 447–58

*On a jasperlike agate engrave Sarapis seated, facing forwards (?), holding an Egyptian royal scepter and on the scepter an ibis, and on the back of the stone / the
[magical] name [of Sarapis?], and keep it shut up. When need [arises] hold the ring
in your left hand, and in your right a spray of olive and laurel [twigs], waving them
toward the lamp while saying the spell 7 times. And when you have put / [the ring]
on the index finger of your left hand with the stone inside, [keep it] thus and, going
off⁵⁷ [to bed] without speaking to anybody, go to sleep holding the stone to your
left ear.

450

455

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM V. 459–89

**Another way:* “I call upon you who created / earth and bones⁵⁸ and all flesh and
all spirit and who established the sea and suspended (?)⁵⁹ the heavens, who separated⁶⁰
the light from the darkness, the Supreme Intelligence⁶¹ / who lawfully ad-

460

465

55. Cf. on this formula the Glossary, s.v. “YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula.”

56. The name is missing here, but the papyrus left space for its insertion later. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. For one-hundred-letter names, see *PGM* IV. 242, 1209, 1380.

57. Reading the papyrus ἀπεχ as an abbreviation of ἀπερχόμενος rather than Preisendanz’s ἀπεχόμενος, which would be awkward Greek. See the apparatus ad loc. [M.S.]

58. See on this point LXX Jb 10:9–11.

59. The text is corrupt at this point; for suggested emendations, see the apparatus ad loc. Cf. Preisendanz’s translation: “der . . . festgenagelt hat den Himmel”; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 90: “solidement cloué le ciel.”

60. Cf. Gn 1:4, 14, 18; Wisd Sol. 7:29–30. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberveesen* 107; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV. 190.

61. The concept of the divine Nus (Mind) is an influence from Greek philosophy. Cf. also *PGM* XIII. 173, 487. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 49, 371A; *C. H. I.* 2, 6, 9; *X.* 19–21; XIII. 21. See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London: Duckworth, 1977) 283, 372, 382, 389, 391, 393; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, n. 2; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 199–200 and index, s.v. “Nus, Nous.”

ministrates⁶² all things. Eternal Eye, Daimon of daimons, god of gods, the lord of the spirits, the invariable ΑΙΩΝ ΙΑΘ ΟΥΕΙ, hear my voice.

470 / “I call upon you, master of the gods, high-thundering Zeus, sovereign Zeus,
ADŌNAI, lord ΙΑΘ ΟΥΕΕ; I am he who calls upon you, great god, in Syrian: ‘ZAA-
475 LAËRIPHPOU,’ and you must not / ignore my voice (in Hebrew: ‘ABLANATHA-
NALBA ABRASILŌA’); for I am SILTHACHŌOUCH LAILAM BLASALŌTH ΙΑΘ ΙΕΘ
480 NEBOUTH SABIOTH ARBŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ΙΑΘTH SABAŌTH PA/TOURĒ ZAGOURĒ
BAROUCH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRAAM⁶³ BARBARAUŌ NAUSIPH, high-minded one, im-
mortal, who possess the crown of the whole [world], SIEPĒ SAKTIETĒ BIOU BIOU
485 SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO SIETHO CHTHETHŌNI RIGCH ŌĒA Ē ĒŌA AŌĒ
ΙΑΘ ASIAL SARAPI OLSŌ ETHMOURĒSINI SEM LAU LOU LOURIGCH.”

It loosens shackles, makes invisible, sends dreams; [it is] a spell for gaining favor.
(Add the usual for what you want.)

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM Va. 1–3

*“O Helios BERBELŌCH CHTHŌTHŌMI ACH SANDOUM ECHNIN ZAGOUĒL, bring me into union with you” (add the usual). Then anoint yourself, and you will have a direct vision.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VI. 1–47

*. . . His encounter with Helios [takes place] on the 2nd, but the invocation itself is spoken when [the moon] is full. But you will accomplish a better encounter at [sun]rise on the 4th, when the god is on the [increase,¹ from the ground floor of a house]. Say, therefore, to the rising sun² / [the following] prayer:

5 “[Laurel,]³ Apollo’s holy plant [of presage,
Which] Phoebus [tasted once] and with [the fresh-
Cut] branches wreathed his [holy] head, adorned
With tresses long [and golden]. In his hands
10 He shook [a scepter] / on the [peaks of Mount
Parnassus], lofty and with many vales
[And gave to all] the gods⁴ [responses] and
To mortals prophesied. [For in the throes
Of grievous love], it was Apollo who
Himself [gave you, a nymph], dread virgin, power
[To utter presages. Come quickly hither

62. The doctrine of *διοίκησις* points to philosophical influence. Cf. also LXX Wisd Sol. 8: 1; Philo, *De opif. mundi* 3; *De spec. leg.* IV. 187; *C. H.* I. 9. See Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 190, n. 3.

63. The Greek underlying these magical words corresponds in part to the Jewish blessing, “Blessed be Jahwe, . . . god of Abraham. . . .” It is not clear whether or not the magician understood these words. A similar formula written in Greek occurs on a gold lamella published by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), n. 436. See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberberwesen* 106–7.

1. An apparent reference to the spring, when the days grow longer. Cf. *PGM* XIII. 388–91. [E.N.O.]

2. The sun is identical with the god Helios; see Glossary, s.v.

3. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 6–21) are also the reconstructed Hymn 13. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) also appear at *PGM* II. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2), and l. 6 also appears at *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14.1). [E.N.O.]

4. In Hymn 13. 6 Preisendanz has changed *εοῖς* to *θεοῖς*.

To me beseeching you] in holy measures⁵ /
 [And] in my hands holding [a laurel leaf].⁶ 15
 Send me [divine responses] and a holy
 Prophetic sign. In lucid [words], O priestess,
 [Reveal all things]: both [when this will occur]
 And how it will be done. [Give me a presage,]
 So that with it [I may perform a test]
 On [anything. / Subduer, hither come! 20
 Lo you,] mankind's Subduer, mankind's [force!
 Come, blessed Paian,]⁷ most supreme, [help] me;
 [Come hither to me, golden-tressed], IEŌ,
 E'en thou, Paian, [the very lord of song.
 Come thou to me,] O Phoibos, many-named.
 O Phoibos, / sing out clear with presages, 25
 Phoibos Apollo, Leto's son, far-worker,
 Hither, come hither, hither come; respond
 With prophecies, give presage in night's hour."
 Then speak, declaiming⁸ this: "ΕΕ ΙΕ ΙΕ ΕΙ ΙŌ . . . ΙΑŌΙΕ ΙΥΕ ΙΑ ΙΑŌ Ε . . . ΟΥŌ."
 Then at sunset make your request again: /
 "Hear me, god of the silver bow, who stand 30
 Protector of Chryse and holy Cilla⁹
 And are the mighty lord of Tenedos,
 Gold-shining, hurricane and dragon-slayer,
 MESEKRIPIH,¹⁰ Leto's son, SIAŌTH,
 SABAŌTH, MELIOUCHOS, ruler, PEUCHRĒ,
 Night-wanderer, SESEGGEN, BARPBARAGGĒS, /
 ARBĒTHŌ, god of many forms, O thou 35
 Who're fond of chariots,¹¹ ARBATHIAŌ
 Smintheus, if e'er I've roofed a pleasing shrine
 For you, or if I've ever burned for you
 Fat thighs of bulls or goats, grant this my prayer."¹²
 And in the same way in his encounter with Selene, as follows: /
 "Laurel,¹³ Apollo's holy plant of presage, 40

5. "In holy measures" translates *ἱεροῖσι πεδίλοις*. Although Preisendanz says "auf heiligen Sandalen," this sense has no place in the passage: first, the word order suggests that the phrase goes closely with *μοι λισσομένῳ* ("to me as I pray"); second, Daphne's mythology seems to have nothing to do with sandals (cf. L. von Sybel, in Roscher I [1884–86] 954–55, s.v. "Daphne," although the article omits this passage and PGM in general); and third, this passage is hymnic, and one meaning of *πέδιλον* (as the diminutive of *πούς*) is "meter," "measure," for which cf. Pindar, *O.* 3.5 and 6. 8. [E.N.O.]

6. The mixing of the plant and the goddess in this hymn is another good example of the thin line between inanimate objects and personified spirits of these objects. Cf. esp. ll. 40–41 below. [E.N.O.]

7. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 22–38), many of which are metrically faulty, are the reconstructed Hymn 10; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 244–45. Ll. 24–27 (Hymn 10. 4–6) appear, in slightly altered form, at PGM II. 2–4 (Hymn 9. 1–3). [E.N.O.]

8. The translation is problematic, but cf. perhaps Plutarch, *Mor.* 131A; *Cic.* 4, 862F. [E.N.O.]

9. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 37–38.

10. The *voces magicæ* in these verses are intended to be a part of the verses. The translation attempts to treat them in the same way, but some liberties must be taken. [E.N.O.]

11. *φιλάρματε*, "fond of chariots," is the reading in Hymn 10. 12; the papyrus has *φιλαίματε*, "fond of blood." [E.N.O.]

12. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 39–41.

13. These dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 14; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. PGM VI. 40 (Hymn 14. 1) also appears at PGM II. 81 (Hymn 11. 1) and VI. 6 (Hymn 13. 1). [E.N.O.]

O virgin Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' mistress,
 SABAŌTH¹⁴ IAŌAŌO IAGCHŌTHIPYLA MOYSIARCHA¹⁵ OTONYPON
 Hither to me come quickly; haste to sing
 Divine precepts to me [and to proclaim
 Pure words] and in dark night [bring me true sayings].¹⁶ /

45 RĒSABAAN AAN . . . ANA AANANAANANALAAA AAA AAA.¹⁷

It is for you, O Delios, O Nomios, O son of Leto and Zeus, to give persuasive oracles at night as you recount the truth through dream oracles."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is badly mutilated, and little is gained by offering a translation of the scattered words and phrases that remain. Instead, for the three verse passages, the reconstructed texts of Hymns 10, 13, 14 have been used. Additional information appears at VI. 6, 22, and 40. [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 1-148

*Homer oracle:

1. 1-1-1 But on account of their accursed bellies they have miserable woes, [Od. 15. 344]
2. 1-1-2 neither to cast anchor stones nor to attach stern cables, [Od. 9. 137]
3. 1-1-3 being struck by the sword, and the water was becoming red with blood. [Il. 21. 21]
4. 1-1-4
5. 1-1-5 stood holding a scepter, which Hephaistos produced by his labors. [Il. 2. 101]
6. 1-1-6
7. 1-2-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [Il. 9. 120; 19. 138]
8. 1-2-2 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [Il. 7. 360; 12. 234]
9. 1-2-3
10. 1-2-4
11. 1-2-5 let it lie in the great hall. And I wish for your happy arrival [Od. 15. 128]
12. 1-2-6
13. 1-3-1
14. 1-3-2
15. 1-3-3 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [Il. 18. 328]
16. 1-3-4 I would even wish it, and it would be much better [Il. 3. 41; Od. 11. 358; 20. 316]
17. 1-3-5 Then indeed would he smash all your fine show, [Od. 17. 244]
18. 1-3-6 I also care about all these things, woman. But very terribly [Il. 6. 441]
19. 1-4-1
20. 1-4-2 speaking good things, but they were contriving evil things in their hearts. [Od. 17. 66]

14. The *voces magicae* in these lines make no pretense of being verse and for that reason are omitted from Hymn 14. [E.N.O.]

15. Cf. the epithet ὁ Μουσάρχης, "leader of the Muses," belonging to Apollo. See LSJ, s.v.

16. See Hymn 14. 4-5 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248.

17. The *voces magicae* here appear immediately after "in dark night" in the papyrus, but because of the addition of two half-lines in Hymn 14, it is more convenient to complete the translation of the hymn before giving these *voces*. [E.N.O.]

21. 1-4-3 The glorious gifts of the gods are surely not to be cast aside, [*Il.* 3. 65]
22. 1-4-4
23. 1-4-5
24. 1-4-6 These things, Zeus-nurtured Skamander, will be as you order. [*Il.* 21. 223]
25. 1-5-1 a joy to your enemies, and a disgrace to yourself? [*Il.* 3. 51]
26. 1-5-2 Within this very year, Odysseus will arrive here, [*Od.* 14. 161; 19. 306]
27. 1-5-3 No use indeed to you, since you will not lie clad in them, [*Il.* 22. 513]
28. 1-5-4 And to the victor are to go the woman and the possessions. [*Il.* 3. 255]
29. 1-5-5 The rule of the many is no good. Let there be one ruler, [*Il.* 2. 204]
30. 1-5-6 And the gateway is full of ghosts, and full also is the courtyard, [*Od.* 20. 355]
31. 1-6-1 We have won great honor. We have killed glorious Hektor, [*Il.* 22. 393]
32. 1-6-2 Who would undertake and complete this task for ? [*Il.* 10. 303]
33. 1-6-3 Not even if his gifts to me should be as numerous as the grains of sand and particles of dust, [*Il.* 9. 385]
34. 1-6-4
35. 1-6-5
36. 1-6-6
37. 2-1-1 For no island is made for driving horses or has broad meadows, [*Od.* 4. 607]
38. 2-1-2 in the past, when you were boys, did you listen to your [*Od.* 4. 688]
39. 2-1-3
40. 2-1-4
41. 2-1-5
42. 2-1-6 His gifts are hateful to me, and I honor him not a whit. [*Il.* 9. 378]
43. 2-2-1 an only beloved heir to many possessions, [*Il.* 9. 482; *Od.* 16. 19 (?)]
44. 2-2-2
45. 2-2-3
46. 2-2-4
47. 2-2-5 So they thronged about him. And near [*Od.* 24. 19]
48. 2-2-6 and fashioning lies out of what nobody could see. [*Od.* 11. 366]
49. 2-3-1 be valiant, that later generations may also speak well of you. [*Od.* 1. 302]
50. 2-3-2 leaning on the grave marker over a barrow heaped up by men [*Il.* 11. 371]
51. 2-3-3 go. You have a way, and beside the sea your ships [*Il.* 9. 43]
52. 2-3-4 You will be proved a liar, and will not go on to fulfill your word. [*Il.* 19. 107]
53. 2-3-5 And his mother for her part continued the lament amid a flood of tears, [*Il.* 22. 79]
54. 2-3-6 Not even if remaining for five or six years [*Od.* 3. 115]
55. 2-4-1 So he spoke, and ordered Paion to administer a cure. [*Il.* 5. 899]
56. 2-4-2 These things, unhappy man, will I accomplish and do for you. [*Od.* 11. 80]

57. 2-4-3 How can you propose to render toil useless and ineffectual? [*Il.* 4. 26]
58. 2-4-4 a thing delayed, late of fulfillment, whose fame will never perish. [*Il.* 2. 325]
59. 2-4-5 Sooner would you grow weary and return to your native land. [*Od.* 3. 117]
60. 2-4-6 to go, that he may bring poisonous drugs from there, [*Od.* 2. 329]
61. 2-5-1 Husband, you departed from life young, and me behind as a widow [*Il.* 24. 725]
62. 2-5-2 in which way I will for sure accomplish everything and how it will be brought to pass, [*Il.* 9. 310 (?)]
63. 2-5-3 Offer me not honey-tempered wine, honored mother, [*Il.* 6. 264]
64. 2-5-4
65. 2-5-5
66. 2-5-6 Do not orphan your son and make your wife a widow. [*Il.* 6. 432]
67. 2-6-1 would that they might now eat their last and final meal here. [*Od.* 4. 685]
68. 2-6-2 It is not meet for a man who speaks in the Council to sleep all the night through, [*Il.* 2. 24]
69. 2-6-3 What's wrong with you, that you took this wrath into your heart? [*Il.* 6. 326]
70. 2-6-4 But who knows if he will one day return and punish them for their violent deeds? [*Od.* 3. 216]
71. 2-6-5 wives I will provide for both and furnish possessions [*Od.* 21. 214]
72. 2-6-6 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
73. 3-1-1 For it's no reproach to flee evil, nor by night. [*Il.* 14. 80]
74. 3-1-2 Be mindful of every form of valor. Now you needs must [*Il.* 22. 268]
75. 3-1-3 as a widow at home. And the boy is still just a baby, [*Il.* 22. 484; cf. 24. 726]
76. 3-1-4 But do you in no wise enter the moil of Ares, [*Il.* 18. 134]
77. 3-1-5 For amid misfortune mortals quickly grow old. [*Od.* 19. 360]
78. 3-1-6
79. 3-2-1
80. 3-2-2 Such a man is not alive nor will be born, [*Od.* 6. 201]
81. 3-2-3 Of a truth, child, there's nothing really wrong with this, [*Il.* 18. 128]
82. 3-2-4 Now is it no longer possible for him to find escape from us, [*Il.* 22. 219]
83. 3-2-5 we will ransom with bronze and gold, for it is within. [*Il.* 22. 50]
84. 3-2-6 drink, and do not vie with younger men. [*Od.* 21. 310]
85. 3-3-1 where are you fleeing, turning your back like a craven in the ranks? [*Il.* 8. 94]
86. 3-3-2 Would that such a man be called my husband [*Od.* 6. 244]
87. 3-3-3 plants her head in heaven and walks upon the earth. [*Il.* 4. 443]
88. 3-3-4 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
89. 3-3-5 and nodded for his army to survive and not to perish. [*Il.* 8. 246]
90. 3-3-6 Would that you had not pled with the noble son of Peleus, [*Il.* 9. 698]
91. 3-4-1 Honey-sweet wine has the best of you, which others also [*Od.* 21.

- 293]
92. 3-4-2 Act in whatever way your mind is moved, and no longer hold back. [*Il.* 22. 185]
93. 3-4-3 For it is fated for both to turn the same ground red [*Il.* 18. 329]
94. 3-4-4 keep on shooting like this, if haply you may become a light to the Danaans [*Il.* 8. 282]
95. 3-4-5 as there is no one who could keep the dogs off your head, [*Il.* 22. 348]
96. 3-4-6 You will not kill me, since I am for sure not subject to Fate. [*Il.* 22. 13]
97. 3-5-1 staying right here you would help me watch over this house [*Od.* 5. 208]
98. 3-5-2 Get out of the gateway, old man, or it won't be long before you're dragged out by the foot. [*Od.* 18. 10]
99. 3-5-3 Better for a man to escape evil by flight than to be caught. [*Il.* 14. 81]
100. 3-5-4 and declare to no one, neither man nor woman, [*Od.* 13. 308]
101. 3-5-5 of wheat or barley. And the heaps fall thick and fast. [*Il.* 11. 69]
102. 3-5-6 Whatever sort of word you speak, such would you hear. [*Il.* 20. 250]
103. 3-6-1 was opposed to giving Helen to tawny Menelaos, [*Il.* 11. 125]
104. 3-6-2 or will you alter your purpose? The hearts of the good are flexible. [*Il.* 15. 203]
105. 3-6-3 Yet I for one never doubted, but at heart [*Od.* 13. 339]
106. 3-6-4 Eurymachos, it will not be so. And even you know it. [*Od.* 21. 257]
107. 3-6-5 You miserable foreigner, you have no sense at all. [*Od.* 21. 288]
108. 3-6-6 And the father granted him one thing, but denied him the other. [*Il.* 16. 250]
109. 4-1-1 Nay, go to your chambers and tend to your own work, [*Od.* 1. 356]
110. 4-1-2 Now then, do not even tell this to your wife. [*Od.* 11. 224 (alternate version)]
111. 4-1-3 would you have been stoned to death for all the wrongs you've done. [*Il.* 3. 57]
112. 4-1-4 you prayed to the immortals to see with a beard grown. [*Od.* 18. 176]
113. 4-1-5 and vow to Lycian-born Apollo the famous archer [*Il.* 4. 101]
114. 4-1-6 and no spirit of harmony unites wolves and sheep, [*Il.* 22. 263]
115. 4-2-1 Come now, let us make these concessions to one another, [*Il.* 4. 62]
116. 4-2-2 And in the throng were Strife and Uproar, and Fate-of-Death, [*Il.* 18. 535]
117. 4-2-3 . . .
118. 4-2-4 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
119. 4-2-5 . . .
120. 4-2-6 You baby, what use now to keep your bow idle? [*Il.* 21. 474]
121. 4-3-1 For even fair-tressed Niobe turned her mind to food, [*Il.* 24. 602]
122. 4-3-2 after giving a mass of bronze and gold and raiment [*Od.* 5. 38]
123. 4-3-3 Surely then the journey will not be useless or fail to occur. [*Od.* 2. 273]
124. 4-3-4 One omen is best, to defend your country. [*Il.* 12. 243]
125. 4-3-5 I will gild her horns all round and sacrifice her to you. [*Il.* 10. 294]

126. 4-3-6 and you would gain every Trojan's thanks and praise, [*Il.* 4. 95]
 127. 4-4-1 put in with your ship, since women are no longer trustworthy. [*Od.* 11. 456]
 128. 4-4-2 It is not possible or proper to deny your request. [*Il.* 14. 212]
 129. 4-4-3 would straightway fit his will to your desire and mine. [*Il.* 15. 52]
 130. 4-4-4 and give him instruction. And it will be beneficial for him to obey. [*Il.* 11. 789]
 131. 4-4-5 will give glory to me, and your soul to horse-famed Hades. [*Il.* 5. 654]
 132. 4-4-6 fill up his ship with gold and bronze aplenty, [*Il.* 9. 137]
 133. 4-5-1 but tell one part, and let the other be concealed. [*Od.* 11. 443]
 134. 4-5-2 and at birth Zeus sends a weight of misery. [*Il.* 10. 71]
 135. 4-5-3 alone to have intelligence, but they are flitting shades. [*Od.* 10. 495]
 136. 4-5-4 yielding to his indignation. But they now withheld from him the gifts [*Il.* 9. 598]
 137. 4-5-5 I rejoice at hearing what you say, son of Laërtes. [*Il.* 19. 185]
 138. 4-5-6 But Zeus causes men's prowess to wax or to wane, [*Il.* 20. 242]
 139. 4-6-1 a terrible man. He would be quick to blame even the blameless. [*Il.* 11. 654]
 140. 4-6-2 with all haste. For now would you capture the broad-wayed city [*Il.* 2. 66]
 141. 4-6-3 Endure now, my heart. An even greater outrage did you once endure, [*Od.* 20. 18]
 142. 4-6-4 You lunatic, sit still and listen to the word of others, [*Il.* 2. 200]
 143. 4-6-5 had cast aside wrath and chosen friendship. [*Il.* 16. 282]
 144. 4-6-6 so good it is for a son to be left by a dead [*Od.* 3. 196]
 145. 5-1-1 Here then, spread under your chest a veil, [*Od.* 5. 346]
 146. 5-1-2 'Tis impiety to exult over men slain. [*Od.* 22. 412]
 147. 5-1-3 through immortal night, when other mortals sleep? [*Il.* 24. 363]
 148. 5-1-4 How then could I forget divine Odysseus? [*Od.* 1. 65]
 149. 5-1-5 lurid death and o'erpowering doom laid hold of [*Il.* 5. 83]
 150. 5-1-6 So there's nothing else as horrible and vile as a woman [*Od.* 11. 427]
 151. 5-2-1 Let us not advance to fight the Danaans around the ships. [*Il.* 12. 216]
 152. 5-2-2 to put up a defense, when some fellow provokes a fight. [*Il.* 24. 369; *Od.* 16. 72; 21. 133]
 153. 5-2-3 nor do children at his knees call him "papa" [*Il.* 5. 408]
 154. 5-2-4 I am this very man, back home now. And after many toils [*Od.* 21. 207]
 155. 5-2-5 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
 156. 5-2-6 let him stay here the while, even though he's eager for Ares. [*Il.* 19. 189]
 157. 5-3-1 And do not, exulting in war and battle, [*Il.* 16. 91]
 158. 5-3-2 never to have gone to bed with her and had intercourse, [*Il.* 9. 133; 19. 176]
 159. 5-3-3 and moistens the lips, but fails to moisten the palate. [*Il.* 22. 495]
 160. 5-3-4 Take heart! Let these matters not trouble your thoughts. [*Il.* 18. 463]
 161. 5-3-5 But this mad dog I'm unable to hit. [*Il.* 8. 299]
 162. 5-3-6 Keep quiet, friend, and do as I say. [*Il.* 4. 412]

163. 5-4-1 Bad deeds don't prosper. The slow man for sure overtakes the swift, [Od. 8. 329]
164. 5-4-2 They shut fast and locked the doors of the hall. [Od. 21. 236]
165. 5-4-3 Ah, poor man! Death's not at all on your mind, [Il. 17. 201]
166. 5-4-4 Odysseus has come and reached home, though he was long in coming. [Od. 23. 7]
167. 5-4-5 in full he will accomplish it at last, and the penalty they pay is great, [Il. 4. 161]
168. 5-4-6 and therein was Strife, and therein Valor, and therein chilling Attack, [Il. 5. 740]
169. 5-5-1 but 'tis most wretched to die and meet one's doom by starvation. [Od. 12. 342]
170. 5-5-2 shall I be laid low when I die. But good repute is now my goal, [Il. 18. 121]
171. 5-5-3 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [Il. 4. 264]
172. 5-5-4 In no way do I mock you, dear child, nor am I playing tricks. [Od. 23. 26]
173. 5-5-5 but she stayed Alkmene's labor and stopped her from giving birth. [Il. 19. 119]
174. 5-5-6 But come, and hereafter I shall make amends for this, if now anything wrong [Il. 4. 362]
175. 5-6-1 Where are you two rushing? What causes the heart within your breast to rage? [Il. 8. 413]
176. 5-6-2 Pray now, let him not be too much on your mind. [Od. 13. 421]
177. 5-6-3 But the gods do not, I ween, give men all things at the same time. [Il. 4. 320]
178. 5-6-4 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [Il. 5. 218]
179. 5-6-5 So he spake, but did not move the mind of Zeus by saying this. [Il. 12. 173]
180. 5-6-6 but Odysseus nodded no and checked him in his eagerness. [Od. 21. 129]
181. 6-1-1 How can you want to go alone to the ships of the Achaians? [Il. 24. 203]
182. 6-1-2 him a bridegroom in his house, who left as only child a daughter [Od. 7. 65]
183. 6-1-3 And too, I've taken the mist from your eyes, which before was there, [Il. 5. 127]
184. 6-1-4 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [Od. 21. 180]
185. 6-1-5 And I know that my arrival was longed for by you two [Od. 21. 209]
186. 6-1-6 I shall dress him in a mantle and a tunic, fine garments. [Od. 16. 79; 17. 550; 21. 339]
187. 6-2-1 by fastening a noose sheer from a high rafter, [Od. 11. 278]
188. 6-2-2 remembering our excellence, of the sort that even we [Od. 8. 244]
189. 6-2-3 the sea's great expanse they cross, since this is the Earthshaker's gift to them. [Od. 7. 35]
190. 6-2-4 Nay, come on with the bow. You'll soon be sorry for obeying everybody. [Od. 21. 369]
191. 6-2-5 But hurry into battle, and rouse the other soldiers. [Il. 19. 139]

192. 6-2-6 For mighty Herakles, not even he escaped his doom, [*Il.* 18. 117]
 193. 6-3-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120;
 19. 138]
 194. 6-3-2 And let him stand up among the Argives and swear an oath to you
 [*Il.* 19. 175]
 195. 6-3-3 The man is nearby. Our search will not be long, if you are willing [*Il.*
 14. 110]
 196. 6-3-4 and not quite suddenly, and a very god should be the cause? [*Od.*
 21. 196]
 197. 6-3-5 Verily, these things have already happened, and not otherwise could
 [*Il.* 14. 53]
 198. 6-3-6 On now, follow close! In action numbers make a difference. [*Il.* 12.
 412]
 199. 6-4-1 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360;
 12. 234]
 200. 6-4-2 Take heart, and let your thoughts not be of death. [*Il.* 10. 383]
 201. 6-4-3 by her wailing she rouse from sleep her household servants, [*Il.* 5.
 413]
 202. 6-4-4 Come now in strict silence, and I shall lead the way, [*Od.* 7. 30]
 203. 6-4-5 are there ears for hearing, and sense and respect are dead. [*Il.* 15.
 129]
 204. 6-4-6 as he was growing old. But the son did not grow old in his father's
 armor. [*Il.* 17. 197]
 205. 6-5-1 to return home and behold the day of homecoming. [*Od.* 5. 220;
 8. 466]
 206. 6-5-2 Apollo of the silver bow did strike the one, still sonless, [*Od.* 7. 64]
 207. 6-5-3 then you may hope to see your loved ones and reach [*Od.* 7. 76]
 208. 6-5-4 As for you two, I will tell you exactly how it will be. [*Od.* 21. 212]
 209. 6-5-5 For so shall I proclaim, and it will be accomplished too. [*Il.* 1. 212]
 210. 6-5-6 and I shall send him wherever his heart and spirit urge him. [*Od.* 16.
 81; 21. 342]
 211. 6-6-1 idiot? You'll soon pay when the swift hounds devour you [*Od.* 21.
 363]
 212. 6-6-2 You would learn what mighty hands I have to back me up. [*Od.* 20.
 237; 21. 202]
 213. 6-6-3 In no wise do I think he will in that event take you for himself, nor is
 it proper. [*Od.* 21. 322]
 214. 6-6-4 here we gather, waiting day after day. [*Od.* 21. 156]
 215. 6-6-5 to reach decision making secret plans. Nor yet now to me [*Il.* 1.
 542]
 216. 6-6-6 Don't dare get it into your mind to escape from me, Dolon. [*Il.* 10.
 447]

Here end the verses of the Homer oracle. May it help you!

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The so-called Homer oracle, a list of 216 isolated and disconnected Homeric verses, is in fact a manual designed to provide the reader with an oracular response to a personal inquiry. Concerned with matters of daily life such as we find in our newspaper horoscopes, the inquirer rolls three dice or knucklebones, each of which has its six surfaces numbered from one to six and is used to select a number from one of the three *vertical* number columns to the left of the Homeric verses (in each column, there are only six numbers to select from, though each occurs thirty-six times); one die thrown three times would achieve the same purpose. The three numbers selected by this process establish a *horizontal*

number column that indicates which verse is to be consulted; e.g., a roll of 1, 3, 6 on the dice would guide the inquirer to no. 18. As is true with oracles in general, most of the responses provide ambiguous answers which leave the exact interpretation up to the reader.

In this translation of Homer, which usually follows the Oxford Classical Text rather than that of Preisendanz, a lowercase letter at the beginning of a translated verse indicates that the first word of the verse does not begin a sentence. Such verses often constitute or involve incomplete syntactical units. In general, the punctuation at the end of a translated verse is that of the Oxford text, although in some instances this policy cannot be strictly observed. In a number of cases both the text and the Homeric reference given by Preisendanz have been emended. Furthermore, each of the verses has been numbered consecutively for ready reference. Since in all but a few instances the text of the Homeric verse is certain, we have omitted the usual brackets used to indicate lacunae in the papyrus. For additional discussion on this special type of divination, see T. Hopfner, "Astragalomanteia," *PRE.S 4* (1924) 51–56, esp. 54–55; cf. Franz Heinverter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Breslau, 1912).

PGM VII. 149–54

***To keep bugs / out of the house:** Mix goat bile with water and sprinkle it. **To keep fleas out of the house:** Wet rosebay with salt water, grind it and spread it. 150

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 155–67

***Days and hours for divination:** 155

1 at dawn	16 do not use	
2 at noon	17 do not use	
3 do not use	18 at dawn and in the afternoon	
4 at dawn	19 at dawn	
/ 5 at dawn	20 at dawn	160
6 do not use	21 in the afternoon	
7 at noon	[22] in the afternoon	
8 throughout the whole day	[23] at dawn	
9 do not use	24 at dawn	
/ 10 throughout the whole day	25 do not use	165
11 in the afternoon	26 in the afternoon	
12 throughout the [whole] day	27 throughout the whole day	
13 throughout the whole day	28 throughout the whole day	
14 at dawn	29 throughout the whole day	
15 throughout the whole day	30 in the afternoon	

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 167–86

***Demokritos' "table gimmicks":**

To make bronzeware look like it's made of gold:¹ Mix native sulfur with chalky soil and wipe it off.²

/ To make an egg become like an apple: Boil the egg and smear it with a mixture of egg-yolk and [red] wine.³ 170

To make the chef unable to light the burner: Set a houseleek plant on his stove.

1. According to H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, ⁸1956), vol. II, p. 220, this recipe shows the beginnings of alchemy.

2. That is, one wipes off the mixture after it has been applied.

3. For coloring eggs, see the references in M. Wellmann, *Die ΦΥΣΙΚΑ des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa*, part I, *APAW 7* (1928): 57–58. Cf. also Athenaeus 13. 484e. Here, "egg yolk" can also mean "saffron."

*To be able to eat garlic and not stink:*⁴ Bake beetroots and eat them.

To keep an old woman from either chattering or drinking too much: Mince some pine⁵ / and put it in her mixed wine.

*To make the gladiators painted [on the cups] “fight”:*⁶ Smoke some “hare’s-head” underneath them.

To make cold food burn the banqueter: Soak a squill in hot water and give it to him to wash with. *To relieve him:* [Apply] oil.

To let those who have difficulty intermingling⁷ perform well: Give gum mixed with wine and honey / to be smeared on the face.

*To be able to drink a lot and not get drunk:*⁸ Eat a baked pig’s lung.

*To be able to travel [a long way] home and not get thirsty:*⁹ Gulp down an egg beaten in wine.

*To be able to copulate a lot:*¹⁰ Grind up fifty tiny pinecones with 2 ozs. of sweet wine and two pepper grains and drink it.

*To get an erection*¹¹ / *when you want:* Grind up a pepper with some honey and coat your “thing.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This curious collection of recipes contains humorous tricks as well as helpful remedies presumably designed to be performed or used at a symposiastic dinner. Similar tricks are found scattered throughout the pages of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*. See also PGM XIb; VII. 149–54; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 449 (3–7); Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 7 (1928): 1–80. It has not been fully appreciated that this collection seems to refer to events that take place at a dinner table. This fact does not necessarily hold true for all the other examples of *paignia*.

PGM VII. 186–90

**Favor and victory charm:* Take a blood-eating gecko that has been found among the tombs and grasp its right front foot and cut it off with a reed, allowing the gecko to return to its own hole alive. Fasten the foot / of the creature to the fold of your garment and wear it.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 191–92

**Eternal spell for binding a lover:* Rub together some gall of a wild boar, some rock salt, some Attic honey and smear the head of your penis.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 193–96

**For scorpion sting:* On a clean piece of papyrus, write the characters and place it on the part which has the sting; wrap / the papyrus around it, and the sting will lose its pain immediately.

4. Cf. Athenaeus 3. 84c for a similar breath freshener.

5. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 57b–d for pine and pine kernels at a dinner.

6. It seems likely that the reference is to translucent, painted glass which, when lit, produces the effect.

7. The reference is presumably to those who are shy in a social setting: the concoction is to be applied to the face.

8. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 52d where eating almonds is said to prevent drunkenness.

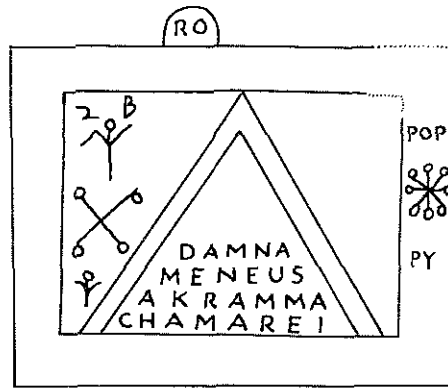
9. In Athenaeus 2. 58f and 2.69f similar means for quenching thirst are found.

10. Cf. Athenaeus 1. 18d–e, where certain devices for having frequent sexual intercourse are mentioned.

11. See on this point PGM VII. 194–95; *PDM* lxi. 58–62.

PGM VII. 215–18

- 215 * **Stele**¹² of Aphrodite: To gain friendship, favor, success, and friends. Take a strip of tin and engrave on it with a bronze stylus. And be sure you are pure while carrying it.
 *Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.



PGM VII. 218–21

* **Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits**: Write on a clean piece of papyrus and wear as an amulet:

- 220 / "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI (subtracting down)
 AŌ [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
 Ō [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]

ABRASAX."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 222–49

- * **Request for a dream oracle from Besas**: Take red ocher [and blood]¹³ of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed worm-wood, cinnabar, and rainwater; / blend all together, put aside and write with it¹⁴ and with black writing ink, and recite the formula to the lamp¹⁵ at evening. Take a black¹⁶ of Isis and put it around your hand. When you are almost awake the god will come and speak to you, and he will not go away unless you wipe off / your hand with spikenard or something of roses and smear the picture with the black of

12. The use of "stele" may refer here to the triangular shape found on the drawing of the tin plate.

13. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, *μίλτον (καὶ αἷμα) περιστερᾶς λευκῆς*. The conjectural *(καὶ αἷμα)* makes the text conform to the parallel passage in PGM VIII. 69–70, where blood of a white dove is mentioned. The addition here, however, is not needed, for *μίλτον* (which does not occur in the parallel passage) can also mean "blood." See PGM XII. 98 and LSJ, s.v. "*μίλτον*," III.

14. The Greek seems defective here. The only possible antecedent for *αὐτός* is the preceding portion as a substance with which one is to write. The following reference to ink suggests that it would be better to take *αὐτός* as the substance on which one is to write, particularly since the practitioner has just been told to put the portion aside, and no substance to write on is mentioned. In the parallel charm, PGM VIII. 64–110, a similar potion is used to paint the left hand.

15. Cf. PGM VIII. 84–111, where the use of a lamp is more fully described; this description occurs immediately before the prayer to the headless god, which is here found in ll. 233–48.

16. This item, which is not explained here (cf. PGM VII. 231; VIII. 67–68), may be the black linen garment used in the Isis cult. It is mentioned in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 39, 366E; 77, 382C. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 451, 562. Preisendanz interprets the reference by translating: "take a black piece from the garment. . . ."

Isis.¹⁷ But the strip of cloth put around your neck,¹⁸ so that he will not smite you.

Formula to be spoken to the lamp: “I call upon you, the headless god, the one who has his face upon his feet;¹⁹ you are the one who hurls lightning, / who thunders, you are [the one whose] mouth continually pours on himself. You are the one who is over Necessity ARBATHIAO; you are the one lying on a coffin and having at the side of the head an elbow cushion²⁰ of resin and asphalt, the one whom they call ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the [blood] of the 2 falcons²¹ / who chatter and watch before the head of Heaven.²² Rouse your nighttime form, in which you proclaim all things publicly. I conjure you, daimon, by your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH. You are the headless god, the one who has a head and his face on his feet, / dim-sighted Besas. We are not ignorant. You are the one whose mouth [continually] burns. I conjure [you by] your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH M . . . ORA PHĒSARA Ê . . . Come, lord, reveal to me concerning the NN matter, without deceit, without treachery, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” The small figure²³ is drawn in the beginning of the book.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 250–54

***Request for a dream oracle**, a request which is always used. **Formula to be spoken to the day lamp:** “NAIENCHRĒ NAIENCHRĒ, mother of fire and water, you are the one who rises before, ARCHENTECHTHA; reveal to me concerning the NN matter. If yes, show me a plant and water, but if no, fire and iron; immediately, [immediately; quickly,] quickly.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 255–59

***Another to the same lamp:** “Hail, lord, lamp, you who shine beside Osiris and shine beside Osirhentechtha²⁴ and my lord, the archangel Michael. If it is advantageous for me to do this, show me a plant and water, but if not, fire and iron, immediately, immediately.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 260–71

***For ascent of the uterus:**²⁵ “I conjure you, O Womb, [by the] one established

17. See the note on l. 227 above. There is no previous reference in this charm to a picture (though “write” in l. 226 can also mean “draw”). Cf., however, PGM VIII. 64–65.

18. For this detail, see PGM VIII. 67.

19. K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos. Der kopflose Gott, Beihefte zum Alten Orient* 8 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926) 48–50, sees this passage as a reference to the Egyptian practice of putting the heads of those who have been beheaded between their feet. A. Delatte, “Akephalos,” *BCH* 38 (1914): 221–32, prefers to see this passage as a reference to the god Besas, who has the heads of animals for feet. Cf. K. Abel, “Akephalos,” *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 13. See Glossary, s.v. “Headless.”

20. Cf. on this point PGM VIII. 97–98.

21. This refers to Isis and Nephthys, who in the form of falcons or kites watch over the body of Osiris. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 35, 305, 328. [R.K.R.]

22. See on this concept the parallel passage PGM VIII. 100–101, which has ‘Oσιρεως, “of Osiris,” instead of “of Heaven.” But “Heaven” should be kept (against the suggestion by F. Boll, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.). Perhaps, Nut (Heaven) is really meant here: her image was placed in the coffin in such a way that her head and that of the dead were close to each other. [J.B.]

23. The picture is missing; it may have been in the portion of the papyrus which is now lost.

24. See PGM III. 171 and note; note also the apparatus at PGM VII. 252.

25. Cf. on this point Soranus, *Gynecology* III. 50 (ed. Ilberg, pp. 127–28): “On the Flexion, Bending, and Ascent of the Uterus,” esp. sec. 2 (p. 127): “[A] flexing to the anterior of the uterus causes

over the Abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light, or darkness came to be; [you?] who created the angels, being foremost, AMICHAMCHOU and CHOUCHAŌ CHĒRŌEI
 265 OUEIACHŌ ODOU PROSEIOGGĒS, and who sit over the cherubim, who bear / your
 (?) own throne, that you return again to your seat, and that you do not turn [to one
 side] into the right part of the ribs,²⁶ or into the left part of the ribs, and that you
 do not gnaw into the heart like a dog, but remain indeed in your own intended and
 270 proper place, not chewing [as long as] I conjure by the one who, / in the begin-
 ning, made the heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!”

Write this on a tin tablet and “clothe” it in 7 colors.²⁷

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 272–83

*Thōth: 1, 4, 12, 13, 22. Phaōphi: 2, 4, 10, 19, 20. Athyr: 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23,
 275 27. / Choiak: 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 24, 25. Tybi: 3, 4, 12, 24, 26. Mecheir: 1, 2, 10, 14,
 280 19. Phamenōth: 7, 8, 9. Pharmouthi: 5, 6, 14, 15, 20. / Pachōn: 3, 4, 12, 13, 21,
 26, 28. Pauni: 1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 20. Epeiph: 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 22. Mesore: [10, 14,]
 20, 23, 24, 25.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. An Egyptian calendar of months and days unsuitable for magic operations. See Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 829–30. Cf. also PGM VII. 153–67; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I. 631–32; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums* 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 102–3.

PGM VII. 284–99

285 *Orbit²⁸ of the moon: Moon / in Virgo: anything is rendered obtainable.²⁹ In Li-
 bra: necromancy.³⁰ In Scorpio: anything inflicting evil.³¹ In Sagittarius: an invoca-
 290 tion or incantations / to the sun and moon. In Capricorn: say whatever you wish
 295 for best results. In Aquarius: for a love charm. Pisces: for foreknowledge. / In
 Aries: fire divination or love charm. In Taurus: incantation to a lamp. Gemini: spell
 for winning favor. In Cancer: phylacteries. Leo: rings or binding spells.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Cf. PGM III. 275–81, which is very similar to this passage despite some significant differences in detail.

PGM VII. 300

*“SACHMOU OZOZO, you the one who thunders, the one who shakes the heaven and the earth, the one who has swallowed the serpent, hour by hour raising³² the

some problems [blockage?] in urination, and also causes a swelling of the pubic area; in some patients, it [will cause] an inability to stand upright.” [J.S.] For a more magical interpretation see A. A. Barb, “Diva Matrix,” *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238.

26. The context might suggest “hips,” but the Greek is specific; perhaps the author was quite vague in the knowledge of internal anatomy. [J.S.]

27. Presumably, this means that the cord around the neck is to be woven together from the threads of seven colors. The strip of tin would then be worn as an amulet.

28. Or “horoscope”; see, however, PGM III. 275, where κύκλος appears alone. On Selene and her astrological role in magic, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 826–28; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 411. On κύκλος, see Gundel, *Astrologumena*, esp. pls. I, VII. [E.N.O.]

29. The Greek term is unclear; see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.; K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 196 (1934): 171.

30. Necromancy and Libra are also connected in PGM III. 278.

31. The reading πανκακώσιμον is uncertain and, at any rate, a *hapax legomenon*. Cf. PGM LXXI. 6–7.

32. Reading ἐξαιρών, which Preisendanz has in the two parallels to this passage: PGM IV. 1326; VII. 367.

disk of the sun and surrounding the moon, CHŌNSOU³³ OCHCHA ENSOU O BIBEROESOS.” Write on your left hand with myrrh ink these things surrounding the ibis.



*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The purpose of this spell is not given though it may form part of the whole given in PGM VII. 272–83, 284–99.

PGM VII. 300a–310

/ *Love charm which acts in the same hour: Take a seashell and write the holy names with the blood of a black ass.³⁴ 300a

Spell: “I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity³⁵ (MASKELLI formula)³⁶ and [by those] who have been placed [in charge of] the Punishments, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIMOU MOUKILA KILAMOU IŌR MOUŌR MOUDRA MAXTHA / MOUSATHA: attract her, NN, 305 whom NN bore” (add the usual, whatever [you wish]). “Do not be stubborn, but attract her, OUCH OUCH CHAUNA MOUCHLIMALCHA MANTŌR MOURKANA MOULITHA MALTHALI MOUI ĒĪĒI YYY AĒ AĪĒ YOŌ AĒI AĒI AĒI AŌA AŌA AŌA IAŌ ŌAI ŌAI AIŌ ŌIA IŌA IAŌ ŌAI, attract her, NN” (add the usual). As the moon waxes / in 310 Aries or in Taurus [add the usual, whatever you wish].³⁷

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 311–16

*A phylactery: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI SESENGENBAR[PHARANGES] PEPHRAZAŌTH ZŌTH [MENE] BAINCHŌŌŌCH, protect NN, whom NN [bore], from any violence both by a frightful dream and by all demons of the air. [I conjure you] by the great, famous name, Abraam EMEINA AEUBAŌTH BAITHŌ BES IA IABAŌTH AGRAMAKRAMARI PSINŌTH³⁸ BER ŌŌN

33. This refers to the Egyptian moon god Khonsu; the moon is mentioned in the context. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 140–44, s.v. “Chons”; Hellmuth Brunner, “Chons,” *LdÄ* I (1975): 960–63.

34. See on this point PGM IV. 3260 and n.

35. On “bitter Necessity,” see PGM IV. 526, 605, 1499–1500; XV. 13. See Dieterich, *Mitbrasilurgie* 59–60; idem, *Nekyia* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969) 124. Necessity (‘Ανάγκη) is a demonic being. See H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch’s Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature*, *SCHNT* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 224 (on *De sera num. vind.* 25, 564E).

36. See the Glossary, s.v. “MASKELLI logos.”

37. Preisendanz deletes these words, thinking they belong at l. 316.

38. This name is Egyptian, meaning “the son of the female falcon.” [R.K.R.]

- 315 IASÖP B . . . PNOUTE³⁹ / [and add the usual, whatever you wish].⁴⁰
 *Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 317–18

**Another phylactery*, [to be said] to the moon: “ACHTHIÖPHIPH ERESCHIGAL NEBOUGOSOUALĒTH⁴¹ SATHÖTH SABAÖTH SABRÖTH” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 319–34

- 320 ***Charm for direct vision**: Take a copper vessel, / pour rainwater into it and make an offering of male frankincense.

Formula: “Let the earth be still, let the air be still, let the sea be still; let the winds also be still, and do not be a hindrance to this my divination—no sound, no loud cry, no hissing. For I am a prophet, and since I am about to call / a terrible, fearful name, ‘KOLLA OLPHIOGEMALA ACHERÖIO,’ open [the holy temple,] the world [built on the earth,] and welcome Osiris, because I am MANCHNÖBIS CHOL-CHOBĒ MALASĒT IAT THANNOUTTA KERTÖMENOU PAKERBAÖ KRAMMASIRAT MOMOMO MELASOUT PEU PHRĒ. Open my ears so that you may reveal to me / concerning those things I ask you to answer me. Come on, come on; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; and speak concerning those things about which I questioned you. Appear to me, lord Anubis,⁴² I command you, for I am IEÖ BELPHENÖ, who considers [this] matter.”

Dismissal. Say: “Go away, Anubis, to your own thrones, for my health and well-being.”

Use after you have kept yourself pure for 3 days.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 335–47

- 335 ***Charm for a direct vision**: If you want to see him yourself, take a fly and Coptic eyepaint, grind them, and smear them on your eyes. Take a feather of an ibis 14 fingers long, smear it with perfume of roses or lilies, wind around it a linen cloth, and hold it with your hands as a scroll. Then say thus, while looking to the side
 340 with the left / eye:

Formula: “MOUN EIPOSIS EÜ PHTHA NOUTHİ⁴³ THİE SĒMI NOUEI NĒITHİ⁴⁴ CHRECHREÖ SININÖRPS MOUCH ORÖOU ENTHERINI⁴⁵ EÖĒ MOUNIACH NESÖI MOUNESÖCH MOUNĒI ENIME CHREMOU RENENE SON SNĒI ÖS MOUCHORÖOU ENTHERINI / ANOK SÖS ERMAICHÖ ENTEUMOUTOICHNĒ CHREMOU TĒŠBAS PNĒTE⁴⁶ KYPHOCH EMM IEBOCHNĒS TCHĒNĒ PHIMOU CHNOU NYOICHÖÖIM SEOUNEUMOI INONRI.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

39. The word is Egyptian and means “O/the god.” [R.K.R.]

40. Preisendanz adds this formula from I. 310.

41. Read νεβουτοσουαληθ (tau for gamma). See PGM IV. 2484–85, and Glossary, s.v. “Nebuto-soualeth.”

42. For Anubis as conducting the gods to the magician, cf. PDM xiv. 35–37. [R.K.R.]

43. These three words mean in Egyptian, “Come, Ptah, god.” [R.K.R.]

44. This name seems to refer to the Egyptian goddess Neith; see Bonnet *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. “Neith.” [R.K.R.] Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 9, 354C, reporting about the statue of the Athena of Sais, as Neith is called by the Greeks. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 283–84.

45. This word corresponds to the Egyptian *ntr*, “god.” [R.K.R.]

46. Perhaps this corresponds to the Egyptian *p3 ntr*, “O/the god.” Cf. PGM VII. 316. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 348–58

***Divination by means of a boy:** ⁴⁷ After you have laid [him] on the ground, speak, and a dark-colored boy will appear to him. /

Formula: “I call upon you, inhabitants of Chaos and Erebos, of the depth, of earth, watchers of heaven, of darkness, masters of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those beneath the earth, administrators of things which are infinite, those who wield power over earth, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, inhabitants of dark Erebos, / coercive watchers, rulers of cliffs, grievors of the heart, adverse daimons, iron-hearted ones BITHOURARĀ ASOUĒMARĀ . . . OTROUR MOURROUR APHLAU MANDRAROUROU SOU MARAROU, reveal concerning the matter which I am considering” (add the usual). 350
355

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 359–69

***Request for a dream oracle:** Take a strip of clean linen and write on it the following name. / Roll it up to make a wick, pour pure olive oil over it and light it. 360

The formula to be written is this: “HARMIOUTH LAILAM CHŌOUCH ⁴⁸ ARSE-NOPHRĒ PHRĒU PHTHA HARCHENTECHTHA.”

In the evening then, when you are about to go to sleep, being pure in every respect, do this: Go to the lamp, say 7 times the following formula, extinguish the light / and go to sleep. 365

The formula to be spoken is as follows: “SACHMOUNE ⁴⁹ PAĒMALIGOTĒRĒENCH, the one who shakes, who thunders, who has swallowed the serpent, surrounds the moon, and hour by hour raises the disk of the sun, ‘CHTHETHŌNI’ is your name. I ask you, lords of the gods, SĒTH CHRĒPS: reveal to me concerning the things I wish.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 370–73

***Against every wild animal, aquatic creature and robbers:** Attach a tassel ⁵⁰ to your garment and say: “LŌMA ZATH AIŌN ACHTHASE MA . . . ZAL BALAMAŌN ĒIEOY, protect me, NN, in the present hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” 370

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 374–76

***Charm to induce insomnia:** [Take] a seashell and write: / “IPSAĒ IAŌAI, let her, NN daughter of NN, lie awake because of me.” That night she will lie awake. 375

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 376–84

***Another:** Take a lamp and furnish it with a wick and say to it: “I conjure you, lamp, by your mother Hestia, MĒRALLĒL (say twice), and by your father Hephaios, MELIBOU MELIBAU / MELIBAUBAU. [Let] her lie awake” (and add the usual). 380

47. On this form of divination, see PGM V. 1 and n.

48. CHŌOUCH is Egyptian for “darkness.” [R.K.R.]

49. This name refers to the goddess Sakhmet; cf. PGM VII. 300. See Bonnet, *RĀRG* 643–46, s.v. “Sachmet” (esp. 645–46 on her role in magic).

50. For the tassel, cf. the *zizith* in Jewish religion. See Nm 15:38–39; Dt 22:12. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People II*, 479, with further references.

PGM VII. 411–16

***Spell for causing talk while asleep:** Take the heart of a hoopoe⁵⁵ and place it in myrrh. And write on a strip of hieratic papyrus the names and characters and roll up the heart in the strip of papyrus and place it upon her pudenda and ask your questions. And she will confess every/thing to you: “DARYGKO IAU IAU 415
⊗⊗χϕβ ΑΘΑΘΛΔΔΒΒΖΑΤΙΖ β” (add the usual, as much as you want).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 417–22

***A restraining [spell]:** Write on a tin lamella with a bronze stylus before sunrise the names “CHRÊMILLON MOULUCH KAMPY CHRÊ ÔPHTHÔ MASKELLI (formula) ERÊKISIPHTHÊ LABEZBYTH.” / Then throw it into [the] river [or] into [the] sea 420
before sunrise. Also write on it, with [the others], these characters: “⊗ΞΖΗΧΕ. Mighty gods, restrain” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 423–28

***To win at dice:** “THERTHENITHÔR DYAGÔTHERE THERTHENITHÔR SYAPOTHE-
REUO KÔDOCHÔR make me a winner at dice, / O prevailing Adriel.” Into your 425
hand say: “Let not even one person be equal to me, for I am THERTHENITHÔR ERÔTHORTHIN DOLOTHOR, and I am going to throw what I want.” And say this repeatedly, and then throw.

Another way you must say the formula is: “Let not even one of these playing with me be equal, and I am going to throw what I want.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 429–58

***A restraining [rite] for anything,** works even on chariots. It also causes en-
mity / and sickness, cuts down, destroys, and overturns, for [whatever] you wish. 430
The spell [in it], when said, conjures daimons [out] and makes them enter [objects or people]. Engrave in a plate [made] of lead from a cold-water channel what you want to happen, and when you have consecrated it with bitter aromatics such as myrrh, bdellium, styrax, and aloes and thyme, / with river mud, late in the evening 435
or in the middle of the night, where there is a stream or the drain of a bath, having tied a cord [to the plate] throw it into the stream—or into the sea—[and let it] be carried along. Use the cord so that, when you wish, you can undo [the spell]. Then should you wish to break [the spell], untie the plate. Say the formula 7 times and you will see something wonderful. Then go away without turning back / or giving 440
an answer to anyone, and when you have washed and immersed yourself, go up to your own [room] and rest, and use [only] vegetable food. Write [the spell] with a headless bronze needle.

The text to be written is: “I conjure you, lord Osiris, by your holy names OUCHIÔCH OUSENARATH, Osiris, OUSERRANNOUPHTHI OSORNOUPHÊ⁵⁶ /
Osiris-Mnevis,⁵⁷ OUSERSETEMENTH⁵⁸ AMARA MACHI CHÔMASÔ EMMAI⁵⁹ SERBÔNI 445

55. *κοκκοφάδιος* occurs only here, but cf. PGM II. 18 and III. 424–25. [E.N.O.]

56. OSORNOUPHÊ is Egyptian *wsîr nfr*, “Osiris the good.” [R.K.R.]

57. On Osiris-Mnevis, see PGM IV. 140, 2994 and n.

58. OUSERSETEMENTH is Egyptian for “Osiris . . . the west (the underworld).” [R.K.R.]

59. EM MAI is Egyptian, “in truth.” [R.K.R.]

ÖKĒSĒ EĒRINIARE MIN / ENTĒNTAIN PHOOU TÖNKĒTÖ MNĒ SIETHÖN OSIRI ENA- 475
BÖTH PSANOU LAMPSOUÖR IEOU IÖ IÖ AI ĒI EI AI EI AÖ, attract to me her, NN,
whose mother is NN,” and the rest. *This is the figure*:

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 478–90

*“Eros, darling PASSALEON ĒT,⁶⁹ send me my personal [angel] tonight to give me 480
information about whatever the concern is. For I do this / on order from PAN-
CHOUCHI THASSOU at whose order you are to act, because I conjure you by the
four regions of the universe, APSAGAĒL CHACHOU MERIOUT MERMERIOUT and by
the one who is above the four regions of the universe, KICH MERMERIOUTH” (add
the usual).

This is the offering: Take equal portions of dirt from your sandal, / of resin, and 485
of the droppings from a white dove, and while speaking [the invocation], burn
them as an offering to the Bear.

The phylactery for this: Write these names on a strip of tin: “ACHACHAĒL
CHACHOU MARMARIOUTI.” Then wear it around your neck. After uttering the
summons, go to your quarters, put out the lamp, and sleep / on a newly made bed 490
of rushes.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 490–504

*Taking sulfur and seed of Nile rushes, burn [them] as incense to the moon and say,
“I call on you, Lady Isis, whom Agathos Daimon permitted to rule in the entire
black [land].⁷⁰ Your name is LOU LOULOU BATHARTHAR THARĒSIBATH ATHER- 495
NEKLĒSICH / ATHERNEBOUNI ĒICHOMÖ CHOMÖTHI Isis Sothis,⁷¹ SOUĒRI, Bou-
bastis, EURELIBAT CHAMARI NEBOUTOS OUĒRI⁷² AIĒ ĒOA ŌAI. Protect me, great
and marvelous names of the [god] (add the usual); for I am the one established in
Pelusium,⁷³ SERPHOUTH MOUISRÖ⁷⁴ / STROMMÖ MOLÖTH MOLONTHĒR PHON 500
Thoth. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the great god” (add the usual).

“ASAÖ ETÖ NISAÖTH. Lady Isis, Nemesis, Adrasteia,⁷⁵ many-named, many-
formed, glorify me, as I have glorified the name of your son⁷⁶ Horus” (add the
usual).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 505–28

**Meeting with your own daimon*:⁷⁷ “Hail, Tyche, and you, the daimon of this 505

69. The text here is doubtful. See the apparatus ad loc.

70. The name for Egypt in Egyptian is *Km.t*, meaning the “black” and referring to the alluvial soil in distinction from the “red” desert soil that borders it. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 425–26.

71. Isis Sothis is the identification of Isis with the dog star Sothis (Sirius). See J. Bergman, “I Overcome Fate, Fate Harkens to Me,” in *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis II* (1967) 38–40; idem, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34, 41–45, 52–58 (p. 55 refers to PGM VII. 490–504).

72. OUĒRI is Egyptian *wr*, “great one.” [R.K.R.]

73. The god of Pelusium (*Pr-ir-Imn*) is Amon. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 357E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 334–35.

74. SERPHOUTH MOUISRÖ is *Srp.t m3y sr*, “Lotus, Lion, Ram.” Cf. PGM III. 659 and n.

75. On the identification of Isis, Nemesis, and Adrasteia, see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 153–54.

76. Although this sentence seems parallel to Jn 17:4–5, there is no Christian influence here.

77. For this spell and its interpretation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 160–62.

place, and you, the present hour, and you, the present day—and every day as well. Hail, Universe, that is, earth and heaven. Hail, Helios, for you are the one who has
 510 established yourself in invisible light over the holy firmament / ORKORĒTHARA.⁷⁸

“You are the father of the reborn Aion ZARACHTHŌ;⁷⁹ you are the father of awful Nature *Thortchophanō*;⁸⁰ you are the one who has in yourself the mixture⁸¹ of universal nature and who begot the five wandering stars,⁸² which are the entrails of
 515 heaven, the guts of earth, the fountainhead of the waters, and the violence / of fire AZAMACHAR ANAPHANDAŌ EREYA ANEREYA PHENPHENSŌ IGRAA; you are the youthful one, highborn, scion of the holy temple, kinsman to the holy mere called Abyss which is located beside the two pedestals SKIATHI and MANTŌ.⁸³ And the
 520 earth’s 4 basements were shaken, O master of all, / holy Scarab,⁸⁴ AŌ SATHREN ABRASAX IAŌAI AĒŌ ĒŌA ŌAĒ IAO IĒŌ EY AĒ EY IE IAŌAI.”⁸⁵

Write the name in myrrh ink on two male eggs.⁸⁵ You are to cleanse yourself thoroughly with one; then lick off the name, break it, and throw it away. Hold the other
 525 in your partially open right hand and show it to the sun at dawn and . . .⁸⁶ / olive branches; raise up your right hand, supporting the elbow with your left hand. Then speak the formula 7 times, crack the egg open, and swallow its contents.

Do this for 7 days, and recite the formula at sunset as well as sunrise.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 528–39

*Victory charm: “Helios, Helios, hear me, NN, Helios, lord, Great God, you who
 530 maintain all things and who give life / and who rule the world, toward whom all things go, from whom they also came, untiring, ĒIE ELĒIE IEŌA ROUBA ANAMAŌ MERMAŌ CHADAMATHA ARDAMATHA PEPHRE ANAMALAZŌ PHĒCHEIDEU ENE-

78. For the magical name ORKORĒTHARA, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203.

79. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203, n. 34, suggests that the name ZARACHTHŌ may be related to that of Zoroachthor Melchisedek, which plays a role in gnosticism (*Pistis Sophia* IV. 136, 139, 140; *Book of Jeu* 108, 110, 111; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 55. 1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7. 36).

80. This name is written in Coptic.

81. The term “mixture” plays a great role in hellenistic philosophy and gnosticism. See *C.H.* XI. 7; *Pistis Sophia* III. 3 (and *passim*). For further references see *PGL*, s.v.

82. That is, the planets.

83. For the background of this passage in Egyptian religion and explanation of the names SKIATHI and MANTHŌ, see J. Bergman, “An Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (PGM VII, 11. 516–521),” in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee, Numen Supplements 43* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

84. This acclamation expresses Khepri theology, of which the cosmogony in *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* 26, 21 (in Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 6) is the largest example. Khepri, the holy scarab, is mentioned at the end of the climax of names and epithets which often refer to his form of existence even by the Greek terms. The cultic context is also evident: the noble birth, representing creation, takes place in the temple at the time of the appearance of the Original Sea. This sea is identical with the sacred lake in the temple near the two pedestals of the evening bark (Sektat) and the morning bark (Manedjet). The temple represents the whole world, so that the four basements of the earth were shaken by the birth of Khepri, the master of all. [J.B.]

85. That is, eggs from which male chicks will be hatched. The ancients believed that one could predict the sex of the chick from the shape of the egg, though there appears to be some uncertainty as to which shape produced which sex. See Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* VI. 2 (559a); Pliny *NH* 10. 74; Columella, *De Re Rustica* VIII. 5. Cf. the comments by P. Louis in vol. 2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1968) of his Budé translation of Aristotle’s treatise, p. 64, n. 4, and by A. L. Peck in vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1970) of his *LCL* translation of the same treatise, p. 225, n. a; also the reference at *PGM* XII. 100 to an egg that will produce a male chick. [H.M.]

86. There is a lacuna in the Greek text at this point.

DEREU SIMATOI MERMEREŌ AMALAXIPHIA MERSIPHIA EREME THASTEU PAPIE⁸⁷
 PHEREDŌNAX ANAIE / GELEŌ AMARA MATŌR MŌRMARĒSIO NEOUTHŌN ALAŌ 535
 AGELAŌ AMAR AMATŌR MŌRMAŌ SOUTHŌN ANAMAŌ GALAMARARMA. Hear me,
 lord Helios, and let the NN matter take place on time.” Say this while you make an
 offering over oak charcoal, sacred incense, with which has been mixed the brain of a
 wholly black ram and the wheat meal of a certain plant.⁸⁸

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 540–78

***Lamp divination:** Put an iron lampstand in a clean house⁸⁹ at the eastern part, 540
 and having placed on it a lamp not colored red, light it. Let the lampwick be of new
 linen, and light the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense on grape-
 vine wood. The boy, then, should be uncorrupt, pure.⁹⁰

/ **Formula:** “PHISIO IAŌ AGEANOUMA SKABARŌ SKASABRŌSOU ASABRŌ, because 545
 I implore you this day today, this very time, to let the light and the sun appear to
 this boy, MANE OUSEIRI, MANE⁹¹ ISI,⁹² ANOUBIS the servant of all gods, and make
 this boy fall into a trance and see the gods, / all who are present at the divination. 550
 Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great!⁹³ May
 he appear, the one who [made] the four parts of the heaven and the four founda-
 tions of the earth, RESENNĒETHŌ BASENERAIPAN THALTHACHTHACHŌTHCH CHI-
 NEBŌTH CHINEBŌTH MIMYLŌTH MASYNTORI / ASTOBI. Come to me, you who are 555
 in heaven; come to me, you who are from the egg.⁹⁴ I conjure you by the ENTŌ⁹⁵
 TAPSATI LEGĒNISTHŌ ĒLEGĒ SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ⁹⁶ LEGE [having appeared
 and]⁹⁷ the two gods who are about you, THATH. The one god is called ‘So’⁹⁸ the
 other, ‘Aph,’⁹⁹ KALOU KAGŌĒI SESOPHĒI BAINCHŌŌŌCH.”

87. Perhaps PAPIE is related to PIFI, but cf. the apparatus ad loc. See for PIFI PGM IV. 595 and n.

88. For the plant called *κατανάγκης ἄλευρα*, see Diosc. 4.131; Pliny, *HN* 27.57.

89. The Greek is ambiguous, referring either to a house or a room in a house serving as a temple.

90. On the boy medium, see PGM V. 1 and n.

91. MANE is perhaps equivalent to Egyptian *mry.n*, “beloved one of,” hence: “beloved one of Osiris, beloved one of Isis.” [J.B.]

92. OUSERI . . . ISI, referring to Osiris and Isis, perhaps by the vocative. [R.K.R.]

93. The epithet “thrice great” results from the Egyptian superlative which repeats the positive three times. For the name Hermes Trismegistos and its derivation, see Festugière, *La révélation* I, 73–74; K. W. Tröger, “Die hermetische Gnosis,” in *Gnosis und Neues Testament. Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973) 103–4; J. Parlebas, “L’Origine égyptienne de l’appellation ‘Hermès Trismegistos,’” *GM* 13 (1974): 25–28; M.-Th. and P. Derchain, “Noch einmal Hermes Trismegistos,” *GM* 15 (1975): 7–10; R. K. Ritner, “Hermes Pentamegistos,” *GM* 49 (1981): 73–75; idem, “Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos,” *GM* 50 (1981): 67–68.

94. In Egyptian cosmogony the mythical primordial egg played a great role. Cf. PGM III. 145 and n. According to Orphic cosmogony, the one born from the egg is the god Phanes. See *Orph. Frag.* nos. 54, 55, and 56, and H. Leisegang, “The Mystery of the Serpent,” in J. Campbell, ed., *The Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978) 194–260.

95. Or, ἐν τῷ, “. . . by the one who is in TAPSATI . . .,” following Preisendanz. The latter probably belongs to the series of *voes magicæ* as indicated here. See also I. 576.

96. On SERPHOUTH MOUISRO, see PGM III. 659; and Preisendanz, vol. III, p. 230, s.v.

97. The text is mutilated here: “[and having appeared]” is Preisendanz’s conjecture. The plural participle may refer to the two preceding commands, if these commands refer to two separate gods. But the conjecture does not help much. The problem is also complicated by λέγε, “tell” or “speak” (?).

98. This name probably refers to the god Shu, Greek Sōsis. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 326–37; Bonnet, *RARG* 685–89, s.v. “Schu.” Cf. PGM VII. 345.

99. The name is unexplained; for possible explanations, see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., and vol. III, p. 217, index, s.v. “Aφ.” Perhaps the name refers to Apophis, the snake god and enemy of Re. This god is mentioned as Ἀποφίς in PGM XIII. 262; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 36, 365D. See Griffiths,

PGM VII. 591–92

*“Come to me, ear of heaven; come to me, ear [of the air;] come to me, ear of the earth,” and so forth, as indicated.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This portion of an invocation seems to be mislocated in the papyrus manuscript.

PGM VII. 593–619

***Fetchng charm for an unmanageable [woman]:**¹⁰⁵ Take a [lamp], not painted red, with seven wicks, and make a wick of [the hawser of] a wrecked / ship. On the [1st] wick write with myrrh, “IAÖ”; on the 2nd, “ADÖNAI”; on the 3rd, “SABAÖTH”; on the 4th, “PAGOURĒ”; on the 5th, “MARMOROUTH”; on the 6th, “IAEÖ”; on the 7th, “MICHAËL.” 595

Put olive oil in the lamp and place it in a window / facing south. Also put worm-wood seeds on the lamp (around the edge of the lamp), and recite this *formula*: “I call upon you, the masters, great gods, who shine in the present hour, on this day, for the sake of her, the ungodly NN. For she has said: / 600

‘IAÖ does not have ribs.’ 605

[She, NN, has said,] ‘ADÖNAI was cast out because of his violent anger.’

[She, NN, has said,] ‘SABAÖTH emitted three cries.’¹⁰⁶

She, NN, has said, ‘PAGOURĒ is by nature a hermaphrodite.’

She, NN, has said, ‘MARMOROUTH was castrated.’

She, NN, has said, ‘IAEÖ was not entrusted with the ark.’

She, NN, has said, ‘MICHAËL is by nature a hermaphrodite.’

/ “I am not the one who says such things, master, but she, the godless NN. Therefore fetch her for me, her inflamed with passion, submissive. Let her not find sleep until she comes to me” (repeat 7 times). 610

If the first lamp flickers, know that she has been seized by the daimon. And if the 2nd, she has left (the house); and if the 3rd, she is on the / way; and if the 4th, she has arrived; and if the 5th, she is at the door; the 6th, at the doorlatch; the 7th, she has come into the house. 615

It can fetch people even from across the sea. For that, place the lamp in some water in the open air. Place a papyrus boat under the lamp, and [recite the] formula 6 times.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM VII. 619–27

***From the Diadem of Moses:**¹⁰⁷ / Take the plant snapdragon and hold it under your tongue while lying asleep. And rise early and before you speak to anyone recite the names, and you will be invisible to everyone. 620

But when you say them over drinking cups and give them to a woman, she will love you, since this spell has power over everything: “ARESKILLIOUS THOU DALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR / MOULABÖTH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHÖRBAÖ SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASÖ IAÖ SABAÖTH ADÖNAI.” 625

For what you wish, say: “Get her, NN, for me, NN” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

105. See for parallels to this spell *PGM* IV. 2475 and n.

106. For this cry, cf. the parallel in Ignatius, *Eph.* 19. 1.

107. This spell seems to be a selection from a larger collection entitled “The Diadem of Moses.” [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 628–42

- *Taking a field lizard,¹⁰⁸ let it down into oil of lilies until it be deified. Then engrave / the [image of] the Asklepios [worshiped] in Memphis¹⁰⁹ on a ring of iron from a leg fetter and put [the ring] into [the] oil of lilies [in which the lizard was drowned]. And when you use [the ring] take [it and] show [it] to the pole star,¹¹⁰ saying this spell 7 times: “MENŌPHRI¹¹¹ who sit on the cherubim, send me / the true Asklepios, not some deceitful daimon instead of the god.” Then take the incense burner in where you are going to sleep and burn 3 grains of frankincense and wave the ring in the smoke of the incense, saying 7 times the [spell], “CHAU-APS / ŌAELAPS ŌAIS LYSIPHTHA,¹¹² lord Asklepios, appear.” And wear the ring on the index finger of your right hand.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 643–51

- ***Cup spell**, quite remarkable: Say the spell that is spoken to the cup 7 times: “You are wine; you are not wine¹¹³ but the head of Athena. / You are wine; you are not wine, but the guts of Osiris, the guts of IAŌ PAKERBĒTH SEMESILAM ŌŌŌ Ē PATACHNA IAAA.” (For *the spell of compulsion*: “ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI EEE, who has been stationed over necessity, IAKOUB IA IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX”).

- 650 “At whatever hour / you descend into the guts of her, NN, let her love me, NN, [for] all the time of her life.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 652–60

- ***Spell to induce insomnia by means of a bat**: Take blood of a black ox or of a goat or of Typhon¹¹⁴—but preferably of a goat—and write on its right wing: “BŌRPHŌR PHORBA PHORPHARBA / PHŌRBŌRPHORBA PHORBA PHORBA PHORBA BAPHAIĒ PHŌRBAPHŌR BARBA” (put one word under another one, like bricks,¹¹⁵ and [add the usual, whatever] you want). And on the left wing write this in the same pattern: “PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBABŌR / BORBORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA” (likewise, add the usual as you want).

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

108. See A. D. Nock, “The Lizard in Magic and Religion,” in his *Essays* I, 271–76. On deification by drowning, see *PGM* I. 5; III. 1, with notes; LXI. 39–71.

109. Asklepios in Memphis is the Egyptian god Imhotep. See D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977). [R.K.R.]

110. The constellation of the pole star (Bear) is connected here with the “true” Asklepios of Memphis, that is Asklepios/Imhotep in contrast to the Greek Asklepios. This expression is indeed non-Greek. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 14 and 181.

111. That is, Memphis, or perhaps Memphite. [R.K.R.]

112. -SI PHTHA is Egyptian and means “son of Ptah,” a standard epithet of Imhotep. [R.K.R.]

113. For the formula “you are x, you are not x, but . . .” cf., e.g., *PGM* LXI. 7–9. See also Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 111, 197 n.

114. The “blood of Typhon” is the blood of an ass. See *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

115. For this magical formation of words, see *PGM* V. 349, 361 and Preisendanz, vol. I, plate III, no. 6.

PGM VII. 661–63

***Love spell:** In conversation ¹¹⁶ while kissing passionately, say: “ANOK THARENEPI-BATHA CHEOUCHCHA ANOA ANOK CHARIEMOCHTH LAILAM.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 664–85

***Spell for obtaining dream revelations:** Take a linen strip, and on it you write with myrrh ink the matter, / and wrap an olive branch and place it beside your head, beneath the left side of your head, and go to sleep, pure, on a rush mat on the ground, saying the spell 7 times to the lamp: 665

“Hermes,¹¹⁷ lord of the world, who’re in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, / the founder of the words of speech, 670
Pleader of Justice’s cause, garbed in a mantle,
With golden sandals, turning airy course
Beneath earth’s depths, who hold the spirit’s reins,
The sun’s and who with lamps of gods immortal
Give joy to those beneath earth’s depths, to mortals
Who’ve finished life. / The Moirai’s¹¹⁸ fatal thread 675
And Dream divine you’re said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
Pains of all mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
Of the goddess who brings full mental powers,
By your own form and gracious mind. And to
An uncorrupted youth / reveal a sign 680
And send him your true skill of prophecy,

OIOSENMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NIOËRE KODËRETH DOSËRE SYRE SUROE SAN-KISTË DŌDEKAKISTË AKROUROBORE¹¹⁹ KODËRE RINŌTON KOUMETANA ROUBITHA NOUMILA PERPHEROU AROUŌRËR / AROUËR¹²⁰ (say it seven times and add 685
the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 686–702

***Bear charm:** “Bear, Bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion;¹²¹ / I appeal to you, imploring and supplicating that you may do 690
the NN thing, because I call upon you with your holy names at which your deity rejoices, names which you are not able to ignore: BRIMŌ, earth-breaker, chief hunt-

116. Cf. on this title *PGM VII. 405* and n.

117. These dactylic hexameters are also one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–12; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249. This version is, however, quite different from that in *PGM V. 400–421* and *XVIIb. 1–23*. [E.N.O.]

118. At *PGM V. 410*, Preisendanz prints the word as a common noun, here as the proper noun. [E.N.O.]

119. On this *vax magica*, see the Glossary, s.v. “YESSIMMIGADO/AKROUROBORE formula.”

120. AROUËR is Egyptian for *Hr-wr*, “Horus the great.” [R.K.R.]

121. For this concept of the divine mover of the universe, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 208–11.

rcss,¹²² BAUBŌ L¹²³ . . . I AUMŌR AMŌR AMŌR . . . IĒA [shooter] of deer¹²⁴ AMAM[A-
 695 MAR] APHROU . . . MA, universal queen, queen of wishes, / AMAMA, well-bedded,¹²⁵
 Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner,
 man-conqueror, LICHRISSE PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one,¹²⁶ O song and
 700 dance, guard,¹²⁷ spy, delight, delicate, protector, adamant, adamantine, O / Dam-
 namencia, BREXERIKANDARA, most high, Taurian,¹²⁸ unutterable, fire-bodied,
 light-giving, sharply armed. Do such-and-such things" (add the usual).

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. The purpose of the spell is not given, although directions to insert requests come at the end. Cf. the Bear spells in *PGM* IV. 1275–1330, 1331–89; LXXII. 1–36.

PGM VII. 703–26

*Request for a dream oracle: Write [with myrrh] on clean papyrus:

705 "I call you, the one who shines on the whole inhabited / and uninhabited world,
 whose name is composed of 30 letters, in which are the seven vowels, through
 which you name [the] universe, gods, lords, RARAPAE ABRAIĒ IRARA PAUOÜŌ
 710 ARAŌACH (30 letters)¹²⁹ IEŌYŌĒ AIĒ IAŌĒ YŌEI: Reveal [to me], / lords, concern-
 ing the NN matter, dependably and through memory, PSICHOM¹³⁰ MORAIOUCH
 PSICHOM ARASKELLITH ĒCHOMMORAKAUPS PSICHOMMO ARATOPOTH. Lords of
 glory, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ CHAR-
 715 PHRAUTHI / PHRĒ"¹³¹ (add the usual, as you wish). Also write the name composed
 of 30 letters in two wing formations,¹³² thus: RARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOÜŌA-
 BRAŌACHRARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOÜŌABRAŌACH: A

Ō
 CHAŌARBAŌYOAPARARIĒIARBAEAPARAR
 / RAR A A R
 Ō Ō
 IEŌYŌĒ[AIĒIAŌĒYŌEI]
 R E E R

725 Write also the ["heart"] as indicated [if] you want, and after placing the strip of
 papyrus / under the lamp, go to sleep in a pure condition. Give answer to no one,
 ENTYTHLCH.¹³³

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

122. The rendering of *προκυνή* is uncertain. See also *PGM* VII. 885–86; P. Reinach II, 88 which has *προκυνήτε*. For similar epithets, see LSJ, s.v. "*κυναγέτης, προκυνάγος, προκυνήγης, προκύων*." The epithet "earthbreaker" has usually in *PGM* been transcribed RĒXICHTHŌN.

123. The following list of divine epithets comes from the cult of Artemis; it contains old material, but not all is explainable and some renderings are quite tentative. Cf. for parallels *PGM* IV. 1301–8, 1345–79; also P. Reinach II, 88 (ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*, BIFAO 39 [1940]: 29–32).

124. For this epithet, see Homeric Hymn 27. 2 and K. Wernicke, "Artemis," *PRE* 2 (1895): 1384.

125. The rendering of *εὐπαία* is uncertain. See Euripides, *Hippol.* 160, also Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 236.

126. Preisendanz translates, "O goddess of Erymna."

127. On this epithet of Artemis, see also *PGM* IV. 1298; *Orph. Frag.* 42.

128. The meaning of this epithet is uncertain; for similar expressions, see K. Wernicke, *PRE* 2 (1895): 1399–1400.

129. The name is given below, ll. 716–18; cf. 708–9.

130. PSICHOM is Egyptian *p3 sḫm*, "the image/power." [R.K.R.]

131. THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ . . . PHRĒ corresponds to Egyptian "Thoth the ibis . . . Prē." [R.K.R.]

132. For the wing formation of magical words, see *PGM* I. 11 and n.

133. This is Demotic *mtw.f.ti bl.k* (?), "and he makes you fly" (?). [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 727–39

***Charm for a direct vision of Apollo:** In a ground-floor room without light, while you are crowned with a wreath of marjoram and while wearing wolf-skin sandals, recite this formula:

Formula: / “Helios, ruler of light, MER . . . EIPHRA GARGERI PHTHA ER 730
 . . . OIE . . . GERLYCHA MER . . . [OPHO] R ITHARA PHERXEI AR . . . EID . . .
 PHÖRITHARZEI ERPHIBILCHIE ZEIRABELBÊ BICHA ARTHIA MÊLICHIA ERGA
 GERPHI IÔ CHERPHEI KARGÔOARA EARMILICHA ATHERTHAPHTHÔ ATHTHERTHA-
 PHI ARNACHERBBI.” /

After you have said these things, the god Apollo will come having a cup for a 735
 drink offering. Then you inquire concerning what you want. He gives from mem-
 ory if you want, and if you ask, he will let you drink from his cup.

Dismissal: “ERKIKCHI BELTÊAMILICHA ARCHARZEIR PHIZÖR GEIRPHEI.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 740–55

*[**Request for a dream oracle:** Write] on a strip of tinfoil, and after crowning the 740
 strip of foil with myrtle, set up the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankin-
 cense and carry the leaf of metal around the vapor while saying: “Lords, gods, re-
 veal to me concerning the NN matter / tonight, in the coming hours. Emphatically 745
 I beg, I supplicate, I your servant and enthroned¹³⁴ by you.”

Then place the piece of foil under your pillow, and, without giving answer to
 anyone, go to sleep after having kept yourself pure for 3 days.

Formula to be written: / “MOU AMOU¹³⁵ AU IAÔ ABARBARASA AIÔ BAÔA CHPHÊ- 750
 NOURIS AÔB AMO ADÖNAI ÔIG IIII OTHTHOUÔ AORCHA ARORCHA CHAXYNNÊRE
 THIRARI OTHÔ CHOÔTH ERRE OCHÔ ANA ÊEPHRORE CHEIR ÊIN IÊIÔ ÔÔAA-
 MADAA / OOO ÔÔÔ ÔÔA.” Write [it] with a copper stylus. 755

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell appears to be another version of a dream request; cf. PGM VII.
 703–76. In this one, however, the title has been added by Preisendanz.

PGM VII. 756–94

***Prayer:** “I call upon you who have all forms and many names, double-horned
 goddess, Mene, whose form no one knows except him who made the entire /
 world, IAÔ, the one who shaped [you] into the twenty-eight shapes of the world so 760
 that they might complete every figure and distribute breath to every animal and
 plant, that it might flourish, you who grow from obscurity into light and leave light
 for darkness” / (beginning to leave by waning). 765

“And the first companion of your name is silence, the second a popping sound,
 the third groaning, the fourth hissing, / the fifth a cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the 770
 seventh barking, the eighth bellowing, the ninth neighing, / the tenth a musical 775
 sound, the eleventh a sounding wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thir-
 teenth a coercive sound, the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection. /

“Ox, vulture, bull, beetle, falcon, crab, dog, wolf, serpent, horse, she-goat, asp, 780
 goat, he-goat, baboon, cat, lion, leopard, fieldmouse, deer, multiform, virgin,
 torch, / lightning, garland, a herald’s wand, child, key.¹³⁶ 785

“I have said your signs and symbols of your name so that you might hear me,
 because I pray to you, mistress of the whole world. Hear me, you, the stable one,

134. On the ritual of the enthronement of the initiate, see A. D. Nock, “Notes on Beliefs and
 Myths,” *JHS* 46 (1926): 47–48; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 642, 680.

135. AMOU is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

136. See for the meaning of these symbols PGM LXX. 9–11 and nn.

the mighty one, / APHEIBOËŌ MINTĒR OCHAŌ PIZEPHYDŌR CHANTHAR CHADĒ- 790
ROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU PHĒRZON AINDĒS LACHABOŌ PITTŌ RIPHTHAMER
ZMOMOCHŌLEIE TIĒDRANTEIA OISOZOCHABĒDŌPHRA” (add the usual).
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 795–845

*Pythagoras’ request for a dream oracle and Demokritos’ dream divination: 795
The entering angel is subordinate to the sun, and as subordinate to the sun he enters—so he enters in the form of your friend whom you recognize, with a shining 800
star upon his head, and sometimes he enters / having a fiery star. Take, then, a 805
branch of laurel, and inscribe on each leaf a sign of the Zodiac with cinnabar, having crowned yourself [with it]. (Also write its name in front of the sign of the Zodiac.) / This rite is divine. Hence, keep in your breast the things revealed to you by me even after the parting of my life, and if you perform them devoutly you will be successful.

They are: ¹³⁷

1. Aries	HAR MONTH ¹³⁸ HAR THŌ CHE		810
2. Taurus	NEOPHOBŌTHA THOPS		
3. Gemini	ARISTANABA ZAŌ		
[4]. Cancer	PCHORBAZANACHAU		
[5]. Leo	ZALAMOIRLALITH		
[6]. Virgo	EILESILARMOU PHAI		815
[7]. Libra	TANTINOURLACHTH		
[8]. Scorpio	CHORCHORNATHI		
9. Sagittarius	PHANTHENPHYPHLIA		
[10]. Capricorn	AZAZAEISTHAILICH		
[11]. Aquarius	MENNY THYTH IAŌ		820
[12]. Pisces	SERYCHARRALMIŌ		

Take still another leaf of the royal laurel and write with cinnabar [ink] this name of [the] living god: “CHALCHANA PHOE KOSKIANŌ (19) / ALĒMONTALL . . . ASEICH.” 825
Having written it, do this for three days: wrap the leaves in a new handkerchief and lay it under your head. Having come when it is evening, while burning frankincense, speak this *formula*:

“I call upon you, holy angel ZIZAUBIŌ, from the company of the Pleiades to whom you are subordinate / and serve for all things, [for] whatever she might com- 830
mand you, you great, indestructible, fire-breathing one, who cast the rope of heaven, through which rope all things turn upon earth. Also, you [do I call upon], as many of you angels who are placed under his [ZIZAUBIŌ’s] power. Hence I call 835
upon you all that you may come quickly / in this night, and reveal to me clearly and firmly, concerning those matters I desire. I conjure you, O lord, who rise above the earth of the whole cosmic region, by the one ruling the whole inhabited world and the benefactor of all. Hence, I call upon you in this night, / and may you reveal all 840
things to me through dreams with accuracy, O angel ZIZAUBIŌ.”

Go to your house and having incensed the branch, put it on your head and sleep pure. You must have [the place] where you perform absolutely pure, and the phylac-

137. In this list most of the numerical designations 1–12 can be recognized in the far right column of the papyrus manuscript, numbering downward from Aries to Pisces. These numbers were erroneously included in the magical symbols by Preisendanz.

138. Har-Month is Horus-Montu. Montu is the Egyptian god of war and therefore the proper counterpart of Ares, the ruler of the zodiacal sign Aries. Horus is also associated with this sign, for “Horus the Red” was the name of Mars which governs Aries. [R.K.R.]

tery / where you have inscribed the name, put on your head and crown yourself with the branch. 845

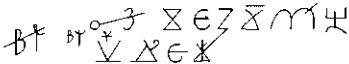
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbelle.

PGM VII. 846–61

*Shadow¹³⁹ on the sun: After you have purified yourself, walk towards the sun in the 5th hour, crowned with a tail of a cat, and say: “ERBETH BIO . . . PH . . . PH . . . LL . . . III ANACH ABAREIR LATÖRÖCH ERBEBRITHA AMBRITHĒRA ÖRYKISTAR / LAILAM AÖR XARXI THADARI ĒSYRPHA PHÖRPHI AGĒRÖCHĒ BEBATHA BARA 850
LIRYPÖ PHERCHĒ AMIARTH THERTHI GÖRĒ AMINACHARPHA IRGIRAMOU THAR-
PHI THEIRIÖRYS PHERIA PHORPHOROPHI.”

When you have said these things, you will see a shadow in the sun. / Close your eyes, look up, and you will see a shadow standing before you. Ask what you want, “ERBAIGÖRYTHARPHTHEIR.” 855

Phylactery: The tail and the characters with the circle [on which] you will stand after you have drawn it with chalk.

The characters are the following: /  860
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 862–918

*Lunar spell of Claudianus¹⁴⁰ and [ritual] of heaven and the north star¹⁴¹ over lunar offerings: This papyrus itself, the personal property of the Twelve Gods, was found¹⁴² in Aphrodiropolis [beside] the greatest goddess, / Aphrodite Urania, who 865
embraces the universe.

The preparation for Mistress Selene is made like this: Take clay from a potter’s wheel and mix a mixture¹⁴³ with sulfur, and add blood of a dappled goat and mold an image of Mistress Selene the Egyptian,¹⁴⁴ as shown below, making her in / the 870
form of the Universe. And make a shrine of olive wood and do not let it face the sun at all.¹⁴⁵ And after dedicating it with the ritual that works for everything, [put it away,] and thus it will be dedicated in advance. And anoint it also with lunar ointment and wreath it. And late / at night, at the 5th hour, put it away, facing Selene 875
in a [pure] room. And also offer the lunar offering and repeat the following in succession and you will send dreams, you will bind with spells. For the invocation to Selene is very effective. And after anointing yourself in advance [with] the ointment, appeal to her.

And this is the lunar spell: / “I call upon you, Mistress of the entire world, ruler 880
of the entire cosmic system, greatly powerful goddess, gracious [daimon], lady of night, who travel through the air, PHEROPHORĒ ANATHRA . . . OUTHRA. Heed

139. On the significance of the shadow, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 163–64.

140. Preisendanz indicates the name Klaudianos may refer to a certain philosopher and alchemist appearing in a list in Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* 26, I. 1.

141. The identity of the constellation of the Bear with Aphrodite-Selene is late. See Plutarch, *Amat.* 19, and F. Schwenn, “Selene,” *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1921): 1142; W. Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57(1984): 93–99. [R.K.R.]

142. On this literary claim of having found books, see W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, *Hypomnemata* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970).

143. The pleonasm (μῖξον μίγματος, “mix a mixture”) is not uncommon in *PGM*; see *PGM* VII. 972. [E.N.O.]

144. The Egyptian Selene is the mistress of the night sky. See Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46. [R.K.R.]

145. Preisendanz has incorrectly translated τὸ σύνολον with “das Ganze.” Cf. I. 915 below, for the sense of the instruction. [E.N.O.]

885 your sacred symbols and give a whirring sound,¹⁴⁶ [and] give a sacred angel or a holy assistant who serves / this very night, in this very hour, PROKYNĒ BAUBŌ PHOBEIOUS MĒE, and order the angel to go off to her, NN, to draw her by her hair, by her feet; may she, in fear, seeing phantoms, sleepless because of her passion for me and her love for me, NN, come to my consecrated bedroom.”

890 So goes the song. But when / you see the goddess turning red, know that she is now attracting, and then say: “Mistress, send forth your angel from among those who assist you, one who is leader of night, because I adjure [you] by your great names, because of which no aerial or infernal daimon can ignore you, MESOUR-
895 PHABABOR BRAL IĒŌ ISI Ē. Come to me just as I have summoned you, / ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE ERESCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE SAMPSEI; hear my words, and send forth your angel who is appointed over the 1st hour: / MENEBAIN, and the one over the 2nd hour: NE-
900 BOUN, and the one over the 3rd hour: LĒMNEI, and the one over the 4th hour: MORMOTH, and the one over the 5th hour: NOUPHIĒR, and the one over the 6th hour: CHORBORBATH, and the one over the 7th hour: ORBEĒTH, and the one over
905 the 8th hour: PANMŌTH, and the one over the 9th hour: / THYMENPHRI, and the one over the 10th hour: SARNOCHOIBAL, and the one over the 11th hour: BATHIABĒL, and the one over the 12th hour: ARBRATHIABRI, so that you may do this for me; that you may attract, that you may tame on this very night, and so that she, NN
910 (or he, NN) be unable to have success until coming / to me, NN. [May she remain] fully satisfied, loving, desiring me, NN, and may she be unable to have intercourse with another man, except with me alone.”

Now recite the spell many times, and it will attract and bind, and she will love you for all the time of her life. But when you attract her and she has had intercourse
915 with you, then pick up / the goddess and stow her away, giving her magical material, and do not show her to the sun and she will not stop coming, desiring you.

You will act in the same way for the spell to send dreams until you accomplish what you want. The power of the spell is strong. The figure is below.¹⁴⁷

*Tr.: É. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 919–24

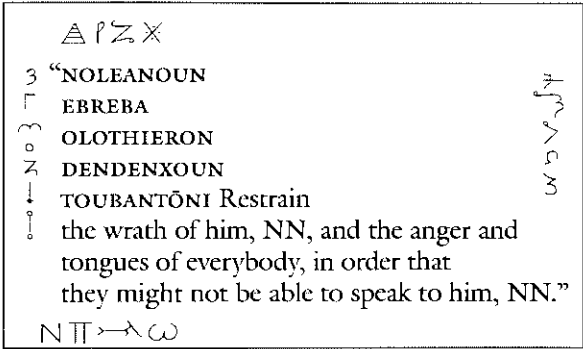
***Hermes’ wondrous victory charm** which you are to keep in your sandals: Take a
920 tablet / gold like the sun¹⁴⁸ and inscribe on it with a bronze stylus and put it on whatever you want and see what it does on a boat, on a horse, and you will be amazed.

These are the characters: “𐤀 𐤍 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙 𐤚 𐤛 𐤜 𐤝 𐤞 𐤟 𐤠 𐤡 𐤢 𐤣 𐤤 𐤥 𐤦 𐤧 𐤨 𐤩 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴 𐤵 𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼 𐤽 𐤾 𐤿 𐥀 𐥁 𐥂 𐥃 𐥄 𐥅 𐥆 𐥇 𐥈 𐥉 𐥊 𐥋 𐥌 𐥍 𐥎 𐥏 𐥐 𐥑 𐥒 𐥓 𐥔 𐥕 𐥖 𐥗 𐥘 𐥙 𐥚 𐥛 𐥜 𐥝 𐥞 𐥟 𐥠 𐥡 𐥢 𐥣 𐥤 𐥥 𐥦 𐥧 𐥨 𐥩 𐥪 𐥫 𐥬 𐥭 𐥮 𐥯 𐥰 𐥱 𐥲 𐥳 𐥴 𐥵 𐥶 𐥷 𐥸 𐥹 𐥺 𐥻 𐥼 𐥽 𐥾 𐥿 𐦀 𐦁 𐦂 𐦃 𐦄 𐦅 𐦆 𐦇 𐦈 𐦉 𐦊 𐦋 𐦌 𐦍 𐦎 𐦏 𐦐 𐦑 𐦒 𐦓 𐦔 𐦕 𐦖 𐦗 𐦘 𐦙 𐦚 𐦛 𐦜 𐦝 𐦞 𐦟 𐦠 𐦡 𐦢 𐦣 𐦤 𐦥 𐦦 𐦧 𐦨 𐦩 𐦪 𐦫 𐦬 𐦭 𐦮 𐦯 𐦰 𐦱 𐦲 𐦳 𐦴 𐦵 𐦶 𐦷 𐦸 𐦹 𐦺 𐦻 𐦼 𐦽 𐦾 𐦿 𐧀 𐧁 𐧂 𐧃 𐧄 𐧅 𐧆 𐧇 𐧈 𐧉 𐧊 𐧋 𐧌 𐧍 𐧎 𐧏 𐧐 𐧑 𐧒 𐧓 𐧔 𐧕 𐧖 𐧗 𐧘 𐧙 𐧚 𐧛 𐧜 𐧝 𐧞 𐧟 𐧠 𐧡 𐧢 𐧣 𐧤 𐧥 𐧦 𐧧 𐧨 𐧩 𐧪 𐧫 𐧬 𐧭 𐧮 𐧯 𐧰 𐧱 𐧲 𐧳 𐧴 𐧵 𐧶 𐧷 𐧸 𐧹 𐧺 𐧻 𐧼 𐧽 𐧾 𐧿 𐨀 𐨁 𐨂 𐨃 𐨄 𐨅 𐨆 𐨇 𐨈 𐨉 𐨊 𐨋 𐨌 𐨍 𐨎 𐨏 𐨐 𐨑 𐨒 𐨓 𐨔 𐨕 𐨖 𐨗 𐨘 𐨙 𐨚 𐨛 𐨜 𐨝 𐨞 𐨟 𐨠 𐨡 𐨢 𐨣 𐨤 𐨥 𐨦 𐨧 𐨨 𐨩 𐨪 𐨫 𐨬 𐨭 𐨮 𐨯 𐨰 𐨱 𐨲 𐨳 𐨴 𐨵 𐨶 𐨷 𐨸 𐨹 𐨺 𐨻 𐨼 𐨽 𐨾 𐨿 𐩀 𐩁 𐩂 𐩃 𐩄 𐩅 𐩆 𐩇 𐩈 𐩉 𐩊 𐩋 𐩌 𐩍 𐩎 𐩏 𐩐 𐩑 𐩒 𐩓 𐩔 𐩕 𐩖 𐩗 𐩘 𐩙 𐩚 𐩛 𐩜 𐩝 𐩞 𐩟 𐩠 𐩡 𐩢 𐩣 𐩤 𐩥 𐩦 𐩧 𐩨 𐩩 𐩪 𐩫 𐩬 𐩭 𐩮 𐩯 𐩰 𐩱 𐩲 𐩳 𐩴 𐩵 𐩶 𐩷 𐩸 𐩹 𐩺 𐩻 𐩼 𐩽 𐩾 𐩿 𐪀 𐪁 𐪂 𐪃 𐪄 𐪅 𐪆 𐪇 𐪈 𐪉 𐪊 𐪋 𐪌 𐪍 𐪎 𐪏 𐪐 𐪑 𐪒 𐪓 𐪔 𐪕 𐪖 𐪗 𐪘 𐪙 𐪚 𐪛 𐪜 𐪝 𐪞 𐪟 𐪠 𐪡 𐪢 𐪣 𐪤 𐪥 𐪦 𐪧 𐪨 𐪩 𐪪 𐪫 𐪬 𐪭 𐪮 𐪯 𐪰 𐪱 𐪲 𐪳 𐪴 𐪵 𐪶 𐪷 𐪸 𐪹 𐪺 𐪻 𐪼 𐪽 𐪾 𐪿 𐫀 𐫁 𐫂 𐫃 𐫄 𐫅 𐫆 𐫇 𐫈 𐫉 𐫊 𐫋 𐫌 𐫍 𐫎 𐫏 𐫐 𐫑 𐫒 𐫓 𐫔 𐫕 𐫖 𐫗 𐫘 𐫙 𐫚 𐫛 𐫜 𐫝 𐫞 𐫟 𐫠 𐫡 𐫢 𐫣 𐫤 𐫥 𐫦 𐫧 𐫨 𐫩 𐫪 𐫫 𐫬 𐫭 𐫮 𐫯 𐫰 𐫱 𐫲 𐫳 𐫴 𐫵 𐫶 𐫷 𐫸 𐫹 𐫺 𐫻 𐫼 𐫽 𐫾 𐫿 𐬀 𐬁 𐬂 𐬃 𐬄 𐬅 𐬆 𐬇 𐬈 𐬉 𐬊 𐬋 𐬌 𐬍 𐬎 𐬏 𐬐 𐬑 𐬒 𐬓 𐬔 𐬕 𐬖 𐬗 𐬘 𐬙 𐬚 𐬛 𐬜 𐬝 𐬞 𐬟 𐬠 𐬡 𐬢 𐬣 𐬤 𐬥 𐬦 𐬧 𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 𐬫 𐬬 𐬭 𐬮 𐬯 𐬰 𐬱 𐬲 𐬳 𐬴 𐬵 𐬶 𐬷 𐬸 𐬹 𐬺 𐬻 𐬼 𐬽 𐬾 𐬿 𐭀 𐭁 𐭂 𐭃 𐭄 𐭅 𐭆 𐭇 𐭈 𐭉 𐭊 𐭋 𐭌 𐭍 𐭎 𐭏 𐭐 𐭑 𐭒 𐭓 𐭔 𐭕 𐭖 𐭗 𐭘 𐭙 𐭚 𐭛 𐭜 𐭝 𐭞 𐭟 𐭠 𐭡 𐭢 𐭣 𐭤 𐭥 𐭦 𐭧 𐭨 𐭩 𐭪 𐭫 𐭬 𐭭 𐭮 𐭯 𐭰 𐭱 𐭲 𐭳 𐭴 𐭵 𐭶 𐭷 𐭸 𐭹 𐭺 𐭻 𐭼 𐭽 𐭾 𐭿 𐮀 𐮁 𐮂 𐮃 𐮄 𐮅 𐮆 𐮇 𐮈 𐮉 𐮊 𐮋 𐮌 𐮍 𐮎 𐮏 𐮐 𐮑 𐮒 𐮓 𐮔 𐮕 𐮖 𐮗 𐮘 𐮙 𐮚 𐮛 𐮜 𐮝 𐮞 𐮟 𐮠 𐮡 𐮢 𐮣 𐮤 𐮥 𐮦 𐮧 𐮨 𐮩 𐮪 𐮫 𐮬 𐮭 𐮮 𐮯 𐮰 𐮱 𐮲 𐮳 𐮴 𐮵 𐮶 𐮷 𐮸 𐮹 𐮺 𐮻 𐮼 𐮽 𐮾 𐮿 𐯀 𐯁 𐯂 𐯃 𐯄 𐯅 𐯆 𐯇 𐯈 𐯉 𐯊 𐯋 𐯌 𐯍 𐯎 𐯏 𐯐 𐯑 𐯒 𐯓 𐯔 𐯕 𐯖 𐯗 𐯘 𐯙 𐯚 𐯛 𐯜 𐯝 𐯞 𐯟 𐯠 𐯡 𐯢 𐯣 𐯤 𐯥 𐯦 𐯧 𐯨 𐯩 𐯪 𐯫 𐯬 𐯭 𐯮 𐯯 𐯰 𐯱 𐯲 𐯳 𐯴 𐯵 𐯶 𐯷 𐯸 𐯹 𐯺 𐯻 𐯼 𐯽 𐯾 𐯿 𐰀 𐰁 𐰂 𐰃 𐰄 𐰅 𐰆 𐰇 𐰈 𐰉 𐰊 𐰋 𐰌 𐰍 𐰎 𐰏 𐰐 𐰑 𐰒 𐰓 𐰔 𐰕 𐰖 𐰗 𐰘 𐰙 𐰚 𐰛 𐰜 𐰝 𐰞 𐰟 𐰠 𐰡 𐰢 𐰣 𐰤 𐰥 𐰦 𐰧 𐰨 𐰩 𐰪 𐰫 𐰬 𐰭 𐰮 𐰯 𐰰 𐰱 𐰲 𐰳 𐰴 𐰵 𐰶 𐰷 𐰸 𐰹 𐰺 𐰻 𐰼 𐰽 𐰾 𐰿 𐱀 𐱁 𐱂 𐱃 𐱄 𐱅 𐱆 𐱇 𐱈 𐱉 𐱊 𐱋 𐱌 𐱍 𐱎 𐱏 𐱐 𐱑 𐱒 𐱓 𐱔 𐱕 𐱖 𐱗 𐱘 𐱙 𐱚 𐱛 𐱜 𐱝 𐱞 𐱟 𐱠 𐱡 𐱢 𐱣 𐱤 𐱥 𐱦 𐱧 𐱨 𐱩 𐱪 𐱫 𐱬 𐱭 𐱮 𐱯 𐱰 𐱱 𐱲 𐱳 𐱴 𐱵 𐱶 𐱷 𐱸 𐱹 𐱺 𐱻 𐱼 𐱽 𐱾 𐱿 𐲀 𐲁 𐲂 𐲃 𐲄 𐲅 𐲆 𐲇 𐲈 𐲉 𐲊 𐲋 𐲌 𐲍 𐲎 𐲏 𐲐 𐲑 𐲒 𐲓 𐲔 𐲕 𐲖 𐲗 𐲘 𐲙 𐲚 𐲛 𐲜 𐲝 𐲞 𐲟 𐲠 𐲡 𐲢 𐲣 𐲤 𐲥 𐲦 𐲧 𐲨 𐲩 𐲪 𐲫 𐲬 𐲭 𐲮 𐲯 𐲰 𐲱 𐲲 𐲳 𐲴 𐲵 𐲶 𐲷 𐲸 𐲹 𐲺 𐲻 𐲼 𐲽 𐲾 𐲿 𐳀 𐳁 𐳂 𐳃 𐳄 𐳅 𐳆 𐳇 𐳈 𐳉 𐳊 𐳋 𐳌 𐳍 𐳎 𐳏 𐳐 𐳑 𐳒 𐳓 𐳔 𐳕 𐳖 𐳗 𐳘 𐳙 𐳚 𐳛 𐳜 𐳝 𐳞 𐳟 𐳠 𐳡 𐳢 𐳣 𐳤 𐳥 𐳦 𐳧 𐳨 𐳩 𐳪 𐳫 𐳬 𐳭 𐳮 𐳯 𐳰 𐳱 𐳲 𐳳 𐳴 𐳵 𐳶 𐳷 𐳸 𐳹 𐳺 𐳻 𐳼 𐳽 𐳾 𐳿 𐴀 𐴁 𐴂 𐴃 𐴄 𐴅 𐴆 𐴇 𐴈 𐴉 𐴊 𐴋 𐴌 𐴍 𐴎 𐴏 𐴐 𐴑 𐴒 𐴓 𐴔 𐴕 𐴖 𐴗 𐴘 𐴙 𐴚 𐴛 𐴜 𐴝 𐴞 𐴟 𐴠 𐴡 𐴢 𐴣 𐴤 𐴥 𐴦 𐴧 𐴨 𐴩 𐴪 𐴫 𐴬 𐴭 𐴮 𐴯 𐴰 𐴱 𐴲 𐴳 𐴴 𐴵 𐴶 𐴷 𐴸 𐴹 𐴺 𐴻 𐴼 𐴽 𐴾 𐴿 𐵀 𐵁 𐵂 𐵃 𐵄 𐵅 𐵆 𐵇 𐵈 𐵉 𐵊 𐵋 𐵌 𐵍 𐵎 𐵏 𐵐 𐵑 𐵒 𐵓 𐵔 𐵕 𐵖 𐵗 𐵘 𐵙 𐵚 𐵛 𐵜 𐵝 𐵞 𐵟 𐵠 𐵡 𐵢 𐵣 𐵤 𐵥 𐵦 𐵧 𐵨 𐵩 𐵪 𐵫 𐵬 𐵭 𐵮 𐵯 𐵰 𐵱 𐵲 𐵳 𐵴 𐵵 𐵶 𐵷 𐵸 𐵹 𐵺 𐵻 𐵼 𐵽 𐵾 𐵿 𐶀 𐶁 𐶂 𐶃 𐶄 𐶅 𐶆 𐶇 𐶈 𐶉 𐶊 𐶋 𐶌 𐶍 𐶎 𐶏 𐶐 𐶑 𐶒 𐶓 𐶔 𐶕 𐶖 𐶗 𐶘 𐶙 𐶚 𐶛 𐶜 𐶝 𐶞 𐶟 𐶠 𐶡 𐶢 𐶣 𐶤 𐶥 𐶦 𐶧 𐶨 𐶩 𐶪 𐶫 𐶬 𐶭 𐶮 𐶯 𐶰 𐶱 𐶲 𐶳 𐶴 𐶵 𐶶 𐶷 𐶸 𐶹 𐶺 𐶻 𐶼 𐶽 𐶾 𐶿 𐷀 𐷁 𐷂 𐷃 𐷄 𐷅 𐷆 𐷇 𐷈 𐷉 𐷊 𐷋 𐷌 𐷍 𐷎 𐷏 𐷐 𐷑 𐷒 𐷓 𐷔 𐷕 𐷖 𐷗 𐷘 𐷙 𐷚 𐷛 𐷜 𐷝 𐷞 𐷟 𐷠 𐷡 𐷢 𐷣 𐷤 𐷥 𐷦 𐷧 𐷨 𐷩 𐷪 𐷫 𐷬 𐷭 𐷮 𐷯 𐷰 𐷱 𐷲 𐷳 𐷴 𐷵 𐷶 𐷷 𐷸 𐷹 𐷺 𐷻 𐷼 𐷽 𐷾 𐷿 𐸀 𐸁 𐸂 𐸃 𐸄 𐸅 𐸆 𐸇 𐸈 𐸉 𐸊 𐸋 𐸌 𐸍 𐸎 𐸏 𐸐 𐸑 𐸒 𐸓 𐸔 𐸕 𐸖 𐸗 𐸘 𐸙 𐸚 𐸛 𐸜 𐸝 𐸞 𐸟 𐸠 𐸡 𐸢 𐸣 𐸤 𐸥 𐸦 𐸧 𐸨 𐸩 𐸪 𐸫 𐸬 𐸭 𐸮 𐸯 𐸰 𐸱 𐸲 𐸳 𐸴 𐸵 𐸶 𐸷 𐸸 𐸹 𐸺 𐸻 𐸼 𐸽 𐸾 𐸿 𐹀 𐹁 𐹂 𐹃 𐹄 𐹅 𐹆 𐹇 𐹈 𐹉 𐹊 𐹋 𐹌 𐹍 𐹎 𐹏 𐹐 𐹑 𐹒 𐹓 𐹔 𐹕 𐹖 𐹗 𐹘 𐹙 𐹚 𐹛 𐹜 𐹝 𐹞 𐹟 𐹠 𐹡 𐹢 𐹣 𐹤 𐹥 𐹦 𐹧 𐹨 𐹩 𐹪 𐹫 𐹬 𐹭 𐹮 𐹯 𐹰 𐹱 𐹲 𐹳 𐹴 𐹵 𐹶 𐹷 𐹸 𐹹 𐹺 𐹻 𐹼 𐹽 𐹾 𐹿 𐺀 𐺁 𐺂 𐺃 𐺄 𐺅 𐺆 𐺇 𐺈 𐺉 𐺊 𐺋 𐺌 𐺍 𐺎 𐺏 𐺐 𐺑 𐺒 𐺓 𐺔 𐺕 𐺖 𐺗 𐺘 𐺙 𐺚 𐺛 𐺜 𐺝 𐺞 𐺟 𐺠 𐺡 𐺢 𐺣 𐺤 𐺥 𐺦 𐺧 𐺨 𐺩 𐺪 𐺫 𐺬 𐺭 𐺮 𐺯 𐺰 𐺱 𐺲 𐺳 𐺴 𐺵 𐺶 𐺷 𐺸 𐺹 𐺺 𐺻 𐺼 𐺽 𐺾 𐺿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂 𐻃 𐻄 𐻅 𐻆 𐻇 𐻈 𐻉 𐻊 𐻋 𐻌 𐻍 𐻎 𐻏 𐻐 𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔 𐻕 𐻖 𐻗 𐻘 𐻙 𐻚 𐻛 𐻜 𐻝 𐻞 𐻟 𐻠 𐻡 𐻢 𐻣 𐻤 𐻥 𐻦 𐻧 𐻨 𐻩 𐻪 𐻫 𐻬 𐻭 𐻮 𐻯 𐻰 𐻱 𐻲 𐻳 𐻴 𐻵 𐻶 𐻷 𐻸 𐻹 𐻺 𐻻 𐻼 𐻽 𐻾 𐻿 𐼀 𐼁 𐼂 𐼃 𐼄 𐼅 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 𐼏 𐼐 𐼑 𐼒 𐼓 𐼔 𐼕 𐼖 𐼗 𐼘 𐼙 𐼚 𐼛 𐼜 𐼝 𐼞 𐼟 𐼠 𐼡 𐼢 𐼣 𐼤 𐼥 𐼦 𐼧 𐼨 𐼩 𐼪 𐼫 𐼬 𐼭 𐼮 𐼯 𐼰 𐼱 𐼲 𐼳 𐼴 𐼵 𐼶 𐼷 𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 𐼻 𐼼 𐼽 𐼾 𐼿 𐽀 𐽁 𐽂 𐽃 𐽄 𐽅 𐽆 𐽇 𐽈 𐽉 𐽊 𐽋 𐽌 𐽍 𐽎 𐽏 𐽐 𐽑 𐽒 𐽓 𐽔 𐽕 𐽖 𐽗 𐽘 𐽙 𐽚 𐽛 𐽜 𐽝 𐽞 𐽟 𐽠 𐽡 𐽢 𐽣 𐽤 𐽥 𐽦 𐽧 𐽨 𐽩 𐽪 𐽫 𐽬 𐽭 𐽮 𐽯 𐽰 𐽱 𐽲 𐽳 𐽴 𐽵 𐽶 𐽷 𐽸 𐽹 𐽺 𐽻 𐽼 𐽽 𐽾 𐽿 𐾀 𐾁 𐾂 𐾃 𐾄 𐾅 𐾆 𐾇 𐾈 𐾉 𐾊 𐾋 𐾌 𐾍 𐾎 𐾏 𐾐 𐾑 𐾒 𐾓 𐾔 𐾕 𐾖 𐾗 𐾘 𐾙 𐾚 𐾛 𐾜 𐾝 𐾞 𐾟 𐾠 𐾡 𐾢 𐾣 𐾤 𐾥 𐾦 𐾧 𐾨 𐾩 𐾪 𐾫 𐾬 𐾭 𐾮 𐾯 𐾰 𐾱 𐾲 𐾳 𐾴 𐾵 𐾶 𐾷 𐾸 𐾹 𐾺 𐾻 𐾼 𐾽 𐾾 𐾿 𐿀 𐿁 𐿂 𐿃 𐿄 𐿅 𐿆 𐿇 𐿈 𐿉 𐿊 𐿋 𐿌 𐿍 𐿎 𐿏 𐿐 𐿑 𐿒 𐿓 𐿔 𐿕 𐿖 𐿗 𐿘 𐿙 𐿚 𐿛 𐿜 𐿝 𐿞 𐿟 𐿠 𐿡 𐿢 𐿣 𐿤 𐿥 𐿦 𐿧 𐿨 𐿩 𐿪 𐿫 𐿬 𐿭 𐿮 𐿯 𐿰 𐿱 𐿲 𐿳 𐿴 𐿵 𐿶 𐿷 𐿸 𐿹 𐿺 𐿻 𐿼 𐿽 𐿾 𐿿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂 𐻃 𐻄 𐻅 𐻆 𐻇 𐻈 𐻉 𐻊 𐻋 𐻌 𐻍 𐻎 𐻏 𐻐 𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔 𐻕 𐻖 𐻗 𐻘 𐻙 𐻚 𐻛 𐻜 𐻝 𐻞 𐻟 𐻠 𐻡 𐻢 𐻣 𐻤 𐻥 𐻦 𐻧 𐻨 𐻩 𐻪 𐻫 𐻬 𐻭 𐻮 𐻯 𐻰 𐻱 𐻲 𐻳 𐻴 𐻵 𐻶 𐻷 𐻸 𐻹 𐻺 𐻻 𐻼 𐻽 𐻾 𐻿 𐼀 𐼁 𐼂 𐼃 𐼄 𐼅 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 𐼏 𐼐 𐼑 𐼒 𐼓 𐼔 𐼕 𐼖 𐼗 𐼘 𐼙 𐼚 𐼛 𐼜 𐼝 𐼞 𐼟 𐼠 𐼡 𐼢 𐼣 𐼤 𐼥 𐼦 𐼧 𐼨 𐼩 𐼪 𐼫 𐼬 𐼭 𐼮 𐼯 𐼰 𐼱 𐼲 𐼳 𐼴 𐼵 𐼶 𐼷 𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 𐼻 𐼼 𐼽 𐼾 𐼿 𐽀 𐽁 𐽂 𐽃 𐽄 𐽅 𐽆 𐽇 𐽈 𐽉 𐽊 𐽋 𐽌 𐽍 𐽎 𐽏 𐽐 𐽑 𐽒 𐽓 𐽔 𐽕 𐽖 𐽗 𐽘 𐽙 𐽚 𐽛 𐽜 𐽝 𐽞 𐽟 𐽠 𐽡 𐽢 𐽣 𐽤 𐽥 𐽦 𐽧 𐽨 𐽩 𐽪 𐽫 𐽬 𐽭 𐽮 𐽯 𐽰 𐽱 𐽲 𐽳 𐽴 𐽵 𐽶 𐽷 𐽸 𐽹 𐽺 𐽻 𐽼 𐽽 𐽾 𐽿 𐾀 𐾁 𐾂 𐾃 𐾄 𐾅 𐾆 𐾇 𐾈 𐾉 𐾊 𐾋 𐾌 𐾍 𐾎 𐾏 𐾐 𐾑 𐾒 𐾓 𐾔 𐾕 𐾖 𐾗 𐾘 𐾙 𐾚 𐾛 𐾜 𐾝 𐾞 𐾟 𐾠 𐾡 𐾢 𐾣 𐾤 𐾥 𐾦 𐾧 𐾨 𐾩 𐾪 𐾫 𐾬 𐾭 𐾮 𐾯 𐾰 𐾱 𐾲 𐾳 𐾴 𐾵 𐾶 𐾷 𐾸 𐾹 𐾺 𐾻 𐾼 𐾽 𐾾 𐾿 𐿀 𐿁 𐿂 𐿃 𐿄 𐿅 𐿆 𐿇 𐿈 𐿉 𐿊 𐿋 𐿌 𐿍 𐿎 𐿏 𐿐 𐿑 𐿒 𐿓 𐿔 𐿕 𐿖 𐿗 𐿘 𐿙 𐿚 𐿛 𐿜 𐿝 𐿞 𐿟 𐿠 𐿡 𐿢 𐿣 𐿤 𐿥 𐿦 𐿧 𐿨 𐿩 𐿪 𐿫 𐿬 𐿭 𐿮 𐿯 𐿰 𐿱 𐿲 𐿳 𐿴 𐿵 𐿶 𐿷 𐿸 𐿹 𐿺 𐿻 𐿼 𐿽 𐿾 𐿿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂 𐻃 𐻄 𐻅 𐻆 𐻇 𐻈 𐻉 𐻊 𐻋 𐻌 𐻍 𐻎 𐻏 𐻐 𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔 𐻕 𐻖 𐻗 𐻘 𐻙 𐻚 𐻛 𐻜 𐻝 𐻞 𐻟 𐻠 𐻡 𐻢 𐻣 𐻤 𐻥 𐻦 𐻧 𐻨 𐻩 𐻪 𐻫 𐻬 𐻭 𐻮 𐻯 𐻰 𐻱 𐻲 𐻳 𐻴 𐻵 𐻶 𐻷 𐻸 𐻹 𐻺 𐻻 𐻼 𐻽 𐻾 𐻿 𐼀 𐼁 𐼂 𐼃 𐼄 𐼅 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 𐼏 𐼐 𐼑 𐼒 𐼓 𐼔 𐼕 𐼖 𐼗 𐼘 𐼙 𐼚 𐼛 𐼜 𐼝 𐼞 𐼟 𐼠 𐼡 𐼢 𐼣 𐼤 𐼥 𐼦 𐼧 𐼨 𐼩 𐼪 𐼫 𐼬 𐼭 𐼮 𐼯 𐼰 𐼱 𐼲 𐼳 𐼴 𐼵 𐼶 𐼷 𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 𐼻 𐼼 𐼽 𐼾 𐼿 𐽀 𐽁 𐽂 𐽃 𐽄 𐽅 𐽆 𐽇 𐽈 𐽉 𐽊 𐽋

and put it under the sole of your left foot, after you have fumigated it carefully with incense.

/ The names and characters are:

930



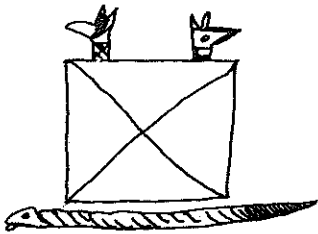
935

*Tr.: R. R. Hock. As shown here the papyrus illustrates how the lead tablet is to be drawn. The language of the curse suggests the spell was designed for use in a courtroom scene.

PGM VII. 940–68

*A charm to restrain anger and a charm to subject: On clean papyrus write with pure myrrh ink these names together with the “stele:” 940

IÖERBĒTH
IÖERBĒ
IÖERB
IÖER
IÖE
IÖ
I



IÖPAKERBĒTH
ÖPAKERBĒTH
PAKERBĒTH
AKERBĒTH
KERBĒTH
ERBĒTH
RBĒTH
BĒTH
ĒTH
TH

945

950

IÖSESESRO
ÖSESESRO
SESESRO
ESESRO
SESRÖ
ESRÖ
SRÖ
RÖ
Ö

IÖPĒMPS
ÖPĒMPS
PĒMPS
ĒMPS
MPS
PS

955

960

“Come to me, you who are in the everlasting air,¹⁵⁰ you who are invisible, almighty, creator of the gods. Come to me, you who are the unconquerable daimon. Come to me, you who are never grieved for your own brother, Seth.¹⁵¹ Come to me, / you fire-bright spirit. Come to me, you god who are not to be despised, you daimon, and put to silence, subordinate, enslave him, NN, to him, NN, and cause him to come under my feet.” 965

*Tr.: R. R. Hock.

150. For this expression see the parallel in PGM IV. 507–8.
151. This refers to Seth’s murder of his brother Osiris. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) esp. 81–82. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 969–72

- 970 ***A good potion:** Take a piece of hieratic papyrus and / write on it: “IAÖ ð ES-TABISASË TOUREÖSAN ATHIACHIÖOUËNOU ACHËMACHOU. Let her, NN, whom NN bore, love me, NN, when she has drunk the drink.”¹⁵²

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 973–80

- 975 ***A love spell of attraction through touch:** Take a scarab and boil it in a good unguent,¹⁵³ / and take the beetle and grind it together with the plant vetch, and place them in a glass cup and say the spell that follows twice: “THÖBARRABAU MI-CHAEËL MICHAËL OSIRIS PHOR PHORBA ABRIËL SESEGGENBARPHARAGGËS IAÖ
- 980 SABAÖTH ADÖNAIE LAILAM, compel / her, NN, whom NN bore, to follow me should I touch her.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 981–93

- ***[Love spell of attraction:** Purify yourself from everything for . . .] days and say [this] spell at sunrise: “Helios . . . but come here to me, [Mistress AKTIÖPHIS
- 985 ERESCHIGAL] PERSEPHONË; / attract [to me and bind her], NN, whom NN bore, [to] the man who is [pining away] with [passion for her]; at this very moment, inflame her that she fulfill the nightly desires of NN, whom NN bore. Aye, lord
- 990 NETHMOMAÖ [Helios, enter] into the [soul] of her, NN, whom NN bore, / and [burn her heart], her guts, [her liver, her spirit, her bones. Perform] successfully for me [this] charm,¹⁵⁴ immediately, immediately; [quickly, quickly].”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 993–1009

- ***Look [to the] east [and say:** “You are the one who thunders,] the one who rains
- 995 and / hurls lightning [at the] right time and dries [in the same way]; come to me, reveal” (add the usual or [write] whatever [you want], and anoint your hand).

- Preparation of the ink:** 3 dried figs, 3 stones of the Nicolaus date, 3 fragments of
- 1000 wormwood, and 3 lumps of myrrh; [mix together, / then] after pulverizing them, [write] the following formula. Isis uttered [it and] wrote [it] when, after taking up Osiris, she fit together his separated members. Asklepios¹⁵⁵ [saw] Osiris and admitted that he [could] not [put together] someone who was dead [even] with the help of Hebe¹⁵⁶ or of [anyone else].

- 1005 [This is / **the formula:** “Come to me, SESEGGENBARPHARAGGËS SABAÖTH,] for [I conjure] you, [daimon] of the dead, [by] bitter [Necessity]; open [your cars and] hear [the] holy [words].” Also say [frequently] the [stele given] below.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This fragmentary spell has not preserved its title and so its exact purpose cannot be known.

152. On the pleonasm *πιούσα τὸν πότον*, cf. PGM VII. 867. [E.N.O.]

153. *μύρον* is translated by Preisendanz as “Myrrhenöl.” Both translations, however, may be too specific for this unspecified aromatic concoction. [E.N.O.]

154. For this phrase, cf. PGM IV. 295, 2939; XX. 5.

155. Asklepios seems to have taken over the role of Anubis (thus Eitrem, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

156. The appearance of Hebe, daughter of Hera and Zeus, is surprising in this context. According to Euripides, *Heraklid.* 847; Ovid, *Met.* 9. 400, she made Iolaos young again, a deed of proverbial fame.

PGM VII. 1009–16

***Divination by a dream:** Say / to the . . . double . . . and rub your [head]; and 1010
[after descending], go to sleep without answering anyone.

“I call upon [you], Sabaoth, Michael, Raphael and you, [powerful archangel] Gabriel, do not [simply] pass by me [as you bring visions], but let one of you enter / and reveal [to me] concerning the NN matter, AIAI ACHĒNĒ IAŌ.” Write these 1015
things [on leaves . . .] of laurel and place them by your head.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 1017–26

*“[Hail, Helios!] Hail, Helios! Hail, [Gabriel! Hail, Raphael! Hail,] Michael! Hail, whole [universe! Give me] the [authority] and power of SABAŌTH, the / [strength of IAŌ], and the success of ABLANATHANALBA, and [the might of] AK- 1020
RAMMACHAMAREI. Grant that I [gain] the victory, as I have summoned you” (then write the 59-[letter] IAEŌ formula). “Grant [victory] because I know the names of the Good Daimon, HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRITATĒNŌPHRI BRISAROUAZAR BASEN / KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI (add the usual) and accomplish this 1025
for me.” Speak to [no one].

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, this spell is a “favor and victory” charm. Cf. PGM XCII for a similar request for the power and strength of various magical and mythological personalities.

PGM VIII. 1–63

***Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos:**¹

Spell: “Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses do to the wombs² of women. Come to me, lord Hermes, who collect the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord Hermes, and give me favor,³ sustenance, / victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty 5
of face, strength of all men and women. Your names in heaven: LAMPHTHEN OUŌTHI OUASTHEN OUŌTHI OAMENŌTH ENTHOMOUC. These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also know what your forms are: ⁴ in the east you have the form / of an ibis, in the west you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the north 10
you have the form of a serpent, and in the south you have the form of a wolf. Your plant is the grape which is the olive.⁵ I also know your wood: ebony. I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and what your city is: Her-
mopolis. Come to me, lord Hermes, many-named one, who know / the things hid- 15
den beneath heaven and earth. Come [to me], NN, lord Hermes; serve well, benefactor of the world. Hear me and make me agreeable to all the forms throughout the inhabited world. Open up for me the hands of everyone who [dispenses gifts]⁶ and compel them to give me what they have in their / hands. I also know your for- 20
eign names: ‘PHARNATHAR BARACHĒL CHTHA.’ These are your foreign names.

“Whereas Isis, the greatest of all the gods, invoked you in every crisis, in every

1. According to Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several Persian magicians. See E. Reiss, “Astrampsychos,” *PRE* 2 (1896): 1796–97.

2. For parallels to this concept, see PGM III. 603 and n.

3. Here and throughout this section, χάρις is translated “favor,” but the term comes close to meaning “grace.” [E.N.O.]

4. The four animals represent the following deities: the ibis is Thoth, the dog-faced baboon is Anubis, the serpent is Uto, the wolf is another form of Anubis. Their respective positions are partially clear as well: Uto is often the north, Anubis the west (or the south), but why Thoth stands in the east remains a puzzle. [J.B.]

5. The underscored words are Coptic written with Greek letters.

6. Accepting the emendation of Preisendanz.

district, against gods and men and daimons, creatures of water and earth and held
 25 your favor, / victory against gods and men and [among] all the creatures beneath
 the world, so also I, NN, invoke you.⁷ Wherefore, give me favor, form, beauty.
 Hear me, Hermes, benefactor, [inventor]⁸ of drugs; be easy to talk to and hear me,
 30 just as you have done everything in the form of your Ethiopian dog-faced ba-
 boon, / the lord of the chthonic daimons. Calm them all and give me strength,
 form (add the usual), and let them give me gold and silver and every sustenance
 which will never fail. Preserve me always, through all eternity, from drugs and de-
 35 ceits, every slander and evil tongues, from / every daimonic possession,⁹ from every
 hatred of both gods and men. Let them give me favor and victory and business and
 prosperity. For you are I, and I am you;¹⁰ your name is mine, and mine is yours. For
 I am your image.¹¹ If something should happen to me during this year or this
 40 month or this day or this hour, it will happen to the great / god ACHCHEMEN ES-
 TROPH, the one inscribed on the prow of the holy ship. Your true name has been
 inscribed on the sacred stele in the shrine at Hermopolis where your birth is. Your
 45 true name: OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. This is your name with fifteen / letters,¹² a
 number corresponding to the days of the rising moon; and the second name with
 the number 7, corresponding to those who rule the world,¹³ with the exact number
 365,¹⁴ corresponding to the days of the year. Truly: ABRASAX. I know you, Hermes,
 50 and you know me. / I am you, and you are I. And so, do everything for me, and
 may you turn to me¹⁵ with Good Fortune and Good Daimon, immediately, imme-
 diately; quickly, quickly.”

Take a piece of olive wood and make a small dog-faced baboon sitting down,
 55 wearing the winged helmet of Hermes / and a box on its back, and inscribe the
 name of Hermes on the papyrus and put it in the box. Write in myrrh ink, praying
 for what you do or what you wish, and after putting a lid on, burn incense and
 place it where you wish in the middle of the workshop.

60 *And the name to be written is:* “PHTHORON PHTHIONĒ THŌYTH.” / In addi-
 tion, write also these great names: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE ABLANATHANALBA
 AKRAMMACHAMAREI, 365, give to the workshop business, favor, prosperity, ele-
 gance, both to NN himself and to his workshop, immediately, immediately;
 quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. The title of the spell is misleading, for the spell has nothing to do with
 love, sex, or attraction of a woman. This is a spell for some shopkeeper to ensure good busi-
 ness. There are traces of mysticism here. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 19–20. [E.N.O.]

7. On Thoth as Isis’ chief helper, see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 132–36. [R.K.R.]

8. The translation follows Preisendanz’s emendation. Cf. below, l. 33 and PGM V. 247–48.

9. συνοχή occurs only here in PGM, and its meaning is uncertain. The verb συνέχω, however, oc-
 curs at PGM IV. 1408; V. 126, 131, where each time it seems to refer to daimonic possession. [E.N.O.]

10. For this formula of mutual identity, see PGM VIII. 49–50; XIII. 795. See Betz, “The Delphic
 Maxim,” 165–68.

11. The term εἰδωλον may show philosophical influence. See PGM XII. 235–36; LXI. 53–55. See
 Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 165–67; J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton:
 Princeton University Press, 1983) 78–80, 83.

12. As the Greek text stands, the name has sixteen letters. The name should be separated OSE-
 RGARIACH NOMAPHI. The discrepancy must be in the first word because the second is correctly said to
 have seven letters. The confusion may be due to underlying Egyptian words. [J.B.]

13. That is, the seven planets.

14. Cf. l. 61. The number has the numerical value of Abraxas. See Glossary, s.v. “Abraxas.”

15. The term συρρέπω is rare. See Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 164 n. 49.

PGM VIII. 64–110

*Request for a dream oracle of Besa: / On your left hand draw Besa in the way shown to you below. Put around your hand a black cloth¹⁶ of Isis and go to sleep without giving answer to anyone. The remainder of the cloth wrap around your neck. 65

This is the ink with which you draw: Blood of a crow, blood / of a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, black writing ink, cinnabar, sap of mulberry tree, rain-water, juice of a single-stemmed wormwood and vetch. With this write. 70

Prayer to him,¹⁷ toward the setting sun:

“Borne¹⁸ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds, /
Golden-haired Helios who wield the flame’s 75
Untiring light, who drive in lofty turns
Around the great pole; who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
For from you come the elements arranged
By your own laws which cause the whole world to
Rotate through its four yearly turning points. /
If you go to the depths of earth and reach 80
The region of the dead, send up the truthful
Prophet out of that innermost abode.

I beg you LAMPSOÛER SOUMARTA BARIBAS DARDALAM PHORBĒX, lord, send forth your holy daimon ANOUTH ANOUTH SALBANACHAMBRĒ BRĒITH, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; in this night, come.” / If you wish to call him also for a direct vision, [take] a strip [of linen], soak it in sesame oil you have mixed [with] cinnabar, and place the linen as a wick in a lamp that is not colored red. The lamp should be lighted with sesame oil. Place it opposite you, say the formula, and he will come to you. Have near you / a small tablet so that you may write as much as he says,¹⁹ lest after going to sleep you forger. 85

“I call upon / you, the headless god, having your face beside your feet,²⁰ the one who hurls lightning and thunders; you are the one whose mouth is continually full of fire, the one placed over Necessity. I call upon you, the god placed over Necessity, IAEŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ZABARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin of myrrh, having resin and asphalt as an elbow cushion,²¹ [the one] whom they call ANOUTH ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the blood / of the two falcons²² who chatter and watch before the head of Osiris. You are the oracle-giving god SALBANACHAMBRĒ ANOUTH ANOUTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI IĒ IE IĒ IE” (add the usual). Go to sleep on a rush mat, having an unbaked brick beside your head. 100

What you draw is / of this sort: A naked man, standing, having a diadem on his head, and in his right hand a sword that by means of a bent [arm] rests on his neck, 105

16. See PGM VII. 227 and n.

17. The translation here is tentative because the reading of the papyrus is uncertain. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

18. These dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 1–6, 11 (7–8 [the identification of lines in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 239, is incorrect: v. 13 is not included here]). For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; 1957–89. [E.N.O.]

19. Cf. the memory spells in PGM I. 233–47; II. 16–20, 40–42.

20. See on this point PGM VII. 234 and n.

21. See for a parallel PGM VII. 237.

22. See for the two falcons and their watch PGM VII. 239 and n.

and in the left hand a wand. If he reveals to you, wipe off your hand with rose perfume. This is the figure / of the rite:



*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 64–74; 81–110) and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 74–81). This particular charm in its present form is actually two charms (a request for a dream oracle and a request for a direct vision) directed to Bes, an originally non-Egyptian god who came to Egypt early and was given many functions, one of which was to provide oracles. The request for a dream oracle contains preparatory instructions and a hymn to the sun that also appears in *PGM* IV. 436–46 and 1957–68. The request for a direct vision has instructions and a formula of invocation addressed to the “headless god.” This invocation also appears in *PGM* VII. 233–48 and makes use of language that can also be found in a boast of the “headless god” in *PGM* IV. 145–58.

PGM IX. 1–14

*“I’ll give you rest from wrath and soothe your raging.”¹ Come, lord BAINCHŌŌCH, with your father ANIBAINCHŌŌCH, with your mother CHECHPHIŌ, with your two bodyguards CHENGĒBIŌCHTHŌ MYSAGŌTH ECHE ŌŌ MYSAGŌTH ACHPHIPHĪŌ IAIA ŌCH SEBAU PHRĒ IŌ RĒXICHTHŌN YŌĒŌ AEAEĒIOYŌ CHYCH-BACHYCH BAUACHYCH BAKAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH MENEBAHYCH BADĒDOPHŌ BAINCHŌŌCH. Bring into subjection, put to silence, and enslave / every race of people, both men and women, with their fits of wrath, and those who are under the earth beneath the feet of him, NN, especially so-and-so (add the usual, as you wish), for you have put beneath my feet, like my robe, the heart of SABAŌTH.”

On the back of the lamella: “EULAMŌ SISIRBBAIĒRSESI PHERMOU CHNOUŌR ABRASAX. Bring into subjection, enslave, and put to silence the soul, the wrath [of him, NN], because I adjure you by the / awful Necessity MASKELLĪ MASKELLŌ PHMOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYY LEPETAN LEPETAN PHNOUNOBOĒ.” On the front [write] the person’s name.

The introduction to the rite:

“I’ll² give you rest from wrath
And soothe your raging.
Come silently and bring
Silence and keep it.
Stop ev’ry wrath in souls
And melt all anger
Of those with temper,

because I call upon your authentic name, BAINCHŌŌCH.” Say this name, [written] at the top of the metal leaf: “IAŌMORMOROTOKONBAI.”

1. The introduction to this spell cites only the first line of the “prologue” given in ll. 12–14.

2. These lines have been arranged in iambic trimeters and are the reconstructed Hymn 30. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 266. [E.N.O.]

PGM X. 36–50

**Another way*: Apollo's charm to subject: Take a lamella [or metal leaf]⁴ from a yoke for mules and engrave on it the following names and put a frog's tongue in it.

- 40 *Spell*, when the metal leaf with the frog's tongue is put / into your right sandal: "Just as these sacred names are being trampled, so also let him, NN (add the usual), the trouble-maker, be trampled."

"ABRASAX



	AEËIOYŌ	CHYCH	MICHAËL	IŌCHCH
	EËIOYŌA	CHYBACHYCH	RAPHAËL	NYSEU
	ËIOYŌAE	BACHACHYCH	GABRIËL	NYCHIEU
45	IOYŌAEË	BAKAXICHYCH	SOURIËL	AŌCHË
	OYŌAEËI	BAZABACHYCH	ZAZIËL	MECHEU
	YŌAEËIO	BADËTOPHŌTH	BADAKIËL	IAŌ
	ŌAEËIOY.	BAINCHŌŌŌCH.	SYLIËL.	SABAŌTH
				ADŌNAI.
50	✂ ABRASAX ✂	✂ Subject him, NN, to me, / immediately; quickly, quickly." ✂		
	✂ z ✂			

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XI.a 1–40

**Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman*: Take Typhon's skull¹ and write the following characters on it with the blood of a black dog: "☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ SABERRA." Then, going to a suitable place, by a river, the sea, or at the fork of a road, in the middle of the night put the skull / on the ground, place it [under] your left foot, and speak as follows.

- The formula: "ERITHYIA² MEROPĒ GERGIŌ CHĒTHIRA ANAPEROUCH . . . LYRŌPHIA GĒGETHIRA LOLYN GOUGŌGĒ AMBRACHA BI . . . AEBILĒ MARITHALA MPROUCHE ABĒL ETHIRAŌ AP . . . ŌCHORIĒLA MŌRĒTHIRA PHECHIRŌ ŌSRI
10 PHOIRA AMERI . . . PHĒ. OUTHĒRA / GARGERGIŌ TITHEMYMĒ MĒRAPSĒCHIR AŌRIL. Come, appear, O goddess called Mistress of the House."³

- After you say this, you will behold sitting on an ass a woman of extraordinary loveliness, possessing a heavenly beauty, indescribably fair and youthful. As soon as you see her, make obeisance and say: "I thank [you], lady for appearing to me. /
15 Judge me worthy of you. May your Majesty be well disposed to me. And accomplish whatever task I impose on you."

82 (on a magical ritual), a line which Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 41, and the author of the *Ciris* (l. 430) copied. See Gow's note to *Idyll* 2. 82, Theocritus, vol. II, 51–52. [E.N.O.]

4. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, which has the editor's insertion (ἡ πέταλον) to conform with the occurrence of the noun in l. 39. The emendation, however, may not be necessary.

1. "Typhon's skull" is the semantic equivalent of the skull of an ass. See C. Colpe, "Geisrer (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1978): 620–21; H. Kees, "Seth," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 4 (1923): 1896–1922; esp. 1899, 1920–21; W. Fauth, "Seth-Typhon, Onoel und der eselköpfige Sabaoth," *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973): 79–120.

2. This seems to be the reading of the papyrus, but it is not certain. Preisendanz treats the word as a proper name. One may also read ελευθρία on the grounds that both it and μεροπε which follows immediately are names suitable for the goddess Nephthys. [J.B.]

3. "Mistress of the house" is a direct translation of the Egyptian name Nephthys, sister of Isis, and (as is stressed in this spell) wife of Seth. Thus she is fittingly associated with an ass. See Bonnet, *RARG* 519–21, s.v. "Nephthys"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 305, 447. [J.B./R.K.R.]

The goddess will reply to you, “What do you have in mind?”

You say, “I have need [of you] for domestic service.”

At that, she will get off the ass, shed her beauty, and will be an old woman.⁴ And the old woman will say to you, “I will serve and attend you.”

After she tells you this, the goddess will again put on her own beauty, which she had just taken off, / and she will ask to be released.⁵

20

But you say to the goddess, “No, lady! I will use you until I get her.”

As soon as the goddess hears this, she will go up to the old lady, and will take her molar tooth and a tooth from the ass and give both to you; and after that it will be impossible for the old woman to leave you, unless perhaps you want to release her. From that time forth, you will receive a bounty of great benefits, for everything that your soul desires will be accomplished by her. She will guard all your possessions⁶ / and in particular will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you.⁷

25

Indeed she will tell you everything and will never desert you: such is her store of good will toward you. But if ever you wish, there is a way to release her (but never do this!). Take her tooth and the ass’s tooth, / make a bonfire, and throw them into the fire, and with a shriek the old woman will flee without a trace. Do not be prone to release her, since it will be impossible for you to replace her.

30

But do release the goddess, when you are sure that the old woman will serve you, by speaking as follows: “MENERPHER PHIE PRACHĒRA LYLŌRI / MĒLICHARĒ NECHIRA.” When the old woman hears this, the goddess will mount the ass and depart.

35

The phylactery to be used throughout the rite: The skull of the ass. Fasten the ass’s tooth with silver and the old lady’s tooth with gold, and wear them always; for if you do this, it will be impossible for / the old woman to leave you. The rite has been tested.

40

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. See on this spell, for general background and additional literature, E. L. Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,” *ANRW* II, 16, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686; J. Bergman, “Nephthys découverte dans un papyrus magique (PGM XIa.),” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutub* (Montpellier: Editions de l’université de Montpellier, 1984) 1–11.

PGM XIb. 1–5

*To make men who have drinking at a symposium appear to have donkey snouts⁸ to outsiders, from afar: In the dark [take] a wick from a lamp and dip it in donkey’s blood; make a new lamp / with the new wick and touch the drinkers.

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. For similar “gimmicks,” see the translation and notes on PGM VII. 167–85. The translation adopts the restorations mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* of Preisendanz.

4. At this point, the old woman and the goddess assume separate identities. [H.M.]

5. On this point see PGM LXX. 11 and Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

6. Reading with Eitrem πάντα δέ σοι, instead of Preisendanz’s καὶ τὰδε σοι. [H.M.]

7. Or “whatever anyone is plotting against you.” [J.B.]

8. LSJ, s.v., cites this as a gloss (a planr name). But here and in Psellos, *Lect. Mirab.* (A. Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963; repr. of 1839 ed.] 147, 11; the *paignion* of Anaxilaos in Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 1928, p. 79, 7) the term can be rendered literally “donkey-faced” or “ass-snouted.” The *paignion* of Anaxilaos reads: “If you wish your wife to appear ‘ass-snouted’ when she looks in the mirror, rub her mirror with donkey’s tears.” [R.D.K.]

PGM XIc. 1–19

*You write this on hieratic papyrus and [place . . . :]

"I adjure you, by the god IABŌ: turn the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, to NN, 5 whom / NN bore, at the command of IABŌ, MASKELLEI MASKELLŌ PHAINOUKENTABAŌ; cause me, NN, to obtain 10 intercourse,	God the [BAR]BARAI let her, NN, [whom NN bore, come beneath my] / roof, and let her love [me, NN, whom NN bore], for [all] the time / [of her] life, lusting [for me] with [eternal] love, immediately, [immediately; quickly, quickly].”
--	--

5
 10 ABLANATHANALBA
 BLATHANABA
 NATHANDA
 ANATHANA
 NABANAEI
 ABTHŌŌTH
 15 BARBACHA
 ABRASAX
 AŌ[LAMARI]
 SERPHOUTHEI
 E EI EI Ê I Ê I AAAAAA IIIIII
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PDM xii. 1–5

5 *“. . . I am NA, come (?) . . . farmer (?), the millions of falcons, / this young man. . . .”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 1–5. The first line of this invocation of an uncertain purpose is missing. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic texts only when they appear in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic magical papyri).

PDM xii. 6–20

10 *A ring to cause praise: You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone which is in the shape of a grape [which] grows / as a fresh plant in the water, there being [a] daimon with the face [of] a falcon . . . together with his snake tail,¹ there being
 15 a nemes headdress (?) in (?) the . . . eye whose face goes to the. . . . Write / this name on it . . . saying, “ABRAXAM PHILEN . . . CHNI . . .,” put a limb of a lion
 20 under it together with a piece of gold; put them under it; and / make . . . it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 6–20.

PDM xii. 21–49

*“Open to me, O heaven! Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me! I am Horus. Open to me! I went forth from the necropolis of Wen-nefer.

1. For a composite deity, cf. *PGM* XII. 121ff.; XIII. 50 with n.

May Iymhotep² the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, come to me tonight! May he tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness / which has happened to me, together with the method of [using] it, there being no falsehood therein! Bear witness! Bear witness! O Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, and put this . . . of reed (?) on yourself while the bark of *rw*-wood is under you, while the . . . of . . . of Ptah is on you. Is it what is fitting? May he, Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, / born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?) to the fury against you in the presence of Nephthys saying, 25 [5]

‘O Shu, live! O soul, live! Live, O Shu, live! Live, O Osiris! Live, O Ethiopian soul! Live, O Sokar who endures (?) who is [on] board . . . harbor . . . entire (?), he having ascended. Live O great (secret) image of Egypt who rests in the middle of Memphis, the place of Ptah’ (another [manuscript] says: ‘the House of the obelisk’) ‘without a prescription! If I am called / about it, . . . calls to me about a prescription, I shall tell him the prescription which is fitting to the illness in which he is.’ 30 [10]

Is it what is fitting? May Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?). Come to me, O battler! Tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness [which] has happened to me! Come to me, O great of face . . . O . . . the peak . . . soul! Come to me, O one whose face / is as the face of a falcon . . . hair of . . . ! O he who rests . . . necropolis of (?) Heliopolis (?). I (?) am the son . . . after swallowing. O son of the great Shu. Come to me . . . of man upon his egg (?) . . . of Thoth and his father! Come to me, O (?) . . . who is in the great ennead, not knowing his . . . , the . . . ! Are you steadfast against me, not to tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened / in me? I will say much 35 [15]

(?) . . . which is in . . . , the mysterious one (?), who is in . . . the heart of the . . . the . . . of . . . of . . . of the . . . soul” (another [manuscript] says: “Ruler of the western half”). “You will not live in the . . . without having come to me tonight to tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened to me, together with the method of using it, [there] being no falsehood therein.” 40 [20]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 35–37, col. I*, ll. 1–29. The purpose of this prayer is to secure a remedy for an unstated disease.

PGM XII. 1–13

***Rite:** Unfold a funeral shroud at night and carry it;⁴ also take a sword.

Then say: “THERMOCH CHTHABOI ACHAPH MARMILYCHA BERTHIÖCH CHARËL . . . BAIÖCH . . . THACH DËRPHO PHIRBSAT (?) SÖTHÖRAI PHAUXAI IÖA MEILICH IABAI EIA KARSE REÜTHRA ENROUCH ZERPHRËCH / PSERPHERCHÖ THNERBËCH 5

CHARCHERBER YEICH PHCHYAR PA . . . CHA MILCHITHER CHLËLÖR PHACHILER MAZ MACHAIRIÖCH.”

After you say this, the Maiden will come carrying torches.⁵ Say: “PHERTHELI-
LÖCH PEIY . . . ,” and her firebrands will be extinguished, and she will stand there in distress and complain.

You say, “Do such-and-such and I will light your torches.” If she sends a dream, you are to light them and she will fly away. / If you send her to kill somebody, give 10

2. For Imhotep, the vizier and architect of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara later divinized as the patron of scribes and physicians, see Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunst Verlag, 1977); idem, “Imhotep,” *LdÄ* 3, 145–48. [J.H.J.]

3. The words “Bear witness!” were crossed out by the original scribe.

4. It is not clear what the conjurer is to carry. Is it the funeral shroud? [H.M.]

5. The reference is to Kore (Persephone). See the picture on the Niinnion Tablet in G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), fig. 88, and the discussion, pp. 213–21.

her the sword and she will give you the torches and return with the sword covered with blood. Tell her that the torches belong to her; they will catch fire, and she will take flight.

While doing this, say: “MÖZERPHER TACHCHAPS.” Attach a phylactery⁶ to your right and your left hand at night and wear it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 14–95

- 15 *Eros⁷ as assistant. / **A ritual of Eros: consecration and preparation** (among his operations, he sends dreams or causes sleeplessness; and he releases from an evil spirit, if you use him in a proper and holy manner, for he can perform every operation). Take [wax] of Etruria⁸ and mix with it [every] kind of aromatic plant. Then make a statue of a torch-bearing Eros that is eight dactyls⁹ high and has a large base to support it. Put a bow / and arrow in [his left] hand, and fashion a Psyche¹⁰ of
20 the same sort as Eros.

When you have completed all this, conduct a three-day consecration. You are to present to Eros fresh fruits of every kind and 7 cakes, 7 pinecones, every kind of sweetmeat, 7 lamps not colored red; also, [three] daggers, votive tablets, a bow and arrow, dates, a bowl mixed with honey wine.

- 25 After you make the statues and the presentation as indicated, next place your Eros on a table laden with the fruit / and holding both the 7 lamps, ablaze with clear olive oil, and all else listed so as to win the favor of wondrous Eros.

- On the first day, after you put him on the table and arrange things as prescribed—and I describe its form in full for you, that you may understand and lack no detail—build a pure altar; that is, take two unbaked bricks and form them into 4
30 horn-shaped objects, on which you lay fruit-bearing branches. / Take also on the first day 7 living creatures and strangle them: one cock, a partridge, a wren, a pigeon, a turtledove, and any two nestlings you can get hold of. Do not make a burnt offering¹¹ of any of these; instead, you are to take them in hand and choke them, all the while holding them up to your Eros, until each of the creatures is suffocated and their breath¹² enters him. After that, place the strangled creatures on
35 the altar together with aromatic plants / of every variety.

On the second day, strangle a male chick before your Eros and burn it as a whole offering.

On the 3rd day, place another chick on the altar; while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present. I assure you, if you perform the above actions in a holy and pure manner, you will have complete success.

- 40 **First formula to be spoken** while making the burnt offering: / “I call upon you, who are on the couch of beauty, who are in the mansion of desire: serve me and, no matter where I send you, always bear the message I give you, likening yourself to some god (or goddess) such as men and women there worship, announcing all that is written out or imparted to you in speech, quickly!

6. It is not certain what the phylactery is, although it may be the shroud.

7. Cf. PGM VII. 479 for a parallel.

8. For this substance, see PGM IV. 3131.

9. That is, the measure of the finger's breadth, about 7/10 of an inch.

10. On Eros and Psyche, see PGM IV. 1741 and n.

11. This refers to the so-called holocaust, in which the sacrificial gifts are burnt completely (cf. PGM IV. 2396, 3148–49). See Nilsson, *GGR* I, 132; J. Milgrom, *IDB.S* (1976): 769–70 on *‘ôlā*.

12. For this peculiar purpose of sacrifice, see PGM XIII. 377.

“Fire overtook the greatest phantoms, and heaven swallowed unawares the orb of the holy scarab / called ‘PHŌREI.’¹³ Scarab, the winged ruler in midheaven, was be-headed, dismembered, and wasted his greatness and glory; they confined him and took another as master of heaven.¹⁴ You take note, and serve as my minister to any-one I choose, man or woman.

“Come to me, O master of heaven, who shine upon the world of men; serve as my minister, whether to men or to women, whether to the small or to the great, and / compel them always to do everything written by me.

“Come to me, O master of forms, and arouse men and women for me; force them by your ever-strong and mighty authority to do everything written or spoken by me, EISAPHSANTA PHOUREI ARNAI SYSYN PHREŌ¹⁵ RIŌBAIOSOI, you are ATEPHTHO AŌREL ADŌNAI; afflict them with fear, trembling, terror; trouble their thoughts / with fear of you. And do everything prescribed for [me], NN. If you disobey me, the sun’s orb will burn out and darkness will cover the whole world. The Scarab will come down until you do for me everything I write or say—in strict obedience to me; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

Second [formula] to be spoken while making the burnt offering: “I conjure you by the one who controls the universe, laid the four foundations, and mixed the 4 / winds. You are the one who sends lightning, you are the one who thunders, you are the one who shakes, you are the one who overturned all things and set them up again. Cause all men and all women to turn to love me, the man NN (or the woman NN), from the very hour when I make my petition with this binding charm,¹⁶ on order from the most high god,¹⁷ IAŌ ADŌNEAI ABLANATHANALBA. You are the one who embraces the Graces on the mountain top, LAMPSRĒ; you are the one who holds Necessity in your right hand, BELTEPIACH; you are the / one who looscs and binds, SEMESIELAMP EKRIPIH. Obey me from this day forth even unto all time.”

Third formula for the same offering: “I call upon you, gods of heaven and gods of earth, gods aerial and gods terrestrial. And I conjure you by the one who controls the 4 foundations, to accomplish for me, the man NN (or the woman NN) such-and-such a matter and to give me favor, sweet speech, charm with all men / and all women under creation, that they may be submissive to my every wish, inasmuch as I am the slave of the most high god, the almighty who controls the universe, MARMARIŌTH LASIMŌLĒTH ARAAS . . . S SĒBARBAŌTH NOŌ AŌI ŌIĒR (add the spice)¹⁸ AAAAA ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ. I give orders to Eros, who is charged with carrying out these my commandments, inasmuch as I am god of all gods, IAŌN SABAŌTH ADŌNAI [ABRASAX] IARABBAI / THŌURIŌ THANAKERMĒPH PAN-CHONAPS.”

The above formulas must be used and [spoken] during the 3 days if you are to endow the rite with full potency. But when you dispatch your Eros to accomplish

13. The relationship between the holy scarab and the name PHŌREI is not clear. Cf. the *voces magicæ* below, I. 53 (PHOUREI) and the apparatus ad loc.

14. The reference to scarab mythology in ll. 45–47 is syncretistic and reminiscent of the dismemberment of Osiris. See S. Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101.

15. PHREŌ is “Prē the great.” It should be noted that the sun god is in conjunction with the scarab. [R.K.R.]

16. The papyrus reads παραψιμω (LSJ, s.v.: “charm acting by means of touch”); the translation follows Preisendanz’s reading παραφριμω (“Zauberzwang”). See the apparatus ad loc.

17. For this epithet of IAŌ ADŌNAI, cf. PGM IV. 1068; XVI. 9. See G. Bertram, *TDNT* 8 (1972): 618–19, s.v. “ὕψιστος.”

18. The papyrus reads ἄρπημα, “ornament”; Preisendanz takes it to be ἄρτυμα, “spice.”

your desires, utter only the formula below, removing him from the table together with the things presented to him; write instructions as to what you desire on a small piece of papyrus.

Formula to be written on the piece of papyrus: “You are the babe, the living god, the creature of beauty¹⁹ . . . SAMMŌTH / SABAŌTH TABAŌTH SORPHĒ SEOUR-PHOUTH MOUI SI SRŌ²⁰ SALAMA GŌUTH ETHEIMĒOUS OUSEIRI HESEIĒ E PHTHA NOUTH SATHAĒ ISIS²¹ ACHTHI EPHANOUN BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ ASĒĒĀĒI. Go [to] every place and every dwelling to which I send you, to him, NN, [born of] her, NN (or to her, NN, [born of] her, NN), likening yourself to a god (or goddess) he [or she] worships. Force him to do such-and-such a matter (write as much as you wish on the piece of papyrus along with the formula). Awake, terrify him! I conjure you / by the [holy] and precious name to which all creation is subject: PAS-ICHTHŌN IBARBOU THARAKTITHEANŌ BABOUTHA KŌCHED, Amen.²² Let such-and-such a matter come to pass immediately, immediately. . . .

“ . . . of the Red Sea, the one who drives the winds together from the 4 regions, the one who sits upon the lotus²³ and illumines the whole world; for you throne in the form of a crocodile, and in southerly regions you are a winged serpent. Such now in very / truth is your nature, IŌIŌ BARBAR ADŌNAI KOMBALIŌPS THŌB IAR-MIŌOUTH. Come to me; heed this my request for service, this my request for action, O most great one, HARSAMŌSI MOUCHA LINOUCHA robber ADŌNEAI. I am he whom you met at the foot of the holy mount and to whom you gave the knowledge of your most great [name], which knowledge will I even keep in sanctity, imparting it to no one save the very initiates into your own holy mysteries, IAR-BATHATRA MNĒPSIBAŌ / CHNĒMEŌPS. Come! Submit to this service and be my assistant.”

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 96–106

*Himerios²⁴ recipes:

Drawing made with Typhonian ink:²⁵ A fiery red poppy, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, red Typhon’s ocher, asbestos, quicklime, wormwood with a single stem, gum, rainwater.

To do well at the workshop: / On the egg of a male bird²⁶ write and then bury the egg near the threshold where you live. “CHPHYRIS,²⁷ egg, which is CHORBAI SANACHARSŌ AMOUN Ꝁ SPHĒ SPHĒ GAKNEPHĒ SIETHŌ Ꝁ NOUSI NOUSI, you are the sacred egg from birth, which is SELBIOUS BATHINI PHNIĒIAĒO AŌĒ AŌĒ AŌIAŌI A PHIAEA THŌUTH IAŌ SELETĒA THEŌĒPH OXYMBRĒ ĒĒĒ III.”

19. The words “babe, living god, creature of beauty” translate Egyptian epithets: *hnm*, “youth,” *ntr nḥ*, “living god,” and *Wn-nfr*, “Onnophris.” See PGM IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

20. For SERPOUTH MOUI SI SRŌ, “Lotus, lion, son (?) of Ram,” cf. PGM III. 659 and n.

21. USIRI HESIE PHTHA NOUTH . . . ISI is Egyptian and means “Osiris, drowned one, Ptah, Nut . . . Isis.” On Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. “Esies”; for Nut, the sky god, see Bonnet, *RĀRG* 536–38, s.v. “Nut.” [R.K.R.]

22. The *amen* points to Jewish influence. Cf. PGM VII. 271; XXIIb. 21, 25.

23. For this epithet, see PGM II. 101 and n.; IV. 1684; LXI. 32.

24. The papyrus reads *ημεριου*, which Preisendanz assumes is a reference to the fourth-century physician Himerios. See H. Goossen, “Himerios, 2,” *PRE* 8 (1913): 1635.

25. Cf. for this ink PGM VII. 653; XIa. 2.

26. Preisendanz translates “on the male egg of a bird.” The idea is less of a problem when the egg is taken to be an image of the primordial egg, in which the first god comes to existence. See PGM III. 145 and n.

27. CHPHYRIS is the scarab. See PGM VII. 584 and n.

The prayer concerning the egg: “Great God, give favor, business to me and to this place where the egg lies, in the house I do my business, SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH and / Good Daimon, send to this place every business and good daily profit. You are my work. You are the great Ammon,²⁸ who dwells in heaven. Come, help me.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 107–21

***Charm of Agathokles²⁹ for sending dreams:** Take a completely black cat that died a violent death, make a strip of papyrus and write with myrrh the following, together with the [dream] you want sent,³⁰ and place it into the mouth of the cat. /

“I am lying,³¹ I am lying, I am the great one, the one lying in [the mouth], MOM-
MOU THŌTH NANOUMBRĒ CHARICHA KENYRŌ PAARMIATH, [to whom belongs] 110
the holy name, IAOU IEĒ IEOU AĒŌI, the one above the heaven; arise, YMEU NEN-
NANA SENNANA ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI ABRASILOUA LAMPŌREI
EEI EIEI AŌĒĒŌ THĒOURIS³² ŌA EPEIDEU EPERGA BRIŌN AMĒN. Reveal to him,
NN, concerning this.”

Compelling charm: “Come to me, NN, [you who] established the . . . by your
own power, / you who rule the whole world, the fiery god.³³ Reveal to him, 115
NN, THARTHAR THAMAR ATHATHA MOMMOM THANABŌTH APRANOU BAMBALĒA
CHRĒTH NABOUSOULĒTH ROMBROU THARAĒL ALBANA BRŌCHRĒX ABRANA ZOU-
CHĒL. Hear me, because I am going to say the great name, AŌTH, before whom
every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel
completes those things which are assigned. Your divine name according to the
seven³⁴ is AEĒIOYŌ IAYŌĒ EAŌOYEĒŌIA. I have spoken the / glorious name, the 120
name for all needs. Reveal to NN, lord god.”

This is the name; this Apollobex³⁵ also used.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 121–43

***Zminis³⁶ of Tentyra’s spell for sending dreams:**³⁷ Take a clean linen cloth, and (according to Ostanos) with myrrh ink draw a figure on it which is humanlike in

28. For the invocation of Ammon and Thoth in conjunction with the cosmic egg, see Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 178.

29. Nothing is known about this author.

30. Or “to whom you want to send this dream.” [J.B.]

31. The papyrus has *κεῖμι*. It could be a reference to the Egyptian *kemi*, *kmj*, “the black one,” an epithet of Osiris. See Schmidt, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 55 (1935): 1174, and the apparatus ad loc.

32. THĒOURIS is the Egyptian *T3-wr.t*, “Thoeris,” the hippopotamus goddess who protected the bedside. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 530–35, s.v. “Nilpferd.” [R.K.R.] For the Greek name, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358C: *Θούρις*; and Griffiths, Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride* 347–48.

33. See on this epithet Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 118–20, 164.

34. That is, the seven vowels.

35. Apuleius, *Apol.* 90 calls Apollobex a famous magician, and Pliny, *NH* 30. 9, makes him the forerunner of Demokritos, who copied his works from him. But the name is also an epithet of Horus. See E. Riess, “Apollobex,” *PRE* 1 (1894): 2847; Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 210; K. Preisendanz, “Apollobex,” *PRE* 20 (1941): 1311–12.

36. The magician Zminis of Tentyra (Dendera on the Nile) is not otherwise known. See K. Preisendanz, “Zminis,” *Roscher* 6 (1936): 762.

37. On dream sending, see I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London: British Museum, 1960), vol. I, pp. xx, n. 11; 63. [R.K.R.]

appearance but has four wings,³⁸ having the left arm outstretched³⁹ along with the
 125 two left wings, and having the other arm bent with the fist clenched. / Then upon
 the head [draw] a royal headdress and a cloak over its arm, with two spirals on the
 cloak. Atop the head [draw] bull horns and to the buttocks a bird's tail. Have his
 right hand held near his stomach, and on either ankle have a sword extended.

Also write on the strip the following names of the god and whatever you want
 him, [NN], to see and how:⁴⁰ "CHALAMANDRIOPH IDEARZÖ THREDAPHNIÖ /
 130 ERTHIBELNIN RYTHADNIKÖ PSAMOMERICH,⁴¹ to all of you I speak, also to you, O
 very powerful daimon: go into the house of this person and tell him such-and-
 such."

Next take a lamp neither colored red nor inscribed, and after you put a wick in it,
 fill it with cedar oil, and light it. Invoke the following names of the god, three
 [times]:⁴² "CHALAMANDRIOPH IDEARYÖTH THREDAPHNIÖ ERTHABEANIG RYTHA-
 135 NIKÖ PSAMMORICH, O sacred names of the god, listen to me—you also, O Good
 Daimon, whose might is very great / among the gods, listen to me: go to him, NN,
 into his house, where he sleeps, into his bedroom, and stand beside him, causing
 fear, trembling, by using the great and mighty names of the god. And tell him such-
 and-such.

"I conjure you [by] your power, [by] the great god, SETH,⁴³ [by] the hour in
 which you were begotten a great god,⁴⁴ [by] the god revealing⁴⁵ it now (?), [by] the
 365 names of the great god, to go to him, NN, this very hour, this very night, and
 140 to tell / him in a dream such-and-such.

"If you disobey me and don't go to him, NN, I will tell the great god, and after
 he has speared you through, he will chop you up into pieces and feed your members
 to the mangy dog who lies among the dungheaps.⁴⁶ For this reason, listen to me
 immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, so I won't have to tell you again."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XII. 144–52

145 *Request for a dream; / an exact method for everything:⁴⁷ Using blood from a

38. The picture is of Bes-Pantheos known from Egyptian monuments and from gemstones. See Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 126–41; Bonner, *SMA* 25, also nos. 251–61, plates 24–25. On the identification with El-Kronos, see A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 304; P. Zazoff, ed., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975) 387 (no. 77). For a detailed picture and description, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 11–16.

39. Reading ἐκτεταμένον; see *apparatus criticus* in Preisendanz ad loc.

40. ὥς must be read here as a relative particle, with the meaning that the magician is to insert a description of how the dream will appear to the sleeper. See LSJ, s.v. "ὥς," A.c.

41. The *voces magicæ* here have been written to conform to the second occurrence of the list in ll. 133–34. The division of the words follows the edition of C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885), plate V, col. 4a. Preisendanz divides the names differently in both series. [R.D.K.]

42. Or the "three names of the god."

43. That is, Seth.

44. Or "[by] the hour in which you were appointed a great god." This rendering follows Leemans's edition.

45. The interpretation of the symbol, read by Preisendanz as χ(ρηματίσων)α, is open to question. See the *apparatus* ad loc.

46. The god is threatened in the name of Seth with the same attack Seth committed against Osiris. Cf. *PGM* VII. 940–68. [R.K.R.]

47. The translation follows the suggestion by W. B. that ἀκριβὴς εἰς πάντα is probably part of the title.

quail, draw on a strip of linen the god Hermes, standing, ibis-faced.⁴⁸ Then with myrrh write also the name and say the *formula*:

“Come to me here quickly, you who have the power. I call upon you, the one appointed god of gods over the spirits, to show this⁴⁹ to me in dreams. I conjure [you] by your father, Osiris, and Isis,⁵⁰ your mother, to show me one of your forms, / and reveal concerning the things I want. Your name is ÊIIOUATHI PSRĒP-NOUA NERTĒR DIOCHASBARA ZARACHŌ, whom they call BALCHAM. Reveal concerning this⁵¹ concerning all things [about which] I inquire.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 153–60

***Spell for a divine revelation:** Invoke the great name in a time of great stress, in major and pressing crises. If not, you will blame yourself.⁵² In addition say three times the “IAŌ,” then the great name of god. /

“I call upon you, PHTHA RA PHTHA IĒ PHTHA OUN EMĒCHA ERŌCHTH BARŌCH THO[RCH]THA THŌM CHAIEOUCH ARCHANDABAR ŌEAEŌ YNĒŌCH ĒRA ŌN ĒLŌPH BOM PHTHA ATHABRASIA ABRIASŌTH BARBARBELŌCHA BARBALAŌCH; let there be depth, breadth, length, brightness, ABLANATHANALBA ABRASIAOUA AKRAMMA-CHAMAREI THŌTH HŌR ATHŌŌPŌ. Come in, lord, and reveal.”

The serpent-faced god⁵³ will come in and answer you. When you dismiss [him], make an offering of / the skin of a serpent.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 160–78

*[**Charm to release from bonds:**]⁵⁴ If you want to do something spectacular and want to free yourself from danger, stand at the door and say the spell, and having said it, go out, adding: “Let the bonds of him, NN, be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him.”

You may even prove that it happens. Bind someone securely and shut him in a house. Stand outside and say the spell six or seven times thus: “I call upon you great gods, with a loud voice, / AISAR AIŌTH OUAIGNŌR MARSABŌOUTŌRTHE LABATH ERMOU CHOŌRTHEN MANACHTHŌRPH PECHRĒPH TAŌPHPŌTHTHŌCHO THARŌCH BALETHAN CHEBRŌOUTHAST ADŌNAI HARMIŌTH.”

Whenever [you say] this spell, and he has been released, say this besides, in order that the doors might open: “OCHLOBARACHŌ LAILAM DARIDAM [DARDAM] DARDARAMPTOU IARTHA IERBA DIERBA BARŌTHA THIARBA ARBITHŌ . . . Ō MAAR SEMESILAM MARMARACHNEU MANE THŌTH; holy one, enter and release him, NN, and give him a way / of escape, SESEGENBARPHARAGGĒS, you who loosen all

48. For an ibis-faced Hermes, see PGM VIII. 10.

49. Or “such and such.” That is, the practitioner supplies here his request. See below, l. 151.

50. Osiris and Isis are the parents of Horus, not of Thoth/Hermes as one might infer from the preceding.

51. See n. 49 above.

52. Cf. the *lex sacra* from Halikarnassos, published by M. Çetin Şahin, “Five Inscriptions from Halicarnassus,” *ZPE* 20 (1976): 22–23. [W.B.]

53. When depth, breadth, length, and brightness are summoned, this may indicate the reenactment of creation. In such a context, a serpent-faced deity (l. 159) would be appropriate, because the serpent form is the primordial form of the gods. See K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929) 26–27. [R.K.R.]

54. This title for the spell does not appear in the papyrus manuscript and has been supplied by Preisendanz. It is, however, typical of other spells to begin with the phrase, “If you wish to do (this and this). . . .” Cf. e.g., PGM XII. 179–81; XIII. 239–64, and often. [R.D.K.]

bonds and you who loosen the iron fetter that has been placed around him, NN, because the great, unutterable, holy, righteous, awful, powerful, unspeakable, fearful and not-to-be-despised daimon of the great god commands you, SOROERMER [PHERGAR] BAX MAMPHRI OURIXG.”

When the bonds break, say: “I thank you, lord, [because] the holy spirit, the unique one, the living one, has [released] me.”

175 And say this spell again: / “Star-grouping god, you thunderbolt-with-great-clap-Zeus-confining-world-flashing-abundant-bolt-bestowing daimon, cracking-through-the-air, ray-producing, mind-piercing, you who [produce] cunning.”

And use also the name of Helios for everything: “Fiery, ἙΦΑΙἸ, Hephaistos, who is shining with fire, brightly moving, ANANŌCHA AMARZA MARMARAMŌ.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 179–81

*If you want someone to cease being angry with you, write with myrrh [on linen]⁵⁵ this / name of anger: “CHNEŌM.”⁵⁶ Hold it in your left [hand and say]: “I am restraining the anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEŌM.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 182–89

*“Greetings, lord, you who are the means to obtain favor for the universe and for the inhabited [world]. Heaven has become a dancing place [for you], ARSENO-PHRĒ, O king of the heavenly [gods], ABLANATHANALBA, you who possess right-
185 teousness, AKRAMMACHAMAREI, gracious [god,] SANKANTHARA, ruler / of nature, SATRAPERKMĒPH, origin of the heavenly [world], ATHTHANNOU ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTŌTH PA . . . ĒRINTASKLIOUTH ĒPHIŌ MARMA-RAŌTH.

“[Let] my outspokenness not leave me. [But] let every tongue and language listen to me, because I am PERTAŌ [MĒCH CHACH] MNĒCH SAKMĒPH⁵⁷ IAŌOYĒĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ IEŌYŌĒIĒIAĒA IEŌYOEI, Give [me graciously] whatever you want.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, the first line of this invocation shows it is a “favor charm.”

PGM XII. 190–92

190 *Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear: Take olive oil [from] a clean⁵⁸ . . . onto the left hand and say the [names. Then] smear yourself and go to sleep having your head towards the east. “IĒSOUS⁵⁹ ANOUI. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 193–201

*[To make] a tincture [viz., “reduction”] of gold:⁶⁰ Take thickened pungent vinegar and also have ready 8 drachmas of ordinary salt, 2 drachmas of rock alum that has clear cleavage, 4 drachmas of massicot, and triturate them [together] with the

55. Or byssus.

56. CHNEŌM here and in l. 181 is probably Egyptian Khnum. Cf. PGM I. 29. [R.K.R.]

57. MNĒCH SAKMĒPH corresponds to Egyptian “beneficent, son of Agathodaimon.” For Kneph, Knephis, cf. PGM I. 27; *μνηχ* is Egyptian *mnḥ*, an adjective of the preceding noun. Cf. PGM II. 77. [R.K.R.]

58. A noun seems to be missing here.

59. The name of Jesus appears at the beginning of an invocation; the rest is lost.

60. The term *ἰώσις* or *ἐξίωσις* (l. 198) probably refers to the process of reduction in alchemy. Since there is no gold included in the papyrus until l. 198, the process may actually be designed to produce

vinegar for 3 days, and strain off [and] / use. Then add one drachma blue vitriol [cupric sulfate] to the vinegar, 1/2 obol in weight of chalcopyrite, 8 obols of rock alum, 1/2 obol in weight of melanterite, a carat [viz., 1/1728 lb. = *siliqua*] of ordinary salt, 2 [carats] of Cappadocian [salt]. 195

Make a leaf [of metal] of 2 fourths by weight, dip [it] 3 times into fire until the leaf [breaks up] into fragments. Then take up the pieces [and] assume them as “reduced” to the metallic state of gold.

Treatment: Take [2] fourths by weight of gold, make a leaf and [purify it in] fire, dip it in blue vitriol / triturated with water. 200

And another [treatment]: Pound dry cupric sulfate and dip [it] in the vinegar.

(Yet another [treatment]: with the compound): Pour off the verdigris and throw it in.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XII. 201–69

***Placing (a) ring.**⁶¹ **A little ring** [useful] for every [magical] operation and for success. Kings and governors [try to get it]. Very effective. Taking an air-colored⁶² jasper, engrave on it a snake in a circle with its tail in its mouth, and also in the middle of [the circle formed by] the snake [Selene]⁶³ having two stars / on the two 205 horns, and above these, Helios, beside whom ABRASAX should be inscribed; and on the opposite side of the stone from this inscription, the same name ABRASAX, and around the border you will write the great and holy and omniscient [spell], the name IAŌ SABAŌTH. And when you have consecrated the stone⁶⁴ wear it in a gold ring, when you need it, [provided] you are pure [at that time], and you will succeed in everything you may wish. You are to consecrate the ring together with the stone in the rite used for all [such] objects. A similar engraving in gold, / too, is equally 210 effective.

The consecration [requires] the following equipment: Making a pit in a holy place open to the sky, [or] if [you have none] in a clean, sanctified tomb looking toward the east, and making over the pit an altar of wood from fruit trees, sacrifice an all-white goose, with no flecks [of color], and 3 roosters and 3 pigeons. Make these whole burnt offerings and burn, with the birds, all sorts of incense. Then, standing by the pit, look / to the east and, pouring on a libation of wine, honey, 215 milk, [and] saffron, and holding over the smoke, while you pray, [the stone] in which are engraved the inscriptions, say:

“I invoke and beseech the consecration, O gods of the heavens, O gods under the earth, O gods circling in the middle region from one womb. O masters of all living and dead, [O] heedful in many necessities of gods and / men. O concealers of 220 things now seen, O directors of the Nemeseis⁶⁵ who spend every hour with you,”⁶⁶

pseudo gold. This is in keeping with the fact that the section 193–201 is full of technical terminology from alchemy. See M. P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London: Heinemann, 1962) 3–4, and esp. 54; A. J. Hopkins, “Transmutation by Colour: A Study of Earliest Alchemy,” in J. Ruska, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie. Festschrift E. O. von Lippmann* (Berlin: Springer, 1927) 9–14. [J.S.]

61. The symbols printed in Preisendanz’s text as magical characters are Demotic *w’ gswr*, “a ring.” Cf. PGM XII. 270. [R.K.R.]

62. According to LSJ, s.v., a “light-blue” or perhaps “grey, cloudy” color.

63. That is, a crescent moon.

64. On the consecration of amulets, see PGM IV. 2179 and n.

65. For the Nemeseis, cf. PGM VII. 503 and n.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 311–12.

66. The papyrus here accidentally repeats the preceding clause about the Nemeseis.

O senders of Fate who travels around the whole world, O commanders of the rulers, O exalters of the abased, O revealers of the hidden, O guides of the winds,
 225 O arousers of the waves, O bringers of / fire (at a certain time), O creators and benefactors of every race, O nourishers of every race, O lords and controllers of kings, come, benevolent, for that [purpose] for which I call you, as benevolent assistants in this rite for my benefit. I am a plant named Baïs (palm leaf); I am an outflow of blood from the tomb of the great One [between] the palm trees;⁶⁷ I am the faith⁶⁸ found in men, and am he who declares the holy names, who [is] always alike, who
 230 came forth from the abyss.⁶⁹ I am / CHRATES⁷⁰ who came forth from the eye [of the sun].⁷¹ I am the god whom no one secs or rashly names. I am the sacred bird, Phoinix.⁷² I am Krates the holy, called MARMARAUÖTH. I am Helios who showed forth light. I am Aphrodite called TYPHI.⁷³ I am the holy sender of winds. I am Kronos who showed forth light. I am Mother of gods, called Heaven. I am Osiris,
 235 called water. I am Isis, called dew.⁷⁴ / I am ESENEPHYS,⁷⁵ called spring. I am the image resembling the true images. I am SOUCHOS⁷⁶ [who appear as] a crocodile. Therefore, I beseech [you], come as my helpers, for I am about to call on the hidden and ineffable name, the forefather of gods, overseer and lord of all.”

“Come to me, you from the four winds, god, ruler of all, who have breathed
 240 spirits into men for life, master of the good things in the world. Hear me, lord, whose / hidden name is ineffable. The daimons, hearing it, are terrified—the name BARBAREICH ARSEMPHEMPHRÖTHOU—and of it the sun, of it the earth, hearing, rolls over; Hades, hearing, is shaken; rivers, sea, lakes, springs, hearing, are frozen; rocks, hearing it, are split. Heaven is your head; ether, body; earth, feet; and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon.⁷⁷ You are lord, the begetter and nourisher and increaser of all.”

67. For the efflux of Osiris, see *Book of the Dead*, spells 63b sec. S 1; 119 sec. S 1; 147a sec. S 1; 147g sec. S 1; 149n sec. S 1; 149o. [R.K.R.]

68. Preisendanz treats the term as a hypostatized name (Pistis, “Faith”). See Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 234–35; D. Lührmann, “Glaube,” *RAC* 11 (1979): 84–86.

69. Preisendanz takes *βυθος* to be the name of a deity. Bythos is the name of the primordial deity in Valentinian gnosticism. For passages, see *PGL*, s.v. “*Βυθος*”; *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index s.v. “Bythos.” See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, passim; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 58.

70. Preisendanz, following Eitrem, takes this name to be Egyptian for *Chnut*, “child (Horus).” Actually, the papyrus reads *σοκράτης*; see C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1885) 26–27. Eitrem’s emendation was taken up by J. Kroll, “Chrates,” *PRE* 11 (1922): 1641–42; K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74, esp. 2072. The fact, however, remains that the papyrus reads Socrates in l. 230 and Crates in l. 231.

71. The papyrus reads *ουαειου*; the translation follows Preisendanz’s emendation *ἐκ τοῦ οὐατίου*. Cf. *PGM* V. 75.

72. On the Phoenix, see Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques* 231–62. Cf. *PGM* II. 104.

73. Typhi, the epithet of Aphrodite, may correspond to Egyptian Triphis (*T3-ṛpy.t*), “the maiden.” See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 838–39, s.v. “Triphis.” [R.K.R.]

74. For Isis as dew, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 12, 355F–365A; 33, 364B, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 303, 420, 424. [R.K.R.]

75. ESENEPHYS may correspond to Egyptian “Isis the beautiful.” Preisendanz, however, understands it to refer to Isis-Neph[th]ys. [R.K.R.]

76. Souchos is Sobek, the Egyptian crocodile god. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 755–59, s.v. “Suchos.” [R.K.R.]

77. On the cosmic body of the deity, see *PGM* XIII. 767–72; XXI. 3–7. See J. Assmann, “Primat und Transzendenz: Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines höchsten Wesens,” in *Aspekte der ägyptischen Religion*, ed. W. Westendorf, *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, 4th series 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979) 7–42.

“Who⁷⁸ molded the forms of the beasts [of the Zodiac]? Who / found [their] routes? Who was the begetter of fruits? Who raises up the mountains? Who commanded the winds to hold to their annual tasks? What Aion nourishing an Aion rules the Aions? One deathless god. You are the begetter of all and assign souls to all and control all, king of the Aions and lord, [before] whom mountains and plains together tremble, springs and streams of rivers, and valleys of earth, and spirits, and [all things] that are. High shining heaven trembles before you, and every sea, / lord, ruler of all, holy one, and master of all. By your power the elements exist and all things come into being, the route of sun and moon, of night and dawn—all things in air and earth and water and the breath of fire. Yours is the eternal processional way [of heaven], in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets] which utter [their] voices according to the 28 forms of the moon. Yours are the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and fortunes / and fates. You give wealth, good old age, good children, strength, food. You, lord of life, ruling the upper and the lower realm, whose justice is not thwarted, whose glorious name the angels hymn, who have truth that never lies, hear me and complete for me this operation so that I may wear this power in every place, in every time, without being smitten or afflicted, / so as to be preserved intact from every danger while I wear this power. Yea, lord, for to you, the god in heaven, all things are subject, and none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me because I have called on your great name for the consecration. And again I call upon you, according to Egyptians, PHNŌ EAI IABŌK; according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH; according to Greeks, “the king of all, ruling alone”; / according to the high priests, “hidden, invisible, overseer of all”; according to Parthians, “OUERTŌ,⁷⁹ master of all.” Consecrate and empower this object for me, for the entire and glorious time of my life.”

The names inscribed on the back side of the stone are these: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XII. 270–350

***A Ring.** A little ring for success and favor and victory. It makes men famous and great and admired and rich as can be, or it makes possible friendships with suchlike men. The circlet is always yours [to use] justly and successfully for all purposes. It contains a first-rate name.

Helios is to be engraved on a heliotrope stone⁸⁰ as follows: **A** thick-bodied snake⁸¹ in the shape of a wreath should be [shown] having its tail in its / mouth. Inside [the circle formed by] the snake let there be a sacred scarab⁸² [beetle surrounded by] rays. On the reverse side of the stone you are to inscribe the name in hieroglyphics, as the prophets pronounce [it]. Then, having consecrated [the ring], wear it when you are pure.

The world has had nothing greater than this. For when you have it with you you will always get whatever you ask from anybody. Besides, it calms the angers of masters and kings. Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed,

78. The dactylic hexameters (ll. 244–52) are also the reconstructed Hymn 1. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 237. [E.N.O.]

79. OUERTŌ corresponds to the Egyptian epithet “the great one of earth.” [R.K.R.]

80. A green chalcedony with small spots of red jasper. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 37. 165. [J.S.]

81. That is, the Ouroboros serpent. See Glossary, s.v. “Ouroboros.”

82. On the scarab, see *PGM* IV. 943 and the Glossary, s.v. “Scarab.”

and you will be pleasing to everybody. Anyone can open doors and break chains
 280 and rocks if he / touches them with the stone, that is, the gem, and says the name
 written below. It also works for demoniacs. Just give it [to one] to wear, and the
 daimon will immediately flee. So at dawn stand facing the sun, holding the well-
 planned, beneficent, divine, holy, useful, economical, merciful stone which pro-
 vides your needs, the beautiful and becoming one, [say]:
 285 “Greatest god, who exceed / all power, I call on you, IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI
 EILŌEIN⁸³ SEBŌEIN TALLAM CHAŪNAŌN SAGĒNAM ELEMEDŌR CHAPSOUTH
 SEITŌRA SAPHTHA NOUCHITHA, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,⁸⁴ CHATHATHICH ZE-
 PEIN NĒPHYGOR ASTAPHAIOS KATAKERKNĒPH KONTEOS KATOUT KĒRIDEU MAR-
 290 MARIŌTH LIKYXANTA BESSOUM SYMEKONTEU, the opponent of Thoth, / MASKELLI
 MASKELLŌTH PHNOU KENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA HIPPOCHTHŌN RĒSICHTHŌN
 PYRIPĒGANYX NYXIŌ ABRŌROKORE KODĒRE MOUISDRŌ, King, THATH PHATH
 CHATH XEUZĒN ZEUSZEI SOUSĒNĒ ELATHATH MELASIŌ KOUKŌR NEUSŌŌ PACHIŌ
 295 XIPHNŌ THEMEL NAUTH BIOKLĒTH SESSŌR CHAMEL CHASINEU XŌCHŌ IAL-
 LINŌI / SEISENGPHARANGĒS MASICHIŌR IŌTABAAS CHENOUCI CHAAM PHA-
 CHIARATH NEEGŌTHARA IAM ZEŌCH AKRAMMACHAMAREI Cheroubi(m) BAIN-
 CHŌŌCH EIOPHALEON ICHNAŌTH PŌE XEPHITHŌTH XOUTHOUTH THOŌTHIOU
 XERIPHŌNAR EPHINARASŌR CHANIZARA ANAMEGAR IŌO XTOURORIAM IŌK NIŌR
 300 CHETTAIOS ELOUMAIOS NŌIŌ DAMNAMENEU / AXIŌTHŌPH PSETHAIAKKLŌPS
 SISAGETA NEORIPHRŌR HIPPOKELEPHOKLŌPS ZEINACHA IAPHETHANA A E Ē I O
 Y Ō. I have called on you, greatest god, and through you on all things, that you may
 give divine and supreme strength to this image and may make it effective and
 powerful against all [opponents] and to be able to call back souls, move spirits,
 subject legal opponents, strengthen friendships, produce all [sorts of] profits,
 305 bring / dreams, give prophecies, cause psychological passions and bodily sufferings
 and incapacitating illness, and perfect all erotic philters. Please, lord, bring to fulfill-
 ment a complete consecration.”

When you perform this rite, say [the spell] three times each day, in the third,
 sixth, and ninth hour, and this for fourteen days, beginning when the moon begins
 its third quarter. And try to have the goddess [i.e., the moon] either [rising] in [the
 Zodiacal sign of] the Bull or the Virgin or Scorpion or the Water Carrier or the
 310 Fishes. Also when you are performing the consecration, each time / you recite
 [the spell] pour as libation the [fluids] specified above and all kinds of perfumes
 except frankincense. And when you have completed the consecration properly, have
 a live rooster with a double comb—either white or yellow; keep away from black—
 and after the consecration cut the rooster open and stick the [stone with its] image
 well into the guts of the rooster, taking care that the entrails of the animal be not
 315 broken. Leave [it there] for one day, / then in the ninth hour of the night take [it]
 out and put [it] away in a holy place, and use as [seems] best.

Whenever you wish to command the god, give [your] command, saying the
 greatest [name] OUPHŌR, and he will perform. You have [now] the consecration [to
 secure] the supreme and divine action. This OUPHŌR is the [god] whom Urbicus
 used, the holy, true OUPHŌR. Here is truly written out, with all brevity, [the rite]
 320 by which all modeled images and engravings / and carved stones are made alive.
 For this is the true [rite], and the others such as are widely circulated, are falsified
 and made up of vain verbosity. So keep this in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide
 it, hide it! It is—the beginning—

83. Almost certainly a misspelling of *elohim*, a Hebrew word meaning “god.”

84. The names are misspelled as Abraan, Isak, lakkōbi.

“The gates of heaven were opened. The gates of earth were opened. / The route of the sea was opened. The route of the rivers was opened. My spirit was heard by all gods and daimons. My spirit was heard by the spirit of heaven. My spirit was heard by the terrestrial spirit. My spirit was heard by the marine spirit. / My spirit was heard by the riverine spirit. Therefore give spirit to the mystery⁸⁵ I have prepared, O gods whom I have named and have called on. Give breath to the mystery I have prepared.”

Hide, hide the true [spell to control?] OUPHŌR, / which contains the truth in summary. *The invocation to OUPHŌR*:⁸⁶

“ĒI IEOU MAREITH
 ĒI IEOU MONTHEATHI MONGITH
 ĒI IEOU CHAREŌTH MONKĒB
 ĒI IEOU SŌCHOU SŌRSŌĒ
 / ĒI IEOU TIŌTIŌ OUIĒR 340
 ĒI IEOU CHARŌCHSI CHARMIŌTH
 ĒI IEOU SATHIMŌOYEĒOY
 ĒI IEOU RAIRAI MOURIRAI
 ĒI IEOU Amoun ĒEI Osiris
 / ĒI IEOU PHIRIMNOUN⁸⁷ 345
 ĒI IEOU ANMORCHATHI OUĒR
 ĒI IEOU ANCHEREPHRENEPSOUPHIRINGCH
 ĒI IEOU ORCHIMORŌIPOUGH
 ĒI IEOU MACHPSACHATHANTH
 / ĒI IEOU MOROTH.” 350

*Tr.: Morton Smith. The Demotic title (line 270) is written between the sections.

PGM XII. 351–64

***Demokritos’ “sphere”:** prognostic of life and death. Find out what day of the month⁸⁸ the sick one took to bed. Add his name from birth⁸⁹ to the day of the month and divide by thirty.⁹⁰ Look up on the “sphere” the quotient: if the number is on the upper register, the person will live, but if it is on the lower register, he will die.

85. That is, the magical ring.

86. These invocations begin with a formula corresponding to the Egyptian *i i3w*, “O, hail!” [R.K.R.]

87. PHIRIMNOUN corresponds to Egyptian “He who comes forth from Nun (the abyss).” Cf. PGM XII. 229. [R.K.R.]

88. Literally, “know in relation to the moon.” Beginning with the new moon, each day of the lunar month can be given a number from one to thirty.

89. The *praenomen*, or first name, among the Romans. Each letter of the Greek alphabet has a numerical value.

90. Literally, “see how many times thirty there are.” In other words, the sum of the numerical value of the name and the value of the day on which the person took ill, is divided by thirty.

355

360

1	10	19
2	11	20
3	13	23
4	14	25
7	16	26
9	17	27
5	15	22
6	18	28
8	21	29
12	24	30

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell. A similar “sphere” is attributed to Petosiris, the mythical Egyptian astrologer. The so-called sphere is only a circle or other plane figure, in this case a rectangle, but even when the circle is reduced to a rectangle, it is called a sphere. For full discussion of this kind of “astrological medicine,” see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899, repr. 1963) 537–42, esp. 538, and Thorndike, *A History of Magic I*, 682ff.; see also V. Alfieri, *Gli atomisti, frammenti e testimonianze* (Bari 1936) 305–6, n. 801 and Budge, *Egyptian Magic* 228–30.

PGM XII. 365–75

365 ***Charm for causing separation:** On a pot for smoked fish inscribe a spell with a bronze stylus and recite it afterwards and put it where they [i.e., your victims] are, where they usually return, repeating at the same time this spell: “I call upon you, god, you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, and great, you who afflict the earth and shake the universe, you who love disturbances and hate
370 stability and scatter the clouds / from one another, IAIA IAKOUBIAI IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH BASDOUMA PATATHNAX APOSS OSESRŌ ATAPH THABRAOU EŌ THATHTHABRA BŌRARA AROBREITHA BOLCHOSĒTH KOKKOLOIPTOLĒ RAMBITHNIPS: give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war; and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had”⁹¹ (but if it is a husband and wife, “just as Typhon and Isis had”). “Strong Typhon, very / powerful one, perform your mighty acts.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This charm provides a means for effecting a breach between two men’s friendship or love for each other, with a variant formula inserted to make the spell work against a husband and wife.

PGM XII. 376–96

***Charm to induce insomnia:** Take a living bat and on the right wing paint with myrrh the following figure, and on the left write the 7 names of the god as well as: “Let her, NN whom NN bore, lie awake until she consents.” And so release the bat again.

380 Perform this spell at the waning of the moon⁹² when the goddess is in her third night, and the woman will die for lack of sleep, without lasting / 7 days.

This charm cannot at any time have an antidote. But if you at some time wish one, do not release the bat, but keep it in custody, and do this as well: when you want to release it, wash off with spring water [what] has been written on the wings and release the bird. But do not do this, save for a great intrigue.

91. On the enmity between Typhon/Seth and Osiris, see PGM VII. 964 and n.

92. That is, the moon goddess Selene.

- A snake's "ball of thread": this means soapstone. /
 410 Blood of a snake: hematite.
 A bone of an ibis: this is buckthorn.
 Blood of a hyrax: ⁹⁶ truly of a hyrax.
 "Tears" ⁹⁷ of a Hamadryas baboon: dill juice.
 Crocodile dung: Ethiopian soil. /
 415 Blood of a Hamadryas baboon: blood of a spotted gecko.
 Lion semen: Human semen.
 Blood of Hephaistos: wormwood.
 Hairs of a Hamadryas baboon: dill seed.
 Semen of Hermes: dill. /
 420 Blood of Ares: purslane.
 Blood of an eye: tamarisk gall. ⁹⁸
 Blood from a shoulder: bear's breach ⁹⁹
 From the loins: camomile.
 A man's bile: turnip sap. ¹⁰⁰ /
 425 A pig's tail: leopard's bane. ¹⁰¹
 A physician's bone: sandstone.
 Blood of Hestia: camomile.
 An eagle: wild garlic (?). ¹⁰²
 Blood of a goose: a mulberry tree's "milk." /
 430 Kronos' spice: piglet's milk.
 A lion's hairs: "tongue" of a turnip. ¹⁰³
 Kronos' blood: . . . of cedar.
 Semen of Helios: white hellebore.
 Semen of Herakles: this is mustard-rocket. ¹⁰⁴ /
 435 [A Titan's] blood: wild lettuce. ¹⁰⁵
 Blood from a head: lupine.
 A bull's semen: egg of a blister beetle. ¹⁰⁶

47, as well as the adapted version of Galen's tract in Paul of Aegina, *Paulus Aegineta, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum IX/2*, ed. I. L. Heiberg, vol. II (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1924) 401–8; and Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907–14). [J.S.]

96. Probably the rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*), also mentioned in the LXX Lv 11:6; Dr 14:7; Ps 103 (104): 18; Prv 24:61 (30:26). [J.S.]

97. Perhaps the "sleep sand" from the eyes of baboons. [J.S.]

98. Cf. Dioscorides 1. 75; also 1. 89. [J.S.]

99. Probably to be emended to *ἄκανθος* (*Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.). [J.S.]

100. Probably to be emended to *βουνίας* as in Dioscorides 2. 111, a kind of turnip (probably *Brassica napus* L.). [J.S.]

101. Literally, "scorpion-tail," probably a variety of "leopard's bane" in the genus *Boronicum*, or one of the heliotropes. Cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9. 13. 6; Nicander, *Alexiph.* 145; Dioscorides 4. 190. 1. See J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbs and Herbal Remedies," *Journal of the History of Biology* 11 (1978): 373–74, with n. 120; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology II: Spiders, Scorpions, Insects, and Myriapods," *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979): 3–34, 73–92. [J.S.]

102. The papyrus reads *οσελγεβει*, which the editors read either as *χελκεβει*, "wild garlic" (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*), following Griffith, ad loc.; PGM V. 70, or as *ἐλλέβορος*, "hellebore." [J.S.]

103. As emended in l. 425 (see above, n. 100), referring to the leaves of the taproot. [J.S.]

104. Probably *Eruca sativa* Mill. [J.S.]

105. See on this Dioscorides 2. 136. [J.S.]

106. The blister beetle played a role in the manufacture of the aphrodisiac known as Spanish fly. See J. Scarborough, "Some Beetles in Pliny's Natural History," *Coleopterists Bulletin* 31 (1977): 293–96; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology" (see above, n. 101). [J.S.]

A hawk's heart: heart of wormwood.
 Semen of Hephaistos: this is fleabane. /
 Semen of Ammon: houseleek.
 Semen of Ares: clover.
 Fat from a head: spurge.
 From the belly: earth-apple.
 From the foot: houseleek.¹⁰⁷

440

*Tr.: H. D. Betz (ll. 401–7) and John Scarborough (ll. 408–45) who are also responsible for the respective notes. The “interpretations” refers to the secret list of plant names below; cf. the *Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth* 61, 19ff., in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 296–97; 2 *Jeu*, chaps. 45–48; *Test Sol* 13.6; see Gudeman, “Lyseis,” *PRÉ* 13 (1927): 2511–29.

PDM xii. 50–61 [PGM XII. 445–48]

*A spell for separating one person from another: Dung of . . . and you put it [in] a document, and you write on a document of papyrus these great names / together with the name of the man, and you bury it under the doorsill of the house. 50 [1] 55 [6]

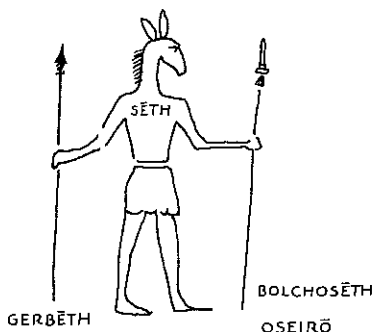
Here are the names for (?) it and you recite them over it also, 7 times: “†IO-ERBETH †IO-SETH¹⁰⁸ †IO-BOLGHÖSETH¹⁰⁹ †IO-PAGERBETH †IO-PATATHNAGS †LÉE-MENG.RĒ †IO-ÖSESRO¹¹⁰ / †IO-GHLÖNTÖEPS, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” It is . . . : “Separate Isis from . . .” (formula: 7 times). (445–48) 60 [11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 1–12. The Old Coptic/Greek and Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 57–60 [8–11] are transcribed as Greek in PGM XII. 445–48 (*Kol. XIV*) in Preisendanz. A variant of the same spell follows immediately in ll. 62–75, a spell in which a magical figure is supplied. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 62–75 [PGM XII. 449–52]

*Another: You bring a . . . and you write the names on it, and you bury [it] in the road of. . .

Formula: †BRAG †GRAB †BRAGH †HÖSPERTHNAKS¹¹¹ / †BHRIENTHE(?)GH †BAS-PHETHOI †ATHRYPH †PATATHNAG †APÖPSI †IO-BETH †IO-BOLGHÖSETH †IO-PAGERBETH,¹¹² separate NN born of NN, from NN born of NN!” Two [times] . . . You bring a sherd . . . of beer of . . . which is burnt, and you write [on] it a donkey / in this manner: 65 [16] (449–52) 70 [21]



107. See on this plant Dioscorides 4. 88. [J.S.]

108. Ending includes Egyptian god Seth. [J.H.J.]

109. See n. 108 above.

110. Or, perhaps, IO ÖSEIRÖ, as in the label to the figure. [J.H.J.]

111. HÖSPER may be for ὁσπερ, “similarly.” [R.K.R.]

112. See figure.

75 [26] “Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” And you say this name to it again, 7 times, and you lift the sherd, and you . . . in the house in which they are. / You do it. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 13–26. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 15–18 are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 449–52 (*Kol.* XIV). Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 76–107 [PGM XII. 453–65]

80 [5] *Another: . . . of a black donkey,¹¹³ and you put a . . . which is . . . , and you leave [it] in it for three days . . . it. You should cook it for one night . . . , and you should bring a / strip of . . . , and you should write . . . the names on it with donkey blood, and you should gather outside . . . saying, “Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” And you should . . . and you should . . . the urine. . . .

85 [10] Here is the *name* which you should write it: / . . . “THALAMAXI, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!”

90 [15] . . . again on the day of separating (another [manuscript] says: “beating” [?]), . . . of a donkey and a . . . / urine (?), and you put them in a new ladle (?) and you . . . until they come . . . , and you put . . . and you . . . the sherd . . . and you [write] these names . . . and you . . . in the above-mentioned house.

95 [20] / Here are the names: “I call upon you, you who are in the [empty air], you who (453–65) are terrible, you who are an invisible god, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a stable household and you who do mischief.¹¹⁴ I call upon your great name; cause him, NN, to be separated from him, NN, IŌ IŌ IŌBRACH KRA-BROUKRIOU BATRIOU APOMPS STROUTELIPS IAK[OUBIAI]¹¹⁵ IŌ PAKERBETH PAKERBETH, god of gods . . . at the gate of IAO. Separate him, NN, from him, NN, because I am the daimon XANTHIS¹¹⁶ OUBATH . . . E . . . TEBERETERRI . . . EI . . . , separate him, [NN], from him, NN.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 76–95), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 40–41, col. III, ll. 1–20; and R. F. Hock (ll. 96–107), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 453–65.

PDM xii. 108–18 [PGM XII. 466–68]

110 [3] *A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man . . . : You bring dung, hair and hair . . . which is dead, / and you mix them with fresh blooms, and you put it in a new papyrus after writing on the papyrus first with my ink, saying, “May NN, born of NN, hate NN, born of NN!” And you recite these true names over it 7 times, and you bind the papyrus, and you put it in the water of. . . .

115 [8] Here are / the true names: †IAKYMBIAI IAO †IŌERBETH †IŌBOLGHOSETH †BA- (466–68) SELE OM †GITATHNAGS †APSOPS †Ō.ELT, separate NN, born [of] NN, from NN, born of NN; hurry, hurry; be quick, be quick!”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 42–43, col. II, ll. 1–18. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 8–10 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek in *PGM* XII. 466–68. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

113. On the donkey as the image of Seth, see the Glossary, s.v. “Typhon-Seth.”

114. So following the emendation in Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

115. Supplying in the lacuna †Iako[υβιαι], a name attested elsewhere.

116. The reading of this name is, however, textually uncertain.

PDM xii. 119–34 [PGM XII. 469–70; 471–73]

*A spell for it: Surround (?) . . . of . . . another [manuscript] says . . . : / You (?) 120 [13]
 write [the] true names with ink . . . and you write at its bottom, . . . to me Anubis,
 saying, “Surround (?) NN, born of NN!” . . . you should write on its bottom . . .
 “vex NN, born of NN!” and you should . . . them to it again, and you should . . . 125 [18]
 fire, flame (?), and you should [bind] . . . of the hair of the woman with . . . , / and
 you should put a . . . a bitch which is dead.

Its formula: “Rouse yourself and depart, at the undertaking ward off responses of (469–70)
 each penalty . . . woman.” You write these words on a new papyrus with myrrh ink,
 and you put it in . . . of a . . . / built (?), and you put it in a chest (?), and you give it 130 [23]
 to an ibis.

Here are the names: “[†]ALBANAGHAMBRE [†]AMESÖTSIE(?)R [†]ATHRÖER [†]ATHROI (471–73)
[†]THYIN, surround NN, born of NN, . . . in her heart.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 119–125, 128–31), following the edition in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 12–27; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 126–27), following the edition in Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 469–70. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 132–33 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek at *PGM* XII. 471–73. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 135–46 [PGM XII. 474–79]

*. . . you bring a sealed . . . of copper . . . this lion, this mummy (?), and this 135 [1]
 Anubis . . . while they seek . . . black scarab (?) . . . put . . . :

/ “. . . AIDIÖ ÖRICH THAMBITÖ, Abraham who at . . . PLANOIEGCHIBIÖTH 140 [6]
 MOU ROU and the whole soul for her, NN [whom NN bore] . . . the female body (474–79)
 of her, NN [whom NN bore], I conjure by the . . . [and] to inflame her, NN whom
 [NN bore].”

[Write these] words together with this picture on a new papyrus:



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 135–39; 146), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45, col. I, ll. 1–5, 12; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 140–45) following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 474–79.

PDM xii. 147–64 [PGM XII. 480–95]

*Another: Cook it [in the (?)] bath: “ALLANTH BIREIBAMETIRA / EMETHIRE THA- 150 [16]
 RABLATH PNOUTHE THOUCHARA ÖSOUCHARI SABACHAR . . . , / burn her, NN, 155 [21]
 until she [comes] to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. I conjure (480–95)
 you, daimons of the dead, [by] the dead and by the daimon of [Balsames], and
 the / dog-faced god,¹¹⁷ and the gods with him.” 160 [26]

117. The dog-faced god is Anubis.

Write these things . . . with the salt first . . . which is on it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 147, 163–64), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45, col. I, ll. 13–14, 29–30; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 148–62), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 480–95.

PGM XIII. 1–343

- *GOD/GODS.¹ A sacred book called “Unique”² or “Eighth Book of Moses,”
 5 concerning the holy Name. Its content goes as follows: Remain / pure 41 days, hav-
 ing calculated in advance so that your completion of them will coincide with the
 dark of the moon which occurs in Aries.³ Have a house on ground level, in which
 no one has died during the past year. The door should face west. Now set up in the
 10 middle of the house an earthen altar and have ready cypress wood, ten pinecones
 full of seed,⁴ two white roosters / uninjured and without blemish, and two lamps
 each holding an eighth of a pint, filled with good oil. And don’t pour in any more,
 for when the god comes in they will burn more fiercely. Have the table prepared
 15 with these following kinds of incense, which are cognate to the god (from this /
 book Hermes plagiarized when he named the 7 kinds of incense⁵ [in] his sacred
 book called *Wing*).⁶

- The proper incense of Kronos is styrax, for it is heavy and fragrant; of Zeus, mal-
 abathron;⁷ of Ares, kostos; of Helios, frankincense; of Aphrodite, Indian nard; of
 20 Hermes, cassia; / of Selene, myrrh. These are the secret incenses (the direction in
 the *Key of Moses*,⁸ “Prepare sun vetch on every occasion,” refers with these [words]

1. *ἰσοί* (“gods”) commonly stands at the beginning of sacral inscriptions from Athens and sites in the Athenian sphere of influence; elsewhere it is rare (see the uses in F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969). The use here indicates literary and philosophical preteusions. “GOD” is put above “GODS” both to suggest that the magician has access to a higher power, and to conform to the fashion which, by the time this text was copied (under Constantine’s successors), favored monotheism.

2. “Unique” translates the Greek *μόνος*, “by oneself, solitary”; in philosophy, primarily Pythagorean, then Platonic, “monad.” Hence also in *C.H.* 4. 10, on which see Festugière’s n. 28. Philosophic use for the primal deity made the word vague and prestigious, which accounts for its appearance here. The attribution to Moses was due partly to the texts’ content (see below, n. 16), partly to Moses’ fame as a magician. Pliny, *NH* 30. 11, credited him with starting his own school of magic. Both Jews and gentiles helped the tradition grow by repeating stories about him and circulating magical texts under his name. See J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1972), chap. 4, pp. 134–61. The compiler of PGM XIII was both a composer and a collector of “Mosaic” texts. He had himself written one called “The Key of Moses” (l. 229), which he often recommends; he had a variorum edition of VIII Moses, giving three texts, and in his additions to it he cites “The Archangelic (Teaching?) of Moses,” Moses’ “secret moon prayer,” and “The Tenth Hidden (Book?) of Moses.” The choice of “eighth” as the number of the book is surprising, since we hear nothing of the sixth and seventh; it may be due to the increasing prestige of the ogdoad (see below, nn. 29 and 112). The choice of “Tenth” for the next numbered book (nothing is heard of a ninth) is also explicable from numerology, ten being the Pythagorean perfect number.

3. The Greek *συνόδος* here is ambiguous. It was also used loosely to refer to the new moon, and was so understood by Preisendanz, but see l. 349.

4. So Preisendanz, translating *δέξιος*; alternatively, “with spirals (formed by the edges of the scales) running to the right.”

5. The promised list of incenses “cognate to the (one) god” can hardly be the following list of incenses proper for seven different gods. The author probably inserted a standard list taken from the book of “Hermes” whom he therefore accused of plagiarism.

6. To this “Hermetic” book there is no other reference. Evidently it was the work of a rival author. This comment by the compiler clearly interrupts the earlier text. That “Hermes” is attacked makes the restoration of “Hermetic spell” (in l. 138) dubious.

7. Leaves of *Cinnamomum tamala* or *albiflorum*. “Kostos,” which follows, is *Sassurea lappa*.

8. The two following statements by the compiler again interrupt the text. The *Key of Moses* was his own book (l. 229), evidently a sort of magician’s handbook with astrological information, etc. There is

to the Egyptian bean). Moreover, Manetho gave these directions in his own book.

Then take the 7 flowers of the 7 stars (which are marjoram, white lily, lotus, erythyllinon,⁹ / narcissus, gillyflower, rose); take these flowers twenty-one days before the initiation, and grind them fine in a white mortar¹⁰ and dry them in the shade and have them ready for that day.

First, however, present yourself, on / whatever auspicious new moon occurs,¹¹ to the gods of the hours of the day, whose names you have in the *Key*. You will be made their initiate¹² as follows: Make 3 figures from fine flour, one bull-faced, one goat-faced, one ram-faced, each of them standing on the celestial pole and holding an Egyptian flail.¹³ And when you have / censed them, eat them, saying the spell for the gods of the hours (which is in the *Key*) and the compulsive formula for them and the names of the gods set over the weeks. Then you will have been made their initiate.

Next, for the all-important meeting, have a square of natron¹⁴ on which you will write the great name with the seven vowels. Instead / of the popping noise and the hissing [sound in the name] draw on the first part of the natron a falcon-faced crocodile¹⁵ and the nine-formed god standing on him, for this falcon-faced crocodile at the 4 turning points [of the year] greets the god with the popping noise. For, coming up to breathe from the deep, he goes “Pop, pop, pop,” / and he of the 9 forms replies to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the popping noise, draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the popping noise is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing. Instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting its / tail. So the two elements, popping and hissing, are represented by a falcon-faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the great name] is [composed of] 9 names, before which you say [those of] the gods of the hours, with [the prayer on] the stele, and [those of] the gods of the days and of those / set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these; for without these the god will not listen but will refuse to receive you as uninitiated, unless you emphatically say in advance the [names of] the lord of the day and of the hour, which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]; for without these / you will not accomplish even one of the things you find in the *Key*: . . .

no good reason to think it had anything to do with *C.H.* 10, which was also called *Key* but dealt with totally different subjects. Manetho was an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt for Ptolemy II, ca. 275 B.C. The success of this work made him famous; hence many other texts, especially of astrology, but also of magic, were fathered onto him. Which this writer had in mind, is unknown. Cf. *PGM* III. 440 and n. The content of the *Key* is described in eight passages in *PGM* XIII, viz. ll. 21–22, 30–31, 35–36, 59–60, 228–29, 282–83, 431–32, and 735–43. From these it appears that the *Key* contained directions for performance of rites, names of the gods of the days, hours, etc., spells to control these, and the great name of 6 letters, Ogdoas. Some of the directions were allegorical or allegorized (see ll. 21–22 and 228–29).

9. Unknown.

10. Alternatively, “into white incense.”

11. Literally, “a new moon favored by a god,” meaning one which the god, by giving good auspices, declares favorable for your purposes.

12. Literally, “initiated.”

13. Alternatively, “Egyptian flails.”

14. Sodium carbonate, a soapy substance. This was not a gourmet rite.

15. The falcon-faced crocodile appears on many Egyptian inscriptions. He was a fusion of the crocodile god Sobek and the hawk god Horus. The “nine-formed” was the “Ennead,” an Egyptian complex of nine gods who in the late period were thought to be the members of the body of a single god. See H. Bonnet, *RARG*, 521–25, s.v. “Neunheit.” The “four turning points of the year” are the equinoxes and solstices. That crocodiles pop off at these periods is an example of the unnatural history surprisingly common in ancient authors from Aristotle on.

Now the [text of the] sacred stele to be written in the natron is:

65 “I¹⁶ call on you, who are greater than all, the creator of all, you, the self-begotten,
who see all and are not seen. For you gave Helios the glory and all the / power,
Selene [the privilege] to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing
from the earlier-born darkness, but apportioned things so that they should be
70 equal. For when you appeared, both order¹⁷ arose and light appeared.¹⁸ All things
are subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can / see; who change into all
forms. You are invisible, Aion of Aion.

75 “I call on you, lord, to appear to me in a good form, for under your order I serve
your angel, BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRÔM, and your fear,
DANOUPH CHRATOR BELBALI BALBITH IAÔ. / Through you arose the celestial pole
and the earth.

80 “I call on you, lord, as do the gods who appeared under your [order?] that they
may have power; ECHEBYKRÔM of Helios, whose is the glory,¹⁹ AAA ÊÊÊ ÔÔÔ III
AAA ÔÔÔ SABAÔTH ARBATHIAÔ / ZAGOURÊ, the god ARATHY ADÔNAIE.

85 “I call on you, lord, in ‘birdglyphic’²⁰: ARAI; in hieroglyphic: LAILAM; in He-
braic:²¹ ANOCH BIATHIARBATH BERBIR ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTROM; in
Egyptian: ALDABAEIM; in ‘baboonic’: ABRASAX; / in ‘falconic’:²² CHI CHI CHI CHI
CHI CHI CHI TIPH TIPH TIPH; in hieratic: MENEPHÔIPHÔTH CHA CHA CHA CHA
CHA CHA CHA.” Then clap 3 times, go “pop, pop, pop” for a long time; hiss at
some length.

90 “Come [to me], lord, faultless and unflawed, who pollute / no place, for I have
been initiated into your name.”

95 Have a tablet in which you will write what he says to you and a two-edged knife,
all of iron, so that, clean from all [impurities],²³ you may kill the sacrifices, and a
libation (a jug of wine and a flask full of honey /) that you may pour. Have all these
ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Pre-
pare the canopy²⁴ thus: Taking a clean sheet, write on the border [the names of] the

16. This invocation and that following (138–53) are essentially identical, both being variations of an old Egyptian hymn in which the rising sun is greeted by the sacred animals, each kind making its appropriate noises. In both invocations (and their close parallels in the B version—443–61, 570–99; in C only the first lines are cited) the sun god has been made the creator and sustainer of the world, and the songs of the animals are preceded by and partly fused with the songs of the angels, many of whom are Jewish. In both, the same angels and the same languages appear in the same orders. The roles given the god and the angels, and the personnel, help explain the attribution to Moses, the more so because these two invocations are the most important elements in the text—the active agents which make the deity appear (this is particularly clear in B, which, since it put the first invocation after the rite as an appendix, ll. 570–99, followed it by a second epiphany, 608–717).

17. Here “order” translates the Greek *κόσμος*, which means also “the cosmos.”

18. I.e., light and darkness?

19. Or “the doxology” without following comma, the doxology being the following formula. Here the choice is difficult because “glory” fits Helios, but “doxology” gives the magical words a function in the text, as those in the preceding paragraph functioned as names of the angel and the fear. *Δόξα* meaning “spoken/sung praise” is found already in LXX; see G. Kittel and G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2 (1964): 233–55.

20. Greek *ὀρνεογλυφιστί*, formed by analogy from *ιερογλυφιστί*, which follows.

21. In spite of the claim that this is Hebrew, the first word is a transliteration of the Egyptian word for “I (am),” *anoch*. A similar Hebrew word, *ʾanoki*, has the same meaning. The author seems to have known Hebrew and Egyptian badly enough to mix them up. See Glossary, s.v.

22. *Chi chi* is the cry appropriate for the morning sun; *tiph tiph*, for the evening sun. [J.B.]

23. This supposes a purity code in which iron neither received nor transmitted pollution.

24. That is, under which you will receive the god. Perhaps from some mystery rite. (Originally the bridal tent?) Here an unexplained residuum.

365 gods,²⁵ and make it a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have a 100
 cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have
 also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, with tripod stand-
 ing beside him and / Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name, in 105
 Egyptian form; on his chest: BAINCHÖÖCHÖÖCHNIAB, written [the same]
 forwards and backwards; and on the back of the figure this name: ILILLOU IL-
 ILLOU / ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod; ITHOR MAR- 110
 MARAUGÉ PHÖCHÖ PHÖBÖCH. Have this too around your neck when you perform
 the initiation; it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through 115
 the last] / seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon²⁶ begin
 sleeping on the ground on a pallet of rushes. Rising at dawn, greet Helios through
 seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] gods of the hours, then those set
 over the weeks. Also [each day], / learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after 120
 him, saying, “Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacri-
 fices”—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, when you come to this day, in the middle of the night at about eleven 125
 o’clock / when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters
 and the two lamps, lighted (the lamps should hold an eighth of a pint each, and you
 must not put more oil into them). Begin to recite the stele and the mystery of the
 god, which is [called?] “Scarab.” Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk
 of a black cow / and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end.²⁷ 130
 Then, having written [the text of] the stele on the two faces of the natron plaque,
 lick off the one side and, pouring [wine?] on the other, wash it off into the mixing
 bowl. The natron should be written on [with ink made] both from the incense ma-
 terials and from the flowers.

Then, before you drink off the milk and wine, say over it / this petition;²⁸ and 135
 having said it, lie down on the mat, holding both the tablet and the stylus, and
 say—*Hermetic* (?) [*spell*]:²⁹

“I call on you who surround all things, I call in every language and in every dia- 140
 lect, as he first / hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all
 authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRÖM³⁰ (which signifies the flame and radiance of the
 disk)³¹ whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ÖÖÖ, because he was glorified by you—[you]³²

25. The gods of the days of the year.

26. Greek *σύννοδος*, the twenty-four-hour day in which the moon will come into line with the earth and the sun.

27. I.e., essential, all important, cf. Rv 21:6; 22:13. [M.S.] Seawater was prohibited because the sea was a symbol of Seth, the enemy of Osiris and of fertility. [R.K.R.]

28. The identity of “this petition” is not clear. The prayer on the stele has already been recited (l. 127), the main invocation is to follow; perhaps something has fallen out. A similar problem is posed by C, 684–95. B prescribes a prayer to the gods of the hours.

29. The Greek here is corrupt and the restoration uncertain. See above, n. 6. In B 443ff. this spell has no such designation. The following “You who surround all things” found in all three versions refers to the outermost celestial sphere conceived as a god, i.e., the Ogdoad. See below, n. 112.

30. *Ache* in Egyptian means “brightness.” Cf. l. 34 above. [J.B.]

31. An obvious gloss. This hymn is full of such. They have been set off by parentheses and henceforth will not usually be pointed out. Many seem to be early, since they appear in both A and B.

32. As the text stands, Helios set the stars in their places and created the world in which, thereafter, “you”—the highest god—set all things in order. This is not totally impossible, but not at all likely. Most likely the writer attributed creation to the highest god (whom he was invoking) and did so either by anacoluthon or by a *σὺ* (“you,” reduced to *σ*) before *ἀέρας* (“winds”), which fell out with the word it preceded.

who set [in their places the winds]³³ and then, likewise, the stars of glittering forms, and who, in divine light / create the cosmos, III AAA ŌŌŌ, in which you have set in order all things. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ (these are the angels who first appeared)³⁴ ARATH ADŌNAIE BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries in ‘bird-glyphic’ ARAI—which is [“Woe to my enemy”—and you have set him] in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own³⁵ name, ANOK³⁶ BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUTHROUMTRŌM / (36 letters);³⁷ he says, ‘I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?)’³⁸ thanks to you.’ Your magical³⁹ name in Egyptian is ALDABIAEIM” (9 letters, see below). Now he who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying ‘You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.’⁴⁰ The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out to receive food: CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP. He of the nine forms greets you in / hieratic, saying: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH. (He means, ‘I go before you, lord’). . . .”⁴¹

So saying, he clapped 3 times, and the god⁴² laughed 7 times⁴³: “CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA.” When the god laughed, 7 gods were born⁴⁴ (who encompass the cosmos—see above—for these are those who appeared before [the world was formed]).

33. The text is corrupt; I follow Preisendanz’s conjecture, ad loc.

34. This gloss interrupts a list of the first seven angels, probably thought to be the first creatures within the cosmos, certainly the foremost subjects of the cosmocrator, Helios. We should next have a list of their utterances, but it is broken off after the first and replaced by those of the Egyptian gods who accompany the sun god’s boat at sunrise, and among whom Helios (here the sun disk) is a minor deity by relation to the god on the boat.

35. Reading *αὐτοῦ* for Preisendanz’s *αὐτοῦ*.

36. See above, n. 21.

37. Numerical glosses of this sort, of which there are many, reflect a special interest of the compiler; see ll. 737–57, his postscript after VIII Moses. Besides their convenience for numerological speculation, they helped copyists check their transcriptions of magical names. Not that copyists always took advantage of the convenience. Here Preisendanz proposes to get the number of letters down to thirty-six by omitting the final *r* of BERBIR. More interesting is the fact that the compiler evidently did not count ANOK as part of the name, but gave it its Egyptian meaning, “I (am).”

38. “The disk” is an uncertain expansion of an abbreviation otherwise unknown.

39. *φυσικόν*, meaning “with power to produce physical effects.”

40. The sum of the numerical values of the Greek letters *a b r a s a x* is 365. See Glossary, s.v. “Abrasax.”

41. Here the sudden change in content and style indicates that something has fallen out of the text. What follows is a fragment from some theogonic and cosmogonic myth, an insertion which runs to l. 206, where the invocation, here interrupted, is resumed. The insertion was found in all three versions (C refers to it as “the account of the making of the world,” but does not quote it, l. 697).

42. “The god” seems to be someone other than the preceding “he”—we have come into the middle of some mythological scene.

43. Seven is common in cosmological contexts. Besides, Gn 1, Prof. Bergman reports that it appears, for instance, in the temple of Esna, where, as here, seven utterances of one god become other gods. See S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d’Esna* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1962) 268–69. 2 Enoch 25–30 combined an Egyptian sequence of seven utterances that produce gods, with the Hebrew sequence of seven commands that produce cosmic changes, and thus produced a muddle.

44. What were born, according to the following text, were not seven but eight *pairs* of gods, not angels, who do not encompass the cosmos but are involved in it as psychological and physical elements (see n. 45). Therefore the words here set in parentheses look like two glosses, especially because the wording of the second phrase echoes that of the clear gloss in l. 165 (see n. 45). However, the structure of seven laughs—seven emanations seem basic to this cosmology. That the last pair of gods does not come from a laugh but from a comment and an echo, makes it suspect; the list of eight looks like an

When he laughed first, / Phōs-Augē (Light-Radiance)⁴⁵ appeared and irradiated everything and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESSYN BERITHEN BERIO. 165

Then he laughed a second time. All was warer. Earth, hearing the sound, cried out and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. A god appeared; he was given charge of the abyss [of primal waters], for without / bim moisture 170
neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is ESCHAKLEŌ (for⁴⁶ you are ŌĒAI, you are ŌN BETHELLE).

When he wanted to laugh the third time, Nous or Phrenes⁴⁷ [Mind or Wits] appeared holding a heart,⁴⁸ because of the sharpness of the god. He was called Hermes; he was called SEMESILAM. /

The god laughed the fourth time, and Genna [Generative Power] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation]. [This pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZ. 175

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] appeared, holding scales indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes⁴⁹ contested / with her saying, “Justice is my province” (see above). While they were fighting the god said, “What seems to be just will depend on both, but all things in 180
the world will be subject to you, [Moira].” And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world—[Moira] of whom the name written first forward, then backwards, is great and holy and glorious, and it is this: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌR-RANGADŌ Ī ŌDANGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH⁵⁰ / (49 letters). 185

He laughed the sixth time and was much gladdened, and Kairos [Time] appeared holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it, said, “You, wrapping yourself in the glory of

adaptation to the Ogdoad (see below, l. 743 and n. 112)—perhaps misunderstood as eight, rather than four, pairs. The fact that this text was augmented by an appendix glorifying the Ogdoad (ll. 743–61), to make up for its absence from the original form, increases our suspicion. Hence the statement that seven gods were born is probably original. The fundamental problem presented by the text cannot be further investigated within the limits of these notes.

45. Thus the papyrus in both passages—here (with *αὐγή* for *αὐγή*) and l. 476. This is generation in syzygies, as in many ancient Egyptian and gnostic systems (see below, n. 111). Here the original structure may have been Phōs-Augē, Earth-Water, Nous-Phrenes, Genna-Spora, Moira-Hermes, Kairos-Basilissa (i.e., Sun-Moon), Psyche-Serpent, Phobos-Iaō. In the document used by the sources of PGM XIII this structure had been forgotten. Phōs and Augē had been identified, so had Nous and Phrenes. Nous had also been identified with Hermes. Spora had been reduced to a process controlled by Genna. In at least one version. Basilissa had been omitted. However, the original form is indicated by the needless occurrence of a *pair* of names at each level, and the frequent pairing of magical names: BERITHEN-BERIO, ESCHAKLEŌ-BETHELLE, HERMES-SEMESILAM, BADĒTOPHŌTH-ZŌTHAXATHŌZ. Another piece of evidence is the recurrence, in the Moira-Hermes and Phobos-Iaō pairs, of the story of original hostility/rivalry followed by fusion of function and name. Another element true to form is that, in the Phōs-Augē syzygy, Augē, being feminine and derivative from Phōs, is that aspect of the pair which is involved in lower being. It is she who appears to the earth (480), and she is probably the δόξα (glory) of Phōs in which sun and moon are clothed (189, 514–20, read *αὐγήν* for *αυραν*). So Christ is the ἀπαύγασμα (radiance) of the Father's glory (Heb 1:3).

46. “For you are” introduces another gloss.

47. “Or Phrenes” is taken as a gloss by Preisendanz but may have come from the phrase “and Phrenes” and from an original syzygy (see above, n. 45). In privately written texts *καί* (“and”) was often abbreviated to *K'*, easily confused with *H* (“or”).

48. From the Greek side, the heart was the seat of the intelligence in classical times; *φρένες*, “wits,” literally “midribs,” had earlier been thought the seat of the intelligence, and the word continued in literary use with that sense. For the Egyptian side, cf. Bonnet, *RARG* 296–97, s.v. “Herz.”

49. Among the things of which Hermes was patron was public speaking, especially argument in the law courts. (The text here is extremely corrupt. I follow Preisendanz's conjecture.)

50. Double *g* in Greek is pronounced *ng*, so in the English transliteration of this palindrome the letters *n* and *g* change places, but in Greek there is no change.

190 Phōs [Light] / will be with me. . . .⁵¹ ANOCH BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SILATOUR
BOUPHROUMTRŌM” (36 letters).

When the god laughed a seventh time Psyche [Soul] came into being, and he wept while laughing. On seeing Psyche, he hissed, and the earth heaved and gave birth to the Pythian serpent who foreknew all things, so the god called him IL-
195 ILLOU / ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH.
Seeing the serpent, the god was frightened and said, “Pop, pop, pop.” When the god said, “Pop, pop, pop,” an armed man appeared who is called DANŌUP
CHRATOR BERBALI BARBITH. Seeing him the god was again terrified, as seeing
200 someone stronger [than himself, fearing] / lest the earth had thrown up a god.
Looking down at the earth he said, “IAŌ.” From the echo a god was born who is lord of all. The preceding man contended with him, saying, “I am stronger than this fellow.” The [first] god said to the strong man, “You come from the popping noise, and this [god] comes from an echo. Both of you will have charge of every need.”
205 [The pair] was then called DANŌUP / CHRATOR BERBALI BALBITH IAŌ.⁵²

“Lord, I imitate [you by saying] the 7 vowels;⁵³ enter and hear me, A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ IIII
OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PROARBATHŌ IAŌ
OYAEĒIOYŌ.”

210 / When the god comes in, look down and write the things he says and the Name which he gives you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he tells you accurately, too, the things that concern you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning [counting from the top down], and then coming to / *The Seven-Zoned*⁵⁴
215 count [the same number] from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

	<u>The Greek</u>	<u>The Seven-Zoned</u>
	Helios	Kronos
	Selene	Zeus
220	Ares	Ares
	Hermes	Helios
	Zens	Aphrodite
	Aphrodite	Hermes
	Kronos	Selene

225 / Of these things, child, I have declared to you the easy and godly solution which not even kings were able to grasp.

You are to write on the natron with the ink from the flowers of the 7 [stars] and kinds of incense. Similarly, you are to make “the bean,”⁵⁵ which I described allegorically in my *Key*, from the flowers and the kinds of incense.

51. For the Kairos-Phōs relation, see ll. 509–19 and nn. Here the text has omitted “the Queen” (the moon) who is the consort of Kairos in this syzygy. The following *Anoch* is again “I (am)” in Coptic.

52. Here the cosmogonic insertion is broken off and the invocation it interrupted (above, l. 161) is resumed.

53. The supplement comes from the parallel, version C, l. 701. God’s creative power issues in perpetual harmony of which the seven vowels are the expression—“the music of the spheres.”

54. *The Seven-Zoned* was thought by Festugière, *La Révélation* I 343, n. 3, to be a planetary sphere, but Festugière’s opinion was based on other evidence; this author seems to have thought the rhing a table or treatise; see below, ll. 722–30.

55. “The bean” was a bean-shaped ball of incense.

The initiation called *The Monad* has been fully declared to you, child. / Now I subjoin for you, child, also the practical uses of this sacred book, the things which all the experts accomplished with this sacred and blessed book. As I made you swear, child, in the temple of Jerusalem,⁵⁶ when you have been filled with the divine wisdom, dispose of the book so that it will not be found.

The first, then, [of these uses] is the marvelous / *[spell for] invisibility*: Taking the egg of a falcon, gild half of it and smear the other half with cinnabar. Wearing this you will be invisible when you say the Name.⁵⁷

To fetch a lover: Say the Name 3 times to the sun. It fetches woman to man and man to woman in a way that will amaze you.

If you want someone to be unattractive / —either a woman to a man or a man to a woman: Take a dog's excrement and put it in the post-hole of their door, saying the Name 3 times and saying "I sever NN from NN."

If you say the Name to a demoniac while putting sulfur and asphalt to his nose, the daimon will speak at once and will go away.⁵⁸

If you say it over a man who has erysipelas,⁵⁹ / having rubbed him with crocodile dung, he will be rid [of it] at once.

If you say the Name over a sprain or fracture 3 times, having rubbed it down with earth and vinegar, you will make it go away.

If you say it over any bird, into its ear, it will die.

If you see an asp and want to fix it in its place, say / "Stay!" while turning yourself around. When the names⁶⁰ are said it will stay.

To restrain anger: Enter the presence of a king or magnate, and while you have your hands inside your garment say the name of the sun disk⁶¹ while tying a knot in your pallium or shawl.⁶² You will marvel at the results.

If [you want] to break spells:⁶³ Having written the Name on a page of hieratic papyrus, wear it.

To make Helios appear:⁶⁴ Say toward the east, "I am he / on the two cherubim, between the two natures, heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, O archangel of those subject to the cosmos, ruler Helios, set in authority by the One and Only Himself. The Eternal and Only orders you." Say the Name. And if he appears glowering / say "Give⁶⁵ me

56. Pretentious hokum.

57. Presumably the Name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual, l. 211.

58. Or, perhaps, "(the man) will speak and (the demon) will go away." For the technique, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8. 47.

59. Or, perhaps, "[the ἐρυσιπέλας] will go away." Cf. Mk 4: 31; diseases were evil beings.

60. The plural here indicates that this list of applications drew on sources not originally connected with the preceding rite to learn the (one) Name. This probably explains the absence of the list from the other versions. "Say the Name" in many of these spells looks like an addition.

61. This, again, did not originally belong to the preceding rite. The god invoked there was not the sun god, but the creator and ruler of the sun; see 138–61. A number of similarly incompatible spells will be noticed in what follows.

62. The pallium was a cloak affected by persons claiming to be philosophers. The rare word translated "shawl" means "crosswise garment." If this magician were a Jew, it may have been the *talith*.

63. Or "as an antidote for poisons" or, most likely, both.

64. A spell of unmistakably Jewish background in which, however, the magician identifies himself with Yahweh ("he that sitteth upon the cherubim," 1 Sm 4: 4; 2 Sm 6: 2; etc.) and identifies Helios as an archangel. Compare the use of a Greek prayer, transliterated into Hebrew, for the same purpose, in *Sepher Ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 12, 99. The prayer in our text is clearly an interpolation in the list of short (two- or three-line) prescriptions which it interrupts.

65. In these requests it is not clear whether "give" means "specify" (a time suitable for some magical operation) or "add" (to the time of my life).

a day; give an hour; give a month; give a year, lord of life.” Say the Name.

If you want to kill a snake: Say, “Stay, for you are Aphyphs.” And taking a green palm branch and holding its heart,⁶⁶ split it [longways] into two, saying the Name
265 over it 7 times. At once the snake will be split / or will break open.

Prescience: This comes in the rite described above, that with the natron. And [you know] that the god will talk with you as with a fellow god, for I have often performed the rite when you were present.

Invisibility: Also thus: “Come to me, Darkness which appeared in the beginning, and hide me, NN, by the order of him who is self-begotten in heaven.” Say the Name.

270 / *Another way*: “I call on you alone, the only one in the cosmos who gives orders to gods and men, who changes himself into holy forms and brings existence out of the nonexistent and nonexistence from existent things, holy Thayth,⁶⁷ the true sight of whose face none of the gods can endure to see; make me seem to be, to the eyes
275 of all creatures—a wolf, dog, lion, / fire, tree, vulture, wall, water, or whatever you want—for you are able.” Say the Name.

Resurrection of a dead body: “I conjure you, spirit coming in air, enter, inspire, empower, resurrect by the power / of the eternal god, this body; and let it walk about in this place, for I am he who acts with the power of Thayth, the holy god.”
280 Say the Name.

If you want to cross [the Nile] on a crocodile: Sit down and say, “Hear me, you who live your life in the water. I am one who is at leisure in heaven and goes about
285 in water and in fire and in air / and earth. Return the favor done you on the day when I created you and you made your request to me. You will take me [to] the other side, for I am so-and-so.” Say the Name.

For release from bonds: [[Say, “Hear me, O Christ, in torments; help, in necessities, / O merciful in violent hours, able to do much in the world, who created compulsion and punishment and torture.” Say it 12 times by day,⁶⁸ hissing thrice eight times.]] Say the whole name of Helios beginning from ACHEBYKRÖM.⁶⁹
290

295 “Let every bond be loosed, every force fail, let all iron be broken, every rope or every strap, let every / knot, every chain be opened, and let no one compel me, for I am”—say the Name.

To quench fire: “Hear, fire, a work of the works of god’s invention, glory of the honored luminary, be quenched, become snow, for the speaker himself is Aion who
300 puts on fire as if it were / asbestos. Let every flame be scattered from me, every physical power, by command of Him who exists forever. You shall not touch me, fire; you shall not harm my flesh, for I am”—say the Name.

66. The center of the triangular end of the branch.

67. Thoth, here and below, l. 283.

68. Not “twelve days” (Preisendanz). All these charms are for quick results, and in this case they were particularly wanted. The words in double brackets are a Christian interpolation as can be seen by the fact that it creates a doublet—a double recipe for a single purpose—and also by comparing form and content of this spell with those of the others in this series, which consistently contain just the elements left in this when the bracketed words are deleted. The interpolation is interesting as evidence that these pagan magical texts continued to be used by the newly Christian criminal class. It also makes conspicuous the absence of Christian elements from the rest of the text. Since the text with the Christian interpolation dates from the first half of the fourth century A.D., the pagan text that was interpolated was probably third century at the latest.

69. This refers to the full name given in ll. 590–92, ACHEBYKRÖN . . . IAÖ. See also ll. 78–79, and cf. ll. 141–47 and 446–53, where the elements of the name are separated by exegetic comments. The magician was to know this name by heart.

For fire to continue: “I conjure you, fire, daimon of holy love, the invisible and manifold, / the one and everywhere, to remain in this lamp at this time, shining and not dying out, by the command of NN.” Say the Name. 305

To send dreams: Make a hippopotamus⁷⁰ of red wax, / hollow, and put into the belly of this hippopotamus both gold and silver and the so-called ballatha⁷¹ of the Jews and array him in white linen and put him in a pure window and, taking a sheet of hieratic papyrus write on it with myrrh ink and baboon’s blood / wherever you wish to send. Then, having rolled it into a wick and using it to light a new, pure lamp, put on the lamp the foot of the hippopotamus and say the Name, and he sends [the specified dream]. 310 315

A philter to be drunk: Take the lion-wasps (?) in a spider’s web / and, when you have ground them [to a powder, sprinkle the powder] on a drink and give it [to the appropriate person] to drink.⁷² 320

If you want your wife⁷³ not to be had by another man: Taking earth and mixing with it ink and myrrh, mold a crocodile, and put it into a lead coffin and write on this the great Name and that of your wife and, “Let NN not cohabit with any other man except me, NN.” The name / to be written on the feet of the image is: BIBIOU OUËR APSABARA KASONNAKA NESEBACH SPHĒ SPHĒ CHPHOURIS. 325

To open doors by use of the Name: “Open, open, 4 quarters of the cosmos, for the lord of the inhabited world comes forth. Archangels, decans, angels rejoice. For Aion of Aion himself, the only and / transcendant, invisible, goes through this place. Open, door! Hear, bar! Fall into two parts, lock! By the name AIA AINRYCHATH, cast up, Earth, for the lord, all things you contain, for he is the storm-sender and controller of the abyss, master of fire. Open, for ACHEBYKRÖM commands you!” [Say ACHEBYKRÖM] 8 times; [it is] the name of Helios. 330

Another way. The spell for Helios: “I am he on the two cherubim, at the middle of the cosmos, between heaven and earth, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, archangel of god, set in authority by the One and Only Himself.” With this spell perform the acts of thanksgiving to Helios, rites to fetch lovers, send dreams, / ask for dreams, make Helios appear, attain goals, win victories, and in short, everything. 335 340

You have now received, child, the sacred and blessed book, *Unique*, which no one [hitherto] was able to translate⁷⁴ or put into practice. Keep well, child.⁷⁵

*Tr.: Morton Smith. For a more extensive discussion of the composition, see Morton Smith, “The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew (PLcid. J 395),” in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo studio di papiri ercolanesi, 1984) 683–93. PGM XIII (copied about A.D. 350) consists of two parts, first *The Eighth Book of Moses* (henceforth *VIII Moses*), ll. 1–733; second, a collection of miscellaneous spells, divine names, etc., ll. 734–1077.

VIII Moses consists of three parts—three different versions of a rite to get a visit from the supreme god; let us call them A (ll. 1–343), B (ll. 343–645) and C (ll. 646–734). These versions differ considerably by peripheral additions and omissions, but their essential parts are often closely parallel, though not always arranged in the same order. Because of the parallelism, questions raised by two or three have been dealt with only when they first appeared.

70. The word for “hippopotamus” here is uncertain, but written in Greek letters. See also M. J. Raven, “Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism,” *OMRM* 64 (1983): 7–47, esp. 17–18.

71. Unknown.

72. The expected result is not indicated. Perhaps death, but perhaps love—the wasps had been ensnared and held fast.

73. Reading γυναικά σου instead of Preisendanz’s γυναικας οὐ.

74. More hokum.

75. A standard epistolary cliché. The use of epistolary beginnings and ending for treatises was a common ancient practice.

Hence readers of B and C who encounter difficulties should look for explanations in the notes on the parallel passages in A. Not all parallels are equally close, but those fairly clear are as follows:

Lines:

343–50 = 3–6	410–32 = 42–61	567–608 = 61–90
352–56 = 17–27	432–34 = 227–28	580–81 = 273–74
358 = 100–102	435–40 = 130–35	646–66 = 91–110
361–63 = 128–31	443–550 = 138–209	666–99 = 110–39
378–82 = 54–59	451ff. = 78ff.	692 = 227–28
384–88 = 35–43	562–70 = 138–209	700–701 = 206
		704–13 = 210–13
		718–30 = 213–24.

PGM XIII. 343–646

345 *The sacred, hidden book of Moses called “eighth” or “holy.”⁷⁶ / This is the ritual using the name that encompasses all things. It also has directions for a meeting with the god in which you will succeed if you leave out nothing [of what is prescribed].

350 Keep yourself pure 41 days, having calculated the day and the hour in which the last appearance of / the old moon will occur in Aries. And when the moon enters Aries sleep on the floor during the previous night, and when you have sacrificed burn also the seven approved kinds of incense⁷⁷ in which the god delights, for the seven censings of the seven stars. The incenses are these: malabathron, styrax, nard, 355 kostos, cassia, frankincense, myrrh. [Take these] and the seven flowers of the seven / stars, which are rose, lotus, narcissus, white lily, crephyllinon, gillyflower, marjoram. Having ground them all to a powder, with wine not mixed with seawater, burn all as incense. And [also] wear cinnamon, for the god has given it magical power. Burn the incenses after the twenty-first day, so as to complete [the preparation?]. 360 As / food take milk of a black cow and wine without seawater and Greek natron ([the author] indicates that is beginning and end).

When the day is at hand, put aside for the sacrifice cypress wood or balsam 365 wood—so that even / without the incenses the sacrifice may give a pleasant odor—and five pinecones full of seed. And light two lamps, each holding about half a pint of oil, on this and that side of the altar. The altar, moreover, is to be made of earth. When you have prepared and filled the lamps, do not later pour any more oil into 370 them. Sacrifice an unblemished⁷⁸ white rooster, / and leave another alive, and similarly [sacrifice one] pigeon [and leave another] so that the god, when he comes in, may take the spirit from whichever he prefers. Also lay out a knife, and lay beside it the seven incenses and the seven flowers prepared [as] written [above] so that if, on 375 coming in, the god should wish to sacrifice again / he may find all in readiness. And leave the sacrifice lying on the altar.

The tasting of the victims is done [in] this way: When you are ready to taste them, sacrifice the rooster, so that [the god] may receive lots of spirit, and at the point of tasting, call on the god of the hour and him of the day, so that you may 380 have sponsorship from them. For if you do not invoke them, / they will not hear you, as being uninitiated. Now you will find [the names of] the gods of the hours and those of the days, and the compulsive formula for each of them in the *Key of Moses*, for he set them out one by one.⁷⁹

76. The beginning of the second version; see the prefatory note above.

77. Translation dubious. *Ἐπιθύμα*, usually “incense,” might mean “censing,” which here seems required by the syntax.

78. Or one “without any fleck of color.”

79. Or “brought them out [of secrecy]”? The verb means “pulled away/apart”; this use is unparalleled.

As for the name [of the great god], write all of it on the Greek natron. Instead of / the “pop, pop, pop” sound [in the name] draw on the Greek natron a falcon-
 formed crocodile,⁸⁰ for he greets the god four times a year at the gods’ true entries
 of new periods⁸¹—at the cosmos’ first turning, called increase, then in his own elevation
 which they call “the birth / of Horus,” [[then at the rising of the Dog
 Star,]]⁸² then at the ascension of Sothis. At each increase of the sun and diminution
 he gives forth his popping noise. The nine-formed [the Ennead] gives him the
 power to make the noise at that time, so that the sun may ascend from the sound of
 water,⁸³ / for he himself appears together with him [the sun]. Therefore he [the
 falcon-faced crocodile] received the forms and the power of the nine gods that rise
 with the sun. For at the downward turning [the autumnal equinox] he sends out
 the sound weaker and less / powerful, [[for this is the birth of cosmos and sun]].⁸⁴
 Then at the “increase” when the lights [of the heavens] begin to rise, he too sends
 out the noise more powerfully. And at the rise of the Dog Star, turning to the west,
 he sends out the noise most powerfully,⁸⁵ inasmuch as he does not have the / related
 water near by, and because this solstice adds more [to his power], while the effects
 of the last equinox take away what he gained in the preceding solstice. For
 [the autumn equinox] is [the time of] the Nile flood’s⁸⁶ departure and the sun’s
 abasement.

Accordingly, draw the two, i.e., the falcon-faced crocodile / and the nine-formed
 god standing on him, both with myrrhed ink. For the falcon-faced crocodile at the
 four turnings [of the year] greets the god with his popping noise. For coming up to
 breathe from the deep he goes “pop, pop, pop,” / and he of the nine forms replies
 to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the “pop, pop, pop” [in the god’s name],
 draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the “pop, pop, pop” is the first element of the
 name. The second is a hissing, and instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting / its
 tail. Thus the two elements, popping and hissing, are⁸⁷ [represented by] a falcon-

80. I.e., falcon-faced/headed. See above, l. 4 and n. 15.

81. The reference is to the four solar seasons. The “gods” are the sun and the planets, thought to accompany him. That the beginnings of the seasons are called “new moons” shows how this latter term has been generalized. The “increase” is the sun’s return toward the north after the winter solstice. The falcon-faced crocodile was in part Horus (see above, n. 15); hence his elevation becomes “the birth of Horus,” probably the spring equinox. (Preisendanz’s reference to the winter solstice seems ruled out by the preceding “increase.”) “The birth of Horus” was also a festival celebrated on the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi (Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscr. Aegypt.* 609. 71–72; cf. 370. 14) and in the ideal year, which began with the rising of Sirius/Sothis in July, just after the summer solstice, the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi would have fallen near March 21, the spring equinox. Such a year actually occurred in Egypt in A.D. 139. Does this date the spell?

82. Omitting, “then (at) the rising of the Dog Star,” a marginal gloss which Preisendanz put in his text. The fourth occasion of greeter, the autumn equinox, is not here specified.

83. The deity is here identified with water, and specifically with the Nile flood. Thus he sends out the popping noise (the sound of water, l. 394) most powerfully at the rise of Sirius/Sothis which begins the inundation in Egypt. At this time the god is said not to have “his kindred water” near him (ll. 404–5), because he has just begun to summon it with his popping. [R.K.R.]

84. This seems an explanatory gloss irreconcilable with the preceding location of “the birth of Horus” (the sun) at the spring equinox. The festival would not have coincided with the autumnal equinox until the end of the sixth century A.D., much too late for this fourth-century papyrus. (Its last previous coincidence was about the end of the eighth century B.C.) Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 52, 372B, reports a festival at “the birthday of the staff of the sun, after the fall equinox, indicating its need . . . of strengthening.” This festival may explain the gloss.

85. Taking *δυναμικώτερον* as *litotes* for a superlative (as comparatives, in Greek, often are).

86. The Nile’s flood, beginning after the summer solstice, declines before the autumn equinox.

87. Omitting *καί* (“and”).

faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the god's name] is [composed of] nine names,⁸⁸ in advance of which you should say, with the [prayer on the] stèle, [those of] the gods of the hours / and of the days [and] those set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these. For without these the god will not listen, but, thinking you uninitiated, will refuse to receive [you], unless you emphatically say to him the names of the lord of the day and of the hour, / which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]. For without these you can accomplish nothing of the things you find written in the *Key*.

Then throw [the powder] of the seven flowers, which you have prepared, into the ink, and with this write on the natron. Write the same things on the two sides of the plaque and lick off / the one side and wash off the other into the wine and the milk, first—before you wash it off—having sacrificed the rooster and made everything read.⁸⁹ / Then call on the gods of the hours, as aforesaid, and then drink off [the wine and milk].⁹⁰

“I call on you, you who surround all things, in every language, and in every dialect, I hymn you, / as he first hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRŌM” (which signifies the flame and radiance of the disk) “whose is the glory AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ, because he was glorified by you” (or, as other [texts read], “was given a glorious form”)—“[you] who set [in their places] the stars / and who, in divine light, create the cosmos, in which you have set in order all things III AAA ŌŌŌ. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ.” (These are the angels who first appeared.) “ARAGA ARATH ADŌNAI BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries to you in birdglyphic, / ‘ARAI’ (which is, ‘Woe to my enemy,’) and you have set him in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you thus in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own name, ANAG⁹¹ BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHI-LATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, / saying, ‘I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?), thanks to you. Your magical name in Egyptian is AL-DABAEIM.” (This means the boat, on which he comes up, rising on the world.) “He who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying, ‘You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.’ The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out, to receive food, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TI TI TI TI TI TI TI. He of the nine forms greets / you in hieratic, ‘MENEPHŌIPHŌTH,’” (meaning that “I go before you, lord”). . . .⁹²

88. The translation is conjectural, but conjecture seems required by the fact that none of the groups of names specified adds up to nine.

89. This contradicts the directions given above, ll. 369–75, and also requires more roosters than provided. Such internal inconcinnities prove version B composite. Most conspicuous is the doubling of the epiphany at the end.

90. Contrast l. 134, where the following petition precedes the drinking. For other discrepancies of detail between B and the other versions, cf. ll. 136, 440–41 (no reference to reclining), 695, and 702–3; and see above, nn. 16 and 28.

91. See above, n. 21, on l. 82. Here we have ANAG, a variant spelling of ANOCH, but equally Egyptian, not Hebrew. Several other variant spellings will occur below and be transcribed without further comment.

92. See above, l. 161. The same hiatus occurs here as in version A. Therefore both B and A were copied from a single source; but they differ considerably, therefore at least one was not copied directly from the source in which the hiatus first occurred. That source must therefore have been at least three literary generations prior to our fourth-century manuscript, and prior to it (by how many generations?) will have been the first copy of the correct text from a descendant of which (presumably) it was taken.

So saying he clapped three times and the god laughed seven times, CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA. When he laughed seven gods were born, who encompass all things. (For these are / those who appeared before [the world was formed].) 475

When he laughed first Phōs-Auge [Light-Radiance] appeared and divided all things, and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESEN BEREITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time—all was water, and the earth, hearing the / sound and seeing Auge, was amazed and heaved, and the water came to be divided 480 into three parts. And a god appeared and was given charge of the abyss, and therefore without him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is PROMSACHA ALEEIO. (For you / are ŌEAI BETHE[LLE].) 485

When he wanted to laugh the third time Nous and Phrenes [Mind and Wits] appeared holding a heart, because of the sharpness of the god, and was called Hermes, [since it is he] by whom all things have been interpreted.⁹³ He is also in charge of the power of understanding by which everything is managed. / And he is 490 [called] SEMESILAMPS.

The god laughed the fourth time and Genna [Creative Force]⁹⁴ appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation] of all things, by whom all things were sown, and [this pair] was called BADETOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZŌ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] / appeared, holding scales, indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes 495 contested with her, saying, “Justice is in my province.” While they were fighting the god said to them, “What seems to be just / will depend on both, but all things in 500 the world will be subject to you [Moira].” And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world and was called by a holy name, fearsome and frightful, written first forwards, then backwards, and it is this: THORIOBRITL, etc. [[of whom the name written first forwards, then backwards is great / and holy and glorious, and 505 this is of great value, a powerful name: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRAGGADŌ I ŌDAG-GARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH—49 letters]].

He laughed the sixth time⁹⁵ and was much gladdened, the Kairos⁹⁶ appeared, holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to / the first- 510 created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it said, “You, wrapping yourself in the glory of Phos [Light] will be with me, because you first gave me a scepter. All things will be subject to you, those that were before and those yet to be. All power will be in you.” When he [Kairos] wrapped himself in the glory of Phos, / the character of the light 515 produced a certain effluence.⁹⁷ The god, [Phōs, then] said to the Queen,⁹⁸ “You, wrapping yourself in the effluence of Phōs, will be with him [Kairos—the sun] compassing all things. You will wax with the light you receive from him, and again you will wane because of him. With you all things will increase and / diminish.” So 520

93. “Interpreted” in Greek seems to come from the same root as “Hermes.”

94. The bracketed words seem a variant and expansion of the preceding text, probably with contamination from version A; cf. ll. 183–86.

95. *καιρός* (“time”) is here not only time, but the sun god qua measure of time.

96. Here the relation of Kairos as world ruler, to Phōs, the first created god, who subjects all things to him and clothes him with his own glory (cf. Phil 2: 9–11), is remarkably like that of Jesus as Messiah (who is to reign until he puts all enemies under his feet, 1 Cor 15: 23–28) to the first god, the Father. The Christians have transposed the relation a step higher. Jesus himself is Phōs (“Light,” Jn 1: 7–9) and “first born of all creation” (Col 1: 15), and the Father is the creator. However, it seems clear that the same sort of theogonic theorizing underlies both theological structures.

97. Reading *ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ φωτός* with C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci Musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885) ad loc.

98. The moon, probably Artemis-Selene-Isis.

the name is great and marvellous. ANAG BIATHIAR BARBERBI SCHILATOIR BOU-
PHROUNTÖRM (36 letters).

He laughed the seventh time, breathing hard, and Psyche [Soul] came into being
and all things were moved. So the god said, “You will move all things, and all shall
525 be made glad / so long as Hermes guides you.” When the god said this all things
were moved and filled with spirit unrestrainably. The god, seeing this, said, “Pop,
pop, pop,” and all things were terrified, and on account of the popping noise Pho-
530 bos [Fear] appeared, armed. So he is called DANOUF CHRATÖR / BERBALI BAL-
BITHI (26 letters).

Then, looking down at the earth, the god gave a long hiss and the earth was
opened, receiving the echo. It gave birth to a creature of its own, the Pythian ser-
pent, who foreknew all things through the utterance of the god. Its name is great
535 and / holy, ILILOUI ILILOUI ILILOUI ITHÖR MARMARAUGĒ PHÖCHÖ PHÖ-
BÖCH. When he appeared the earth heaved and was raised much higher, but the
celestial pole stayed unmoved, so when they were about to collide the god said
540 “IAÖ,” and everything was fixed in place / and a great, supreme god appeared who
established the things that were before in the cosmos and the things yet to be, so
that none of the aerial bodies was thenceforth out of place.

Phobos, seeing someone stronger than himself, opposed him, saying, “I am prior
545 to you.” He, however, said, “But I fixed all things [in their places].” So the / [first]
god said [to the serpent], “You come from an echo, but this god from an utterance.
Now an utterance is better than an echo. However, [he said to Iao],⁹⁹ “the power of
you, who appeared last, will derive from both, so that all things may be fixed in
their places.” And he was thenceforth called by the great and marvelous name
550 DANOUF CHRATÖR / BERBALI BALBITH IAÖ. And wishing to give honor also to the
one who had assisted him, as having appeared together with him, the first god gave
him precedence of the nine gods and possession of power and glory equal to theirs.
555 / And he was called [by a name derived] from the nine gods, as having taken away,
along with their power, also the initials of their names, BOSBEADII,¹⁰⁰ and from the
seven planets AEËIOYÖ EËIOYÖ EIOYÖ IOYÖ OYÖ YÖ Ö ÖYÖIËEA YOIËEA OIËEA IËEA
560 ËEA EA A— / when written forwards and backwards this is great and marvelous.
But his greatest name, which is this following, is great and holy (of 27 letters)
ABRÖCH BRAÖCH CHRAMMAÖTH PRÖARBATHÖ IAÖ. Another version: ABRÖCH
BRAÖCH CHRAMMAÖTH PRÖARBATHÖ IAÖ OY AEËIOYÖ.

565 When, then, the god comes in, / look down and write the things said and what-
ever name he may give you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy
until he also tells you the things that concern you.

Now the text of the sacred stele to be written in the natron is as follows—and the
invocation runs thus, as here given altogether accurately:

570 / “I call on you, the creator of all, who are greater than all, you, the self-begotten
god, who see all and hear all and are not seen. For you gave Helios all the glory and
575 the power, / Selene the privilege to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you
took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but assigned them equality [with it?].
For when you appeared, both order arose and light appeared, and all things were

99. Since in this version only the serpent was born of an echo, and since the last half of the god's speech must be addressed to Iaö, the change of interlocutor, indicated by the translation, just be conjectured. Presumably the text is corrupt. Cf. the A version, ll. 191–206, which, however, may have been produced by excision of the difficulties. That the more difficult text is apt to be the original is a well-known rule.

100. In spite of this clue the names remain uncertain.

arranged by you. Therefore all things are also / subject to you, whose true form 580
none of the gods can see, who take different forms in [different] visions, Aion of
Aion.

“I call on you, lord, that you may show me your true form. For under your order
I serve / your angel, ANOG BIATHIABAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTÖRM, 585
and your fear DANOUÏ CHRANTÖR BELBALI BALBITH IAÖ. Through you arose the
[celestial] pole and the earth.

“I call on you, lord, as do those gods who appeared under [order?] that they /
may have power, ACHEBYKRÖM, whose is the glory, AAA ËËË ÖÖÖ III AAA ÖÖÖ 590
SABAOTH ARBATHIAÖ ZAGOURË, the god ARATH ADÖNAI BASYMM IAÖ.

“I call on you, lord, in birdglyphic, ARAI; hieroglyphic, LAILAM; Hebraic, ANAG,
/ BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOURPHOUNTÖRM; Egyptian, ALDABAEIM; 595
baboonic, ABRASAX; falconic, CHI CHI CHI CH! CHI CHI [CHI] ti ti ti ti ti ti;
hieratic, MENEPHÖIPHÖTH / CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA.” 600

Then clap three times, TAK TAK TAK, go “pop, pop, pop” for a long time; hiss a
great hiss, that is, one of some length.

“Come to me, lord, faultless, who pollute no place, joyful, unflawed, for I call on
/ you, King of kings, Tyrant of tyrants, most glorious of the glorious, daimon of 605
daimons, most warlike of the warlike, most holy of the holy. Come to me, willing,
joyful, unflawed.”

An angel will come in, and you say to the angel, “Greetings, lord. Both initiate
me by these rites¹⁰¹ I am performing / and present me [to the god], and let the fate 610
determined by my birth be revealed to me.” And if he says anything bad, say, “Wash
off from me the evils of fate. Do not hold back, but reveal / to me everything, by 615
night and day and in every hour of the month, to me, NN, son of NN. Let your
auspicious form be revealed to me, for under your [order] I serve [your] angel,
ANAG BIATHI.” (Repeat the formula.)

“I call on you, lord, holy, much hymned, greatly honored, ruler of the cosmos, /
[[Sarapis]];¹⁰² consider my birth and turn me not away, me, NN whom NN [bore], 620
who know your true name and valid name, ÖAÖEÖ ÖEOË IAÖ IIIAÖ THOUTHË
THË AATHÖ ATHËROUÖR AMIATHAR MIGARNA CHPHOURI IYËYÖÖAEË A ËË ËËË
/ IIII ÖOOÖO YYYYYY ÖÖÖÖÖÖÖ SEMESILAMMPS AEËIOYÖ. ËÖOYE LINOUCHA 625
NOUCHA HARSAMOSI¹⁰³ ISNORSAM OTHAMARMIM ACHYCH CHAMMÖ. I call on
you, lord; I hymn your holy power in a musical hymn, AEËIOYÖÖÖ.”¹⁰⁴ / Burn in- 630
cense, saying, “ËIOYÖ IOYÖ OYÖ YÖ Ö A ËË ËËË IIII ÖOOÖO YYYYYY ÖÖÖÖÖÖÖ
ÖËÖAÖAÖ ÖOOYO IIIILAO IYYYOAEË YO. Protect me from all my own astrological
destiny; destroy my / foul fate; apportion good things for me in my horoscope; 635
increase my life; and [may I enjoy] many good things, for I am your slave and pe-
titioner and have hymned your valid and holy name, lord, glorious one, ruler of

101. Literally, “Initiate me in/by these my matters.”

102. Sarapis (like Christ above, in ll. 289–92) is elsewhere of no importance in this text. Therefore his name here and in l. 640 below is probably interpolated. However, this does not prove that the whole section in which the name occurs is an interpolation. The section has the ideas and vocabulary of the rest of the text, and understandably follows the visit of the angel as a spell to introduce the magician to the supreme god himself. That no epiphany follows may be due either to the loss of the end of the text that the compiler was using or to his desire to subordinate this to the C version, which now begins immediately, is much abbreviated, and so leads quickly to the final meeting with the god.

103. HARSAMOSI is “Horus the Elder.” [R.K.R.] Other divine names are also embedded in the spell: IAÖ, THOUTHË (probably from Thoth), SEMESILAM.

104. The seven Greek vowels, represented by the first seven letters of this group, were equated with the notes of the musical scale, and so represented the basic harmony.

the cosmos, of ten thousand names (?),¹⁰⁵ greatest, nourisher, apportioner, /
640 [[Sarapis]].”

Having drawn in spirit with all your senses, say the first¹⁰⁶ name in one breath to
the east, the second to the south, the third to the north, the fourth to the west, and
having knelt to the left [on] your right knee once, say to the earth once and to the
645 moon once, to water once and to sky once, “ΘΑΩĒ ŌŌ EOĒLAŌ / ΙΙΙ ΑΑŌ ΘĒ THOU
THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROYŌ” (36 letters).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 646–734

*Have¹⁰⁷ a tablet on which you will write what he says to you, and a knife so that,
clean from all [impurities], you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation, that you may
650 pour one. Have all these / ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned
with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy thus: taking a clean sheet write on the
655 border [the names of] the 365 gods. Make it like a tent / under which you go to be
initiated. Also have cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it
power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel,
660 / with tripod standing beside him and Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo
the great name in Egyptian form: on his chest this,¹⁰⁸ BAINCHŌŌCHŌŌŌCHNIAB,
665 written [the same] forwards and backwards; / on the back of [the] figure this name:
ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod: ITHŌR
MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this, too, around your neck when you
670 perform the initiation; / it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through
the last] seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon begin sleep-
ing on the ground. Rising at dawn, greet the sun [Helios] through seven days, each
675 day saying first the [names of the] / gods of the hours, then those set over the
weeks. Also [each day], learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying,
“Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices”—doing
so until the eighth day.

Then, / coming to this day, in the middle of the night, when there is quiet, light
the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted, into
685 which you must not put any more oil. Now begin to recite the stele and the / mys-
tery of the god. Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow and
wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end. Then having written
on one side of the natron [plaque, the text of] the stele which begins “I call on you,
690 who are greater than all,” / etc., as given above, lick it off, and pouring [wine?] on
the other side, on which is the figure drawing,¹⁰⁹ wash it off into the mixing bowl.
The natron should be written [with ink made] both from the incense materials and
695 from the flowers. Then, before you drink off the milk and the wine, / say over it this
petition and having said it lie down on the mat, holding the tablet and the stylus,
and recite the account of creation which begins, “I call on you who surround all

105. Reading *μυριώνυμε* for the papyrus’s *μυρικώτατες*, and Preisendanz’s *μυριώτατε* (otherwise unknown?).

106. “First” of those in this section; above, ll. 622–27.

107. Here version C of the main ritual begins, paralleling version A, ll. 91–110, where the notes on features common to both texts will be found.

108. Preisendanz’s supplement, *δνομα*, is needless.

109. Of the nine-formed god standing on a falcon-faced crocodile inside an ouroboros, above, ll. 39–45 and parallel. Contrast versions A and B in which the prayer is to be written on both sides of the tablet, ll. 131 and 434.

things, I call in every language and in every dialect,” etc. And when / you come to the vowels, say, “Lord, I imitate you by [saying] the seven vowels; enter and hear me.” Then repeat the name [composed] of the 27 letters. You should be lying on a rush mat spread under you on the ground.

Now when the god comes in do not stare / at his face, but look at his feet while beseeching him, as written above, and giving thanks that he did not treat you contemptuously, but you were thought worthy of the things about to be said to you for correction of your life. You, then, ask, “Master, what is fated for me?” And he will tell you even / about your star, and what kind of daimon you have, and your horoscope and where you may live and where you will die. And if you hear something bad, do not cry out or weep, but ask that he may wash it off or circumvent it, for this god can do everything. Therefore, when you begin questioning, / thank him for having heard you and not overlooked you. Always sacrifice to this [god] in this way and offer your pious devotions, for thus he will hear you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time,] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning, / and then, coming to the “Seven-Zoned,” count from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

<u>Greek</u>		<u>The Seven-Zoned</u>
Helios	The Monad of	Kronos
Selene	<u>Moses,</u>	Zeus
Ares	which is also a table	Ares
Hermes	called “The Seven-	Helios
Zeus	Zoned.”	Aphrodite
Aphrodite		Hermes
Kronos		Selene

*The Eighth, Hidden Book of Moses.*¹¹⁰ In another [manuscript] I found was written, *The Hidden Book of Moses concerning the Great Name*, or,¹¹¹ *For Everything, in which is the Name of Him Who Governs All.*

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

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*You should also take, child, for this personal / vision, [a list of] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months, and the seven-letter name which is in the first book, and which you also have written in the *Key*, which [name] is great and marvelous, as it is what brings alive all your books. / I have also set out for you the oath that precedes each book, since, when you have learned the power of the book, you are to keep it secret, child, for in it there is the name of the lord, which is Ogdoads,¹¹² the god who com-

110. As often in ancient manuscripts, the title follows the text. Perhaps it did so in l. 344 and was there fused with the beginning title of version B.

111. Reading “or” for Preisendanz’s “which” (ἥ for ἡ). Evidently the copyist knew at least three manuscripts.

112. An “ogdoad” is something composed of eight members or elements. Capitalized, the term is used especially for a set of eight Egyptian gods, considered as a unit. They consisted of four pairs, representing the masculine and feminine aspects of the primeval world (Bonnet, *RARG* 5–6, s.v. “Achtteir”; cf. the similar “Ennead” discussed in n. 15 above). [R.K.R. adds that they were celebrated in the creation myth of Hermopolis—in Egyptian, “Eight-Town”—as those who brought forth the universe. He refers

745 mands and directs all things, since to him angels, archangels, he-daimons, / she-daimons, and all things under the creation have been subjected.

There are also prefaced four other names, that of nine letters and that of fourteen letters and that of twenty-six letters and that of Zeus. You may use these on boy-
 750 mediums who do not see the gods, so / that one will see unavoidably, and for all spells and needs: inquiries, prophecies by Helios, prophecies by visions in mirrors. And for the compulsive spell you should use the great name which is Ogdoas, the god who directs all things throughout the creation. [For] without him simply
 755 nothing / will be accomplished. Learn and conceal, child, the name [composed] of the nine letters, AEĒ EĒI OYŌ, and that of the fourteen letters, YSAU SIAUE IAŌUS, and that of the twenty-six letters, ARABBAOUARABA (to be written forwards and backwards),¹¹³ the name of Zeus, CHONAI IEMOI CHO ENI KA ABIA SKIBA PHOROUOM EPIERTHAT.

760 / *Here is the instruction [for recitation] of the heptagram,¹¹⁴ and the spell to which the god gives attention: (The spell):*

“Come to me, you from the four winds, ruler of all, who breathed spirit into men for life, whose is the hidden and unspeakable name—it cannot be uttered by human mouth / —at whose name even the daimons, when hearing, are terrified,
 765 whose is the sun, ARNEBOUAT BOLLOCH BARBARICH B BAALSAMĒN PTIDAIOY ARNEBOUAT, and [the] moon, ARSENPENPRŌOUTH BARBARATŌNE OSRAR MEMPSE-
 770 CHEI—they are unwearied eyes / shining in the pupils of men’s eyes—of whom heaven is head, ether body, earth feet, and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean, begetter of good things and feeder of the civilized
 775 world. Yours is the eternal processional way¹¹⁵ / in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets which] utter their voices according to the twenty-eight forms of the moon, SAR APHARA APHARA I
 780 ABRAARM ARAPHA ABRAACH PERTAŌMĒCH / AKMĒCH IAŌ OYE Ē IAŌ OYE EIOY AEŌ EĒOY IAŌ. Yours are¹¹⁶ the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and Fortunes and Fates, by whom is given wealth, good old age, good children, good luck,
 785 a good burial.¹¹⁷ And you, lord of life, King of the heavens and the / earth and all things living in them, you whose justice is not turned aside, you whose glorious name the Muses sing, you whom the eight guards attend, Ē Ō CHŌ CHOUGH NOUN
 790 NAUNI AMOUN AMAUNI;¹¹⁸ you who have / truth that never lies. Your name and

to Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 175–77.] As gods who produced the cosmos, like those of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, they interested Greeks who speculated about cosmology. Since the precosmic world was that of divine perfection, they came to be thought both a heaven above the seven planetary heavens, and a deity above the cosmic gods. Greek speculation about a divine sphere beyond those of the planets was happy to find in them an ancient, arcane, and prestigious prototype. Hence their name became a popular term in second-century A.D. and later theosophy; it figures in Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Christian writings, both “orthodox” and “gnostic,” and reflections are found even in rabbinic literature. Such popularity accounts for this postscript, adding the fashionable Egyptian name to the preceding collection, which had lacked it. Perhaps the collection was made before the name became truly popular.

113. In the Greek text this direction is abbreviated to α’ (for ἀναγραμματίζε), of which Preisendanz did not see the meaning.

114. I.e., the seven vowels. More pretentious terminology.

115. Of the sky, in which the luminaries revolve.

116. Reading σὸν for οὖν, in accordance with Preisendanz’s emendation in the parallel text, XII. 254.

117. This list of divine gifts (while admittedly at home in most cultures) is quite Egyptian in its emphasis on “good old age” and “good burial.” Cf. the standard prayer, “that he be buried in the necropolis of the desert in good old age,” K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), vol. I, p. 120, and many parallels. [R.K.R.]

118. These are the names of the members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad (see above, n. 112, and

your spirit rest upon the good. Come into my mind and my understanding for all the time of my life and accomplish for me all the desires of my soul. /

For you are I, and I, you. Whatever I say must happen, for I have your name as a 795
unique phylactery in my heart, and no flesh, although moved, will overpower me;
no spirit will stand against me—neither daimon nor visitation nor any other of the
evil beings of Hades, / because of your name, which I have in my soul and invoke. 800
Also [be] with me always for good, a good [god dwelling] on a good [man], your-
self immune to magic, giving me health no magic can harm, well-being, prosperity,
glory, victory, power, sex appeal. Restrain the evil eyes / of each and all of my legal 805
opponents, whether men or women, but give me charm in everything I do. ANOCH
AIEPHE SAKTIETĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SEĒE SEĒE SIETHŌ SI-
ETHŌ OUN CHOUNTIAI SEMBI IMENOUAI BAINPHNOUN PHNOUTH TOUCHAR
SOUCHAR SABACHAR ANA¹¹⁹ of [the] god IEOU ION EON THŌTHŌ / OUTHRO 810
THRŌRESE ERIŌPŌ IYĒ AĒ IAŌAI AEĒIOYŌ AEĒIOYŌ ĒOCH MANEBI CHYCHIŌ AL-
ARAŌ KOL KOL KAATŌN KOLKANTHŌ BALALACH ABLALACH OTHERCHENTHE
BOULŌCH / BOULŌCH OSERCHNTHE MENTHEI,¹²⁰ for I have received the power of 815
Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great god, daimon IAŌ ABLANATHANALBA
SIABRATHILAŌ LAMPSTĒR IĒI ŌŌ, god. Do [it], lord PERTAŌMECH / CHACHMĒCH
IAŌ OYĒE IAŌ OYĒE IEOU AĒŌ EĒOY IAŌ.” 820

The instruction: Speaking to the rising sun, stretching out your right hand to
the left and your left hand / likewise to the left, say “A.” To the north, putting for- 825
ward only your right fist, say “E.” Then to the west, extending both hands in front
[of you], say “Ē.” To the south, / [holding] both on your stomach, say, “I.” To the 830
earth, bending over, touching the ends of your toes, say “O.” Looking into the air,
having your hand on your heart, say “Y.” Looking into the sky, having both hands
on your head, say “Ō.”

	sky		835
A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	IIII	
east	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	south	
air	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y		
north	E E O O O O O Ē Ē Ē	west	840
	earth		

“I call on you, eternal and unbegotten, who are one, who alone hold together
the whole creation of all things, whom none understands, whom the gods worship,
/ whose name not even the gods can utter. Inspire from your exhalation (?),¹²¹ ruler 845

K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929], p. 65 and pl. I). The pairs are *Hh* and *Hh.t* (“Expansiveness” and “Female Expansiveness”), *Kk* and *Kk.t* (“Darkness” and “Female Darkness,” cf. CHŌŌŌCH, “darkness,” in BAINCHŌŌŌCH with the CHOUGH here), *Nwn* and *Nwn.t* (“Abyss” and “Female Abyss” sc. of water), and *Imn* and *Imn.t* (“the Hidden” and “the Female Hidden”). Cf. PGM XIII. 743 and XXI. 20. [R.K.R.] It should be noticed, too, that here the Ogdoad are merely assistants—the “eight guards” who “attend” the highest god—whereas in the preceding two paragraphs, which we saw reason to think interpolated (above, n. 112), the Ogdoad was itself and as a unit the supreme god. Detailed textual analysis is impossible here, but it seems clear that different sources have been used, and likely, that different writers used them.

119. Possibly “I [am]” in Aramaic, transliterated into Greek.

120. Besides the initial ANOCH “I am,” this list has many Egyptian words: BAINPHOUN, “spirit of Nun” (the abyss); PHNOUTH, “the god”; THŌTHŌ, “Thoth the great”; OSERCHENTHE MENTHEI, “Osiris the foremost of the westerners,” the standard epithet of Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. Dubious restoration, in Preisendanz’s text, of a word here plausible, but otherwise unknown.

of the pole, him who is under you; accomplish for me the NN thing.

“I call on you as by the voice of the male gods, IĒŌ OYE ŌĒI YE AŌ EI ŌY AOĒ OYĒ
 850 / EŌA YĒI ŌEA ŌĒŌ IEŌU AŌ. I call on you, as by the voice of the female gods, IAE
 EŌŌ IOY EĒI ŌA EĒ IĒ AI YO ĒLAY EŌŌ OYĒE IAO ŌAI EOYĒ YŌĒI IŌA. I call on you,
 855 as the winds / call you. I call on you, as the dawn.” (Looking toward dawn [say], “A
 EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ.”) “I call on you as the south.” (Looking
 860 to the south say, “I OO YYY ŌŌŌŌ AAAAA EEEEEĒ ĒĒĒĒĒĒ.”) / “I call on you as the
 west.” (Standing [facing] the west, say, “E II OOO YYYY ŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA EEEEEĒ.”)
 “I call on you as the north.” (Standing looking toward the north say, “Ō AA EEE
 865 ĒĒĒĒ IIII OOOOOO YYYYYY.”) “I call on you / as the earth.” (Looking toward the
 earth say, “E ĒĒ III OOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA.”) “I call on you as the sky.”
 (Looking into the sky say, “Y ŌŌ AAA EEEE ĒĒĒĒ IIIIII OOOOOOO.”) “I call on you
 870 as the cosmos, “O YY ŌŌŌ AAAAA / EEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒ IIIIII. Accomplish for me NN
 thing, quickly. I call on your name, the greatest among gods. If I say it complete,
 875 there will be an earthquake, the sun will stop and the moon will be afraid and the
 rocks and the mountains and the sea and the rivers / and every liquid will be petri-
 fied; the whole cosmos will be thrown into confusion. I call on you, IYEO ŌAEĒ
 IAO AEĒ AI EĒ AE IOYŌ EYĒ IEŌU AĒŌ ĒI ŌĒI IAE IOYĒ AYĒ YĒA IŌ IŌAI IŌAI ŌĒ
 880 / EE OY IŌ IAO, the great name. Become for me lynx, eagle, snake, phoenix, life,
 power, necessity, images of god, AIŌ IOY IAO ĒIŌ AA OYI AAAA E IY IŌ ŌĒ IAO AI
 885 AŌĒ OYĒŌ AIEĒ IOYE YEIA EIŌ ĒII YY EE ĒĒ ŌAOĒ / CHECHAMPSIMM CHANGALAS
 EĒIOY IĒEA ŌŌĒOE (seven of the auspicious [names?]) ZŌIŌIĒR ŌMYRYROMRO-
 MOS.” [Say it?] thus, extending the second AIŌ: “Ē II YY ĒĒ OAOĒ.”

This initiation is performed to the suns¹²² of the thirteenth day of the month,
 890 when the gold lamella is licked / off and one says over it: “IAIA IY ŌĒ IEYOŌ ĒŌI EO
 Ē ŌY EĒ YŌĒ ŌŌŌ ŌŌI ŌAŌ EŌ ŌĒ YŌ.” Then more completely, “AŌEYĒ OAI IO
 895 ĒYEŌA OYŌ ŌO EI OY ĒO OIYY ŌYY ŌI A / EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ
 AŌ EOĒ EOĒ IAA EŌI ĒIŌ. In [the] initiation these things are said six times with all
 [the rest?], and the seven vowels are written on the gold lamella to be licked off, and
 900 on the silver lamella the seven vowels for the phylactery / ŌĒŌ AŌ OOO YOIĒ OY YĒI
 SORRA THŌŌM CHRALAMPĒAPS ATOYĒGI. The following series of vowels [are writ-
 ten as] “wings”;¹²³ and on the gold lamella write this: AŌEYĒOI; on the silver:
 IOĒYEŌA, . . .¹²⁴

905	AEĒIOYŌ	AEĒIOYŌŌ	AEĒIOYŌOYŌ
	EĒIOYŌA	EĒIOYŌŌA	EĒIOYŌOYŌA
	ĒIOYŌAE	ĒIOYŌŌAE	ĒIOYŌOYŌAE
	IOYŌAEĒ	IOYŌŌAEĒ	IOYŌOYŌAEĒ
	OYŌAEĒI	OYŌŌAEĒI	OYŌOYŌAEĒI
910	YŌAEĒIO	YŌŌAEĒIO	YŌOYŌAEĒIO
	ŌAEĒIOY	ŌŌAEĒIOY	ŌOYŌAEĒIOY

and¹²⁵ the great heaven, eternal, incorruptible, ŌĒŌ AŌ THOOU OIĒ OY YĒI OR-
 915 CHRA THŌŌMCHRA SEMESILAMPS / ATOYĒTI DROUSOUAR DROUĒSRŌ GNIDA

122. Of dawn, midday, and sunset (Preisendanz).

123. I.e., in triangles, produced by writing the words in successive lines, but in each line dropping one letter from the same end (usually the front) until only one is left. A “wing” is the technical term in magical jargon for the resultant form.

124. Something, probably directions from another rite, seems to have fallen out of the text. It resumes near the end of another spell.

125. This has no clear connection to the preceding vowels, so Preisendanz conjectures a lacuna. However, this may be the continuation of the lost spell in which the vowels stood.

BATAIANA ANGASTA AMASOUROUR OUANA APAISTOU OUANDA ÒTI SATRAPERK-
MĒPH ALA Dionysus, blessed EYIE YOY YYY THENÖR conducting YYY EYIEY EY
OYÖ XERTHENATHIA THAPHTHÖ / OIKROU ÖR ARAX GÖ Ö AAA ERARĒRAYIĒR 920
THOUTH ASĒSENACHTHÖ LARNIBAI AIOÖ KOUPHIÖ ISÖTHÖNI PATHENI IEEEN-
THĒR PANCHOCHITAS OYE TIASOUTH PACHTHEESTH HYSEMMIGADÖN / ORTHÖ 925
BAUBÖ NOĒRADĒR SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL APARA KEÖPH IAÖ
SABAÖTH ABRATIAÖTH ADÖNAI ZAGOURĒ HARSAMOSI RANAKERNÖTH LAMP-
SOUÖR.¹²⁶ Therefore, I am brought together with you by the great commander-
in-chief Michael, lord, the great archangel of IEYOY AĒ AIÖ EYAI / I Ē IĒ IÖA IĒIĒ AIÖ 930
EĒ AIÖ. Therefore, I am conjoined¹²⁷ [with you], O great one, and I have you in my
heart AÖ EĒ EÖĒI AIAĒ ÖĒ IÖAÖ EÖĒE ÖĒI AĒĒ ÖĒIÖ.

*As the revelator Orpheus*¹²⁸ *handed down in his private note*: “OISPAĒ IAÖ /
OYEA SEMESILAM AĒOI, son, CHOLOUE ARAARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE ÖĒEYAIĒ 935
OIAI EAĒ EAĒ ÖEA BORKA BORKA PHRIX RIX ÖRZA ZICH MARTHAI OYTHIN LI-
LILILAM LILILILÖOU AAAAAA ÖÖÖÖÖÖÖ / MOUAMECH, fluid boundary, AĒÖ ÖĒA 940
ĒÖA.” (Breathe out, in. Fill up); “EI AI OAI” (pushing more, bellow-howling.)
“Come to me, god of gods, AĒÖĒI ĒI IAÖ AE OIÖTK” (Pull in, fill up, / shutting your 945
eyes. Bellow as much as you can, then, sighing, give out [what air remains] in a hiss.)

Erotulos, in his “Orphica”:¹²⁹ “YOĒEÖAI ÖAI YOĒEAI YOĒEÖ EREPE EYA / NAR- 950
BARNE ZAGEGÖĒ ĒCHRAĒM KAPHNAMIAS PSIIPHRI PSALARORKIPHKA BRAKIÖ
BOLBALOCH SIALIASI MAROMALA MARMISAI BIRATHATHI ÖO.”

*And Hieros*¹³⁰ *writes thus*: “MARCHÖTH SAERMACHÖTH ZALTHAGAZATHA /
BABATHBATHAATHAB A III AAA ÖOO¹³¹ ÖÖÖ ĒĒĒ ÖNTHĒR.” Then, “Depth 955
AUMÖLACH.”

And as it stands in the “Holy Name” pronounced by Thphes, the sacred scribe to
King Ochos:¹³² “NETHMOMAÖ / MARCHACHTHA CHTHAMAR ZAXTHTHARN MA- 960
CHACH ZAROKOTHARA ÖSS IAÖ OUĒ SLALÖR TITĒ EAĒ IAÖ ĒS ZEATHE AAA ĒĒEOY
THÖBARRABAU.”

*And in the Memoranda / of Euenos*¹³³ he says the name is pronounced by the 965
Egyptians [and] the Syrians “CHTHETHÖNI.”

*As Zoroaster*¹³⁴ *the Persian in . . .* “RNISSAR PSYCHISSAR.”

And as is said in the works of / Pyrrhus:¹³⁵ “ZZA AAA EEE BBMÖEA ANBIÖÖÖ.” 970

And as Moses says in the Archangelic [Teaching?]:¹³⁶ “ALDAZAÖ BATHAM MA-

126. Besides the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian divine names now familiar, this list has Baubo, a comic figure from Eleusinian legend, and Ereschigal, the ancient Mesopotamian queen of the underworld.

127. The verb is *συνίστημι*, usually “introduce, present,” but the context here seems to require some closer connection. Cf. above, ll. 795–804.

128. Orpheus, the legendary Thracian singer, had by this time become famous as a revelator. Many bogus works were attributed to him; nothing is known of this one.

129. Or “as quoted in the *Orphica*.” The translation given in the text follows Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* I, 17. An Erotulus was once cited by the alchemist Zosimus as an authority on “the All” (*ibidem*, III, 144). He is otherwise unknown.

130. Unknown?

131. Reading öoo for öoo, since the adjacent groups are all triplets of a single letter.

132. Ochos was Artaxerxes III, 358–338 B.C. Thphēs is unknown, and the conversation was probably fictitious.

133. Several authors named Euenos are known, but nothing connects any of them with this statement.

134. Zoroaster, like Orpheus, was a favorite victim of forgers, one of whom produced this.

135. We know of many men named Pyrrhus, but of none likely to have written this.

136. *The Archangelic Teaching* (?) of “Moses” is again cited in the Nag Hammadi documents (II. 5. 102) and may be reflected by a medieval manuscript which quotes an “archangelic hymn” given to

Try to prepare this when [the moon] is in the east and in conjunction with a beneficent planet, either Zeus or Aphrodite, and when / no maleficent one, Kronos or Ares, is in aspect. You may do it best when one of the three beneficent planets is in its own house, while the moon is taking / the position of conjunction or aspect or diametrical opposition and when the planet, too, is in the east, for then the rite will be effectual for you. Accordingly, do not / idly talk about the way to annul it, if you don't want to help damage yourself; but keep it to yourself.

Its uses are the following:

When you want to put down fear or anger: Taking a leaf of laurel, write on it the / sign, as it is, and having shown it to the sun, say, "I call on you, the great god in heaven, [strong] lord, mighty IAO OYÖ IÖ AIÖ OYÖ, who exist; protect me from all fear, from all danger that threatens / me in the present day, in the present hour." Having said these words thrice, lick off the leaf, and have the lamella with you. And if [things come to] hand-to-hand [fighting, wear it] on your hand.

✕  The spell to annul, which
✕  is written on the reverse:
✕  "PAITH PHTHA PHOÖZA." ¹⁴³

A secret prayer of Moses to Selene: "OINEL of life, CHNOUB OUËR AKROMBOUS / OURAOI OYËR AI HAPH HÖR OKI. ANOCH BÖRINTH MAMIKOURPH AEI AEI Ë AEI EIE EIË TETH OUR OUR OUËR ME CHROUR CHOU TAIS ECHRËZË ECHRINX MAMIA OURPH, goddess in woman's form, mistress Selene, do the NN thing."

For opening [doors]: Taking / the navel of a male crocodile (he means pondweed) ¹⁴⁴ and the egg of a scarab and a heart of a baboon (he means perfume of lilies), ¹⁴⁵ put these into a blue-green faïence vessel. And when you wish to open a door, bring the navel to the door, saying, "By / THAIM THOLACH THECHEMBAOR THEAGON PENTATHESCHI BÖTI, [I call on you] who have power in the deep, for myself, that there may now be a way open for me, for I say to you, SAUAMBOCH / MERA CHEOZAPH ÖSSALA BYMBËL POUO TOUTHÖ OIRËREI ARNOCH."

If [you wish] to call phantoms: . . .

The tenth (?) Hidden [Book of] Moses. ¹⁴⁶

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PDM xiv. 1–92

*[A vessel divination which a physician ?] in the nome of Oxyrhynchus [gave to me]: *Formula:* "[O god, NN,] . . . the edge of whose strap rests in Pelusium while his face is like a spark . . . of an obscene cat whose testicles² are like a rearing uraeus . . . quickly. Put the light and breadth in my vessel. . . / Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me, O primeval waters! . . . large . . . of cop-

143. PHTHA PHOÖZA is "Ptah, health." In the following prayer, CHNOUB OUËR is "Khnum the great," OURAOI OUËR is "great uraei," HAPH HOR is "Apis, Horus." [R.K.R.]

144. This is an example of the secret magical vocabulary by which everyday things were given pretentious names, partly to make magical rituals impracticable for chance readers, partly to impress the ignorant.

145. Or possibly, "myrrh mixed with (oil of white) lilies."

146. In the manuscript "book" is lacking and "tenth" uncertain. Against Gager's argument for a repetition of "eighth" (*Moses*, p. 148, [above, n. 136]) stand the conspicuous differences of the material preceding this title from that of the better attested "eighth" books in ll. 1–730.

1. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 528.

2. Read, perhaps, *sn.ty*; see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3d ser., vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1935), 115, n. 2; and cf. Griffith and Thompson, glossary #133 and 20, n. to l. i. 3.

per of Alkhah.³ O gods who are in heaven, who are exalted, come! . . . [Put (the)] light and breadth in my vessel and my . . . [the] boy whose face is bent over this vessel.⁴ May . . . prosper, for this vessel divination is the vessel divination of Isis when she was searching / . . . Come in to me, O my compeller, for everything
 10 . . . , and make this youth⁵ open his eyes to them all . . . , for I am the Pharaoh
 [I, 10] Lion-Ram. Ram-Lion-Lotus⁶ is my name; . . . to you here today, for I am SRTAKO.⁷ 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' [is my true name. I am GANTHA, GINTEY,
 15 GIRITEY]⁸ HRENYTE (also called ARENOYTE)⁹ LAPPTOTHA LAKSANTHA SA/[RISA
 [I, 15] . . . BOLBYE]¹⁰ BYEL BYEL LYTERI KLOGASANTRA LAHO [is my name; LAHO is my true name. BALKHAM the]¹¹ powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin¹² [of the shrine of the god who stands today].¹³

[You should] say, whispering, "O good oxherd,¹⁴ my compeller, . . . in order to ask you about it here today, and you should make this [youth] open¹⁵ his eyes . . . every . . . and you should protect this youth whose face is bent [down over
 20 this / vessel]¹⁶ . . . of god, lord of earth, the survivor of the earth, lord of
 [I, 20] earth . . . I am Hor-Amoun¹⁷ who sits at this vessel divination here today . . . [at]¹⁸ this vessel divination here today. MARIGHARI, you should . . . so that they say my inquiry for me."

Say to them twice, "O pure gods of the primeval waters, [I am] . . . of earth by
 25 name, under the soles [of whose feet] the gods of Egypt are placed / . . . THAR, for
 [I, 25]

3. For Alkhah (Eg., *ʿrq-hh*), see PGM IV. 124 and n. One should, probably, use a standard transliteration of the name throughout; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. 1. 6.

4. Or oil; parallels allow either; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. 1. 8.

5. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 43, 72, etc.; see discussion in Johnson, *Verbal System* 274–75.

6. For this combination, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 22, n. to l. 1. 12; also PGM III. 659 and n.

7. For a discussion of the possible meaning of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 23, n. to l. 1. 13.

8. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1171–72. The spelling of magical names given here is based on the Demotic spelling supplemented by the Old Coptic spelling. If there is a disagreement between the two, the Demotic is accepted. See Johnson, "Dialect," 110–25 for a discussion of the correlations among Greek, Old Coptic, and Demotic found in this text. Transcriptions try to maintain a one-to-one correspondence between ancient script and modern.

9. "Also called" is inserted above the line, in front of the Old Coptic gloss ARENOYTE. Note that PDM xiv. 1174 writes this name *hry ntr* "lord god."

10. The missing magical names could be restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1175–76.

11. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1178.

12. The griffin is described by the author of the Demotic tale called "The Myth of the Sun's Eye" in the following terms (15. 1–4): His beak is (that of) an eagle; his eyes are (those of) a man; his limbs are (those of) a lion; his scaly ears are (those of) an *3b3h* fish of the sea; his tail is (that of) a snake—the five [creatures] which breathe which are upon (the earth). The griffin is described as the "avenger upon whom no avenger can wreak vengeance" and the "herdsman of everything which is upon earth." The most recent discussion of this passage, and its translation into Greek, is by J. W. Tait, "A Duplicate Version of the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974): 23–27, and "The Fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976): 27–44.

13. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1179.

14. Epithet of Anubis; cf. PDM xiv. 35, 400, and 422; see PGM I. 26 and n.

15. See n. 5 above.

16. See n. 4 above.

17. The formation of compound dieties occurs very early in Egyptian religion and remains a common feature.

18. Restoration based on Old Coptic gloss "a" = preposition *τ*.

I am ¹TA ¹PISH¹TEHEI¹⁹ of earth by name. . . . preserve you, O Pharaoh, PASHA-MEI²⁰ who rests opposite . . . these forearms of real gold. Truth is in my mouth, honey [is on my lips]²¹ . . . MA . . . THA, for I am ¹STEL ¹LAHO, ¹he ¹who ¹opens the ¹land.”

You should say to the boy, “Open your eyes!” If he opens his eyes and sees the light, you should make him cry out, / saying “Be great, be great, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be high, be high, O light! He who is outside, come in!”

30

[II, 2]

If he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you should make him close his eyes while you recite to him again.

Formula: “O darkness, remove yourself ¹from ¹before him! O light, bring the light in to me! Pshai²² who is in the primeval waters, bring the light in to me! O Osiris who is in the divine bark, bring the light in to me! O these four winds which are outside, bring the light in to me! O he in whose hand is the ¹moment, the one who belongs to these hours,²³ / bring the light in to me! O Anubis, the good ox-herd, bring the light in to me in order that you give me ¹protection here today, for I am Horus, the son of Isis, the good son of Osiris! You should bring the gods of the place of judgment, and you should cause them to take care of my affair so that they make ¹my business proceed. ¹O ¹those ¹belonging ¹to ¹the ¹avengers,²⁴ you should cause them to do it, for [I am] . . . ¹TYRAMNEI²⁵ ¹AMNEI²⁶ ¹A ¹A ¹MES MES ¹ORNYORF ORNYORF ¹ORNYORF ORNYORF ¹PAHOROF²⁷ . . . ¹PAHROF²⁸ ¹IO little king, ¹mountain ¹of ¹Horus. May this youth whose face is bent down to this / oil be saved [and may you] send Sobek to me until he comes forth. ‘Hearing’ is my name, ‘Hearing’ is my correct name, for I am L[OT ¹MYLO]r²⁹ TYLOT. ¹TAT ¹PINTAT is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, appear to this youth ¹without ¹alarming or ¹deceiving, ¹truthfully.”³⁰ You should recite these *writings* *seven times*.

35

[II, 7]

40

[II, 12]

If you make him open his eyes and the light is good and he says “Anubis is coming in,” you should recite before him,³¹

Formula: “O RIDJ MYRIDJ, O earth, great one of the earth, O this beautiful male whom ¹HERIEY, the daughter of the ¹Neme³² bore, / come to me, for you are this

45

19. The final group is the Demotic word ¹ⲙⲣⲓ, “house”; the first element of the first word may be a phonetic rendering of *ta*, “she of.”

20. See n. 19 above.

21. Or “the truth of my mouth is the honey of my lips.” Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 252.

22. On ¹š(ʿ)y “Fate” and ¹p3 ¹š(ʿ)y ¹ʿ3 as the ἀγαθοδαίμων, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1975). See also PGM III. 144–45.

23. I.e., the god who is “on duty” at this moment; see below, PDM xiv. 58–60.

24. On avengers, see *Mythus* 4/20. “The Avenger” is identified by the Coptic monk Shenute as Chronos. See also PDM xiv. 242.

25. The ending is written with Demotic ¹ⲙⲣⲓ, “there” or “to me.”

26. See n. 25 above.

27. The ending is written ¹ⲙⲣⲓ, “his mouth.”

28. See n. 27 above.

29. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 534.

30. “Without alarming or deceiving, truthfully” are Greek words written phonetically in Demotic, as Griffith and Thompson, 28, n. to l. II. 14. The spelling of Greek *επαληθια* as *ep̄latsȳ* reflects the standard transcription of Greek *τ/θ* + *ι* as *tsȳ*; see Johnson, “Dialect,” 123–25. Greek *π/φ* + *ι* are written *ps̄īȳ*; Greek *κ/χ* + *ι* as *kȳ*.

31. I.e., Anubis.

32. A goddess of destruction, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 28–29, n. to l. II. 16.

[II, 17] lotus flower which came forth from †the †lotus bud †of †PNYSTOR which makes light for the entire land! Hail, Anubis! Come to me! †O †high †one, O mighty one, O master of secrets for those in the Underworld, O Pharaoh of those in Amenti,³³ O Chief Physician, O good [son] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, you should appear in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve the souls of Abydos in order that they all live through you, these souls, the ones of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here to-day! You are Thoth. You are the one who went forth from the heart of the great
 50 Agathodaimon,³⁴ the father of the fathers of all the gods. Come to the mouths / of
 [II, 22] my vessel today and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I am inquiring, without falsehood therein, for I am Isis the Wise, the sayings of whose mouth come to pass” (*formula: seven times*).

You should say to the youth, “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Go forth; bring the gods in!’”

When he goes after them and brings them in, you should question the youth, saying, “Have the gods already come in?” If he says, “They have already come,” and if you [*sic*] see them, you should recite before them.

Formula: “Awaken to me, awaken to me! PSHAI!³⁵ Awaken, †MERA, †the †Great †One †of †Five,³⁶ †TSITSY †TENNDJIY! Do justice to me! Thoth, may creation fill
 55 the earth with light; O ibis³⁷ in / his noble countenance, noble one who entered
 [II, 27] the heart,³⁸ create truth, O great god whose name is great!” (*Say seven times*).

You should say to the youth,³⁹ “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Bring in a table for the gods! Let them sit.’”

When they are seated, you⁴⁰ should say, “Bring in a wine jar; open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat, let them drink, (let them eat, let them drink),⁴¹ let them make merry.”

When they have finished, you⁴² should say to Anubis, “Will you make inquiry for me?”

If he says, “Immediately,” you⁴³ should say to him,⁴⁴ “The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up.” When he⁴⁵ says, “He has stood up,” you⁴⁶ should say to him, “Say to Anubis, ‘Carry off the things from the midst!’”⁴⁷

60 You⁴⁸ should recite / before him instantly, saying, “Agathodaimon of today, lord
 [III, 3] of today, the one to whom these moments belong.”⁴⁹

33. Literally, the west; i.e., the necropolis and, by extension, the realm of the dead.

34. See n. 22 above.

35. See n. 22 above.

36. Probably an epithet of Thoth; originally the title of the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 30, n. to l. II. 26.

37. I.e., Thoth.

38. I.e., who pleases.

39. A similar passage, but without the youth, is found in PDM xiv. 550–54.

40. I.e., the youth.

41. Dirtography in going from column II to column III.

42. I.e., the youth.

43. See n. 42 above.

44. I.e., Anubis.

45. I.e., the god who will make the inquiry.

46. I.e., the youth.

47. I.e., of the gods seated at the table, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 32, n. to l. III. 2.

48. I.e., the youth.

49. I.e., Anubis.

You should cause him to say to Anubis, “The god who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name.” When he stands up and tells his name, you should ask him concerning everything which you wish.

Its preparation:⁵⁰ You bring seven new bricks which have not yet been moved in order to turn them (over) to the other face. You should lift them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you should set them back in the[ir] manner in which they were set. You should set three bricks under the oil. The other four bricks, you should arrange them around the youth without / his body touching the ground. Or seven palm staffs—you should treat them in this fashion also. You should bring seven clean loaves [of bread] and arrange them around the oil, together with seven lumps of salt. You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in] to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear. You should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman; you should speak down into his head beforehand, he standing up, (to learn) whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. If he will be useful, you should make him lie down on his belly / and cover him with a clean linen cloth (you should recite down into his head),⁵¹ there being a strap on the upper part of the cloth. You should recite this invocation which is above down into his head, he gazing downwards looking into the oil, up to *seven times*, his eyes being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes, and you should ask him about what you desire. You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

65

[III, 8]

70

[III, 13]

The invocation which you should recite (them [*sic*]) down into his head beforehand to test him in his ears to learn whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. **Formula:** “Noble ibis, falcon, / hawk, noble and very mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and very mighty.” You should recite this down into his head up to *seven times*.

75

[III, 18]

When you announce this, his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it is his right ear, he is good; if it is the left (ear), he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods come in and tell you an answer truthfully:⁵² You should put the shell of a crocodile’s egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame. It enchants instantly.

Prescription to make them speak: You put a frog’s head on the brazier. They speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: You should put bile / of a crocodile and ground myrrh on the brazier.

80

[III, 23]

If you wish to make them come in quickly, again: You should put stalks of anise on the brazier together with the eggshell, above. It enchants at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man: You should put “sulphate” of copper on the brazier. He comes in.

If you wish to bring in a spirit: You should put s3-*nr* stone⁵³ and glass(?) stone⁵⁴ on the brazier. The spirit comes in. You should put the heart of a hyena or a hare; (it is) very good.

If you wish to bring in a drowned man: You should put sea-*garab* (stone?) on the brazier.

50. Literally, “gathering of things.” [R.K.R.]

51. Repeated, out of place, from PDM xiv. 68.

52. See n. 30 above.

53. Perhaps σάπυ; see Harris, *Minerals* 179–80.

54. Ibid., 99–100.

If you wish to bring in a dead man: You should put ass's dung⁵⁵ and an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier. He comes in.

85 *If you / wish* to send them all away: You should put ape's dung on the brazier.
[III, 28] They all go away to their place. And you should recite their spell for dismissing them also.⁵⁶

If you wish to bring in a thief: You should put crocus powder and alum on the brazier.

The spells which you should recite when you dismiss them to their place: "Go well, go in joy!"

If you wish to make the gods come in to you and (to make) the vessel enchant quickly: You should bring a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow and put it on the brazier. It enchants in the moment named and the light comes into being.

90 / An amulet to be bound to the body of the one who is carrying the vessel, to
[III, 34] cause it to enchant quickly: You should bring a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe. You should bind it to a scarab in its attitude of the sun god,⁵⁷ drowned,⁵⁸ being wrapped in byssus. You should bind it to the body of the youth who is carrying the vessel. It enchants quickly, there [being nothing in the world better ?] than it (?).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, cols. I/1–III/35. All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Section titles are indicated in PDM xiv as they are marked in the papyrus (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM xiv. 93–114 [PGM XIVa. 1–11]

*A casting for inspection⁵⁹ which the great god Iymhotep makes: *Its preparation*:⁶⁰ You bring a stool of olive wood having four legs,⁶¹ upon which no man on earth has ever sat, and you put it near you, it being clean. When you wish / to make
95 a "god's arrival"⁶² with it truthfully without falsehood, *here is* its manner. You
[col. IV, 3] should put the stool in a clean niche in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom;⁶³ you should put four bricks under the table before it, one above another, there being a censer of clay before it [sc. the table]; you should put charcoal of olive wood on it;⁶⁴ you should add wild goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-nb*-stone;⁶⁵ you should make

55. The donkey was associated with the god Seth in the later periods. Seth, of course, had murdered his brother Osiris. For association of ass's dung with Seth, see PGM IV. 155–285 and n. The amulet is that of Nephthys, since she is the consort of Seth.

56. I.e., PDM xiv. 86–87.

57. The scarab beetle was identified with the sun god; cf. PGM I. 223; IV. 751 and 943; see R.K.R.'s notes there and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 39, n. to l. III. 34.

58. See R.K.R.'s note to PGM I. 5 and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 38–39, n. to l. III. 31.

59. Taking this noun as a compound from the two verbs *š* "to spread" and *mš* "to inspect," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary #786. The translation "casting" was suggested by R.K.R. since what follows is a horoscope; see n. 66 below.

60. See PDM xiv. 1–92 with n. 50.

61. Literally, "feet."

62. For a discussion of the reading and meaning of this term, used to describe spells in which a god is seen in a vision, usually a dream, see J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

63. Literally, from its head to its feet.

64. I.e., the censer.

65. Probably hematite; see Harris, *Minerals* 233–34.

them into balls; you should put one on the brazier; you should leave the remainder near you; you should recite this spell in Greek⁶⁶ to it (*formula*);⁶⁷ you should lie down without speaking / to anyone on earth; and you should go to sleep. You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals⁶⁸ on his feet.

100
[IV, 8]

“I call upon you [sing.] who are seated in impenetrable darkness and are in the midst of the great gods, you who set; take with you the solar rays, and send up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH; [you are the] great god, BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH, / Sun. Send up to me this night your archangel, ZEBOURTHAUNĒN. Respond with truth, truly, not falsely, unambiguously concerning such-and-such a matter, because I conjure you by him who is seated in the fiery cloak on the serpentine head of the Agathos Daimon, the almighty, four-faced, highest daimon, dark / and conjuring, PHŌX. Do not ignore me, but send up quickly tonight [in accordance with the] command of the god.” Say this three times.

105
[IV, 13]
[PGM
XIVa. 5]
110
[IV, 18]
[PGM
XIVa. 10]

He speaks with you truthfully with his mouth opposite your mouth concerning anything which you wish. When he has finished, he will go away again. You place a tablet for reading the hours upon the bricks, and you place the stars upon it, and you write your business on a new roll of papyrus, and you place it on the tablet. It sends your stars to you whether they are favorable for your business.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/1–22, and W. C. Grese (Greek sections). All words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 115

*[A] tested [spell] for the security of shadows: Hawk’s egg and myrrh; rub, put [some] of it on your eye(s). You secure shadows.

115
[col. IV,
23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/23. Or could this be a spell to protect against loss of vision? The following spell makes such an interpretation less likely. Griffith and Thompson, 43, n. to l. IV/23, suggest that the shadow is that of the god of the lamp. If so, this and the next should be considered part of the last spell; cf. PGM II. 612–13 and n.

PDM xiv. 116

*Another, again: Head and blood of a hoopoe; cook them and make them into a dry medicine. Paint your eye(s) with it. You see them again.

[col. IV,
24]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IV/24. See note to the preceding spell.

PDM xiv. 117–49

*A tested “god’s arrival”:⁶⁹ You should set up your . . . ; you should stamp on the ground with your foot seven times. You should recite these spells to the Foreleg,⁷⁰ you having turned to the North, seven times; you should turn down;⁷¹ (you should

115
[col. V,
1f]

66. I.e., the procedure for reading a horoscope.

67. I.e., PDM xiv. 101–11.

68. The word written *śe*, “nose,” is a scribal error for *tb.ty*, “sandals.” See R. K. Ritner, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* (forthcoming).

69. See n. 62 above.

70. I.e., Ursa Major.

71. I.e., away from the constellation.

who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, †PETERI PETERI †PATER⁸⁸ †ENPHE †ENPHE, the god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him; come to me / down into the midst of this flame which is here before you, †O †he †of †BYEL BYEL, and let me see the business about which I am praying tonight, truly, without falsehood! Let [me] see it, let [me] hear it. O great god †SISIHOYT⁸⁹ SISIHOYT (also called ARMIOOUTH),⁹⁰ come in before me and tell me [an] answer to that about which I am asking, truly, without falsehood. O great god who is on the mountain of ATYGI⁹¹ †CHABAHO,⁹² come in to me, let me learn⁹³ tonight about the given thing about which I am asking, truly, without falsehood . . . voice (?)⁹⁴ of †the †LEASPHYT NEBLOT NEB LILAS” ([say it] seven times and go to sleep / without speaking).

135

[V, 19]

140

[V, 24]

The ointment which you should put on your eye(s) when you are going to question the lamp in any lamp divination: You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.⁹⁵ You find them in the place of the garland seller (also called the lupine seller). You should bring them while they are fresh; you should put them in a glass bowl; you should seal its mouth with clay very well for twenty days in a hidden, dark place. After twenty days, if you bring it up and open it, you find some testicles in it together with a phallus. If you leave it for forty days and bring it up and open it, you find that it has already become bloody. In a place which is hidden at all times, you put it in a glass object, and you put the glass object into a pottery object. / If you desire to make a “god’s arrival”⁹⁶ of the lamp with it at any time, you should fill your eye(s) with this aforementioned blood while you are going in to recite the spell to the lamp. You see a secret figure of a god standing outside the lamp, and he speaks with you concerning the question which you wish; or you should lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you should awaken and recite his summons. You lie down on [a mat of] green reeds only while you are pure from a woman, the back of your head being turned to the south, your face being turned to the north, and the face of the lamp being turned to the north likewise.

145

[V, 29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. V/1–33. All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

88. This magical name is determined with the “man”-determinative rather than the “divine”-determinative normally found with the magical names. It is probably Greek *πατήρ*, “father.” The preceding may consist of this Greek word plus the Egyptian first-person singular suffix pronoun *y*, “my.” The following word, written alphabetically, corresponds to the Coptic for “in/of heaven” (*n p.t*). Thus these glosses may well mean “my father, my father, father in (the) heaven of the heaven(s).” (For the analysis of the repeat of the last word, cf. PDM xiv. 126, as noted by R.K.R.)

89. The last word of this name is probably the Egyptian word “male.” The first word, which is repeated, might be the word “son” or the verb “to be satisfied.” In PDM xiv. 202 it is written as the verb “to be satisfied.”

90. “Also called” is inserted above the end of the line and the Old Coptic gloss *ARMIOOUTH* is added in the left margin.

91. The Old Coptic gloss gives “of KABAON”; in PDM xiv. 204 the scribe changed Demotic *ḫwgy* into *ḫ3ḫ3wn*.

92. The Old Coptic gloss adds *TAKRTAT* after *XABA|H|O*.

93. Literally, “let my eyes open out”; the idiom *ti-wn tr.t*, “to cause that (the) eye(s) open” means “to instruct.” See Ritner above, n. 68.

94. Or is this sign the determinative (used with foreign words) of the preceding word, which ends in *ḫ*?

95. Literally, “eye-of-raven” plant.

96. See n. 62 above.

PDM xiv. 150–231

150 * **An inquiry of the lamp:** You go to a clean, dark room without light; you dig a
 [col. VI, new niche in an eastern wall; you bring a white lamp on which no red lead⁹⁷ or
 1] gum water has been put and whose wick is clean; you fill it with clean, genuine
 oasis oil; you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn when he rises; you bring the
 lamp, it being lit, opposite the sun; you recite the spells which are below⁹⁸ to it **four**
 times; you take it into the room, you being pure, together with the youth; you
 recite the spells to the youth⁹⁹ while he is not looking at the lamp, his eye(s) being
 closed, **seven** times. You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you are
 155 putting your finger on the youth's head, his eye(s) being closed. / When you have
 [VI, 6] finished, you make him open his eye(s) toward the lamp: he sees the shadow of the
 god near the lamp, and he inquires for you concerning that which you desire. At
 midday in a place without light you do it.

If you are inquiring for a demonic spirit, a wick of sailcloth is what you should
 give to the lamp, and you should fill it with clean butter.

If it is another matter, a clean wick and pure genuine oil are what you should give
 to the lamp.

If you will do it to bring a woman to a man, oil of roses¹⁰⁰ is what you should put
 in the lamp.

It is on a new brick that you put the lamp, and it is upon another brick that the
 youth seats himself while his eye(s) are closed, while you recite¹⁰¹ down into his
 head four times.

160 / **The spells** which you should recite to the wick¹⁰² beforehand before you have
 [VI, 16] recited to the youth: **Formula:**

"Are you the unique, great wick of the linen of Thoth? Are you the byssus robe of
 Osiris, the divine Drowned,¹⁰³ woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of
 Nephthys? Are you the original bandage which was made for Osiris Khenty-
 amentis¹⁰⁴ Are you the great bandage with which Anubis lifted his hand to the
 body of Osiris the mighty god?¹⁰⁵ It is in order to cause the youth to look into you
 so that you may make reply concerning everything about which I am asking here
 today, that I am bringing you today, O wick. (If not doing it is what you will do, O
 wick, it is in the hand of the black cow that I am putting you, and it is in the hand
 165 / of the black cow that I am burning you. Blood of the Drowned One is what I am
 [VI, 16] giving to you for oil. The hand of Anubis is that which is laid against you. The
 spells of the great Sorcerer are those which I am reciting to you.) And so that¹⁰⁶ you
 bring me the god in whose hand the command¹⁰⁷ is today, so that he tell me [an]
 answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without false-

97. See n. 73 above.

98. PDM xiv. 160–69.

99. PDM xiv. 194–231.

100. *Skn/sgn* is a cheaper oil than *nbbh*-oil (probably sesame oil); here it has been scented with rose
 scent. See J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 336–37.

101. See n. 99 above.

102. Corrected above, n. 99.

103. See references collected by R.K.R., n. to PGM I. 5.

104. "Foremost of the west," i.e., ruler of the world.

105. Anubis mummifying Osiris, using the fine bandages described in PDM xiv. 160–62.

106. Continuing from PDM xiv. 163.

107. For the god of the hour, i.e., the god who is "on duty," see n. 23 above. See also, as Griffith and
 Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus 53*, n. to l. VI. 17, the reference to 365 gods in PDM xiv. 1224.

hood. O Nut, mother of water, O Opet,¹⁰⁸ mother of fire, come to me, Nut, mother of water, come, Opet, mother of fire, come to me IAHO.” You should say it whispering exceedingly. You should also say: “¹ESEKS ¹POE EF CHTN” (also called “CHT ON”), seven times.

If it is a "god's arrival"¹⁰⁹ these alone are what you should recite / to the lamp, 170
and you should go to sleep without speaking. If obstinacy occurs, you should wake [VI, 21]
up and recite his summons, which is his compulsion: *Formula*:

"I am the Ram's face; Youth is my name. Under the venerable persea¹¹⁰ tree in Abydos was I born. I am the soul of the great chief¹¹¹ who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse¹¹² which is in Wu-poke.¹¹³ I am he whose eye(s) are the eye(s) of a falcon watching over Osiris by night; I am 'He who is upon his mountain'¹¹⁴ upon the necropolis of Abydos; I am he that watches over the great corpse which is in Busiris,¹¹⁵ I am he who watches for R-Khepri-Atum¹¹⁶ / whose name is hidden in my heart. 'Soul of souls' is his name" (*formula*: seven times).

[In margin]: The writings which you should write on the lamp: "BAXYXSIXYX" (174a-176a)

If it is a “god’s arrival,”¹¹⁸ these things alone are what you should recite.

If an inquiry by the youth is what you will do, you should recite these aforesaid to the lamp before you have recited¹¹⁹ down into the head of the youth. You should turn around,¹²⁰ and you should recite this other invocation to the lamp also. *Formula*: "O Osiris, O lamp, it will cause [me] to see those above,¹²¹ it will cause [me] to see those below, and vice versa. O lamp, O lamp, Amoun is moored in you. O lamp, O lamp, I call to you while you are going up upon the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris.¹²² Am I speaking / to you? Are you coming that I may send you? O lamp, 'bear 'witness! When you have found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and faience, Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female divinities about him, 'say [to] Isis, 'Let them speak to Osiris concerning the things about which I am asking, to send the god in whose hand the command is,¹²³ so that he say to me an answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today."

¹²⁴When Isis said, 'Let a god who is serious' concerning the business which he

108. On the identification of Opet with Nut, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53–54, n. to l. VI. 18.

109. See p. 62 above.

110. For the persea tree, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 82–87 and *LdÄ* III 182–83, and n. to *PGM* I. 34–36.

111. Osiris.

112. Osiris.

113. Precinct of Osiris at Abydos.

114. Anubis.

115. See n. 113 above.

116. The three forms of the sun god. For the reading of this trigram, see M.-L. Ryhiner, "A Propos de Trigrammes Pantheistes," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37, and R.K.R. notes to *PGM* II. 104ff. III. 659, and IV. 1649ff.

117. See nn. 74 and 76 above. These three lines are written in the left margin and should be set apart, as ll. 174a–176a, presumably at the break in the middle of l. 175.

118. See n. 62 above.

119. See n. 99 above.

120. Or "withdraw."

121. Corrected by the scribe from “those of the day,” the words for “day” and “above” being pronounced almost identically.

122. Cf. the Osiris legend as preserved in Plutarch.

123. See n. 107 above.

124. For the meaning "sober, serious," see the discussion by Johnson, *Verbal System* 127, n. 248.

will undertake be summoned for me so that I may send him and so that he may complete them, they went and brought [one] to her. You are the lamp, the [thing] which was brought to her. The fury of Sakhmet, your mother, and of Hike,¹²⁵ your father, is / cast at you. You shall not burn for Osiris and Isis; you shall not burn for Anubis until you have told me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today truly, without telling me falsehood. If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil, (I will not give you oil);¹²⁶ I will not give you fat, O lamp. It is in the belly of the [female] cow that I shall put you,¹²⁷ and I shall put blood of the [male] bull after you,¹²⁸ and I shall put your hand to the testicles of the enemy of Horus."¹²⁹

185 "Open to me, O you¹³⁰ of the underworld, O box of myrrh that is in my hand! Receive me before you, O souls, excellent ones¹³¹ belonging to Bi-wekem,¹³² O box of myrrh which has four corners. O dog who / is called Anubis by name, who rests on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of myrrh,¹³³ send to me the ointment for the youth of the lamp so that he may tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, there being no falsehood therein. IO TABAO SYGAMAMY AKHAKHA-NBY SANAYANI ETSIE¹³⁴ GOMTO¹³⁵ GETHOS BASA-ETHORI THMILA AKHKHY, make for me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today" (*seven times*).

190 *The spells for the youth.*¹³⁶ BOEL BOEL BOEL I I I A A A TAT TAT
[VII, 4] TAT,¹³⁷ he that gives light very exceedingly, the companion of the flame, / he in whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who sits in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame, he who is in the lake of heaven,¹³⁸ in whose hand are the greatness and strength of the god, reveal yourself to this youth who is carrying my vessel today so that he may tell me [an] answer truly, without falsehood. I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne, who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, PETERI PETERI PATER ENPHE ENPHE¹³⁹ the god who is in the upper part of
200 heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, / who created deity, deity not having
[VII, 14] created him, come into the midst of this flame which is here before you, O he of BYEL¹⁴⁰

125. The god of magic. For the association of Hike with Sakhmet, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 56–57, n. to l. VI. 35.

126. Dittography going from column VI to column VII.

127. Or, perhaps better, "that I shall give to you," since *n.k* should be the dative, not the oblique object.

128. The term to be "after" someone is also used in legal texts with the meaning "to have a legal claim against" someone.

129. I.e., Seth, whose testicles were cut off by Horus.

130. Plural.

131. Or, possibly, "of Aker," the earth god.

132. The eastern desert.

133. Note common depiction of Anubis, as jackal, on top of a chest.

134. See n. 30 above.

135. Perhaps "earthquake," as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 396a; if *gm* is for *qm*, this could be "creator of the earth."

136. An almost identical version of this section appears in *PDM* xiv. 128–38, 489–99, and 516–26.

137. See n. 83 above.

138. See n. 84 above.

139. See n. 88 above.

140. Old Coptic gloss above end of line adds ANIEL.

cause me to see the business about which
I am inquiring here today! Let [me] see
it; let [me] hear it.¹⁴¹

give strength to the eyes of the youth
who is carrying my vessel, to cause him
to see it and [give strength] to his ears
to cause him to hear [it].¹⁴²

O great god [†]SISIHYT,¹⁴³ come in
before me today and instruct me¹⁴⁴ con-
cerning everything concerning which I
am praying here today!

O great god who is upon the mountain of GABAYN,¹⁴⁵ [†]CHABAHO.¹⁴⁶

You should recite this / until the light appears. When the light appears, you
should turn around¹⁴⁷ and recite this other document again also. *Here is* the copy 205
[VII, 19]

of the summons itself which you should recite: “O, speak to me, speak to me,
[†]THES [†]TENOR, the father of eternity and everlastingness, the god who is over the
entire land, [†]SALGMO [†]BALKMO [†]BRK [†]NEPHRO-BANPRE¹⁴⁸ [†]BRIAS [†]SARINTER¹⁴⁹

[†]MELIKHRIPHS [†]LARNKANES [†]HEREPHES [†]MEPHRO-BRIAS [†]PHRGA [†]PHKSE
[†]NTSIYP SHIA¹⁵⁰ [†]MARMAREKE [†]LAORE-GREPSHIE! Let me see the answer to the in- 210
quiry on account of which I am here. Let an answer be made to me / concerning
everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without falsehood. [†]O [†]ATAEL
[†]APTHe [†]GHO-GHO-MOLE [†]HESEN-MINGA-NTON-ROTHO-BAYBO¹⁵¹ [†]NOERE [†]SERE-
[†]SERE [†]SAN¹⁵² [†]GATHARA [†]ERESGSHINGAL¹⁵³ [†]SAKGISTE [†]NTOTE-GAGISTE¹⁵⁴

[†]AKRYRO-BORE¹⁵⁵ [†]GONTERE.¹⁵⁶

You should make him open his eye(s) so that he can look at the lamp, and you
should ask him about what you wish. If obstinacy occurs, he not having seen the god,
you should turn around¹⁵⁷ and recite his compulsion.

Formula: “[†]SEMEA-GANTEY¹⁵⁸ [†]GENTY [†]GONTEY [†]GERINTEY¹⁵⁹ [†]NTARENGO¹⁶⁰
[†]LEKAYKS, / come to me! [†]GANAB [†]ARI [†]KATEI¹⁶¹ [†]BARI KATEI¹⁶² sun disk, moon of 215
the gods, sun disk, hear my voice! Let me be told an answer to everything about
which I am asking here today. O perfume of [†]SALABAHO [†]NASIRA [†]HAKE, arise! O
[VII, 29]

141. PDM xiv. 202 and 204 are for use when a youth is consulting the lamp; xiv. 201 and 203 are to be used when the magician is not using a youth as intermediary.

142. See n. 141 above.

143. See n. 89 above. Here the scribe has added the Old Coptic gloss AXREMTO above the beginning of the next line (i.e., over the Demotic “come!”).

144. Literally, “cause that my eyes open out”; see n. 93 above.

145. Modified by the Demotic scribe from ATYGI; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, n. to column VII of the autograph volume.

146. Old Coptic gloss adds TAKARTAT after CHABAHO; cf. PDM xiv. 138 and n. 92 there.

147. See n. 122 above.

148. The end is written in Demotic as “of Pre,” perhaps “soul of Pre.”

149. NTER is the Old Coptic gloss; the Demotic writes *ntr.w*, “gods.”

150. See n. 30 above (*nt* for *d* before *i*).

151. The last section shows a metathesis in the Demotic (apparently for graphic reasons) of the common ORTHO found in the gloss. See also n. 8 above (*nt* for *d*).

152. Written in Demotic as *m*, “brother.”

153. See n. 8 above.

154. AKRYROBORE is Greek ἀκρορροβόρε (LSJ, s.v.: “swallowing the tip of her tail”). See also PGM I. 146 and the Glossary s.v. “YESSIMMIGADON formula.” [H.D.B.]

155. See n. 8 above.

156. See n. 120 above.

157. SEMEA is Greek for “image,” σῆμα/σημεία. [R.K.R.]

158. All four names end with Egyptian *t3w*, “breath, wind.”

159. See n. 8 above.

160. The ending is written ʿ3 “linen.”

161. See n. 161 above.

Lion-ram,¹⁶³ let me see the light today, together with the gods, so that they may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly. NA NA NA NA is your name; NA NA is your true name.”

220 You should utter a loud whisper, calling out, saying, “Come to me” IAHO¹⁶⁴ IA EY
[VIII, 1] IAHO AYHO IAHO, husband,¹⁶⁵ bull, high day,¹⁶⁶ NASHBOT ARPI-HPE ABLA-
‘eye of raven,’ / ‘face of falcon,’ NI-ABIT THATLAT MIRIBAL.”

(If [the gods] delay so as not to come in, you should cry out: “MIRIBAL”¹⁶⁷ QMLA KIKH, the father of the fathers of the gods, enchant, ‘One eye weeps; the other laughs,’ Moon, moon, moon, moon, HA HA HE ST ST ST ST IHA IAHO, seek! Send to me the god in whose hand the command¹⁶⁸ is today so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

225 You should speak [to] that god with your mouth each time, and you should cry
[VIII, 5] out, “I am throwing fury at you, [fury] of him who cuts you, of him who devours you. / Let the darkness separate from the light before me. O god, HYHOS¹⁶⁹ scaled portion (?), be sated, be sated, AHO¹⁷⁰ AH,¹⁷¹ I do not appear without portion, awe, soul of souls IAHO ARIAHA¹⁷² ARIAHA; act for her; they will turn the face of [the] rebel; GS GS GS GS IANIAN; ‘we do’ EIBS¹⁷³ KS KS KS KS, send to me the god in whose hand the command is¹⁷⁴ so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. Come in, PIAToy CHITRE! O SHOP SHOPE SHOP¹⁷⁵ ABRAHME¹⁷⁶ the pupil of the sound eye,¹⁷⁷ QMR QMR QMR QMR KMRO¹⁷⁸ who created creation, great flourishing creation. SH[]KNYSH is your real name.
230 Let an answer be told to me / about everything concerning which I am asking here
[VIII, 10] today. Come to me BAKAKSIKHEKH!¹⁷⁹ Tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without telling me falsehood” (*formula*: seven times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VI/1–VIII/11. All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

163. See n. 6 above.

164. Written with the Egyptian verb *im*, “to come.”

165. Although with animal determinative rather than phallus.

166. Or, if we do not believe the determinative on *q3*, “day of (the) bull.”

167. Overlap with the end of the preceding column. Note that, as Griffith and Thompson remark, *The Leyden Papyrus* 62, n. to l. VIII. 1, this heading is simply a reminder of the subject matter and is not a new heading; it is put in the middle of the column, not flush with the right margin.

168. See n. 107 above.

169. Ending written as *hr*, “praise.”

170. The Demotic uses the verb *im*, “to come.”

171. See n. 170 above.

172. Perhaps “lifetime maker.” [R.K.R.]

173. R.K.R. suggests translating “I shall induct (?)”

174. See n. 107 above.

175. Written with the Egyptian verb *hpr* “to be, become,” Coptic *šope*; the middle example has an added final *e*.

176. With scated man determinative; the Old Coptic gloss reads ABRAHAM.

177. The *wd3.t*-eye of Horus.

178. “Creator (or creation) of the mouth.”

179. “Soul of darkness, son of darkness.” See n. 76 above.

PDM xiv. 232–38

*A “god’s arrival”¹⁸⁰ at the request of Paysakh, the priest of Cusae,¹⁸¹ who says that it has been tested nine times: “I am RAMSHY¹⁸² SHY RAMSHY son of PSHY of his mother she of PSHY. If such-and-such a thing is going to happen, do not come to me in your face of Pekhe.¹⁸³ You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY, the son of PSHY, of his mother she of PSHY.”

235

[col. VIII,

15]

[Say it] opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the lunar month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic with three iron needles piercing it; recite this to it seven times, and put it before you. He sees you and speaks with you.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VIII/12–18. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 239–95

*The vessel inquiry of Khonsu: “[Hail]¹⁸⁴ to you, Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus,¹⁸⁵ Horus, lord of time,¹⁸⁶ he is †one. . . / O silver,¹⁸⁷ lord of silver, o circuit of the underworld, lord of the circuit of the underworld,¹⁸⁸ lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian,¹⁸⁹ come to me. O noble child, the great god who is in the disk, who pleases¹⁹⁰ . . . , POMO¹⁹¹ who is called the bull, the great bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye,¹⁹² who came forth from the four . . .¹⁹³ of eternity, the avenger of flesh, whose name cannot be known, whose form cannot be known, whose manner cannot be known.

240

[col. IX,

2]

180. See n. 62 above.

181. A town in Middle Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 77*, #374. As Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 64, n. to l. VIII. 12, there is no determinative to show that Paysakh is a personal name, but it is hard to suggest an alternative interpretation.

182. Although SHY is written phonetically in the Demotic, this may well be the Egyptian god Shu, the god of the air. The first element of the name is written with the Egyptian word *r*, “mouth,” and the whole name could possibly mean “mouth of Shu.” If this is the god Shu, the *r* of PSHOU is the definite article, which is also found with *r* “the sun (god)” in the late form Pre.

183. A lion-headed goddess worshiped especially in Middle Egypt; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 65, n. to l. VIII. 14.

184. Restoring *ind*.

185. *Nfr-htp* means “beautiful of setting” (of the sun and moon). Khonsu (son of Amoun and Mur and preeminently a Theban god) is a moon god, here identified with Horus (also a moon god) in the form of the “noble child who came forth from the lotus,” i.e., *Nfr-htp*; see R.K.R.’s note to PGM IV. 1110.

186. The moon regulating the days of the month, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

187. The color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

188. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

189. Amoun, who in the late period was considered the god of Meroc; cf. l. 1097 and see Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

190. Or does this involve the verb *hm* “to command,” “to entrust”? Then the rendering would be “to whom is commanded” (*hm.w n.f*). [R.K.R.]

191. Perhaps “the great one of/among the great one(s).” [R.K.R.]

192. The *wḏ3* *t*-eye, the sound-eye of Horus. See Bonnet, *RARG* 854–56, s.v. “Uzatauge.”

193. The identical epithets occur below, PDM xiv. 250–51. The word *hm* which is to be restored here means literally “vessel.” The plural means “things” and the Coptic derivative means not only “vessel” or “pot” but any material “thing.” Griffith and Thompson translate “boundaries” in 241 and 250 and “cycle” in 246. R.K.R. suggests that the idea of “four eternal things” is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements.

“I know your name, I know your form, I [know] your manner. ‘Great’ is your name; ‘Heir’ is your name; ‘Beneficial’ is your name; ‘Hidden’ is your name; ‘Great one of the gods’ is your name; ‘He whose name is hidden from all the gods’¹⁹⁴ is your name; ‘OM, Great One, Am is your name; ‘All the gods’ is your name; ‘Lotus Lion Ram’¹⁹⁵ is your name; ‘LOY is coming, Lord of the lands’ ‘Lord of the lands’ is your name; ‘AMAKHR of heaven’ is your name; ‘Lotus flower of stars (?) / is coming EI IO NE EI O’ is your name.

245 [IX, 7] Your [secret] form is [that of] a scarab with the face of a ram whose tail is a falcon and which is wearing two panther skins.¹⁹⁶ Your [serpent is a serpent] of eternity,¹⁹⁷ your . . .¹⁹⁸ is a lunar month; your wood is vine wood and persea; your herb is the herb of Amoun; your bird of heaven is a heron; your fish of [the sea] is a black *lebis*.¹⁹⁹ They are established on earth. ‘Sickness’ is your name in your body in the sea; your [secret] form of stone in which you came forth is a [. . .], Heaven is your shrine, the Earth is your forecourt. My desire was to seize you here today, for I am one who appears [shining] and who endures. My . . .²⁰⁰ grows old when I have not done it through delay, when I have not discovered your name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor of heaven. Bearing [hunger] 250 / for bread and thirst for water I did it. You should save me and make me well and [IX, 12] give me praise, love, and respect before every man. For I am the [great] bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye, who came forth from the four . . .²⁰¹ of eternity.

“I am youth, the great name who is in heaven, who is called AMPHOY²⁰² AMPHOY truly, truly; ‘He’ who was praised at Abydos;²⁰³ Ra. ‘Horus the youth’²⁰⁴ is my name; ‘Chief of the gods’ is my correct name. Save me! Let me be healthy. Let my vessel become [successful?].

255 [IX, 17] “Open to me Alkhah²⁰⁵ before every god and all men who came forth from the stone of Ptah,²⁰⁶ for I am the serpent who came forth from Nun,²⁰⁷ I am the youthful Ethiopian,²⁰⁸ the rearing uraeus of real gold! In my lips is honey. That which I shall say comes to pass at once. Hail . . . / mighty one! I am Anubis, the youthful creation. I am Isis; I shall bind²⁰⁹ him. I am Osiris; I shall bind him. I am Anubis; [I shall bind] him. You should save me from every [misery?] and all confusion. LASMATNYT LESMATOT, save me! Heal me! Give me praise, love and respect in²¹⁰ my vessel, and (?) my bandage here today! Come to me, Isis, mistress of

194. An epithet of Amoun-Ra, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 67, n. to l. XI. 5.

195. See n. 6 above.

196. A figure found on late period coffins, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 7.

197. For the various possible meanings of this image, see the discussion in F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) 22, n. to l. III/20.

198. See n. 192 above.

199. Probably Labeo Niloticus; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 9.

200. With flesh determinative; it should be a part of the body.

201. See n. 192 above.

202. Could this be a phonetic rendering of the “great one in (the) heavens,”³ *m p.w(t)?*

203. Osiris.

204. See n. 185 above.

205. See n. 2 above.

206. For Pthah as creator god, see H. Bonnet, *RARG* 614–19, s.v. “Pthah.”

207. The primeval waters.

208. See n. 189 above.

209. The binding of the body as part of mummification.

210. I.e., through.

magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem. A snake, being the son of Atoum,²¹¹ is that which lies²¹² in the uraeus diadem at my head in order that he who will strike me will strike the king. Mont is here today . . . Mighty Mihos²¹³ will send out a lion of the sons of Mihos, he being forced to bring to me quickly²¹⁴ the divine souls, the human souls, / the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead,²¹⁵ so that they tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am inquiring, for I am Horus, son of Isis, who is going across to Alkhah²¹⁶ to cast embalming wrappings before the amulets and to put linen on the Drowned one, the good Drowned one of the drowned ones.²¹⁷ They should²¹⁸ awaken and flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage, my word-gathering. Awaken for me the spirits, the dead; awaken their souls and their forms at the mouths of my vessel! Awaken them for me together with the dead! Awaken [them] for me! Awaken them for me! Awaken their souls and their forms. O fury of Pessiwont²¹⁹ the daughter of ARB . . . / awaken for me, awaken for me the Wontes from their misfortune! Let them speak with their mouths; let them talk with their lips; let them say that which I have said [concerning that which] I am asking here today. Let them speak before me; let truth happen to me. Do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true name, truly [without] falsehood in it! [O] scarab of true lapis lazuli that sits at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer,²²⁰ fill your mouth with the water of [the pool?]. Pour it out on my head together with that which is at my hand! Heal me; heal him, and vice versa until what I said [happens]! Let that which I said come to pass, for if that which I said does not come to pass, I will cause the flame to circulate around this bandage (?)²²¹ until that which I said does come to pass, for [they came] / to the earth, they listened to me . . . and they said to me, Who are you? Who are you? I am Atum in the sun boat of Pre; I am ARIATATY, the chest²²² of . . . I looked out before [me] to see Osiris the Ethiopian while he was coming in at me, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Wepwawer²²³ behind him, two sons of Rere²²⁴ mooring him. They said to me Who are you? Who are you? . . . I am one of those two falcons who watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . with its greatness. . . . Bring to me, bring to me the divine souls, the human souls, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead!²²⁵ Let them tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am asking,

260

[IX, 22]

265

[IX, 27]

270

[IX, 32]

211. For the connection between Atoum and serpents, see Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) 95–124.

212. Reading by W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miscellen, 5. Eine unerklärte Glosse im magischen Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 123.

213. A lion god.

214. Actually written *sp sm*, “twice.”

215. To the Egyptian, the range of forceful beings in the world.

216. See n. 3 above.

217. The drowned one is Osiris, who is here being cared for by his dutiful son Horus; see n. 58 above.

218. Corrected in Coptic from “you should” in Demotic.

219. To be translated “her son Wonte”; Wonte is a designation of Apophis, the enemy of Ra. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 325, #14. On Wonte and Apophis, see also *PGM* IV. 993–95 and n.

220. Unnefer is Onnophris. See *PGM* IV. 1078.

221. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Glosses in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden,” *ZÄS* 46 (1909–10): 128, and Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 368b.

222. Perhaps “sarcophagus.”

223. Jackal-headed god.

224. Usually the “sow” but here determined with the snake and perhaps indicating a snake goddess.

225. See n. 214 above.

275 for I am [†]ARTEMI ²²⁶ . . . womb when he rises in the east. / Come in to me, Anubis,
 [X, 2] in your beautiful face! It is in order to worship you that I come. Woe (?), woe (?),
 fire, fire, [south, north,] west, east, every breeze of Amenti, ²²⁷ let them come into
 being in very good condition, established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the
 one great] of reverence, for I am [†]IAE [†]LAO [†]IAEA [†]IAO [†]SABAOTH [†]ATONE, ²²⁸ I am
 casting [fury] at you, [†]TSIE ²²⁹ [†]GLATE [†]ARKHE ²³⁰ [†]IAO [†]PHALEKMI [†]IAO [†]MAKHA-
 HAI [†]IEE [†]KHO . . . [†]N [†]KHOKHREKHI [†]E-EOTH [†]SARBIAQY [†]IGRA [†]PSHIBIEG ²³¹
 280 [†] MOMY [†]MYNEKH [†]STSITHO ²³² [†]SOTHON [†]NAON [†]KHARMAI. / O fury of all these
 [X, 7] gods, whose names I have uttered here today, awaken for me, awaken for me the
 drowned, the [dead]! Let your souls and your [secret] forms live for me at the
 mouths of my lamp, my bandage, my word-gathering. Let it answer me concerning
 every word [about] which I am asking here today in truth, truly, without falsehood
 therein. Hasten, hasten, quickly, quickly!”

Its preparation: ²³³ You go to a dark storeroom whose [face] opens to the south
 or east in a clean place. You should spread it with clean sand brought from the great
 river ²³⁴ You should bring a clean copper beaker or a new vessel [made] of pottery;
 you should put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled or of pure water into the
 285 beaker together with a *lok*-measure of pure real oil, / or oil alone without putting
 [X, 12] water into it; you should put a *qs-nh* stone ²³⁵ in the vessel with the oil; you should
 put a “heart-of-the-good-house” plant ²³⁶ in the bottom of the vessel; you should
 put three new bricks around the vessel; you should place seven clean loaves [of
 bread] on the bricks which are around the vessel; and you should bring a pure
 youth who has been tested in his ears beforehand (that is, he will be profitable in
 going with the vessel). You should make him sit on a new [brick]; you yourself
 should sit on another brick, you being before him (another [manuscript] says, be-
 hind him); you should put your hand up to [his] eye(s), [his eye(s) being] closed
 290 while you recite down / into the middle of his head seven times. When you have
 [X, 17] finished, you should lift your hand from before his eye(s), you should [make him
 bend over] the vessel and you should put your hands to his ears. You should take
 hold of them with your own hands while you ask the child saying, “Did you [see the
 great god]?”

If he says, “I see a darkness,” you should say to him “Speak, saying, ‘I see your
 beautiful face, . . . you . . . O great god Anubis!’”

If you wish to do it by vessel [you being] alone, ²³⁷ you should fill your eye(s) with
 this ointment ²³⁸ and you should sit [near the vessel?] in accordance with what is
 above, your eyes being closed. You should recite the above invocation seven times,
 open your eye(s), and question him concerning everything [that you wish]. . . . You

226. Artemis?

227. The west and, therefore, the necropolis.

228. Adonai?

229. See n. 30 above.

230. Greek ἀρχή, “beginning, first cause.”

231. See n. 30 above.

232. See n. 30 above.

233. See n. 50 above.

234. The Nile.

235. See n. 65 above.

236. “The good house” is the place of embalming.

237. I.e., without using the youth.

238. Cf. PDM xiv. 140. [R.K.R.]

do it from the / fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the sound-eye.²³⁹

295
[X, 22]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IX/1–X/22. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 295–308

*[A] vessel [inquiry, the magician being] alone²⁴⁰ in order to see the bark of Pre.²⁴¹ *Formula*: “Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! Let [me see the bark] of Pre [descending and ascending] in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Praying is what am doing before Pre, my father, [on account of] the things²⁴² which have gone forth from me. O great Heknet,²⁴³ mistress of the shrine, the Rishret (ʔ),²⁴⁴ open to me, mistress of spirits! [Open] to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods! O you seven Kings; O you [seven Montus],²⁴⁵ bull who engenders, lord of awe / who illuminates the earth, soul of the primeval waters. Hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of darkness! Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,²⁴⁶ great one, lofty one! Hail, soul of the ram, soul of the people of the west! Hail, [soul of souls, bull] of darkness, bull (ʔ) of bulls, son of Nut,²⁴⁷ open to me! I am the Opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! [I am † I † I] † I † E † E † E [HE HE HE] † HO † HO † HO; I am † ANEPO²⁴⁸ † MIRI † PO † RE MAAT IB THIBIO ARYI²⁴⁹ † YAY [IAHO].”

300
[col. X,
27]

Formula: blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a [nightjar], “live-on-them” plant, [mustard], / “Great-of-Amoun” plant,²⁵⁰ *qs-nh* stone,²⁵¹ genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis” plant.²⁵² Pound [them]; make [them] into a ball [and paint] your [eye(s)] with it! Put a goat’s-*tear* in (ʔ) a “pleasure-wood”²⁵³ of juniper or ebony wood [and bind it] around you [with a] strip of male palm fiber in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eye(s) . . . according to what is written concerning it.

305
[X, 32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. X/22–35. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 309–34

*A spell for causing favor: “Come to me O . . . your beautiful name [of] Thoth! Hurry, hurry! Come to me. / Let me see your beautiful face here today . . . I being

310

239. I.e., full moon; on the sound-eye, see above, n. 192.

240. I.e., without using a youth.

241. This spell is repeated in PDM xiv. 805–16.

242. Literally, “words.”

243. “Joyful” or “acclaimed one.”

244. An epithet of Heknet?

245. For discussion of seven as a magical number in ancient Egypt, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 78–79, n. to l. X. 26. Note that *hknw* is the name of one of the seven oils found in offering lists.

246. Primeval waters.

247. Goddess of the sky.

248. Great Anubis.

249. Perhaps, “May the greatness of Ra, just (ʔ) of heart, and the great lamb act.” [R.K.R.]

250. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary [3], to be flax.

251. See n. 65 above.

252. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 80, n. to l. X. 32, for the suggested identification of this plant as *πύραγος*.

253. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to l. X. 33, to be a kohl stick.

- [col. XI, 2] in the form of a baboon; may you rejoice over (?)²⁵⁴ [me (?)] in praise and honor with your tongue of. . . . May you hear my voice today and may you save me from all evil things and all evil spells. Hail, he whose form is of. . . his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting a god came forth, who rests in the midst of Thebes! I am. . . of the great Lady, under whom Hapy²⁵⁵ comes forth. I am the face of great awe. . . soul in his protection; I am the noble child / who is in the
- 315 [XI, 7] House of Re.²⁵⁶ I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern. . . the ibis as a true protection, who rests in Heliopolis. I am the master of the great foe,²⁵⁷ the lord who obstructs semen, the very strong one. . . is my [name]. I am the ram, son of the ram; Lotus Lion Ram²⁵⁸ (and vice versa) is my name. Ra-Khepri-Atum²⁵⁹ is my true name, truly. Give me praise and love [before NN, son of] NN today, so that he give me all good things, so that he give me food and nourishment, and so that he do everything which I [shall desire. And do not let him] injure me so as to do me any harm, so that he say to me a thing which [I] hate, today, tonight, this month, this year, [this] hour. . . . [But as for my enemies (?)] the sun shall impede their
- 320 hearts and blind / their eyes, and create darkness in their faces, for I am BIRAI. . .
- [XI, 12] RAI; be far off from me!²⁶⁰ I am the son of Sakhmet; I am BGT, the bull of LAT. I am GAT, son of GAT, whose. . . the underworld, who rests in the depths of the great temple²⁶¹ in Heliopolis. I am a greatly praised one, the mistress of protection, who binds with leather thongs. . . in whose protection are great and powerful divine powers, who rests in Bubastis. I am the divine shrew-mouse²⁶² who [rests in] Letopolis. Lord of Letopolis, unique lord. . . is my name; Ra-Khepri-Atum²⁶³ is my true name, truly. O all you gods [whose names I have spoken] here today, come
- 325 to me in order that you might hear what I said today / and in order that you might
- [XI, 17] rescue [me] from all weakness, every defect, everything, every evil today! Give me praise, love [and respect before] NN,²⁶⁴ the king and his people, the mountain and its animals so that he does everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who will see] me [or] to whom I shall speak [or] who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old people, all people [or animals or things in the] whole land, [who] shall see me in these hours today so that they create my praise in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily, together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow every enemy! Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, before I have said them and repeated saying them!"
- 330 [XI, 22] [To be said] over an ape of wax and a fish; put it / in first-quality lotus oil (another [manuscript] says *tšps* oil)²⁶⁵ or moringa oil which is. . . ; add styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of "great-of-love" plant in a faience vessel; bring a wreath of. . . , anoint it with this oil as above, recite these [spells] to it seven times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken to any man at all; pu-

254. Suggested by R.K.R.

255. The Nile, especially the inundation.

256. I.e., Heliopolis.

257. Perhaps *hr.wy* "foe" is a mistake for *hr.wy* "tesricles," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 82, n. to l. XI. 8.

258. See n. 6 above.

259. See n. 116 above.

260. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 83, n. ro l. XI. 12.

261. Of the sun god, (P)re.

262. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 84, n. to l. XI. 15.

263. See n. 116 above.

264. Feminine.

265. For a possible identification, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 85, n. to l. XI. 22.

rify it; anoint your face with it; place the wreath in your hand; go to any place; [and be] among any people. It creates for you very great praise among them indeed. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius]²⁶⁶ There is none better than it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XI/1–26. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 335–55

*[A spell for making] a woman love a man: †Juice †of †balsam †tree, *one stater*; 335
 †malabathrum, *one stater*. *qwst*, *one stater*; . . . scented . . . , *one stater*; *mrwe*, *one* [col. XII,
stater; genuine oil, two *lok*-measures.²⁶⁷ You should grind these [ingredients]. You 1]
 should put them into a clean [vessel]; you should put the oil on top of them one
 day before the beginning of the lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you
 should bring a black Nile fish²⁶⁸ measuring nine fingers (another [manuscript] says
 seven), its eye(s) being variegated(?) in color . . . [which you] find in [a] water(?)
 . . . ; you should put it into this above-mentioned oil for two days; you should re- 340
 cite this formula to it at dawn . . . / before you have come [out of your] house and [XII, 6]
 before you have spoken to any man on earth. When the two days have passed [you
 should] arise at dawn. You should [go] to a garden. You should bring a vine shoot
 which has not yet formed grapes. You should lift it in your left [hand]; you should
 put it in your right hand. It should amount to seven fingers [in length]. You should
 take it [to your] house; you should bring the [fish] up out of the oil; you should tie
 it by its tail with a strip of flax; you should hang it up [by the head on] the vine; and
 [you should place] the thing containing oil under it for another three days until it²⁶⁹
 pours out by drops downwards that which is in it, while / the vessel which is under 345
 [it] is on a new brick. When the three days have passed, you should [bring it] [XII, 11]
 down. You should embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and byssus. You should put it in
 a hidden place or in [your house]. You should spend two more days, reciting to the
 oil again, making seven days. You should keep it. When you [wish] to make it do its
 work, you should anoint your phallus and your face and you should lie with the
 woman to whom you will do it.

The spells which you should recite to the oil: “I am Shu²⁷⁰ †GLABANO. I am Ra; I
 am the †creation²⁷¹ of †Ra; I am the son of Ra. I am / SISHT²⁷² the son of Shu, a 350
 water reed of Heliopolis, this griffin which is in Abydos. You²⁷³ are the first one, the [XII, 16]
 great one, great of magic, the living,²⁷⁴ uraeus. You²⁷⁵ are the sun boat, the lake of
 Wu-poke.²⁷⁶ Give me praise, love, and respect before every womb, every woman.
 Love is my true name.”

[Another] spell pertaining to it,²⁷⁷ again: “I am Shu KLAKINOK; I am IARN, I am

266. For the restoration, see *ibid.*, 86, n. to l. XI. 26.

267. A *lok*-measure is about one pint.

268. For a discussion of the type of fish, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 87–88, n. to l. XII. 4.

269. The fish.

270. God of air.

271. Or the “reed” of Ra.

272. “The image of.” [R.K.R.]

273. Feminine singular.

274. Or “rearing”: cf. *PDM* xiv. 3.

275. Feminine singular.

276. See n. 113 above.

277. The fish.

355 GAMREN. I am SE . . . PAER(?) IPAF INPEN NTINHS GAMRY,²⁷⁸ water of Heliopolis.
 I am Shu SHABY SHA . . . , SHABAH LAHEI²⁷⁹ LAHS LAHEI,²⁸⁰ the great god who is
 [XII, 21] in the east, / LABRATHAA. I am the griffin which is in Abydos.²⁸¹
 *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/1–21. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the rexr in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 355–65

*[Another] manner of them²⁸¹ to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa before . . . : “You²⁸² are the great one,²⁸³ the great of magic, the Ethiopian [cat], daughter of Ra,²⁸⁴ the mistress of the uraeus.²⁸⁵ You are Sakhmet²⁸⁶ the great, the mistress of Ast,²⁸⁷ who has destroyed every enemy . . . [eye (?)] of the sun in the sound-eye,²⁸⁸ born of the moon at midmonth at night.²⁸⁹ You are the great creation of the primeval waters. You²⁹⁰ are creation . . . the great one who is in the House of the obelisk²⁹¹ in Heliopolis. You²⁹² are the golden mirror: [you are] the morning bark [of the sun], the sun bark of Ra, . . . LANDIA, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Libyan woman of the . . . / of dom palm fruit, these secrets (?) . . . of Bi-weken.²⁹³ The favor and the love which Pre, your father, has given to you, send [them] down to me into this oil before every heart and eye of every woman before whom I am going in.”

360 [col. XII, 26] [Invocation,] to a black Nile fish²⁹⁴ nine fingers [long]: [You should put it] in oil of roses,²⁹⁵ you should drown it in it; you should bring it [up]; you should hang [it] up by [the] head [for . . . days]. When you have finished you should put it in a glass vessel; you should [add] a little water of sisymbrium²⁹⁶ and a small “amulet plant(?) of Isis” which is . . . and pounded; and you should recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You should anoint your face with it / at the time when you lie with the woman; [you should] embalm the fish in myrrh and natron. You should bury it in your house or in a hidden place.

365 [XII, 31] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/21–31.

278. The end is written *r.w*, “mouths.”

279. The end is written *iy*, “to come.”

280. The end is written *e.t*, “limb.”

281. Written “me” rather than “them.”

282. Feminine singular.

283. *t3.wr.t*, identified by Griffith and Thompson as Thoueris, a goddess usually presented in the form of a hippopotamus.

284. In the story of the Myth of the Sun’s Eye (see n. 19 to xiv. 1–92), Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, fled to Ethiopia.

285. For all these epithets, cf. *PDM* xiv. 350–51.

286. Cat goddess, goddess of war.

287. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 22.

288. See n. 192 above and *PDM* xiv. 295.

289. The sun and moon were thought of as the eyes of heaven, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 23.

290. Feminine singular.

291. Within the great temple of the sun god, Ra.

292. Feminine singular.

293. The eastern desert.

294. See n. 268 above.

295. See n. 100 above.

296. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 92, n. to l. XII. 29.

PDM xiv. 366–75

*The method of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband: “Woe; woe, flame; flame; Geb made his form into (that of) a bull, he had intercourse [with]²⁹⁷ his mother, Tefnet, again . . . as the heart of his father cursed his face, the fury of him whose soul is as a flame, while his body is as a pillar, so that he . . . fill the earth with flame and so that the mountains shoot with tongues. The fury of every god and every goddess, the great living one,²⁹⁸ LALAT / BARESHAK eye of Ethiopia²⁹⁹ be cast upon NN, the son of NN, [and] NN, the daughter of NN. Put the fire behind his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] into his heart at any time, until he casts NN, the daughter of NN, out of his house(s), she carrying (?) hatred to his heart, she carrying quarrelling to his face. Give him nagging and squabbling, fighting and quarrelling between them at all times, until they are separated from each other, without having been at peace forever and ever.” Gum, . . . / myrrh. You should add wine to them; you should make them into a figure³⁰⁰ of Geb, there being a wꜣs-scepter³⁰¹ in his hand.

370
[col. XIII,
5]

375
[XIII, 10]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 376–94

*[The recipes] into which the shrew-mouse goes: If you bring a shrew-mouse, you drown it in some water, and you make the man drink it; [then] he is blinded in both eyes. If you grind its body(?) with any piece of food and you make the man eat it, [then] he makes a blistering death(?),³⁰² he swells up, and he dies.

If you do it to fetch a woman, you should bring a shrew-mouse; you should place it on a Syrian potsherd; you should put it on the backbone of a donkey; you should put its tail on a Syrian potsherd or [piece of] a glass; also, you should let it loose alive in / the door of a bathroom of the woman; you should gild it. You should embalm its tail; you should add pounded myrrh to it; you should put it in a gold³⁰³ ring(?); you should put it on your finger after reciting these³⁰⁴ spells to it; and you should go with it to any place. Every woman whom you shall seize, she [wants?] you. You do it when the moon is full.

380
[col. XIII,
15]

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man,³⁰⁵ you should take its body when it is dry; you should pound [it; you should] take a little of it together with a little blood from your second finger and the little finger³⁰⁶ of your left hand; you should mix it with it; you should put it in a cup of wine; you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it. [Then] she rages after you.

If you put its gall into a [measure of] wine / and the man drinks it, he dies at

385

297. See J. G. Griffiths, “A Note on P. Demot. Mag. Lond. et Leid. XIII, 2,” *ZAS* 84 (1959): 156–57.

298. Perhaps the uraeus serpent; cf. *PDM* xiv. 3 and 351.

299. Tefnut; see n. 284 above.

300. The star-determinative suggested to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 94, n. to l. XIII. 10, that this is a reference to the planet Κρόνος/Geb, otherwise called Horus the Bull and depicted as a bull-headed man holding a wꜣs scepter.

301. Symbol of dominion.

302. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 13.

303. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 392, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 15.

304. *PDM* xiv. 392–94.

305. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 1206–18.

306. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 331b.

[XIII, 20] once; or [if you] put it into any piece [of food]. If you put its heart into a [seal] ring of gold, you put it on your hand, and you go anywhere, [then] it creates for you [favor, love and] respect.

If you drown a hawk in a [measure of] wine, and you make the man drink it, [then] he dies. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any piece of food, [then] he dies. If you put a two-tailed lizard into [the] oil, [cook] it, and anoint the man with it, [then he dies?].

390 If you wish to produce a skin disease on a man so that it does not heal: A *hantous* lizard [and?] a *hastela* lizard; you should cook them with [oil?], / and you should [XIII, 25] wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it . . . ³⁰⁷ you should put . . . ; [then] it. . . . If you put beer to the man's eye(s), he is blinded.

The spells which you recite to the ring ³⁰⁸ at the time when you seize the woman: "[O] . . . I AHO ABRASAKS, may NN, whom NN bore, love me! May she burn for me in (?) the road!" . . . you . . . ³⁰⁹ she follows after you. You write [it] also on the strip with which you embalm the [shrew-mouse?].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/11–29.

PDM xiv. 395–427

[col. XIV, 1] ***[A vessel divination:]** "Open my eyes! Open your eyes!" and vice versa, up to three times. (That which another man said to me, "Open, O my eyes! Open, O my eyes!" up to *four* times.) "Open, Tat! Open Nap! Open Tat! Open, Nap! Open, Tat! Open, Nap! Open [to me]! Open [to me]! for I am ARTAMO, whom the great craftsman ³¹⁰ bore, the great serpent of the east, who rises with your father at dawn! Hail, hail, Heh! ³¹¹ Open to me, flame!" ³¹² You say whispering, "ARTAMO, open to me, flame. If you do not open to me, flame, I will make you open to me, flame. O ibis, ibis, sprinkle, so that I may see the great god Anubis, the powerful one, / who is before me, the great strength of the sound-eye! ³¹³ O powerful Anubis, the good oxherd, open every[thing] to me! Reveal yourself to me, for I am NESTHOM NESDJOT NESHOTB BORILAMMAI BORILAMMAI MASTSINKS ³¹⁴ Anubis, great one, Arian ³¹⁵ the one who is great, Arian, this bringer of safety, Arian, the one who is outside! Hail, PHRIKS IKS lord IBROKS AMBROKS EBORKS KSON ³¹⁶ NBROKHRIA, the great child, Anubis, for I am this soldier.

405 "O those of the Atef crown, ³¹⁷ those of PEPHNUN ³¹⁸ MASPHONEGE; / hail! Let [XIV, 6] all that I have said come to pass here today, for hail! You are THAM THAMTHOM

307. Written in cipher; reading and meaning uncertain. Griffith and Thompson read TOYR and translated "to be troublesome." It might read DOYR, in which case could it mean "to be srrong" (*ḏr*) or "to scatter, disperse" (*ḏr*)? Depending on the meaning of this verb, the preceding subject might be "he" (the man) rather than "it" (the animal).

308. See PDM xiv. 381.

309. The verb *ḏrp*, which is what appears to have been written, means "to stumble" or, transitively, "to trip (someone), to hinder, to impede."

310. A reference to Prah, the craftsman god of Memphis.

311. Personification of high numbers and everlastingness.

312. Or a phonetic spelling of the name Heh, written in hieratic.

313. See n. 177 above.

314. With flesh determinative; cf., perhaps, μάστιξ, "whip."

315. Arianus, written with seated man determinative.

316. The Old Coptic gloss adds another KSON.

317. A crown worn by the king and Osiris.

318. Perhaps "he of the primeval waters (Nun)."

THAMATHOM THAMATHOMTHAM THAMATHYTSI³¹⁹ Amoun. Amoun is your correct name, who is called THOM ANKTHOM.³²⁰ You are ITTH; Thoth³²¹ is your name. Son of THOM ANITHOM OP³²² SAO SHATNSRO black,³²³ open to me the mouths of my vessel here today! Come to me at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage! Let my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven. May the hounds of the Phulot³²⁴ give me that which is just in the primeval waters. May they tell me / that about which I am asking here today, in truth, truly, there being no falsehood therein
 AEËIOYΘ³²⁵ spirit³²⁶ of strife!³²⁷

410
[XIV, 16]

Formula: You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top³²⁷ [of the water] with true oil; you place it on [three] new bricks, whose undersides are spread with sand; you put another four bricks under the youth; you make the youth lie down on his stomach; you make him put his chin on the bricks of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, while a cloth is stretched over him, / and while a lighted lamp is in his right hand and a burning censer in his left hand; you put a lobe of Anubis plant on the lamp; you put this incense up [on the censer]; and you recite these writings which are above³²⁸ to the vessel *seven* times.

415
[XIV, 21]

The incense which you should put up [on the censer]: frankincense (?), oil, ammoniac, incense,³²⁹ dates. Pound them with wine, make them into a ball and offer up this scent.

When you have finished, you should make the youth open his eyes and you should ask him, “Is the god coming in?” If he says, “The god has already come in,” you should recite before him. **Formula:** “Your bull(?), MAO, O Anubis, this [soldier?],³³⁰ this bull³³¹ / this blackness³³² . . . This . . . this ITSI³³³ this SRITSI³³⁴ SRITSI SRITSI ABRITSI³³⁵ is your name, being your correct name.”

420
[XIV, 26]

And you should ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry about which you are asking, you should recite to him seven times and you should dismiss [the god] to his home.

His dismissal. Formula: “Farewell, farewell, [Anubis] the good oxherd, Anubis, Anubis, the son of a wolf and a dog, the . . .” (another papyrus says: “the child of

319. See n. 30 above.

320. I.e., I am THOM.

321. See n. 30 above.

322. Written as the verb *ip* “to count, reckon.”

323. Perhaps, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 100, n. to ll. XIV. 13–14, “[sacrifice (lit., cutting) of (a) black ram.”

324. A geographical name; see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* . . . , vol. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale: 1925–31), 4, for a discussion of the suggested identifications.

325. The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in order.

326. Written in Demotic with a foreign word determinative; a compound from μάχομαι, “to fight” and πνεῦμα, “spirit.”

327. Literally, “its (the water’s) face.”

328. PDM xiv. 395–410.

329. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 23.

330. Assuming the partially preserved word is the *nty*, “soldier” (Coptic *matōi*), from “Mede.”

331. If this is identical with Coptic *gam* (Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 330).

332. This, like the preceding, would have been pronounced ΚΑΜ, as that is glossed.

333. See n. 30 above.

334. See n. 30 above.

335. See n. 30 above.

her of [?] Isis and a dog, [†]NABRISHOTHT, the Cherub³³⁶ of Amenti,³³⁷ king of those of . . . ³³⁸). Say *seven* times.

425 You should take the lamp from the child, you should take the vessel containing
[XIV, 31] water, you should take the cloth off him. You can also do it / alone³³⁸ by vessel in-
quiry. [It is] very good, tried, tested nine times.

*The Anubis plant:*³³⁹ It grows in millions of places. Its leaf is like the leaf of Syr-
ian [plant] which grows white; its flower is like the flower of conyza³⁴⁰ . . . you . . .
eye . . . before you have . . . the vessel.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demo-
tic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIV/1–34. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Note the change in line arrangement.

PDM xiv. 428–50

*A potion: You should bring a small shaving from the head of a man who was
murdered together with seven grains of barley buried in a grave of a dead man; you
430 should grind them with ten *oipe* / (another [manuscript] says, nine) of apple seeds;
[col. XV, you should add blood of a tick³⁴¹ of a black dog to them together with a little blood
3] of your second finger and the little finger³⁴² of your left hand and your semen,³⁴³
you should press them together; you should put them in a cup of wine; you should
add three ladles to it of the first fruits of the wine, before you have tasted it and
before an offering has been poured out from it; you should recite this spell³⁴⁴ to it
435 *seven* times; you should make the woman drink it; you should tie the skin of the
tick aforesaid with a band of byssus; / and you should tie it to your left arm.

[XV, 8] *Its invocation. Formula:* “I am he of [†]Abydos, in truth, in the completion of
birth in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame, [†]she [†]of the seat of mercy of the
Agathodaimon.³⁴⁵ I am this figure of the sun, [†]the son [†]of [†]TAMESRO³⁴⁶ is my name.
I am this figure of the strong general, this sword, this great overthrower. The great
flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this fortress, this sword; this great
overthrower is my name. I am this figure of the Drowned one,³⁴⁷ who testifies in
440 writing, who rests on board here under / the great offering table of Abydos, to
[XV, 13] whose name of Isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put in this cup.
This wine, give it, the blood of Osiris [which] he gave to Isis, to make her feel love
in her heart for him at night, at noon, at any time, there not being time of change.
[†]Give it, the blood of NN, whom NN bore, to give it to NN, whom NN bore, in

336. For this interpretation, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 29.

337. The west, the necropolis, and thus the realm of the dead, over which Anubis presided.

338. I.e., without a youth.

339. PDM xiv. 415–16.

340. Thus Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*; see pp. 103–4, n. to XIV. 32. The identifica-
tion has been questioned by D. Devauchelle and M. Pezin, “Un papyrus médical démotique,” *CEg* 53
(1978): 59. H. von Deines and H. Grapow (*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogennamen, Grundriss der
Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], 39–41) identified this plant as “men-
tha aquatica.”

341. The identification of *hr̄m̄t̄* of PDM xiv. 430 with *syb* of PDM xiv. 434 indicates the meaning
“tick,” as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 318b–319a.

342. See n. 306 above.

343. Or “urine.”

344. PDM civ. 435–48.

345. See n. 22 above.

346. Or “the daughter of Ra.” [R.K.R.]

347. Osiris.

this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart. The love which Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let NN, the daughter of NN, feel it, / while seeking after NN, the son of NN, everywhere. The love which Isis felt for Horus the Behedite,³⁴⁸ let NN feel it for NN, she loving him, she being mad after him, she being inflamed by him, she seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.”

445
[XV, 18]

Another method [of doing it] again: The fragment³⁴⁹ of the tip of your fingernail and apple seed together with blood from your aforesaid finger also. You should pound the apple, you should add blood to it, you should put it in the cup of wine; / you should recite³⁵⁰ it *seven* times, and you should make the woman drink it at the above-mentioned time.

450
[XV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/1–23. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 451–58 [PGM XIVb. 12–15]

*[A spell] for going before a superior if he fights with you and he will not speak with you:

“Do not pursue me, you, so-and-so, I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, and I go to take it to Abydos, to take it to Tastai, and to bury it at Alkhah.³⁵¹ If he, NN, causes me trouble, / I will throw the mummy at him.”

455
[col. XV,
28] (15)

Its invocation in Egyptian³⁵² again is this which is below:

“Do not run after me, NN.³⁵³ I am PAPIPTY METYBANES, carrying the mummy of Osiris, going to take it to Abydos to let it rest in Alkhah. If NN fights with me today, I shall cast it out.” (Say seven times!)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/24–31, and R. F. Hock (Greek section).

PDM xiv. 459–75

*The words of the lamp: / “‘ BOTH ‘ THEY ‘ IE ‘ YE ‘ O ‘ OE ‘ IA ‘ YA (another manuscript [says], ‘ THEY ‘ IE ‘ OE ‘ ON ‘ IA ‘ YA) PTHAKH ELOE (another manuscript [says] ELON; very good) ‘ IATH ‘ EON ‘ PERIPHA ‘ IEY ‘ IA ‘ IO ‘ IA ‘ IYE, come down to the light of this lamp, appear to this youth, and ask for me about that which I am asking here today, ‘ IAO ‘ LAOLO ‘ THERENTHO ‘ PSIKSHIMEA KHE-LO³⁵⁴ ‘ BLAK-HANSPLA ‘ IAE ‘ YEBAI³⁵⁵ ‘ BARBARETHY ‘ IEY ‘ ARPON-GNYPH / ‘ BRINTATENOPHRI ‘ HEA ‘ GARHRE ‘ BALMENTHRE ‘ MENEBAKHEGH ‘ IA ‘ KHEKH³⁵⁶ ‘ BRIN-SKALMA ‘ ARYNSARBA³⁵⁷ ‘ MESEGHRIPH ‘ NIPTYMIKH ‘ MAORKHARAM. ‘ O, ‘ LAANKHEKH ‘ OMPH ‘ BRIMBAINYIOTH ‘ SENGENBAI ‘ GHOYGHE ‘ LAIKHAM ‘ ARMIOYTH.”

460
[col. XVI,
1, 2]

465
[XIV, 7]

348. I.e., of Edfu.

349. Literally, “measure.” See R. H. Pierce, “Dmf: A Problem in Demotic Lexicography,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 74.

350. PDM xiv. 435–48.

351. See n. 3 above.

352. Note the bilingual abilities of the scribe. The text is Egyptian in theme (the burial of Osiris) and the Greek text even includes one sentence in Egyptian. This indicates the Egyptian origin of the whole, despite the placement of the Greek version before the Egyptian one. [R.K.R.]

353. Feminine or, possibly, plural.

354. See n. 30 above.

355. Ending written by, “soul.”

356. Glossed *xyx*, Egyptian *kky* “darkness”: see n. 76 above.

357. See n. 8 above.

470 You should speak, you ³⁵⁸ being pure, in this manner: “O god who lives, O lamp
[XVI, 12] which is lit, TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring in / BOEL! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
in! ARBETH-BAI YTSIO, ³⁵⁹ O doubly great god, bring BOEL in! TAT TAT, bring
BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! TAGRTAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in!
Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! BEYTSI ³⁶⁰ O great god, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
in! Bring BOEL in!

The invocation which you should recite before Pre early in the morning before
you have recited to the youth, in order that that which you will do will come about:
475 “O great god, TABAO BASYKHAM AMO AKHA-GHAR-KHAN-GRABYNNA-NYNI
[XVI, 17] / TSIKOMETO ³⁶¹ GATHYBASATHYRITHMILAALO” ([say] *seven times*).
*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/1–17. Words preceded by ˆ are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 475–88

* Another manner of [doing] it also: You should rise at dawn from your bed, early
in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that everything which you
will do will be exact through your agency, ³⁶² you being pure from all evil. You should
recite this spell before Pre three times or seven times: “TO TA-BAO SOKHAM-MYA
480 OKHOKH-KHAN-BYNSANAY ³⁶³ AN-IESI EGOMPTO ³⁶⁴ GETHO SETHYRI THMILA
[col. XVI, 22] ALYAPOKHRI, let everything / that I shall undertake here today, let it happen.”

Its manner: You bring a new lamp in which no red lead ³⁶⁵ has been put; you
[put] a clean wick in it; you fill it with pure genuine oil; you put it in a hidden place
cleansed with natron water; you lay it on a new brick; you bring a youth; you seat
him on another new brick, his face being turned to the lamp; you close his eyes;
and you recite these [words] above, ³⁶⁶ down into the youth's head, seven times. You
should make him open his eyes while you say to him, “Do you see the light?” If he
says to you, “I see the light in the flame of the lamp,” you should cry out at that
485 moment saying / “HEYE” nine times. You should ask him about everything you
[XVI, 27] wish after reciting the invocation which you did previously before Pre early in the
morning. ³⁶⁷ You do it in a place whose door opens to the east; you leave the face of
the lamp turned . . . ; and you leave the youth's faced turned . . . ³⁶⁸ facing the lamp,
you being on his left. You should recite down into his head, while you touch his
head with your second finger of the . . . of your right hand.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/18–30. Words preceded by ˆ are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

358. Actually written “it.”

359. See n. 30 above.

360. See n. 30 above.

361. Ending written *gme t3*, “creator of the earth”: for the correspondence of Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.

362. Literally, “through your hand.”

363. Ending written *nw*, “time”; for correspondences between Greek and Egyptian letters, see n. 8 above.

364. Old Coptic gloss aspirated; Demotic writes *m p3 t3*, “in the earth.”

365. See R.K.R.'s note to PGM I. 277.

366. PDM xiv. 478–79.

367. xiv. 476.

368. Left blank in the manuscript.

PDM xiv. 489–515

**Another* manner of [doing] it also; [it is] very good for the lamp. You should [say]:³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ BOEL BOEL BOEL I I I A A A TAT TAT TAT, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly / the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, the great god, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven,³⁷⁰ in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come into the midst of this flame. Reveal yourself to this youth here today, have him inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask him here today, for I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed! O he of great praise, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of great praise, PETERI PETERI PATER EMPHE EMPHE,³⁷¹ O doubly great god, who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having / created him, come in to me with BOEL ANIEL; give strength to the eyes of this youth who is carrying my vessel today, in order to let him see you, in order to let his ears hear you while you are speaking; and ask for him about everything and all things about which I shall ask him here today! O great god, SI-SAOTH AKHREMPTO,³⁷² come into the midst of this flame! O he who sits on the mountain of Gabaon, TAGRTAT, he of eternity, he who does not die, who lives forever, bring³⁷³ BOEL in BOEL BOEL, ARBETH-BAI-NOUTSI³⁷⁴ O great one, great god, great god, bring³⁷⁵ BOEL in! TAT TAT bring³⁷⁶ BOEL in! You should / say these [things] *seven times* down into the youth's head. You should make him open his eyes; you should ask him, "Has the light already appeared?" If the light has not come forth, you should have the youth himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

490
[col.
XVII, 2]

495
[XVII, 7]

500
[XVII,
11]

Formula: "Be great, O light! Come forth, O light! Rise up, O light! Be high, O light! Come forth, O light of the god! Reveal yourself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is command today, who will ask for me."³⁷⁷

He reveals himself to the youth in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, while he is looking / at the lamp. Do not let him look at another place except only the lamp. If he does not look at it, he is afraid. You should do all these [things]. When you finish your inquiry, you should turn around, you should have him close his eyes, and you should say down into his head this *other* invocation, below, that is, if the gods go away³⁷⁸ and the youth ceases to see them: "Beginning KHEM-PHE, Zeus, Sun³⁷⁹ SATRA-PERMET, watch over this youth! Do not let him be frightened, terrified, or afraid, and make him return to his original path! Open, O Underworld! Open, here."³⁸⁰ I say [it] that this vessel inquiry of the lamp is better / than the first.

505
[XVII,
16]

510

369. A very similar invocation appears in PDM xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 516–26.

370. See n. 84 above.

371. On this group, see n. 88 above.

372. Ending written *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."

373. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"

374. Could the end of this mean "Bas (souls) of the gods"? For the correspondence between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.

375. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"

376. See n. 375 above.

377. See n. 23 above.

378. Or "in order that the gods go away."

379. The gloss consists of the Greek symbol for the sun.

380. A pun between "here" (*ty*) and "underworld" (*tei*).

[XVII, 21] This is the form again. *Its manner*: you bring a new lamp in which no red lead³⁸¹ has been put; you put a clean cloth wick in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick; you seat the boy on another brick opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes; and you recite down into his head according to the other form also.

515 *Another* invocation which you recite opposite Pre at dawn three times, or seven times: *Formula*: IO-TABEO SOKHOMMYA OKHO-KH-KHAN BYNSANAY³⁸² AN-IESI EGOM(PH)THO GETHO SETHORI / THMILA-ALYAPO-KHRI, may everything [XVII, 26] which I shall do today come about.³⁸³ And they succeed.³⁸⁴ If you do not purify it, it does not come about. Purity is its chief factor.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVII/1–26. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 516–27

**Another* invocation according to what is above, again.³⁸⁴ *Formula*: “[†]BOEL BOEL BOEL [†]I [†]I [†]A [†]I [†]I [†]A [†]TAT TAT TAT he who gives the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven,³⁸⁵ in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, reveal yourself to this youth, HEY HOY HOY [†]HE-o so that he may inquire for me; make him look so that he sees and hears³⁸⁶ everything about which I shall ask him, for I shall praise you in heaven, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed. / O he of greatness, 520 [col. XVII, 31] [†]PETERI PETERI [†]EMPHE EMPHE,³⁸⁷ O [†]great god³⁸⁸ who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with BOEL ANIEL. Give strength to the eyes of [†]HEY [†]HEY, [[†]HEY [†]HEY],³⁸⁹ the son of [†]HEY [†]HEY, in order that he see you with his eyes; make his ears hear; speak with him of anything about which he will ask you; tell me an answer truly! You are the great god [†]SABAOOTH. Come down 525 [XVIII, 4] with [†]BOEL TAT TAT! Bring BOEL in! Come into the midst of this flame / and question for me concerning that which is good! TAGRIAT, he of eternity, bring [†]BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! ARBTH BAINYTSIO,³⁹⁰ O [†]great god,³⁹¹ bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!” You should say these [things] down into the youth’s head; you should have him open his eyes and you should ask him about everything according to the manner which is outside,³⁹² also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*

381. See n. 73 above.

382. Ending written $\pi\omega$, “time”; for the correspondences between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 8 above.

383. Continuing from the instructions in PDM xiv. 512–13.

384. A very similar invocation appears in PDM xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 489–99.

385. See n. 84 above.

386. Or “obey.”

387. On this group, see n. 88 above.

388. Glossed “doubly great.”

389. Intentional dittography in going from column XVII to column XVIII. Note that HEY here and in the next line is written in Demotic with the silver determinative, as if it were the word “money, silver.”

390. See n. 374 above; here the adjective ϵ_3 , “great,” has been added to the end of the invocation name. ARBETHBAINOYTHIO is “Horus-Falcon, spirit of the great god”; see PDM xiv. 500.

391. Glossed “doubly great.”

392. On the verso, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 118, n. to l. XVIII. 6.

notic Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XVII/26–XVIII/6. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic or in Greek letters with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 528–53

*[Another?] vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave me. You can also do it as a vessel inquiry by yourself: ³⁹³“SABANEM ³⁹⁴NN BIRIBAT Hail! Hail, O god, †SISIAHO who is on the mountain of Qabaho, / in whose hand is the begetting of Fate, ³⁹⁵go ³⁹⁶to this boy! Let him enchant the light, for I am †beautiful of face” ³⁹⁷(another manuscript says “I am the face of Nun”) at dawn, HALAHO ³⁹⁸at midday; I am †joyful of face in the evening. I am Pre, the noble youth who is called GARTA by name. I am he who came forth on the arm of Triphis ³⁹⁹in the east. I am †great; †Great is my name; †Great is my real name. I am †OY; †OY is my name; †AY is my real name. I am †LOT †MULOT, the one who prevailed, he whose / strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, THEIT THEIT ⁴⁰⁰TO TO ⁴⁰¹HATRA HATRA, dog-face, dog-face. Hail, Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, the noble youth whom Isis loves, who seeks after his father Osiris Unnefer. Hail Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry / my bandage here today! Let me flourish; let the one whose face is bent down to this vessel here today flourish until the gods come in and tell me [an] answer in truth concerning my question about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without falsehood, immediately. Hail, Anubis, creature and youth! ⁴⁰²Go forth at once! Bring to me the gods of this city and the god who gives answer today ⁴⁰³so that he tell me my question about which I am asking today.” Nine times.

/ When you open your eyes, or the youth [opens his eyes] and you see the light, you should recite to the light, “Hail, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be great, be great, O light! O that which is outside, come in!” You should say it nine times until the light is great and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis has come in and established himself, you should say to Anubis, “Arise! Go out and bring in to me the gods of this city or town.” He goes out at that moment and brings the gods in. When you know / that the gods have come in, you should say to Anubis, “Bring in a table for the gods so that they may sit down!” When they are seated, you say to Anubis, ⁴⁰⁴“Bring in a wine jar and some bread! Let them eat, let them drink.” When he has had them eat and drink, you should say to Anubis, “Are they going to inquire for me today?” If he says they [are] again, you

393. I.e., without using a youth as intermediary.

394. Ending written *nm*, “dwarf.”

395. See n. 22 above.

396. This verb also appears in *P. BM 10507*, 6/9, where it is translated “to approach” by M. Smith (not yet published).

397. Or, perhaps, “baboon-face,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus 120*, n. to l. XVIII. 10.

398. Ending written *hr*, “face.”

399. A goddess whose name meant “the noble lady”; Griffith and Thompson suggest, *The Leyden Papyrus*, 120, n. to l. XVIII. 12, that this might be a reference to the constellation Virgo.

400. The middle of this name is written with the word *ꜥꜣꜣ*, “house.”

401. Written *t3*, “land.”

402. Perhaps seen as half-canine, half-human. [R.K.R.]

403. See n. 23 above.

404. A very similar passage, but spoken by the youth, occurs in *PDM* xiv. 56–62.

should say to him, “The god who will question for me,⁴⁰⁵ let him raise his hand for me and let him tell me his name.” When he tells you his name, you should ask him concerning that which you desire. When you are finished asking about what you desire, you should send them away.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVIII/7–33. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 554–62

555 * [Spell] to be said to the bite of the dog: / “My mouth being full of blood of a
[col. XIX, 2] black dog, I spitting out the redness⁴⁰⁶ of a dog, I come forth from Alkhah.⁴⁰⁷ O
this dog who is among the ten dogs which belong to Anubis, the son of his body,
extract your venom, remove your saliva from me also! If you do not extract your
venom and remove your saliva, I shall take you up to the forecourt of [the temple
560 of] Osiris, my watchtower (?). I will do for you⁴⁰⁸ . . . / according to the voice of
[XIX, 7] Isis, the magician, the lady of magic, who bewitches everything, who is never be-
witched in her name of Isis, the magician.”

You [should] pound garlic with gum (?), put it on the wound of the dog bite,
and speak to it daily until it is well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/1–9. The word preceded by † is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 563–74

* [Spell] to be said in order to extract the venom from the heart of a man who has
already been made to drink a potion or poison⁴⁰⁹ (?): “Hail, hail, IABLY, O golden
565 cup of Osiris! / From you have drunk Isis, Osiris, and the great Agathodaimon.⁴¹⁰
[col. XIX, 12] The three gods drank and after them I myself drank in order that you will not let me
get drunk, you will not let me list, you will not make me fall, you will not make me
be thrown down, you will not make me be troubled of heart, you will not make my
mouth curse. May I be healed of all poison, pus, [and] venom. They shall be re-
moved (?) from my heart. When I drink you, may I vomit⁴¹¹ them up in her name
570 of †SARBITHA, the daughter / of the Agathodaimon,⁴¹² for I am SABRA BRIATHA
[XIX, 17] BRISARA. HER is my name. I am Horus SHARON⁴¹³ coming from receiving greet-
ings. IAHO, †the †child, is my name, being my real name” [to be said] to a cup of
wine. Add fresh rue; add it to it; speak to it seven times, and make the man drink it
at dawn before he has eaten.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/10–21. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

405. See n. 23 above.

406. I.e., blood.

407. See n. 3 above.

408. Or, “act for you as . . .”: see the discussion of his passage in Johnson, *Verbal System* 11, n. 1. Or, “I shall do to you that which this other bird (?) did,” seeing a reference to Isis as a kite. [R.K.R.]

409. Or “hang over” (?). [R.K.R.]

410. See n. 22 above.

411. Literally, “cause them to be thrown up.”

412. See n. 22 above.

413. Written ⲥ r.n., “to our mouths.”

PDM xiv. 574–85

*[Spell] to be said to the man, when a bone is stuck / in his throat: “You are SHLATE LATE BALATE the white crocodile, which is under the foam of the sea of flame whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man. Hail, you should spit out this bone for me today, it acting as a harpoon head, it making a point, it acting as a sack piercer,⁴¹⁴ it doing⁴¹⁵ everything, without change, for I am⁴¹⁶ a lion’s forepart, I am⁴¹⁷ a ram’s horn,⁴¹⁸ I am⁴¹⁹ a panther’s tooth. / Griffin⁴²⁰ is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand. The man named is the opener⁴²¹ of my neck⁴²² (seven times). 575 [col. XIX, 22]

You should speak to a little oil, you should put the man’s face up; you should put it down in his mouth; you should move⁴²³ your finger and your thumb⁴²⁴ [to the] two sinews⁴²⁵ of his throat; you should make him swallow the oil; you should make him rise up suddenly; and you should eject the oil which is in his throat immediately. / The bone comes up with the oil. 580 [XIX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/21–32. 585 [XIX, 32]

PDM xiv. 585–93

*Spell to be said to the bite of the dog: the fury of Amoun and Triphis: ⁴²⁶“I am this strong Arab SHLAMALA MALET secret one, mighty one SHETEI⁴²⁷ GRSHEI⁴²⁸ GRSHEI⁴²⁹ NEBRNT TAHNE BAHNE this dog, this black one,⁴³⁰ the dog which has bewitched this dog, he of these four bitch-pups, the wolf⁴³¹ son of Wepwawet.⁴³² O son of Anubis, seize by your teeth! Put down your secretion, your face being that / of Seth against Osiris, your face being that of Apophis against the sun! Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth,⁴³³ NN whom NN bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth. Hear this speech of Horus, who stopped heat, who went to the primeval water, who established the earth; listen, O IAHO SABAHO ABIAHO by name!” You should cleanse the wound and grind salt with Nubian hematite.⁴³⁴ Apply [it] to it. 590 [col. XIX, 37]

414. Meaning suggested by George R. Hughes; for harpoon head and point, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 25.

415. Or “acring as.”

416. Or “to me belongs,” as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 26.

417. See n. 416 above.

418. See n. 416 above.

419. See n. 416 above.

420. See n. 12 above.

421. Reading *nm*.

422. Reading *nhbe.t*.

423. Reading *hm*, “to approach,” “move toward.”

424. So William F. Edgerton, comparing it to Coptic *mout*, “thumb”: Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 81a.

425. Coptic *eine* means “sinew, nerve” or “neck”; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 189a.

426. See n. 399 above.

427. Ending written *‘e.t*, “limb.”

428. See n. 427 above.

429. See n. 427 above.

430. Cf. PDM xiv. 555.

431. Or jackal, given the association with Wepwawet.

432. See n. 223 above.

433. I.e., whom you bit.

434. For this identification, see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 156–57.

Another: You should grind rue with honey. Apply to it and say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/32–40.

PDM xiv. 594–620

595 * [Spell] to be said to the sting.⁴³⁵ / “I am the King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis.
[col. XX, My mother Sekhmet-Isis comes⁴³⁶ after me all the way to the land of Syria, to the
2] hill of the land of Heh,⁴³⁷ to the nome of these cannibals, saying, ‘Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, my child, King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis,’ saying, ‘Arise and come to Egypt, for your father Osiris is King of Egypt; he is ruler over the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand.’

600 / “At the moment of saying these [things] she jumped⁴³⁸ at me. My strength fell
[XX, 7] from me. She coiled⁴³⁹ and she came to me with a sting; I sat down and I wept. Isis, my mother, sat near me, saying to me, ‘Do not weep, do not weep, my child, King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis! Lick from your tongue to your heart, and vice versa, as far as the edges of the wound! Lick from the edges of the wound up to the limits of your / strength!’ What you will lick up, you should swallow it. Do not spit it out
605 on the ground, for your tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaimon,⁴⁴⁰ your tongue is that of Arum!”

You should lick it with your tongue while it is bleeding. Immediately afterwards, you should speak to a little oil and you should speak⁴⁴¹ to it seven times while putting it on the sting daily. You should dye a strip of linen and put it on it.

610 / [The spell] which you should say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: “Isis sat
[XX, 17] speaking to the oil, ABARTAT, and lamenting to the true oil, saying, ‘You are praised. I am going to praise you, O oil; I am going to praise you. By the Agathodaimon you are praised. By me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, O oil, O vegetable oil’” (another [manuscript] says “true oil”), “O sweat of the
615 Agathodaimon, amulet of Geb. Isis is the one who / is speaking to the oil. O true
[XX, 22] oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter⁴⁴² which comes down from the sun bark at dawn, you should do the good [deeds] of the dew of dawn which heaven cast to the ground upon every tree. You should heal the limb which is paralyzed and you should act as remedy for him who lives, for I shall employ you for the sting of the King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis, my child, in order that you fill it and make it well. For I shall employ you for [the] sting of NN, whom NN bore, / in order that you fill it and make it well”” (seven times).

620 [XX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/1–27.

435. Probably of a scorpion, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 128, n. to l. XX. 1. This interpretation is reinforced by the suggested new translation of PDM xiv. 601; see n. 439 below.

436. For this interpretation, see J. Johnson, *Verbal Systems* 102, n. 167.

437. Literally, “millions.”

438. See n. 456 below.

439. Literally, “gather”; this meaning was suggested by George R. Hughes.

440. See n. 22 above.

441. PDM xiv. 610–20.

442. Literally, “Horus the red” or “Horus the mysterious.”

PDM xiv. 620–26

*Spell to be said to bring a bone out of a throat: “I am he whose head reaches the sky while his feet reach the primeval waters,⁴⁴³ who awakened this crocodile . . . in Pidjeme⁴⁴⁴ in Thebes, for I am [†]SA SIME. TAMAHO is my correct name, ANYG ANYG, for a hawk’s egg is what is in my mouth, an ibis egg is what is in my belly, saying, ‘bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides, for let that which is in your belly come to your heart; let that which is in your heart / come to your mouth; let that which is in your mouth come to my hand here today, for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who is established in the seven shrines; for I am the son of the living god!’ [Say it] to a cup of water seven times and make the woman drink it.

625

[col. XX,

32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/27–33. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 627–35

*The vessel inquiry of Osiris:⁴⁴⁵ “Hail, Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in Thinis⁴⁴⁶ while his feet are in Thebes,⁴⁴⁷ the one who gives answer in Abydos, while his protection⁴⁴⁸ (?) is [in?] Pshilom,⁴⁴⁹ he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranous,⁴⁵⁰ who is on my house forever, / the house of the avengers⁴⁵¹ forever; he whose face⁴⁵² resembles the face of a hawk of byssus, mighty one whose tail is as the tail of a serpent while his back is as the back of a ‘dragon,’⁴⁵³ while his hand is [that of] a man, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, [†]in [†]whose hand is this palm staff of command. Hail, IAHO SABAHO ATONAI⁴⁵⁴ MISTEMY IAYTY! Hail, MIKHAEL⁴⁵⁵ SABAEL! Hail, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who leaps⁴⁵⁶ on only one foot! [†]Hide the darkness in the deep! Bring in the light for me! Come in to me; tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here today!” [Say] nine times, / until the god comes and the light appears.

630

[col. XXI,

4]

You do it according to the forms of the remainder above, again while the youth’s face is to the east and your own face is to the west, you reciting down into his head.

635

[XXI, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/1–9. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

443. Reaching from sky to abyss; see also *PGM* IV n. 160.

444. Western Thebes.

445. A partial parallel in Old Coptic is found in *PGM* IV. 10–25.

446. A town in the nome of Abydos; see A. H. Gardner, *Onomastica*, vol. II, p. 38*.

447. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 2.

448. The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has “whose glory is in Paqalôm.”

449. For possible identifications, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 3.

450. Perhaps the Egyptian definite article *p* + *οὐρανός*, “firmament” of heaven, and Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, 135, n. to l. XXI. 4.

451. On avengers, see also n. 24 above.

452. See the description of a griffin taken from the Myth of the Sun’s Eye quoted in n. 12 above.

453. Literally, perhaps, “crocodile” or “guardian (dragon)”; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 135, n. to l. XXI. 5.

454. Adonai? The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has *althônai*.

455. The Old Coptic text (see n. 445 above) also invokes Michael.

456. Coptic *fi fôqs*, “to leap, hop,” *Crum, Coptic Dictionary* 627b, as suggested by George R. Hughes.

PDM xiv. 636–69

*[The method] of the scarab in the cup of wine in order to make a woman love a man: You should bring a scarab of Mars⁴⁵⁷ (which is this small scarab which has no horn), it having three shields on the front of its head—you find its face shrunken—or also the one which has two horns.⁴⁵⁸ You should bring it at the rising of the sun; you should bind yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back; you should bind yourself at your face with a strip of palm fiber while the scarab is on the palm⁴⁵⁹ of your hand; and you should speak⁴⁶⁰ to it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you should drown it in milk of a black cow. You should put a [unit of ?] 10⁴⁶¹ (pieces) of olive wood to its head. You
 640 should leave it until evening in the milk. When evening comes, you should / bring
 [col. XXI, it up, you should spread under it with sand, and you should put a band of cloth
 14] under it upon the sand, for four days. You should put myrrh on a flame before it.

When the four days have passed, and it is dry, you should bring it before you, a cloth being spread under it. You should divide it in its middle with a copper knife. You should take its right half and nail parings of your right hand and foot, and you should cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood. You should pound them with nine apple seeds and your urine or your sweat free from bath oil; you should make it into a ball; you should put it in the wine; you should speak⁴⁶² over it seven times; you should make the woman drink it; you should take its other half, the left one, together with the nail parings of your left hand and foot also; you should bind them in a strip of byssus with myrrh and saffron; you should bind them to your left arm; and you should lie with the woman while they are bound to you.

645 / If you wish to do it also without drowning it, you do it also on the third of the
 [XXI, 19] lunar month, you doing this manner above for it also. You should recite its invocation to it before the sun at dawn; you should cook [it]; you should divide it; you should do it according to that which is above also in everything.

[The invocation] which you should recite to it before the sun at dawn: “You are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli. Bring yourself out of the door of my temple! You should lift (?) a copper vessel (?) to your nose, [O he] who knew how to eat the herbage, who tramples the field plants (?), who damages the great cult images of those of Egypt, I sending you against NN whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, for she is the one who urinated before the sun at dawn, saying to the sun, ‘Do not come forth!’; to the moon, ‘Do not rise!’; to the water, ‘Do not come to those of Egypt!’; to the field, ‘Do not bloom!’; and to the great trees of those of Egypt, ‘Do
 650 not grow green!’ / I sending you to NN, whom NN bore, in order to beat her from
 [XXI, 24] her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, so that she put herself on the road following after NN, whom NN bore, at all times.”

[The spell] which you should recite to it while it is in the milk: “Woe, doubly great one; woe, my doubly great one; woe, his (?) Nun.⁴⁶³ woe, his love, O scarab,

457. See Ritner, “Gleanings” (above, n. 68).

458. For the possible identification as the “stag beetle,” see *ibid.*, n. to l. XXI. 11.

459. Lit., “body”: translation suggested by George R. Hughes.

460. PDM xiv. 646–50.

461. For the use of ten as a “round number,” see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägypter* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1916) 39.

462. PDM xiv. 658–69.

463. Primeval waters.

464. See n. 306 above.

O scarab, you are the eye of Pre, the little finger⁴⁶⁴ of Osiris, the fingers of Shu.⁴⁶⁵ You should go in this form⁴⁶⁶ in which Osiris your father went, on account of NN, whom NN bore, until fire is put after her heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is.”

[The spell] which you should recite to it while you are cooking it: “Hail, my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), who cast semen and who casts semen among all the gods, this one whom the small one and the great one found among the two great enneads on the east of Egypt, / while he was coming forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus reed! I know your name; I know your craft⁴⁶⁷ (?). ‘The work of two stars’ is your name. I am casting fury against you today, NPHALAM BALLABALKHA IOPHPHE, in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the large intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of NN, whom NN bore, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is.”

655

[XXI, 29]

[The spell] which you should recite to it in the wine:

“O scarab, O scarab, you are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli; you are the eye of Pre; you are the eye of Atum, the finger of Shu, the little finger of Osiris. You are the black bull, the foremost one, who came forth from Nun, / the beauty of Isis being with you. You are RAKS RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar which they brought from the land of Syria to Egypt.”

660

[XXI, 34]

From outside to the wine: “I shall send you. Will you go on my business? Will you do it? May you say, ‘Send me to the thirsty so that his thirst may be quenched, to the canal that it may be dried up, to the sand of the . . . that it may be scattered without wind, to the papyrus of Buto that the copper [blade] may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for Isis from the great destructions for those of Egypt, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst,’ while I send you. Do the like of these while I am sending you down to the heart of NN, whom NN bore; make a flame in her body, flame in her intestines. Put madness after her heart, fever after her flesh. Let her make the travels of the Shoulder constellation⁴⁶⁸ after the ‘Hippopotamus’ constellation.⁴⁶⁹ Let her make / the movements of the sunshine after the shadow while she is searching after NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night! Give her grief and anxiety by day! Do not let her eat! Do not let her drink! Do not let her lie down! Do not let her sit in the shadow of her house until she goes to him at every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glances turned upside down, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is, until she sees him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every. . . . Let [her] put the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times, without a time changed. Quickly, quickly! Hurry, hurry!”

665

[XXI, 39]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/10–43.

465. The god of air, whose hands/fingers supported the sky.

466. I.e., drowned, as Osiris.

467. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 141, n. to l. XXI. 29.

468. I.e., the Big Dipper.

469. See the references in Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 142, n. to l. XXI. 38.

PDM xiv. 670–74

670 *Here is [the spell ?] of the name of the Great One of Five⁴⁷⁰ which should be
[col. recited to every spirit, there being nothing which is stronger than it in the books: if
XXII, 1] you recite these spells to any vessel, the gods never go away without your having
questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven,
earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water, and fields. [It is] a writing which is
in the power⁴⁷¹ of a man to recite.⁴⁷²

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXII/1–5.

PDM xiv. 675–94 [PGM XIVc. 15–27]

675 *A spell to cause “evil sleep”⁴⁷³ to fall. **Formula:** You bring a donkey’s head; you
[col. place it between your feet opposite the sun at dawn when it is about to rise, op-
XXIII, 1] posite it again in the evening when it is going to set; you anoint your right foot
with yellow ocher⁴⁷⁴ of Syria, your left foot with clay, the soles of your feet also; you
place your right hand in front and your left hand behind, the head being between
680 them; you anoint one of your two hands with donkey’s blood, / and the two cor-
[XXIII, 6] ners (?) of your mouth; and you recite these writings before the sun at dawn and in
the evening for four days. He sleeps.

If you wish to make him die, you should do it for seven days. If you do its magic,
you should bind a thread of palm fiber to your hand, a piece of male palm fiber to
your phallus and your head. It is very good.

This spell which you should recite before the sun:

(15) / “I call upon you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, al-
mighty, a god of gods, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a
685 stable / household, you who were driven out of Egypt and have roamed foreign
[XXIII, lands, you who shatter everything and are not defeated. / I call upon you, Typhon
11] Seth; I command your prophetic powers because I call upon your authoritative
(PGM name to which you cannot refuse to listen, IÖ ERBETH IÖ PAKERBETH IÖ BOLCHÖ-
XIVc. 17) SETH IÖ PATATHNAX / IÖ SÖRÖ IÖ NEBOUTOSOUALETH AKTIÖPHI ERESCHI-
(20) GAL NEBOUTOSOUALETH ABERAMENTHÖOULERTHEXANAXETHRELUÖTHENEMA-
690 REBA AEMINA / (the whole formula). Come to me and go and strike down him, NN
[XXIII, (or her, NN) with chills and fever. That very person has wronged me and he (or she)
16] has spilled the blood of Typhon in his own (or her own) house. For this reason I am
(PGM doing this” (add the usual).

XIVc. 23) *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
(25) *motiic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/1–20; and R. F. Hock, following the edition of
Preisendanz.

PDM xiv. 695–700

695 *To inquire opposite the moon: you should do it as a vessel inquiry alone or [with]
[col. a youth. If you are the one who is going to inquire, you should equip your eye with
XXIII, 21] green eyepaint and black eyepaint. You should stand on a high place on the top of

470. See n. 36 above.

471. Literally, “hand.”

472. As Griffith and Thompson note, *The Leyden Papyrus* 144, n. to l. XXII. 5, the remainder of the column, where the spell would have been written, was left blank.

473. Reading *nktk bin*. [R.K.R.] Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to l. XXIII. 1, suggest “catalepsy.”

474. See Harris, *Minerals* 151.

your house. You should speak to the moon when it fills⁴⁷⁵ the sound-eye⁴⁷⁶ on the 15th day, you being pure for three days. You should recite this spell opposite the moon seven or nine times until he appears to you and speaks to you: “Hail, [†]SAKS [†]Amoun [†]SAKS [†]ABRASAKS, for you are the moon, the great one of the stars, he who formed them! Listen to these things which I said! Walk in accordance with the [words] of my mouth! Reveal yourself to me, [†]THAN / [†]THANA [†]THANATHA” (another [manuscript] says “THEI”); “this is my correct name.” Nine [times] of saying it until she⁴⁷⁷ reveals herself to you.

700
[XXIII,
26]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/21–26. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 701–5

* Another form of it again, to be recited opposite the moon: You should paint your eye with this paint, you [going] up before the moon. When it fills the sound-eye⁴⁷⁸ you see the figure of the god in sound-eye speaking to you:

“I am flame, high, AMRO⁴⁷⁹ MAAMT, true is my name, for I am . . . soul so [†]AGANAGYP Mars⁴⁸⁰ spirit, spirit, joy-Mars⁴⁸¹ is my real, true name . . . eternity. I am KHELBAI⁴⁸² SETET, HEN EM-NEFER⁴⁸³ is my name; SRO OSHENBET⁴⁸⁴ is my correct name.” Say [it] nine times, while you are standing opposite the moon, your eye equipped with this ointment: green and black eyepaint. Grind with Syrian honey; put the gall of a / full-grown chick to it; put it on a glass object; and leave it for yourself in a hidden place until the time in which you will need it. You do it also according to what is above.

705
[col.
XXIII, 31]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/27–31. The word preceded by [†] is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 706–10

* Against “evil sleep”⁴⁸⁵—another: flour of wild dates which has been beaten with milk⁴⁸⁶ . . . ; / you should make them together into a ball. Put in the wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1a–5a.

710
[col.
XXIV, 5a]

PDM xiv. 711–15

* A tested prescription if you wish to “evil sleep”⁴⁸⁷ a man: scammony root, 1 dram; opium, 1 dram; pound with milk; make it into a ball, and put it in some food (?) / which is cooked so that he eats it. He is upset.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1–5.

715
[col.
XXIV, 5]

475. See PDM xiv. 295 and n. 239 therewith.

476. See n. 192 above.

477. The moon, which is feminine in Greek although masculine in Egyptian.

478. See n. 192 above.

479. Written *m*, “to swallow” or “to know” plus *r*, “mouth.”

480. The planet; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954) 170.

481. See n. 480 above.

482. Written *hl*, “young” (?), plus *by*, “soul.”

483. Written *lm*, “to approach,” plus preposition *m*, “in,” plus *nfr*, “good.”

484. Or, perhaps, “prince, great of throat.” [R.K.R.]

485. See n. 473 above.

486. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, vol. III, p. 109, suggest that this might be *gyr*, “rush/reed.”

487. See n. 473 above.

PDM xiv. 716–24

720 **Another*, if you wish to make a man sleep for *two* days: mandrake root, 1 ounce;
[col. water and honey,⁴⁸⁸ 1 ounce; henbane,⁴⁸⁹ 1 ounce / ivy, 1 ounce. You should grind
XXIV, 10] them with⁴⁹⁰ a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly, you should put
four portions to each one of them with a glass of wine; you should moisten them
from morning to evening; you should clarify them; and you should make them
drink it. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniacal Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/6–14.

PDM xiv. 724–26

725 **Another*, the third: apple / seeds, 1 stater, 1 kite; pound with flour; make it into a
[col. cake, and make the man whom you wish eat it.

XXIV] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniacal Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/14–16.

PDM xiv. 727–36

730 **A prescription* to cause a man to sleep; [it is] very good: apple seeds, 1 stater,
[col. 1 dram; mandrake root, 4 drams; ivy, 4 drams; pound together; add fifteen /
XXIV, 20] measures of wine to it; put it in a glass vessel and guard it! When you wish to give
it, you should put a little in a cup of wine, and you should give it to the man. The
735 ivy—it grows in gardens; its leaf is like the leaf of a shekam plant, being divided
[XXIV, into three lobes like a grape leaf. It is one palm in measurement; its blossom / is like
25] silver (another [manuscript] says gold).

Another: Gall of an Alexandrian weasel; you should add [it] to any food.

Another: A two-tailed lizard.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniacal Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/17–26.

PDM xiv. 737–38

**A prescription* for “evil sleep”:⁴⁹¹ gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples,
poisonous herb; pound them together; make into a ball and put [it] into the food!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniacal Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/27–28.

PDM xiv. 739–40

740 **Another*: If you put camel’s blood and the blood of a dead man / into the wine
[col. XXV, and you make the man drink it, he dies.

30] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniacal Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/29–30.

PDM xiv. 741

**Another*: If you put a nightjar’s blood to his eye, he is blinded.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniacal Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/3.

488. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 149–50, n. to l. XXIV. 8.

489. *Ibid.*, 150, n. to l. XXIV. 9.

490. Literally, *r-h.t.*, “according to.”

491. See n. 473 above; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 917–19.

PDM xiv. 742

**Another*: If you put bat's blood, it is [in] this manner again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

PDM xiv. 743–49

**Another*: If you drown a hawk in wine and you make the man drink it, it does its work. A shrew-mouse in this manner again; it does / its work also. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its work very well. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel on any food, it does its work. If you put a two-tailed lizard in the oil and cook it with it and anoint the man with it, it does its work.

745
[col.
XXIV, 35]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and edition of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/33–39.

PDM xiv. 750–71

**The words of the lamp to question the youth: Formula*: “[†]TE [†]TE [†]IG [†]TATAK THETHE SATI [†]SAN-TASKL [†]KROMAKAT [†]PATAKSYRAI [†]KALEY-PANKT [†]A-A-TSIEYI⁴⁹² MAKT-SITAKAT HATI⁴⁹³ HAT [†]RO-I⁴⁹⁴ O-I [†]HAY⁴⁹⁵ (?) [†]I; may they say to me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, for I am Harpokrates⁴⁹⁶ in Mendes, for I am Isis the wise; the sayings of my mouth come to pass” (*say seven times*).

750
[col. XXV,
1]
755
[XXV, 6]

You bring a new lamp; you put a clean cloth wick into it brought from a temple; you set it on a new clean brick brought from the brick mold on which / no man has mounted; you set it upright; you place the lamp on it; you put genuine oil in it, or oasis oil; you set two new bricks under yourself; you place the youth between your feet; you recite the aforementioned spells down into the youth's head, your hand being over his eyes; and you offer up myrrh and willow leaf / before the lamp. You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south and under which there is no cellar. You let no light come in to the aforementioned place; you purify the said place beforehand; you put the youth's back to the opening of the room. When you finish reciting the spell, you should take your hand from his eyes—a youth who has not yet gone with a woman, / [is he] whom you should send before it⁴⁹⁷—and you should question him, saying, “What do you see?” He speaks with you of everything about which you will ask him.

760
[XXV, 6]

765
[XXV, 16]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXV/1–22. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

770
[XXV, 21]

PDM xiv. 772–804

**A method* to put the heart of a woman after a man: Done in one moment (?) and it comes to pass instantly. You bring a live swallow and a live hoopoe.

Ointment made for them: Blood of a male donkey, blood of the tick of a black cow. You should anoint / *their* heads with lotus ointment and cry out before the sun in his moment of rising. You should cut off the heads of the two; you should

775
[col. XXV,

492. See n. 30 above.

493. Written *h3t.y*, “my heart.”

494. Written *h3t r.y*, “heart of my mouth.”

495. Demotic apparently written *b.w*, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 153, n. to l. XXV. 6.

496. Horus the Child, son of Isis and Osiris.

497. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 155, n. to l. XXV. 21.

26] bring their hearts out from their right ribs [of the two] and anoint them with the donkey's blood and the blood of the tick of a black cow, above. You should put them into donkey's skin and leave them in the sun until they dry up in four days. When
780 the four days have passed, you should pound them, put them into a / box, and leave
[XXV, 31] it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you should take the piece⁴⁹⁸ of "pleasure wood,"⁴⁹⁹ recite these⁵⁰⁰ true names before them, put it in a cup of wine or beer, and give it to the woman so that she drinks it: "I am †BIRA-AQHL †LA-AQH †SASMRIALO †PLS-PLYN. I am †IOANE⁵⁰¹ †SABAATHL †SASYPY / †NITHI. Put the
785 heart of NN, whom NN bore, after NN, whom NN bore, in these hours today!"
[XXV, 36] ([Say] seven times). You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. [it is] very good.

790 / Another spell again for this cup of wine: "†BIRAGETHT †SAMARA †PILPIYN
[XXVI, 1] †IAHYT †SABAYTH †SAIPYNITHAS."

Another spell belonging to it again, on another papyrus: "I am †BIRAGATHT
795 †LATHT †SASMIRA †PLIPRN / †IAHY⁵⁰² †SABAQHT †SASYPNITHA. Put the heart of
[XXVI, 4] NN after †SASYPNITHAS."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, col. XXV/23–XXVI/18. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 805–40

805 *Another vessel inquiry,⁵⁰³ [the magician being] alone⁵⁰⁴ in order to see the bark of
[col. Pre: *The spell which you should recite:* "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods!
XXVII, 1] Let me see the bark of Pre, he going up and going down in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods; praying is what I am doing before Pre, my father, on account of the thing which went forth from me. O great Heknet,⁵⁰⁵ lady of the shrine, the Rishtret⁵⁰⁶ (?), open to me, mistress of spirits! Open to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, for I am Geb, heir of the gods! O, you seven⁵⁰⁷ kings; O, you seven Montus, bull who engenders, lord of awe, who illuminates the earth; soul of the primeval waters; hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of the darkness!
810 / Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,⁵⁰⁸ great one, lofty one! Hail,
[XXVII, soul of the ram, sould of the people of the west! Hail, soul of souls, bull of darkness,
6] bull of [two] bulls, son of Nut! Open to me; I am the opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! I am †I-I-I †E-E-E †HE-HE-HE †HO-HO-HO. I am ANEPO⁵⁰⁹ MIRI-PO-RE MAAT IB great THIBAL, †ARYI⁵¹⁰ †YOY †IAHO."

*The preparation:*⁵¹¹ Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-

498. Literally, "measure."

499. See n. 253 above.

500. PDM xiv. 783–86.

501. Written ʕ3, "donkey"; ʕn, "again"; ʕ3, "these."

502. Beginning written ʕ3, "donkey."

503. This same vessel inquiry occurs in PDM xiv. 295–308.

504. I.e., without using a youth.

505. See n. 243 above.

506. See n. 244 above.

507. See n. 245 above.

508. Primeval waters.

509. Great Anubis.

510. See n. 249 above.

511. See n. 50 above.

jar, “live-on-them” plant, mustard,⁵¹² “Great-of-Amoun” plant, *qs-^cnh* stone,⁵¹³ genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis” plant. Pound, make into a ball, and paint / your eyes with it. Put a goat’s tear in a “pleasure-wood”⁵¹⁴ of juniper or ebony, and tie around you a strip of male palm fiber.

The way of making the vessel inquiry of the lamp: You should bring a clean, white lamp without putting red lead⁵¹⁵ or gum water in it, its wick being of byssus; you should fill it with genuine oil or oil of dew; you should tie it with four linen threads which have not been burned;⁵¹⁶ you should hang in on an eastern wall [on] a peg of laurel wood; you should make the youth stand before it, he being pure, he not having gone with a woman; you should cover his eyes with your hand; / you should light the lamp; you should recite down into his head,⁵¹⁷ *seven* times; you should make him open his eyes; and you should ask him, saying, “What are the things which you have seen?” If he says, “I have [already] seen the gods near the lamp,” they tell him an answer concerning that which they will be asked.

If you wish to do it by yourself alone, you should fill your eyes with the aforementioned ointment. You should stand up opposite the lamp while it is lit and recite to it *seven* times while your eyes are shut. When you have finished, you should open your eyes. You see the gods behind you and you speak with them concerning that which you desire, you regularly doing it in a dark place.

The spell which you should recite: Formula: “I am MANEBAI⁵¹⁸ †GHTHE-THONI KHA-BA-KHEL; let me worship you, the child of ARPHITNA / PIRA PILE-ASA †GNYRIPH-ARISA †TENI-IRISSA †PSI⁵¹⁹ †PSI †IRIS-SA †GIMITHYRY-PHYS-SA OQMAT-SISA OREOBAZAGRA PERTAOMEKH PERAGOMEKH SAKMEPH.⁵²⁰ Come in to me and inquire for me about the question about which I am inquiring, truthfully, without falsehood.”

*Its preparation:*⁵²¹ The ointment⁵²² which you should put on your eyes when you are going to make any “god’s arrival”⁵²³ with the lamp. You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.⁵²⁴ You find them in the place of the lupine sellers. You should bring them while they are tender / and put them into a glass vessel. You should seal its mouth very carefully for *twenty* days in a dark, hidden place. After *twenty* days, if you take it up and open it, you find testicles and a phallus in it. If you leave it for *forty* days and bring it up and open it, you find it having [already] become bloody. In something of glass, you put it and you put the glass object in a pottery object in a place hidden at all times.

When you wish to make a “god’s arrival” of the lamp with it, you should fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, while you are going to sleep. Or you should stand

512. Literally, “bread-of-heaven” plant; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 10, suggest an identification with *σῖναι*, “muscard.”

513. See n. 65 above.

514. See n. 253 above.

515. See n. 73 above.

516. Or see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 14.

517. PDM xiv. 823–28.

518. Ending written *by*, “soul.”

519. PSI for “Agathodaimon”? Cf. PGM IV. 1644.

520. SAKMEPH is “son of Kneph (Agathodaimon)”; see PGM I. 27.

521. See n. 50 above.

522. See the parallel in PDM xiv. 140–46.

523. See n. 62 above.

524. See n. 95 above.

- opposite the lamp, reciting this spell aforesaid. You see the god beyond you while you are standing or sleeping. [It is] very good, proven. / You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink: "BAKHYKH-SIKHYKH"⁵²⁵ (what another papyrus said: "KIMITHORO PHOSSE"). This method which is written above is the method of the "god's arrival" of MANEBAI.⁵²⁶ If you wish to do it by questioning the lamp, it is this form again. It is also profitable for a "god's arrival" of MYRIBAI.⁵²⁷ If you will do it by vessel inquiry of the lamp, you should fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you should make the youth stand up before the lamp while his face is covered; and you should recite to his head this spell in Greek while you are standing over him. When you have finished, you should uncover / his face. He answers you truthfully.
- [XXVII, 31] 840
[XXVII, 26] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVII/13–36. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 841–50

- **Another method* of vessel inquiry [the magician being] alone: *Formula*: "I am † the † lord † of † Spirits, † ORITSIMBAI⁵²⁸ SONATSIR EPISGHES⁵²⁹ EMMIME; THO-GOM-PHYR PHIRIM-PHYNI is your name; MIMI soul of souls soul of souls GTHETHO-NI, I am Bastet PTHO⁵³⁰ BALKHAM whom BINYI SPHE PHAS bore. I am BAPTHO,⁵³¹ GAM-MI-SATRA is your name, MI-MEO, IANYME."
- Its preparation*.⁵³² you go to a clean place; you bring a copper vessel; you wash it with natron water; you put a *lok*-measure / of oil in it; you place it on the ground; you light a copper lamp; you put it on the ground near the copper vessel; you cover yourself with a clean robe, you and the vessel; and you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, *seven* times. / You should open your eyes and ask it concerning what you wish. If you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths opposite your mouth, *you should recite*: "IAHO IPH † EOE † GINNTETHYR † NEPHAR † APHOE." They give you an answer concerning everything about which you will ask also.
- If they do not tell you an answer, you should *recite* this other name "† NGO-NGETHIGS † MANTYNOBOE † GOKSHIR-HRONTOR⁵³³ † NTONTROMA † LEPHOGER / † GEPHAER-SORE." If you recite these, they inquire for you truthfully.
- 850 [XXVIII, 10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 851–55

**Another* vessel inquiry to which you add vegetable oil, you doing it according to what is above: *Formula*: "Speak to me, speak to me, HAMST, god of the gods of darkness, every spirit, every shadow which is in the west and the east! Do it, O he

525. See n. 76 above.

526. I.e., the formula beginning with MANEBAI in PDM xiv. 824.

527. I.e., the formula beginning with MYRAI MYRIBI in PDM xiv. 125.

528. Ending written by, "soul": see also n. 30 above.

529. For a possible translation of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 163, n. to l. XXVIII. l.

530. Pthah? [R.K.R.]

531. Spirit of Pthah? [R.K.R.]

532. See n. 50 above.

533. See nn. 8 and 30 above.

who has died! Awaken to me, awaken to me, O soul of life, O soul of breath! Let my vessel, my bandage go forth here today, because of the vessel of great Isis seeking her husband, searching for her brother; MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF.” Say, “MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF PHONI PHONI” a multitude of times, and say to the youth, “Say, / ‘Go away, O darkness! Come to me, O light!’ and open your eyes at once.” The gods come in and tell you an answer to everything.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/11–15.

855

[col.

XXVII,

15]

PDM xiv. 856–75

*Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said that it is well tested: *Its preparation*:⁵³⁴ you bring a pure youth; you do the spirit formula which is written for it; you bring him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment in which the sun is going to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the disk; you draw a new linen curtain⁵³⁵ (?) around him; you make him shut his eyes; you stand up over him, reciting down into his head and striking down on / his head with your sun-finger⁵³⁶ of your right hand, after filling his eyes with the paint which you made before: “NASIRA OAPKIS SHFE SHFE soul of souls; soul of souls is your true name, truly. O Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and height! Bring me the light which is pure! Let the god in whose hand command⁵³⁷ is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, in truth without falsehood therein. Chief god,⁵³⁸ ETALE TAL NASIRA IARMEKH NASERA AMPHY CHO AMAMARKAR TEL IAAO / NASIRA HAKIA lotus CHDJISIPHTH AHO ATONE⁵³⁹ I I E O BALBEL, let the pure light come to me. Let the youth *enchant*; let him tell me an answer. Let the god in whose hand command is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth, without falsehood therein.”

860

[col.

XXIX, 5]

865

[XXIX,

10]

Afterwards you should recite his compulsion *another seven times*, his eyes being shut. *Formula*: “SI SI PI TSIRIPI⁵⁴⁰ SA-AO-NKHAB HRABAOT PHAKTHIOP ANASAN KRAANA KRATRIS TMA-/PTARA- PHNE ARAPHNY, come to the youth! Let the god in whose hand command is come to him and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

870

[XXIX,

20]

If the light is slow to come within, you should say, “KE KE SALSOATHA IPPEL SIRBA” *seven times*. You should put frankincense on the brazier; you should utter this great name after all these; you should utter it from beginning to end and vice versa, *four times*: “AYEBOTH-IABATHABAITHOBEYA.” You should say, “Let the youth see the light; let the god in whose hand command is come in and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking / here today, in truth, without falsehood therein.”

875

[XXIX,

15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

534. See n. 50 above.

535. Suggested by Sir Herbert Thompson.

536. For a possible explanation of this term, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 166, n. to l. XXIX. 5.

537. See n. 107 above.

538. A phonetic rendering of the combination of Greek ἀρχός, “chief,” and Egyptian *ntr* (Coptic *noute*), “god.”

539. Adonai?

540. See n. 30 above. TSIRIPI is Thriphis; cf. *PGM* XI. 232.

PDM xiv. 875–85

**Here is another* form of it again: You should take the youth to a high, upper place. You should make him stand up in a place which has a large window in its presence, whose door opens to the east, and inside which the sun shines; you should paint the youth's eyes with the paint which is prescribed for it; you should recite to him 8 times (another [manuscript] says seven times) while you are standing over him; and you should make him look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye,⁵⁴¹ he standing up on a new brick, there being a new linen robe over him, and his eyes being closed. You should recite down into his head while striking his head with your finger which is written above⁵⁴² also. You should offer up frankincense before him. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes. / He sees the gods beyond him, speaking with him.

880 [col. XXIX, 25] [*The ointment*] which you put in the youth's eyes when he goes to any vessel inquiry of the sun: you bring two *buri* fish⁵⁴³ of the river, both being alive; you burn one of them with vinewood before the sun; you add the blood of the other to it; you make it smooth with it and myrrh; and you make them into balls which measure one finger [in length]. You should spread (?) [it] in his eyes. You should bring a vessel of vine wood (?) and a "pleasure-wood"⁵⁴⁴ of vine wood (?) also; you should grind this drug with a little yellow ocher⁵⁴⁵ of Nubia and juice of Egyptian grapes; and you should fill your eyes with it. If you fill your eyes with this drug and look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye, your eyes being open toward it, he reveals himself to you and tells you an answer / to everything. Its chief factor is purity. It is more profitable than the youth; it is profitable for you yourself as a person [acting] alone.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/20–30.

PDM xiv. 886–96

890 [v. col. i, 5] *Eyebrow of the sun.⁵⁴⁶ Eyebrow of the moon.⁵⁴⁷ (These are herbs.) Heliogonon.⁵⁴⁸ / Selenogonon.⁵⁴⁹ (These are herbs.) Spurge,⁵⁵⁰ which is this small herb which is in the gardens and which exudes milk. / If you put its milk on a man's skin, it eats.⁵⁵¹

895 [v. i, 10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. i/1–11.

541. See n. 192 above. The summer solstice.

542. *PDM* xiv. 860 and n. 536 above.

543. Assuming cipher *ūḏ* is for *ḏ*.

544. See n. 253 above; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 169, translate "kohl-pot" and "kohl-stick" (?).

545. See *PDM* xiv. 677 and n. 474 above.

546. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

547. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

548. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. I. I. 4, suggest this is a synonym for *gouč*, "safflower, cardamom," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 840b.

549. Peonies, according to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. I. I. 5.

550. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

551. Suggested by W. F. Edgerton; Coptic *bolbl* means "burrow, dig," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 37a–b.

PDM xiv. 897–910

*Camomile: “Clean straw” is its name.

“White flower”: “. . . -horse”⁵⁵² is its name.

Martagon lily:⁵⁵³ “There is none better than I” is its name.

/ Chrysanthemum: “Beautiful of face” is its name (another [manuscript] says, “the golden flower” of the wreath seller). Its leaf is strong; its stem is cold; its flower is of gold; its leaf is like martagon lily.

Magnesium:⁵⁵⁴ / A stone of srone which is black like galena. You should grind it while it is black.

Magnetite;⁵⁵⁵ it is brought. You should scrape it while it is black.

Human magnesium:⁵⁵⁶ It is brought / from the land of India. If you scrape it, it sends out blood.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/1–15.

PDM xiv. 911–16

*To “evil sleep”⁵⁵⁷ your enemy: A beetle: you should burn it with styrax (?), you should pound it together with one drachma of apples / and a . . . ; you should . . . ; and you should put a . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/16–20.

PDM xiv. 917–19

**Prescription* for “evil sleep”:⁵⁵⁸ Gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, and poisonous herbs. Grind them together, make into a ball, and put [it] in wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/1–3.

PDM xiv. 920–29

**Lees of wine*: It is a white stone like galbanum. There is another one which is made into lime. (This is) the way to know about it, whether it is genuine. If you grind a little / with water and apply it to the skin of a man for a short time, it cuts the skin. Its name in Greek [is] “foam of the moon.”⁵⁵⁹ It is a white stone.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/4–13.

PDM xiv. 930–32

**A prescription*⁵⁶⁰ to cause a woman to love a man: Fruit of acacia; grind with honey; anoint his⁵⁶¹ phallus with it; and lie with the woman!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/14–16.

552. The Egyptian word may be from the root *sq*, “to dig.”

553. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 171, n. to V. I. II. 3.

554. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

555. Glossed twice in Greek. Demotic says lit., “living iron”; see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 170, who suggests that it is being confused with hematite.

556. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 173, n. to V. I. II. 13, and n. 555 above.

557. See PDM xiv. 675 and n. 473 thereto.

558. See PDM xiv. 675 and n.; there is a parallel in PDM xiv. 737–38.

559. Written in both Greek and Egyptian.

560. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 1046–47.

561. *Sic*, for “your.”

900

[v. col. ii,
4]

905

[v. ii, 7]

910

[v. ii, 14]

915

[v. col. ii,

20]

920

[v. col. iii,

4]

925

[v. iii, 9]

930

[v. col. iii,

14]

PDM xiv. 933–34

*“Foam of the moon”: It is a white stone like glass, which is rubbed into tiny fragments like orpiment.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/17–18.

PDM xiv. 935–39

935 *Prescription for an ear which is watery: Salt; heat with good wine and apply to it
[v. col. iv, after first cleaning it. You [should] rub copper salt,⁵⁶² heat with wine, and apply to it
1] for four days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/1–5.

PDM xiv. 940–52

940 *Salamander, a small lizard which is blue-green⁵⁶³ in color and which has no feet.
[v. col. iv, “Ram’s-horn”⁵⁶⁴ is its name, / an herb which is like a wile fennel bush. Its leaf
6] and its stem are incised like the “love-man” plant. You should pound it when it is
945 dry, sift⁵⁶⁵ it, make it into a dry powder, and apply it to any wound. It stops.

[v. iv, 11]

950 Styra; it grows like . . . / with regard to its leaf. Its seeds are twisted like a
[v. iv, 17] “ram’s-horn” plant which has a small thorn at its end.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/6–19.

PDM xiv. 953–55

955 *A prescription to stop blood: Juice of “Great-Nile” plant together with beer; you
should make the woman drink it at dawn / before she has eaten. It stops.

[v. col. v, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
3] *moti*c Magical Papyrus, verso, col. v/1–3.

PDM xiv. 956–60

*The way to know it of a woman whether she will be pregnant: You should make
the woman urinate on this plant, above, again, at night. When morning comes, if
960 you find the plant scorched, she will not conceive. If you find it / green, she will
[v. col. v, conceive.

8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
*moti*c Magical Papyrus, verso, col. v/4–8.

PDM xiv. 961–65

*A prescription to stop blood: Leaf of [†]. . . , leaf of fresh “copper-fly” plant.
Pound, put [it] on yourself while you lie with the woman. *Another*: Myrrh, garlic,
965 gall of a gazelle; pound with / old scented wine; put [it] on yourself while you lie
[v. col. v, with her.

13] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
*moti*c Magical Papyrus, verso. col. v/9–13. The word preceded by [†] is written in Demotic
with Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

562. Reading *hmt* *hmt*, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 175, n. to V. I. IV. 7. Copper-based medicines were common in Pharaonic medicine, presumably since the copper helped kill bacteria.

563. See PGM IV. 1090.

564. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

565. Coptic *solš*, “sift,” Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 561b.

PDM xiv. 966–69

**Asphodel*, also called wild onion.⁵⁶⁶

Garlic, also called wild garlic.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/14–17.

PDM xiv. 970–77

***A prescription** to stop liquid in a woman: The first prescription: salt and oil; pound; . . .⁵⁶⁷ two days, after the two days.

970

[v. col. vi,

2]

The second **prescription**: White lead; you should pound it with a little salt paste⁵⁶⁸ of an oil dealer very carefully; you should put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg; you should pound them; you should bring a strip of fine-woven linen; you should dye it in this medicine (she should wash in the bath and wash in good wine); you should put the medicated strip up in her; you should push it in and / out in her womb for a short time, in the manner of a man's phallus, until the medication permeates; you should remove it; and you should leave her until evening. When evening comes, you should dye a bandage in genuine honey and put it up in her until dawn, for *three* (another [manuscript] says, four) days.

975

[v. vi, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vi/1–8.

PDM xiv. 978–80

**Another*, after it: Juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed, one measure; water of the ear of a . . . animal, one measure, in accordance with the measure of a wine cup; you should add a measure of good wine to them and she should drink it at midday without having / eaten anything at all after bathing in the bath, which she did beforehand. When evening comes, you should put the rag with honey up in her as above for seven days.

980

[v. col.

vii, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/1–4.

PDM xiv. 981–84

**Another*, after it: You should bring a new dish; you should put ten measure of old sweet wine in it; and you should put a drachma of fresh rue in it from dawn until midday. She should wash in the bath, come out, and drink it. When evening comes, you should put honey up in her as above again for seven days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/4–7.

PDM xiv. 985–92

**Gout*: You should make the man sit down, place clay under the man's feet, and place . . . after it⁵⁶⁹ while his feet are on it. You should ask the man, "Has it [already] heard?"⁵⁷⁰ for three days. Afterwards you should bring an ant; you should cook it in henna oil; and you should anoint his foot / with it. When you have finished, you should bring Alexandrian figs, dried grapes, and *potentilla*.⁵⁷¹ You

985

[v. col.

viii, 1]

990

[v. viii, 6]

566. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 177, n. to verso col. V, l. 15.

567. See *ibid.*, 178, n. to V. VI. 1, for a discussion of the passage omitted.

568. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 781a.

569. Or "him."

570. Or "whether he has (already) heard."

571. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 180, n. to V. l. VIII. 7.

should pound them with wine and anoint him. In addition to this, you should breathe at him with your mouth.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. viii/1–8. The word preceded by [†] is written in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

995 **PDM xiv. 993–1002**

[v. col. ix, 3] *Another: 1 dram of spurge; / 1 drachma of pepper; 1 stater of pyrethrum; 1 stater of adarcēs; ⁵⁷² 1 stater of native sulfur; 6 staters of [any] wine; / 8 [measures] of genuine oil. You should pound them and make them into a poultice. Apply to the place which pains the man.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ix/1–10.

PDM xiv. 1003–14

1005 *Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man: You should write these names on a strip / of silver or tin. You should put it on a deerskin ⁵⁷³ and bind it to the foot of the man named, on his two feet: “THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUIPE / AIOX-THOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIIOU, let NN, whom NN bore, recover from every pain which is in his knees and two feet.” You do it when the moon is [in the constellation] Leo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. x/1–12.

1015 **PDM xiv. 1015–20**

[v. col. xi, 1] *Prescription for a . . . : Garlic, frankincense, old . . . , genuine oil. Pound them; anoint him with it. When it is dry, you should wash it / with cold water. It stops.

1020 *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1021–23

*Prescription for a foot which is very stiff: [It is] very good. You should wash his foot with cucumber juice and rub it on his foot very well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/7–9.

PDM xiv. 1024–25

1025 *Another: Sycamore figs of . . . ; fruit of acacia, / persea fruit. Pound [them]; apply [it] to him.

[v. col. xi, 11] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/10–11.

PDM xiv. 1026–45

*“I am this great one, SHAET”⁵⁷⁴ (another [manuscript] says, “the great one, SHE-ray”), “who makes magic against the great Triphis,⁵⁷⁵ the lady of Koou, [†]LL [†]MYLL. The water of Mut⁵⁷⁶ is what is in my mouth; the fat⁵⁷⁷ of Hathor, worthy of love, is

572. See *ibid.*, 181, n. to V. I. IX. 5.

573. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

574. Ending written ‘3, “linen.”

575. See n. 399 above.

576. Thus R.K.R.

577. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 184, n. to V. I. XII. 3.

what is in my heart. My heart yearns, my heart loves with (?) a longing which a she-cat / feels for a tomcat, a longing which a she-wolf feels for a wolf, a longing which a bitch feels for a dog, the longing the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moscs while he was going to the hill of NINARETOS to offer water to his god, his lord, his [†]IAHO sabaho, his GLEMYRA MYSE PLERYBE S MI ABRASAKS SENKLAI. Let NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore. Let her feel a yearning, a love, a great madness . . . , she seeking after him everywhere. O fury / of IAHO SABAHY HORION (?) all-mighty ANTOGRATOR ⁵⁷⁸ ARBANTHALA THALO THALAKS, 'I cast fury against you ⁵⁷⁹ of the great gods of Egypt. Fill your hands with flames and fire! Use it! Cast it on the heart of NN, whom NN bore! Wither her, O spirit! Take her sleep, O man of the west! ⁵⁸⁰ Let the house of her father and her mother, the places where she is. . . . Call out while the flame of fire / is against her, while she speaks, saying, "mercy," she standing outside murmuring "mercy," for I am an agent (?) of Geb, Horus RON. Pre is my name. Tear her name out of Egypt for 40 days, 33 months, 175 days, the complement of six months, O GIRE [†]THEE PISITY EKOIMI ATAM! ⁵⁸¹ ([Say] seven times.)

1030

[v. col.

xii, 5]

1035

[v. xii, 10]

1040

[v. xiii, 4]

Crocodile dung, a little donkey placenta, and sisymbrium, 7 *oipe* of antelope dung, gall of a male goat, and first fruits of oil. You should heat them with flax stalks; you should recite to it seven times for seven days; you should anoint your phallus / with it; and you should lie with the woman; and you should anoint the woman's heart, ⁵⁸² also.

1045

[v. xiii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xii/1–xiii/9. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1046–47

*[A prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband: ⁵⁸³ Acacia, fruit. Pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1047–48

*To make a woman love copulating with her: Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1049–55

*To make [a woman love copulating with her (?)] : / Alum, 1 dram; pepper, 1 dram; dry *mhnknwt* plant, 4 drams; orchid, 4 drams. Pound into a dry medication! Do [your] business with / it in accordance with what you know with any woman.

1050

[v. col.

xiv, 2]

1055

[v. xiv, 7]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiv/1–7.

578. Is this the preceding with the initial *p* interpreted as the Egyptian masculine singular definite article and omitted?

579. Plural.

580. See n. 33 above.

581. Perhaps "O divine faithful lord, I cast out Adam," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 186–87, n. to V. I. XIII. 6.

582. Or "breast" (?), as Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, 187.

583. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 930–32.

PDM xiv. 1056–62

*The names of the gods whom you seek when you are going to bring in a thief [by vase questioning]:⁵⁸⁴ MASKELLI MASKELLO PHNYGENTABAO HREKSIGTHO PERIGTHEON PERIPEGANEKS AREOBASAGRA⁵⁸⁵ (also called OBASAGRA).

1060

[v. col. xv,

5]

/ This name, you say it before a ship which is about to founder on account of the names of Dioscorus,⁵⁸⁵ which are within, so that it is safe.

If you recite them to the beaker of Adonai,⁵⁸⁶ which is inscribed outside, it will do a great work which will bring in a thief.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1063–69

1065

[v. col.

xvi, 3]

*“† ARMIOYT⁵⁸⁷ † SITHANI † YTHANI † ARIAMYSI † SOBRAT⁵⁸⁸ † BIRBAT † MISIRITHAT / † AMSIETHARMITHAT,⁵⁸⁹ bring NN, whom NN bore, out of her abodes in which she is, to any house, any place in which NN, whom NN bore, is while she loves him and craves him, she making the gift of his heart at every moment!”

You should write this in myrrh ink on a strip of clean byssus and put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, in your house from evening until dawn. If you find the hair of the woman, put it in the wick! It is good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1070–77

1070

[v. col.

xvii, 1]

*A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams (another [manuscript] says, to dream dreams) again: [[A line of symbols of secret signs.]] You should write this on a reed leaf and put [it] under your head while you sleep. It makes dreams and sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you should put it on the mouth of a mummy. It brings a woman also. You should write this name on the reed leaf with the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe; you should put the hair of the woman in the leaf; you should put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you should write this name on the ground, saying: “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to the house, to the sleeping-place in which is NN, the son of NN!” Now it is also a fetching charm.

1075

[v. xvii, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xvii/1–8.

PDM xiv. 1078–89

1080

[v. col.

xviii, 3]

1085

[v. xviii,

8]

*“ERYBITHY EKYTLA / ERREPHEDI, reveal yourself to me, god NN, and speak to me concerning that about which I shall ask you, truthfully, without having told me falsehood.”

Saffron, 2 [measures]; / black eye paint of Koptos, 2 [measures]; pound with blood of a lizard, make into a ball, and rub it with milk of a [woman who has born a] male child! Put [it] in his right eye and recite to it before any lamp or the Big Dipper at night!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xviii/1–12.

584. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 188, n. to V. I. XV. 1.

585. The patron gods of sailors, as Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to V. I. XV. 6.

586. See *ibid.*, 189, n. to V. I. XV. 6.

587. Preceding this line is a line showing three scarab beetles, three falcons, and three goats. In the right margin next to this line is the addition “also called ARMIOYTH.”

588. Ending written with the hieratic *gd*-pillar.

589. Beginning written *r-mr*, “whom . . . bore.”

PDM xiv. 1090–96

* A spell for bringing a woman out of her house: You bring a . . . of a wild cat; you dry it; you take a tendon (?) [of a . . . which has been] drowned; and you fashion a ring whose body is blended with gold [in the form of two] lions whose mouths are open, the face of each being turned to the other. You should put the thing . . . it face. 1090
[v. col. xix, 1]

When you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you should place the ring in the upper part of a lamp / which is lit and you should say to it, “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to this place in which I am, quickly, in these moments of today!” She comes at once. 1095
[v. xix, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xix/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1097–1103

*To heal ophthalmia⁵⁹⁰ in a man: “O Amoun,⁵⁹¹ this[†] lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down from Meroe to Egypt and who found my son Horus hurrying on his feet.⁵⁹² He beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language. When he finds NN, whom NN bore, he will hurry on / his feet, and he will beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language: “GENTINI[†] tentina qyqybi [ak]khe akha.” 1100
[v. col. xx, 4]

[Say it] to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, anoint the man who has ophthalmia with it, also write this on a new papyrus, and make it into a papyrus roll on his body: “You are the eye of heaven,” in the writings. . . .⁵⁹³

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1104–9

* . . . / “live-on-them” plant: . . . Pound, make . . . of the river. . . . Paint your eye with it! 1105
[v. col. xxi, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1110–29

*A tested . . . : . . . *Here is* [the ointment which you] put on your eyes when you go to the vessel of inquiry alone: Green eyepaint, black eyepaint, *ges-nh* stone.⁵⁹⁴ amulet of . . . , flowers of black . . .⁵⁹⁵ which are vetch, blood of hoopoe. / Pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice of Egyptian grapes and yellow ocher⁵⁹⁶ of Nubia. You see the shadow of every god and every goddess. 1110
[v. col. xxii, 1]

Its . . . : “I call to you, O great gods who appear with the sun, †TSEMYKS⁵⁹⁷ †AMP 1115
[v. xxii, 6]

590. Or “evil eye”; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 192, n. to V. l. XX. 1.

591. See n. 189 above.

592. Or, perhaps, “as fast as his feet (could go),” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 193, with n. to V. l. XX. 3.

593. What is left blank here is written in the papyrus as the hieroglyph of an eye with rays rising up from it.

594. See n. 65 above.

595. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 194–95, n. to V. l. XXII. 4.

596. See PDM xiv. 677 and n. 474.

597. Or OEMYKS. [R.K.R.]

- 1120 . . . ⁵⁹⁸PIAM [†]ENPAIA [†]IBOTH [†]IAE SABAOTH. / Open to me, open to me, O great
 [v. xxii, gods who appear with the sun! Let my eyes open to the light, and let me see the
 11] god who inquires today. ⁵⁹⁹Hurry, hurry, for the protection . . . ABLANATHANLBA,
 the great god, [†]MARARAANTONE ⁶⁰⁰ABIATH N . . . SENEN Agathodaimon NTOSA-
 TRAPERQEMAI ⁶⁰¹Osiris [†]LILAM is his name. Open to me, Open to me, O great
 1125 gods! Let my eyes open to the light, / and let me see the god who inquires today.
 [v. xxii, Open to me, open to me! I cast fury of the doubly great god . . . whose strength is
 16] great, who lives forever, against you. Give strength to the name . . . the name of the
 god. . . . Open to me, open to me, O great [gods] who appear with the sun! Let
 [my eyes] open [to the light, and let] me [see the god] who inquires today. Hurry,
 hurry⁶⁰² (. . . times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–20. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

1130 PDM xiv. 1130–40

- [v. col. * . . grind . . . with. . . Another: . . . NAKS . . . / juniper . . . seeds. . . An-
 xxiii, 1] other: . . . again. Dung . . . dried and burned, 2 [measures]; / pound [with oil of]
 1135 henna and honey, anoint [your phallus] with it, and lie with her!

[v. xxiii, 6] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiii/1–12.

[v. xxiii,
 11]

PDM xiv. 1141–54

- * . . . to it, and you should . . . of byssus to it, these three names being written on
 1045 it; . . . / and myrrh; you should light it; you should place it . . . your head; and you
 [v. col. should recite them to it again nine times . . . the lamp. You do it at the time of the
 xxiv, 4] third hour of night . . . alone.

1050 Formula: “[†]IOBASAYMPTHO [[†]GHROME (?) [†]LY]GHAR, instruct⁶⁰² me / in truth
 [v. xxiv, concerning any given matter about which I am praying here [today, in] truth, with-
 9] out telling you⁶⁰³ falsehood. IOBASAYMPTHOKHROMELOYKHAR, instruct me in
 truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here today.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiv/1–13. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1155–62

- 1155 * . . . ⁶⁰⁴hawk's dung; salt, reed, *bele* plant. Pound together. Anoint your phallus
 [v. col. with it and lie with the woman. If it is dry, you should / pound a little of it with
 xxv, 1] wine, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxv/1–8.

598. With water determinative, presumably *p3 y'm*, “the sea.”

599. See n. 23 above.

600. For Adonai?

601. See n. 8 above.

602. Literally, “Let my eyes open out.” Cf. n. 93 above. [R.K.R.]

603. *Sic*.

604. The first line is perhaps to be restored “in order to make a woman love copulation, again,” as

PDM xiv. 1163–79

*If you [wish to make] the gods of the vessel speak with you,⁶⁰⁵ when the gods come in, you should say this name [to them], nine times: /⁶⁰⁶ IAO⁶⁰⁷ IPH⁶⁰⁸ EOE⁶⁰⁹ GINN-TATHYR⁶¹⁰ NEPHAR⁶¹¹ APHOE.” He commands to you concerning that about which you will ask him.

1165
[v. col.
xxvi, 3]

If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer, you should say this other name to them, nine times until they inquire for you truthfully: “NGONGETSIKS⁶¹² MANTY⁶¹³ NOBOE⁶¹⁴ GOGHIR⁶¹⁵ Hrontor⁶¹⁶ NTONTROMA⁶¹⁷ LEPHOGER⁶¹⁸ GEPHAERSORE” (seven times). “IAYO EIPHE ON KINDATHOYR NEPHAR APHOE.”

1170
[v. xxvi,
8]

According to what is above,⁶⁰⁸ on the recto, “I am SIT-TA-KO.⁶⁰⁹ ‘Hearing’ is my name; ‘hearing’ is my correct name. I am GANTHA GINTEY⁶¹⁰ GIRITEY, lord god, ARENOYTE⁶¹¹ LABTATHA LAPTYTHA / LAKSANTHA SARISA MARKHARAHYTEY⁶¹² AR-SINGA-GHLA” (another manuscript [says], ARSI-NGALABEL) “*Bolboel* BOEL BOEL LOTERI⁶¹³ GLO-GASANTRA. IAHO is my name; IAHO is my correct name. BALKHAM, the powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin⁶¹⁴ of the shrine of the god who stands today.”

1175
[v. xxvii,
4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxvi/1–xxvii/8. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1180–81

*You are going to send a star . . . down while the moon is [in the constellation] Scorpio.

1180
[v. col.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxviii/1–2.

xxviii, 2]

PDM xiv. 1182–87

*[Spell to] make mad any man or any woman: You should take the hair of the man whom you wish together with the hair of a dead man; you should tie them to each other; / you should tie them to the body of the hawk; and you should release it alive. If you wish to do it for some days, you should put the hawk in a place, feeding it in your house.

1185
[v. col.
xxix, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxix/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1188–89

*If you . . . dung of a Nile goose. Her body falls.⁶¹⁴

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/1–2.

Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, in the hand copy.

605. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 847–50.

606. See n. 23 above.

607. See n. 23 above.

608. PDM xiv. 13–16.

609. See n. 7 above.

610. Ending written ϵ_3w , “wind.”

611. See n. 9 above.

612. Ending written ϵ_3w , “wind.”

613. See n. 12 above.

614. Perhaps “abortion,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 201, n. to V. I. XXX. 1.

PDM xiv. 1190–93

- 1190 *Another: You should anoint your phallus with dung of weasel⁶¹⁵ and lie with [the]
[v. col. woman. She loves you. You should pound dung of . . . with honey and anoint your
xxx, 3] phallus with it according to what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/3–6.

PDM xiv. 1194–95

- 1195 *Another: Dung of hyena with oil of / roses⁶¹⁶ in accordance with what is above,
[v. col. again.

xxx, 8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/7–8.

PDM xiv. 1196–98

*Another: You should fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung when the menstruation is on her. She stops. Ass's dung also—this method [of treatment].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/9–11.

PDM xiv. 1199–1205

- 1200 *"SISIOOYT" / (another [manuscript] says, ARMIOYTH), "O living god, O burning
[v. col. lamp, come in before me and tell me an answer concerning that about which I am
xxxi, 2] asking here / today."

1205 [v. xxxi, 7] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxi/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1206–18

- *To make [a woman] mad after a man:⁶¹⁷ You should bring a live shrew-mouse,
1210 remove its gall and put it in one place; and remove its heart and put it in another
[v. col. place. You should / take its whole body. You should pound it very much while it is
xxxii, 5] dry; you should take a little of what is pounded with a little blood of your second
finger and the little finger⁶¹⁸ of your left hand; you should put it in a cup of wine;
and you should make the woman drink it. She is mad after you.

/ If you put its gall into a cup of wine, she dies instantly. Or put it in meat or some food.

- 1215 If you put its heart in ring of gold and put it on your hand, it gives you great
[v. xxxii, praise, love, and awe.

10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxii/1–13.

PDM xiv. 1219–27

- *Horus . . . went up the mountain⁶¹⁹ at midday during the season of inundation,
1220 mounted on a white horse . . . on a black horse, / the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being
[v. col. on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his breast. He found all the gods seated at
xxxiii, 2] the place of judgment eating [of the produce] of the Nile, my great one. Said they,
"Horus, come and eat! Horus, come! Are you going to eat?"

615. Identification suggested by R.K.R., identifying Griffith and Thompson, cipher number 22 with cipher number 83.

616. See n. 100 above.

617. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 382–86.

618. See n. 411 above.

619. For the mountain of Horus, see M. Smith's commentary to P. BM. 10507, l. 5 (not yet published).

He said, "Go away from me! I have no [way] to eat. My head hurts; my body hurts. A fever has taken hold of me; a south wind has seized me. Does Isis [stop] making magic? Does Nephthys stop curing? Are the sixteen⁶²⁰ those of the avenger? Is my one a divine power of a god? Are [the 365] gods sitting down to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my great one, until they remove the fever / from the head of the son of Isis, from the head of NN, whom NN bore, being the fever of night, the fever of midday, headache, this burning, this heat of the fevers of those below the brow to his feet,⁶²¹ [until they] remove [it] from the head of NN, whom NN bore?"

1225

[v. xxxiii,
7]

[Say it] over genuine oil, seven times; anoint his hand, his body, his feet; and speak to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxiii/1–9. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Copric glosses inserted above.

PGM XV. 1–21

*"I will bind you, Nilos, who is also [called] Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, with great evils. Neither gods nor men will procure¹ a clean getaway² for you! On the contrary, you will love me, Capitolina whom Peperous bore, with a divine passion, and in every way you will be for me an escort, as long as I want, that you might do for me what I wish and nothing for anyone else, and that you might obey no one save only me, Capitolina, and that you might forget your parents, / children, and friends. I also conjure you, daimons, who are in this place, ALYĒAĒL . . . LIONŌ SOUPH ALŌ LYBALOLYBĒL OIKALLISSAMAEŌ LYBALALŌNĒ LYLŌĒY LY-OTHNOIS ODISSASON ALELADA. I, Capitolina, have the power, and, on meeting you, Nilos, will return the favors. They are releasing all who have drowned, have died unmarried, and have been carried away by the wind. I will insert this deposit, in order that you might accomplish for me what has been written on the strip of papyrus, which is why I am conjuring / you, daimons, by the force and fate that constrains you. Accomplish everything for me and rush in and take away the mind of Nilos, to whom this magical material belongs, in order that he might love me, Capitolina, and that Nilos, whom Demetria bore, might be inseparable from me, every hour and every day. I conjure you daimons by your spiteful fates that hold you and by those carried by the wind, IŌ IŌĒ PHTHOUTH EIŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌ / BARBARE THIŌTH³ LAILAMPS OSORNŌPHRI EMPHERA, the only-begotten god in heaven, who shakes the deep, sending out waters and winds—discharge the spirits of the daimons where my deposit box is, in order that they, either male or female, small or great, might perform for me the things in the tablet, in order that they might come and accomplish the things in this tablet and might bind Nilos, who is also [called] / Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, to me, Capitolina, whom Piperous bore, for his [whole] life. Nilos shall love me with an eternal affection; immediately, immediately; quickly, [quickly]."

5

10

15

20

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

620. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 204, n. to V. l. XXXIII. 5.

621. I.e., from his head to his feet. [R.K.R.]

1. The papyrus has *εὐρασι*, which A. Henrichs emends to *εὐρω σοι*, "I will procure." The meaning is, however, unclear.

2. Lit., "a pure release."

3. THIŌTH was accidentally omitted in Preisendanz's text.

PGM XVI. 1-75

*"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the MĒTH . . . OU MACHEREMA PHACHE[LEZETHI] ALŌIA BATHABLEOUCHACHI ABAŌS OMŌCHAL ARACHRAUCH . . .
 5 OU AMERRA MACHERTHA PHACHELEZETHI; cause Sarapion to pine [and] melt away for the passion of Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi bore]. [Inflame / his] heart, cause it to melt, and [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, and pain for me, until Sarapion, whom [Pasametra] bore, [comes] to Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. [And] let him [do] all the things in my [mind] and let him [continue] loving me, [until] he [arrives] in Hades."

"I adjure you, as a daimon of the dead, by ADŌNAIOS SABAŌTH AMARACHTHEI /
 10 AXIAŌTHAZAR, god, ATHRŌA SOU . . . AMALAXA, god, . . . EN MARATA ACHŌ CHIMMI NEMEGAIPH Y . . . ACHILTHTEE [MARADTHA] THARBI APSŌCH . . . ; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra¹ bore, to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. Brand his heart, cause it to melt, and suck out his
 15 blood because of love, passion, pain, / until Sarapion, whom Pasametra [bore], comes to Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the heart of Kronos' son . . . ŌURŌNY
 20 . . . LI . . . EULAMŌSI . . . MERATHA; cause Sarapiōn, whom Pasametra bore, / to pine and melt away out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom Tikoi bore. And cause his heart to melt, [and] suck out [his] blood because of love, passion, pain, [until] Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom Takoui bore. And
 25 let him do all the things in my mind, and let him continue loving me, until / he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the one under STĒĒAALEBMOU EYA . . . NEKELA . . . TOSAN . . . AKETORIMISEPHONYMI STASACHĒ AMŌTILŌ NEBOU [TOSOUALĒTH cause] Sarapion, whom [Pasametra bore], to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. Cause [his heart] to melt [and] suck
 30 out [his] blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore]. And [let him do all the things in my mind], and let him continue loving me until [he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the M . . . MASĒ LEAI . . . MEA . . . RMŌ
 35 . . . SEGE B . . . DĒSAŌŌUA / PHESPHTOU undefiled EI, names . . . XAI BAIMEBOTĒSAI PHTHASIAU SAIXEETHA CHTHETHŌ OU NEBĪŌTHY LAIOUTH, cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine and melt away out of passion [for Dioskorous], whom Tikoui bore. And [cause] his [heart to melt and] suck out his blood / be-
 40 cause of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [to] Dioskorous, [whom] Tikaui [bore]. And let him do [all the things in my] mind, [and let him continue] loving me until [he arrives] in [Hades], and again I adjure you, [daimon of the dead], by the PHTHOI KI . . . ŌSE . . . AUTHEIOKRA . . . EI / APO
 45 EIRRATHEIBŌTHIMIA PROSĒMOPERNAI . . . ENE A . . . S . . . TASĒTHŌNNEBAI LEISEI; cause Sarapion, [whom Pasametra] bore, [to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. And cause his heart to melt [and suck out his blood] because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom / Pasametra
 50 bore, comes to Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoui bore. [And let him] do all [the things] in my mind, and let him continue loving [me], until he arrives [in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by SIIA the MEGON ABAŌTH OU . . . OUOG-
 55 DOUKO . . . ĒRĒ . . . OMMA KELARO . . . ONTBEIA; [cause Sarapion], / whom Pasa-

1. Cf. D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 132, who reads *πᾶσα μήτρα*, "the whole womb," here and throughout the text.

unhesitatingly and unabashedly, joining thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black, most pleasantly. Aye, lord, attract to me Titerous, whom
 25 Sophia bore, to me, Hermeias, whom Hermione bore, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly—driven by your scourge.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XVIIb. 1–23

*“[Hermes, lord of the world], who’re in the heart,
 [O orbit of Selene, spherical]
 [And] square, the founder of the words [of speech]
 [Pleader of justice’s cause,] garbed in a mantle,
 [With winged sandals,] who rule [expressive] speech
 5 [Prophet to mortals] / . . .
 For he inspires . . .
 . . . within a short time . . .
 [Whene’er] the fateful [day arrives] again¹
 10 . . . [who send] some [oracle] that’s true, / you’re said
 To be [the Moirai’s thread] and [Dream divine],
 [The all-subduer, Unsub]dued, just as
 . . . may you judge . . .
 You offer good things to the good, [but grief]
 [To those who’re worthless.]² Dawn comes up for you,
 15 For you swift [night draws] near. / You lord it o’er
 The elements: fire, air, [water, and earth]³
 When you became helmsman of [all the] world;
 And you escort the souls of those you wish,
 But some you rouse again. For you’ve become
 The order of the world, for you [cure], too,
 20 Man’s [every] ailment, / [who send oracles]
 By day and night; [send] me, I pray your [form],
 For I’m a man, a pious suppliant,
 And your [soldier];⁴ and so, [while I’m asleep],
 [Send to me your unerring] mantic skill.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This badly damaged papyrus contains a spell in dactylic hexameters which is similar in part to PGM V. 400–421 and VII. 668–80. Heitsch (in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249) has reconstructed the passages to form Hymns 15–16.

1. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 175.

2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 24. 530–33; Rom 13:3–4.

3. Cf. PGM XII. 250–51.

4. Cf. PGM IV. 185–94, esp. 193.

PGM XVIIc. 1-14

* ^{cc}	ABLANATHANATHANABLA	
A	XXXXXπΛ	G
BAEËIOYÖ	AAAAAAA	R
		A
L EEEEEEE	IIIIIII	M
A		A
NAKRAKAMARPITAR		CH
AKOMMÖTEU	M P O	A
THNIRA . . .	IPHEL	
PETHION		
AEU.LEIË . . .	}ITAPE	
AMÑNEBALESITÖT		
ATACHIT		
Q. . .	"	

5

10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This slip of papyrus was evidently used as an amulet or protective charm.

PGM XVIIIa. 1-4

*“Lord Sabaoth, repel the pain from me, the headache pain, I pray, take [from me]. . . .”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XVIII. 1-7

"GORGŌPHŌNAS
 ORGŌPHŌNAS
 RGŌPHŌNAS
 GOPHONAS
 ŌPHŌNAS
 PHŌNAS
 ŌNAS
 NAS
 AS
 S
 "

“GORGŌPHŌNAS
ORGŌPHŌNAS
RGŌPHŌNAS
GŌPHŌNAS
ŌPHŌNAS
PHŌNAS
ŌNAS
NAS
AS
S

*“I conjure you all by the sacred name to heal Dionysius or Anys, whom Heraklia bore, from every shivering fit and fever, whether daily or intermittent [fever] by night or day, or quartan fever, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The name GORGŌPHŌNA, here apparently feminine accusative plural, may refer to the epithet of Athena, "Gorgo-slayer."

PGM XIXa. 1–54

- *“ENTHI ENTHŌ BOSOU ĒRIS ĒRIS I . . . NOUŌ OUI DE BATHAR NĒITH NĒITH¹
 ĒIAŌTH OUOR KAŌTHIS SAMI SAMIS OPHOR ANOUIPHŌ XTHETHŌNI NOUĒRIŌTH
 AŌTH OUŌR TENOCH TENOCH BIBIOU BIBIOU MOUAU MOUAU SMŌSOM THEU-
 OUTH OKEBENEUSI ENSI EIPSĒI OUŌR OUŌR OSARAMŌKS THAT THAT ENTHOUŌ
 KOMMOUOA PHIANOCH PHIANOCH SŌPH CHTHENTHEBENCH ENTHEBENCH ĒCH-
 THENTHEBETH YIABŌY LAILAM HARMIOŌUTH SŌN APS IPHIŌS DIAR NEBES CHI-
 NEI NOUTH I NOUTH I KOMŌA RAPHŌR HARSAMŌSI STEOBAOCH ANOCH PHRĒ
 5 PHRI CHORBAI MAI ABAŌTH IAŌ IPHI ROMBAOTH / CHAOUCH CHŌOOUCH RINGCH
 SPHĒCH CHOOUCHORPHI MOUISRŌ² KAMPYCHRĒ GORGIOŌRIE LAMPIPYRSI SEI-
 ROE OMBRIME MATEORSI NAPHSISAŌTHA Ō OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSARAPI SARAPI³ Ō
 OSOR NOBĒCHIS OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSOR NŌPHRIS THŌ THŌ THŌ ITHI ITHI [ITHI]
 MOU THOURI⁴ CHAOUCH CHTHETHŌNI MAPSITHYRIMAPS TITI NYXBI AMOUN
 BLAMOUNITH BIŌTH THŌDIARAX PHORBORBABŌR CHŌSOĒTH BOLCHOSĒTH
 ERESCHIGAL HARSAMŌ HARSENOPHRĒ BIRBĒ KAPHIŌ IAŌ ĒIA IAĒ ĒI ĒAIA CHIM-
 NOUTH HARBIŌTH KARACHARAX PHRAX AX NOUMŌR TO TACHAN TO PHRĒ TAUAN
 CHOUCHE CHOUCHE CHŌX CHŌX CHOUCHOTHI MASKELLI MASKELLI PHNOU-
 CHENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HYPOCHTHŌN IŌOUTH IAŌOUTH AI AI AI OU OU
 10 OU BARBARAI BALĒMAĒTH KĒCHI ATHŌR / SEŒEZOUTH SORO ORMEA CHTH
 . . . BARMAR PHRIOUREINGX MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREO-
 BAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPEGANYX OREOPEGANYX LEPETAN
 LEPETAN PHRIX PHRŌX BIA MASTIGX ANAGKĒ MANTOUENOBOĒL THOURA KRINI
 ZOUCHE PIPPĒ BECHUCH TA NIKAKŌY . . . ĒTO KOURA SANKANTHARA SAN-
 KISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ IE ĒI EĒ KINXTABAKINX TABAKINX IŌ MOLPĒ IO KABALTH
 SAMAS SAIŌBOTHŌR . . . BAIŌŌR BAIŌR ATHARBAIŌ ZASAR THARAIŌ, guardian⁵ of
 strong Destiny, who manages my affairs, the thoughts of my soul, which no one
 can speak out against, not a god, not an angel, not a daimon: arouse yourself for
 15 me, / daimon of the dead, and do not use force but fulfill what has been inscribed
 and inserted into your mouth, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.

1. Neith is the Egyptian goddess of Sais. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. “Neith.”

2. MOUISRO is “Lion-Ram.” See l. 36 below, and *PGM* III. 659 and n.; XXXVI. 351. [R.K.R.]

3. This invocation of Sarapis is peculiar because the god is named by his two names, the older Osarapis and the common Sarapis. In addition, the three sacred bulls of Apis are named: Osor Nobeckis (Buchis), Osor Mnevis, and Osor Nophris (Onuphis). Cf. *PGM* IV. 140; XL. For bull cults in Egypt, see E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938). [R.K.R.]

4. THOURI is Egyptian Thoeiris, the hippopotamus goddess. See *PGM* XII. 113 and n. [R.K.R.]

5. μελητής, “guardian,” seems to occur only here. The common term is ἐπιμελητής. [E.N.O.]

ABRASAX	IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	BAINCHÜÖÖCH	16
ÖYIÉEÄ	AEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	AEÖYÖY	17
YÖIÉEÄO	EÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	EÖYÖYÄ	18
ÖHÉÄÖY	ÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	EIÖYÖÄE	19
IÉEÄÖY	BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	IÖYÖÄE	20
IEÄÖYI IÄÖ	APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ÖYÖÄE	21
EAÖYIÖE IÄÖ	PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	YÖÄEHO	22
AÖYIÖE IÖÄ	RENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	IÄÖ AÖI ÖÄEÖY	23
ÄIÖIÄÖIIÄÄÄ	ENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ÖYÖ	24
ÖÖIIIOÖYÖYÖ	NEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ÖIÄIÖIÄÖII IÄÄ	25
ÖIÄ AÖI AÖI ÖIÄ	EMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	EÖÖIIIOÖYÖY ÖÖ	26
II IÄÄ EEE EEEIIIOÖO	MOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ÖIÄ IÖIÄIÖÖ IÄÖIÄ	27
O YYYT ÖÖÖÖÖ	OUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	IIÄÄEEEEEII IIOÖO	28
ARLANATHANALBA	UNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	O YYYT ÖÖÖÖÖ	29
RLANATHANALBA	NOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	AKRAMMACHAMARI	30
LANATHANALBA	OTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	KRAMMACHAMARI	31
ANATHANALBA	THILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	RAMMACHAMARI	32
NATHANALBA	ILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	AMMACHAMARI	33
ATHANALBA	LARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	MMACHAMARI	34
Ö THANALBA	AKIRIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ACHAMARI	35
Y ANALBA	KIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ACHAMARI	36
ÖYÖ NALBA	IKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	CHAMARI	37
IÖYÖ ALBA	KRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	AMARI	38
ÖYÖY LKA	RPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	MARI	39
EÖYÖY	PHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	ARI	40
AEÖYÖY	PHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	RI	41
ÖYIÖIÖE	IAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	42
ÖYIÖIÖE	AEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	43
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	44
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	45
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	46
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	47
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	48
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	49
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	50
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	51
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	52
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	53
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	54
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	55
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	56
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	57
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	58
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	59
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	60
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	61
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	62
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	63
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	64
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	65
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	66
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	67
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	68
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	69
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	70
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	71
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	72
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	73
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	74
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	75
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	76
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	77
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	78
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	79
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	80
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	81
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	82
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	83
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	84
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	85
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	86
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	87
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	88
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	89
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	90
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	91
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	92
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	93
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	94
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	95
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	96
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	97
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	98
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	99
ÖYIÖIÖE	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHARÖEAI	I	100

IAI IÄÖ EII AII AÖEÄ IIII YYY, draw off, thrust away every member of this dead body and the spirit of this tent⁷ and cause him to serve / against Karosa, whom Thelo bore. Aye, lord daimon, attract, inflame, destroy, burn, cause her to swoon⁸ from love as she is being burnt, inflamed. Sting the tortured soul, the heart, of Karosa, whom Thelo bore, until she leaps forth⁹ and comes to Apalos, whom Theonilla bore, out of passion and love, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. As long as the divine mystery remains within you,¹⁰ do not allow Karosa herself, whom Thelo bore, to think of her [own] husband,¹¹ her child, drink, food, but let her come melting for passion and love and intercourse, especially¹² yearning for the intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil and R. Kotansky (ll. 16–47).

PGM XIXb. 1–3

*“... may he [bring] him, NN, to her, NN” (add the usual). Write with myrrh mixed with blood on leaves of flax.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

6. On the name Zas, see *PGM* II. 117 and n.

7. For similar anthropological terms for “body,” see *PGM* I. 319; IV. 448, 1951, 1970, 2141.

8. *σκότωσον* (Preisendanz: “unfinstern”) refers to the Hellenistic topos of women swooning with love. See, for example, Apollonius, *Argon.* 3. 960–72 of Medea, for even a witch may swoon with love. [E.N.O.]

9. That is, from her house. Cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 71, 359 for the same expression.

10. According to A. D. Nock, *JEA* 11 (1925):158, *μυστήριον* is the magical act. So the meaning seems to be “as long as the magical spell which I have worked remains in effect on you.” [E.N.O.]

11. *ἀνδρί* is strange and probably incorrect. The verb *μημμενέω* requires either a genitive or an accusative, and the words in parallel construction here are genitive. [E.N.O.]

12. *πλείστω[ς]*, which Preisendanz has retained despite the fact that this adverbial form occurs only in a quotation by Galen from Hippocrates where the manuscripts actually have the regular form *πλείστα*. Schubart (in Preisendanz’s apparatus) suggests *πλείστα*. [E.N.O.]

PGM XIXb. 4–18

- 5 *Love spell of attraction over a dog:¹ Onto a cutting² / of hieratic papyrus write
with myrrh and dedicate it³ to one who has died a violent death.⁴ “[I adjure you]
10 by the SENAKŌTHO ARPOPSYG KAMOUO ORPS THŌ OUCH PETI ANOUP PETIO-
PARIN AUT KINOTHEN CHYCH AAA ROPS UICHTHEN / KREMME SECHAXTHNE
NEOUPHTHE AKĒCH CHAKE PŌPHOPI KACHE ANOCH⁵ . . . ĒTHMĒ ARI MĒS
15 THOD . . . PE; you, who are able, / [raise] your body and go [to her, NN], until she
is [willing]. . . .”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XX. 1–4

*. . . [Spell for] head[ache]:

“ . . . for you to mortals are . . .

. . .

. . . fulfill my perfect charm.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Among the numerous studies of this papyrus, three are especially helpful: P. Maas, *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38; L. Koenen, *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 6 (1970): 193–212. The text has been restored on the basis of Pap. Berol. 7504, Pap. Amherst and Pap. Oxyr. *ined.* D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, vol. III (L.C.L.): *Literary Papyri Poetry*, no. 146 (pp. 604–5) has reprinted part of Wilamowitz’s text of Pap. Berol. 7504. His interpretation of the situation and translation of the text is almost comic.

PGM XX. 4–12

- 5 **[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara, / for any inflammation:*

“[The¹ most majestic goddess’ child] was set

Aflame as an initiate²—and on

The highest mountain peak was set aflame—

[And fire did greedily gulp] seven springs

Of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions.³

- 10 But seven dark-eyed maidens⁴ / with dark urns

1. For a love spell over a dog, see *PGM* XXXVI. 370.

2. The term *τομίον*, found only once in *PGM*, is most likely a reference to a cutting of papyrus; cf. the technical term *ἱερατικόν*. See Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 181.

3. Preisendanz understands this as “deposit with.”

4. Preisendanz assumes that this term refers to the dog (cf. *PGM* IV. 1882–85, 2578; XXXVI. 370), but the spell is too fragmentary to be sure.

5. For the interpretation of these magical words see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. PETIANOUP is a personal name and means “He whom Anubis has given”; cf. Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen* I, 122, no. 11. CHAKE PŌPHOPI KACHE ANOCH, etc., is equivalent to “Darkness, Apophis, darkness I am. . . .” [R.K.R./J.B.]

1. These lines offer some whole and partial dactylic hexameters. They have been rearranged and used as the reconstructed Hymn 28; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 265. This reconstructed hymn has been translated here. [E.N.O.]

2. L. Koenen, “Der hrennende Horusknahe. Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus,” *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74, identifies the *παῖς μυροδόκος* as the Horus child. Cf. the story of Isis and the child of the rulers of Byblos in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 15–16, 357B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 325–28. Cf. also the story of Demeter and Demophoon in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 231–55, with commentary by N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 231–34. Furthermore, see the note by J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, *LCL* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) 311–17. [E.N.O.]

3. On these springs and animals, see Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknahe,” 171–74. Cf. P. Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38, esp. 37: “I see no plausible connection of wells with wild bears.” [E.N.O.]

Drew water and becalmed the restless fire.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XX. 13–19

**The charm⁵ of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache:*

/ “Flee, headache, [lion] flees beneath a rock,

Wolves flee; horses flee on uncloven hoof

[And speed] beneath blows [of my perfect charm].”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

15

PGM XXI. 1–29

* “[Hear me, lord, whose secret name is unspeakable,] at whose [name, when] the daimons [hear it, even they are terrified; you of whom the sun] BAAL BNICH BAALA [AMĒN PTIDAIΟΥ ARNEBOUAT, and the moon], ASENPEMPH [THŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNĒ OSRARMEMPSECHĒI], / are [tireless] eyes¹ [shining in the pupils] of men’s [eyes; you of whom heaven is the head,] air the body, [earth the feet, the water around you, ocean. You are the Good] Daimon, the lord, [the one who begets good things, nurtures and increases] the [whole] inhabited [earth and all the] / universe. Yours is the eternal [proceSSIONal way, in which is established] your name which is seven-lettered [in] harmony with the seven [vowel sounds, which are pronounced according to] the twenty-eight forms of the moon, [AEĒIOYŌ AE]ĒIOYŌ AE[Ē]IOYŌ AEĒ[I]OYŌ, / you whose good emanations from the [stars are daimons,] Fortunes and Fates by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.²

“[And] you, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower regions,³ [whose justice is not shut off,] whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [you whom the eight] / guards (Ē, Ō, CHŌ, CHOUGH, [NOUN, NAUNI,] AMOUN and IO)⁴ [attend], you who possess the inerrant [truth]; many moving bodies [will not overpower] me; no spirit, no visitation, [no daimon, no evil being will oppose me, for I will have your name as a single phylactery [in my heart] /, PHIRIMNOUN [A]NOCH⁵ SOLBAI SANACHESRŌ . . . ARCHĒN SE KOPŌ⁶ K . . . OAI . . . NOUST [NOUSI SIETHŌ] SIETHŌ BENOUI.⁷ . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. See also the parallels in XII. 239–44, 252–57; XII. 765–99.

4. On the identity and role of these maidens see Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” 37–38; Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknabe,” 169.

5. This charm seems to be a *historiola*. Cf. Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” 37; Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknabe,” 169, 173–74.

1. For sun and moon as cosmic eyes, cf. the cosmic body of the deity in PGM XII. 242–45.

2. For the divine gifts, see also PGM XIII. 782–83.

3. Or “Upper and Lower Egypt”; cf. PGM XII. 256.

4. This is the “Ogdoad” of Hermopolis; see S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* 184; Nun-Naunet, Huh-Hauket, Kuk-Kauket, Amun-Amaunet. [J.B.] For these eight guards, see PGM XIII. 743–45, 788–89.

5. These words are equivalent to Egyptian and mean “I am he who came forth from Nun.” Cf. PGM XII. 345; III. 549–58. [R.K.R.]

6. These three groups of letters may be Greek words: “. . . rule. I weary you. . .” If so, their context cannot be determined, as they are set amid magical words. [M.S.]

7. BENOUI is the Phoenix. Cf. PGM II. 104 and n. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 594–96, s.v. “Phoenix.”

PGM XXIIa. 1

*“We would flee [from Trojan battle before death and ruin.]”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. This verse, probably Homer, *Iliad* 17. 714, has not preserved its title, though Preisendanz (on the basis of the following spell) believed it was a recipe for hemorrhage. The verse begins *P. Berol.* 9873, a collection of Homeric verses to be used for magico-medical purposes.

PGM XXIIa. 2–9

**Another, for bloody flux:*

“the wrath of Apollo, far-darting lord.”¹

- 5 Spoken to blood, this [verse] cures bloody flux. / But if [the patient] recovers and shows ingratitude, take a pan of coals, throw [it in the altar (?)], and place the amulets over the smoke; add a root, and write this verse in addition:

“the Far-shooter, having attained his aim, has, therefore, given pain and will give it further.”²

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 9–10

**Write [this] for pain in the breasts and uterus:*

- 10 “[him] / daughter of Zeus suckled and the wheat-bearing earth bore.”³

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 11–14

*Carried [with a magnetic] stone, or even spoken, [this verse] serves as a *contra-ceptive*:

“Would that you be fated to be unborn and to die unmarried.”⁴

Write this on a piece of new [papyrus] and tie it up with hairs of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 15–17

- 15 **[For one who suffers from elephantiasis, write this] verse and give it [to him] to wear:*

“[As when a] woman stains ivory with Phoenician purple.”⁵

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 18–27

- 20 *“Greetings, Helios; greetings, Helios; greetings, god over the heavens, with your name [being that] of the all-powerful! From the / seventh heaven [give] me [steady] favor before every race of men and all women, but especially before her, NN. Make
25 me as beautiful in her presence as IAŌ is, as rich as SABAŌTH, to be loved / like LAILAM, as great as BARBARAS, as honored as MICHAËL, as famous as GABRIËL, and [I shall be] highly favored.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

1. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 75.

2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 96.

3. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 2. 548; also 8. 486; *Od.* 7. 332. But metaphorically *ἀρουρα* can mean the receiving of seed by a woman and bearing fruit (see, e.g., Theognis 582).

4. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 3. 40.

5. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4. 141.

PGM XXIIb. 1–26

***Prayer of Jacob:** “O Father of the patriarchs, Father of the All, [Father] of the [cosmic] powers, [Creator of all] . . . , Creator of angels and archangels, the Creator of the [saving] names. I summon you, Father of all powers, Father of the entire [cosmos] and of all / creation inhabited and uninhabited, to whom the [cherubim] are subjected, [who] favored Abraam by [giving the] kingdom [to him] . . . : hear me, O God of the powers, O [God] of angels [and] archangels, [King]. . . .
 LELEACH . . . ARŌACH TOU ACHABOL . . . Ō . . . YRAM TOU . . . BOACH KA . . . TH
 . . . RA . . . CHACH MARIROK . . . YRAM . . . ITHTH SESOIK, / he who sits upon [holy] Mount Sinai; . . . I . . . BO . . . ATHEM . . . he who sits upon the sea; . . . EA
 . . . BL . . . D . . . K . . . E . . . THĒS . . . PARACHTHĒ . . . , he who sits upon the
 serpentine gods; the [god who sits upon the] sun, IAŌ; he who sits [upon] . . . TA
 . . . Ō . . . I . . . CH; he [who sits] upon the . . . the . . . MA . . . SI, ABRIĒL LOUĒL
 . . . M . . . resting place of the [cherubim] . . . CHIRE . . . OZ . . . I . . . / to the ages
 of ages, God ABAŌTH ABRATHIAŌTH [SABAŌTH] ADŌNAI star . . . and BRILEŌNAI
 ADŌNAI CHA . . . AŌTH the Lord of the all.

“I call upon you who give power [over] the Abyss [to those] above, to those below, and to those under the earth; hear the one who has [this] prayer, O Lord God of the Hebrews, EPAGAĒL ALAMN, of whom is [the] eternal power, ELŌĒL SOUĒL. Maintain the one who possesses this prayer, who is from the stock of Israel and from those / who have been favored by you, O god of gods, you who have the secret name, SABAŌTH . . . I . . . CH, O god of gods, amen, amen. You who produce the snow, over the stars, beyond the ages, [and] who constantly traverse [the cosmos], and who cause the fixed and movable stars to pursue all things by your creative activity, fill me with wisdom. Strengthen me, Master; fill my heart with good, Master, as a terrestrial angel, as one who has become / immortal, as one who has received this gift from you, Amen, amen!”

Pronounce the [*Prayer of*] *Jacob* seven times facing north and east.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 27–31

***Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp:** Purify yourself before your everyday lamp, and speak [the following] to the lamplight, until it is extinguished: “Be well, O lamp, who light the way to Harsentephtha and to Harsentechtha, and to the great [father] Osiris-Michael. / [If] the petition I have made is appropriate, [show] me water [and] a grove. If otherwise, show me water and a stone.”

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 32–35

***Another request for a dream oracle:** Take your last morsel of food, and [show it to the] lamp, and while showing it, say [the invocation]. After saying [it] chew up [the morsel], drink wine on top of it, and go to sleep without speaking to anyone. If this is [performed, immediately] you will see someone speaking to you.

“ . . . OI . . . AL . . . OSMŌ . . . PRA, . . . / I am LAMPSYS, if this matter¹ has been granted to me, show a courtesan; otherwise, a soldier.”

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

1. Or “such-and-such a matter.”

PGM XXIII. 1–70

- *[But¹ when with vows] and prayers [I had appealed]
 [To them], the tribes of dead, I took [the] sheep
 And slit their throats [beside the trough, and down]
 The dark blood [flowed. From out of Ere]bos
 5 Came gathering [the spirits] of the dead: /
 (5) [New brides, unmarried youths,] toil-worn old men,
 [And] tender [maidens] with fresh-mourning hearts,
 [And many] pierced by bronze-tipped spears, [men] slain
 In battle, still in armor stained with gore.
 10 [These many] thronged from ev'ry side around
 (10) The trough / with [awful] cry. Pale fear seized me.
 [But]² having drawn the sharp sword at my thigh,
 [I sat,] allowing not the flitting heads
 Of the dead to draw nearer to [the blood],
 15 And I in conversation spoke with them.
 (He has said what must be done:) /
 (15) "O³ rivers, earth, and you below, punish
 Men done with life, whoe'er has falsely sworn;
 Be witnesses, fulfill for us this charm.
 20 I've come to ask how I may reach the land
 Of that Telemachus, my own son whom /
 (20) I left still in a nurse's arms." For in
 This fashion went the charm most excellent.
 (He tells what charms must be sung:)
 25 "[Hear]⁴ me, gracious and guardian, well-born
 [An]ubis; [hear, sly] one, O secret mate,
 Osiris' savior; come, Hermes, come, robber,
 (25) Well-trussed, infernal Zeus; / ¹ Grant [my desire]^{†,5}
 Fulfill this charm. [Come hither, Hades,] Earth,
 30 Unfailing Fire, O Titan Helios;
 [Come,] Iaweh, Phthas, Phre, guardian of laws,
 [And Neph]tho, much revered; Ablanatho,
 In blessings rich, with [fiery] serpents girded,
 (30) Earth-plowing, goddess with head high, [Abrax]as,
 35 A daimon famous by your cosmic name,
 Who rule earth's [axis], starry dance, the Bears'
 Cold light. [And come] to me, surpassing all
 In self-control, O Phren. I'm calling [you],

1. Vv. 1–10 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 34–43.

2. Vv. 11–13 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 48–50.

3. Vv. 15–17 equal Homer, *Il.* 3. 278–80 except that in v. 15 the *Iliad* has *καί* in place of *ὦ*. In v. 16 the *Iliad* has *τίνυσθον* and the second hemistich of v. 17 appears in the *Iliad* as *φυλάσσετε δ' ὄρκια πίστα*.

4. Because of the fragmentary condition of the following lines (25–43) the reconstructed text of Hymn 24 has been used.

5. "Grant my desire": [*κύρσαι* δωσάμενοι. The translation is very tentative, for the Greek is uncertain. Preisendanz translates "schenkt Gewährung"; Vieillefond (p. 286) translates "ratifiez mes vœux" but in this commentary says: "Il faut comprendre: *κύρσαι* δ—'ayant accordé de ratifier.'" Preisendanz reports that this line begins with a space for six letters, but Wünsch's *κύρσαι* fills only five spaces. Perhaps we should read *καὶ ἐπι*, i.e., *καὶ ἐπιδωσάμενοι*, "and having given freely."

O B[r]i[ar]cus and Ph[r]asios and you,
 O Ixion and Birth and youth's decline, 40
 Fair-burning Fire, / [and may you come,] Infernal (35)
 And Heav'nly One, and [you who govern] dreams,
 And Sirius, who. . . ."⁶
 Standing beside the trough, I cried [these words],
 [For well] did I remember Circe's counsels,⁷ 45
 [Who] knew [all] poisons which the broad earth grows.⁸ /
 [Then came] a lofty wave of Acheron (40)
 Which fights with lions, [Cocytus] and Lethe
 And mighty Polyphlegethon.⁹ A host
 [Of dead] stood round the trough, [and first] there came 50
 The spirit of Elpeuor, my comrade.¹⁰
 (And so on.)

So, since this is the situation, either the poet himself suppressed¹¹ the remainder 55
 because it was an elaboration of the spell in order to preserve the decorum of the (45)
 work, or the Peisistratides,¹² as they were assembling the other verses, withheld
 these because they considered them foreign to the passage here. [†]This is my opin-
 ion for many reasons. And so [†]¹³ I have myself inserted the lines as a rather valuable 60
 creation of epic poetry.¹⁴ / You will find this whole document on the shelves in the (50)
 archives of our former home town, the colony of Aelia Capitolina¹⁵ in Palestine,
 and in Nysa in Caria and, up to the thirteenth verse,¹⁶ in Rome near the baths of 65
 Alexander¹⁷ in the beautiful library in the Pantheon,¹⁸ whose collection of books I

6. Preisendanz's version ends here. The remaining lines are taken from Vieillefond.

7. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 15. 412.

8. V. 39 equals Homer, *Il.* 7. 741 where ἤδη instead of οἶδα is read.

9. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 513–14. In v. 41 the noun Πολυφλεγέθων is a hapax legomenon (see O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/2 [1902–9] 2713). *Od.* 10. 513 has Πυριφλεγέθων.

10. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11. 51. With this Homeric line the verse portion of the papyrus concludes. The remaining section contains Julius Africanus' own evaluation of the verses.

11. We seem to have another example here of Homeric criticism in antiquity. Interestingly enough, *Od.* 11. 38–43 were rejected by several ancient scholars, including Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus.

12. A reference to the tradition in late antiquity that Peisistratus was responsible for the earliest recension of the Homeric poems. For a discussion of the subject, see J. A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 215–33, esp. 219–20.

13. The translation is tentative. Vieillefond daggers these words, for they seem hopelessly corrupt.

14. Line 49 translates ἄτε κῆμα πολυτελέστερον ἐπιεικῆς, but this a strange and otherwise unparalleled meaning of κῆμα.

15. Aelia Capitolina is the name given by Hadrian (A.D. 131) to the rebuilt Jerusalem. The statement seems to confirm, at least partially, Jerome's claim (*De viris illustr.* 63) that Julian was born at Emmaus in Palestine. Others call him a Libyan by birth.

16. This is a strange remark, for the first thirteen verses are Homeric. Surely this collection of volumes included the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

17. The Thermae Alexandrinae were constructed by rebuilding and enlarging the Thermae Neronianae in the Campus Martius just northeast of the Pantheon. These baths had their own water supply from the Alexandrian Aqueduct. See *Life of Severus Alexander* 20. 3–5 and 44. 4–6. Cf. *CAH* vol. 12 (1939), pp. 66 and 477.

18. Others, including Vieillefond, understood the words in ll. 53–54 to mean that Africanus built or served as the architect of the library. Yet we have no evidence that he was an architect but abundant testimony that he was a writer and intellect. It seems more probable, therefore, that Africanus here is saying that he "built the collection of books which constituted the library."

myself built for Augustus.¹⁹ /

(55)

Kestos 18²⁰ of Julius Africanus

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. P. Oxy. 412 contains an excerpt from book 18 of the *Kestoi* of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of the third century A.D. The work dealt with numerous subjects, including medicine, agriculture, natural history, military art, and, as this passage shows, with Homeric criticism and magic. Since Preisendanz prints only a part of the papyrus, the translation uses the full text as provided by Jean-René Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus. Etude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (Firenze: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato; Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1970) 277–91.

PGM XXIVa. 1–25

*"Great is the Lady Isis!" Copy of a holy book found in the archives of Hermes: /
5 The method is that concerning the 29 letters¹ through which letters Hermes and
10 Isis, who was seeking / Osiris,² her brother and husband, [found him].

Call upon Helios and all the gods in the deep concerning those things for which
15 you want to receive an omen. Take / 29 leaves of a male date palm and write on each
20 of the leaves the names of the gods. Pray and then pick them up two / by two. Read
the last remaining leaf and you will find your omen, how things are,³ and you will
25 be answered / clearly.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XXIVb. 1–15

*On the right . . . on the left parts of [the neck . . .] upon the right shoulder . . .
5 on the nipple of the [right breast,] / on the left [shoulder] . . . shall receive . . . on
10 the nipple of the [left breast] . . . on the breast . . . for, the . . . receiving, great . . .
15 and the woman will (?) flee outside, men on . . . drugs . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary text describes the engraving of a magic doll or similar object. The fragment may contain portions of a love charm similar to that of PGM IV. 296ff.

PGM XXV. a–d.

a. *P. Oxy.* 959, 7.2 × 13 cm, contains a text of eight lines of magical characters and letters dated to about the third century A.D. The text remains unpublished.

b. *P. Freib. inedit.* (described by Preisendanz, *P. Un. Bibl. Freiburg i. Br., O. Nr.* 7.5 × 9 cm) is an unpublished, opisthographic text containing "characters" and a magical figure. Sixth century A.D.

c. *P. Cair.* 10434 measures 5.1 × 6.6 cm (no date provided) and contains the following text: "† Holy Lord Zabaot" (var. of SABAÖTH).

d. *PSI inedit.*, 6.5 × 5 cm, is described by Preisendanz as a tiny fragment containing a figure with a long nose, the point of which ends in what appear to be droplets. Behind it is a similar figure, and above both heads there is yet another

19. August is Severus Alexander.

20. Notice that, although the title of the work is in the plural *κεστοί*, each individual book seems to have the singular title *κεστός*.

1. According to W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1918) 369, the twenty-nine letters represent the Coptic alphabet.

2. On Isis seeking Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358 A–B; 52, 372 B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40, 499; idem, *The Isis-Book* 219.

3. Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.* 6, pp. 200–201, translate: "and you will find wherein [Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* 110–11, ". . . in what things"] your omen consists." The translation follows the punctuation of Preisendanz, who translates: "und du wirst dein Orakel finden darüber, worauf es dir [Hopfner, *OZ* II, 299 adds (αα)] ankommt." [W.C.G.]

head with a very long nose. On the reverse side appear three words of which only “PHOIBIÖN” can be made out.

PGM XXVI. 1–21

The numerically arranged oracular text, *P.Oxy.* XII. 1477, is here omitted as it has been shown to belong to the corpus known as the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, for which see Gerald M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 58 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974); see also idem, “The Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*,” *ICS* 1 (1976): 53–58; idem, “A New Papyrus Codex of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*,” in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1979) 434–39; see also *P.Oxy.* XLVII. 3330. The editor is also preparing an edition of the *Sortes* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

PGM XXVII. 1–5

*Victory charm, for Sarapammon, son of Apollonius: “***¹ Give victory and safety at the stadium and in the crowd to the above-mentioned Sarapammon. In the name of SYLIKYS Ë SYS. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7

*“OR OR¹ PHOR PHOR SABAÖTH ADÖNE SALAMA TARCHEI ABRASAX, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisia, / three-hundred and fifteen times, on the fifteenth day of Pachou. . . .” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9

*“ÖR ÖR² PHÖR PHÖR IAÖ ADÖNAEI / SABAÖTH SALAMAN TARCHCHEI, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisos, on the 13th.” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11

*“+ + + + ÖR ÖR³ PHÖR PHÖR [ADÖNAI] / SALAMA RTHACHI, I bind you, Artemisian scorpion, on the fourth day of Phamenoth, / PHÖR OR OR OSOA DDD RRR.” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXIX. 1–10

*“I used to command the Rhodian¹ winds

And your regions of the sea

Whenever I’d want to set sail.

Whenever I’d want to stay there,

I’d say to the regions of the sea:

‘Don’t [smite] the seas with your blows;

5

1. According to Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 12 (1916) 237, magical symbols are given in the papyrus at this point, but the editors did not provide them.

1. The name should probably be articulated HÖR, i.e., Horus, who is often invoked in Egyptian scorpion spells. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 51–85. [R.K.R.]

2. See n. 1 above.

3. See n. 1 above.

1. It seems preferable to retain the Ῥοδίοις of the papyrus rather than to follow Preisendanz in emending to Ῥοθίοις. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

- Lay smooth the brine for seafarers.¹
 Then ev'ry fair wind² is raised;
 They shut out the blasts, and so, lord,³ grant
 10 The impassable to be passable.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This rather charming and unpretentious poem is surely not a part of the regular PGM material. It is rather a poem—or a fragment of a poem—which is perhaps an ancient treatment of the theme that appears in Goethe's two poems, *Meerestille* and *Glückliche Fahrt*. Because of the literary aspect, J. U. Powell included these lines among the *Lyrica Aesopota* in his *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925) 195, no. 33. Despite the obvious poetic quality, no one has satisfactorily explained the meter (cf. Powell, p. 196). Grenfell thought that the verses are accentual, while Schmidt believed that they are a blend of trochaic and Cretic. For the references, see Preisendanz, ad loc. Whatever the case, the present translation uses a blend of iambic and anapaestic feet in an attempt to give in English some of the general effect of the Greek. These verses have been emended and stand as the reconstructed Hymn 29; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 265–66.

PGM XXXII. 1–19

- *“I adjure you, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes and all the rest down below;
 5 attract and bind / Sarapias whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutha-
 10 rin bore,¹ now, now; quickly, quickly. By her soul and heart / attract Sarapias her-
 self, whom [Helen] bore from her own womb,² MAEI OTE ELBÖSATOK ALA OUBÊTÔ
 15 ÔEIO . . . AËN. Attract and [bind / the soul and heart of Sarapias], whom [Helen
 bore, to this] Herais, [whom] Thermoutharin [bore] from her womb [now, now;
 quickly, quickly].”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This spell, without a title, is clearly a love spell in which one woman seeks to attract another woman. Thus it belongs to the small group of lesbian spells. In form, these lines contain one spell repeated, with slight variations, three times: 1–9, 10–14, 14–19.

PGM XXXIIa. 1–25

- *“As¹ Typhon is the adversary of Helios, so inflame the heart and soul of that²
 5 Amoneios whom / Helen bore, even from her own womb, ADŌNAI ABRASAX PI-
 NOUTI³ and SABAŌS; burn the soul and heart of that Amoneios whom Helen /
 10 bore, for [love of] this Serapiakos whom Threpte bore, now, now; quickly, quickly.”

- “In this same hour and on this same day, from this [moment] on, mingle /
 15 together⁴ the souls of both and cause that Amoneios whom Helen bore to be this
 20 Serapiakos whom / Threpte bore, through every hour, every day and every night.
 25 Wherefore, ADŌNAI, loftiest of gods, whose name is the true / one, carry out the
 matter, ADŌNAI.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This section contains two spells—or one spell repeated with variations.

2. For ὄλος of the papyrus perhaps οὔρος should be read: “fair wind” is what the author seems to mean.

3. Can ἀναξ be Helios as represented by the famous Colossus Rhodius? Powell dates this poem to the period ca. A.D. 250–80, and the huge statue of Helios was complete ca. A.D. 168 and destroyed ca. A.D. 224. Yet the memory of this “wonder” continued for centuries. In any case, Helios was an important god on the island of Rhodes, and a reference to him seems appropriate.

1. Herais has a Greek name, while her mother, Thermoutarin, has an Egyptian name. [R.K.R.] The spelling of the names follows Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

2. On this formula, see D. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 131–32.

1. The opening statement is troublesome and has attracted some attention. See A. S. Hunt, “An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum,” *JEA* 15 (1929): 155–57; A. D. Nock, *JEA* 16 (1931): 124; K. Preisendanz, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 50 (1930): 748–49.

2. As the pronouns indicate, this spell is concerned with homosexual attraction.

3. This is Egyptian and means “O/The god.” See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

4. συγκαταμείγνυμι is a concept from friendship literature: true friends are two souls in one body, *amicus est alter ego*. The term is also erotic just as the simple μείγνυμι is regularly. [E.N.O.]

PGM XXXIII. 1–25

*“
 ABLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARACH
 BLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARA
 LANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMAR
 ANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMA
 NATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAM
 ATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARA
 THANABLANAMACHARAMARACHAR
 ANABLANAMACHARAMARACHA
 NABLANAMACHARAMARACH
 ABLANAMACHARAMARA
 BLANAMACHARAMAR
 LANAMACHARAMA
 ANAMACHARAM
 NAMACHARA
 AMACHAR
 MACHA
 ACH
 A

5

10

15

“O Tireless one, KOK KOUK KOU, save / Tais whom [Taraus] bore from every shivering fit,¹ whether tertian² or quartan³ or quotidian fever, or an every-other-day fever,⁴ or [one] by night, or [even] a mild fever,⁵ because I am the ancestral, tireless god, KOK KOUK⁶ KOU, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

25

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXIV. 1–24

*“ . . . [the sun] will stand still; and should I order the moon, it will come down; and should I wish to delay the day, the night will remain for me; and should / we¹ in turn ask for day, the light will not depart; and should I wish to sail the sea, I do not need² a ship; and should I wish to go through the air, / I will be lifted up. It is only³ an erotic drug that I do not find, not one that can cause, not one that can stop love. For the earth, in fear of the / god, does not produce one. But if anyone has it and gives it, I beg, I beseech him: ‘Give! I wish to drink, I wish to anoint myself.’”⁴
 “You⁵ say that a handsome phantom keeps appearing to your daughter, / and this seems unreasonable⁶ to you? Yet how many others have fallen in love with ‘un-

5

10

15

20

1. Cf. PGM XVIIIb. 5.

2. τριταῖος (πυρετός), as in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* 3. 21 and *Nature of Man* 1. 5, is literally “every-third-day-fever.”

3. In contrast to PGM XVIIIb. 6, the papyrus has the normal τεταρταῖος.

4. Pollux, *On.* 1. 65 cod. B suggests the reading παρημέρινος; it does not occur in the medical writers. [J.S.]

5. λεπτοπυρετοῦ is a textual emendation; however, the word is unattested in LSJ, s.v. Cf. LSJ, *Suppl.* s.v. “λεπτοπυρέτιον.”

6. KOUK is Egyptian *kky*, “darkness”; cf. PGM XIII. 788–89.

1. The sudden appearance of the person plural is strange.

2. This use of the present tense occurs in the midst of a series of future tenses. [E.N.O.]

3. Although μόνον οὐ regularly means “almost,” that sense does not seem to fit here. [E.N.O.]

4. The text here is uncertain. For the translation, the text of Preisendanz has been used.

5. For the following lines see, especially, the study of Dodds mentioned below.

6. The papyrus reads παραδόξον here and παρ’ ἀλόγων (παραλόγων) in l. 22, and so both Dodds and Preisendanz print their versions; but in a conversation it is reasonable to expect the second person to repeat the word which the first speaker has used. The translation understands παραδόξον in l. 22. [E.N.O.]

reasonable' bodies⁷ . . .⁸

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This fragment belongs not to a magical spell but rather to some literary piece, perhaps a Greek romance. See C. Bonner, "A Papyrus Describing Magical Powers," *TAPA* 52 (1921): 111–18; E. R. Dodds, "A Fragment of a Greek Novel (P.Mich. inv. no. 5)" in *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood, Phoenix Supp.* I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952) 133–37. Dodds's theory that this fragment is part of a lost Greek romance seems logical in light of the conversational tone throughout, but the tone of ll. 19–24 makes this theory almost certain.

PGM XXXV. 1–42

*"I call upon you, who sit over the Abyss, BYTHATH; I also call upon the one who sits in the first heaven, MARMAR; I call upon you, who sit in the 2nd heaven, 5 RAPHAËL; I call upon you, who sit in the 3rd heaven, SOURIEL;¹ / I call upon you, who sit in the 4th heaven, IPHIAPH;² I call upon you, who sit in the 5th heaven, PITIËL; I call upon you, who sit in the [6th] heaven, MOURLATHA.

"I call upon you, who sit over the snow, TELZË; I call upon you, EDANÖTH, who 10 sit over the sea; I call upon you, SAESECHEL, who sit over the serpents; / I call upon you, TABIYM, who sit over the rivers; I call upon you, BIMADAM; I call upon you, CHADRAOUN, who sit in the midst of CHADRALLOU, in between the two cherubim and seraphim, as they praise you, the lord of the whole host which is under heaven.

15 "I conjure you all by the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,³ that / you obey my authority completely, each one of you obeying perfectly, and that you stay beside me and give me favor, influence, victory, and strength, before all, small men and great, as well as gladiators, soldiers, civilians, women, girls, boys, and everybody, 20 quickly, quickly, because of the / power of IAÖ, the strength of SABAÖTH, the clothing of ELOË,⁴ the might of ADÖNAI, and the crown of ADÖNAI. Grant also to me favor and victory before all, as you have given good gifts to ALBANATHANALBA and AKRAMACHAMARI; and this is why, then, I am exhorting and conjuring / you 25 that you give favor, victory, power, and spirit on behalf of me, the three-crown-bearing ruler, quickly, [quickly,] because I conjure you, IAÖ SABAÖTH AÖ SABAÖTH Ö SABAÖTH SABAÖTH A ABAÖTH BAÖTH AÖTH ÖTH TH."

30  

35 "Look above the spir-
its of the opponent to-
ward the spirits of dig-
nity [and] exaltation. I
call upon / and exhort
and conjure you that
you obey unfailingly
my every command, for

PAULUS
JULIANUS

"I conjure
you by the
god SARA-
CHAEAL [by]
BILIAM,⁵ and
[by] the god
who made
heaven and

7. *σωμάτων* is synonymous with *εἰδωλον*.

8. Dodds (see n. 4 above) 137 assumes the speaker is female, but the gender is not indicated in the text.

1. For the name SURIEL, see the discussion by Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 46. A number of other parallels esp. with Judaism are noted in Preisendanz's apparatus.

2. For the name IPHIAPH, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 12, n. 7.

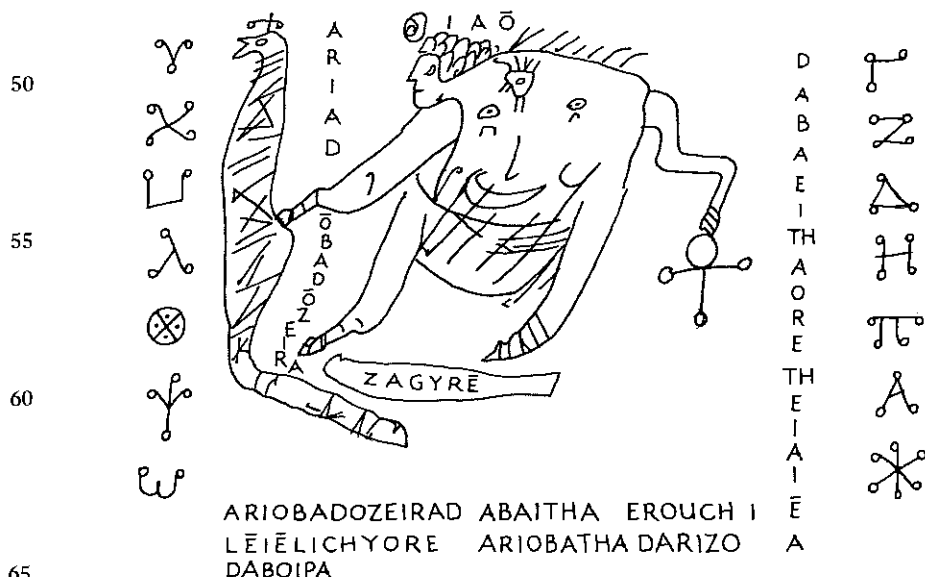
3. The papyrus reads Abram, Isaka, Iachöb.

4. For the garment of ELOË, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 64.

5. The prophet Bileam from Pethor is known from Nm 22:5–24, 25; 31:8, 16; Dt 23:4, etc. His

my sake, the three
[crown-] bearing one,
SABATH. . . .”

The names to be written are these: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRASAX
 ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI,² su-
 45 preme angels, give to me, / NN whom NN bore, victory, favor, reputation, advan-
 tage over all men and over all women, especially over NN, whom NN bore, for ever
 and all time.” Consecrate it.



65

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 69–101

***Love spell of attraction**, excellent divination by fire, than which none is greater.
 70 It attracts men to women and women to men / and makes virgins rush out of their
 homes. Take a pure papyrus and with blood of an ass³ write the following names
 and figure, and put in the magical material from the woman you desire. Smear the
 75 strip of papyrus with moistened vinegar gum⁴ / and glue⁵ it to the dry vaulted
 vapor room of a bath,⁶ and you will marvel. But watch yourself so that you are not
 struck.

The writing is this: “Come, Typhon, who sit on top of the gate, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ
 PAKERBĒTH IŌ BALCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOUMBIAI AB-
 80 ERRAMENTHŌ OULER- / THEXANAX ETHRELUOŌTH MEMAREBA TOU SĒTH, as you
 are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore,
 until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one,
 85 immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

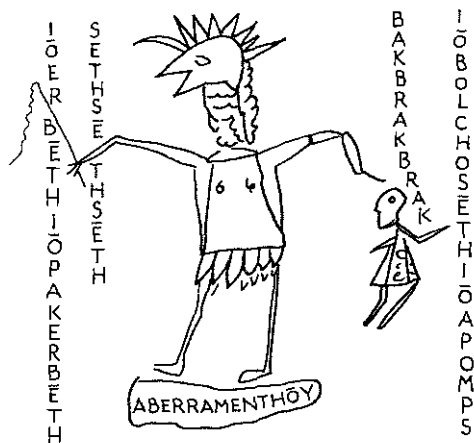
2. PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI is equivalent to Egyptian “He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss.” [R.K.R.]

3. This is to connect the spell with Typhon, invoked below. Cf. PGM IV. 2015, 2100, 2220.

4. ὀξοκόμη is from ὀξυκόμμη according to LSJ, s.v. It is also a hapax legomenon. The papyrus has ὀξωκόμη, which LSJ explains as dative of ὀξυκόμμη. See Schmidt, GGA 189 (1927):464–56, who refers to Pliny, NH 24. 3, 106; cf. also NH 13. 20, 66–67 for a discussion of Egyptian gums. [E.N.O.]

5. For the glue, cf. l. 83 below. As the operator does with the strip of papyrus, so may NN do with the operator. [E.N.O.]

6. Cf. PGM II. 51.



90

95

100

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 102–33

**Another divination by fire*: Take clean papyrus and write the following names and figure with myrrh ink and say the spell three times.

The names / and the figure to be written are these:

105

"Hear me, you who founded and destroyed and became the mighty god whom a white sow bore,⁷ ALTHAKA EIATHALLATHA SALAIOTH, who appeared in Pelousion,⁸ in Heliopolis possessing an iron staff⁹ with which you opened up the sea and passed through after you had completely / dried up all the plants. Attract to me, NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue¹⁰ her female punda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." /

110

7. The one born of the white sow is Min of Koptos, born of Isis. For discussion, see J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas* 6 (1974): 81–109, esp. 91–92. [R.K.R.]

8. Pelusium was a city in Egypt, situated on the Nile. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 375E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35. Cf. *PGM* VII. 499 and n.

9. See for the iron staff *Ex* 7: 17–24; 14: 21–31. For Egyptian parallels, see W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 21. [R.K.R.]

10. Cf. above, l. 75 and n.

115 "IAEŌ
IAE
IA
I

BAPHRENDEMOUN

120 BAPHRENDEMOU

BAPHRENDEMO

BAPHRENDEM

BAPHRENDE

BAPHREND

125 BAPHREN

BAPHRE

BAPHR

BAPH

BA

130 B



/ Attract to me, NN whom

NN bore, her, NN whom NN

bore, aflame, on fire,
/ flying through the air,
loving me, NN whom NN bore, immediately,
immediately; quickly, quickly, accomplish it."

S NOTHEILARIIIAE
E OTHEILARIIIAE
S EILARIIIAE
E ILARIIIAE
N LARIIIAE
G ARIIIAE
E RIIEAE
N IIAE
B IAE
A AE
R E
PH PHIRKIALI
A IRKIALI
R RKIALI
A KIALI
G IALI
G ALI
E LI
S I

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 134–60

***Marvelous love spell of attraction**, than which none is greater: Take myrrh /
135 and male frankincense, put them in a drinking cup and add an *archē*¹¹ of vinegar,
and at the third hour of the night put it into the socket of your door and say the
spell 7 times.

The spell to be spoken is this: "Arise, daimons in the dark; leap up onto the bricks
and beat your breasts after you have smeared your faces with mud. For because
140 of / her, NN whom NN bore, unlawful eggs are being sacrificed: fire, fire, un-
lawfulness, unlawfulness.¹² For Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown
into confusion. She tosses and turns on her holy bed, and its bonds and those of the
daimon world are smashed to pieces¹³ because of the enmity and impiety of her,
145 NN, whom NN bore. But you,¹⁴ Isis / and Osiris and [daimons] of the chthonic
world, ABLAMGOUNCHŌTHŌ ABRASAX, and daimons who are beneath the earth,
arise, you who are from the depth, and cause her, NN, whom NN bore, to be sleep-
less, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep,¹⁵ to love me, NN
150 whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes / and glues
her female pudenda to my male one. But if she wishes to fall asleep, spread under
her knotted leather scourges and thorns upon her temples, so that she may nod

11. ἀρχή occurs only here as a unit of measure. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 33 (1895): 46.

12. For an Egyptian parallel to this exclamation see the *historiola* in H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 14/2 (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 75, 81: "Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire!" [R.K.R.]

13. Cf. Preisendanz's translation (accepting Hopfner's reconstruction in *Archiv Orientalni* 3 [1931]: 122): "hin wandte sie sich zum heiligen Lager, gesprengt werden seine Bande und zugleich die der Dämonenwelt . . ." (she turned to the holy bed [i.e., of Osiris], smashed to pieces are his bonds and those of the daimons' world . . .).

14. Despite the appeal to several deities, the Greek has σὺ, "you," sing. here.

15. The idea of sleeplessness is repeated. Cf. l. 112 above where there is no such repetition. [E.N.O.]

agreement to a courtesan's love, because I adjure you who have been stationed over
the fire, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH / OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICH- 155
THŌN HIPPICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANAX."

"You, NN, have been bound by the fibers of the sacred palm tree, so that you may love NN forever. And may no barking dog release you, no braying ass, no cock, no priest who removes magic spells, no clash of cymbals, no whining of flute; indeed, no protective charm from heaven that works for anything; / rather, let her be possessed by the spirit." 160

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 161-77

***Charm to restrain anger and charm for success.** (No charm is greater, and it is to be performed by means of words alone:) Hold your thumbs and repeat the spell 7 times: “ERMALLÖTH ARCHIMALLÖTH stop the mouths / that speak against me, 165 because I glorify your sacred and honored names which are in heaven.”

To augment the words: Take papyrus and write thus: "I am / CHPHYRIS.¹⁶ I must
be successful. MICHAËL RAPHAËL ROUBËL NARIËL KATTIËL ROUMBOUTHËL
AZARIËL IOËL IOUËL EZRIËL SOURËL NARIËL METMOURËL AZAËL AZIËL SAOU-
MIËL / ROUBOUTHËL RABIËËL RABIËËL RABCHLOU ENAEZRAËL, angels, protect
me from every bad situation that comes upon me."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 178-87

* **A charm to break spells:** Take lead and draw on it a unique figure¹⁷ holding a torch in its right / hand, in its left—and at the left—a knife, and on its head three falcons, and under its legs a scarab, and under the scarab¹⁸ an ouroboros serpent.

The things to be written around / the figure are these:

⊗ K ⊗ X̄ Ū X̄ H O J 3 r x
N Y W I T A W T T  
E F ^ t a



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

16. CHPHYRIS is the god Khepri, the scarab. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.; VII. 584 and n., and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

17. The figure drawn below on the papyrus does not correspond to the description.

18. On the scarab see n. 16 above.

PGM XXXVI. 187–210

***Love spell of attraction:** On an unbaked piece of pottery write with a bronze stylus: “Hecate, you, Hecate, triple-formed, since every seal of every¹⁹ [love spell of attraction] has been completed, I adjure you / by the great name of ABLANATHANA and by the power of AGRAMARI,²⁰ because I adjure you, you who possess the fire, ONYR,²¹ and those in it, that she, NN, / be set afire,²² that she come in pursuit of me, NN, because I am holding²³ in my right hand the two serpents and the victory of IAÖ SABAÖTH and the great name BILKATRI MOPHECHE, who brandishes fire, . . . ,²⁴ that she love me / completely and be aflame and on fire for me; aye, and tortured too. I am SYNKOUTOUEL.”

[Write] 8 characters like this: “Grant me, indeed the favor of all, ADÖNAI
*.”

A A A A A A A
E E E E E E E
E E E E E E E
I I I I I I I
O O O O O O O
Y Y Y Y Y Y Y
O O O O O O O

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. The text of this spell appears to be corrupt at a number of places, so that by necessity the translation remains tentative.

PGM XXXVI. 211–30

***Prayer to Helios:** A charm to restrain anger and for victory and for securing favor (none is greater): Say to the sun (Helios) [the prayer] 7 times, and anoint your hand with oil and wipe it on your head and face.

215 *Now [the prayer] is:* “Rejoice with me, you who are set over the east wind / and the world, for whom all the gods serve as bodyguards at your good hour and on your good day, you who are the Good Daimon of the world, the crown of the inhabited world, you who rise from the abyss, you who each day rise a young man and set an old man, HARPENKNOUPHI BRINTANTËNÖPHRI BRISSKYLMA / AROUR-
220 ZORBOROBA MESINTRIPHI²⁵ NIPTOUMI CHMOUMMAÖPHI. I beg you, lord, do not allow me to be overthrown, to be plotted against, to receive dangerous drugs, to go into exile, to fall upon hard times. Rather, I ask to obtain and receive from you life, health, reputation, wealth, influence, strength, success, charm, / favor with all men and all women, victory over all men and all women. Yes, lord, ABLANATHAN-
225 ALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHNA PHÖZA PHNBENNOUNI²⁶ NAACHTHIP . . .
230 OUNORBA, accomplish the matter which I want, / by means of your power.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 231–55

*Take a lead lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following names and the figure, and after smearing it with blood from a bat, roll up the lamella in the usual

19. The isolated *πάσις* is vague. Preisendanz adds “Gestalt.” [E.N.O.]

20. The *voes magicæ* in ll. 190–91 are abbreviated forms of the ABLANATHANALBA and AKRAMMACHAMARI formulas. See the Glossary, s.v.

21. Preisendanz understands ONYR to be a form of Coptic NOYRE, “vulture, falcon.” But more likely the god Onouris is meant. Cf. *PGM* X. 12 and n.

22. The text of these lines is very uncertain and probably corrupt. The translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

23. Read perhaps *κατέχομαι*, since *κατέχω μέ* makes no sense. [E.N.O.]

24. The text contains here incomprehensible letters, probably because of corruption rather than their being *voes magicæ*.

25. MESINTRIPHI is Egyptian and means “born of Triphis,” an epithet of Isis. See *PGM* XII. 232 and n. [R.K.R.]

26. PEPHNA (read PEPHTHA), PHÖZA, PHNBENNOUNI is Egyptian and means “He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss.” Cf. above, ll. 43–44; *PGM* XIII. 1055. [R.K.R.]

PGM XXXVI. 312–20

* **Charm to open a door:** Take from a firstborn ram an umbilical cord that has not fallen to the ground, and after mixing in myrrh, apply it to the door bolts when you want to open a door, and say this spell, and you will open it immediately.

Now this is the spell: / “Open up for me, open up for me, door bolt; be opened, 315
be opened, door bolt, because I am Horos the Great, ARCHEPHRENEPSOU PHIRIGX, son of Osiris and Isis. I want the godless Typhon to flee;³⁹ immediately, immediately; quickly, / quickly.” 320

*Tr.: R. É. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 320–32

* **A contraceptive, the only one in the world:** Take as many bittersweet seeds as you want for the number of years you wish to remain sterile. Steep them in the menses of a menstruating woman. Let them steep in her own genitals. And take a frog⁴⁰ / that is alive and throw the bittersweet seeds into its mouth so that the frog 325
swallows them, and release the frog alive at the place where you captured him. And take a seed of henbane, steep it in mare’s milk; and take the nasal mucus of a cow, with grains of barley, put these into a [piece of] leather skin made from a fawn and on the outside bind it up with mulehide skin, / and attach it as an amulet during 330
the waning of the moon [which is] in a female sign of the zodiac on a day of Kronos or Hermes;⁴¹ Mix in also with the barley grains cerumen from the ear⁴² of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXVI. 333–60

* **Love spell of attraction over myrrh:**⁴³ Say the spell and [put it on the] flat stone of the bath.

The spell is this: / “Myrrh, Myrrh, who serve at the side of gods, who stir up 335
rivers and mountains, who burn up the marsh of Achalda,⁴⁴ who consume with fire the godless Typhon, who are ally of Horos, the protection of Anubis, the guide of Isis. Whenever I throw you, Myrrh, upon the *strobilos*⁴⁵ of the / flat stone of this 340
bath, as you burn, so also will you burn her, NN, because I adjure you by the strong and inexorable Destiny, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRAS REXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPAGANYX LEPETAN / LEPE- 345
TAN MANTOUNOBOË, and by the Destiny of this, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIŌYD LAKIŌYDA. Attract, burn her, NN (add the usual, whatever you wish), because I adjure you by the strong and great names, THEILŌCHNOU ITI PESKOUTH I TETOCHNOUPHI SPEUSOUTI IAŌ SABAŌTH / ADŌNAI PAGOURË ZAGOURË ABRASAX ABRATHIAŌ 350
TERËPHAËL MOUISRŌ⁴⁶ LEILAM SEMESILAM THOŌOU IIE ÊŌ OSIR⁴⁷ ATHOM⁴⁸

39. This passage contains a *historiola* of Horus escaping from Seth/Typhon. See for a parallel Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 214–23. [R.K.R.]

40. The frog was associated with fertility, and therefore in Egypt with Heket, the goddess of birth. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 198–99, s.v. “Frosch”; M. Weber, “Frosch,” *RAC* 8 (1972): 524–38, esp. 524–29. [R.K.R.]

41. That is, the planets Saturn and Mercury.

42. Also possible is “dirt from the ear,” but “ear wax” is more likely, given Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1198.

43. Cf. the parallel to the spell in *PGM* IV. 1495–1595.

44. This locality is not identified.

45. The meaning of the term is obscure; it may refer to some item having the shape of a pinecone. See LSJ, s.v. “στρόβιλος.” Cf. *PGM* II. 25 and n.

46. See on this detail *PGM* III. 659 and n.

47. OSIR is Osiris. [R.K.R.]

48. ATHOM is Atum. [R.K.R.]

- CHAMNEUS PHEPHAÖN PHEPHEÖPHAI PHEPHEÖPHTHA. Arouse yourself, Myrrh,
 355 and go into every place⁴⁹ and seek out her, NN, and / open her right side and enter
 like thunder, like lightning, like a burning flame, and make her thin, [pale,] weak,
 limp, incapable of [action] in [any part of her body] until she leaps forth and comes
 360 to me, [NN, son of] NN (add the usual, / whatever you wish), immediately, immediately;
 quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: É. N. O’Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 361–71

* **Irresistible love spell of attraction**, which works on the same day: Take the skin of an ass⁵⁰ and write the following in the blood from the womb of a silurus⁵¹ after mixing in the juice of the plant Sarapis.

- 365 *The writing is this*: “SISISÖTH, attract to me / her, NN on this very day, in this very hour, because I adjure you by the name CHYCHACHAMER MEROUTH⁵² CHMĒ-MINOUTH THIONTHOUTH PHIOPHAÖ⁵³ BELECHAS AAA EEE ÊÊÊ L’ S’ S’ S’ N’ N’ N’. Attract her, NN, to NN” (add the usual).

- 370 And put the magical material inside / with vetch and place it in the mouth of a dead dog, and it will attract her in the same hour.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XXXVII. 1–26

- *. . . not one of the unclean men . . . I did not have intercourse with a woman . . . [knowingly]. Whenever I swear, the [existing? . . .] relatives, that on my father’s
 5 side and / [mother?], friends and my father’s relatives with . . . not, and this one . . . into a container, thus taking . . . [into a] suburb, with the loud voice . . . of
 10 the prophets and pro[phetesses]. / And whenever in . . . swear, lest . . . such as heard. . . .
 15 . . . / [of Theodoros?], that is, of Selenion(?), [it is not necessary] to subtract or add a thing. If . . . these . . . cast from the . . . as mentioned before; and another
 20 . . . from every rite / . . . your . . . is unlawful . . . should receive a letter . . . piously . . . receive extreme ill-luck, it is . . . lest you . . . taken . . . / the . . .
 25

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text was acquired in Egypt with the other magical papyri, PGM XXXVI and XXXVIII, and is thus presumed to contain portions of a magical spell; however, the recto (ll. 1–14) was written in a hand different from that of the verso (ll. 14–26) and seems to contain a text of a biblical or theological nature. The verso may contain a text on some type of divination.

PGM XXXVIII. 1–26

*. . . at the proper time purify [yourself for seven days and]¹ take myrrh ink and [write] on [pure] papyrus . . . of baths: “Come here to me . . . who have the power

49. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 71, 101.

50. The animal of Seth/Typhon.

51. The silurus is a large river fish which seems to have been a part of the common fare, either pickled or salted. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 9. 17, 44; Aelian, *NA* 14. 25; Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 33; 14. 132. The silurus also occurs in PGM IV. 3097, but Preisendanz there altered the text to read αἰλουρος, “cat.” Diehl, in Preisendanz’s apparatus, proposes the same emendation here. [E.N.O.]

52. MEROUTH is Egyptian *mrw.t*, “love.” [R.K.R.]

53. THOUTH PHIOPHAÖ is Egyptian and means “Thoth the great, the great.” [R.K.R.]

1. Eitrem reads ἀγνευσον [ἑπτα ἡμέρας καὶ . . .], which D. Mork, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1975) 72, translates with “Be purified for seven days.” The verb, however, is active and requires an object. Furthermore, the papyrus uses numerals, not words, so it is better to read ἀγνευσον [σὲ ζ’ ἡμέρας καὶ . . .]. [E.N.O.]

... / ... and go into the house ... frightening and hiding ... of the door. For by
 the contribution(?)² of her ... by your [power, attract] to me her, NN, whose
 mother is NN, because ... / ... to find sleep and ... brain ... of sacred phan- 10
 toms ... of the sea ... / [who copulate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH NINTHER,³ 15
 you are the one who are] daily visible [and who set in the northwest] of heaven,
 [and rise in the southeast. In the 1st hour] you have [the form of a cat; your name
 is PHARAKOUNĒTH. In the 2nd hour you have the form] of a dog; your name
 is / [SOUPHI. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a suake; your name is] ABERAN 20
 NEMANE [THŌUTH. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab]: [your] name
 is [SESENIPS. In the 5th hour you have the form] of an ass; [your] name is
 [ENPHANCHOUH. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion]; your name is
 [BAISOLBAI ... who control] time. / [In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; 25
 your name is] OUMESTHŌTH. In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your
 name is [DIATI-PHĒ, who becomes invisible]. ...⁴

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is so fragmentary that the text owes more to Eitrem's ingenuity than to the copyist. Ll. 15–26 seem to be a doublet and, in part, an abridged version of IV. 1642–79. The edition of Preisendanz provides no translation; Moke offers one only of ll. 1–12.

PGM XXIX. 1–21

*“THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

RATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THAUTHŌLTHARA

AUTHŌLTHARA

UTHŌLTHARA

THŌLTHARA

ŌLTHARA

LTHARA

THARA

ARA

RA

A

THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA 5

RATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THAUTHŌLTHARA

AUTHŌLTHARA

UTHŌLTHARA 10

THŌLTHARA

ŌLTHARA

LTHARA

THARA

ARA 15

RA

A



I adjure you by the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four elements / of 20
 the world, that you attract Herakles whom Taaipis bore, to me, to Allous, whom
 Alexandria bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The figure on the left is that of the dwarf god Bes. In the Greco-Roman period the erotic associates of Bes became so pronounced that he seems to have become a patron of brothels. See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907) 12–14. [R.K.R.]

2. The papyrus has *προσδόσι*, for which Eitrem suggests *προσδόσει*, hence “by the contribution,” but the papyrus is so mutilated that any translation must be tentative. [E.N.O.]

3. PSOI PHNOUTH NINTHER corresponds to Egyptian “Fate, the god (of) the gods.” Cf. *PGM III*. 144–45. [R.K.R.]

4. The list of forms continues at *PGM IV*. 1679. This papyrus is clearly a fragment as well as fragmentary. [E.N.O.]

PGM XL. 1–18

*“O master Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis, I [pray] to you, I Artemisie, daughter of Amasis, against my daughter’s father, [who] robbed [her] of the funeral gifts and tomb. So if he has not acted justly toward me and his own children—as indeed he has acted unjustly toward me and his own children—let
 5 Oserapis and the gods / grant that he not approach the grave of his children, nor that he bury his own parents. As long as my cry for help is deposited here, he and what belongs to him should be utterly destroyed badly, both on earth and on sea, by Oserapis and the gods who sit together with Oserapis, nor should he attain propitiation from Oserapis nor from the gods who sit with Oserapis.

10 Artemisie has deposited this supplication, supplicating / Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis to punish justly. As long as my supplication [is deposited] here, the father of this girl should not by any means attain propitiation from the gods. [Who]ever [seizes] this document [and] does an injustice to Artemisie, the god will inflict a penalty on him . . . to no one . . . except . . . Artemisie commands
 15 that . . . as . . . / not suffice . . . observed me in need of . . . and to me who lives . . . observed . . . in need of. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. For similar curses against desecrating a tomb, see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938) esp. 131–38; B. Boyaval, “Une malédiction pour viol de sépulture,” *ZPE* 14 (1974): 71–73.

PGM XLI. 1–9

5 *“CHRIA . . . BĒEI[NÖR; SOUSI[NEPHI] . . . trembles / ENTOKE KENTA[BAÖTH] . . . thence, [trembles] . . . NITHIORA BAINCHÖÖÖCH. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary spell contains only a few recognizable words, mostly magical.

PGM XLII. 1–10

*“A A A A A A
 E E E E E E
 Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē
 I I I I I I O O O O
 5 Y Y Y Y Y
 Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
 [“magical characters”]
 . . . ARAĒL SAB[AÖTH
 O]URIEL ASABA . . .
 10 . . . OSĒPRAK.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. The magical characters mentioned in the text are unavailable for transcription. The slip of papyrus probably served as an amulet.

PGM XLIII. 1–27

*“[ABLANA]THANALBA	EMANOUẼL	
[BLA]NATHANALBA	ASOŨEL	
LANATHANALBA	MARMAR̃EL	
ANATHANALBA	MELCHĨEL	
NATHANALBA	OURĨEL	5
ATHANALBA	THOURĨEL	
THANALBA	MARMARIŌTH	
ANALBA	ATHANÃEL	
ALBA	AŌ̃E . . .	10
LBA	SABAŌTH	
BA	ADŌNAI	
A	ELŌAI	

ABŌ . . . / SESENGEN SPHRANGĒS MICHÃEL SABAŌTH LAPAPA / . . . GABRĨEL 15/20
 SOURĨEL RAPHÃEL, protect Sophia / whom Theoneilla bore from every shivering 25
 fit and fever, immediately, quickly.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XLIV. 1–18

*“THŌPHŌPHA. MOS . . . AMOU K . . .

A A A A A A A	. . . OUABEIO . . . S BAMERM	
	. . . L . . .	
E E E E E E E	carache EY . . . MATI unwritten	
	SYRID	
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē	partaking (?), might ascend (?)	
	driving away . . .	
I I I I I I I	fever (?), just (?) PAĒ . . .	5
O O O O O O O	TAI, burning these things	
	until	N
Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	ATHIAL PYRON MOLOS	I
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō		R
Y	MICHÃEL	ŌZ Y
Ō	ICHÃEL	YZ O
	CHÃEL	OZ
E E E E E E E	ÃEL	IZ
P	ĒL	
	L	
	MICHÃEL	. . . Z
	[ICHÃEL]	EZ
	[CHÃEL]	
CH S	ÃEL	. . . Z.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text may have served as a phylactery for carache and possibly fever. On the right side of the papyrus there is a figure holding a staff and with the letters “A” and “Ō” on either side; the representation of the figure, however, was never published.

PGM XLV. 1–8

- *“... R... RPHEË ABRAHAS IRMOUN †ACHOA BRĒPHAUTH IOU ATHĒTHAL
KATHŌLŌ... NITASPHIN BAROUCH BAROUCH DAULA ADŌNAIA CHAITA SIAMOUR
5 ERBELMŌN ELŌE ADŌNAIA MELĒ... A SESEMIE... LAMEBDO / ELŌE ACHRAI
ĒNNANAI AZAËL CHERMAIŌ B... ROBBAN J(erusa)lem... N[†]”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XLVI. 1–4

*... [If] you wish the god to speak: ... These names ... “SON LALEIKACHRI ...
KAIE. ...”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This fragmentary papyrus, which contains portions of only two spells, contains here a request for a revelation. In the series of words to be spoken or written some Greek can be read.

PGM XLVI. 4–8

- 5 *Spell to silence and [subject]: ... on an unbaked potsherd ... : / “IŌ SĒTH IŌ
ERBĒTH IŌ... IŌ SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX... IŌ [OSIRIS].”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XLVII. 1–17

- 5 *“ĒL ĒL¹ STRAGĒL STRAKOUĒL, the god, / the SATOUCHEOS, the PSATOUCHEOS,²
10 protect, shelter [the wearer against fever] whether [it is] every other day, / or daily,
15 or equinoctial, or perpetual; purify us, EIAOTH / SABAOOTH ... [[two lines of
characters]].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XLVIII. 1–21

- *“KLE¹ [[characters]] AAAAAA KLE ANNGL ... O SESEGGSBARPHARAGGES,
5 help us, Atikhis; bring aid (?) / with all your powers. They must move like the one
whom the Cherubim have led,² the Father Pantokrator, who is in heaven ... the
Cherubim. You must fly like the birds of heaven. He³ must move like a piercing
10 wind, ... good, through / the power of these names and their saving acts and the
phylacteries and the power of the honored (?) Place.⁴ Yes, yes! Quickly, quickly!
[[2 lines of characters]]. And a blessing upon the name SESSEGGES, together
15 with / ... AI SACHLAS EL and MEFEJRAHIEU ... uames, aid ... the place SA ...
20 aid (?) ... [the] whole house ... INETENEI great (?) ... IĒL EŌN / ... the birds
of great (?)⁵ [[characters]] ... OU.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer.

1. *El* is the common Hebrew word for “god” but was also the name of a particular god worshiped mostly along the Palestine-Syrian coast.

2. Perhaps the definite articles before this and the two following terms should be omitted, and they should be taken as names of gods or demons. These magical texts rarely use the definite article before the names of deities invoked, and SATOUCHEOS looks like an epithet (“loaded, burdened”?) and PSATOUCHEOS like a byform of it.

1. Or, in Greek, “etc.”

2. Or “they must lead forth,” “who move like,” or “who lead forth.”

3. Or “you.”

4. In later Jewish writings, God is frequently designated as “the Place.”

5. Or “which we come” or “your fathers.”

PGM XLIX

*



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. An amulet with a series of characters and the name “Aion.”

PGM L. 1–18

*. . . out of . . . the . . . and if their principal (lots ?) should [fall] on the side of [the
lots] of “Tyche” or “Daimon” [it is good ?] for a spell (?) concerning sorcery / —the 5
same principal (tosses?) of the lot producing the same result, with a “Tyche” or
“Daimon” being an excellent toss. And the one who tosses concerning sorcery . . .
executes the same given results for the given toss. These things mentioned before
will be . . . / . . . of “Daimon.” If ever . . . it happens in your own place or even . . . 10
by malevolent ones (?), / as it testifies of an exile, it signifies either . . . or dis- 15
graceful ones; if then a benevolent one occurs, a malevolent one by the benevolent
ones is changed (?). . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. Very little sense can be made from this scrappy fragment. The text seems to deal with responses to a type of knucklebone or dice oracle.

PGM LI. 1–27

*“I exhort you, daimon of the dead [and] the necessity of death which has hap- 5
pened in your case, image of the gods, to hear / my request and to avenge me, 10
Neilammon, whom Tereus bore, because Etes has brought a charge against me, / or
against my daughter Aynchis or her children or those who might ever be [with]
me. And I exhort you not to listen to those who have brought charges against us,
either / [from] Hermes, whom . . . bore, [or] EU . . . S, who is known as [Apelles], 15
or from Harpochrates, whom Tereus bore, [who is] a wicked man and / ungodly 20
toward me, his father. I ask you, daimon of the dead, not to listen to them [but to]
listen [only] to me, Neilammon, [since I am] / pious [toward the] gods, [and to 25
cause them to be] ill for their [whole] life.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This necromantic request is directed against Neilammon’s legal opponents, one of whom appears to be his own son. The text follows the format of an Egyptian letter to the dead. Cf. Alan Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928). [R.K.R.]

PGM LII. 1–9

*. . . the formula:

“ . . . stout of heart, silver-cddying,
And with the Graces CHΘOS EU . . .
Both Hera and Selene, thus
/ The wits, which come upon to . . .
. . . nothing, about the sea,
. . . S . . . ES . . . ES . . . however much
. . . .”

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary papyrus contains portions of two or three spells

probably dealing with love magic. The first of these, translated here, preserves a poetic incantation whose first few lines scan as dactylic hexameters.

PGM LII. 9–19

- 10 *Take an ichneumon / from the countryside and throw in some vinegar myrrh and
boil for 3 days . . . but. . . .
15 “. . . and . . . / Peitho . . . will see a . . . with mighty . . . or might grant me
favor . . . or love me in . . . from a mighty (?). . . .”
*Tr.: Roy Koransky.

PGM LII. 20–26

- 20 *Spell to induce insomnia: Take some . . . grasp, speak the formula . . . speak
. . . : “. . . ἑὸς mother’s, summoning Eros.”
25 Speak *the formula*: “. . . through night and day, from (?) / . . . set a flame in the
heart. . . .”
*Tr.: Roy Koransky.

PGM LIII–LVI

PGM LIII and LIV correspond to the unpublished texts of the papyrus rolls cataloged together as *P. Strassb.* I. 39 (P. gr. 1769 and 1770 in F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts—und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912, 134–35). PGM LIII (no. 1769) measures 32 × 22 cm and contains fifteen lines; PGM LIV (no. 1770) measures 22 × 16 cm and contains ten lines. Both date from the Arabic period.

PGM LV and LVI correspond to the two unpublished texts, *P. Strassb.* I. 39A (P. gr. 762 and 788; Preisigke 136). They are written by the same hand and stem also from the Arabic period. PGM LV measures 28 × 22 cm and contains twelve lines; PGM LVI (17 × 11 cm) contains eight lines primarily made up of letter permutations, with SY SZ and SCH predominating.

PGM LVII. 1–37

- *. . . ADŌNAI. . . . *These are the words*: “[Accomplish] for him, NN, whatever I
have written on [this] for you, and I will¹ leave [the east] and the west² [which] has
been established [formerly], and [I will preserve] the flesh of Osiris³ [always] and I
5 will not break / [the] bonds with which you bound Typhon,⁴ and I will not call
those who have died a violent death but will leave them alone, and I will not pour
out the oil of Syrian cedar [but] will leave it alone, and I will save Ammon and not
kill him, and I will [not] scatter the limbs of Osiris, and I will hide you [from the]
10 giants;⁵ EI EI EI EI [EI EI] EI EI CHOIN / [APHOUTH] CHENNONEU APHOUTH
ANOU AŌTH EI EI EI PEOOE [IAKŌB] MANNOZ ARANNOUTH CHAL . . . APH KOULIX

1. For these implied threats see PGM II. 54, and Papyrus Ebers, col. 30, ll. 12–16: “If the stroke dispells itself . . . I shall not speak (the threat), I shall not repeat the srarement.” [R.K.R.]

2. For this notion of the collapse of the east and west, see PGM V. 284.

3. For mythical details regarding the death of Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A–B; 35, 364F; 42, 368A; and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 340–42, 434–35, 460; Diodorus Siculus 1. 11, with the commentary by Burton, *Diodorus Siculus* 60–61, 89, 95.

4. For the binding of Typhon, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 349–50.

5. For the role of the giants, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 25, 360E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 385–86; W. Speyer, “Gigant,” *RAC* 10 (1978): 1247–76, esp. 1263.

NOË N . . . K BORNATH LOUBEINE AOUËR OUEIRE ITIN LOTOL. Recite the secrets of the many-named goddess, Isis.”⁶

[The] *compulsive spell* in order to show you whether the matter has been carried out: / Burn cypress with the strip of papyrus and say: “[Isis,] holy maiden, give 15
me a sign of the things that are going to happen, reveal your holy veil, shake
your black [Tyche] and move the constellation of the bear, holy [IÖTHË] PNOUN
GMOËRMENDOUMBA⁷ great-named [IAKÖ] / PHTHOËRI, THERMOËR, PHTHAÖ,⁸ 20
great-named IOTHË [PHNOU]THOUËR BÖB HELIX, great-named IAKÖ.”

When you have said this and at the same time have opened your hands, the goddess will remove the [edge] of your hand from your breast. For you will see [a star being led] of necessity [to you], at which you are to look / [intently], as it flashes [a 25
picture] while rushing [toward you], so that you become stricken of God. [Wear the] above picture [for protection]. [For], in the name of [the goddess], it is a
[picture] of Kronos who encourages you. After you have received this sign, rejoice / at your [fortune] and say once: “CHAITHRAL.” For when you have said this, 30
she will cooperate with you [in whatever] you pray for. And immediately say these words, [lest] there occur a removal of the stars and your lucky day: “THA . . .
OUSIR⁹ PHNOUCH MELLANCHIÖ KERDÖ MELIBEU . . . KASP . . . NEBENTHTRIX
GARN . . . Ö THRAÖ SAU TRAIS TRAIS / BASYM; immediately, immediately, accom- 35
plish this, within this moment. Very glorious Pronoia,¹⁰ make the one who yesterday was [unlovable] beautiful [in the sight of all], make . . . [former]. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LVIII. 1–14

*. . . [Spell to bind . . . (?)]:¹ / Take a lamella [made of lead] . . . : “I say to you, 5
you who died prematurely and who were [called and taken] away by the wicked
[Typhon. Commanding you] is / the great god who has [dominion above and rules 10
over the lower [gods]. Take into custody this wicked [and impious] man,² because
this [is the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris]³ and who [ate⁴ the sacred
fish].⁵ Take into custody [him, NN, whom NN bore . . .].”⁶

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The exact purpose of this spell is not known, though it is clearly a type of curse.

6. On Isis with a myriad of names see PGM LIX. 13; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 22, p. 284, l. 9: *deae multinominis*; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53, 372E: *μυριώνυμος*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 502–3.

7. PNOUN GMOËR is equivalent to Egyptian, “Nun (the Abyss), great power.” [R.K.R.]

8. The sequence of PHTHOËRI . . . PHTHAÖ is equivalent to Egyptian *Pth wr* and *Pth ʿ3*, “Ptah the great.” [R.K.R.]

9. This is Osiris.

10. On the identification of Isis and Providence (Pronoia), see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 15, p. 277, l. 4; and on this see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 241–44, 323.

1. The full title is not preserved. The opening line may have read *κατά[δεδεσμος]*. Cf. Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.*

2. Or “such-and-such a wicked and impious man.” [R.D.K.]

3. The restoration is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188, reprinted in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 187. See on this point Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A, where the burning of the boat is not mentioned, however. See for further references Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40.

4. The filling of the lacuna is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188.

5. For sacred fish, see PGM V. 270–80, and J. F. Borghouts, “The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348,” *OMRM* 51 (1971): 26 (a similar sacrilege), and *Excursus III* 210–17. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 191–94, s.v. “Fische, heilige.” [R.K.R.]

6. Assuming the restoration in Preisendanz as correct. However, it seems more likely to restore the parallel phrase from above, “take into custody [this wicked and impious . . . man]. [R.D.K.]

PGM LVIII. 15–39

15/20 *... when the [moon] is full . . . , make an offering of incense . . . / . . . lick clean,
SITOU LAS EK . . . KŌS, . . . [*under*] *the middle of the chest*:

“IŌ ERBĒTH
IAKOUMBIA
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
/ IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
BASAOU M
KOCHLŌTA
TETOMĒ
BASSAOU M
/ PATATHNAX
OSES RŌ
IŌ IŌ PAKERBĒTH
KEACH, come
[I]O ABRASAX
/ (add the usual).

“[ABER]AMTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The translation differs from Preisendanz in ll. 20, 34, 35.

PGM LIX. 1–15

*“... Saioneis, whom [Sentaesis] bore. You, slave of the [glorious] god ABLANA-
THANALBA, you servant of the [good] god AKRAMMACHAMAREI, you, slave of
5 [IAEŌ] SABAŌ ABRASAX ADŌNAI, / you, servant of the [four] good [and] glorious
gods, ABERAMENTHOYLERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA AEMEINAEBAR-
RŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIEMEA ERĒKISTHHPHĒARARACHARARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE IA-
EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA-
10 BŌEAI, / you, the good and glorious gods, protect the mummy and the body and
all the grave of the younger Phtheious, who is also [called] Saioneis, whom Sen-
taesis bore . . . the everlasting [punishments given by] the Lady [Isis], / goddess of
15 many names.”¹

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LX. 1–5

*“OBPHŌCHONMPOUO

AIEROĒNIONO

IBOPHA

IKON”

*Reading: Morton Smith.

**PDM lxi. 1–30**

5 *... to Truth . . . before you / incense (?) . . . to the . . . your head . . . land
[col. 1, 5] . . . / look . . . above / these . . . Lady of the Flood (?) [. . . I]A IA OO . . . in truth
10 . . . and we come into . . . above after the . . . Teach me.¹ Show . . . Anubis of . . .
[I, 10] [Spirit of] Darkness . . . / Anubis . . . Anubis of the . . . Do not . . . Do not let
15 . . . know (?) . . . true manner [without a matter (?)] of falsehood . . . saying: “I am

1. For this epithet of Isis, see PGM LVII. 13 and n.

1. Restored [tun] eiaⁿ as a parallel to *tamo*. Both mean “to instruct.” See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 73b. For the restorations by R.K.R. here and in the notes below, see his forthcoming article, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* 1985.

[OR]THOBAUBO . . . my name . . . OOO is my name. My name in [truth (?) . . .] [I, 15]
 . . . May you be exalted. Work . . . Anubis of the horizon. Anubis . . . / Anubis of 20
 the son. Do not . . . twice. The great ruler. . . It is this god who . . . face of a [II, 5]
 donkey. This . . . come . . . to me from them (?) which are before you . . . which 25
 you. . . . [II, 10]

*Tr.: Robert K. Ritner, following the edition and translation in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. I/1–16 (original translation from plate; not previously read by the editors), and col. II/1–13. Sections titles in the Demotic texts are indicated only if they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM lxi. 30–41

* . . . which . . . / seven . . . dead . . . rue seven, bone of . . . wax (?) . . . seven 31
 . . . / . . . seven, mix them all. Recite all the spells of the vessel over them at dawn, [col. III,
 midday [and] night at the beginning of the month and eat (?) seven of them each 2]
 and every month. / You find his heart.² 36

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Sir Hubert Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. III. [III, 7]
 41
 [III, 12]

PDM lxi. 42

*“ . . . *you and those who are*. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson, in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/1. This fragmentary line may be part of the rubric of col. III (see Bell et al. p. 14, ad loc.). The fact that these words are written in red ink (in the original manuscript) suggests this is the title (or subtitle) of a new spell.

PDM lxi. 43–48 [PGM LXI. i–v (not in Preisendanz)]

* . . . *remedy* for [an] ulcer (?)³ of the head . . . : one mina (?); this is what is [to be 46
 spoken?] . . . of frankincense and [celandine? . . .] / of a male ass [together with (4)
 . . .], excellently, and add . . . a little, and smear it on the. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/2; and Roy Kotansky (Greek section), following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *ibid.*, ll. 3–7.

PDM lxi. 49–57

* . . . *head*: . . . [papyrus?], it being broken (?) in the place / . . . oil; you should 51
 utter the name of . . . while they are not dry; you should utter the spell (?) twice . . . [col. IV,
 one grain to the name of the . . . name of palm, persea, [and] cypress⁴ / mulberry, 10]
 laurel, black poplar, pine. . . . 56

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/8–16. The spell presumably describes another [IV, 15]
 remedy for the head.

PDM lxi. 58–62 [PGM LXI. vi.x (not in Preisendanz)]

**For an erection*: Woad plant [or corn flag?] grows in the oasis in abundance; it's both female and [male]. Boil these in a pot and grind them up [in wine with] pep-

2. Or “wish.”

3. As suggested by R.K.R.

4. Written in Demotic and Greek.

- 61 per; / smear it on [your] genitals. [If you wish it] to relax again, [provide] with the
 [col. IV, decoction. . . .
 19] *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto
 A (p. 22). For a similar spell, compare *PGM* VII. 184–85.

PDM lxi. 63–78

- *. . . *Har-Thoth*: You write on the [front of a] laurel leaf [and you light] a lamp on
 50 a table and you speak to the laurel opposite the lamp. Do not look at the lamp! You
 [col. V, 4] should come; you should lie down; you should place the laurel / under your head;
 and you should pray to Har-Thoth. He answers you in a dream. The front of the
 laurel leaf, write these [words] on it; you write it in ink of myrrh and wine:

The first: "THOYTHKH"

The second: "LABINOYTHKH."

The third: "PHRĒKH."

The fourth: "SALBANAKHA."

The fifth: "falcon."

The sixth: "ape."

The seventh: "ibis."



- 55 And say these words: "Come to me, Thoth, Eldest one, Eldest one . . . of Re,
 [V, 9] who went forth from Atum, who was born / in the form . . . from the limb of
 Atum! Come to me, Thoth, heart of Re, tongue⁵ of Tatenen,⁶ throat⁷ of the one
 whose name is hidden!⁸ Come to me, HEFKAE HEPKA HEBIKE NEKHE-P-KAI!
 60 Come to me, Lord of Truth, who loves Truth, / who reckons [lifetime?],⁹ who
 [V, 14] judges Truth, who does Truth!¹⁰ Come to me in your beautiful face in this good
 night and make answer to me concerning everything about which I am entreating
 here today, truly without falsehood therein! Come to me in your form of excellent
 one, in your [secret] image . . . ! Come to me and [tell me] an answer to every-
 thing, [truly,] without falsehood therein." [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock,
 and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. V, 1–5a/6.

PDM lxi. 79–94

- 80 *A way of finding a thief . . . : You bring a head of a drowned man; / you carry it
 [col. VI, to the fields; you bury it; you put flax seed over it until you gather the flax; you
 2] gather [it] upon it when it is high and alone; you [bring] the flax to the village;
 you¹¹ wash the head by itself in milk; you cover it; and you take it to the place
 which you wish.

- When you want to discover a thief, you should bring a small amount¹² of flax;
 you should utter a spell to it; you should say the name of the man twice, one by one
 85 (?) / you should make a knot and draw it together. If he is the one who stole it,¹³ he
 [VI, 7] speaks while you tie the knot.

5. As read by R.K.R.

6. A holy place in Memphis. See Bonnet, *RARG* 769–70.

7. As read by R.K.R.

8. A pun on Amoun/hidden.

9. As read by R.K.R.

10. For these epithets, see P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979 [reprint]),
 appendix B. [R.K.R.]

11. Actually written "they."

12. Translation by R.K.R.

13. Literally, "carried/lifted it."

The spells which you should recite: Formula: “To me belongs the word of Khu;¹⁴ to me belongs the word of Geb; to me belongs the word of . . . of Isis; to me belongs the word of this ibis, son of Thoth; Lo, all hail! Lo, all hail! I shall gather here today my sister SAMAL[A], saying, ‘I shall give them the words / of Geb which he gave to Isis when Shu (?) concealed them in the papyrus (swamp) of Buto, she bringing the small amount of flax in her hand, she forming it into a knot, she tying these forelegs (?)¹⁵ until he was revealed to Horus in the papyrus (swamp). I will bring this small amount of flax in my own hand, I making it into a knot until NN is revealed . . . the sound-eye. After (?) answering, he will lift (?)’” [It is] very good.

90
[VI, 12]



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/1–16.

PDM lxi. 95–99

***Spell of giving praise** [and] love in Nubian: “SYMYTH KESYTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LAT, son of (?) NAPH, son of (?) BAKHA.” Say these; put gum on your hand; and kiss your shoulder twice,¹⁶ and go before the man whom you desire.

95
[col. VII, 1]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/1–5.

PDM lxi. 100–105

***The red cloth** of Nephthys: “Pre arose; he sent forth the *Seket* boat¹⁷ of heaven; the water under the bark of Pre has dried up. The gods and the two crowns (of the south and the north) complain until NN is brought to NN. If not doing it is what will be done, the gods whose names I said will bend down so that they fall into the fire. . . . I am the one who said it; she will repeat it ‘Be destroyed, impious one!’ She is the one who said it; / she is the one who heard it [and] repeated it.” [It is] very good when he says it.

100
[col. VII, 6]
105
[VII, 11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/6–11.

PDM lxi. 106–11

***Prescription** for a donkey not moving: Rue, dung of falcon, dung of crocodile; you should apply it and you should anoint the ears or its nose or the nostril of its nose.

Formula: “He of the heart. . . . Horus [is] behind you; Geb is pursuing you, Isis being with them (?) . . . many hours. / The arrow of Horus¹⁸ will go into you in order to. . . .”

111
[col. VII, 16]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/12–16.

14. Name of the twenty-second decan. [R.K.R.]
15. That is the foreleg of Seth (as bull) when killed. [R.K.R.]
16. Translation by R.K.R.
17. The morning bark of the sun.
18. Translation by R.K.R.

PDM lxi. 112–27

*A prescription for making a [woman] love you: An image of Osiris [made] of wax—you should . . . , you bringing hair (?) and [wool] of a donkey together with a bone of a lizard. / You should [bury them under the] doorsill of her house.¹⁹ If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it . . . the image of Osiris with (?) ram's wool; you should put the lizard bone . . . ; / you should bury it again under the doorsill of her house; and you should recite . . . before Isis in the evening when the moon has risen. Listen before you bury. . . .

"O secret image of Osiris [made] of wax, O powerful one, O protection of . . . , O lord of praise, love, and respect, may you go to every house which so-and-so is [in and send so-and-so] to every house which so-and-so is in; the tips of her feet follow after his heels . . . / while her eyes are crying, while her heart longs (?) her . . . which she will do. O image of Osiris [made] of wax, if you will be stubborn [and not send so-and-so] after so-and-so, I shall go to the chest which . . . and I shall come . . . black, I shall gather it with a tooth . . . black, and I shall cause [Isis] to receive . . . after Osiris her husband and [brother . . .]. / Hail to you, O lord of time, the one whom I caused [. . .] who is in the House of the Obelisk.²⁰ Come [to me . . .]."²¹

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VIII/1–16.

PDM lxi. 128–47

*. . . You should cause a man to drink (?) . . . [tick] of a black dog in the right ear . . . [wool?]²¹ of the offspring of a black ram / . . . the face (?) of your foot on the day of immersing without blood; you should kill the tick. . . . When you finish you should sleep with the woman; [you should anoint] your phallus with it; you should wash it . . . ; you should cause her to drink; you should send the wool / . . . of olive; you should bind it to [your] right arm . . . ; [you] should cause the woman to drink . . . of the tongue of a bull . . . name . . . them in your matter / . . . your blood; you should . . . PHAMOYROYTH THTO . . . T . . . ; wash it in [sweet?] wine . . . to it / . . . to it. . . .

[v. i, 19] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. i/1–20.

PDM lxi. 148–58

151 *Here are their names:²² "ORNAI SORNIN . . . OZO RANAY SARZANA LAO / XOINAI
[v. col. ii, OOO NAI O MELOI NAI ERIANA E . . . ASNAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me."
4] Their (?) green ink: you should dye / . . . myrrh . . . ; you should burn them;
156 and you should pound them . . . of a child for drinking (?) burnt date[wine?].

[v. ii, 9] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. ii/1–12.

PDM lxi. 159–96**PGM LXI. 1–38**

*Commendable love charm: . . . take pure olive oil and a beet plant and olive branches; and take seven leaves and grind them all together and pour them into the

19. Cf. PDM xii. 55.

20. Cf. PDM xii. 34.

21. As suggested by R.K.R.

22. End of the line as read by R.K.R.

olive oil until they become like olive oil. / And put it into a jar, and go up onto a
housetop (or on the ground) facing the moon, and say the spell 7 times:

5

[A, 1,

148]

“You are the olive oil; you are not the olive oil²³ but the sweat of Good Daimon,
the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris, the favor of the
gods. / I release you against her, NN, the one NN bore. Aye,²⁴ serve me against her,
NN, before I bring the gods of compulsion against you, if you do not send her. For
otherwise I will break down iron doors²⁵ myself. No longer will I send you for these
things,²⁶ nor is there need of them, but I will send you for her, NN, whom NN
bore, so that, if she dismisses you, / you can seize her head.²⁷ Cause her to swoon.
Let her not know where she is. Become fire beneath her until she comes to me, so
that she may love me for all time; and may she not be able either to drink or eat,
until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time. I adjure you by the great
god / who is over the vault of heaven, ARBAIETH MOUTH NOUTH PHTHOTH
PHRE THOOUTH BREISON THOTH. Hear me, greatest god, on this very day (on this
night), so that you may inflame her heart, and let her love me because I have in my
possession the power of the great god, whose name it is impossible / for anyone to
speak, except me alone because I possess his power . . . EURIO MOI AEETHI EO E
PHOEUB PHTHA ACHE ANOU // ESI ENES . . . E THOUL PHIMOIOU. Hear me be-
cause of Necessity, for I have spoken your name because of her, NN, whom NN
bore, so that she may love me and do whatever I wish [and] so that she may forget
her father and mother, brothers, husband, / friend, so that, except for me alone, she
may forget them all.”

10

[A, 1,

153]

15

[A, 1,

158]

20

[A, 2,

165]

25

[A, 2,

170]

30

And whenever you perform this spell, have an iron ring with yourself, // on
which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus,²⁸ and his name is ABRASAX.

[A, 2,

175]

If, however, you should wish her to stop,²⁹ take a sun scarab and place it in the
middle of her / head and say to it: “Gulp down my love charm, image of Helios; he
himself orders you to do so.” And pick up the scarab // and release it alive. Then
take the ring and give it to her to wear, and immediately she will depart.

35

[A, 2,

180]

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PDM lxi. 197–216

PGM LXI. 39–71

***Love spell of attraction:** It attracts a woman who has been wronged by her hus-
band. / Take from the place where bodies are mummified a spotted lizard³⁰ which
lives around those places, and throw the same lizard into an iron vessel, and // take
coals from the forge whenever they light the fire and put them into the vessel with
the lizard; burn it up on the coals and while doing it say:

40

[B, 185]

23. For this formula, see *PGM* VII. 644–46.

24. For this affirmation (ἤ), see *PGM* IV. 2288, 2331.

25. That is, the iron doors of Hades. See Betz, *Lukian* 82.

26. Or οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτα σὲ πέμψω may mean “no longer will I send you on these missions.”
[E.N.O.]

27. See Antoninus Liberalis 6. 3 for a similar use of πιάζω in a similar action. [E.N.O.]

28. For Harpokrates sitting on the lotus flower, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; XII. 87.

29. The language of παῦσαι and ἀπαλλαγῆσεται (l. 38) contains two meanings: the vulgar and the dismissal from the spell. See H. J. Bell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson, “Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (1931): 235–88, pp. 271–72.
[E.N.O.]

30. On the role of the lizard in magic, see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.

45 “Lizard, lizard, / as Helios and all the gods have hated you,³¹ so let her, NN, hate
[B, 190] her husband for all time and // her husband hate her.”

Now when it has been completely cooked, keep the lizard ready for use and not touching the vessel.³² Pick up the vessel in which it was burned and approach the gateway itself / saying: “Lizard, lizard, let Helios and all men hate you because she,
50 [B, 195] NN, says that the mummy of the god // OSERONNŌPHRIOS PHAPRŌ OUSIRIS has been removed and devoured by you. Image of BIANDATHRĒ . . . image of TYPHON
55 SAKTIETĒ SOGGĒTH, image of ABRASAX ANAX[IBOA], / image of [IAŌ; do not let] her, NN, come through the gateway from whatever hour Helios brightens the earth for the whole time, as long as it also increases the River out of the River,³³
[B, 200] as // long as the wild fig tree grows” ([state the usual and whatever you] wish, and depart).

60 / [*Spell written*] on papyrus . . . with [blood] of Typhon,³⁴ which is . . . : “Come, father, whom the plow . . . IAKEMBRAŌTH . . . PHLOUDOUNTAS . . . /, [separate]
65 him, NN, from her, NN, . . . turbulence . . . OENAI SORNIN . . . ŌXŌ RANAU
70 SARXANA IAŌ LOINAI ŌŌŌ NAIŌ MELŌI NAI ERIANA / E SASTIAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXII. 1–24

*[Now let] this [lamp], not colored red, be hung. Light the lamp¹ with good oil [and] cedar oil.

“You are the fire that is unquenchable, that lies beside the great god, OSORNŌPHRI
5 OSOR[NŌPHRI];² in service to him when he was smitten with love for his own / sister Senephtys,³ you not only ran as much as sixty-six *schoeni*⁴ but you encircled as many as sixty-six mountains. In this way, too, serve me, NN, against her, NN. If
10 you do not, I will say the eight letters of Selene / which have been established in the heart of Helios. But if I am on the point of saying them and you have not set out on your way, I will go inside the seven gates around Dardaniel,⁵ and I will shake the
15 foundation of earth,⁶ and the 4 elements of the world will come together⁷ / so that nothing will be created from them. Dissolve into your own nature and mingle with the air, and go to her, NN, whom NN bore (add the usual) and attract her down to

31. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis 24. 3. [E.N.O.]

32. The sense is obscure because the text is uncertain. Hence the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

33. A reference to the Nile and its periodic overflow. [E.N.O.]

34. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see PGM IV. 2100 and n.

1. *λυχνίζω* occurs only here; *ἐνλυχνιάζω* is the regular verb. Cf. PGM I. 293; III. 585; IV. 1089; etc. [E.N.O.]

2. The repetition here, which is an Egyptian form of emphasis, has troubled Preisendanz. He omits one word and adds “(du bist es).” [E.N.O.]

3. Preisendanz takes this to be Isis-Nephthys, with reference to PGM XII. 235. [R.K.R.]

4. A measure of length which has no fixed value. Strabo (17. 1, 24) says that it varied from 30 to 120 stades (i.e., about 1,820–7,280 feet). [E.N.O.]

5. The name Dardaniel occurs only here. The city remains unidentified. The epithet *ἐπτάπυλος* (with seven gates) is usually associated with Thebes in Boiotia (see LSJ, s.v.), a city that plays a role in the sagas about the Trojan War. According to some traditions, Dardanos was the founder of Dardania (Troy); see Homer, *Il.* 20. 215–16. Whether there is a connection between these names is unclear. Cf. also PGM IV. 1716 and n.; IV. 2612; VII. 695.

6. On the threat to disrupt the cosmos, see PGM V. 284 and n.

7. The doctrine is similar to the creation myth in *C. H.* I. 17–19. See for further references Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 117–18. In the lines of the papyrus only three elements are named; water is omitted.

me with fire of the thunderbolt. I adjure you by the great god / lying in the
pure earth, beside whom the unquenchable fire forever lies, ATHOUIN ATHOUIN
ATHOUIN IATHAOUIN SIBELTHIOUTH LATĒT ATATĒT ADŌNE” (add the usual). 20

Protective spell: Wrap three peonies around your left arm and wear them.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

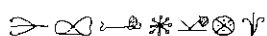
PGM LXII. 24–46

*“Come to me, god of the gods, the only one who appears from fire and wind,⁸ / you
who have truth on your head, who disperse the darkness, you the lord of the winds⁹
LŌTH MOULŌTH¹⁰ PNOUT EI¹¹ ESIŌTH, hail, lord LAMPSOURĒ IAAŌ IA . . . D.” 25

Say these things many times. If, while you are reciting, the apparition delays:
“Open up, open up, Olympos; open up, Hades; open up, Abyss. Let / the darkness
be dispelled by command of the highest god and let the holy light come forth from
the infinite into the abyss.” Whenever it still delays, cry out in this way and again
close the eyes of the boy: “Hail, holy light! Hail, eye of the world! Hail, brightness
of the dawn of the world,¹² ABRA Á Ó¹³ NA BABROUTHI BIE BARACHE, god. Come
in, lord, / and reveal to me about the things I request of you.” Then ask what you
wish. . . . 30

Dismissal: “I give thanks to you because you came in accordance with the com-
mand of god. I request that you keep me healthy, free from terror and free from
demonic attacks, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHE ADŌNAI. Return to your holy places.”

[Recite these things] over a saucer, in which you will pour 1 measure of good
olive oil, and will place it on a brick, / and will carve these characters on a magnet 40
that is [still] “breathing.”

These are the characters to be made: 

Fasten the stone to the left side of the saucer, on the outside, and having em-
braced it with two hands, recite as shown to you. Cast (sink) in the saucer (a good
dish) / the afterbirth of a dog called “white” which is born of a white dog. On the 45
boy’s chest write with myrrh: “KARBAŌTH.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 24–38) and J. Hershbelt (ll. 39–46).

PGM LXII. 47–51

*A means to learn from a die whether a man is alive or has died, for example:
Make the inquirer throw this die in the [above] bowl. Let him fill this with water.
Add to the [cast of the] die 612, which is [the numerical value of]¹⁴ the name
of / god, i.e., “Zeus,” and subtract from the sum 353, which is [the numerical value
of] “Hermes.” If then the number [remaining] be found divisible by two, he lives; 50
if not, death has [him].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXII. 52–75

* (Year) 2 (of) Antoninus . . . 6th of Mecheir to the 7th; 6th hour of the night. / Sat- 55

8. Or “from fire and spirit.”

9. Or “lord of the spirits.”

10. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 534: “I am Lot Mulot.”

11. PNOUTEI is Egyptian ꜥꜣ ntr, “the god.” [R.K.R.]

12. “Hail, holy light . . . dawn on the world” is written in the margin of the papyrus in seven parts
next to ll. 34–39. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

13. The text has ABRA A/ O/ NA . . . It may indicate abbreviations for ABRASAX, ADŌNAI.

14. Greek letters also served as numbers, so each word had a numerical value, the sum of the numbers
signified by the letters composing it. [M.S.]

urn, horoscope in Scorpio; Jupiter, (sun) in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; Venus, (moon), Mercury in Capricorn.

60 (Year) 2 of the same (reign): / Jupiter, (sun), [Mercury] in Aquarius; Mars in
65 Aries; / Venus horoscope, Mercury in Capricorn; moon in Gemini.

70 [Didymos.] Saturn in Libra; Jupiter, (moon), in Capricorn; Venus in Aries; /
(sun) in Taurus; Mercury, Mars in Gemini; horoscope in Leo.

Dionysia. (Year?) 1 (of) Philip; 8th of Epeiph; 2nd hour of the day: Saturn,
75 Mars [in Virgo]; Jupiter, Venus in Taurus; / Mercury [in Gemini, horoscope?],
(sun?) in Cancer, [moon in Libra].

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This horoscope appears on the verso, col. i of the Warren Magical Papyrus (PGM LXII) but is not included in Preisendanz's edition.

PGM LXII. 76–106

*"AR . . .

PHNOON PHEIOUOÛ ERMĒ THŌAR . . . IBARAREOUBEO . . . EA ALAŌ

ARIOUATHŌRMENERTIOUMAI SI

RIOUATHŌRMENERTIOUMAI SI

80

I

EN"

(in this manner, shaped like a heart).

"BARDĒTEIS

GARIS

85 BYX . . .

TAPH . . . Y

MAN . . .

[APH]ROŌL

. . . O . . . REN

90

BARNARAX

BR . . . NŌREI

BRAIŌCHIŌ

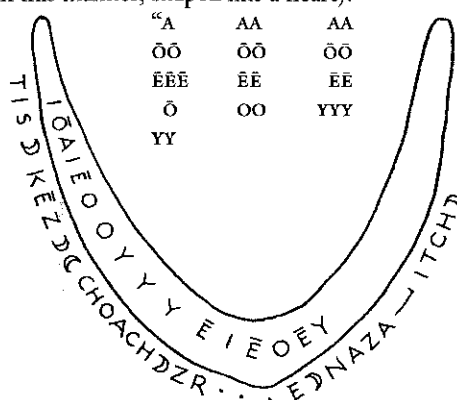
ANI . . .

SISIŌ . . .

KLYGAK . . .

95

SIBYL . . ."



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SIBIBITH

TIŌŌX

ABRAUATH

DARYGKŌ

KASBE

ATHRAMO

ORKIE . . . R.

ORŌPOS . . .

THNAAPŌ . . .

ER . . . ŌR . . ."

"AEĒIOYŌ

EĒIOYŌ

ĒIOYŌ

IOYŌ

OYŌ

YŌ

100

Ō."

105 "Let the genitals and the womb of her, NN, be open, and let her become bloody
by night and day." And [these things must be written] in sheep's blood, and recite
before nightfall, the offerings / (?) . . . first she harmed . . . , and bury it near
sumac, or near . . . on a slip of papyrus.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 1–7

*. . . pour two quarts of salt and honey wine, thus making a drink. / And say the 5

seven letters of magicians.¹

The seven letters are: [A E Ē I O Y Ō].

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This papyrus is severely damaged, and little remains. Of necessity, the translation is tentative in several places.

PGM LXIII. 7–12

*[For a sleeping woman] to confess the name of the man she loves: Place a bird’s / [tongue] under her lip or on her heart and put your question, and she calls the name three times. 10

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXIII. 13–20

*[Put in a new basket] a peppercorn and depart, leaving / the basket behind. Many a flask . . . SARA . . . TĒ TE . . . a [useful tablet] . . . R . . . R . . . SM . . . ELA . . . 15

YO . . . ĒS. ISN / . . . ĒN MEL . . . ERĒSA. 20

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. The text is too mutilated to yield any sense in this short spell.

PGM LXIII. 21–24

Find a [spotted lizard],² pick it up with a new³ piece of papyrus, [write] the characters on it, and then place it under the table: 𐤀𐤋𐤅𐤍𐤏

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. A recipe of uncertain purpose.

PGM LXIII. 24–25

*A contraceptive: Pick up a bean⁴ / that has a small bug in it, and attach it as an amulet. 25

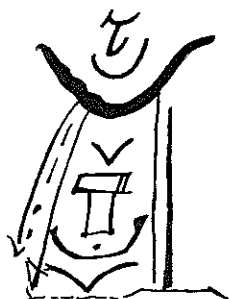
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 26–28

*A contraceptive: Take a pierced bean and attach it as an amulet after tying it up in a piece of mule hide.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIV. 1–12



*“Strike ill, attract, send [a dream]. I call upon you by your / sacred names, PSINA PSINA KRA- 5
DIDA PSIŌMOIPS. . . [Make her] writhe at my / feet¹ for a short time [?].”² 10

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. μάγων is Hopfner’s logical emendation for the ματων of the papyrus. The seven vowels occur often enough to make them the logical “seven letters of the magicians.” [E.N.O.]

2. On the role of the lizard in magic see PGM VII. 628 and n.

3. Preisendanz restores the mutilated word here as καινού (cf. also PGM XXIIa. 14), but καθαροῦ is also possible because of the parallels (see PGM VII. 193, 703; XXXVI. 72, 102).

4. Cf. PGM IV. 769, 941.

1. Reading προκυλίνδομαι. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

2. Reading ἀ[καριαίω]. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

PGM LXV. 1–4

*To [prevent pregnancy]: “. . . OCHTHIA, protect from the archetypal daimon¹ ☿ [of pregnancy].”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The recto of this papyrus contains fragmentary portions of household recipes. The verso, given here and in the spell to follow, gives portions of two magico-medical recipes.

PGM LXV. 4–7

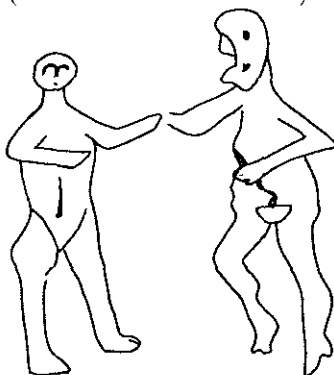
5 *For migraine headache:² ✱ ✱ ✱ / . . . I . . . NA . . . TA . . .”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXVI. 1–11

*“CHAÖR
CHTHÖR
CHARARBA
CHOLBAS
5 CHTHRYTHYR
CHORBATH
CHTHAMNÖ
CHTHODYCHRA
10 CHYCHCHYCH

(“CHOAR”¹ to the bottom)



“I conjure you by the great names: throw Philoxenos the harpist into strife with his friend Gennadios. Throw Pelagios the elder into strife with Philoxenos the harpist.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LXVII. 1–24

*. . . The speaker of [the] spell for those dead and those alive [must write]: “AGE
. . . AOUMA . . . EB . . . THNOBAMA . . . BABOUA . . . EU DALANALAD . . . ALKOUMI
5 . . . OUTIZTAI AAAA IIIII EOYA BOUBITHA . . . CHANACH SANMACHANA / and
KECHNOU BOUZA SANMACHANA . . . SAMMACHARA SPHAMBĒS EPOKR . . . ACHTH
KAT ETA BAI KARKOPTŌ KOPTŌ KARBAR . . . AĒA PTOKOPTO KARABARBAROUTA
10 THATH . . . CHRENPSENTHAĒS BERBAL IŌ PARP . . . RPAR, I adjure you by [the
holy name of the] daimon of ĒIOY [SOU] / ŌOUS BARBARATHAM of [ADONAIŌS,
the god] SABAŌTH [ABRASAX] . . . PSE . . . TA [PHONOBOUBOĒL] [of chthonic
Hermes-Thouoth, arch-subduer, PHŌKENSEPSEU AREEKTATHOU MIS[ONKTAI . . .
ĒI IAŌ] ĒŌĒŌ KA . . . ĒŌIŌ ŌIŌĒ [SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ERĒKISITHPHE]
15 ARARACHARARA [ĒPHTHISIKĒRE / IABEZEBYTH] IAŌ . . . SAM . . . [ERĒKISI-
PHTHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE . . . ĒI IAŌ [ĒŌĒ]Ō KA. By this oath I
20 adjure [you, who . . . and] the one who has been sworn . . . remaining / [. . . of
those who have died] in an [untimely] death . . . [. . . her, NN, whom] NN [bore],
. . . [him, NN, whom] NN bore . . . has spoken. . . .”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This papyrus is made up of five separate pieces. Preisendanz has printed basically the text of L. Kocnen published in *ZPE* 8 (1971):199ff. and has omitted a translation.

1. So the rendering in LSJ, s.v. “ἀντροδαίμων,” with reference to Plotinus, *Enn.* 3. 5. 6.

2. Cf. *PGM* VII. 199–201.

1. Either the *voces magicae* are to be read first or CHOAR is to be read before each word in col. 2.

PGM LXVIII. 1–20

*“As Typhon is the [adversary] of [Helios, so] also inflame [the soul] of Eutyches whom Zosime¹ / [bore], for her, [Eriea] whom [Ercheelio] bore; ABRASAX, inflame the soul and heart of him, Eutyches for him / Eutyches whom Zosime bore, now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour and on this same day. ADŌNAI, inflame the soul / and heart of Eutyches, for her Eriea [whom Ercheelio bore], now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour / and on this same day.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXIX. 1–3

*“PHNOUNEBEĒ (2 times), give me your strength, IŌ ABRASAX, give me your strength, for I am ABRASAX.” Say it 7 times while holding your two thumbs.¹

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM LXX. 1–4

*[This] name [is] a *favor charm*, a *charm to dissolve a spell*, a *phylactery*, and a *victory charm*: “AA EMPTŌKOM BASYM,¹ protect me.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. On this charm and others of this papyrus, see the note on PGM LXX. 4–25, below. Ll. 1–3 may contain the end of a spell now lost, or they may represent a complete spell.

PGM LXX. 4–25

***Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear² of punishment:** / If he comes forth,³ say to him: “I am Ereschigal, the one holding her thumbs,⁴ and not even one evil can befall her.”

If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel⁵ and recite the following:⁶ “Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, / serpent, wreath, key, herald’s wand, golden sandal of the Lady of Tartaros.” And you will avert him.

“ASKEI KATASKEI ERŌN OREŌN IŌR MEGA SAMNYĒR BAUI⁷ (3 times) PHOBANTIA SEMNĒ,⁸ I have been initiated, and I went down into the [underground] chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw / the other things down below, virgin, bitch, and all the rest.” Say it at the crossroad,⁹ and turn around and flee, because it is at those places that she appears. Saying it late at night, about what you wish, it will reveal it in your sleep; and if you are led away to death, say it while scattering seeds of sesame, and it will save you.

/ “PHORBA PHORBA BRIMŌ AZZIEBYA.” Take bran of first quality and sandalwood and vinegar of the sharpest sort and mold a cake. And write the name of so-and-so upon it, and inscribe it in such a way that you speak over it into the light the

1. The names seem confused here and should be corrected in accordance with ll. 16–17.

1. On this magical gesture, see PGM LXX. 6 and n.

1. For an explanation of this name, see PGM IV. 1377 and n.

2. The fear refers to punishment in the underworld.

3. This refers to a threatening approach by a punishment daimon.

4. For this magical gesture, see PGM IV. 2329; XXXVI. 163; LXIX. 3. See Betz, “Fragments,” 290, n. 14.

5. Another magical gesture, for which see PGM IV. 1054 and Betz, “Fragments,” 291, n. 18.

6. For this peculiar list of signs, see PGM IV. 2334–38; VII. 833; and Betz, “Fragments,” 291, nn. 20 and 21.

7. The Greek has BAUI, perhaps referring to the dog’s bark. Cf. PGM IV. 1911; XXXVI. 156. [W.B.]

8. This formula is usually called *Ephesia grammata*, or in PGM VII. 451 “the Orphic formula.” See Betz, “Fragments,” 291–92 with notes.

9. These instructions refer again to underworld experiences. See Betz, “Fragments,” 293–94.

name of Hekate, and this: “Take away his sleep from such-and-such a person,”
 25 and / he will be sleepless and worried.

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. Important in this spell are what appear to be liturgical remnants from the mystery cult of the Idaean Dactyls. For a more detailed commentary, see H. D. Betz, “Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus,” *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

PGM LXX. 26–51

*Against fear and to dissolve spells: Speak through [two] knives [sounding loudly] this formula; but [against] evil animals it does not work [compellingly], for
 30 . . . you . . . over the . . . [speak] . . . : “. . . E . . . PHATE . . . CHNON A . . . / GE
 35 . . . OIPS . . . SĒ . . . PSO . . . SIL . . . / MO . . . and . . . CHIL . . . PER . . . PAN
 40/45 . . . / CHIO . . . CHO . . . AB . . . POI . . . TOS . . . / IEO . . . DOI . . . ÊNE, so that
 50 (?) CHY . . . / ERE . . . TOU . . . ”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. See note to *PGM* LXX. 4–25. In this spell, the sense of ll. 30ff. cannot be recovered, though the text probably contained the invocation.

PGM LXXI. 1–8

*A phylactery: “Great [god] in heaven revolving the world, the true god, ΙΑΘ!
 5 Lord, ruler of all, ABLANATHANALBA, grant, grant me this favor, / let me have the name of the great god in this phylactery, and protect, from every evil thing, me whom NN bore, [NN] begot.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXXII. 1–36

*[Rite concerning the Bear: Prepare] an earthen [censer, and] during the 6th hour of the night [offer to the Bear] moss of a savin [in it. Do it before] three
 5 days / [after you called on] the Bear nine times from a high roof. Write [on a piece of papyrus] with a mixture of ink and myrrh [concerning everything] which you want, [add] the name, “NEB/[OUTOSOUALĒTH]” and [show] both the strip of papyrus [and] what is written on [it to the goddess . . .] within [one hour. Speak
 10 with your hands] folded / on your head, [praying in a loud voice to the Bear: “Hail,] O queen of mortals [and of gods. Hail,] heavenly ruler, [queen] of men.
 15 Depart¹ . . . / I beseech you. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell, a cryptogram from the same source as *PGM* LVII, is edited and commented upon by S. Eitrem, *Mélanges Maspéro* 2, 113–17; see also Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses*, vol. III (Oslo: Dybwad, 1936) 38–40, no. 75.

PGM LXXVII. 1–24

*If you wish to receive a revelation concerning whatever you wish, say this formula to yourself, saying nothing aloud: / “I call upon you, who are seated in the middle
 5 of a field,¹ you who with power direct the universe, at whom the daimons tremble, whom the mountains dread, / whom angels fall down to worship, whom the sun and moon fall down to worship, you who have heaven for your throne, ether
 10 as a place for your dancing place, and earth as your footstool, IOU IOU / APHARA . . . THOMARA ARABRŌ . . . IOU IOU. Holy, [holy,] boundless, boundless, star-organizer, [fire-breathing, SANTHĒNŌR, gold]-/sandaed [god], reveal.” And without causing fear or trembling he will, clearly and soberly, reveal concerning the NN thing. Do this while you are pure, and burn frankincense at the place.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

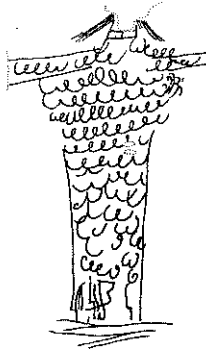
1. Text and translation are uncertain at this point. Preisendanz translates differently.

1. See on this point the parallels in *PGM* IV. 3023; XIV. 8.

PGM LXXVIII. 1–14

*[For any place], either home or workshop. [It attracts a woman] to a man. The same one [makes them steadfast] and faithful: Take a leaf [of lead] and with a nail write the figure¹ while saying [the name / that follows and]: “I shall burn up the house and the [soul of him, NN, to] cause desire for her, NN, whom NN bore, whom NN bore,² as Typhon did [not] allow Osiris to find sleep. For I am [master of] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUN[KENTABAŌTH / OREOBA]ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN [PYRIPE]GANYX. Fulfill this for me, all-brightener, august light-bringer [of gods and daimons].”

Name of the all-[powerful] god: IAŌ IAŌ IAŌ.



*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. For notes on the text, see also F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II,” *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 371–74.

PGM LXXIX. 1–7

***Charm to restrain anger**, which is to be spoken three times: “I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAËL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH.¹ Restrain the anger and / wrath [of him, NN] toward me, NN, [with] the authority of the great god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as in PGM LXXX., but by another scribe and in better condition.

PGM LXXX. 1–5

***Charm to restrain anger**, [which is to be spoken] three times: “I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAËL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH. Restrain the anger and wrath of him, NN, toward me, NN, with the authority of the great / god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as PGM LXXIX. 1–7.

PGM LXXXI. 1–10

*“Hail, Helios! Hail SAPEIPHNEP! Hail, savior! Hail, ABRASAX! / Hail, PETKĒIERCHENEIN KAMTĒROU. Hail, ÊLOUAI. Hail, ELOUEIN. Hail, PETAIPINAKSNEUEI . . . XA . . . PETENTAETKĒPKEIEICHIN DONAIROUBI OPIANOS OPIANOS BASI[L]ISKOS / TIARKAMIKEINTEU.” Pronouncement of the name.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. According to Preisendanz (ad loc.), this list of greetings was supposed to give protection, perhaps protection for a house—an interpretation he derives from his reading of the other side of the papyrus, “defense for a house.”

1. The figure is given below, following the spell. See Preisendanz, vol. II, plate IV, figure 2. For a collection of images of Artemis *multimammaea*, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesus und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, EPRO 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

2. The apparent duplication is in the papyrus.

1. The *voces magicae* are Coptic, written in Greek letters.

PGM LXXXII. 1–12

*. . . divide¹ . . . glue it together² . . . [the lamellae,] that is, much . . . having determined, to water . . . / weave the roots³ [from all the trees] . . . having separated, with the rain waters . . . having determined . . . from one another, / having measured out the evergreen [plants] . . . fire from the . . . and anoint the cups. . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. Manteuffel, *Papyri Varsovienses* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1935) no. 4: Fragmentum libri magici, 6–7. All that can be said of this fragmentary text is that it seems to have preserved a section of a magical textbook dealing with the making of a certain ingredient.

PGM LXXXIII. 1–20

*For [fever with shivering fits]:¹ “GÔBA . . . S . . . MÔ . . . NOUSÊA . . . EIEGE . . . OSARK . . . AUSE fever with shivering fits, / I conjure you, MICHAËL, archangel of the earth; [whether] it is daily or nightly / or quartan fever; I conjure you, the Almighty SABAÔTH, that it no longer touch the soul of the one who carries [this], nor [touch] his whole body; also the dead, deliver, . . . the distress IDOT . . . YGRSBÔNÔE. . . / ”

“He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall abide in the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say of God, ‘thou art my refuge and my help; I will put my trust in him.’”²

“Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy will; / our daily bread.”³

“Holy, holy is the Lord SABAÔTH, heaven is full of justice, holy is the one of glory.”⁴

“ANIAADA . . . IA, MIGAËL⁵ of lords, Abraham Isaac Jacob ELÔEI ELÔE Solomon(?) / SABAÔTH ÔËL. . . ”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of E. H. Kase, Jr., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 107: Gnostic Fever Amulet, 102–3. This fever amulet is of special interest because it cites several biblical verses. Despite the writer’s use of these citations, the character of the spell shows it is syncretistic rather than distinctively Christian. In fact, the incoherent manner by which the verses are quoted suggests that the writer was ignorant of their context and meaning.

PGM LXXXIV. 1–21

*“ . . . KOACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPSACHE
KOACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPSACH
OACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPSA
ACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPS
CHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTH
AMIPHÔNCHÔÔ
MIRPHÔNCHÔ
IPHÔNCH
PHÔN
Ô.”

[magical symbols, about ten in number]

1. In accordance with our standard translation of the aorist participle λάβων, these participles are rendered as imperatives.

2. Or συνπεριπήγνυμι may mean “make to congeal around together.” The word is apparently attested nowhere else in Greek literature.

3. For the use of roots in magic, cf. PGM XXIIa. 6; XII. 103, 397, 659, etc.

1. As the editor points out, the reading of the text at this point is far from certain.

2. This is a quotation of LXX Ps 90:1–2, with some peculiar variations.

3. This is a somewhat confused quotation of the Lord’s Prayer, Mt 6:9–11. The papyrus may read “your father.”

4. Apparently this is an allusion to LXX Is 6:3.

5. Read “Michael.”

“Fetch Ptolemais whom Helen bore, for Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore. / In- 15
 flame her liver and spirit and heart and soul until she leaps up and comes, that is,
 Ptolemais whom / Helena bore, to Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore; immediately, 20
 quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Edmund Harris Kase, Jr., *Papyri in Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 76: Erotic Incantation, 73–74.

PGM LXXXV. 1–6

*“... let him marvel, all THAE... drive away, make the daimons (?).¹...”

Let the one who has written [this] be glad, and the haunts [of spirits]²... he knows not, but beautifully a picture (?).³... /

Another:

5

[*Another*]:

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. Enoch Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) no. 56: Magical Spells, p. 38. This text is taken from three tiny fragments which date to the first or second century A.D. Although the text is quite fragmentary, its early date makes it important. Furthermore, the recurring expression “another [spell],” shows that we are dealing with a collection from a magical handbook.

PGM LXXXVI. 1–2

*“Protect him, NN, whom [she, NN bore].” Attach [this] as an amulet around the neck.¹

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*, II (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1940) no. 89: Formulaire magique, 32–33. This tiny fragment preserves portions of two spells; the first contains instructions for making a simple amulet. The second preserves the beginning of a magical procedure of an uncertain nature.

PGM LXXXVI. 3–7

*At sunrise,² on the 10th day of the month of Didymon... the next day, during the ninth hour, write... / of a female goat... XEONTA... DONO... ZOU... 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky; see the note on PGM LXXXVI. 1–2, above.

PGM LXXXVII. 1–11

*“SAMOUSOU SOUMA SOUMĒ SOUMĒIA MEISOUAT... SROUAT, my lord, ROUAT... [deliver ?] John from the shivering fit and fever that has (him); [cleanses?] the daily fever from this (?) shivering (?)... / [all] the headache, daily fevers, nightly, 5
 quartan, semitertian, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly... TA. ĒMŌNO... ARA the angel;... [deliver?] John from every shivering fit and fever, from this very day, from the present [hour throughout] / his entire lifetime; [grant him heal- 10
 ing?], immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the new reading of F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci. (III.),” *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 235–40 (tav. XXVI),

1. Reading *δαιμόνια* instead of *δαιμονιε*.

2. Reading *τὰ ἡμέρα... πνεύματων*

3. Reading *γράμμα*, “picture,” “character,” in the sequence *γραμμοσ*...

1. For similar instructions, cf. PGM VII. 198, 208; XIII. 669.

2. The editor restores the first letters of this word. Performing a magical ritual on a specified day is common in the PGM; see, e.g., PGM VII. 155–67; XIII. 15, 349, 1037.

PGM XCI. 1–14

*“ABLANATHANALBA
BLANATHANALB
[LA]NATHANAL
ANATHANA
NATHAN
ATHA
TH.

5

“Melt (?) . . . [NN], whom NN bore . . . / who has . . . the daily . . . reaching 10
out this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of D. S. Crawford, *Papyri Michaelidae* (Aberdeen: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1955) no. 27: Magical Charm, 49–50. The editor suggests that this fragment is a curse or a love charm; however, the mention of “daily” in l. 11, as well as “who has” in l. 10 (a typical description in the PGM for an affliction) suggests it is a fever amulet.

PGM XCII. 1–16

**Your great name, for¹ favor*: “Everyone fears your great might. Grant me the 5
good things:² the strength of AKRYSKYLOS,³ / the speech of EUŌNOS, the eyes of 5
Solomon,⁴ the voice of ABRASAX, the grace of ADŌNIOS, the god.⁵ Come to me, 10
Kypri, / every day.⁶ The hidden name bestowed to you(?) [is this]: THOATHO- 10
ĒTHATHOOTHATHĒTHOUSTHOATHITHĒTHOINTHŌ; grant me victory, / repute, 15
beauty toward all men and all women.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, and J. W. B. Barns, eds., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., II* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), no. 58: Magical Charm, 22–24 (pl. VII).

PGM XCIII. 1–6

*. . . [sacrifice and] . . . bury¹ . . . the same all [around?] . . . ; pour blood into a 5
vessel . . . / and on the outside besprinkle² . . . to Hekate. . . . [i, 5]
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliaceus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 65: Magical Prescriptions (?), 45–47 (pl. III, i). The ascription of this fragment of a parchment leaf to a Greco-

1. The editors suggest the first three letters are a magical name, EIE. L. I, they admit, makes little sense regardless of what is read; however, the photograph of the papyrus shows that one might read the preposition *eis*, “for, unto.” The sentence thus seems clearer, although the reading and translation remain tentative.

2. The language and remper of this charm show that this spell is one used to acquire favor and victory. Cf. for example PGM XII. 397–400 etc.

3. The following list of names whose powers the client is requesting suggests that each person named is recognized for his special attribute. Thus, Akryskylos is recognized for his strength, Euōnos for his speech, and so on. Neither Akryskylos nor Euōnos (*sic* for Euō[nym]os? [so the editors]) can be identified; however, each of the following personalities is recognizable. Cf. PGM VII. 1017–26.

4. Or, possibly, “the glances of Solomon,” according to the editors. Although Solomon was a popular magical figure, the mention of his “eyes” is not common. Consult the note in the original cited above, p. 23, n. 6. On the other hand, cf. the *αὐγή* that illumines Solomon’s mind in the *Test. Sol.*, Rec. C, Prologus, 2 (McCown, *Testament* 76).

5. Adonis is here rendered by the variant spelling Adōnios. Adonis is often associated with Kypri, a popular name for Aphrodite.

6. Or, if accusative of duration, “for the whole day,” that is, presumably for the duration of each day which the person wears the charm.

1. The command to bury something occurs in PGM IV. 2215; XII. 100, where an inscribed tablet and an egg are referred to. The context here, however, gives no hint of what is to be buried.

2. On sprinkling dove’s blood to dismiss a deity, see PGM II. 177.

Egyptian magical handbook is fairly certain. Although the two sides contain no *vores magicae*, and thus we may have a simple manual of sacrificial procedures, the presence of the name Hekate in l. 6 (side 1) suggests a magical text. Also, in the margin of l. 7 the number 43 occurs, which the editor describes as a numbering of the magical procedures.

PGM XCIII. 7–21

- 10 *43 . . . and whatever you wish³ . . . blind, on . . . / stomach (?) . . . a cock [which
[i, 10] is alive] . . . ; bring it and set it on the . . . the piglet⁴ and the / . . . carrying, out-
15 side of many (?) . . . the house; . . . and offer this . . . nine women . . . in front of
[ii, 15] the doors . . . / [it is] believed (?). . . .
20
[ii, 20]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus (see introductory note on previous spell), 46, side i, ll. 7–10; side ii, ll. 11–21. The procedure described here is of an uncertain purpose. The spell after l. 10 (side ii) may be independent of the preceding lines.

PGM XCIV. 1–6

- *“ . . . YNYEL . . . STOUU . . . M . . . SEGEIR . . . Y . . . Y ERBĒTH . . . E . . . OUCHI.”¹
5 *Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight: / KA . . . AL . . . 2 drams.*

Use a dram of boar skin which has been dried in the sun.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 66: Magico-Medical Prescriptions, 47–49. The papyrus begins with the fragments of an invocation of unknown purpose. The prescriptions are separated by paragraph marks.

PGM XCIV. 7–9

**For excellent health*:² Write on an amulet: “ABRAŌ . . . ARŌN BARA BAR . . . A . . . Ō.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 10–16

- 10 **A phylactery for [fever]*: . . . RARA . . . leather . . . seven days . . . [and] wear
15 / . . .” ⊗ ⊗ Z S . . . S . . . ⊗ ⊗ . . . Z X . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 17–21

- 20 **For those possessed by daimons*: “. . . T . . . Y . . . depart . . . YR . . .” The things prescribed below . . . / “ATR . . . Y SOLŌMŌN . . . is washed. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 22–26

**For the eyes*: Make a gothic (?) [figure]³ and carve [on it the] following: one who

3. References to stating one's wish are regularly found throughout the PGM. For very similar wording, cf. PGM IV. 1907.

4. As the editor points out, the cock and the pig probably serve as sacrificial animals. For the use of a cock in magical sacrifices, see PGM IV. 237; XII. 312; XIII. 377, 437–38, and so on. Pigs are found less often as sacrificial animals in the PGM.

1. As the editors suggest, these lines may have consisted entirely of magical words. In the sequence ERBĒTH can be read.

2. Or “easy healing.” The word is a hapax legomenon, as the editors point out.

3. Following the interpretation of the editors.

[holds (?) with the left] / hand, in the middle . . . : “CHACH. . . .”

25

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6. The instructions seem to describe the manufacturing of a *figura magica*.

PGM XCIV. 27–35

*[For] tumors [and] . . . : . . . [the] following . . . / [write] on a leaf [the] following things and boil . . . the leaf . . . “⊗⊗ BB⊗⊗ . . . ΖϞϞ, flesh (?). . . .”

30

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 36–38

*[For . . .] and strangury: [write on a] tin lamella [the following]: “MARŌTHA . . . M. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 39–60

*Another, for migraine headache:

/ “ . . . IYIŌ
. . . YAŌŌ
. . . ŌYOŌ
. . . OY.”

40

It delivers (?). And this is Neros’ (?) ⁴ formula:

/ “OURBEDERAIS OUROURBEDERAIS OUROUROBEDERAIS EISTHES ABRASA
ELECH BELLENOURE OUNOURE BAPHAMĒCH, to you I speak, pounding head-
ache: don’t throb, don’t rage, / don’t shake the teeth, don’t produce mucus, don’t
produce a ‘black-out’, don’t stir up convulsions. For if there is throbbing, raging,
shaking of teeth, producings of mucus, producings of a ‘black-out,’ / or stirrings of
a convulsion . . . BŌ . . . G . . . A . . . Χ . . . CH . . . / . . . A”

45

50

55

60

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XCV. 1–6

*. . . on the left sole of one foot,¹ near (?) . . . having subjected . . . [upon?] . . .
and there will a be reward for the. . . . Take the skin of a mouse . . . / and have in
the workshop, beneath. . . .

5

[col. i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, III (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1967) no. 140: *Magico-Medical Prescriptions*, 71, Fr. (a). This portion of the formulary describes the engraving of parts of a figure, perhaps a magical doll for the purpose of subjugating someone. The description of the mouse skin either begins a new spell or introduces part of a procedure belonging to the previous charm.

PGM XCV. 7–13

*Concerning the mole[-rat]: ² one (?) mole-rat that is alive . . . a remedy (?) for (?)

4. Reading perhaps a proper name here; however, the editors note that *νηρὸν* may be “fresh (water)” (cf. modern Greek *νερό*), in which case the spell is to be recited over it.

1. The prescription is describing what to engrave on a waxen or clay figure such as we find in PGM IV. 296–335, 2373–2440; and VII. 927. These references describe the function of the left sole of the foot (along with other parts of the body) in a specified magical procedure. PGM VII. 927 (a charm to subject someone) commands one to place a tablet under the left sole of the foot. The mention of subjection in the spell above suggests that we have here a “charm to subject” (*hypotaktikon*).

2. The editors point out that the blind-rat or mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*) may possibly be used as the remedy for the epilepsy.

10 epilepsy (?)³ . . . / on the first of the month . . . [altar?]. . . .

[col. ii, 4]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous spell) 71, col. ii. The editors identify this spell as a prescription for the “sacred disease.” The spell, we should note, comes under a heading apparently arranged according to the magical virtues of the animal. Such arrangements are typical for a number of magico-medical prescriptions, in which case this section would enumerate the medicinal or magical values of the blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*).

PGM XCV. 14–18

15 * . . . *This will be a remedy for you for all cases* of . . . : / . . . ATHOU, given thrice,
[(b), 2] in the month it delivers, in the same manner both those afflicted by epileptic seizures and by . . . thus by our returning thanks . . . *those affected by lung disease*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous papyrus) 71, fr. (b). The formulary at this point seems to provide a remedy for epilepsy. The beginning of a new remedy seems to be given at the end.

PGM XCVI. 1–8

5 * “. . . AS (7 times) MELI XARO ÔRO AAAAAAA BAINCHÔÔÔCH MAI ÊEI / LĒNA-GKOLI, protect him who carries [this amulet].”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised text of R. W. Daniel, “Some PHYLAKTĒRIA,” *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53 (text two). The text was originally published by J. O’Callaghan in *Chronique d’Égypte* 43 (1968): 111–13, and subsequently commented upon by M. Vandoni in *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti* 102 (1968): 532–34 and again by J. O’Callaghan in *Studia Papyrologica* 8 (1969): 115–18. It is recognized that the text is a version of ll. 7–8 of *P. Oslo* I.5 (= PGM 3); however, whereas PGM 3 is Christian, this one is not. This text, moreover, is virtually complete, save for the slightly cut-away edges which suggest the papyrus was inserted in a case to be worn as an amulet.

PGM XCVII. 1–6

* . . . [wrap it up in purple] cloth. . . .

5 [Another:] Cut out the right [eye] of a lizard and / [enclose it] in [goat skin]; attach it to [your] left [eye].

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 109–11. Extant are only a few remnants of two columns, the first of which is too fragmentary to translate here. The individual spells in this collection of recipes are divided by *paragraphi*. Wortmann thinks the spell is against eye disease because the lizard is often used to that effect in magic. See A. D. Nock, “The Lizard in Magic and Religion,” *Essays I*, 271–76. The purpose of the first recipe cannot be recovered.

PGM XCVII. 7–9

* *Another*: Grind up the heart¹ of a nightowl² [with . . .], and [anoint yourself].³

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVII. 10–13

10 / * *Another*: KR . . . ES, and TÔ . . . OS at the same time [attach as an amulet] . . . of a bull⁴ . . . with one thong of a male goat. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

3. Remedies for epilepsy are not found often in PGM. For literature and discussion of epilepsy in antiquity, see in particular E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, “Epilepsie,” *RAC* 5 (1965): 819–31.

1. Cf. PGM III. 427.

2. For the nightowl, see PGM I. 223; XXXVI. 264.

3. Cf. PGM II. 19; VIII. 185, 192; XXXVI. 291–92

4. Cf. the reading by F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I,” *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 176.

10 "But if you disobey and do not quickly / carry out what I tell you, the sun will not set under the earth, and neither Hades nor the world [will] exist.⁴ But if you fetch for me Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, for me, Theon whom Proechia bore, I shall give you Osiris Nophrioth, the brother of Isis, and he [will] bring you fresh water and he shall give rest, too, for your souls.⁵ But if you do not carry out
15 for me what I tell you, / the EÖNEBYÖTH⁶ shall burn you.

"I conjure you, daimons, who are lying here, IEÖ IIIIAIA ĒIA IAÖ IAĒ IAÖ ALILAMPS. I deposit [this spell] for you in this land of the dogs.⁷ Bind Euphemia to love me, Theon. O daimons, I adjure you by the stele of the gods, I adjure you by the ones in the innermost shrines, I adjure you by the names of the all-seeing god,
20 IA IA / IA IÖ IÖ IÖ IE IE IE OYÖA ADÖNAI. I conjure the one pleased in the temple,⁸ and the blood⁹ which the great god IÖTHATH¹⁰ has received. I conjure you by the one who sits upon the four pinnacles of [the] winds.¹¹

"Do not disobey me, but do [it] quickly, because ordering you is¹² AKRAM-MACHAMARI BOULOMENTOREB GENIOMOUTHIG DĒMOGENĒD ENKYKLIE ZĒNO-BIÖTHIZ / ĒSKÖTHÖRĒ THÖTHOUTHÖTH IAEOUÖI KORKOOUNOÖK LOULOENĒL,
25 MOROTHÖPNAM NERXIARXIN XONOPHOĒNAX ORNEOPHAO PYROBARYP REROUTOĒR SESENMENOURES TAUROPOLIT YPEPHENOURY PHIMEMAMEPH CHENNEOPHEOCH PSYCHOMPOIAPS ÖRIÖN, the true one. May I not be compelled to say the same things again, IÖĒ IÖĒ. Fetch Euphemia, whom / Dorothea bore, for Theon, whom his mother Proechia bore, to love me with love and longing and affection and intercourse, with mad love. Burn her members, her liver, her female parts, until she comes to me, longing me and not disobeying me. For I conjure you by the mighty Necessity, MASKELLI MASKELLÖ¹³ PHENOUKENTABAÖTH OREOBAGAZRA
35 RĒXICHTHÖN / HIPPOCHTHÖN PYRICHTHÖN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOĒL, in order that you bind for me Euphemia, for me, Theon, in affection and in love and in longing for a period of ten months¹⁴ from today, which is the 25th of Hathyr of the second year of the indiction.

"And again I conjure you by the one who rules over you, in order that you do not disobey me. And again I conjure you by the one who is in charge of the air.
40 And / again I conjure you by the seven thrones, ACHLAL LALAPHENOURPHEN

4. The operator threatens the gods with upsetting the cosmic order; see PGM IV. 185-86; XXXIV, and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 92-93.

5. The dead in the netherworld suffer from thirst, while Osiris brings them the drink of life. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 94-95.

6. This name is otherwise not known. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 95.

7. Apparently referring to the desert cemetery where hyenas roam about. Thus Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 96.

8. Following Wortmann's interpretation of *ōap* as "temple" (97). (I should prefer to take *ōap* as *abatōn*, "innermost shrine" [see l. 18] and the god as Osiris. Note that Osiris is called "he who rests in the abatōn," whereby "rest" in Egyptian is *hṯp*, which corresponds to Greek *ἐνδοκεῖν*. [J.B.]

9. The blood is that of the enemies of the gods, especially that of Seth. See D. Wortmann, "Das Blut des Seth," ZPE 2 (1968): 227-30, who refers to Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353 B, and Rv 16:4 as parallels.

10. That is, Hermes-Thoth.

11. For the four winds, see PGM III. 496; XII. 84, 238; XIII. 761, and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 97-98.

12. The list of names contains the twenty-four names of the Greek alphabet; each name, except the first and the last, also ends with the letter of the alphabet. See Domseiff, *Das Alphabet* 146-51; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 98, who calls attention to the unique character of this list.

13. For the MASKELLI MASKELLÖ formula, see Glossary, s.v.

14. Ten lunar months was considered the normal period of pregnancy. See J. Bergman, "Decem illis diebus," *Ex Orbe Religione*. Studia Geo Widengren oblata (Leiden: Brill, 1972) I, 332-46.

BALEŌ BOLBEŌ BOLBEŌCH BOLBESRŌ YYPHTHŌ,¹⁵ and by the relentless god, CHMOUŌR ABRASAX IPSENTHANCHOUCHAINCHOUCHEŌCH. Seize Euphemia and fetch her for me, Theon, to love me with mad love, and bind her with indissoluble, strong, adamantine fetters / to love me, Theon; and do not let her eat, or drink, or find sleep, or have fun, or laugh; but make her run away from every place and from every house, and leave father, mother, brothers, sisters,¹⁶ until she comes to me, Theon, being fond of me, loving me, Theon, in unending love and mad affection. But if she has another one at her / bosom, move her to push him away and forget him and hate him, but me she shall be fond of and love with affection and grant¹⁷ me her favors, and she shall do nothing against my will. You, these holy names and these powers, confirm and carry out this perfect enchantment; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 85–102. The papyrus was found folded up in a clay vessel and deposited in a cemetery. Inside the folded papyrus were found two wax figurines in erotic embrace (cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.).

PGM CII. 1–17 [frag. E, D, C]

*. . . over [the lamp] . . . your hand, and [when you are almost awake] the god [will come and speak to you, and . . .] / [. . . and smear the picture with the black (?) of Isis . . .] But [the strip of cloth . . .]. Take rainwater³ . . . Speak this [*formula* over the] lamp:

[“I call upon you,] / the headless god,⁴ the one who [has his head and] his face [upon his feet;⁵ you who are hurling lightning [and who are thundering]; you are the one whose mouth [constantly pours forth] fire;⁶ [you are the one who is over] Necessity. I call upon you, [the headless] god . . . [the one who has his head and his face upon his feet,] / strong⁷ BĒSAS, [the dim-sighted one. You are the one lying on a coffin] and having at the side of the head . . . an elbow cushion . . . and of bitumen⁸ . . . , the one whom they call, ANOUTH ANOUTH, lord. . . . You are not a daimon, but the blood of . . . , / and of the 30 and of the 104 falcons⁹ who are also chattering and watching before the head of Osiris.¹⁰ . . .”

/ . . . and from impurity . . . over the lamp . . . wholly black. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, according to the edition by R. A. Coles et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 36 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1970), no. 2753: Magical Spells, 27–28. The papyrus, a request for a dream oracle, was cut into several pieces, all severely damaged. It is not clear whether there were one or two spells. Some of the lines can be restored on the basis of remarkably close parallels elsewhere in *PGM*.

15. The names of the seven thrones are attested here for the first time completely. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101.

16. For parallels see *PGM* IV. 2756–59; XV. 4–5; and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101.

17. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 102, who refers to *PGM* IV. 2740–41, 2759–61.

1. Almost all is restored on the basis of *PGM* VII. 226–30.

2. As restored from *PGM* VII. 231–41.

3. For the association of the headless god with rainwater, see *PGM* VII. 224, 319–20; V. 152; LXI. 7.

4. For the headless god, see *PGM* II. 11; V. 98, 125, 145–46; VII. 233, 243, 442; VIII. 91; *Test. Sol.*

9. 1, and the discussion in Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110–11, 164–66.

5. Cf. *PGM* VII. 234; VIII. 91. See Bonner, *SMA* 110.

6. The fire has been omitted in *PGM* VII. 234.

7. Cf. on this epithet *PGM* V. 129.

8. Cf. *PGM* VII. 237; VIII. 98.

9. The number of falcons varies: cf. *PGM* VII. 239–40 (with Preisendanz’s note); *PGM* VIII. 100.

10. Cf. *PGM* VII. 240; VIII. 100.

11. Cf. *PGM* I. 55–60; VII. 539.

PGM CIII. 1–18

- 5 *"... TAR thus P... ŌTHOI and... from every place... place and every... / If
she lies down... let... [not] eat, if she drinks... B... SON NN and... and the
10 ... most loved / ... immediately, immediately... [NN, whom NN] bore... to
15 every place... but not... fire, and throwing / ... RI of gain THI... CHIŌCH
... upon..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Georgios A. Petropoulos, *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis* (P. S. A. Athen.) (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972; repr. of 1939 edition), no. 70, pp. 430–31. The ostensible purpose of this second-century magical text is the acquisition of a lover. For similar love charms that seek to disrupt the victim's eating, sleeping, and so on, compare PGM IV. 1510ff.; CVIII, etc. For further commentary, see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 169–72.

PGM CIV. 1–8

- *"AEŌ¹... AEEŌ²... THYRINERE³... ARMARINNE... ARI... OCH... SOZO-
CHABAI... ACHABOZO... OUEDDOUCHAI,⁴ get rid of all Althea's (?) daily
5 fever with shivering fits. Give [Althea (?)] / rest from the daily fever with shiver-
ing fits..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of M. Amclotti and L. Z. Migliardi, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova* (PUG), vol. I (Milan: Giuffrè, 1974) no. 6: Amuleto contro la febbre, 17–18 (tav. V).

PGM CV. 1–15

- *"The one having appeared [before]¹ the universe in [accordance with your] eter-
nal nature, the untiring one, the one who... the one from the south... guard;
5 I call upon you, lord [Almighty], / the unknown one, the pure soul, I, the one...
having been sanctified. Be merciful to me, O Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios, ious...
SANBALCHANBAL THANŌAMA... CHŌCH, so that I may speak... of the gods
10 ... / AŌT² ABAŌT BASYM³ ISAAC [ABRAHAM] JACŌB, hearken to me, the one...
ŌROU ŌROU ŌROU AE IAI A... SOUŌ I IYAOË IAO, [always,] the god who com-
15 mands, the god... / the inhabited world..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–27. On the basis of the Zeus/Helios identification in l. 7, Brashear labels this spell *Anrufung an Sarapis*, "an invocation to Sarapis." See also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375.

PGM CVI. 1–10

*"ADŌNAI ELO[AI SA]BAŌTH ABLANATHANAB[LA AKR]AMMACHAMARI... SES-
ENGERBARPHARANGËS AEËIOYŌ IAO PHRË... EAŌ IAO EAŌ..."

1. There is space for a single letter here, perhaps $\tilde{E}$; see n. 2, below.

2. After the Ō, there is one letter to make out. It is probably an omicron. The first nine letters, then, probably contain a series of vowels, viz., AEŌË AEEŌŌ.

3. The editor suggests that these letters may contain the Greek for "portal of Erebus" (reading $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu\ \epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega\nu$). Erēchos was the mythological place of nether darkness which formed a passage from Earth to Hades.

4. Supplying here an alpha before the final iota.

1. Following the likely restoration of A. Henrichs.

2. On this Aoth-logos, Brashear points the reader to PGM IV. 1376; Delatte and Derchain 416, 487; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 242. 9.

3. BASYM, in Greek letters, corresponds to Aramaic *besum*, "in the name of": see Glossary, s.v. Thus the text perhaps reads, "in the name of Isaac, [Abraham,] Jacob." In the lacuna, Brashear restores instead "... Isaac [Sabaōth, Iao], Jacob"; however, "Abraham" is another possible reading, as the three names form a natural, formulaic grouping in magical literature. See M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

AEËIOYŌ
OURIĒL
MICHAËL
GABRIĒL
SOURIĒL
RAPHAËL



Protect Touthous, whom
Sara bore, from every
shivering fit and fever:
tertian, quartan, quoti-
dian, daily, or every
other day [it occurs]
... ADŌNIAS, / ADŌNAEI,
protect in. . ."

SALAMABA
ZZZ
BAM IACHA

ABLANATHANABLA
ACHRAMMACHAMARI
SESENGHBPHARAGĒS
IAŌ / SABAŌTH
ŌRIPHER LOU.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 27–30 (see note on previous papyrus).

PGM CVII. 1-19

*“𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌾𐌰 — SIM / PHNOUĒ¹ PHTHONTHŌN 2B2 ÷ L- W Y L2 PERKMĒM² BIOU
BIOU BIRIOU³

OCHERO|NOURI⁵ EPNEBAI⁶ SERPÖT' MOUISRO⁷ RINT'⁸ MÊI MÊI⁹ ÈI OU OUSIRI¹⁰
 SERPHOUTH MOUISRO MÊI / MÊI. Quickly fetch here Tapias whom Demetria
 bore, for Achilles whom Helene bore, by means of the soul of the one who died
 prematurely, / BAKAXICHYCH,¹¹ by the one whom all things are entrusted to, EU-
 LAMÔ;¹² fetch Tapias for Achilles, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 255–64 (text two). Daniel provides copious notes and parallels to the *PGM*. Only his most essential comments are noted below.

PGM CVIII. 1-12

*^{CC} THŌBARABAU TEUTHRAIAIAŌ BAKAŌPHLEN NOPH EPHOPHTHE AMOU AMIM
BAIN BAARA AALŌ B . . . NAARA AAAAAA EEEEEEE EEEEEEE / IIIIII OOOOOOO 5
YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, make fly through the air¹ the soul and the heart of Leontia
whom Ailia² bore in her womb. and don't allow her to eat or drink or to fall

1. PHNOU may be equated with the Coptic word *pnoun*, "the abyss." Otherwise it is the magical name for a god in *PGM* XII. 290 and is found in frequent combinations throughout the *PGM*.

2. PERKMEŃ, perhaps Coptic for "the Lord of darkness" or "house of darkness."

3. BIOU BIOU BIBIOU: BIOU is frequent in the *PGM* and is identical to the name of a decan. Cf. W. Gundel, "Dekane und Dekansternbilder," *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 19 (1936): 233–34.

4. In these lines there are thirty-six characters which correspond to the number of decans and their deities.

5. NOURI is Coptic for "vulture."

6. EPNEBAI may reflect the words *p nb by*, "the lord of souls," in *DMP XXVIII*, 1 (cf. Copt. *neb bai*).

7. For this Egyptian formula: lotus (*serphouth*)—lion (*moui*)—ram (*sro*), cf. *PGM* III. 659.

8. RINT' is Sahidic for "my name." Cf. *PGM* IV. 83–84.

9. **MĒI MĒI** (also in ll. 9–10) is Fayumic and Bohairic for “truth.”

10. The god Osiris.

11. This name is to be equated with RAINCHÖÖCH: both names mean "spirit of darkness." See Glossary, s.v.

12. This popular name can be equated with "eternal" and has become the subject of some etymological speculation (see Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," 264, n. 17, for literature).

1. This verb, ἀεροπετέω, is used only in magical texts, as Daniel points out, pp. 249–50.

2. Reading Ailia instead of Elia.

- 10 asleep / until she comes to me, Dioskouros whom Thekla bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” |—+—
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, “Two Love-Charms,” *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–55 (text one).

PGM CIX. 1–8

- 5 * “As Hermes turns in his marrow¹ and this strip of papyrus becomes reality,² so turn the brain³ and the / heart⁴ and search out⁵ all the mind of her who is called Kalemera, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: H. D. Berz, following the edition by Eric G. Turner, “The Marrow of Hermes,” in *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke . . . dicata* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1976) 169–73. The love spell from Oxyrhynchus (ca. A.D. 300) presents very difficult problems, so that the translation by necessity remains tentative. See also the different readings and interpretations by Giuseppe Giangrande, “The Marrow of Hermes: A Papyrus Love-Spell,” *Ancient Society* 9 (1978): 101–16; P. Gorissen, “Once more the Love-Spell of Hermes and the Marrow,” *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200; and J. Gwyn Griffiths, “Hermes and the Marrow in a Love-charm,” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 287–88.

PGM CX. 1–12

- 5 * . . . a voice comes to you in conversation. Lay out the stars on the board in their natural order,¹ with the exception of the sun² and the moon.³ Make the sun⁴ gold, / the moon⁵ silver, Kronos⁶ of obsidian, Ares⁷ of yellow-green onyx, Aphro-
 10 dite⁸ of lapis-lazuli streaked with gold, Hermes⁹ / of turquoise; make Zeus¹⁰ of a [dark blue] stone, but underneath of crystal. But the horoscope. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, “Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection,” *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 1: Astrological Text, 175–77 (plate). The text, constructed from two separate fragments, seems to contain instructions for a special type of astrological divination. The incomplete text at the beginning of the horoscope shows that the client participates in an auditory revelation of a god. This probably contains the end of the procedure section of the magical spell.

1. The phrase is unknown. Perhaps it is Hermes himself who “is turned around by the marrow,” the marrow referring to a magical substance used in the ritual operation. In this case the verb is construed as passive, with “marrow” as the genitive of agent. This avoids the need to emend the word to the accusative case (so P. Gorissen), or to take the genitive as “locative” (so Turner), since this normally requires the dative case. [R.D.K.]

2. Perhaps the words are an interjected “commercial”: “and this sheet really works.” The *πιττάκιον* is the sheet or piece of papyrus on which the spell itself is written; see Turner, 172; Giangrande, 107, for parallels. [R.D.K.]

3. Cf. on this notion *PGM* IV. 1544–45.

4. Cf. the parallel in *PGM* XIc. 3. For another interpretation, see Giangrande, 109.

5. Thus Turner’s translation. Gorissen takes *ζητουν*, “search out,” to be a personal name.

1. Packman translates this more literally: “Let the stars be set upon the board where (they belong) by nature. . . .” The sense may suggest that the planets and stars are to be arranged in their acknowledged order in their sphere of orbit.

2. The term for “sun” is represented in the papyrus by the symbol ☉.

3. The term for “moon” is represented by the symbol ☾.

4. That is, Helios.

5. That is, Selene.

6. That is, the planet Saturn.

7. That is, the planet Mars.

8. That is, the planet Venus.

9. That is, the planet Mercury.

10. That is, the planet Jupiter.

PGM CXI. 1–15

*. . . in Egyptian, [Kneph;]¹ . . . in Greek; and the great sculptor . . . and after forming two cows alike . . . and their sexes male and . . . / and after shaping another . . . [make] its body that of a serpent which has [no tail], but from either end [three-headed: on the right] human heads, [and on the left] geese heads, [and in the middle heads of] / golden gazelles with solar disks matching the shapes of their horns. [And after forming another] with its body, on the one hand . . . on the other hand, its appearance that of a sea falcon . . . , in Egyptian . . . / slight interpretations. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976) no. 2: Description of Magical Figures, 177–79 (plate).

PGM CXII. 1–5

*"SABAPSYRA IOEL
SEBAÖN SBAÖTH."
NAPSERNOUSOR [For] scorpion [sting].
ANAX
/ IRĒ

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 3: Amulet, 179–80 (plate). The text is presumably a charm for scorpion sting.

PGM CXIII. 1–4

*" . . . PENCHIRAASARA . . . DA, drive out¹ . . . and scorpion . . . XAXAP. . . ."



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Amulett gegen Skorpionsstich," *ZPE* 22 (1976): 108 (Taf. IIIb). This spell is similar to other amulets against scorpion sting in the *PGM* (cf., e.g. *PGM* XXVIII a–c).

PGM CXIV. 1–14

*"[Protect] her, NN, O lord, [from all] evil acts [and from every] demonic visitation [and] . . . of Hekate and from . . . / attack and [from every onslaught (?)] in sleep . . . [from] mute daimons [and from every] epileptic fit [and from all] epilepsy / and . . . and. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised edition of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΑΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 145–49 (text one). Daniel greatly improved the reading of the original edition in P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974): 83–88. Daniel also offers a tentative reconstruction of the lacunae in the text. The translation above reflects Daniel's improved text, but not all of his tentative reconstructions. For further commentary see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 173–75.

1. Following the restoration suggested by R. Merkelbach.

1. The imperative is in the plural, thus suggesting that the preceding text contained a list of magical names.

PGM CXV. 1–7

- *“PHĒG GĒ . . . BALOCHRA THAMRA ZARACHTHŌ, I conjure you all by the bitter compulsion: MASKELI MASKELŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGAZAR RHĒZICH-
 5 THŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN / PYRIPĒGANIX. Deliver Ammon from the fever and shivering fit that restrains him, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; today!”
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the text of R. W. Daniel, “Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ,” *ZPE* 25 (1977): 153–54. The papyrus was first published with photographs and commentary by Z. Ritoók in *Antik Tanulmányok* 22 (1975): 30–43. Daniel’s text offers some changes.

PGM CXVI. 1–17

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | *“IAIŌ ERBĒTH | IŌBRAK | IŌBRAK | IŌBRAK |
| | IŌKABRA | ŌBRAK | ŌBRAK | ŌBRAK |
| 5 | ŌKABRA | BRACK | RAK | BRACK |
| | ARBA | RAK | AB | RAK |
| | ABA | AK | B | AK |
| | BA | K | | K.” |
- “IAŌ IAKOUNBATT IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX
 10 IŌ ERAPOMPS IŌ TANONO IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ABRASAX IŌ PSAAPOPSI / IŌ PHTHEA-
 POPS IŌ ISIŌR IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBIŌTH AMOUNAUEIEOUN PEITŌRE AU EN
 KTENOUATEI . . . KOX . . . OUS PSĒTAĒSEEBOLNOURTOU METHERENOUBTANOUN /
 15 TEB IMETHE . . . LENE EUINASMA, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary of Rosario Pintaudi, “Invocazione a Seth-Typhon,” *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48. Ll. 1–6 contain four “wing formations”; the rest seems to be an invocation using typical Seth-Typhon acclamations.

PGM CXVII

- *Fr. 1 . . . [the elder?] . . . Fr. 2 . . . the house [she?] leaves, [her] husband [forgetting] . . . to sleep most sweetly by me, [her waist] . . . until earth and heaven . . . Fr. 4 . . . a cow . . . Fr. 5 . . . with black, join together . . . into a new cup . . . Fr. 6 . . . come to me . . . Fr. 7 . . . and . . . in the middle of the night, the streets . . . OSIRIS ESIĒS, to meet . . . to pour out my fruits . . . Fr. 8 . . . fulfill . . . Fr. 9 . . . [what is prescribed below]: . . . ANOUBIS, ANOUBIS, I love her [NN] . . . Fr. 10 . . . pluck two strands of her hair and [throw them] into a [new drinking vessel] . . . Fr. 11 . . . her, possessed by your . . . Fr. 12 . . . from . . . a white [thorn-apple tree] . . . speak the spell . . . Fr. 13 . . . the Dioskouroi . . . the destroyer . . . Fr. 14 . . . I conjure the gods in Hades . . . all, fetch her, [NN] . . . Fr. 18 . . . of much knowledge . . . demand starry heaven . . . and the Eternal Mistress . . . Fr. 19 . . . dreadful, everlasting [Hekate?], with grievous suffering, with . . . pains . . . Fr. 21 . . . carry out [for me this perfect] spell . . . Fr. 22 . . . AKRA . . . SO O . . . and . . . black . . . bring insomnia to her, NN . . . Fr. 23 . . . [offer] to him as a drink . . . take it, for it is . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini et al., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978) no. 34: P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216: Formulario magico, 237–66. Although this text is comprised of twenty-three tiny fragments of which little sense can be made, its importance should not be underestimated, for it is one of a few magical papyri which antedates the Christian period. This, along with the so-called Philinna Papyrus (PGM XX), dates to the first century. Fragmentary as it is, one can detect that the papyrus contains portions of a love spell. Of special importance are the occasional Egyptian deities mentioned along with the Greek, thus showing that a syncretistic influence was already at work in the magic of this early period.

PGM CXVIII

P. Palau Rib. inv. 200 another “magical scroll” similar to those published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) (= *PGM* CIII a–c.). A description and photograph of the scroll, with no transcription of the text, was published by José O’Callaghan, “Rollo mágico (PPalau Rib. inv. 200),” *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978): 85–87.

PGM CXIXa. 1–3

*“. . . fortune, I conjure. . . .”

Love spell through touch: Take milk . . . 9 *echthei*, 12 *calē*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 57: “Frammenti di Manuale Magico (PL II/52),” 34–36. This papyrus contains fragments of approximately eight short spells. The opening line preserves the end of a conjuration of uncertain purpose; portions of a love spell follow.

PGM CXIXa. 4–6

**Fetch ing charm:* On an ostrakon . . . / “BOLSAK SAR . . . , the thoughts. . . .” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. On this magical papyrus, see the introductory note above. Since this tiny, fragmentary spell has preserved its title, it can be assumed the invocation is to be engraved on a potsherd with the aim of binding the thoughts (i.e. “brains”) of a desired woman, as well as other parts of the human constitution.

PGM CXIXa. 7–11

**Charm to subject:* “. . . subject [to me] . . . CHR.” Write . . . / an aphrodisiac (?). 10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3 for the bibliographical reference to this text. The fragmentary word translated “aphrodisiac” may introduce a new spell or may simply show that the spell to subject can work as an aphrodisiac as well.

PGM CXIXb. 1–5

*“. . . A . . . EDĒS wounds . . . vain babbling, and also mingle. . . .”

[*For fever with shivering fits:*] Take an olive leaf and engrave: “. . . .” / [For 5
daily] and nightly fever. KELLIOTON. Take. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3. This portion of the magical manual deals in part with a spell for fever. The invocation preceding it serves an unknown purpose. Furthermore, it is not clear whether another formula follows the charm for fever. The editor of the papyrus suggests that *κάλλιστον* (sc. *φίλτρον*), “an excellent philtre” could be read in the letters KELLIOTON.

PGM CXX. 1–13

*“cutting the uvula
utting the uvula
ting the uvula
ting the uvula
ing the uvula
ng the uvula
g the uvula
the uvula
he uvula
e uvula
uvula
vula
ula
la
a”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III) (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 58: "Ὄνομα πτερυγοειδὸς (PL III/1442) 37–38 (Tav. LIII). This "winged" formation is made up of an adjective, σταφυλότομος, attested in only one other place. According to the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, cited by Pintaudi, the adjective means *uvam incidens*, "cutting the uvula." This term contains a play on words, as words with the same root can also refer to a bunch of grapes. It is no coincidence, then, that in magical literature winged formations such as that shown above were also referred to as grape-shapes (cf. PGM III. 70). The manner in which the formation is written allows one to read "cutting the uvula" down the left margin. Conceivably, this spell served as an amulet to heal its wearer from inflammation of the uvula. For a parallel, see the gemstone published by A. Sambon, *Le Musée* 6 (1909): 111.

PGM CXXI. 1–14

*. . . [cessation]:

column 1:	column 2:
death	rudeness
darkness	evil
mental illness	the evil eye
grief	debauchery
fear	slavery
illness	indecenty
poverty	lamentation
disturbance	troublesomeness
	emptiness
	malignancy
	bitterness
	arrogance

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Giovanni Geraci, "Un'*actio* magica contro affezioni fisiche e morali," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979): 63–72. This magical text has no real parallel in the corpus of magical literature. It appears to be an elaborate phylactery, listing a number of ailments both physical and psychological. The initial lines of the spell probably contained a plea that the vices listed in the two columns should cease or come to an end. The entire spell is enclosed in an ouroboros figure which has not been well preserved on the papyrus.

PGM CXXII. 1–55

*An excerpt of enchantments¹ from the holy book called Hermes,² found in He-liopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple,³ written in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek. /

5 *Enchantment using apples*:⁴ "Three times I shall throw apples, . . . and thereby I
[col. I, 5] shall provide this timely love spell for both mortal people and immortal gods.
10 I . . . , I threw the apple and I hit [her] with the apple. / Setting everything aside,
[I, 10] may she fall madly in love with me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats . . . or
holds it in her bosom, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus,⁵ /
15 carry out this perfect charm. . . .

1. So according to Brashear's interpretation, p. 265.

2. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. Cf. PGM IV. 885–87.

3. This refers to the temple library.

4. Although reportedly coming from an Egyptian holy book, this love spell contains Greek magic. The importance of apples in declarations of love and in oracles is well known. See A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967): 154–55, 157.

5. That is, Aphrodite; for commentary, see Brashear, 268–69.

"I have taken your . . . eye.⁶ I, NN, have taken your soul.⁷ I, NN, have drunk [I, 15]
from your blood. I, NN, have used . . . I, NN, have devoured your liver.⁸ I, NN,
have / [put on] your [skin]. I, NN, have done it. 20

"The goddess⁹ in heaven looked down upon him, and it happened to him ac-
cording to every wish of his soul . . . NN says: From the day [and] from the hour I,
NN, [do this act] to you; you will love me, be fond of me, and value me . . . I
die. / O Lady, goddess, [Isis] . . . , carry out for me this perfect charm." 25

Having¹⁰ raised your hands toward the stars, let down . . . NN, and . . . and
black night; and standing [awake] and sleeplessness and . . . you shall use [these?]
before you see the sun. Take myrrh and chant and anoint your face: [I, 25]

"You are the myrrh with which Isis¹¹ was anointed / when she went to the 30
bosom of Osiris, her . . . brother, and gave him her favor on that day. Give me. . . ." [II, 5]

"Wake up him, NN, or her, NN, Mistress Isis, and carry out this perfect charm.
Hail,¹² Helios; hail you who rise; hail also to you, the gods who rise together with
him . . . / let rejoice . . . nor concerning a silver coin, but concerning him, NN, . . . 35
remain . . . I am running, but he is escaping me . . . to you . . . and having done the [II, 10]
sacred [acts?] . . . at sunrise . . . neither . . . nor drink nor / lie down . . . nor . . . , 40
but have me in . . . and anguished, until she [comes] to me, until . . . everlasting [II, 15]
god . . . if she leaves [me] . . . I will be with you until she comes back to me and
goes . . . / [that] you bring him, NN, O Helios . . . the ever . . . day, him, NN, . . . 45
a coin . . . ; / O goddess born on Cyprus,¹³ carry out this perfect charm." [II, 20]

For headache: ¹⁴ "Osiris has a headache; Ammon has a headache at the temples of
his head; Esenephthys¹⁵ has a headache all over her head. May Osiris' headache not
stop, may Ammon's headache at the temples of his head not stop, until / first he, 55
NN, stops all. . . ." [II, 30]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner
Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78. The love spell is one of the oldest Greek magical
papyri; it was found in Abusir el Melek, Egypt (first c. A.D.). For further notes see F. Mal-
tomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1
(1980): 375–76.

6. Apparently, the lines refer to some sort of cannibalistic ceremony done for the purpose of erotic
magic. See Brashear, 269–71, who refers to *PGM* IV. 296–335, and A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des*
Lollianos, Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 14 (Bonn:
Habelt, 1972) 70, n. 77.

7. The term may be a euphemism for the sexual organs (see Glossary, s.v. "Soul"). See Brashear, 272.

8. The liver plays a special role in erotic magic. See Brashear, 272.

9. A reference to some mythical detail.

10. Apparently some kind of nocturnal ceremony is described. See Brashear, 273.

11. The second column contains Egyptian magic. The mythical love of Isis is imitated here; cf. *PGM*
XXXVI. 288–89 and Brashear, 274–75.

12. Apparently the beginning of a hymnic passage, addressed to Helios.

13. See n. 5 above.

14. A charm against headache, using a threat against the gods that they will not stop suffering head-
aches until they have healed the operator. See Brashear, 276, for parallels.

15. That is, Isis-Nephthys; cf. *PGM* XII. 234.

PGM CXXIII a-f

a.

*“MARMARITHI // MARMARITHE¹

AMCHĒ

AMICH

BAROU

RCHOBIÖCH

LOU

LOU

CHA

5

... SE



B ...

BLA

... KO ... ÖT

10

EULAMMÖN²

PHANEMOU

LACHAM

CHAMRI

CHÖTH

HTHÖCH

CHARIÖTH

AMËITĒL

AI

NEÖTTASIA

ETHOOU.⁷

KAICH ...

SABAHÖ

MOUSĒTH³SISĒTH⁴NEMOUËL⁵A, NN, NN⁶

15

20

25

Write on tin:⁸ onion, rue, frankincense. *Erōtylas*:⁹ / “Born of blood,¹⁰ shedding

1. A variation of the common magical name MARMARIÖTH, on which see K. Preisendanz, *PRE* 14 (1930): 1881; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* IV sec. 3206; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 746.

2. A form of the magical word EULAMÖ. For literature and additional occurrences of the term outside the *PGM*, consult Maltomini, 71–72, n. 11.

3. This name may be a conflation of the names “Moses” and “Seth.” Alternatively, the name may be explained from Coptic and Demotic as “lion-Seth.” See Maltomini, 72–73, n. 15.

4. Possibly Coptic for “Offspring of Seth”; see Maltomini, 73–74, n. 16.

5. An angelic name meaning “God has spoken.” See Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l’Angéologie* 299. Cf. Nm 26: 12.

6. In the papyrus we have ⲁ ⲁ, the usual symbols for “so-and-so” (NN).

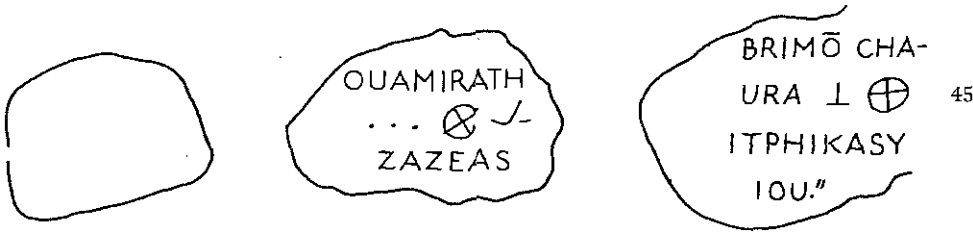
7. Perhaps Coptic *ethoou*, “evil,” thus Maltomini, 75, n. 22.

8. The reference is probably to writing the words on a tin plate. Cf. *PGM* VII. 459, 462; *PGM* XCIV. 37.

9. This word also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 946; VII. 478. According to *LSJ*, this Doric term can mean the following: (1) “a darling, sweetheart”; (2) as an adjective, it refers to singing love songs; (3) a name of a small star; and (4) the name of a gem. In the *PGM*, both the context and the etymology suggest the term means “a love charm.”

10. Reading *αἰμοφνῆ*, an apparent neologism in the *PGM*. Such formations of new words—usually epithets—abound in the magical papyri. Many of the new formations in the list that follows represent appropriate designations for Hekate and other chthonic deities. For parallels in each case, consult Maltomini, ad loc.

blood,¹¹ putting out roots,¹² androgynous,¹³ manly,¹⁴ / born with blood,¹⁵ saffron-
dyed,¹⁶ with golden arrows,¹⁷ golden-haired,¹⁸ like a white onion,¹⁹ / MENOU-
LATH, CHARBATHA, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA, CHŌNOUTHĀ, / MENOUBA, BELER-
THI, ZACHTHAĒR, CHALIOUBĒ



For childbearing: “Come out of your tomb, Christ is calling you.”²⁰ / [Place] a
potsherd on the right thigh. **For sleep:** on a bay leaf [write]: “ THARA
THARŌ.” **For strangury:** “MÖGIB    THTHYS   / **For a shiver-
ing fit:** on a piece of papyrus: “[A]BLANATHANAPAMBALANATHANATH . . .
NATHANAMATHANATHANATHA    . . .  Raphaël, EI . . .
ŌI  THNĒ,” / Take a marble statuette, scratch with the right hand the right side of
a penis. Pound it on a table with wax. Take the wood from the heart of a plum tree,
the stock of a cabbage plant, chickpea; boil some garlic and give it as / a before-
dinner drink. Pellitory, pepper, grain, 23 parts kohl . . . bay leaf. Pound two pepper
grains and mix it with gum of “Hercules’ woundwort.”
For a victory: / [Wear] a tooth of a hyena, from the right side of the jaw . . . one of
the upper ones. . . .

11. Reading *αἱμωχνη*. Apparently a new formation from *αἷμα*, “blood” and *χέω*, “to pour out, shed.” Related epithets having to do with blood and applying to Hekate are listed by Maltomini, 77, n. 26.

12. Reading perhaps *ρίζοποις* for *ρίζοποις*. The expression is problematic and the restoration very tentative; nevertheless the association of roots with both Selene and Hekate is attested. Consult the references in Maltomini, 78, n. 27.

13. Reading *ἀνδρογύνη* for *ἀνδρωγενή* (cf. the variant spelling of the Greek in PGM CXXIII f, fr. A., 5). In PGM IV. 2610, Hekate is coupled with Hermes as an androgynous being.

14. The meaning of this unattested word *ἀνδρως* is at best very speculative; however, there is no question that the word originally formed a meaningful Greek epithet having to do with *ἀνήρ*, “man.” For similar, anomalous formations, consult the occurrences in PGM as cited by Maltomini, 78, n. 29. In addition to his philological parallels, compare the term *ἀνήνωρ*, “unmanly.”

15. The word *αἱμογενής* is now attested on a second-century inscription from Egypt, SEG 8. 374. Although LSJ, Supplement, s.v., p. 5, translates this “related by blood,” Maltomini is correct in suggesting here “born of/with blood.”

16. Reading *κροκοβαφή* for *κροκοβανή*? [R.D.K.] Maltomini suggests perhaps *κροκοφανή* (unattested). Saffron is associated with Hekate in Orphic Hymn 1. 2; 71. 1, and elsewhere with Demeter and Persephone.

17. The word is attested in Tzetzes, *Alleg. II*. XX. 226, p. 132, Marranga. A similar epithet is used of Hekate in Lydus, *De mens.* 3. 10.

18. An appropriate epithet of Hekate (-Selene), thus Maltomini, 79, n. 33.

19. Reading *κρονον*(ον) *λευκον*.

20. Parallels adduced by Maltomini, 82–83, show that in Christian magic a *historiola* was used, according to which Elizabeth says to John the Baptist in her womb: “Come out, child, Christ is calling you. . . .” In our papyrus this *historiola* appears to have been confused with the account of Lazarus in the tomb, thus attesting the analogy of womb and tomb.

(pap. 2) *b*.

"KAICHABŌ, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL."

(Pap. 3) *c*.5 *Fr. A*: "KAICHABO, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL, A, NN, NN . . ." *Fr. B*

". . . CHAR . . . AMĒI . . . NEŌT . . . ETHOO . . ."

d. ". . . ATH . . . PHAĒL EL . . ."*e*.

5 "Born of blood, shedding blood, putting out roots, androgynous, manly, [born with blood, saffron-dyed, with golden arrows]. . . E . . . THCHARBATH, STHŌM-BAULĒ, ZANXMNA // CHŌNOUTHĀ // MENOUBA // BELERTHI // ZACHTHAĒR [// CHALIOUBĒ]

10

OUAMIRATH
AUT ⊗ ⊥
ZAZĒAS

BRIMŌ CHA-
URA ⊥ ⊗
... K . . . " /

f.5 *Fr. A*: ". . . YBĒ . . . A . . . ROS. Born of blood, shedding blood, / putting out roots, androgynous, ANTHRORŌCH,²¹ born with blood, saffron-dyed, with gold arrows, golden-haired, dog-faced baboon. . ."

10

"... SAI
... AS
... GOBAS
E... NO...
ADONAEI
ELOEI."

15

Fr. B.

"...
ZANXMNA
MENOUBA
[ZACHTHAĒR]
...



...
...
MARMOUR
SABAŌTH
ADONAEI."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition and notes of Franco Maltomini, "I Papiri greci," in G. Arrighetti et al., "Nuovi papiri magici in copto, greco e aramaico," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), section II, pp. 55–124. The six papyrus fragments translated here correspond to those numbered 1–6 consecutively by Maltomini. They have been grouped here under the same Roman numeral because they represent duplications (with some variations) of the same magical text. The text, which contains a series of peculiar and difficult epithets, preserves portions of a magico-medical handbook. Unless otherwise stated, the notes that follow are summarized from those of the editor. For a full discussion of each of the terms and of the *voces magicæ*, one should consult the edition of Maltomini.

21. Cf. n. 14. Something peculiar has occurred in the transmission of this epithet.

SALAKALOU, KERKĒBI, and KAULYOUKAU. Fragment B contains only a handful of letters, whereas fragment C preserves an elaborate magical figure.

b. Papyrus no. 9 (Tav. XII) 116–17, contains nine lines of which only a few words can be positively identified: ALLELOUIA, SABAŌTH, and ADONAI. The other side of the papyrus preserves portions of an Aramaic magical text published by Marrassini in the same journal, p. 128.

c. Papyrus 10 (Tav. VIII) 117–18 dates to the fifth century and is made up of two tiny fragments which cannot be read. Fragment B contains portions of a Coptic formula.

d. Papyrus 11 (Tav. XII) 118, is made up of two fragments that are too small even to assign a date.

e. Papyrus 12 (Tav. XII) 119, is paleographically akin to Papyrus 6 (PGM CXXIII f.). Only the names ADONAI and SABAŌTH can be recognized.

f. Papyrus 13 (Tav. XI) 119–20, assigned to the end of the fifth century, also contains an Aramaic text on the other side (see Marrassini, pap. no. 3, p. 129). The text preserves portions of a formula which reads, “I conjure you by your holy name . . . BAROCH SĒMO. . . .”

PGM CXXVIa. 1–21

- 5 *“. . . ATĒS . . . [sweet wine?] . . . / ATA . . . ASSA . . . NN [add the usual] . . . K
 . . . B . . . BRIAPS . . . [IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCH[OSĒTH BASDOUMA] /
 10 OSESRŌ APOMPS P[AIATHNAX KOKKO]LOPTOLIN CH . . . K . . . [. . . IŌ THATHTHA]
 BRABO, without violence . . . [spell of Typhon] Seth [carrying] out the whole
 magic [procedure and] separate her, NN, from him, NN. ABERAMENTHŌ /
 15 OUTHLERTHEXANAX [ETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMA]REBA, and say, ‘Mustard, [you are
 20 not Mustard,] but the eye . . . the inner parts of the bull of Apis’” / (add the usual)
 . . . “from Osiris . . . and separate. . . .”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini, “Frammento di formulario magico (PL III/472),” in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P. Laur. IV), Papyrologica Florentina* vol. 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983) 46–53. Cf. the earlier edition by Rosario Pintaudi, “PL III/472: Frammento magico,” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 261–64, and the new readings by F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, (III.),” *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 239–40. The poorly preserved text appears to be a spell for separation. L. 20 may begin another such spell, as it is separated by a paragraph mark. For parallel texts and commentary, see Maltomini’s notes.

PGM CXXVIb. 1–17

- 5 *“. . . O . . . [add the usual] . . . but the sight . . . the power of ADŌNAI . . . / of
 the great god . . . [Mustard], in order to separate . . . enmity until [death] . . . [in
 10 order that] you might enter into the . . . them as the . . . / having heard about . . .
 15 of Osiris ANE . . . and frightful and . . . having burnt . . . / and you, Mustard
 . . . / [the] house of her, NN . . . passageway. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini (see note on the previous papyrus). This piece also appears to be from a spell for separation.

PGM CXXVII. 1–12

**To make one bend down and not get up*: Anoint the loins with the brain of an electric eel.

- 5 *To get a certain [lover] at the baths*: Rub a tick from a dead dog on the loins. /
To “play” with a woman: Anoint the phallus with the juice of the deadly carrot.

To cause a fight¹ at a banquet: Throw a dog-bitten stone into the middle.

To make wine sour: Throw burning / pebbles into it.

10

In order “to screw” many times: Drink beforehand seed of celery and of rocket.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. M. Parássoglou, “Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt,” *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53, no. 9: “Magico-Medical Prescriptions.” Note also F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II,” *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 374.

PGM CXXVIII. 1–11

**A phylactery for fever:*

“SARICH “Of Jesus Christ, son of IAŌ (?),
AORKACH quickly, quickly,
/ ROUGACH heal!
CHIOSNĒCH John,
KOCH.” / Son,
 Life.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, “Due papiri magici inediti,” *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 111–14: *P. Heid. G. 1386*.

PGM CXXIX. 1–7

*“... [concerning] the certain matter . . . [a tin?] lamella from a certain . . . and tie it up in a cloth . . . / of a black wolf from . . . and . . . it in a little case . . . again 5 and again it will be of service to you.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, “Due papiri magici inediti,” *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 115–17: *P. Berol. 21260*.

PGM CXXX

*[IA]RBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHŌĒMEŌ
[A E]E ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ[Ō]
Lord gods, heal Helene, whom [NN] bore, from every
illness and every fit of shivering [fever].

/ daily, daylong, tertian, quartan.

5

IARBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHNĒMEŌ

AEĒIOYŌŌYOIĒEA

EĒIOYŌŌYOIĒE

ĒIOYŌŌYOIĒ

*¹

YYY

IOYŌŌYOI

10

OYŌŌYO

YŌŌY

YYYYY

ŌŌ

[traces]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by R. W. Daniel, “P. Mich. inv. 6666: Magic,” *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54. For a parallel to this spell, see *PGM XVIII b*; for the stellar and lunar symbols, see the parallels in Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, nos. 296, 301.

PDM Suppl. 1–6

*[Another spell for] *sending a dream*: [. . . I] am the youth without . . . scarab of . . . soul of the four faces (?) and I . . . you . . . complete. . . .

/ *Formula*: On a leaf . . . , and you put a . . . it, and you write . . . embalming 5 house.

1. Reading, with Maltomini (see introductory note above), $\mu\acute{\alpha}\{\chi\}\eta\nu$ for $\mu\acute{\alpha}\{\nu\}\eta\nu$.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/1–6. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic text only when they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM Suppl. 7–18

- 10 **[Another spell for]* sending a dream: “. . . Come to me in your [form] . . . you . . . before I have gone to the . . . which is therein / . . . without a skin of . . . they took it . . . your town . . . and I know . . . [in] your secret form . . . power (?) . . . while it . . . is bearing witness what I did . . . noble mummy . . . face of a lion
15 which . . . is your name, I having done / . . . you . . . so-and-so guard his hand.”
Formula: “. . . [body] of a white donkey . . . cow’s fat . . . again; “great-of-love” plant, tear apart . . . gather . . . skin of a donkey. . . . It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/7–18.

PDM Suppl. 19–27

- 20 **[Another] spell for* sending a dream: “. . . anger / . . . great . . . of the sea . . . Nun¹ at night . . . anger of the one who is in the water . . . the mountains. . . Let the . . . speak to me . . . under me . . . in them. If not doing it . . . enemy of the praised one . . . me in the water at [night], in the day at [any time] . . . him.”
25 *Formula*: “. . . reed leaf and you write an image of . . . the ear . . . drowned, and you should recite these writings . . . *four* times . . . [wreath] to it and you say the thing [in the ear (?)]. . . . It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/19–27.

PDM Suppl. 28–40

- 30[1] **[Another spell for]* sending a dream: *Formula*: You bring . . . and you do it . . . in an oil of lotus² and [you] . . . wick / . . . and you protect it and you . . . [write?] these names in . . . falcon (?) with (?) its claw (?) and you write . . . of the . . . wick on (?) a new lamp of . . . of . . . which is above and you bring a new brick . . . the
35 [5] [lamp] . . . leave the lizard before the lamp . . . , / these again which you should write on the strip of the wick [of] the [lamp . . .].
Formula: “. . . BAH[E (?)] P[A]IRE PSIR PAH[. . .]BPS [. . .] A BAT LA BATL-
[A]ATE,³ come [to] me tonight and tell [me] an answer to [everything] about [which] I am praying (another [manuscript] says: . . . it goes in the place under the head of . . .) [stand?] ⁴ before him in the form of his god who is great in his heart
40 [10] and make him dream a dream [about such-and-such] / a thing which I shall tell him today.”

Formula: 7 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):67, col. 1/28–30; col. 2/1–10.

PDM Suppl. 40–60

- 40 [10] **Another spell for* sending a dream: *Formula*: “Listen to my voice, O noble mummy-spirit of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms; come to me and do for me such-and-such a thing today because I am calling you in your (?)

1. Primeval waters.

2. Scented with lotus.

3. Written ‘te, “limb.”

4. See PDM Suppl. 120.

name . . . in Abydos who rests in the house of the official⁵ whose name is 'this [one] who rests in truth' (another [manuscript] says, 'who . . . in truth'). Nun⁶ . . . oath (?), 'great image of Nun' is your true name; / SHLBI NYH[R] is your true name, 45 [15]
truly; Nun, NEO soul of Ha[. . .] 'very great one of Nun' is your true [name]. Soul of souls (another papyrus says, 'soul of a bull [?])' . . . of Nun is your true name. Soul of souls SHLBI NYHR is your true name. NEO soul of H[A . . .] Nun NEO great one of Nun [is your] true [name]. May you listen to the voice . . . in all his forms [of a spirit, noble mummy] of a man of the necropolis because [I] am [calling to you] / in your name of s . . . ISIRA SIRATHMA, saying, 'I am . . . land.' O SYAL[. . . 50 [20]
NEBOY]TOSYALTH SIRATHMA saying, 'I am . . . s.' O SY[. . . NEBOYTOS]YALTH, let the [soul of the] noble spirit awaken to me; let him go [to the place] in which such-and-such is; let him greet (?) . . . have him do for me such-and-such a [thing] about [which I am] asking. . . .

Its preparation:⁷ . . . / these names with blood of . . . reed leaf; you put it . . . of 55 [25]
a dead man; you leave . . . of clay under the head . . . on (?) it; and you recite them to him again. You do . . . lunar month and it is left in a place. . . . If stubbornness occurs, you should [put] the hoof . . . of a male donkey and myrrh . . . on it and you should beat on the ground until it stops. . . . If you [will act against a man / you should . . .] of a male. If you will act against a woman, you should [. . . of a] 60 [1]
woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 67–68, col. 2/10–29; col. 3/1. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 60–101

***Another spell** for sending a dream: **Formula:** "[O] noble divine spirit [whose soul is in heaven] whose body is in the underworld, whose mummy [is among the living,] O good messenger of Osiris, O great follower of 'he who is in his bed,' the god . . . him (?). O guardian of the one who is in Alkhah,⁸ I am the soul of . . . the one who is in his [two sound] eyes, who protected his limbs in the soundness daily . . . / I am the offspring of khepri⁹ [whose] name is the divine [son?] of Amoun 65 [6]
. . . scarab . . . body of the noble mummy in the sarcophagus which rests in the underworld . . . true, of the house of embalming. . . . I am the bull of the . . . ; I am the lion; I am the lion; I am . . . ; I am the soul of Pre, the breast of Shu; I am the egg of the snake; [I am] the dung ball of the beetle.¹⁰ I am the lord of the Amhet-underworld;¹¹ I am the divine fluid / of the living . . . ; I am the noble head 70 [11]
which is in Abydos.¹² Come to me at night, quickly, quickly; hurry [hurry, O] soul

5. Perhaps one of the liked-named chapels listed in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. IV (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1927), 127–28.

6. Nun here and throughout this spell is the primeval waters.

7. Literally, "gathering of things"; the same term is used in PDM xii as a lahel for the directions.

8. See PGM IV. 124 and n.; cf. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to I. 3.

9. A sun god in the shape of the scarab beetle, whose dung ball represents the sun rolled across the sky. See PGM IV. 943 and n.

10. See n. 9 above.

11. I.e., the "upper" part of the underworld in contrast to *tph.t*, the "lower" part. See E. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, vol. II (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1968), par. 33, especially p. 622.

12. Osiris; see PDM xii. 628. On the dismemberment and burial of Osiris, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult, Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to Numen)* 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 24–25, 27, 51–52.

without the body, dead one without the noble mummy, the noble mummy without the netherworld, [the] netherworld without the funerary bed, without the sarcophagus without . . . shrine (?) . . . born of Horus . . . Seth acts . . . against Apophis, the slaughter (?) against the evil one¹³ again. The brazier is in your hand . . .¹⁴
 75 [16] morning bark / [at?] dawn, the evening bark greets heaven and earth with (?) a great fire. Woe, woe . . . until you send to him, NN, whom she, NN, bore, and you send his heart after NN . . . thing . . . at night, in the daytime, at any time, every day, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry . . . I [will?] say them and I [will?] . . . specification (?) of saying them.” *Formula: 7 times.*

80 [21] *Its preparation:*¹⁵ . . . kill it. You should bring it at the lunar month; / [you should] wash it in cow’s [milk] . . . ; you [should] anoint it with oil of lotus¹⁶ . . . of the leaf . . . reed; you should put [them?] at the seven(?) openings of the head and and bind them [with] linen . . . made by the hand of . . . bind them to its head; you should put its head . . . before the sun at dawn in the lunar month . . . to yourself barley and grain; you should leave them . . . you should put water of the divine lake
 85 [26] . . . after them for 7 days until they grow; / [you should] bring them up; you should dry them until the 15th of the month; you [should] pound them with myrrh, green eyepaint, [black] eyepaint (?), *qs-nh* stone,¹⁷ “live-thereby” plant, mustard . . . 7 reed leaves which are above.

[col. 4] Afterwards, [you should put] a scarab into [fat?] of a bull; you should put [it?] in a vessel of copper which is full of cow’s [milk] . . . until it . . . ; you should bring it up; you should put the . . . to the head of the . . . ; you should put blood of your
 90 [4] left thigh and your [right] thigh / on them; you should . . . the time; you should [shape them] into a mummy of the foremost of the westerners¹⁸ which amounts to 7 fingers [in length]; you should embalm it with myrrh, with ointment [and a covering of] byssus. Afterwards you should [sprinkle] pure sand; you should make a layer of sand under it in your . . . ; you should set the image on the layer of sand; you should leave the scarab on the body of the . . . after the embalming (it) which you did first with myrrh, with ointment and a covering of byssus itself (?); you should write the things which you desire on a new papyrus with carob tree (?) /
 95 [9] water; you should leave it before the image; you should cause the head which is on it to bend down; you should put a bandage of 4 [colors] on it, blue, red, white, black, on the head; you should leave it in a hidden place; you should put frankincense (?),¹ barley, a great recipe to the brazier before it; you should offer to it bread, beer, and milk, in its midst; you should have blood fall from you on the brazier; you
 100 [14] should put a piece of a red lizard / before it; you should recite these writings to it up to 7 times at night while you are in a [hidden] place which is clean; and you should make . . . settle (?)¹⁹ before it. It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 68–70, col. 3/1–27; col. 4/1–15. The word preceded by * is written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic inserted above.

13. Identical with *nk* of Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 205, 14–15, as suggested by Mr. Mark Smith.

14. The section left untranslated is glossed KN in old Coptic.

15. See n. 7 above.

16. Scented with lotus.

17. See *PDM* xiv. 98 and n.

18. An epithet of Osiris.

19. Literally, “lie down.”

PDM Suppl. 101–16

**Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “O Anubis, the high one of heaven, go to the underworld! Let the head of Osiris stop being far from him.²⁰ Give praise, love, and respect to NN before NN. Let him do everything which he will write for him, entirely. Move him! Give your iron staff / which is in your hand to the spirit! . . . Let him go to NN, whom NN bore. Let him stand before the image of the god who is great in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he seeking after him. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN so that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart, and may you say, ‘Give every good . . . thing to NN.’”

101 [15]

105[19]

Hear everything which he will say to you, entirely, while the crocodile of Isis, the great goddess, / is therein. [Let?] it be commanded before the gods to happen or you will delay because of it: “Is steadfastness [of] heart against me what you will do, so that you scorn (?) the blood of Osiris the moon, Thoth,²¹ at night at mid-month?”

110 [24]

Its preparation:²² On a new papyrus: you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it; you should write these writings under it; you should put it to the mouth of black dog of the embalming house; you should make great offerings before it; you should put frankincense on the brazier before him; / you should do it as a libation of milk of a black cow or a spirit whose face . . . ; and you should put its recitation in its mouth. [It is] very good.

115 [29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 70–71; col. 4/15–30.

PDM Suppl. 117–30

**Another form* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “O praised one, call to heaven! Speak to the underworld; Let Osiris stop sleeping while his head is far from him²³ until a forceful spirit which does not sleep at night is sent / so that he stand above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart, so that he say to him, ‘Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!’ Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN, saying, ‘Do the every command which NN will desire!’ Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit? Your soul will not be allowed to rise up to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation to dawn of day 26, while the excellent spirits are awake.”

120 [4]

Formula: / On a jackal of clean clay which is lying down, its body moistened with milk and fluid of a jackal of the embalming house with a . . .²⁴ on its foot. You should write your words on a new papyrus; you should put it in the jackal’s mouth; and you should leave the jackal on a copper lamp which a brazier is heating. You should recite these writings to it at night; you should stamp / on the ground with your foot.

125 [9]

130 [14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71, col. 5/1–14.

20. See n. 12 above.

21. For the association Osiris-moon-Thoth, see J. G. Griffiths, “Osiris and the Moon in Iconography,” *JEA* 62 (1976): 153–59, although this Demotic evidence shows that the ibis in the hieroglyphic examples is not just a determinative, as he thought (noted by Dr. Mark Smirh).

22. See n. 7 above.

23. See n. 12 above.

24. Perhaps “sound-eye” of Horus.

PDM Suppl. 130–38

- 130 [14] *A “god’s arrival”²⁵ of Osiris: “O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble soul of Osiris Wen-nefer, come to me! I am your beloved son, Horus. O gods who are in heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the primeval waters, O gods who are in the south, O gods who are in the north, O gods who are in the west, O gods who are in the east, come to me tonight! Teach me about such and such a thing /
- 135 [19] about which I am asking; quickly, quickly; hurry, hurry.”

Formula: On a phoenix written with myrrh water and juniper water. Put a pellet (?) of gum on your right hand; recite these writings to it in the evening while your hand is stretched out to the moon, while you are going to sleep; and leave your hand before you. (It is) very good. 4 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71–72, col. 5/15–22.

PDM Suppl. 138–49

- *A *spell for* ———. ²⁶ *Formula*: “The copper is bent down. The *neshmet* bark²⁷ will
- 140 [24] not stop sinking. The great / river draws blood. Isis is ill. [Neph]thys. . . . The copper will not stop bending. The *neshmet* bark will not stop sinking. The great river will not stop drawing blood. Isis will not stop being sick. Nephthys will not stop. . . . The copper is bent toward the one who is (?) in the sun bark. Re²⁸ is bent toward him while Amun is bent after him until sleep is taken from NN, whom NN bore, at night and care is given by day . . . until they [make] him do the thing which NN desires from him.”

- 145 [2] *Formula*: A / vessel of copper [in] which an image [of] Osiris is drawn with human blood; you should bend [it] down before a lamp with an [image] of Anubis drawn on the wick with blood of a black dog; you should put cedar oil in it out of a new vessel, it being established on a brick standing on its (?) . . . ; you should recite these writings to it up to 4 times. (It is) very good. There is not its like . . . in her (?) hand. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72, col. 5/22–28; col. 6/1–6.

PDM Suppl. 149–62

- 150 [7] *A “god’s arrival”²⁹ of Thoth according to what is outside,³⁰ also, *saying* / *Formula*: “I call to you, O Thoth, the hearing-ear,³¹ who listens to everything. I call to you in your names which are great, which are divine:

- ‘ALIPS THABLIPS STSILIPS ‘GAGARPAOTHAR THANASIMA QHAH ‘ORTHŌMENKH-ROON ‘BALSA ‘ALABAKHABEL.’ Awaken to me, O lord of truth! Tell me an answer in
- 155 [12] truth to the “god’s arrival” / concerning such-and-such a thing, in truth, without falsehood therein, so that I may awaken and find it (out).”

Its preparations:³² A new lamp whose wick is of byssus cloth which is very clean; you should fill it with genuine oil; you should burn (it); you should write your command on a new papyrus; you should put it under the lamp; you should put a

25. See PDM xiv. 93–114.

26. Erased.

27. Sacred bark of Osiris.

28. The sun god, more commonly written Prē.

29. See n. 25 above.

30. On the other side of the papyrus?

31. I.e., who listens to the petitions of the average man.

32. See n. 7 above.

lobe of “great-of-love” plant under the lamp’s mouth; and you should recite these names above to it 8 times. / It comes to you.

160 [17]

Here is the ink with which you should write your command on the bookroll: “Great-of-love” plant, a leaf of olive tree; you should cook them, make them into myrrh ink and write with it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72–73, col. 6/1–19. Words preceded by are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 162–68

**Another spell for finding your house of life. Formula:* “Open to me! I am the noble ibis; I am the ape of Edfu;³³ I am the great male, the scarab; I am the guardian of the great body; I am the snake of the 4 gods / who were with Isis while she was searching for the good [one].³⁴ SHAPL is [my] name as Sothis.³⁵ The Ethiopian is [my] name. Osiris the bull of magic is [my] name. The divine Ra-Shu is my name, I going to all the gods in order to cause that I find my house in which I shall live.”

165 [22]

Formula: On an ibis written with black ink on the left hand of a man when he sees that house of life.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73, col. 6/19–25.

PDM Suppl. 168–84

**A spell for reciting* a document which is. . . . It is a “god’s arrival”³⁶ of Iymhotep to whom the tenth belong also.

Formula: “Awaken! / Awaken in the underworld, Osiris Wennefer, 1 p h,³⁷ Iymhotep the great, son of Ptah! . . . I am [. . . is] my name, I gather a box [. . . the sound-] eye is [my] name (?) . . . ; the moon, Thoth . . . [Iymhotep the great], the son of [Ptah . . .], excellent mother, fashioner of the underworld, go forth. . . . They will not stand in / their box . . . [moisten ?] their box. You should awaken before Iymhotep the great, son of [Ptah . . .] son, daughter, that I might live, and you should tell [me] an answer [to] the thing which is on . . . bookroll . . . every voice. Come to me, Thoth the great, the lord of Hermopolis . . . him. Give watch to the head for [the] day.”

170 [27]

175 [5]

Formula: write . . . on (?) it [with] your hand with / myrrh ink; likewise under . . . lick it; you should open your mouth to the ground in a cry, saying, “. . . the sound-eye; the sound-eye is what I am.” You should open your mouth to it in order to lick it. Awaken at dawn; you should say: “Horus is my name; I am Horus, the triumphant.”

180 [10]

. . . *day on which you will do the “god’s arrival”* while the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, or Virgo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73–74, col. 6/25–27; col. 7/1–14.

PDM Suppl. 185–208

*“Face . . . which is at rest . . . except you also; my magical speech. I will take the

185 [1]

33. Presumably Thoth.

34. Osiris.

35. The star Sirius, by whose helical rising the beginning of the year is marked.

36. See n. 25 above.

37. “Life, prosperity, health.”

... Ò MITHRA A ... BARSA ... THŌMI, the great one who is pure, the one who
[grows ...] I putting them in your hand, NN, whom NN bore. [I cast] anger
against you in the head (?), NĒ[... stand]ing (?) without listening to your mes-
sengers, saying ... them in [the] hand saying ... concerning these things, /
190 [6] standing [without] listening to my prayer, my magical speech (?) ... it."

Its preparations:³⁸ ... draw ... of a crocodile ... of a snake ... make your hand
stand (?) on ... which belongs to you (?).

Formula: TERETA TABE KR ... N [ĒN?]Ē ... (another [manuscript] says N[?]
ELATS ... BATSY ...) +YO YAO SABATK M ... hand."

195 [11] Formula: " ... O NĒNĒBR ... /
dog. The one who is in bandages removes bandages; the one who is above ...
saying, 'I am Anubis, the ... of the underworld ... , Isis, the great goddess,
Osiris, the one who is in your hand, the lord of the gods ... against me in the ...
the dog ... the ... dog, the red dog, the red dog ... every ... You should ... at
night. Here is the ... of your tongue in the ... I am Anubis, the master of secrets.

200 [16] ... You should ... / to me at night, during the day. [I] will give you the greetings
of my mouth ... I am Anubis the master of secrets. ... Formula: 4 times ...
worm (?) saying "I am Isis ... , " saying, "I am Osiris ... saying, "I am ... I am
the lord who came before the ruler ... wick. ... I ... you will stand, you will
... , while he will go (?) [to? Horus?] the son of Isis, the [son of Osiris] ... of this
205 [21] ... will do it to a young bird ... will do it to a young bird ... / saying ... of the
harem, son of the harem, ... 7 times ... heart. Be deaf, head! Come ... ! Come
... head of. ... Open (your) mouth to me for I am Isis ... , I am Osiris, I am
Harsiese. ... " 2 palm trees. ...

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 74–75, verso, ll. 1–24. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

Glossary

The glossary provides explanations for some of the more difficult technical terms and names occurring in the *PGM*. Bibliographical data have been added for further study. More common terminology and names have not been explained since they can be found in easily available dictionaries.

ABERAMEN formula: The abbreviated formula stands for the long palindrome ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTUOŌTHENEMAREBA, a magical name occurring several times in the *PGM* (see I. 294; II. 125–26; III. 67–68, 116–17; IV. 181; V. 180; XIV. 25; CXXVla. 13–15, etc.). In it the name of the god Thoth can be read, although no meaningful decipherment of the word has been put forward. See K. Preisendanz, “Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, 3,” *WSt* 41 (1919): 11–12; M. Tardieu, “Aberamenthō,” in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Presented to G. Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 412–18.

ABLANATHANALBA: This palindrome, perhaps the most common in magic literature, often occurs in company with SESENGENBARPHARANGES. Usually invoked for beneficent results, this magical name has not been adequately explained although it has been suggested that the name contains Hebrew.

ABRASAX: This popular deity in magic (also spelled ABRAXAS) is identified with a variety of other names of gods and was explained by *gematria* (assigning the numerical value to the letters of the name) as the magic number 365 (see *PGM* IV. 331–32; VIII. 49, 611; XIII. 156, 466, etc.). Accordingly the deity is recognized as a solar god and is pictured on amulets as a snake-footed creature (the so-called *anguipede*), armored, and with the head of a cock. See Bonner, *SMA* 162–63; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 24–42; Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” *Hommages à W. Deonna, Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 67–86; C. Colpe, “Geister (Dämonen),” *RAC* 9 (1974): 618–19; Marcel Le Glay, “Abraxas,” *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 2–7, pls. 1–63.

ADŌNAI: An important angelic figure in gnosticism and in magic. The name originally came from the Old Testament designation “my Lord,” although this meaning had been long lost to the practitioners of the Roman Empire. See J. Michl, “Engelnamen,” *RAC* 5 (1965): 202. For the variant angel forms Adonael, Adonail, Adoniel, Adonaiel, see E. Peterson, “Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara,” *RhM* 75 (1926): 394.

ADONAIOS: Adonaios (an alternative reading of Adonai; note the Greek termination) is regarded in *PGM* as a name of the deity rather than as an epithet meaning “Lord” (cf. *PGM* I. 305). The Jewish origin, however, is still recognized (see *PGM* XII. 264). See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 203.

Agathos Daimon: “The good genius” was originally an epithet of a god invoked at Greek banquets. In the *PGM* the name has become a designation for a god—one, however, who can be identified with a number of different deities. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 264, 294–95; R. Ganschinietz, “Agathodaimon,” *PRE.S* 3 (1918): 37–59; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 213ff.; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619–20; W. Fauth, “Agathos Daimon,” *KP* 1 (1979): 121–22.

Aion: The god Aion, whose name signifies “long period of time,” “eon,” “eternity,” plays an important role in the *PGM*. For the complicated history of the god, see A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 4 (Paris: Les belles lettres, ³1954) 182–99; W. Bousset,

"Der Gott Aion," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 192–230; Fauth, *KP* 1 (1979): 185–88; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 146–48; Marcel Le Glay, "Aion," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 405.

AKRAMMACHAMAREI: This magical name, with variant spellings, occurs frequently in beneficent magical incantations in company with **ABLANATHANALBA** and **SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS**. For a possible explanation of the name from Hebrew, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965) 94–100.

Aktiophi(s): Hopfner has suggested that this name is an epithet of Selene, goddess of the moon, a name which occurs elsewhere in *PGM* (see IV. 2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913; VII. 317, 984; XVI. 23).

Ammon/Parammon: Hermes Parammon was honored as an Olympian god alongside Zeus Ammon and Hera Ammonia. The epithet Parammon probably means "he next to Ammon."

Amon (Amoun): The Egyptian god Amon. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 31–37, s.v. "Amun"; E. Otto, "Amun," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 237–48.

Anoch (Anog, anok): These letters, occurring often at the beginning of an invocation, correspond to the Egyptian *ink* (Coptic *anok*), "I am." See S. Sauneron, "Le Monde du Magicien Egyptien," *Le Monde du Sorcier* (Paris 1966) 36–39.

Anouth: Name of Osiris (see VII. 238, 243, 247; VIII. 83, 98–99, 102).

Anubis: Anubis is the jackal god of mummification, the son of Osiris and Nephthys. On Anubis as key holder and guard (*PGM* IV. 1465), see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln: Bohlau, 1975) 510–20; J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Jean Leclant, "Anubis," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 862–73 and plates.

Aphrodite Ourania: "Heavenly Aphrodite," whose city is Aphroditopolis (Dendera), refers to Hathor; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 277–82, s.v. "Hathor."

Apollonius of Tyana: This famous first-century philosopher/magician is the subject of an extant biography by Philostratus. The attribution of a spell to him at *PGM* XIa. 1 is unique in ancient magical literature. For a survey of the problems and bibliography, consult E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II. 16. 2 (1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686.

Apophis (Aphyphis): The "unseen serpent" (see *PGM* IV. 190–91; cf. *PGM* III. 87) is Apophis, who is slain daily by Seth/Typhon in the barge of Ra. See E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–52; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51–53, s.v. "Apophis."

Archentechtha (Harchentechtha): This is the Egyptian god Har-Khenty-Khet; cf. *PGM* III. 170. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai"; U. Rössler-Köhler, "Horus-Chentechtai," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 27–33. [R.K.R.]

Arsenophre: The Egyptian god Arsenouphis (note also *PGM* II. 117; IV. 1629; XII. 183; XIXa. 7). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 54–55, s.v. "Arsnuphis"; E. Winter, "Arsenuphis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 424–25. [R.K.R.]

Arsentechtha (Harsentechtha): Perhaps the Egyptian name can be read Harsennechtha, "Horus, child of the strong one." [J.B.]

Arsentephtha: The name is probably Egyptian, "Horus, child of Ptah." [J.B.]

Artemis: In the *PGM* the goddess Artemis is identical with Selene, Hekate, and Persephoe (see also IV. 2523, 2720–21, 2816ff.; LXXVIII. 11–12, with a drawing of Artemis Multimammaeae). The invocations to Artemis, however, do contain archaic elements of her original cult. See T. Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," *Pisciculi, Festschrift F. J. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 125–45.

Assistant Daimon (paredros): Hellenistic magic knows of a special type of daimon called *paredros* ("assistant" or "attendant spirit"). The name refers to a deity who has been summoned as a servant to carry out any number of specified magical tasks. Cf. also *PGM* IV.

1348, 1841, 1851 (with *parastatēs*), 2083, 2109, 2145 (note); VII. 884; XII. 14ff. and surrounding contexts. See M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series 76 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) 88–95; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 1ff.; C. Colpe, “Geister (*Dämonen*),” *RAC* 10 (1974): 621ff.; C. Zintzen, “Paredros (*paredros*),” *KP* 4 (1972): 510–11.

Astrapsouchos: According to Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several magicians; see E. Riess, “Astrampsychos,” *PRE* 2 (1896): 179–80.

author: See **Hathor**.

BAINCHŌŌŌCH: This formula, which invokes the god whose name corresponds to “spirit (soul) of darkness” (*b3 n kky*), occurs regularly in magical papyri and on curse tablets. [R.K.R.] See Bonner, *SMA* 26, 146; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 224 and n. 23.

Balsames: This angelic name served originally as the name of a Phoenician sun god, but in *PGM* IV. 1019 the god plays the role of a light divinity from heaven. Cf. XII. 494. See A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 149–51, 185–86.

Basym: This magical name may have originally come from the Aramaic words meaning, “In the name of. . .” For the magician, however, the word serves as a magical name. See G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 235–51.

Baubo: Baubo may have originally come as an independent deity from Asia Minor, where Hekate also came from; she then entered into the circle of Demeter and the mysteries of Eleusis. See W. Fauth, *KP* 1, s.v. “Baubo.”

Bear constellation: The identification of the constellation of the Bear with Artemis occurs at *PGM* VII. 687. The Great Bear was believed to be Callisto, Artemis’ fellow huntress, who was transformed into a constellation. Callisto was a manifestation of Artemis herself, who played an important role as a she-bear, especially at Brauronia. See also *PGM* IV. 1302; VII. 862; XII. 190; XIIIb. 26; LXXII. See W. Sale, “The Temple Legends of the Arkteia,” *RhM* 118 (1975): 265–84; L. Kahl, “L’Artemis de Brauron. Rites et mystères,” *Antike Kunst* (1977): 86–98; W. Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57 (1984): 93–99.

Bes (Besa, Besas): Ancient Egyptian religion knew of an entire class of so-called Bes-demons (in Greek, Besas), distinguished by their dwarf-sized ugliness, who served as protectors of sleep and childbirth. In Hellenistic Egypt, Bes became a pantheistic deity, and in this form he appears in *PGM* VII. 222–49 and VIII. 64–110 (see also LXXXVIII: his plant, IV. 807). His role as an oracle giver was popular at Abydos (Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 12). In *PGM* the god was identified also with the Headless One (see n. on *PGM* II. 11). On Bes, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 101–9; H. Altenmüller, *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 720–24, with bibliography.

Biaiothanatos Daimon: The *biaiothanatoi*, those who died violent deaths, were unable to enter the underworld because their time on earth had not been completed. After death, they lingered as evil spirits and were subject to magical compulsion. See J. H. Waszink, “Biothanati,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 391–92.

Breathing stone: The magnet. Magnetism fascinated ancient philosophers and scientists, who explained the phenomenon in a variety of ways. Already Thales explained it in magical terms when he stated that “life” (*psychē*) is in a magnet. Magnetic stones, not surprisingly, played a great role in the magic of all periods. See A. Barb, “Lapis Adamas,” *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, I (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1969) 67ff.

Brimo: For this epithet of Artemis of Pherai in Thessaly, see *PGM* IV. 2270, 2291, 2611, 2964; VII. 692; LXX. 20, where the epithet is attributed to Hekate, Selene, Persephone. Etymologically, she is the “snorting” and “angry” and therefore “terrible” goddess of the netherworld; cf. the command in *PGM* IV. 2247; Lucian, *Necyom.* 20. See O. Kern, “Brimo,” *PRE* 3 (1887): 853–54.

Chnouth (Chnoubis): The lion-headed serpent was popular in magic and is often found pictured on amulets. The daimon is a syncretistic combination of the Egyptian creator god Chnoum, the serpent Kneph, and the star *Knm*. In the *PGM* the name occurs mostly in *vores magicae*, especially in the Harpon-Knouthi formula (see, e.g., *PGM* III. 435–36, 560–63;

IV. 2433; VII. 1023–25; XXXVI. 219–20; *DMP* 16, 6–9). For the amulets, see Bonner, *SMA* 54–60; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 54–73; for references, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. “Chnum”; E. Otto, “Chnum,” *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619.

Daimon, pl. daimons: In the *PGM*, as often in Greek literature, this term is used of deities and lesser spirits whose influential control is sought. In the New Testament, the word is used of an evil spirit, “demon,” a sense not generally used in the *PGM*.

Decans: The Decans are the thirty-six deities each of whom presides over ten degrees of the zodiac. See in general, Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder*; cf. also G. J. Turner, “Mathematics and Astronomy,” in J. R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 46–53; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 1 (Providence and London: Brown University Press, 1960) 95–121. [R.K.R.]

Demokritos: Strangely, the philosopher of Abdera (fifth century B.C.) was thought in antiquity to have been involved in magic. See E. Wellmann, “Demokritos (6),” *PRE* 5 (1903): 135–40; I. Hammer-Jensen, *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 219–23; H. Steckle, *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 191–223, esp. 193–94, 199–200. See also **Ostanes**.

EILANCHYCH formula: For this magical formula, see *PGM* III. 131ff.; IV. 1625, 1630 (with corrupt or variant spellings). **EI** is perhaps Coptic for “house.” [R.K.R.]

Eloaios: Eloaios occurs in *PGM* in various forms (*Eloe*, *Eloucin*, *Elouai*) as a name for the Jewish god (see *PGM* I. 311; IV. 1577; VII. 564; XXXVI. 42). In Gnosticism he is one of the light-acons and is described as having a donkey’s face. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965) 212, no. 73: Eloaios.

ERBETH formula: The formula “IÖ ERBETH, IÖ PAKERBETH, IÖ BOLCHÖSETH, IÖ APOMPS” occurs quite often in magical texts, especially in malicious invocations. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 142–43.

Erebos: An old Greek expression for the dark underworld, the place of the dead. Sometimes in literature it describes a place for the impious only, other times for the good before they are admitted to the Elysian fields. See O. Waser, “Erebos,” *PRE* 6 (1907): 403–4.

Ereschigal: This name of the Babylonian underworld goddess is regularly associated with the Greek Hekate. The deity already occurs in the lead curse tablets of the fourth century B.C.

Erotylos: A writer of Orphica (see *PGM* XIII. 945) by this name is not otherwise known but may be the person mentioned by Zosimus in Bertholet and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecques* II (1888) 144, 7. See Kern, *Orph. Fr.* p. 71, no. 235; idem, “Erotylos,” *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 386. For the possible Greek meaning of the word, consult LSJ s.v.; cf. also *PGM* VII. 478; CXXIIIa. 24 and comments by F. Maltomini, *Studi classici e orientali* 29 (1979): 76–77.

Esies: Esies (Egyptian *hsy*, “praised”) is an epithet of the sacred dead often applied to Osiris who was drowned and restored to life. See S. Eitrem, “Tertullian *de Bapt.* 5. Sanctified by Drowning,” *ClR* 38 (1924): 69; A. Hermann, “Ertrinken/Ertränken,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; C. Strauss, *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19.

Eulamo: For literature and a possible interpretation of this magical name, see H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, “Two Curse Tablets from Beisan,” *TAPA* 68 (1937): 62; cf. *PGM* III. 57; VII. 401; IX. 8; XVI. 18.

Faïence: Faïence is a blue-green earthenware material popularly used in ancient Egypt for jewelry and other objects.

Good Daimon. See **Agathos Daimon**.

Hapi and Mnevis: The Apis (Hapi) and Mnevis bulls were incarnations of Ptah, Osiris, and Ra, respectively. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 46–51, s.v. “Apis”; 468–470, s.v. “Mnevis.”

Harpocrates: Harpokrates (“Horus the child”) typically is portrayed with a finger of his right hand to his mouth, and he also may hold a crook and flail in his left hand. Harpokrates is the son of Isis and Osiris and is identified with the rising sun. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 273–75, s.v. “Harpokrates”; D. Meek, “Harpokrates,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1003–11.

Harpon-Knouphi formula: This is Horus Knephis. On “Knephis” (*Km-3t.f*) as the

Agathos Daimon, see *LdÄ* I, 94; II. 1011–12. For this as Horus Khnum (and on the formula in general), see P. Pedrizet, “BRINTATĒNŌPHRIS: l’ un des noms magiques du dieu Chnoum,” *Mélanges Maspéro, II: Orient grec, romain et byzantin* 137–44; G. M. El-Khachab, “Some Gem Amulets Depicting Harpocrates,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–33; D. Meeks, “Harpoknuphi,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1011–12. [R.K.R.]

Harsamosi: According to W. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 452, the name is Egyptian *Hrsmw*, “Horus the Firstborn.” See also *PGM* II. 155; XI. 91–92; XIII. 626; cf. I. 240–41. See D. Jankuhn, “Horsemsu,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 13.

Hathor: The Egyptian goddess of love; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 22–105; F. Daumas, “Hathor,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1024–33.

Headless One (Greek Akephalos): The Headless God is one of the most peculiar deities of the *PGM*. His origin seems to be in the older Egyptian religion, but he became very popular in Hellenistic Egypt, where he could be identified with Osiris (as in *PGM* II. 98–117) and Besas (as in *PGM* VII. 222–49; VIII. 64–110). Headless deities are also known outside Egypt. Plutarch tells about the headless Molos in Crete (*Def. orac.* 417E), Pausanias of the headless Triton in the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra (9. 20. 5); see A. Delatte, “Etudes sur la magie grecque V,” *BCH* 38 (1914): 189–249; K. Preisendanz, “Akephalos,” *RAC* 1 (1950): 211–16; K. Abel, “Akephalos,” *PRE* 12 (1970): 9–14, with bibliography. For depictions of the god, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, plate I, 2; Bouner, *SMA* 58, 110, 164–66, 178, 243; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 42–54.

Helios: The Greek word for the sun (Helios) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Helios is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as “sun,” unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of a deity.

Helios-Osiris: Although this link is possible through the fusion with Sarapis, for the older link of Osiris and Re, see A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21.

Hephaistos: The important connection of Hephaistos, the Greek god of the hearth and of fire, with magic is reflected a few times in *PGM* (see VII. 379; XII. 177, 417, 439). Since Herodotus, Hephaistos was the Greek interpretation of Ptah. See M. Delcourt, *Hephaistos ou la légende du magicien* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1957).

Hermopolis: Hermopolis is “the city of Hermes,” the cult center of Thoth in upper Egypt, the modern Ashmunein; cf. *PGM* III. 664; 670. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 293–95, s.v. “Hermopolis.”

Hesies: See **Esies**.

Horus: The great Egyptian god, son of Osiris and Isis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 307–15, s.v. “Horus”; W. Schenkel, “Horus,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 14–25.

Iabas (Iabo, Iabai, Iapos): This is apparently the Samaritan enunciation of the tetragrammaton YHWH (Yahweh), elsewhere rendered *Iabe* or *Iabai*; cf. *PGM* V. 102; XIc. 1; XII. 4 and S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 273–74 and passim. See also **IAÖ**.

IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN formula: This magical formula (often abbreviated) is intended to read as the long palindrome IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYEAIPIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖEAI; see *PGM* I. 140, 195; III. 60–61 (var.), 77, 268, etc.

IAÖ: Iaö, originally derived from the name of the Hebrew god YHWH, became an important deity in magical literature. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 215, no. 102; R. Ganschinietz, “IAÖ,” *PRE* 9 (1914): 698–721. In addition to being attested in the Nag Hammadi Library (see Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index), Iaö is also found at Qumran, 4Q Lev^b LXX; cf. H. Stegemann, “Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten,” in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978) 195–217.

IARBATHA formula: A common magical name, which, when spelled out fully and with allowance for variant spellings, reads IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAÖCHNĒMEÖ (see *PGM* I. 142, 195; III. 472, 535; XII. 94–95). PHIBAÖCHNĒMEÖ may be equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 hib* 3 *Hnm* 3, “the great lamb, Khnum the great.” [R.K.R.]

Ieu (Jeu): The scribe Jeu is mentioned only in *PGM* V. 97 (cf. also I. 141) in *PGM*, but the

name is known in Gnostic literature. Elsewhere in *PGM* the name occurs rather frequently as a god or magical name. See C. Schmidt, ed., and V. MacDermot, trans., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex, NHSt 9* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

Isis band: Cloth or material taken from the dresses of statues of the gods, especially of Isis, was considered magically potent. Isis is a widow of Osiris and thus identified with the color black. See *PGM* I. 59; VII. 227, 231; VIII. 67; see Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 90, 451; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 678. [R.K.R.]

Jacob: The patriarch Jacob named at *PGM* XXIIb. 1, together with Abraham and Isaac in XIII. 817, XXV. 14, occurs frequently in the context of magic. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 349–58; M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

Khnum (Chnum): The Egyptian ram god; see *PGM* I. 27–28; IV. 327. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otro, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54.

Kmeph: The Egyptian serpent god Kmeph or Kneph occurs in *PGM* IV. 1705; III. 142; IV. 2094; VII col. 17 with picture. See Bonner, *RÄRG* 378–79, s.v. "Kneph."

Kommes: The name Kommes is still unexplained (see also II. 122; cf. "Kommi" in XVI. 63; Kom-Re in *DMP* xii, xv). See Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternebilder* 233–34.

Lamella, pl. lamellae: From the Latin for a thin, metal plate. The word is used to translate a number of Greek terms for tablets of thin gold, silver, iron, or lead. The lamellae are usually engraved and worn as amulets or talismans (phylacteries). If lead is described, the tablets usually intend malicious or harmful magic.

Lamps, not painted red: In the *PGM* we find frequent references to the use of lamps with no red coloring (see I. 277, 293; II. 57; IV. 2372, 3191; VII. 542, 594; VIII. 87; XII. 27, 131; LXII. 1). Dipping the clay into red ocher (*milto*) or painting it on before the firing, as customarily done, would give the lamp a reddish color. In lamp divination, however, the red color had to be avoided because of its association with Seth-Typhon. See W. Kroll, "Minium," *PRE* 15 (1932): 1848–54; R. Ganszyniec, "Lychnomanteia," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2115–19. Cf. also *DMP* col. V, 4, pp. 44–45 (with note), where the lamp is said to be white, without the application of red lead (*pr̄s*). On the significance of red, cf. G. Posener, "Les signes noirs dans les rubriques," *JEA* 35 (1949): 77–81. [R.K.R.]

MASKELLI-MASKELLÖ formula: This well-known formula, written fully as MASKELLI MASKELLÖ PHNOUKENTABAO OREOBAGRA RHËXICHTHÖN HIPPOCHTHÖN PYRIPĒGANYYX, occurs often in magical literature (note *PGM* VII. 302; IX. 10; XXXVI. 342–46; *DMP* xv. 2; *Pistis Sophia* IV, chap. 140 [MacDermot 365]). On the meaning see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 747; Preisendanz, "Maskelli Maskellö," *PRE* 14 (1930): 2120. Within this formula, among other things, occur four words which may be old Greek epithets: *Oreobazagra*, perhaps an epithet of Hekate or of the moon goddess (thus *LSJ*, but of uncertain meaning); *Rhezichthōn*, a word which may be translated "bursting forth from the earth" (thus *LSJ*; see Cook, *Zeus, III* 4–5 for parallels and discussion. See also Bonner, *SMA* 170; *Orph. H.* 52. 9); *Hippochthōn* (meaning unexplained, thus *LSJ*: Audollent, *Tab. Def.* 38129; cf. Hermann, "Erdbeben," *RAC* 5 [1965]: 1082ff.); *Pyripēganyx*, perhaps "lord of the fount of fire" (*LSJ* s.v.; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 29).

Material, magical: "Material" (*ousia*; see *PGM* I. 99, IV. 2336, etc.) is the magical substance such as hair, thread from clothing, etc., which is often necessary to make sympathetic magic effective. See K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri, I," *WSZ* 40 (1918): 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 667–77.

Meliouchos: The meaning of this epithet is still unexplained. In the magical texts it can be attributed to various deities. See *PGM* III. 45–46, 99; V. 4; VI. 33; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 22. 32; 38. 12; see P. E. Göbel, "Meliouchos," *PRE* 15 (1931): 554–55.

Mene: This is an epithet of the moon goddess, Selene; see *Hymn. Hom.* 32. 1; *Hymn. Orph.* 9. 3, 4; *PGM* IV. 2264, 2546, 2815; VII. 758.

Mithras: The Persian god is mentioned only a few times in *PGM* (note III. 100, 462; IV. 482) and each time as being identical with Helios or with Zeus-Helios-Sarapis (see *PGM* V. 4). See Nilsson, *GGR* II, 668–72; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 67ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, "Mithras

in der Römerzeit," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen in Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 96–120, with bibliography.

Moses: In Greco-Roman antiquity, Moses was widely recognized as a great magician. See Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 134–61.

Myrrh(ed) ink: This ingredient used for writing on papyrus occurs throughout the *PGM*. Cf. the note on the Demotic equivalent *r' w hl* in *DMP* v. 5.

Nature (Greek Physis): *Physis* appears from early times as a deified conception of nature's powers of creation and creativity. As such, *Physis* has an important role in most philosophical schools, especially where the concept of *kata physin* ("in accordance with nature") seems at times to rise almost to the level of a religious credo (so in Seneca, *De Prov.* IV. 15 and often). *Physis* appears often elsewhere as a goddess: cf., for example, *Hymn. Orph.* 10 which is addressed to *Physis*. Much of its language closely resembles that in the *PGM* hymns to the moon (to whom *Hymn. Orph.* 9 is addressed). In *PGM* *Physis* the goddess appears elsewhere at IV. 2883, 2917; see also IV. 939 and n. The surprising thing is that she does not appear more often in *PGM*. See K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86.

NEBOUTOSOUALETH: The name occurs frequently in magical literature and is often connected with Aktiophis and Ereschigal. In *PGM* the triad is often attributed to deities of the underworld, especially Hekate. The name Nebutosoualêth may be derived from the Babylonian god Nebo, but the origin is not clear. See K. Preisendanz, "Nebutosualeth," *PRE* 16 (1935): 2158–60; Bonner, *SMA* 30, 197–98.

Nephotes: The name appears to be a hellenized form of the Egyptian Nefer-horep (*Nfr-hrp*), but it is uncertain to whom it refers. Originally, it was the name of an Egyptian deity. See A. Rusch, "Nephotes" *PRE* 16 (1935): 2493–94; cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 518–19, s.v. "Nephotes." [R.K.R.]

(On)nophris: An epithet of Osiris, "The Beautiful Being." For the common proper name Onnophris, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 242. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078; IV. 128. [R.K.R.]

Oserapis: The occurrence of the old name Oserapis (cf. *PGM* XL. 1) for Serapis on the fourth century B.C. curse found in the Serapeum of Memphis is important for the origins of this cult. See on this issue Nilsson, *GGR* II, 156. Cf. also the note on *PGM* XIXa. 6.

Osoronophris: This is equivalent to the Egyptian *Wsir Wn-nfr*, "Osiris the Beautiful Being"; cf. *PGM* V. 101 and IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

Ostanes (Osthane): The historical Ostanes was a theologian at the court of Xerxes, with whom he went to Greece. He is said to have taught Demokritos the philosopher (who is also mentioned in *PGM* IV. 2006; VII. 167, 795; XII. 122, 351) and to have introduced magic to Greece (Pliny *NH* 30. 8). Later, many different writings were transmitted under the name of Ostanes. See J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès, et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1938), vol. II, 267–356; K. Preisendanz, "Ostanes," *PRE* 18 (1942): 1610–42.

Ouroboros: The serpent who swallows its own tail is a widely used figure in magic. See W. Deonna, "Ouroboros," *Artibus Asiae* 15 (1952): 163–70; K. Preisendanz, "Aus der Geschichte des Uroboros," in *Brauch und Sinnbild. Eugen Fehrle zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern und Freunden* (Karlsruhe: Kommissionsverlag Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1940) 194–209. For examples of the figure on Egyptian monuments, see A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1955) pl. 48; idem, *Mythological Papyri* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1957) 22, fig. 3; 174, fig. 74; papyri 20, 27. [R.K.R.] See *PGM* I. 145–46; XII. 203–4, 274–75; VII. 58–59; XXXVI. 184.

Ouserrannophthi: This is Egyptian *Wsir-rn-nfr*, "Osiris of the good name." [R.K.R.]

Palindrome: Palindrome (lit. "running back again") refers to magical words, usually of no recognizable sense, which can be read and pronounced the same forward as backwards.

Persian: The epithet "Persia," used of Artemis-Hekate (cf. *PGM* IV. 2271, 2715, 2781) shows evidence of the identification of the goddess with the Persian goddess Anahita. See Diod. V. 77 and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 672ff.

Pitys: W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* ([Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907] 192, n. 1; cf. *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 59, 105, 157, 210) has suggested that the Thessalian Pitys named in *PGM* IV. 1928, 2006, 2140 is in fact identical with the Egyptian priest and prophet Bitys (Iamblichus, *De myst.* 8. 5; 10. 7), the Bitos named in Zosimos' *On the Letter Omega*, and Bithus of Dyrrhachium mentioned in Pliny, *NH* 28. 82. See Fesrugière, *La Révélation* I, 268; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 610; K. Preisendanz, "Pitys (3)," *PRE* 20 (1950): 1882–83.

Phre: See **Ra**.

Phtha: See **Ptah**.

Phylactery: A phylactery (Greek *phylaktērion*) in the *PGM* refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet, or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which is worn about the person for protection. The term should not be confused with the Jewish technical term referring to the *tefillin* cases with Scripture verses.

Pnouthis: Pnouthis, or Pnythios, is an Egyptian name and means "He of God." See K. Preisendanz, "Pnouthis," *PRE* 41 (1951): 1104.

Priestly papyrus: Or "hieratic papyrus" refers to the best quality of paper for the writing of magical spells (cf. for example, *PGM* I. 233; IV. 2363, 2512–13; VII. 412). For this technical distinction on the quality of papyrus, see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 43–45. [R.K.R.]

Processional way (Greek *kōmastērion*): Ordinarily refers to the meeting place of the revelers of Dionysos, but in *PGM* it is used several times as a metaphor describing heaven as a place of procession of the stars (see also *PGM* IV. 1608–9; XII. 184, 252; XIII. 774; XXI. 10; LXXVII. 13).

Psammetichos: The name is the hellenized form of the Egyptian name *Psmṯk*. A legendary figure, Psammetichos I (663–609 B.C.) was the first king of the twenty-sixth Dynasty, but other figures also bore this name. See W. Helck, "Psammetichos," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1305–8.

Psychē: See **Soul**.

Punishments, the (Greek *hai Timōriai*): These are the Greek deities responsible for retributive punishment and hence appropriately cited in spells dealing with malicious magic. See *PGM* VII. 303; XIII. 149, 291, 457; and K. Ziegler, "Timoros," *PRE* 2nd ser. 6 (1937): 1308–9.

Ptah: This is the Egyptian creator god, for which see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Prah."

Pythagoras: Because of his interest in the mysticism of numbers, this philosopher's name became attached to late texts associated with mantic and magic. See W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 109ff.; idem, *Griechische Religion* 445–47.

Ra (Re, Phre): The Egyptian god of the sun (*P)rē*, without the definite article. Re means simply "sun," while *Prē*, the form of the god's name from the New Kingdom onward, means "the Sun." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 626–30, s.v. "Re."

Sarapis (Serapis): The god Sarapis, closely associated with Osiris in *PGM* IV. 226, appears mostly in the *PGM* as identical with Zeus and Helios (see, e.g., IV. 1715; V. 4–5; LXXIV. 4–5, 14, and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 513), but not with Dionysos, with whom the Greeks identified Osiris (Herod. 2. 42; Plut. *Is. et Os.* 356C). See G. Roeder, "Sarapis," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1920) 2394–2496; John E. Strambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, *EPRO* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); G. Mussies, "The Interpretatio Iudaica of Sarapis," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, *EPRO* 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 188–214; L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis," in *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* 121–56. See *PGM* XIXa. 6 and n.

Sachmou: This is the Egyptian goddess of war and plague (*PGM* VII. 300), Sakhmet; see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet." [R.K.R.]

Scarab: The beetle (*Ateuchus sacer*) regarded as holy by the Egyptians and associated with various deities. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 720–22, s.v. "Skarabäus"; J. Assmann, "Chepre," *LdÄ* I (1975): 934–40; J. Bergman, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

Selene: The Greek word for the moon (*selēnē*) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Selene is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "moon" unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of deity.

SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS: A magical name very common in the *PGM*. It is often found together with *ABLANATHANALBA*. For possible derivations of the name and further references, see W. Fauth, "SSM PDRŠŠA," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 120 (1970): 229–56, esp. 254–55.

Seth: See Typhon/Seth.

Soul: The word *psychē* occurs frequently in *PGM* where it usually means "soul," "mind," etc., and "spirits of the dead." But in several passages (VI. 277, 2488; VII. 414, 472; XVIIa. 18) *psychē* means female pudendum, i.e., a synonym of *physis*, another regular term for the pudendum both in *PGM* and elsewhere. In addition, there are other places (i.e., IV. 1040, 1526, 1752, etc.) where *psychē* is translated "soul," but the erotic context also suggests the added meaning of pudendum. Indeed, it is entirely possible that such a double entendre was the origin of the extended meaning (see esp. IV. 1752, 2924; XXXII. 9, 15; XXXIIa. 15). This meaning of *psychē* occurs also outside of *PGM*. See, e.g., Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 193–99, esp. 195; Martial, *Epigr.* 68. 5–12, esp. 5–7; and also Sophocles, *El.* 775. [E.N.O.]

Systasis: "Divine encounter," *vel sim.* is a technical term for a rite (*PGM* IV. 778–79; VII. 505ff.) or prayer (*PGM* III. 197–98, 494ff.; IV. 260ff.) to establish an association between a god and a person. Sometimes the association is really only a meeting between the god and the human in order for the human to receive a revelation (*PGM* III. 197ff.; see II. 192–96; cf. also II. 43, 73; III. 698–99) or a blessing (see II. 576ff. in *PGM* III. 494ff., and in IV. 260ff., II. 272 and 284–85). At other times, the association is to be more long-lasting, and the god is to ally himself with the human (*PGM* I. 57, 79–80, 177–81) even to the point of some real sort of union (*PGM* IV. 209, 219–21; cf. II. 215–17; XIII. 927–31). There is no single English word to encompass this variety of meanings, and therefore *systasis* and cognate words are translated in a variety of ways throughout this volume. For a different interpretation of *systasis*, see K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 40 (1913): 2–5.

THERNOPSIS formula: This formula in *PGM* III. 186, IV. 828–29, VII. 316 (with corruptions or variant readings) refers to the magical incantation "PSINÖTHER NÖPSITHER THERNÖPSI." For possible Egyptian meaning, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 750. Note, however, that the three words form rearranged groupings of the syllables PSI, NÖ, and THER. [R.D.K.]

Thoth (Thouth, Thoouth, Theouth, Thooth): The Egyptian god of wisdom and magic, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. See Bonnet, *RARG* 805–12, s.v. "Thot"; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979), esp. 124ff.; G. Mussics, "The Interpretatio Judaica of Thot-Hermes," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 89–120.

Typhon/Seth: The identification of the Egyptian god Seth with the Greek Typhos or Typhos was already made by the Greeks of the Classical period (Hesiod, *Theog.* 820ff.) and was common in the Greco-Roman Period (see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351f and often), a fact reflected also in the *PGM* (see, e.g., VII. 964; XII. 138; XIV. 20). For references, see Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 556–57, 620–21. Because the figure of Seth was believed to be donkey-headed, Typhon in *PGM* IV. 3260 and elsewhere (cf. XIa. 1–2; IV. 2220) probably means "ass." See H. re Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula: For this formula (with variants) see *PGM* II. 32; IV. 2771ff. (cf. IV. 337); V. 424ff.; VII. 680ff.; 895ff.; XIII. 923ff.; XIXa. 12; *DMP* vii. 25–26. In this formula, AKROUROBORE is believed to mean in Greek "eater of the tip of your tail" (thus *LSJ*), a reference to the ouroboros (see Glossary, s.v.). On the formula, see Drexler in Roscher, I, 2. 2771; J. M. R. Cormack, "A *Tabella Defixionis* in the Museum of the University of Reading, England," *HTR* 44 (1951): 25–34, esp. 31–32.

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*Cum nuper tecum (reverende pater) in cænobio tuo apud Herbipolim
aliquandiu conversatus, multa de chymicis, multa de magicis,
multa de cabalisticis caeterisque; quae adhuc in occulto
delitescunt arcanis scientiis atque artibus una contulissemus:
magna inter cæteras questio erat (...) magia ipsa...*
Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa to Johannes Trithemius (1509/1510)

KD: *Dedicated to the memory of Deirdre Jill McGarry*

MP: *Dedicated to the memory of Jacqueline Trak, who taught me how to learn*

Foreword

It has become increasingly common to see “magic” as a negative word, primarily designating illicit religion and ritual. But while this was often true in antiquity, in the modern day it tends to conjure up different associations—the promise of romance and excitement (“magical adventures”) or of miraculous ease and efficiency (“it works like magic!”). This may be why magical texts are often of such interest, even—and perhaps especially—to non-scholars; they seem to embody the distance between our own mundane present and the past, in its alien distance and possibility. Yet the reality is that magical texts are often inaccessible or obtuse—difficult in their language, and drawing deeply from a reservoir of cultural references unfamiliar to most modern readers.

The present volume is the product of the project *The Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* (2018–2023), whose goal was to make one group of these texts, those written in Coptic, more accessible to scholars and laypeople. This project was funded by, and housed at, the Julius Maximilian University Würzburg through the Excellent Ideas programme. We must in particular thank Martin Stadler and Daniel Schwemer for supporting the initial proposal, made by the project leader Korshi Dosoo; without their advocacy, and later guidance, the project, and this volume, would never have come to be.

When the project began in 2018, Dosoo worked alongside Edward O.D. Love and Markéta Preininger, respectively the post-doctoral and doctoral research fellows. In 2021, Love moved on from the project, while Preininger became the post-doctoral research fellow, and Julia Schwarzer in turn joined the team as doctoral research fellow. Throughout the course of the project, the core team was assisted by numerous co-workers and collaborators, notably Matouš Preininger, who worked as information technician from 2020–2022, and Stella Türker and Selina Schuster, who joined as research assistants in 2020 and 2022 respectively. While we continually received invaluable support from the Coptological, Papyrological, and Egyptological communities, a number of colleagues were recognised as contributors to the project based on their valuable input: Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin, Anne Grons, Krisztina Hevesi, Bill Manley, Ortal-Paz Saar, Anne Sieberichs, Simon St-Arnault Chiasson, and David Tibet.

The initial goal of the project was to develop a database which would facilitate the study of the corpus within its larger context, by including data on magical texts in Coptic, Greek, Demotic, and other relevant languages. This materialised in the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects*, launched online in October 2020. The database initially focused on metadata—that is, physical and bibliographical descriptions of manuscripts—but, over the five years of the

project, we continually edited published and unpublished Coptic texts and made them available through the *Kyprianos* database. From the beginning of the project, we envisaged its culmination in a published volume. It is now clear that the full corpus will require an extensive series of volumes, and it is the first of these which you are reading now.

Our original conception of the volume was of something like a *Sammelbuch*, a volume that would bring together and present editions and translations with minimal commentary. Our reasons for this were simple—while we are confident that we have made significant progress in understanding these texts, major unanswered questions remain, and we thus preferred to separate the presentation of the texts from their interpretation. Consultation with colleagues nonetheless convinced us that something more complete was required. As a result, this volume does contain extensive commentary, and, while we are certain that it will become outdated over time, we nonetheless hope that it will allow readers an initial basis on which to develop their own understandings and interpretations.

This volume offers editions of 37 manuscripts from Egypt, written in Coptic, dating to between the fourth and eleventh centuries of the common era. These are of the type known as formularies, handbooks describing numerous rituals for accomplishing diverse goals, such as obtaining health, love, success, and cursing enemies. In a sense, it is here that we see a link between our modern conceptions of magic as a domain of infinite possibility, and past conceptions, in which ‘magical’ texts offered one way of dealing with the dangers, conflicts, and frustrations of life. While all ancient texts are valuable in providing windows onto the past, our experience has been that magical texts are often particularly rich sources; we find in them everything from the structure of the angelic hierarchy of the highest heavens to names for and descriptions of cooking pots.

Acknowledgments

This project is heavily indebted to the work of previous and contemporary scholars who have worked on Coptic magic, figures such as Angelicus Kropp, Marvin Meyer, Jacques van der Vliet, and David Frankfurter, who have been a great inspiration to us over the last five years, and readers will see their names regularly cited.

Of more immediate relevance for the project, we must thank again Martin Stadler and Daniel Schwemer, as well as Roland Baumhauer, the former dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Alfred Forchel, former president of the Julius Maximilian University Würzburg for financing and supporting the project. Korshi Dosoo would like to thank Malcolm Choat, Rachel Yuen Collingridge, Jennifer Cromwell, and Victor Ghica, his first papyrological and Coptological mentors; Iain Gardner and Jay Johnston, on whose project he first began to explore

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Contributors to this volume

This volume was produced under the direction of Korshi Dosoo, who is also the primary author of the introduction. Both he and Markéta Preininger, the second author, were involved in every aspect of the volume, from initial conception to publication, and are jointly responsible for all of the manuscript introductions, editions, notes, and the glossary. Edward O.D. Love was involved in some way in the work which lies behind all of the manuscript editions in the volume, either collecting their metadata, producing tracings, working on apparatuses, or as one of the primary text editors. Julia Schwarzer participated in the editions of several of the manuscripts, worked extensively as a researcher on various aspects of the volume, including the identification of Biblical passages, produced most of the tracings, and was involved with many of the practical aspects of the volume's creation, including the *index locorum*, the index of Arabic words and, with Markéta Preininger, the indices of Greek words and abbreviations. Selina Schuster was responsible for most of the initial work of layout, as well as the formatting and the bibliography. Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin cooperated with the team externally to produce several editions in this publication. For some of the more complex tracings (those on pp. 310, 320, 366), automatic binarisation was carried out by Raquel Martín Hernández using the techniques described in Martín Hernández/Shaus 2022, before being manually touched up by Julia Schwarzer.

Using this volume

The volume is intended to accommodate a broad audience. For students and enthusiasts without knowledge of Coptic, we provide English translation and commentaries to the texts. For experts in Coptic and papyrology and other specialists, we provide detailed information on acquisition of the manuscripts, hands, dialect, and a detailed apparatus and index of Greek and Coptic words and abbreviations at the end. A glossary at the end of the book gives brief definitions of some of the most common concepts and expressions found in the manuscripts.

This volume exists in a symbiotic relationship with the *Kyprianos* online database. Every manuscript has an ID number in this database, given in the section “other references” in the introduction to each papyrus in the form KYP M(anuscript) followed by the number; each individual textual unit also has a reference, KYPT(ext) + number. These allow the manuscripts and their constituent texts to be consulted online, and doing so will allow readers to see any updates or corrections, or additional bibliography, which has appeared since the publication of this volume.

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List of Critical Signs

[]	Gap due to damage in the writing surface
[...]	Presumed number of lost letters
[[]]	Deletion by copyist
\ΔΒΓ/	Letters written above the line
/ΔΒΓ\	Letters written below the line
{ }	Deletion by the editor
< >	Addition or emendation by editor
()	Resolution of an abbreviation
. . . .	Unreadable letters
ΔΒΓ	Damaged or uncertain letters
⁵	Line change
- - - - -	Papyrus broken
*Iao	Word appears in the glossary
Iao [?]	Translation uncertain
<i>vac.</i>	Vacat (unwritten space)

Introduction

The texts presented in this volume are those defined by scholars as ‘magical’, written in the Coptic language on papyrus and other supports (parchment, paper, wood, ostraca). Both of these terms—“magical” and “Coptic”—require some explanation. This introduction will begin by offering brief presentations of what it means for a text to be defined as “magical” in the context of papyrology, and then give an overview of the Coptic language. This will be followed by a short history of the study of Coptic magical texts. The next part of the introduction will provide a summary of the manuscripts and texts contained in this volume in terms of their materiality and structure, before we end by presenting the volume’s conception and principles—how the editions of texts are organised and how they may be understood.

1. Situating Coptic Magical Texts

1.1. The Christian Magical Tradition in History

In the context of papyrology, the term “magic” refers to manuscripts containing a specific genre of ritual texts. These are texts attesting to a range of private, non-institutional ritual traditions, whose typical features (more fully discussed in 3.5 below) include the use of “magical words” (*voces magicæ*), “magical symbols” (*kharaktēres*), and particular verbal and ritual practices.¹ Likewise, the texts reflect a recurrent set of concerns—they aim to achieve specific goals, including healing disease, casting out demons, protecting their user from hostile magic, cursing enemies, manipulating relationships (gaining social success, separating friends or couples, causing men and women to be attracted to one another), and divining the future through the consultation of superhuman beings.²

The use of the term “magic” to refer to such texts in the context of papyrology began in the early nineteenth century in reference to Greek magical papyri.³ Thus, it predates and does not relate directly to questions of the relationship of magic and religion, magic as marginal religion, or magic as a specific mode of rationality which became key concerns in the wake of the work of late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars such as James Frazer, Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss,

¹ For other introductions to Coptic magical texts and their wider context, see van der Vliet 2014 & 2019b; Bélanger Sarrazin 2017; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 51–56.

² For an overview of the types of rituals found in these texts, see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 58–62.

³ Cf. Dosoo 2021a: 677–679 & forthcoming a.

and Bronisław Malinowski.⁴

These older magical Greek and Demotic papyri are today understood as one piece of evidence for a larger Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition.⁵ Such texts survive from the first century BCE to around the fifth century CE, and seem to represent an innovative textual and ritual tradition which draws upon older Egyptian and Greek, and to a lesser extent Jewish and Mesopotamian, ritual practices. These traditions existed alongside one another in the multi-ethnic Egypt of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, in which the native Egyptian majority lived under the rule of Greek-speaking elites, and alongside large numbers of immigrants from around the Mediterranean, including the Near East.⁶ The earliest examples of Coptic-language magical texts occur in a few of the predominantly Greek manuscripts of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition, but these are generally non-Christian, centred on traditional Egyptian deities, and written in a form of the language different from the standard Coptic used by Christians.⁷

The Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri were produced in a period of dramatic historical changes. Within Egypt, the traditional temple cults show a precipitous decline from the third century onwards, so that few temples lasted beyond the second half of the fourth century CE.⁸ The reasons for this are still imperfectly understood, but seem to be linked to changes in the Roman policy, which restricted the temples' economic base while reducing the amount of direct support that they received from the imperial administration. The second major event was the rise of Christianity; Egyptian Christians claim that their faith arrived in Egypt in the mid-first century CE with Saint Mark, the author of the gospel of the same name. More concretely, Egyptian Christian authors are known from the second century, but the community was likely small, and restricted to the area around Alexandria.

⁴ Cf. Dosoo 2021a: 677–679; Dosoo forthcoming a. The key works associated with each of these authors are Frazer's *Golden Bough* (in particular, the 1925 abridged edition), Hubert/Mauss' *Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie* (1902–1903, translation in Mauss 1972), and Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (1935). Helpful overviews of these theoretical approaches may be found in Tambiah 1990 and Sørensen 2007: 9–28. See also the reflections on the function of the term “magic” in Bohak 2009: 110–112; Sanzo 2020.

⁵ For overviews of the Graeco-Egyptian corpus, see Brashear 1995; Dieleman 2005; Dieleman 2019. For texts from this corpus, see Preisendanz/Henrichs 1973–1974; Betz 1986; Daniel/Maltomini 1990–1992; Faraone/Torallas Tovar 2022a, b.

⁶ Cf. Dieleman 2005: 285–294; Dosoo forthcoming b.

⁷ Magical texts written in Old Coptic script include BM EA 10808/*GEMF* 14 (KYP M545); *PGM* III/*GEMF* 55 (KYP M154) ll. 410–423, 633–731; *PGM* IV/*GEMF* 57 (KYP M3) ll. 1–21, 81–153 (cf. the Egyptian passage written purely in Greek characters in ll. 1231–1239 (cf. n. 13 below)); compare also *GEMF* 16/*PDM* xiv (KYP M162), which uses Old Coptic script for glosses, and the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus (KYP M524), a letter to a god written in Old Coptic (for which see Love 2022c: 225–456, with further references *ad loc.*). For discussions, see Satzinger 1994; Love 2016.

⁸ On the decline of the Egyptian temples, see Bagnall 1988; Bagnall 2008; Dijkstra 2008; Fournet 2020b; cf. Monson 2012: 131–141; Connor 2022; Sippel 2022.

This changed in the third century, when Demetrius (r. 188–230 CE), the bishop of Alexandria, began to appoint other bishops in the *khōra* (Egypt outside Alexandria), and the first mentions of Christians in surviving papyri occur shortly afterwards.⁹ Christians nonetheless remained a sporadically persecuted minority until the fourth century,¹⁰ when the Emperor Constantine and his successors made Christianity first a licit religion (313 CE), and then the state religion of the Roman Empire. Christians in Egypt went from being a small minority (perhaps *ca.* 10%) at the beginning of the fourth century to a majority (*ca.* 70%) by the end of it, and virtually the entire population of Egypt by the middle of the fifth.¹¹

This had a major consequence for the magical tradition, which had continued to exist and evolve alongside Christianity. Magic, like Christianity, was distrusted and punished by the Roman state; early Christian rituals may often have looked like magic to non-Christians.¹² One of the earliest surviving Christian ritual texts, an exorcism written in a non-standard version of Coptic, is found in a fourth-century magical manual which otherwise primarily consists of texts belonging to the Graeco-Egyptian tradition. The manual's compiler must have considered the exorcism as part of the same broad category of ritual practice.¹³ The pre-existing distrust of magic among some members of the Graeco-Roman elite was taken up by Christians and combined with the Jewish injunction against rituals defined as *kišuf* ("sorcery") to create a strong anti-magic discourse within Christianity.¹⁴ Early canons and council proceedings defining how Christians should behave forbade the baptism of "magicians" (*magoi*) and similar figures, and prescribed penance for those who practiced or made use of magic.¹⁵

By the fourth century, the "Great Church"—that form of Christianity sponsored by the Imperial authorities and headed by bishops—had developed its own suite of rituals, known as the Christian liturgical tradition. This included the regularly-performed anaphora—the consecration of bread and wine for the communion ritual—as well as others for more specific needs, such as exorcising demons and healing illness.¹⁶ These latter practically-oriented rituals could overlap in terms of function with those of the magical tradition and were promoted by bishops as

⁹ See Wipszycka 2015: 60–74. On Christianity in Egypt more generally, see Choat 2012a.

¹⁰ For a recent discussion, see Luijendijk 2008: 155–226.

¹¹ Depauw/Clarysse 2013; *cf.* the reflections in Choat 2006: 52–55; Frankfurter 2014; Depauw/Clarysse 2015.

¹² For the Roman legal measures against the practice of "magic", see Pharr 1932; Phillips 1991; Kippenberg 1997; Rives 2003; Rives 2006; for the association of magic with Christians, see Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.6, 29, 38, 68, 6.38–41; *cf.* Stratton 2007: 117–120; Bremmer 2002: 54–56.

¹³ *PGM* IV/*GEMF* 57.1227–1264; see the discussion in Rist 1938: 289–303.

¹⁴ Harari 2019.

¹⁵ On Christian opposition to magic, see Dickie 2001: 251–272; de Bruyn 2017: 17–42; Sanzo 2019b: 221–223; van der Vliet 2019a; Dosoo 2021b: 49–50, 52–54.

¹⁶ For the Christian liturgical tradition, see Johnson 1995: 111–277; Johnson 2010; Mihálykó 2019, and for the relationship of magic to liturgical texts, see Kropp 1930: III 180–244.

alternatives to them. Yet the magical tradition did not disappear, despite the efforts of the Christian hierarchy; rather it underwent what we can characterise as a series of parallel and overlapping processes of Christianisation.¹⁷

The first way in which the magical tradition might become Christian is simply related to context. A few texts were transmitted with little change for centuries; these included narrative charms containing stories of the traditional Egyptian gods, which circulated in Egypt until the ninth century or so.¹⁸ Yet, merely by virtue of existing in a primarily Christian context, they began to reflect this context—the degree of traditional religious content atrophied, so that the divine protagonists became little more than names, while references to the Christian God began to be incorporated.¹⁹

This changed context likely also led to the preferential survival and transmission of texts which circulated prior to Christianity, but which were already amenable to a Christian audience.²⁰ While many of the magical texts dating to before the fifth century contain mention of the deities of Greek and Egyptian cults (Osiris, Anubis, Selene, Hekate, and so on), this is not true of all of them. The magical tradition also made extensive use of Jewish names—the personal name and titles of the Jewish God, *Iao Sabaoth Adonai, and the names of angels such as Michael and Gabriel.²¹ It is often unclear whether these were used by Jews, Christians, or gentiles—or most likely all three—but they become more frequent in texts from Egypt from around the third century, perhaps as a result of the rise in prominence of Christianity. Likewise, many of the “magical names” were not linked to any real cults and so could be reinterpreted by Jews and Christians. ‘Abraxas’, a name with solar associations within the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, was reinterpreted as the name of the angel of the sun in Jewish and Christian magic.²² Many magical texts which circulated before the Christianisation of the Roman Empire could thus continue to be used in an only slightly modified form.

Another way in which magic could be made Christian is in the composition of new texts, which drew upon the techniques of the magical tradition—the use of *voces magicae*, *kharaktēres*, and so on—but called exclusively upon figures from the Jewish-Christian tradition, and which made use of the ritual techniques of the Christian liturgical tradition.²³ This process seems to have begun in the early centuries CE, when the first stages of the handbook known as the *Testament of Solomon* may have been composed.²⁴ But many of the texts which survive in

¹⁷ Cf. de Bruyn 2017.

¹⁸ These are discussed below at 3.2.3.

¹⁹ Cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 244–250 *et passim*; van der Vliet 2018a: 158–160; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 61–64.

²⁰ On this process, cf. Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a.

²¹ Bohak 2008: 194–214.

²² See *Abraxas in the glossary.

²³ Compare the discussions in de Bruyn 2017; van der Vliet 2020.

²⁴ See the introduction to PCM I 38 for a fuller discussion of the *Testament of Solomon* and

the Coptic magical tradition seem to be later compositions, dating to the period between the fifth and seventh centuries.

In the earlier Graeco-Egyptian tradition, works were often attributed to famous authors—the Persian priests called *magoi*, Egyptian kings and priests, or Greek philosophers and sages²⁵—and this continued in the Christian texts, which could be attributed to Biblical figures, famous saints, and even angels.²⁶ Just as in the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, however, these longer pseudepigraphal texts are complemented by shorter, anonymous recipes of a similar type, which constitute the majority of surviving texts.

The Christian magical tradition seems to originally have been Greek in language, but in Egypt it was translated very quickly into Coptic, the contemporary written form of the native Egyptian language. It is in Coptic that the vast majority of Christian magical texts from the Egypt of the first millennium CE survive. The papyrological evidence from Egypt suggests that Christian magical texts flourished in the centuries following the Christianisation of Egypt, but clerical opposition remained. We continue to find church canons and sermons from bishops from this period denouncing the practice of magic, even when it appeared to be Christian. The sixth-century *Gelasian Decree*, a list of forbidden books from the Western Roman Empire, lists among them “all amulets which have been composed, not by angels, as they pretend, but by the magical arts of demons”.²⁷ Yet the need to repeat bans on magic demonstrates that, like the apocryphal literary works which also appear in the *Decree*, Christian magic continued to enjoy considerable popularity among both laypeople and clerics.

While we have been discussing Christianity as a monolithic object, the textual and material evidence from Egypt demonstrates its great diversity. Relevant for us here is the phenomenon of Sethian Gnosticism, a movement within Christianity which saw Jesus as a revealer sent by the true God to unveil the saving “knowledge” (*gnōsis*) that the world was a creation of the lesser deity of the Hebrew Bible, which could be escaped through secret rituals.²⁸ The only primary sources for Sethian Gnosticism come from Egypt, primarily fourth and fifth-century Coptic codices, including those of the famous Nag Hammadi Library. Another religion related to Christianity, Manichaeism, developed in Mesopotamia in the middle of

further references.

²⁵ See Dieleman 2005: 263–275; Suárez de la Torre 2014.

²⁶ In this volume, see for example the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’* (PCM I 25 pp. 2–9), the *Endoxon of the Archangel Michael* (PCM I 26), the *Love Spell of Cyprian* (PCM I 28), and the texts based on the *Testament of Solomon* (PCM I 30 & PCM I 36 ll. 13–15).

²⁷ *Gelasian Decree* 244–245, in von Dobschütz 1912: 74–75.

²⁸ See Brakke 2010; Burns 2019, for helpful overviews. Note that while here we present ‘Sethian Gnosticism’ as a Christian movement, other scholars see it as having a more complex relationship to Christianity, either being originally derived directly from Jewish sources and only later taking on Christian trappings, or existing in a border space between Christian and Jewish traditions; see *inter alia* Yamauchi 2003; Burns 2014.

the third century, reaching Egypt via missionaries towards the end of that century.²⁹ It saw itself as the culmination of previous revelations by Zoroaster, Moses, the Buddha, and Jesus, and envisaged the world as a battleground between the forces of light and darkness, in which human beings would be reborn until they were able to return to the realm of light through ritual purification and good deeds. Well-attested in Egypt by papyri in Greek, Coptic, and Syriac, Egyptian Manichaeism disappears from the archaeological record in the fifth century, likely a victim to Imperial and Christian hostility.³⁰ Both of these movements have left traces in the papyri published here—the earliest Coptic magical text we publish (*PCM* I 1) comes from a Manichaean household, and many of the others contain names taken from, or reminiscent of, the divinities of Sethian Gnosticism, a feature shared by a few later Coptic apocryphal literary texts.³¹

While these ‘alternative Christianities’ left only traces, a major split in the Christian tradition in Egypt occurred at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, at which the head of the Egyptian Church, Dioscorus I, Patriarch of Alexandria, was deposed. Dioscorus had supported the miaphysite position, that Jesus had one nature, at once human and divine, while the larger Imperial Church supported the dyophysite position that Jesus existed in two natures, one human, one divine.³² This event would ultimately divide the Egyptian Church, creating a situation in which Alexandria has generally had two patriarchs, one Miaphysite, one Chalcedonian. The patriarchates of Peter IV (r. 576–78) and his successor Damian (r. 576–605) created a distinct Miaphysite hierarchy of bishops, existing in parallel to the Chalcedonian hierarchy (and, indeed, other, smaller factions).³³ This miaphysite church is the predecessor to the modern Coptic Orthodox Church, which expanded after the Muslim conquest of Egypt (642 CE), becoming the numerically dominant Christian church in Egypt.³⁴ Whether they were always the majority is unclear; the Chalcedonian Church (whose modern successors include the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches) was supported by the Imperial state and many of the Egyptian elites; it has been suggested that they controlled the cities while the

²⁹ For brief overviews, see BeDuhn 2000; Teigen 2021: 1–21; Brand 2022: 5–12.

³⁰ Cf. the overview in Gardner/Lieu 1996; Gardner 2022: 295–305.

³¹ For the relationship between Sethian Gnosticism and magic, see Burns 2018; Choat 2019; Piwowarczyk 2020.

³² In the past the miaphysite churches were usually referred to as ‘monophysite’, but this term is generally rejected by modern members of non-Chalcedonian churches, who prefer ‘miaphysite’ (cf. Awad/Moawad 1999; Farag 2011). For a fuller discussion of the theological questions, see Farag 2014. The term ‘miaphysite’ has been strongly criticised by Luisier 2014 as being both misleading (since he finds the theological differences with dyophysitism minimal) and an unacceptable Greek formation, but it remains widely used; alternatives include simply ‘non-Chalcedonian’ and ‘henophysite’.

³³ Booth 2017; Dekker 2018: 4–9 *et passim*; cf. Mikhail 2016: 10–15.

³⁴ Mikhail 2016: 60–64.

Miaphysites controlled the countryside.³⁵ It is following the rift at Chalcedon that the Miaphysite Church started to develop a distinctively Egyptian identity—albeit one with close links to their Miaphysite brethren in Syria, Armenia, Nubia, and Ethiopia—and it is in the sixth century, around the time of the patriarchate of Damian that we begin to see major original literary compositions in Coptic rather than translations from Greek; it may be that many of the magical texts contained here belong to this same period of creativity.³⁶

In the seventh century, Egypt would be definitively severed from the Roman Empire when, in 642 CE, it was conquered by the Muslim armies under the successors of Muhammad. But cultural change seems to have been slow. The new rulers initially left much of the Late Roman administration in place, and made no concerted effort to convert the population to Islam.³⁷ It was only in the eighth century that Arabic gradually replaced Greek as the language of administration.³⁸ While an Arabic-Muslim magical tradition would develop—in part through contact with the older Greek tradition³⁹—the Christian magical tradition shows little hint of the changed cultural realities until the ninth century or so, when Arabic loanwords begin to appear, mainly as the names of ingredients, in texts which otherwise belong to the same tradition as those transmitted before the conquest.⁴⁰ This shift in the ninth century is likely due to the larger socio-political forces at work—it was in the ninth century that the last major revolts against Arab-Muslim rule took place, and in their wake, the rate of conversion of Egyptians to Islam increased, and even Christians began to use Arabic in their daily lives.⁴¹ This process culminated during the period of the Bahrī Mamlūks (1250–1382 CE); Christians became a minority of about 10% of the population of Egypt, as they remain to today.⁴² Coptic became a primarily written, rather than spoken language, which had to be learned by priests for recital in the liturgy; no substantial original texts were composed between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴³ This period marks the end of the production of Coptic-language magical texts, which ceased

³⁵ Wipszycka 2015: 140–146 (arguing for the predominance of the Chalcedonians in the cities); Mikhail 2016: 14–15 (arguing for the numerical majority of the Miaphysites), 27–28, 38–39, 55 (on Chalcedonian adherence among elites); Booth 2017: 160 (arguing that whether the Miaphysites were always the majority is unknowable); Dekker 2018: 146–47, 278–279 *et passim* (arguing against the restriction of Miaphysite bishops to the countryside).

³⁶ Orlandi 1998; Orlandi 2005; Buzi 2021.

³⁷ Frantz-Murphy 2004; Sijpesteijn 2013: 48–111.

³⁸ Richter 2010: 214–215 *et passim*; Sijpesteijn 2013: 104.

³⁹ The literature on Arabic-language magic is extensive. For some works offering introductions, see Saif *et al.* 2020; Bsees 2019; Coulon 2017.

⁴⁰ Love 2022a: 182–195.

⁴¹ O’Sullivan 2006; Richter 2009: 417–434; Sijpesteijn 2013: 105–113; Wissa 2020; *cf.* Lev 2012; Mikhail 2016: 118–127.

⁴² Little 1976; Bulliet 1979: 92–99; O’Sullivan 2006.

⁴³ Richter 2009: 426–434; Zakrzewska 2014: 84–87.

to be copied and composed around the twelfth century, like most other types of Coptic-language texts.

Christian Egyptians continued to practice magic, often using texts translated or inspired by older Coptic-language texts, but also increasingly influenced by the Muslim magical tradition which existed around them.⁴⁴ The most prominent of the later texts are the *Guides to the Psalms* which contain ritual instructions for various purposes using the text of the Psalms as the spoken formulae.⁴⁵ Coptic-language magic, however, was just one branch of a larger Christian magical tradition, perhaps originally linguistically Greek, but translated into and then elaborated in many local languages. Magical texts which share close affinities with those in Coptic can be found in Mediaeval and/or early modern texts in languages such as Armenian, Greek, Syriac, Old Nubian, and Ge'ez (the liturgical language of Ethiopia), with a few texts sharing not only specific magical names or practices, but also representing parallel versions of especially popular texts which survive in Coptic.⁴⁶ The Coptic tradition, like all of these others, demonstrates particularities, the result of original composition as well as local Christian and pre-Christian specificities. One important aspect of the Coptic magical corpus is its early date. Thanks to the dry climate of Upper Egypt, many texts survive in Coptic which are many centuries older than the copies preserved in other Christian traditions. These copies allow us a privileged perspective on the complex process by which 'magic' became 'Christian'.

Before leaving behind the history of Coptic magic, it is worth briefly mentioning

⁴⁴ For examples of Copto-Arabic magical texts (*i.e.*, magical texts used by Egyptian Christians and written in Arabic), see Khater 1970; Viaud 1977; Henein/Bianquis 1975, and see the discussions in Fodor 1978; Viaud 1978; Budelli 2014.

⁴⁵ Published *Copto-Arabic examples include Khater 1970; Henein/Bianquis 1975; Viaud 1977; *cf.* Fodor 1978. For Greek examples, see Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a & 2022b, and for Ethiopian examples, see Strelcyn 1981. Earlier Coptic examples exist, but are currently unpublished; an early example on papyrus is P.Duke inv. 460 (KYP M404; *cf.* Zellmann-Rohrer 2022b: 1116 with n. 3), although the best-dated is Collège de France Ms. 3 (KYP M597), with a colophon dating to 1035 CE; *cf.* Pezin 1983.

⁴⁶ For Armenian magical texts, see Wingate 1930; Feydit 1986; Vardanyan 2012, and for a discussion see Russell 2011. For Christian Greek magic, see Delatte 1927; Marathakis 2012; Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a, and for discussions, see Greenfield 1988; Maguire 1995; Zellmann-Rohrer 2016 & 2019; Afentoulidou 2021. For Syriac magical texts, see Hazard 1893; Gollancz 1912; Lyavdansky 2011; Cherkashina (Nurullina) 2012 & 2021; Cherkashina/Kuzin 2022; Cherkashina/Lyavdansky 2021 & 2022; Dickens/Smelova 2021; Cherkashina/Cherkashin/Saar 2022, and for discussions see Hunter 1987 & 1990; Moriggi/Bhayro 2022. For Greek and Old Nubian magical texts from Christian Nubia, see Hägg 1993; Ruffini 2012; Lajtar/van der Vliet 2011 & 2017. For Ge'ez magical texts, see Basset 1892 & 1984; Worrell 1909, 1910 & 1915; Grohmann 1917–1918; Euringer 1928 & 1937; Griaule 1930; Strelcyn 1955; Strelcyn 1981; and for discussions and overviews, see Rodinson 1967; Young 1970 & 1975; Mercier/Mercier 1974; Mercier 1988; Chernetsov 2005 & 2006; Mulugetta 2015; Kebede 2017; de Ménonville 2018a & b; Derillo 2019; Malara 2022.

its complex relationship with medicine.⁴⁷ Coptic magical and medical texts can often be distinguished based on the practices they contain: medical texts aim to heal the body through the application of pharmacological agents or the use of basic surgical interventions. While magical texts for healing may involve such medical techniques as the use of plasters, fumigation, or salves, they often accompany them with other elements, such as spoken formulae and the wearing of amulets.⁴⁸ Coptic magical and medical texts are generally transmitted in different manuscripts, which contain recipes belonging primarily to one genre or the other, and magical healing recipes often occur alongside texts for other purposes, such as love spells, curses, and divination. Yet there is also overlap; as we note below (3.1.1), there is evidence of medical doctors using magical texts, and we do sometimes find magical and medical texts transmitted in the same manuscripts. In these cases, and those of recipes which involve the preparation of pharmacological agents similar to those found in medical texts, but simply add a spoken formula, the theoretical line between magic and medicine may be very fuzzy.

1.2. The Coptic Language

We have described Coptic-language magical texts as part of a larger, primarily Greek-language Christian tradition which developed in Late Antiquity and which existed both within and beyond Egypt. This does not mean that it is without unique characteristics; several texts feature Pharaonic Egyptian deities whom we would not expect to find in non-Coptic texts, while other texts reflect theological details particular to Egyptian Christianity. Furthermore the Coptic-language magical texts show an occasional but recurrent interest in adapting healing prayers into curses and love spells which we do not find in other traditions.⁴⁹

In this volume, “Coptic” is a linguistic designation, describing the written form of the native Egyptian language as it existed in the first millennium CE, descended from its older forms. Pre-Coptic Egyptian texts survive from the third millennium BCE to the fifth century CE, written in the native hieroglyphic, hieratic, and, later, demotic scripts. Coptic is thus the descendant of the older forms of Egyptian in the same way that modern Italian is descended from Latin. But with the arrival of the Greek language in Egypt around the time of the conquest of Alexander (332 BCE),

⁴⁷ For Coptic medical texts, see Till 1951; Richter 2014b; Richter 2016b; Grons 2021; Grons 2022; Grons forthcoming.

⁴⁸ For discussions of the distinction between medical and magical texts in Coptic, see van der Vliet 2019b: 334–335; Dosoo 2021b: 61–2; Grons 2021: 124; Dosoo 2022c: 521–22. Note that we are here making a distinction between textual genres, rather than a larger theoretical point about the difference between ‘magic’ and ‘medicine’ as cross-cultural categories.

⁴⁹ See *PCM* I 28 & 31, as well as the unpublished Montserrat, Abadia Inv. 604 + 1235 (KYP M30), which seems to represent a love spell drawing on the *Prayer of Mary* (for which see *PCM* I 25, pp. 1–9).

Egyptians began experimenting with writing their language in the Greek script, producing early instances of ‘Graeco-Egyptian’ writing, generally short texts such as graffiti or personal names.⁵⁰ By the early centuries CE, Egyptian priests were using mixed systems of Greek supplemented by Demotic signs, first to annotate texts written in older forms of the language, and later to write continuous texts; these various systems are known as ‘Old Coptic’.⁵¹ Sometime around the late third or early fourth century, one of these Old Coptic systems began to be used by Christians for purposes including the translation of the Greek Bible into Egyptian and the writing of private letters, creating the basis for standard Coptic.⁵² This language remained Egyptian in grammar and basic vocabulary, but was written using the Greek alphabet of 24 letters, supplemented by 6–7 letters (depending on the dialect) drawn from Demotic to represent sounds not present in Greek. Coptic also incorporated a significant number of loanwords from Greek, the result of the influence of that language in the spheres of religion (as the language of Christianity) and political power (as the language of the Roman administration).⁵³

It is likely that the Egyptian language was always made up of multiple dialects, but this diversity was concealed by older writing systems which tended to represent single dialectal varieties.⁵⁴ Coptic, by contrast, was very diverse, with different dialects representing standardised versions of the different forms of Egyptian spoken throughout the Nile Valley and the oases. It was also diverse in its use; in the third to fifth centuries, Coptic was also used to write Hermetic, Sethian and Valentinian Gnostic, and Manichaean texts translated from Greek (or, in the case of the Manichaeans, perhaps Syriac). A form of Egyptian is likely to have been the predominant spoken language of Egypt until the ninth century, when it was replaced by Arabic. Written Coptic would have been close, if not identical, to the spoken language of most Egyptians, making it the written language most readily learned and understood.

In both Coptic and Greek, the Coptic language was referred to simply as “Egyptian”, and this holds more or less true for Arabic, in which the term *qubṭ* or *qibṭ* (from Greek Αἰγύπτιος *Aiguptios*) came to refer to non-Arab Egyptians, and thus their language (*al-qibṭiyya*), both contemporary Christians and their non-Christian ancestors.⁵⁵ As Arabic became the spoken language of all Egyptians between the ninth and twelfth centuries, Coptic became restricted in role to the liturgical language of the Miaphysite Egyptian church. Thus, when Europeans began to take an interest in Egyptian Christians from the late fifteenth century,

⁵⁰ On ‘Graeco-Egyptian’ writing, see Quack 2017.

⁵¹ On Old Coptic, see Kasser 1991a; Satzinger 1991; Richter 2009: 406–416; Quack 2017; Love 2021a, 2021b, 2022d.

⁵² Richter 2009: 414–417; Choat 2012b: 586–588; Fournet 2022: 7–16.

⁵³ For Greek loanwords in Coptic magical texts, see Hevesi 2022.

⁵⁴ Allen 2013: 4.

⁵⁵ Lane 1863: 2484a s.v. قبط; Omar 2013; Sijpesteijn 2021: 349, 355–356.

they encountered them as a minority within Egypt, and referred to them not simply as Egyptians, but as (in Latin) *copti*, an adaptation of the Arabic word. This single word thus came to refer simultaneously to the ethnic group, the Church to which they belonged, and the liturgical language of that Church.⁵⁶ Thus, in modern European languages, we often refer to Coptic people, a Coptic Church, and a Coptic language. But when we refer to Coptic magical texts, we are referring only to texts written in the Coptic language, generally at a time when it was the language of almost all Egyptians rather than of a religious minority. Although many of those who used these texts would have considered themselves Christian, and may have belonged to the miaphysite Church, their practices were not generally approved of by the Church hierarchy. In this sense, Coptic magic must be distinguished from the Coptic Church and modern Coptic people, and rather seen as the local Egyptian form of a broader ritual tradition common to contemporary Christians, and shared, to a considerable degree, with their Jewish and Muslim neighbours, who may even have used it at times.⁵⁷ Indeed, hundreds of magical texts produced and used by the Egyptian Jewish community from around the tenth century CE onwards survive in the archive known as the ‘Cairo Genizah’.⁵⁸ Many of these show striking parallels to contemporary Coptic magical texts in their language, structure, and ritual practices. As more Arabic papyri from Egypt are published, we can expect to find comparable similarities with texts produced and used by Muslims.⁵⁹

2. The Study of Coptic Magical Texts

The earliest Coptic magical text to be published by a Western scholar was a short invocation to angels for healing contained in a codex of largely pharmacological medical recipes, published by the Italian scholar Georges Zoega.⁶⁰ The first text

⁵⁶ Hamilton 2006: 24 *et passim*.

⁵⁷ For Arabic Muslim magic, see n. 39 above; for Arabic Christian (‘Copto-Arabic’) magic in Egypt, see n. 44 above. Some Coptic magical texts contain Arabic names, perhaps suggesting Muslim clients; see Love 2022a: 192; Dosoo forthcoming c. Cf. n. 58 below.

⁵⁸ For texts from the Cairo Genizah, see *MTKG* I–III; Schiffmann/Swartz 1992; Naveh/Shaked 1993: Geniza 9–29; Schäfer/Shaked 1994–1999, and for discussions, see Swartz 1990 & 2006; Wasserstrom 1992; Bohak 1999; Bohak 2005; Saar 2014; Bohak/Saar 2015; Bellusci 2016; Saar 2017 & 2019a. The presence of a few Coptic-language texts in the Genizah suggests the involvement of Jewish Egyptians with Coptic-language magic; these include *P.Lond. Copt.* 524 (KYP M359) and Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum 1902; KYP M534).

⁵⁹ Cf. Bsees 2019.

⁶⁰ This is Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli I.B.14.06-07 (KYP M643), edited in Zoega 1810: no. 278; see Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 181 for a more recent translation. A new edition and commentary is in preparation by Anne Grons. For other overviews of the historiography of the study of Christian magic in Egypt, see van der Vliet 2019b: 323–328; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 44–48.

to receive major attention, however, was a long invocation of Gabriel and other angels which came to be known as “Rossi’s Gnostic Tractate”, held in Turin in Italy, and published by Francesco Rossi in 1894 (*PCM* I 12). In describing it as ‘gnostic’, Rossi—following his predecessor Bernardino Peyron—was responding to features such as magical names and *kharaktēres* similar to those known from recently published gnostic texts.⁶¹

At the same time, the developing study of Greek magical texts offered an alternative way of understanding similar Coptic texts. The earliest Greek magical texts arrived in Europe in the 1820s, and were published shortly thereafter by scholars who identified them as “magical”, recognising in them documents of the practices of *mageia* and *theourgia* (“magic” and “theurgy”) described by late antique authors.⁶² While there was a brief, and inconsistent, tendency to understand them as evidence of a particularly ‘gnostic’ magic, this tendency was arrested by the publication of the corpus of the Greek Magical Papyri (*Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1928–1931), led by the scholar Karl Preisendanz, which brought together all the examples then known, allowing them to be referred to conveniently, and conclusively establishing the label of ‘magical’, rather than ‘gnostic’, texts.⁶³

As we have noted, most of the Coptic magical papyri seem to represent a Christian variety of the magical tradition represented by the Greek and Demotic magical texts, and scholars, recognising this, began to refer to Coptic magical texts as such, abandoning the label ‘gnostic’. Over the next seventy years, most of the publications relating to Coptic magical texts consisted of editions of individual manuscripts, primarily in the context of larger publications of Coptic papyri from various European and American collections. Notable among these was Adolf Erman’s publication of the Coptic manuscripts of the (then) Royal Museums of Berlin, which contained a large group of magical papyri, discussed further by him in a series of separate articles.⁶⁴

The major exception to the practice of publication by collection was the work of Angelicus Kropp, a scholar who extensively studied Coptic magical texts as part of his 1930 doctoral dissertation in which he explored their relationship to the Christian liturgy. Kropp published the results of his thesis in the three volume *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* (“Selected Coptic Magical Texts”, 1930–1931), containing one volume each of texts, translations, and interpretation. To

⁶¹ These were the Bruce and Askew Codices, held in the United Kingdom, and containing texts from a variety of Gnostic literary traditions, for which see Schwartze/Petermann 1851; Amélineau 1891; cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 44–45.

⁶² See, e.g., Reuvens 1830: 1^{ère} lettre 16–20, 25–27; Goodwin 1852: iii–vi; cf. the discussion in Dosoo forthcoming a.

⁶³ Preisendanz/Henrichs 1973–1974; Dosoo 2014: 43–44, 47–48; Choat 2019: 217–220.

⁶⁴ Erman 1904 (=BKU I), of which nos. 1–20, 22–28; no. 22 is republished in this volume as *PCMI* 9. The magical texts published in *BKU* I are discussed in more detail in Erman 1895 & 1917.

this day, this remains the only real full study of the corpus. Kropp would later go on to publish studies of two major Coptic magical texts republished in this volume, the *Endoxon of Michael* (PCM I 26) and the *Prayer of Mary 'in Bartos'* (PCM I 25 pp. 2–9).⁶⁵ Alongside Kropp, mention should be made of Friedrich Bibabel and Adolf Grohmann, who in 1934 published many of the magical texts belonging to the Heidelberg University collection republished here, in part a result of Grohmann's interest in the story of Cyprian the repentant magician.⁶⁶ Another major editor was Walter Beltz, who, in a series of articles in the 1980s published most of the Coptic magical texts held in the German National Museum in Berlin.⁶⁷ Despite the interest of these manuscripts, the editions of Bilabel, Grohmann,⁶⁸ and Beltz⁶⁹ are often insufficiently accurate, and the original manuscripts generally need to be consulted to correct them. Other editors and commentators on Coptic magical texts represent a “who's who” of famous Coptologists, among them William H. Worrell (1879–1952), whose interest in Egyptian magic extended into the practical;⁷⁰ Walter E. Crum (1865–1944), who edited the definitive Coptic dictionary;⁷¹ James Drescher (1902–1985), who wrote extensive corrections to that dictionary;⁷² and Hans Jakob Polotsky (1905–1991), whose work revolutionised our knowledge of Coptic-Egyptian grammar.⁷³

The study of Greek magic saw a renaissance in the late 1970s and 1980s. This was in part linked to a resurgence in interest in the study of the Graeco-Roman religious context of the New Testament, one of the original impetuses for the study of the Greek magical papyri at the turn of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ This saw the republication of the Preisendanz edition of the *Greek Magical Papyri*, and then a project of translation of these texts into English in the 1980s, led by Hans Dieter Betz.⁷⁵ Sensing a lacuna in the study of the later Christian magical texts, Marvin Meyer led the *Coptic Magical Texts* project in the 1990s,⁷⁶ which resulted in the publication—amongst other works—of *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of*

⁶⁵ Kropp 1966 & 1965 respectively.

⁶⁶ Grohmann 1917–1918.

⁶⁷ Beltz 1980, 1983, 1984 & 1985.

⁶⁸ On the deficiencies of Bilabel and Grohmann's publication, see Polotsky 1935: 416, a prelude to a masterful series of corrections. His comments take on additional significance when one notes that Polotsky, born in Switzerland to Russian-speaking Jewish parents, was writing the year after fleeing Germany for Palestine as a result of Nazi persecution (Shisha-Halevy 1992: 208). On Bilabel's active membership in the Nazi party, see p. 325. On Grohmann, a member of the Nazi party from 1938 and a collaborator during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, see Reinfandt 2013.

⁶⁹ On Beltz, cf. the comments of van der Vliet 2019b: 325.

⁷⁰ Worrell 1930, 1935a & b; for Worrell's practical interest in magic, see Worrell 1916.

⁷¹ Crum 1896, 1902, 1922b, 1934a & b.

⁷² Drescher 1948, 1950, 1958.

⁷³ Polotsky 1935 & 1937.

⁷⁴ Cf. Dosoo forthcoming a.

⁷⁵ Betz 1986.

⁷⁶ Cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 46.

Ritual Power (1994), which to this day remains the most consulted volume on Coptic magic, containing texts in Greek, Old Coptic, and standard Coptic, and a mixture of magical texts, Sethian Gnostic literature, oracle tickets, and other genres.

Since the publication of *Ancient Christian Magic*, much of the important work on Coptic magic has been carried out by Meyer's younger contemporaries, David Frankfurter and Jacques van der Vliet, who have contributed significantly to our understanding of these texts, both in terms of questions of basic comprehension, and of larger socio-historical and theoretical context.⁷⁷ The last decade has seen another wave of major work; we can see the beginning of this in the 2013 publication by Malcolm Choat and Iain Gardner of the Macquarie codex (*P.Macq. I 1*). Along with Jay Johnston, Iain Gardner subsequently launched an Australian Research Council Project focusing on magical images, which has enriched our understanding of the archive of texts known as the Heidelberg Library (*PCM I 21–29*).⁷⁸ In recent years, Joseph Sanzo has examined the boundary between licit and illicit ritual, beginning with his 2014 study of scriptural amulets, and continuing in his European Research Council project exploring the relationship between Jewish and Christian magical traditions.⁷⁹ The work of Edward Love has focused attention on Old Coptic—including, but not limited to, magical texts—confirming that it represents not a single dialect or chaotic blend of features, but rather a similar dialectal diversity to standard Coptic.⁸⁰ Of direct relevance to this volume is Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin's 2017 checklist of published Coptic magical texts,⁸¹ which took inspiration from a similar checklist of Christian Greek texts established by Jitse Dijkstra and Theodore van Bruyn to provide, for the first time, a synoptic view of magical material in Coptic.⁸² Two forthcoming works by Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin and Markéta Preininger—respectively on non-Christian divinities and conceptions of the body—will represent the first synthetic monographs on Coptic magic since that of Kropp.⁸³

The project which lies behind this volume, *Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* (2018–2023) at the University of

⁷⁷ See, e.g., Frankfurter 1995, 1998, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2012, 2017, 2022; van der Vliet 1991, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2005a & b, 2011, 2014, 2018, 2019a & b, 2020.

⁷⁸ This project was titled *The Function of Images in Magical Papyri and Artefacts of Ritual Power from Late Antiquity* (ARC DP120102952). The project's research is published in Johnston/Gardner 2018, 2023; Gardner/Johnston 2019.

⁷⁹ *Early Jewish and Christian Magical Traditions in Comparison and Contact* (EJCM-851466; 2020–2025). Cf. Sanzo 2017, 2019a & 2020.

⁸⁰ Love 2016; cf. Love 2021a, b, d; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022. Magical texts written partially in Old Coptic script include *GEMF* 14/BM EA 10808 (II CE); *GEMF* 16/PDM xiv (II CE); *GEMF* 55/*PGM* III (III–IV CE); *GEMF* 57/*PGM* IV (IV CE).

⁸¹ Bélanger Sarrazin 2017a.

⁸² De Bruyn/Dijkstra 2011.

⁸³ Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a; Preininger forthcoming c.

Würzburg, owes a deep debt to the work done by these scholars, and many others. Our work has attempted to record and describe the full corpus of surviving Coptic magical texts, and to develop deeper understandings of them, focusing in particular on questions of materiality and philology. In these goals, it has significant overlap with the project *The Transmission of Magical Knowledge* led by Christopher Faraone and Sofia Torallas Tovar, which aims to publish the corpus of Greek and Demotic formularies in the series *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies (GEMF)*. In a way, our project begins where theirs ends.⁸⁴

3. The Corpus of Coptic Magical Texts

This volume contains texts drawn from 37 manuscripts of the approximately 600 known to us which have traditionally been classified as magical.⁸⁵ The texts and our principles of selection are discussed in more detail below (§5), but here we present the larger corpus from the perspectives of context, typology, materiality, and structure.

3.1. Contexts of Production and Deposition

3.1.1. Users and Findspots

A major question in the study of Coptic-language magical texts is that of their users. Literary texts which describe similar practices use terms such as μάγος (*magos*, “magician”), φάρμακος (*pharmakos*, “sorcerer”), and ρεφμοῦτε (*refmoute*, “enchanter”) to describe practitioners, but also mention the possibility that clerics might learn from these figures.⁸⁶ But do these terms refer to full-time ‘magical’ professionals? Something of a consensus has developed among many scholars that the primary practitioners of Coptic magic were monks.⁸⁷ There are indeed some literary texts mentioning monks as practitioners of something that looks like ‘magic’, and certain magical manuscripts have been found in monastic

⁸⁴ On this project, see the project website, <https://voices.uchicago.edu/magicalpapyri/>. Products of this project to date include Faraone/Torallas Tovar 2022a & b.

⁸⁵ The full corpus exists within the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects*, created by the Coptic Magical Papyri project, online at <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/>

⁸⁶ For discussions of terms for magician in Coptic, see van der Vliet 2019a: 242–244; Dosoo 2021b: 49–51; cf. the discussion of terms in Greek and Latin in Dickie 2001: 12–17, 224–229 *et passim*.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., Frankfurter 1997: 125–130; Frankfurter 1998: 257–264; Frankfurter 2017: 192–211; van der Vliet 2019b: 348.

contexts, such as hermitages.⁸⁸ Some of the manuscripts in this volume fall into this category: *PCM* I 10 was reused for an account of deliveries of wine to a monastery, perhaps the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit in Middle Egypt, while the copyist of *PCM* I 15 seems to have been a monk from the Monastery of Apa Paulos near Thebes, who also copied a surviving liturgical prayer. Some of the later manuscripts are written on parchments which were originally used for literary or even Biblical texts of the type found in the monastic libraries of the Faiyum, and one of these magical texts even has a colophon of the type found in such monastic codices, in which the copyist identifies himself as the “Deacon Iōhannēs”.⁸⁹ These manuscripts clearly demonstrate the implication of religious professionals, including monks, in the production and use of magical texts. Parallels can be drawn to other Christian cultures—in Syriac and Ethiopian Christianity, and the Mediaeval Latin West, magical texts seem to have been primarily owned and copied by clerics, who were the only figures with the skills in literacy required to produce and use them.⁹⁰ These “clerics” were not necessarily active members of the Church hierarchy, though; often “cleric” in these contexts had a relatively informal meaning, referring to someone who had acquired the skill of literacy, creating a somewhat circular relationship between clerical status and literacy.⁹¹

At the same time, we should be wary of assuming that all magical texts were produced, owned, or used by religious professionals affiliated with the church. Literacy in Egypt, at least before the decline of written Coptic between the tenth and twelfth centuries, seems to have been broader than it may have been in other Christian cultures; there were administrative scribes as well as artisans, including doctors, and small businessmen, who were also literate in Coptic.⁹² The use of magical texts by, for example, doctors, is well attested in the Greek-speaking

⁸⁸ Examples include BnF Copte 129.20 fol. 178 (Preininger 2022; KYP M108), from the library of the White Monastery; Cairo JdE 45060 (Kropp 1931: I no. K; KYP M303), found in a jar buried in the floor of a monastic cell in Thebes; and Naqlun N. 78/93 (Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; KYP M1135), from the Monastery of the Archangel Gabriel in Naqlun.

⁸⁹ See the introduction to the ‘Heidelberg Coptic Magical Library’ on pp. 259–263

⁹⁰ For priests as practitioners in Syriac Christianity, see Moriggi 2018; Bhayro 2021, and the prominence of priests among owners and copyists of the *Books of Protection* in Zellmann-Rohrer 2021: 81–99. The Ge’ez word *dābtāra* is often translated as “cleric”, but the figures it refers to, including magical practitioners, are not necessarily ordained, and may not exercise any ecclesiastical function; see Young 1970 & 1975; Milkias 1976; de Ménonville 2018a & b; Malara 2022. For the Latin West, see Kieckhefer 2014: 151–156; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 74–75.

⁹¹ Milkias 1976; Mercier 1988: 461–462; Kieckhefer 2014: 154; Malara 2022.

⁹² Cf. de Bruyn 2017: 7–8, 238–245; pace Frankfurter 1997: 128. For a discussion of professional scribes writing in Coptic, see Cromwell 2017: 14–21 *et passim*; Fournet 2022: 82–89 *et passim*; compare the discussion of official scribes under the Umayyad administration in Richter 2010: 211–218. Well-known dossiers produced by lay Coptic writers include the Kellis House A House 3 Archive (IV CE, discussed in the introduction to *PCM* I 1), and the Archive of Dioscorus of Aphroditō (see Vanderheyden 2012; Papaconstantinou 2015, with further references).

world,⁹³ and, as we have noted, we sometimes find medical and magical texts transmitted together in Coptic.⁹⁴ The Coptic magical text with the best understood context, *PCM* I 1, was owned by a lay Manichaean, whose family operated a small business involving weaving and the exploitation of fruit trees.⁹⁵ There is a similar case of a modern Christian Egyptian tailor who possessed and used one of the Arabic books of magic using the Psalms which derive ultimately from the Coptic-language tradition.⁹⁶ Some of the hands, and scribal features, found in the corpus here resemble those of scribes of the Roman and later Arab administration; others seem to have had very little training, and while these could be the hands of monks, they also resemble those of laypeople who had acquired basic literacy for their own particular needs.

A final point concerns the manner in which texts from Egypt are found and made accessible to scholars. The archaeological record of Late Antique Egypt is biased towards monastic settlements; these tended to be in the desert, where the dry sands preserve organic materials, rather than in the more densely populated towns in or on the border of the Nile Valley, which were annually flooded until the building of the Aswan High Dam, and have often been continuously inhabited down to the present day, destroying fragile texts and preventing archaeological excavation. Archaeology in Egypt has also historically focused on monumental Pharaonic sites—tombs and temples—and these were typically the same sites re-used by Christian monks as hermitages, monasteries, and churches.

A still more fundamental problem is that, for the vast majority of papyri from Egypt, there is no record of their circumstances of discovery. While the situation has, fortunately changed, historically most of them were found in informal excavations—either by native Egyptians looking for artefacts to sell, or early European or North American archaeologists who did not value questions of materiality and context enough to record where their papyri came from. It is to be deeply regretted that, of the 37 manuscripts in this volume, only one has a well-recorded context, but this is not unusual in the case of Egyptian papyri. We have managed to recover, or propose, approximate provenances for 31 of the remaining 36, but we invite readers to compare the introduction to *PCM* I 1 to those of the other manuscripts to see how much precious information has been lost in the process of what was, essentially, looting.

⁹³ Bohak 2016: 367–368; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 70–73.

⁹⁴ Dosoo 2021b: 61–62. In the checklist of medical texts provided in Richter 2014b: 189–191, at least nos. 11, 12, 16, 24, 27, 31 (of a total of 38 manuscripts) can be considered to contain magical recipes.

⁹⁵ For discussions of known historical owners and users of magical texts, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 25–26; Dosoo forthcoming c.

⁹⁶ Henein/Bianquis 1975: x–xii.

3.1.2. Temporal Distribution

Coptic magical texts generally date to between the fourth and twelfth centuries CE, with peaks in the sixth to eighth and ninth to eleventh centuries, corresponding respectively to the peaks of surviving Coptic documentary and literary manuscripts.⁹⁷ Earlier Old Coptic magical texts date to the first to fourth centuries CE, and short Coptic phrases may be found in later, predominantly Arabic, Christian magical texts from Egypt.⁹⁸

The dating of Coptic papyri is a major problem in Coptology; because most of them come from informal or illegal excavations, there is usually no archaeological context to help with dating, and, with the exception of a few notable manuscripts, there is insufficient interest and funding to use scientific dating techniques, such as radiocarbon dating, on papyri—which in any case, rely on destroying pieces of manuscripts as part of the process.⁹⁹ Coptic manuscripts very rarely contain internal absolute dates, and this is particularly true of magical texts; in a corpus of about 600 manuscripts, we are only aware of three which provide a date of production.¹⁰⁰ As a result, in most cases palaeography—the study of changes in handwriting—is the only means to date manuscripts. While this is generally accepted as broadly accurate for Greek papyri—within approximately fifty years to a century—Coptic palaeography remains poorly understood.¹⁰¹ Similar styles may continue to be used for centuries,¹⁰² and existing palaeographical tools are insufficient.¹⁰³ As a result, manuscripts may be dated very differently by different scholars, with discrepancies of hundreds of years. The association of magic with the “primitive” and “pagan” may have often led magical texts to be dated to inappropriately early dates; the carbon dating of the manuscripts purchased by Robert Hay has established an eighth or ninth century date for Coptic magical

⁹⁷ For overviews of the temporal distribution of Coptic magical texts, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 66–67; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 63–65; Bélanger Sarrazin 2017a: 373–374.

⁹⁸ For a striking example, see Schulz/Kolta 1998, an amulet against a scorpion bite created in 1932 containing a mixture of Coptic and Arabic text. Shorter fragments of Coptic are often found among the *kharaktêres* of the Psalm guides discussed at n. 44.

⁹⁹ Carbon-dated Coptic papyri include the leather cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I (Lundhaug 2021); the Hay manuscripts, discussed at n. 104 below; Codex Tchacos, containing the *Gospel of Judas*, for which see Kasser *et al.* 2008: 134, 184; and a leaf from a medical codex, cat.no. 137 (98:Ms4) from excavations at the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea, discussed in Blid *et al.* 2016: 191–193. The modern forgery generally known as the *Gospel of Jesus' Wife* was also subject to carbon dating; see Tuross 2014; *cf.* the comments of Mazza 2019.

¹⁰⁰ These include the amuletic wall inscriptions in the ‘Anchorite’s Grotto’ at Pachoras (Griffith 1927; KYP M91), datable by a graffito to ca. 739 CE, as well as PCM I 23 and the unpublished Collège de France Ms. 3 (KYP M597), dated by colophons to 967 and 1035 CE respectively.

¹⁰¹ *Cf.* the works listed at n. 201 below.

¹⁰² Askeland 2018.

¹⁰³ The primary reference work for Coptic palaeography remains Stegemann 1936.

texts previously dated by palaeographic estimates to the sixth or seventh century.¹⁰⁴

In this volume, we have endeavoured to propose dates for all of the manuscripts. We generally propose two or even three century ranges, reflecting our uncertainty, although in a few cases, we propose single centuries, if the parallels seem to cluster towards the middle of a particular century. We regularly indicate uncertainty with a question mark and here, as elsewhere in this volume, these question marks should be taken seriously as signs that more work needs to be done to definitively establish these points. Wherever possible, we have tried to find explicitly dated parallels for the hands of our manuscripts. We have also attempted to use parallels from geographical contexts close to the origin of the manuscripts, since hands may have varied considerably regionally, and we have also used broader criteria of manuscript formats (see below) to propose datings.

With these provisos in mind, the manuscripts in this volume can be dated to most of the span of the production of Coptic manuscripts—the fourth to eleventh centuries—although there is a slight bias towards the later end of the range, due to the inclusion of many texts from the Heidelberg University papyrus collection (*PCM* I 21–33, 35), which can be dated to the tenth to eleventh centuries. The earliest manuscript, *PCM* I 1, is dated to the late fourth century, while the intervening texts have been dated to between the fifth and ninth centuries.

3.1.3. Geographical Distribution

Like most papyrological manuscripts, all of the documents in this collection come from Egypt. Of the 32 for which a geographical origin can be proposed with certainty or likelihood (see fig. 1), 18 come from the Faiyum, a large, oasis-like depression fed by the canal Bahr Yussef emptying into Lake Moeris, to the west of the Nile Valley. In particular from the Ptolemaic onwards, this area was heavily populated, and became the site of numerous monasteries, whose remains provide many of the surviving Coptic literary manuscripts. The Faiyum has also been heavily excavated by treasure-hunters and archaeologists since the nineteenth century, when Egyptian farmers in search of fertiliser often visited the abandoned Roman-era cities to gather decaying mud-brick. While manuscripts from the Faiyum are generally well-represented in papyrology, they are somewhat over-represented here, as a result again of the many manuscripts from the University of Heidelberg collection.

Six texts come from Middle Egypt, defined here as the region south of the Faiyum, from Oxyrhynchus to Bawit. Again, these areas were the sites of several major towns (Hermopolis, Antinoopolis) and monasteries (Apa Apollo) which

¹⁰⁴ See Lucy-Anne Skinner, Rebecca Stacey, Caroline R. Cartwright, Craig Williams and Barbara Willshay in O'Connell 2022: 49–53.

were abandoned in late antiquity, leaving their remains to be preserved for later excavators. The area further south, notably containing Abydos, may have yielded another manuscript for this volume. From still further south, around Thebes (modern Luxor), we find another six. The Theban region, one of the richest in terms of surviving tombs and temples for excavation, has consistently yielded large quantities of artefacts for excavators. The final text with a known origin is again *PCMI* 1, from Kellis in the Dakhla Oasis, 350 kilometres west of the Nile valley; abandoned at the end of the fourth century, it is one of a small number of very well-preserved Egyptian urban settlements from the Roman Period.

3.2. Categories of Texts

3.2.1. The Formulary-Applied Text Distinction

Magical texts, almost without exception, fall into one of two types. The first is that of *formularies* (also known as ‘handbooks’, or ‘models’), texts containing the information necessary for practitioners to carry out rituals.¹⁰⁵ The second type is the *applied text* (also known as the ‘finished product’, ‘activated text’, or ‘documentary’ magical text), which represents an object created in the course of a ritual for a specific purpose. These serve as protective and healing amulets, or as curses or love spells, which, depending on their function, would be worn on the body, deposited in a particular place, or used in other ways. There is some overlap—applied texts could be used as models for other applied texts, essentially serving as formularies. We also have examples of ‘personalised formularies’,¹⁰⁶ that is, formularies in which the generic name marker (see 3.5.3) is replaced by a personal name, so that the owner of the formulary could read it out loud more easily (an example of this probably lies behind *PCMI* 25 p. 13).

This volume contains only formularies, or manuscripts likely to have been formularies. At times it is difficult to distinguish the two categories; although they were quite different in the way in which they were used, they often contain the same types of texts (since applied texts were, at least theoretically, copied from formularies) and may both demonstrate other typical genre features, such as *kharaktēres* and *voces magicae*. Signs that a manuscript is a formulary rather than an applied text include the addition of titles, ritual instructions, the generic name marker, and multiple texts for different purposes (*cf.* 3.5.3 below). But formularies may also lack these features, and there are a few cases of applied texts including them—copyists creating applied texts might accidentally copy titles or instructions from formularies, or fail to include personal names in applied

¹⁰⁵ On this distinction, see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 56–58; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 66.

¹⁰⁶ On this format, see Saar 2007: 103–104 *et passim*.

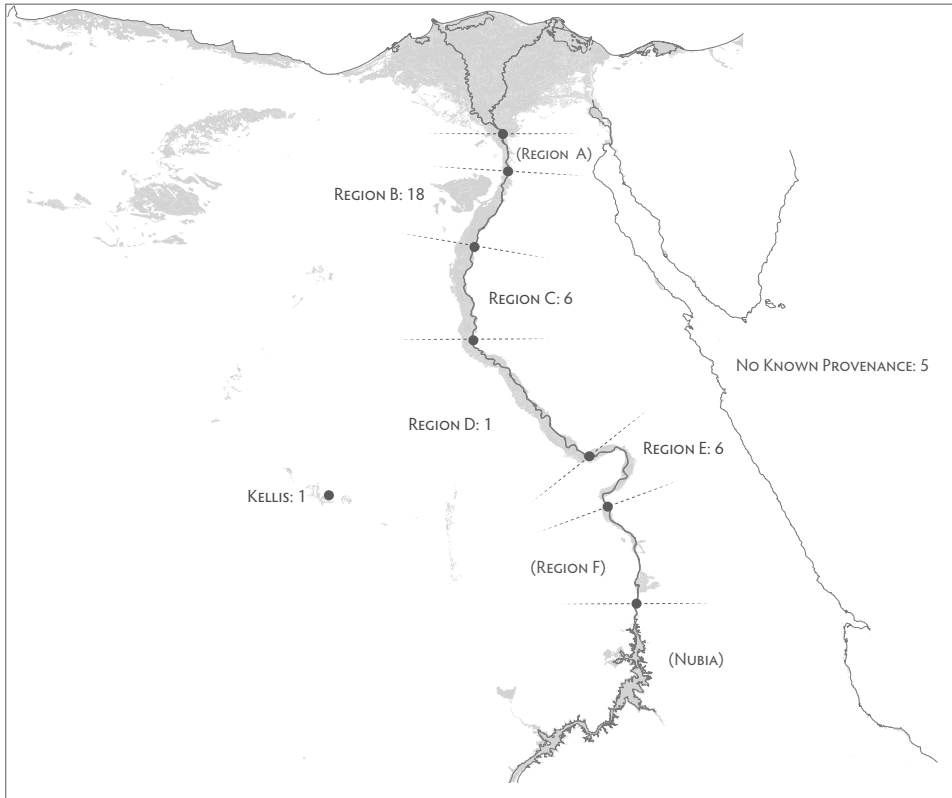


Fig. 1: Origins of manuscripts in PCM I (regions after Kahle 1954: 51). Figure by Davide Galli.

texts. Formularies might have been re-used as amulets by being worn or carried by individuals who attributed them a power of their own.¹⁰⁷ As a result, it may be that some of the manuscripts in this volume—although they contain features associated with formularies—served primarily or secondarily as applied texts.

3.2.2. Manuscript Structures

Formularies contain one or more recipes, thus the simplest kind of manuscript is a *single-text formulary*, which contains the information (formula to be spoken and/or ritual procedure) for only one goal. Within the Coptic magical corpus, there are about 200 formularies, of which about half only contain one recipe. The remainder are *multiple-text formularies* containing two or more recipes.¹⁰⁸ Graeco-Egyptian formularies with multiple texts tend to represent collections of recipes

¹⁰⁷ See the case of *P.Lond.Copt.* I 524 (KYP M359).

¹⁰⁸ For this terminology, compare Buzi 2016 & 2019 on single and multi-unit Coptic literary manuscripts.

from originally diverse sources, which circulated among and were collected by copyist-practitioners.¹⁰⁹ While some of the manuscripts in this collection represent similar collections (*e.g.*, *PCM* I 4, 11 & 25), Coptic multi-text collections more often represent groups of closely related recipes. These are often of a type which may be referred to as “polypractical texts”, which contain a single spoken formula which can be used for multiple purposes depending on the ritual performed with them.¹¹⁰ The beginnings of this format can be found among the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus, but there are many more examples in Coptic, and it seems to have been a common format, to the extent that we have evidence of formulae originally intended for one purpose being adapted to serve multiple purposes by the addition of multiple additional recipes at the end.¹¹¹

3.2.3. Genres

We distinguish three major genres or traditions within the larger category of ‘magical texts’—invocations, narrative charms, and scriptural amulets—the first two of which are well-represented in this collection.¹¹²

The first category, *invocations*, represents the most common and prototypical type of text found in the Coptic magical corpus. This is likely the kind of text that most ancient authors had in mind when discussing terms translated as magic, such as *mageia* or *hik*.¹¹³ These are centred on speech acts calling upon or commanding superhuman beings through direct addresses, which may make extensive use of features such as *voces magicae* and *kharaktēres*.

We should distinguish two further categories, which may be considered either sub-types of invocations, or related but separate genres. The first are what Jacques van der Vliet has described as “magical liturgies”, long and complex invocations which show clear influence from the liturgical tradition of rituals such as the anaphora, which transforms the liturgical bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ.¹¹⁴ The Coptic magical liturgies are likewise generally used to activate oil, wine and/or water to be used in healing, a process sometimes referred to

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 9–11.

¹¹⁰ For this terminology, see Dosoo 2014: 137; cf. Gordon 2022. Published Coptic examples include P.Mich.Inv. 593 (KYP M9; Worrell 1930); P.Mich.Inv. 594–599 (KYP M15; Worrell 1930); Cairo JdE 45060 (KYP M303; Kropp 1931: I no. K); *P.Macq.* I 1 (KYP M167); BM EA 10391 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302); *PCM* I 26; *PCM* I 37.

¹¹¹ See Choat/Gardner 2013: 36; cf. the introduction to *PCM* I 26 for the case of the *Endoxon of Michael*.

¹¹² Cf. the discussion in Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 54–55.

¹¹³ Cf. Dosoo 2021b: 51–56.

¹¹⁴ For the concept of the “magical liturgy”, see van der Vliet 2019b: 340–343; van der Vliet 2020. On the relationship of magic to the anaphora, see Kropp 1930: III 217–244. For the anaphora in Egypt more generally, see Johnson 2010: 17–34; Mihálykó 2019: 60–64.

as “sealing”.¹¹⁵ The surviving examples show clear interdependence upon one another, using recurrent phraseology and references, suggesting that they belong to a single, narrower tradition—they may derive from the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’*, which seems to be the earliest and most widely-diffused of the surviving examples.¹¹⁶

The second sub-type of invocation is the ‘first-person exorcistic prayer’.¹¹⁷ This is a type of text best preserved in mediaeval and early modern Greek manuscripts,¹¹⁸ although related texts also exist in other languages, such as Armenian, Arabic, Ge’ez, and Syriac.¹¹⁹ The only clear example in this volume is the *Prayer of Gregory* (PCMI 11 p. 1 l. 1–p. 14 l. 14), although the *Prayer of Mary ‘in Bartos’* (PCMI 25 pp. 2–9) and the *Love Spell of Cyprian* (PCMI 28) could be considered related texts. First-person exorcistic prayers are intended to provide healing and protection from demons and hostile magic, and are attributed to saints who speak in the first-person, often explicitly mentioning their own names in the prayer. They contain an interesting divergence from other invocations in that they often address harmful forces—acts of violence, magic, or demons—and command and adjure them to depart, rather than adjuring superhuman beings (God or the angels) to cast out these harmful forces. For this reason, they may have been more acceptable to the church hierarchy, and are often found in manuscripts with liturgical prayers.¹²⁰ The Coptic manuscript containing the *Prayer of Gregory* contains several canonical and apocryphal texts (the Jesus-Abgar correspondence, the incipits of the Gospels and Psalm 90 (91), two lists of saint names) rather than more markedly magical texts of the invocation-type, and so may not have been considered as “magical” either by its users or by Church authorities at the time.

Invocations—particularly the magical liturgies and exorcistic prayers—offer some of the best evidence for the transmission of magical texts over long periods and across languages; several of the examples contained in this volume can be attested as having been transmitted for over a thousand years, and across many of the languages of Christianity; as well as Coptic, and Greek (the original language of many of them), we find close parallels in, for example, Armenian, Ge’ez, and

¹¹⁵ For references to this process as “sealing” (σφραγίζειν), see e.g., PCMI 25 p. 8 l. 22; *P.Lond. Copt.* 1007 (KYP M361) l. 8. As noted in Mihálykó 2018b: 146, this refers specifically to the act of tracing the sign of the cross over the material. For a recent general discussion of liturgical healing practices, see Mihálykó 2021.

¹¹⁶ See the introduction to PCMI 25 on pp. 288–289

¹¹⁷ See the note to PCMI 11 p. 1 l. 1–p. 14 l. 14 on p. 113.

¹¹⁸ See Delatte 1927: 125, 230–263; Nesseris 2021: 91–97.

¹¹⁹ For Armenian, see, for example, Feydit 1986: nos. LXXXVIII–XCI; for *Copto-Arabic texts, see Viaud 1978: 78–80; for a discussion of a similar Ge’ez genre, see Strelcyn 1955; for Syriac, see the discussions of the genre of *Anathema* in Hunter 1987 & 1990.

¹²⁰ Cf. Nesseris 2021: 91–97. This is not to say, of course, that other types of “magical” texts did not sometimes find their way into prayer books (*euchologia*); see Afentoulidou 2021.

Syriac.¹²¹

The next category is that of the ‘narrative charm’. Within folklore studies, the term “charm” refers to spoken formulae used in popular ritual practices—usually for healing—which often have a primarily oral mode of transmission, but which are frequently preserved in written copies. These texts may demonstrate very extensive transmission in time—over periods of millennia—and between languages.¹²² “Narrative charms” are a particular sub-group which, as their name suggests, are built around narratives, often called *historiolae* (‘little stories’).¹²³ These narratives serve as mythic precedents which both parallel the present problem, and offer a resolution of that problem.

The most common example in the Pharaonic tradition consists of the story of the infant god Horus being injured while he has been left alone, and his mother Isis rushing to help him in response to his cries.¹²⁴ These texts are used to heal injuries or illness, and so set up a parallel between events in the mythic past and the present. The resolution of the mythic past works to resolve the events of the present: just as Horus was healed, so should the patient be healed. Texts following this structure can be found in Egypt as early as the Middle Kingdom, but are relatively rare in the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition.¹²⁵ In Coptic, by contrast, many examples survive. Most of them, like the older Pharaonic texts, centre on the adventures of the pre-Christian deities Horus and Isis, although several later examples instead involve Jesus as the primary protagonist.¹²⁶

¹²¹ See the notes for *PCMI* 11, p. 1 l.1–p. 14 l. 14; *PCMI* 25 pp. 2–9; & *PCMI* 28.

¹²² For overviews of charms, see Gaster 1900; Roper 2004, 2005 & 2009; Kapaló/Pócs/Ryan 2013. The term “charm” largely overlaps with the use of the term “incantation” in Zellmann-Rohrer 2016 (cf. 4 n. 16), 2019 & forthcoming.

¹²³ See Frankfurter 1995 for the classic study, and on narrative charms more generally, Roper 2005: 13–28; Bozóký 2013. For critiques of the term, see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020: 59; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 186–197. Note that the overview in Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 187–189 is rather misleading; the term was already in use by Egyptologists before Frankfurter’s study, and continues to be widely used within Egyptology; see e.g., Sørensen 1984: 7, 9; Ritner 1993: 76, 96; Fischer-Elfert 2005: 120, 133.

¹²⁴ For discussions of these, see Sørensen 1984: 7–9; Ritner 1998; Fischer-Elfert 2005: 19; Frankfurter 2009: 231–232; Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 241–243; Bélanger Sarrazin forthcoming a: chapter 1 and appendix a.

¹²⁵ For a list of examples, see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 243–244.

¹²⁶ Standard Coptic examples of narrative charms, with the principal protagonists in brackets, include *PCMI* 6 (Horus-Isis); *PCMI* 7 (Horus-Isis); *PCMI* 15 (pupil(?)-Jesus); *PCMI* 16 (Horus-Isis); *PCM* I 20 (Horus-Isis); *PCM* I 29 front (Jesus-worm); *P.Herm.Copt.* 67 (KYP M57, NN-Jesus); *BKU* I 1 (KYP M76; doe-Jesus & Horus-Isis); Mich.Ms. 136 pp. 5–6 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128; Amun-Isis); Naqlun N. 78/93 (Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; NN-Jesus; parallel in *P.Herm.Copt.* 67, republished in Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022; KYP M57); a possible fragmentary narrative charm involving the Archangel Michael is *P.Herm.Copt.* 59 (KYP M49), and examples of texts with similarities to the narrative charms, without strictly following their structure, include *PCMI* 4 pp. 4–6; *PCMI* 9; BM EA 10391 front ll. 12–27 (Zellmann-Rohrer 2022a: no. 1; KYP M302); *BKU* I 7 (KYP M88).

A key event in all of the Coptic, and many of the European examples, is the *meeting*—the protagonist encounters another figure, which prompts the crisis in the narrative and then its resolution. In European examples, this second figure is often a harmful being who causes disease, and who is commanded to leave,¹²⁷ but in the Coptic examples the figure is usually either a beautiful woman whom Horus meets (in love spells), or else the encounter may be between an individual in need of healing and the healer. In German folklore studies, such texts are known specifically as *Begegnungssegen* (“encounter charms”).¹²⁸

Coptic narrative charms are often quite different from invocations—they do not typically contain *voces magicae* or *kharaktēres*, but at times show signs of interaction with them. They often end with one character speaking an invocation, and there are a few examples of narrative charms which include *voces magicae*.¹²⁹ Although narrative charms may be seen as a cross-cultural tradition, the Coptic examples may represent a rare case of the transmission of textual culture from pre-Coptic Egyptian to Coptic without a Greek intermediary.¹³⁰

The next genre of text often studied as magical is the ‘scriptural amulet’.¹³¹ These are typically small papyrus amulets onto which passages from the Bible, or related apocryphal literature (such as the Jesus-Abgar correspondence) has been copied; the most common texts are the incipits of the canonical gospels and of Psalm 90 (91). Distinguishing these amulets from texts intended for other purposes can be difficult, but features indicating use (such as folding or piercing to allow them to be worn or carried), or the presence of common amuletic texts, may serve as criteria.¹³² The earliest Christian examples of scriptural amulets appear in the papyrological record around the third century CE, but their use may derive from older Jewish practices of wearing passages of scripture as amulets,

¹²⁷ Compare the Sisinnios charms, well-attested in Armenian, Ge’ez, Greek, and Syriac, in which Saint Sisinnios meets and banishes a child-killing demoness; see Basset 1894: 351–353; Gaster 1900: 153–162; Worrell 1909: 158–173; Viaud 1978: 112–117; Feydit 1986: no. 107; Greenfield 1989; Schwartz 1996; Passalis 2014; Nurullina (Cherkashina)/Lyavdanskyy 2017. A now lost text from Karanog in Nubia apparently contained an example of a Coptic Sisinnios text, which may have been a charm of this type (see Woolley 1911: 4–5), and there is an unpublished Greek and Old Nubian example from Nubia (Qasr Ibrim 80.3.11/2 (NI 113), see DBMNT no. 2880). These examples from Nubia and Ethiopia imply the tradition also existed in Egypt in Coptic. Compare the fourteenth-century *Copto-Arabic exorcistic prayer of Sisinnios, published in Winkler 1931: 97–100.

¹²⁸ On the *encounter charm*, see Ohrt 1936; van der Vliet 2019b: 345–346; Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022: 231, with further references. On the translation “charm” for *Segen*, see Roper 2005: 13–14.

¹²⁹ Cf. Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 254–255.

¹³⁰ On verbal parallels suggestive of such a transmission, see Blumell/Dosoo 2018: 240 n. 98; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022: 184–264.

¹³¹ For scriptural amulets, see Sanzo 2014; Jones 2016; de Bruyn 2017: 139–183; Bélanger Sarrazin 2020.

¹³² See de Bruyn/Dijkstra 2011: 172–173; Jones 2016: 27–34.

attested as early as the seventh or sixth century BCE.¹³³ The use of scriptural amulets shows a clear parallel to the kinds of ‘magical’ amulets attested in the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus and among Coptic invocation-type texts; all of these practices involve wearing a powerful written text as a means of protection. But it seems that scriptural amulets were not generally considered to belong to the category of *mageia* by most Christians; bishops such as Augustine and John Chrysostom considered them an acceptable Christian alternative to the wearing of ‘magical’ amulets.¹³⁴ Scriptural amulets are almost without exception applied texts, and we only find a single example of a formulary containing incipits to be copied as amulets.¹³⁵ They do not usually demonstrate the typical features of other categories of magical texts, such as *kharaktēres* or *voces magicae*, suggesting that they were conceived of in different terms, although there are a few exceptional cases which do display *kharaktēres*, and which thus draw upon what we call here the ‘invocation’ tradition.¹³⁶

3.3. Materiality

We refer to the manuscripts in this collection generically as “papyri”, following the papyrological usage in which the term can be used to refer to any movable support for writing. In practical terms, this means that the manuscripts in this volume are written not only on papyrus, but also on parchment, paper, ostraca, and wooden tablets.

In terms of temporal distribution, papyrus was used in Egypt from at least the Old Kingdom (*ca.* XXVI BCE), and continued to be used until the early to mid tenth century CE,¹³⁷ although the details of its use changed. Sheets of papyrus are produced by laying strips of the fibres of the plant over one another at ninety degrees, so that one side of each sheet has horizontal fibres, and the other vertical fibres.¹³⁸ For most of Egyptian history, papyrus was usually written with the text running parallel to the horizontal fibres, but in the fifth century CE it became common (for some kinds of texts) to rotate the roll so that the fibres on the side

¹³³ Barkay *et al.* 2004; Bohak 2008: 30, 114–15.

¹³⁴ Sanzo 2014: 159–165; de Bruyn 2017: 29–30.

¹³⁵ The incipits of the Gospels and Psalm 90 (91) are found in *PCMI* 11 p. 29 l. 23–p. 30 l. 28. As noted above, though, the contents of the codex are unusual within the corpus; only the second text (p. 14 l. 13–p. 20) clearly belongs to the invocation tradition, while the other texts include a first-person exorcistic prayer attributed to Saint Gregory (p. 1 l. 1–p. 14 l. 14), a prayer attributed to Judas Cyriacus drawn from the *Finding of the Holy Cross* (*Inventio sanctae crucis*) (p. 25 l. 24–p. 28 l. 21), and two lists of the names of saints (p. 28 l. 22–p. 29 l. 22).

¹³⁶ See, for example, *Sud.Pal.* 20 294 (KYP M544); *P.Mich.Copt.* 18 (KYP M681).

¹³⁷ Karabacek 1887: 89–100 (Anne Grons is thanked for this reference); Grob 2010: 11–14; Legendre 2014: 326–330.

¹³⁸ On the production of papyrus, see Bülow-Jacobsen 2009: 4–10.

prepared for writing were vertical, a format known as *transversa charta*. In all periods, though, copyists might choose to turn the papyrus over and continue writing on the less favoured side.¹³⁹

Parchment is a writing surface created by preparing the skin of domestic animals, the techniques for whose preparation developed in the second half of the first millennium BCE; examples from Egypt tend to appear around the third century CE.¹⁴⁰ Like papyrus, the process of creating parchment resulted in two distinct surfaces—the ‘hair’ side, generally darker, and showing signs of hair follicles, and the smoother, lighter ‘flesh’ side. Paper—more specifically, rag paper—was invented in China in the second century BCE, but did not arrive in Egypt until the ninth century, and did not come into widespread use until the tenth, when it replaced papyrus.¹⁴¹ Finally, the word ‘ostrakon’ in the context of Egyptian papyrology refers to two different objects—the first, pottery fragments, the second limestone flakes—both of which could be found lying on the ground in Egypt, and were often used as readily available writing supports.¹⁴²

In addition to the material they are made from, manuscripts can also be categorised based on their format.¹⁴³ Papyrus was produced in long rolls, typically 20–30 cm high and several metres wide; these rolls were produced by glueing together multiple smaller sheets, with the join between individual sheets being referred to as *kollēsis* (“glueing”).¹⁴⁴ These could be written from right to left or left to right (depending on the writing system) in multiple columns to produce the format of the horizontal *book-roll* (*volumen* or simply, *roll*).

The roll could also be cut into smaller widths to produce individual sheets, which could also be used to write shorter texts, such as letters. Individual sheets are in fact the most common format of magical formularies, and of almost all applied texts.¹⁴⁵ An important point to mention in the context of sheets is that of folding. The presence of folding in the case of Biblical texts is often used as a criterion for classification as an amulet, since papyri which were folded could then be pierced with a thread or placed in a holder in order to be worn as amulets.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ See Fournet 2009: 28–32; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 101–107, and Sarri 2017: 91–95 for the use of this format in the Ptolemaic period.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Bülow-Jacobsen 2009: 11.

¹⁴¹ See the references at n. 137 above, Boud’hors 1999: 75–84; Bloom 2001: 74–85 *et passim*; cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 69; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 69.

¹⁴² Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014b; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 108–109; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 69–70.

¹⁴³ On manuscript formats, cf. the discussions in Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 71–73.

¹⁴⁴ On the book roll format, see Turner 1978; Johnson 2004: 85–152; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 79–86.

¹⁴⁵ On sheets, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 72–73, 101–108; Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 73; Faraone 2022.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. n. 132 above.

Yet there are cases of manuscripts which are clearly formularies being extensively folded. While it is possible that these are formularies which were re-used as applied texts, there are so many that we suspect that folding was simply a way to make formularies written on sheets easier to store and transport; folding is thus not always an indicator of use as an amulet.¹⁴⁷

As we have noted, from the fifth century it became increasingly common in Egypt to rotate the papyrus roll 90° to write across the horizontal fibres (*transversa charta*). This produced a new format, the vertical book-roll, or *rotulus*.¹⁴⁸ Although horizontal rolls do not disappear, they become far less common after the fourth century CE.

The last major format to be discussed here is the codex, produced by folding and binding together sheets of papyrus, parchment, or, later paper, to produce a book with a spine and individual pages of the type we know today.¹⁴⁹ This format was likely developed by Romans around the first century BCE or CE and adopted gradually in Egypt, finally becoming the predominant format for long texts by the fourth century. The use of the codex is often linked to Christianity, but, although Christians do seem to have favoured the use of the codex over the book-roll, codices become more popular even for non-Christian texts over the course of the third to fourth centuries.¹⁵⁰ There are some interesting cases in this volume of codices without hard covers which seem to have been folded to make them smaller; again, this may indicate re-use as an applied text, but more likely, it served as way to make them smaller for transport and storage.¹⁵¹

As this brief overview suggests, materiality offers additional criteria for dating; the use of a codex suggests a post-fourth century date, *transversa charta* writing suggests a post-fifth century date, the use of papyrus suggests a pre-tenth century date, and the use of paper a date in the tenth century at the earliest.

A final question is that of inks.¹⁵² While we have not been able to obtain information on inks for all manuscripts, we are able to describe the probable composition of inks in the case of some of them, largely thanks to the work of Krisztina Hevesi on the papyrus collections of the Heidelberg University Library and Strasbourg National Library;¹⁵³ we also thank Tea Ghigo for her invaluable

¹⁴⁷ Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 103, 107.

¹⁴⁸ Turner 1978: 26–53; Stroppa 2013; Mihálykó 2019: 164–166; Torallas Tovar 2021; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 83–86. Compare the practice of writing against the fibres of sheets, which became common at around the same time, discussed above (cf. n. 139 above).

¹⁴⁹ Turner 1977; Roberts/Skeat 1983; Skeat 1994; Bagnall 2009a: 70–90; Harnett 2017; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022b: 76–79, 86–101.

¹⁵⁰ Roberts/Skeat 1983: 67–74; Bagnall 2009a: 70–90; Harnett 2017; Nongbri 2018: 21–46.

¹⁵¹ These are PCMI 4, 28 & 34.

¹⁵² The overview of inks given here is based on Rabin/Binetti 2014; Rabin 2015; Rabin/Krutsch 2019: 776–779; Ghigo/Rabin/Buzi 2020; Ghigo/Albarrán Martínez 2021.

¹⁵³ Krisztina Hevesi's work will be published in her forthcoming thesis, *Continuity and Discontinuity of Scribal Traditions in Coptic Magical Texts* (Freie Universität Berlin).

help in interpreting the evidence and accurately describing the results. For our purposes, inks can be classified as belonging to one of three types. The first, carbon ink, was produced by burning organic matter to produce a soot which would be mixed with gum arabic suspended in water; carbon ink was the most common, and oldest, type of ink in antiquity. The second type, iron-gall ink, was produced by mixing a source of iron (such as vitriol or iron filings) with tannins extracted from gall nuts. The earliest written evidence for this type of ink seems to be found in a recipe dating to the early fourth century CE, and it became established in the fifth century, at least for literary texts. The third type is plant ink, a heterogeneous range of inks made from tannins obtained by boiling vegetable matter, such as gall nuts or tree barks. In this work, we identify inks by examining manuscripts using light of different wavelengths, in most cases using a Dino Lite AD4113T-I2V digital microscope. We compare the appearance of ink in the range of visible light, near-infrared (~940nm), and ultraviolet (~395nm). We base our interpretations on the fact that carbon inks are equally visible under all three wavelengths, iron gall ink is visible, but lighter, under infrared, and plant inks are visible in ultraviolet light, but disappear in the infrared spectrum.¹⁵⁴ We may also note that carbon inks tend to be very black, whereas plant inks are generally brown; degraded iron gall ink also tends to be brown, but is typically darker than plant inks, except where the superficial pigment layer has flaked or been rubbed off.

3.4. Language

The Coptic language is divided into a number of varieties, usually referred to as ‘dialects’, which likely originally represented the standardised written forms of local varieties, but which sometimes spread beyond their original range;¹⁵⁵ this is likely true both of Sahidic, the most common and widespread dialect until the ninth century, and of Lycopolitan, which was used for Manichaean texts in areas in which non-Manichaeans seem to have used Sahidic.¹⁵⁶ Coptic magical texts, like documentary texts, are often highly divergent from the literary standards used to define dialects, and so only a few manuscripts in this volume can be clearly defined as belonging to a standard dialect.¹⁵⁷ These are Lycopolitan (L4 or L*, originally from the region of Lycopolis or Assiut), and Faiyumic (F4/5), the

¹⁵⁴ Rabin/Binetti 2014: 467; Rabin 2015: 28; Ghigo/Rabin/Buzi 2020: 70.

¹⁵⁵ In popular usage the term ‘dialect’ may be associated with non-standard or non-prestigious language varieties, but we use it here in the neutral, strictly linguistic sense which has become established in Coptic studies; cf. Boberg/Nerbonne/Watt 2018. On Coptic dialectology, see, for example, Kasser 1980a & b; Funk 1988; Funk 1991; Kasser 1990; Kasser 1991a, c–e.

¹⁵⁶ On Sahidic, see Funk 1988; Shisha-Halevy 1991: 195; on Lycopolitan at Kellis, see Zakrzewska 2015.

¹⁵⁷ On dialects in the corpus of magical papyri, see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 74–78.

dialect associated with the region of the Faiyum.¹⁵⁸ Most of the manuscripts are written in a more or (usually) less standard form of Sahidic (S). In this volume, we usually describe such manuscripts as “Sahidic (non-standard)” and then provide a fuller description in the accompanying introduction, noting any features which may suggest a particular dialectal affiliation and hence geographical origin. We must note that the study of non-standard Sahidic is not deeply developed. We usually rely on the work of Paul Kahle (1954), who extensively described non-standard features and the geographical regions in which they are found. Despite the value of his work, however, his survey does not explicitly take into account statistical information on regional diversity, which often makes it seem as if nearly all non-standard features were equally common in most of Egypt. In a few cases, we define manuscripts simply as “Sahidic”; this is generally in the rare cases in which the surviving text does not show more divergence from the standard than would be expected in a contemporary literary text.

All of the manuscripts presented in this volume are primarily or exclusively Coptic in language. A few contain whole Greek phrases; in two cases, we do treat this as Greek text, printing it in Greek rather than in Coptic. In most instances, though, short passages of syntactic Greek seem to represent fixed phrases embedded within Coptic text, and so we print them in Coptic font, and give the Greek form in the apparatus at the foot of the page. The later manuscripts also contain the regular use of Arabic loanwords, particularly in the descriptions of ingredients.¹⁵⁹ In the larger corpus, there are a few cases of mixed Coptic-Arabic texts, but we do not have any examples in this volume.¹⁶⁰

3.5. Structure

3.5.1. The Structure of Magical Rituals

The basic structure of a ritual (at least, within the context of the invocation tradition) seems to have consisted of three essential acts—the *recitation of a formula*, the *burning of an offering* (usually resins and other aromatics), and the *production of an applied object* which manifested the power of the ritual in an ongoing manner.¹⁶¹ This process of activation may be described in a manner analogous to the liturgical *epiclesis* (“summoning”), the procedure in which the celebrant calls upon God to send his power (sometimes in the form of the Holy Spirit) upon the bread and wine—or, in the context of healing, exorcism, and baptism rituals,

¹⁵⁸ Lycopolitan: *PCMI* 1; Faiyunic: *PCMI* 2.

¹⁵⁹ On Arabic loanwords in Coptic, see Richter 2009: 422–426; Richter 2015b; Richter 2016a; Richter 2017a.

¹⁶⁰ Love 2022a: 182–192.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 62–63.

other liquids such as water and oil. In the same way, within the magical tradition, verbal formulae may call upon angels to descend and seal water or other liquids, or alight upon their images, thus creating applied objects.¹⁶² The form of applied object most apparent in the archaeological record is the applied text—copies of formulae, images, and *kharaktēres* written onto supports such as papyrus in the course of rituals, often worn as amulets or deposited to serve as curses or love spells. These written texts might be transformed into liquids by being washed, so that the liquid would take on the power previously inherent in the applied text.

The use of the applied object depends upon the goal of the ritual; for rituals of healing, protection, exorcism, or favour, applied texts are typically worn by the patient or displayed in the home, or liquids may be drunk by patients, or used to anoint or wash them. In curses or love spells, applied texts are usually deposited at particular sites (a path which the target may use, or a crossroads; at the target's door or in a grave) or cast into fires, while liquid may be poured at the victim's door. In divinatory procedures, the activated object may be the bowl of water or oil used in divination, or else an object (usually a piece of salt) placed by the head when the practitioner goes to sleep in order to provoke a divinatory dream.

In this volume, we usually distinguish between the practitioner (who carries out the ritual) and the beneficiary or client (for whom the ritual is carried out), and, in the case of curses and love spells, the target(s), the people whom the ritual aims to effect. The situation was likely more complex, however; individuals who owned formularies could carry out rituals for themselves, and literary evidence in Coptic and parallels from modern Ethiopia suggest that ritual experts may have at times explained to their clients what to do, so that (parts of) the actual ritual performance would be carried out by the beneficiaries themselves.¹⁶³

3.5.2. The Structure of Magical Texts

The basic structure of a Coptic magical formulary is highly practical, generally consisting of the following elements: *title*, *formula*, *ritual instruction*, and *tableau*. *Titles* are typically placed at the beginnings of texts, and specify the purpose of the ritual, often in highly abbreviated terms (such as ογμε “love” for a love spell), sometimes prefixed by the word “for” (ε- or ετβε). In a few texts we also find the use of section titles such as “the procedure” (πσινπζωβ) to label other parts of the recipe, in this case, the ritual instructions (for instance, for the production of an applied object), or “offering” (εγχα) to introduce lists of objects to be burned as offerings. The *formula* represents the text to be copied, and/or pronounced, and in many cases is the only information to be contained in Coptic formularies.

¹⁶² Dosoo 2021d: 425–428.

¹⁶³ For Coptic evidence, see, for example, the passage from the *Canons of Basil* discussed in Dosoo 2021b: 53–54; for Ethiopia, see e.g., Young 1970: 201.

Ritual instructions are usually highly abbreviated in comparison to those found in the earlier Graeco-Egyptian tradition.¹⁶⁴ They often consist simply of subheadings followed by lists of ingredients, which therefore require some knowledge of the basic ritual processes to decipher. The final elements are the image constructions referred to here as *tableaux*. These consist both of figurative drawings (of human beings, angels, demons, and so on), *kharaktēres*, and associated text—usually combinations of all three. These images are intended to be copied as part of the process of creating applied texts, which may consist only of such tableaux.

3.5.3. Elements of Magical Texts

Magical texts belonging to the invocation tradition (and sometimes those from other traditions) contain a range of recurrent features worth briefly explaining here.¹⁶⁵

Spoken formulae are primarily structured around ‘speech acts’,¹⁶⁶ of which the most common are *invocations*, *adjurations*, and *requests*, representing different ways of addressing superhuman beings. Invocations are speech acts which call upon the addressed being to be present, and which may also request some specific action; they are translated in English as “I call upon you” or “I invoke you”.¹⁶⁷ Adjurations are stronger speech acts which likewise call upon the addressed being to carry out an action, but do so by binding them in a process comparable to an oath; they are translated in English as “I adjure you”.¹⁶⁸ Requests call upon the addressed being to carry out a specific act, but do so in a way which assumes less power, or demonstrates greater deference, on the part of the speaker than either invocations or adjurations; they are translated in English as by forms such as “I

¹⁶⁴ For a description of these text formats, see Dieleman 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Compare the discussion of the structure of Jewish magical texts from the Cairo Genizah in Swartz 1990.

¹⁶⁶ For the theory of speech acts, see Austin 1962; Searle 1969 & 1989; Sadock 2006; House/Kádár 2021. For the application of speech act theory to ancient magic, see, for example, Lesses 1995; Dosoo 2014: 321–325, 402–405; Frankfurter 2019; Janowitz 2019.

¹⁶⁷ The typical structures in Coptic for invocations are ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ, ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ, ⲧⲱⲱ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, translated in this volume respectively as “I invoke you”, “I invoke you”, and “I call upon you”. The verb ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ poses problems for classification, since it might also be understood as a verb of request (see LSJ, Lampe s.v. *παρακαλέω*), and translated as “beseech” or “entreat”, as is usually done in liturgical contexts. The occurrence of ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ in contexts where no specific request is made (see, e.g., *PCM* I 5 front l. 1) suggests that it is better translated as “invoke”, as we do in this volume, but further research on this point would be desirable. For further discussions of the relationship between the verbs of invocation, *ἐπικαλέω* and *παρακαλέω*, cf. Mihálykó 2015: 188; Dosoo 2018: 21–22; Blumell/Dosoo 2021: 141 n. 146.

¹⁶⁸ Adjurations in Coptic magical texts typically take the form ⲧⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ or ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ; much rarer are ⲧ(ⲡ) ⲉⲗⲟⲣⲕⲓⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲕ (*PCM* I 2 l. 1) and ⲧⲡ ⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ (*PCM* I 4 p. 2 l. 3–4). These are all translated as “I adjure you”. On adjurations in general, see Shauf 2005: 202–211.

entreat you” or “I beseech you”.¹⁶⁹ These speech acts may be strengthened by the use of ‘authorities’, or *horkōmotoi*,¹⁷⁰ upon which the speaker calls during the speech act in the same way that modern legal witnesses might swear on the Bible: “I adjure you by your great name...” (PCM I 10 ll. 19–20).

Formulae may also include other recurrent phrases, such as “yea, yea, quickly, quickly!”, usually found at the end of texts or speech acts. The injunction that the requested act be carried out “quickly” is found already in Egyptian ritual texts of the Late Period, and continues into the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition before being taken up by other textual traditions dependent on it.¹⁷¹ “Yea, yea” seems to have a similar effect; it translates the Coptic word (ϣ)ⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ (*haeio*) repeated twice, an interjection used to call for attention and insist upon what is being requested.¹⁷²

Formularies usually contain places in which the names of particular individuals—the beneficiary and/or target(s)—should be named; these are marked with a placeholder which we refer to here as the “generic name marker”, translated into English as NN, generally derived from the Latin *nomen nescio* (“I do not know the name”).¹⁷³ In Coptic, the most common way of writing the generic name marker is with the Greek δεινα (“so and so”), usually abbreviated to its first letter, delta (Δ), often given a supralinear stroke indicating abbreviation, and a tail representing the vowel iota (ι, thus Δ_ι); the sequence ει was not phonologically distinct from ι by the Roman period.¹⁷⁴ This is usually doubled to represent the Greek δεινα της δεινα—“NN (child) of (the woman) NN”. The tradition of identifying individuals in magic based on their mother’s names derives once again from older Egyptian ritual practice.¹⁷⁵ Although the abbreviation is Greek, it is likely that Coptic readers

¹⁶⁹ The most common structures for requests are ⲧⲥⲟⲛⲉ (“I entreat”) and ⲧⲣⲱⲃⲉ (“I beseech”). The common speech acts of the form ⲧⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ (“I invoke and I entreat”) are modelled on the liturgical pattern ⲧⲡⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ, from the Greek δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν (“we invoke and we entreat”); see Mihálykó 2019: 31. For the translation of παρακαλεῖ, cf. n. 167 above.

¹⁷⁰ For this term, see Shauf 2005: 203, and the glossary, at **horkōmos*.

¹⁷¹ Dieleman 2019: 306–307.

¹⁷² Crum CD 636b–637a.

¹⁷³ *Nomen nescio* (alternatively *nomen nominandum*, “name to be named”, or *nomen notetur* “name may be noted”) may itself represent a later, and perhaps originally German, reinterpretation of the original Latin *Numerius Negidius*, used in Roman jurisprudence to refer to the defendants in hypothetical lawsuits (see Berger 1968: 596; Hamann 1871: 26). Perhaps because of the German influence on the modern study of ancient magic, the term was in use to translate δεινα by at least the time of Albrecht Dieterich (1903: 5 *et passim*). In mediaeval Latin magical texts, N for *nomen* (“name”) on its own seems more common (e.g., CLM 849 in Kieckhefer 1998: 199), although NN is also found by at least the eighteenth century (e.g., Skemer 2021: 40).

¹⁷⁴ Dieleman 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Curbera 1999; Dieleman 2010. In some cases, Coptic copyists act as if the doubled NN (ⲁⲃⲱⲁ) is a single NN (see e.g., PCM I 24 l. 16; PCM I 28 p. 7 l. 10); for consistency, we translate this as “NN, child of NN” too. On the different forms of the δεινα-sign in Coptic, cf. Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 83.

would have understood—and probably read it—as the Coptic equivalent $\text{NIM } \Pi/\tau\alpha\epsilon$ $\overline{\text{NIM}}$.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the word “child of” is sometimes replaced in later texts by the sign $\overline{\Sigma}$, derived from a ligature of upsilon (υ) and iota (ι), an abbreviation of the Greek word $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (“son”), but used both for men and women; it was likely also read as $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$. Both abbreviations— $\overline{\Delta}$ and $\overline{\Sigma}$ —are found in non-magical texts: $\overline{\Delta}$ most often in liturgical texts,¹⁷⁷ in which it likewise indicates where the name of an individual is to be inserted in prayers, and $\overline{\Sigma}$ most often in documentary texts following the Arab conquest in which individuals are identified by their fathers’ names.¹⁷⁸

Related to the generic name marker are the words “usual” ($\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$) and “request” ($\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$). The former word is usually abbreviated ($\kappa\omicron\iota$), and has typically been misread in the past as $\kappa\omicron\chi$ (*kokh*). The two words would seem to be generally equivalent, and both have been typically translated in the past as “spell”.¹⁷⁹ The word $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$ is well-known from Graeco-Egyptian magic as an abbreviation for “(add the) usual”, and both seem to serve as paratextual notes to the reader to fill in missing information as required.¹⁸⁰ This seems usually to have referred to the specific name to replace NN, or the specific goals of the ritual, which may not be given elsewhere in the formula.

Ritual procedures may be marked by the title $\text{NIM } \overline{\Sigma}\omega\text{B}$ (“the procedure”). The term $\text{NIM } \overline{\Sigma}\omega\text{B}$ $\overline{\text{NT}}\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\tau$ (“the preparation of the pot”) may be used to refer more specifically to the preparation of liquids in a *pot in certain rituals.¹⁸¹ Within the procedures, the term $\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (“(burnt) offering”, usually abbreviated to $\overline{\Theta}\gamma$) is used to introduce lists of objects to be burned. Tableaux are referred to as “images” ($\zeta\phi\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, often abbreviated), and may be referred to as such either in the formula or in the ritual instructions. Many texts end with the phrase “it is complete” ($\alpha\chi\chi\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\omega\lambda$), to let the reader know that they possess the full recipe or formula.

The final elements we note here are *voces magicae* and *kharaktēres*, two characteristic features of magical texts in Coptic and other traditions dependent on Graeco-Egyptian magic. Since Betz’s translation of the *Greek Magical Papyri*, it has been common to print *voces magicae* in small caps, but they are not usually marked out in a comparable way in the manuscripts themselves. It is similarly difficult to decide what should be treated as a *vox magica* and what as simply a

¹⁷⁶ Cf. the comments of Crum CD 584b s.v. $\omega\mu\epsilon$ on the abbreviation for $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$.

¹⁷⁷ See, e.g., Budde 2004: 166, 188; we thank Ágnes Mihálykó for providing us with this reference.

¹⁷⁸ See, e.g., CPR IV 174b l. 12; CPR IV 4 l. 1. For a brief discussion of the form and origin of this abbreviation, see Berkes/Delattre/Vanthieghem 2021: 169. We thank Vincent Walter and Lajos Berkes for discussing this abbreviation with us.

¹⁷⁹ See Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 84, with further references.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Daniel/Maltomini 1992: II 225, and the note to PCM I 12 p. 9 l. 7.

¹⁸¹ See, e.g., BL Ms Or. 6796 (4) + 6796 (Kropp 1931: I no. J; KYP M308) l. 49. For a fuller list of occurrences, see the discussion in Choat/Gardner 2013: 100, but note that their own proposal to read $\sigma\sigma$ as $\sigma\omega\text{B}$ $\overline{\text{NT}}\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\tau$ should be corrected to $\delta\delta$, to be read as ($\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$) “days”; see Dosoo/Love/Preininger 2022: 84.

divine name, so we do not mark *voces magicae* differently from other text in this volume. We do attempt to break them up following the procedure of the copyist and normally add commas between them. As far as we can tell, *voces magicae* were usually understood as the secret names of superhuman beings, such as the Jewish-Christian god, although at times they are clearly understood as syntactic phrases in a special language—often divine, but at other times a sacred human language, such as Hebrew, or that of animals.¹⁸² *Voces magicae* are generally understood to be phrases whose perceived power derived from their lack of comprehensibility, even if some of the words, or at least their elements, were ultimately derived from real words in real languages. Equally, they often show poetic qualities such as the repetition of sounds (such as *hrix hrax* in *PCM* I 16 ostracon 1 ll. 1–5), and sometimes form palindromes (such as *Ablanathanalba*, known in both Greek and Coptic magic), showing that they may have been valued for their aural and visual qualities. Editors of magical texts often spend considerable time gathering comparanda for *voces magicae* in an attempt to interpret them. We generally do not do this here, both because the meanings of most *voces magicae* are very uncertain, and because we believe that compiling such parallels is best carried out in the context of a dedicated project. Related to *voces magicae* are vowel sequences (repetitions of the seven Greek vowels) and *tekhnopaignia*, or text formations—these latter are shapes, such as squares and triangles, formed from names or letters, found in Greek magical texts, and in some of the traditions dependent on them, including those in Coptic, albeit not in the texts of this volume.¹⁸³

Lastly, *kharaktēres* are magical signs which seem to represent a written form of the divine language, whose spoken form would likely be *voces magicae*.¹⁸⁴ While these may take many forms, in Coptic magic they are typically based on simple shapes: the letters of the Greek (and more rarely, Coptic) alphabet as well as geometric shapes such as crosses, circles, and squares. These are usually decorated with circles at their corners and terminal points, leading to them being known by names such as *signes pommetés* (“signs with ‘little apples’”)¹⁸⁵ or *Brillenbuchstaben* (“spectacle letters”). In this volume, we reproduce *kharaktēres* as tracings, and in the translations of the texts we generally provide the basic shapes upon which they are based in brackets. Coptic texts are somewhat different from the earlier Graeco-Egyptian magical texts in their use of *kharaktēres*. In Coptic manuscripts we sometimes find them simply used as Coptic letters to write

¹⁸² On *voces magicae*, see Versnel 2002; Bohak 2003; Dosoo 2014: 108–110, 423–426. For *voces magicae* which supposedly represent Hebrew, see *PCM* 11 p. 25 l. 24–p. 26 l. 7.

¹⁸³ See Gordon 2002: 85–90; Bohak 2008: 265–270.

¹⁸⁴ See Gordon 2011; Mastrocinque 2012; Gordon 2014; Dosoo 2022a: 121–122, 132.

¹⁸⁵ The term ‘pommeté’ derives from heraldry, in which it usually describes a type of cross whose bars terminate in rounded balls, the ‘croix pommetée’ or ‘bourdonnée’ (from ‘bourdon’, a type of knobbed staff); see Geliot 1664: 103–104, 550. As noted in Gordon 2011: 18 n. 16, the term seems to have originated in Derchain 1964: 193.

words (often, but not always, divine names), the addition of circles simply serving to stylise or in some sense ‘empower’ the text.¹⁸⁶

3.5.4. Paratextual Signs

The structure of Coptic magical texts is apparent both in the specialist vocabulary used to designate particular textual or ritual components of the practices and in the range of paratextual signs used in the texts.

Many of the manuscripts begin with an initial cross (+) or staurogram (⦿). This was a frequent practice in texts produced in Christian contexts from the fourth century CE onwards, although, by the fifth century, it was not necessarily a clear sign of strong personal faith.¹⁸⁷ From the eighth century, this sign may be replaced by two strokes (/); this seems to have been a practice which emerged among scribes writing in Greek and Coptic for the Umayyad administration, and so may have represented a way to avoid writing the cross out of sensitivity to the new Muslim ruling class.¹⁸⁸ Such slashes are found in one manuscript in this volume (*PCMI* 17), and offer an additional dating criterion.

At a higher level, texts may be divided by horizontal strokes, which may be simple, or decorated. Decorated dividers may consist of two parallel strokes and/or be broken with dots, among other strategies for decoration. The *diple* is a wedge shape (>), usually drawn in the left margin, and marking breaks in textual units.

Coptic script is generally written continuously (*scriptio continua*), although scribes may (inconsistently) leave small spaces between words or word groups. Individual copyists may also use various signs—such as the mid dot (·), colon (:), tricolon (;), or two oblique strokes (z)—to mark breaks between words and word groups. These may sometimes break up units that we consider to be single groups.

Coptic also makes extensive use of supralineation, the practice of writing supralinear strokes above certain letters. In standard Sahidic Coptic, these are usually used above abbreviations, as well as consonants which were either pronounced with a preceding short vowel (*schwa*) or were autosyllabic, *i.e.*, the syllable to which they belonged may not have had any true vowel sound.¹⁸⁹ Supralinear strokes are used in this way (albeit inconsistently, as in other genres) in Coptic magical texts, but they are also used to mark the names of superhuman beings, and in particular, *voces magicae*. This practice continues that found in some Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, although it seems to ultimately derive from a non-magical context, in which Greek-literate scribes marked non-Greek words with a supralinear stroke in order to clearly mark where they began and ended

¹⁸⁶ Sanzo 2015: 79–82; Dosoo 2022a: 121–122.

¹⁸⁷ Choat 2006: 116–118; Blumell 2012: 43–46; de Bruyn 2017: 62–64; Carlig 2020.

¹⁸⁸ Richter 2003: 223–230; Cromwell 2023: 234–235; Amory 2023: 65–66.

¹⁸⁹ Peust 1999: 61–65; Layton 2000: 28–30, 31–32.

to aid in reading.¹⁹⁰ In this volume, we do not generally attempt to reproduce supralinear strokes exactly; if a stroke is partially above a letter, we mark it as being above that letter, rather than rendering a smaller stroke between two letters. Likewise, we do not generally indicate in transliteration if a supralinear stroke was rounded or flat, although in cases in which they are closer to sign known as the djinkim (Ɀ, used in the Bohairic dialect), we do reproduce this form schematically. We encourage readers to consult photographs of the original manuscripts—either in the plates, or at the links provided in the introductions to each entry—if the exact form of paratextual markers is of interest to them.

4. The Presentation of Texts in this Volume

4.1. Principles of Edition

The goal of this volume is to present Coptic magical texts in a way which enables readers—professional scholars but also students and interested laypeople—to access them as directly as possible. We provide basic notes to aid in the interpretation of these texts and to explain our decisions as translators, signalling uncertainties as clearly as possible using question marks. These uncertainties—of the meaning or interpretation of words, phrases and practices—should not be taken as admissions of defeat, but rather as signposts marking the extensive work that remains to be done on these understudied texts.

We have sought to follow modern papyrological norms, specifically those proposed by the Association of Papyrology in 2022,¹⁹¹ but with some important deviations from these based on the particular features of magical texts. First, we understand the *mise en page* (layout) of magical texts to be significant:¹⁹² the decision of copyists of where to place different text sections in relation to one another or to images, and the way in which they subsequently correct or add text provides us with important information as to their conceptions of the work, and the way in which they used and interacted with it. This means that, generally, each manuscript page or sheet side is reproduced on one printed page, schematically reproducing the original document as clearly as possible. Where there are two or more manuscript pages to a printed page, these are clearly signalled, and separated by a horizontal line which goes across the full width of the printed column (as opposed to shorter lines reproducing dividing lines in the original manuscripts). Translations of these texts are reproduced on facing pages. With the exception of common abbreviations, we avoid Latin in the apparatus, instead using English to

¹⁹⁰ Fournet 2020a: 154–157.

¹⁹¹ See Fournet *et al.* 2022, online at https://aip.ulb.be/PDF/Guidelines_for_editing_papyri.pdf

¹⁹² We use the term “significant” here as the equivalent of the French *signifiant* (“signifying”), inspired by the usage of Fournet 2007.

make the volume accessible to the largest number of readers.

In the past, the contexts of manuscripts have often been neglected; although, as explained above (3.1.1) we usually have no precise information on the circumstances of discovery of manuscripts, we have attempted to reconstruct these as accurately as possible from surviving records, and we have likewise attempted to date the manuscripts as precisely as possible based on the analysis of palaeography and other features. These processes are rarely conclusive, but we think that they are worth carrying out in order to ground texts in place and time. For this reason, we are occasionally quite daring in our proposals, but, as in other cases, we signal our uncertainty with the use of question marks; again, these question marks should be taken seriously, and readers should be sure to consult the rationales provided in the introductions to decide for themselves how plausible they find our suggestions. For reasons of space, only images of manuscripts which have not been published in the past, or which are not readily available online, are published in this volume.

4.2. Layout, Notes and Apparatus

Each manuscript begins with its number in this publication, followed by a modern title briefly describing its form and/or content. This is followed by basic information in the form of bullet points, and then an introduction. The following pages provide the text, accompanied by an apparatus below the text, with facing translation, below which are notes.

4.2.1. Basic information and Introduction

Each manuscript begins with a section of basic information, which first gives the provenance, dimensions (height, width, and where relevant, depth, in centimetres (cm)) and then proposed date. Edited volumes are referenced according to the standard *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*,¹⁹³ with the sigla italicised. We indicate the URL of the official online photo of the manuscript, the plate number for this volume, or in another printed publication. If the image is no longer accessible at the online address given, we advise readers to consult the *Kyprianos* or *Trismegistos* databases, where a more up-to-date link may be available. The linguistic description briefly discusses the dialect (or language, if the text contains more than simply Coptic text). The contents provide a list of the texts contained in the manuscript, numbered in order of writing, along with the *Kyprianos* text number associated with each entry.

¹⁹³ For the checklist, see <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>

The basic information is followed by a discursive introduction, which provides further information on questions of materiality, including manuscript format, *kollēsis*, folding (described in terms of the number of visible creases), inks, and so on. This also includes information on provenance and acquisition, and then a description of the hand and a discussion of dating. In general, we do not discuss the contents of the manuscripts here, but rather in the notes accompanying the translation, although we make an exception in a few cases, notably those in which the manuscript contains texts with a complex history which cannot be adequately discussed in the notes printed below the translation.

4.2.2. Text and Apparatus

The text field contains the original language form of the text, with minimal interventions. At the top of each page or column, the fibre direction (↓/→) is noted for papyrus, and the same signs are used on ostraca to indicate the direction of wheel marks. Side (hair/flesh) is noted for parchment, as well as curvature (concave/convex) for ostraca, where we have access to this information.

Coptic words are generally divided following the scheme of Walter Till.¹⁹⁴ In Greek text, accents and breathings are added, but the transliteration contains only punctuation present in the original manuscript. We attempt to represent any text added above or below the line of text in a schematic manner which allows its relative position to the line to be appreciated without compromising legibility. *Eisthesis* and *ekthesis* (indentation and extension into the margin), as well as notably enlarged letters, may also be represented visually, with the format being described in the apparatus. Abbreviations are resolved in the apparatus, and any non-Coptic (Greek or Arabic) words are also noted in their original language form. For Greek verbs, we give the present infinitive form, which usually seems to have been that borrowed into Coptic, although in the case of a few verbs, we should probably understand them as imperatives.¹⁹⁵

A solid horizontal line across the entire column marks a new page or side, but a shorter horizontal line marks dividers from the original text. A dashed line at the end of a page or side indicates a break in the writing surface, suggesting lost text.

Variant readings by previous editors are indicated in the apparatus according to line number, but only when these diverge from our own readings or interpretations. The previous editors' readings are indicated by providing their reading followed

¹⁹⁴ Till 1960; note that in a few cases we diverge from his schema for reasons of clarity.

¹⁹⁵ This is the case for γράφε and βοήθει, which appear as imperatives at the equivalent points in Greek magical texts. For γράφε, see e.g., *GEMF* 15/*PGM* XII (KYP M160) l. 127 (78); *GEMF* 30/*PGM* II (KYP M152) l. 77 (30). For βοήθει, see *PGM* VI b (KYP M424) l. 3; cf. *PGM* XIII/*GEMF* 60 (KYP M161) l. 289; *PGM* LXXXIX/*SM* 13 (KYP M813) l. 5. On the general borrowing of infinitive forms of verbs, see Grossmann/Richter 2017: 221–223.

by their surname, at times abbreviated for space. The editors can be identified by consulting the list of editions and translations at the beginning of the introduction, where any abbreviations are also introduced. Alternative translations may also be noted, where they diverge significantly from those we offer, by giving the translation in inverted commas, followed by the translator's name. Coptic words which appear in a form not found in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* (1939) are given in their standard Sahidic form in the apparatus,¹⁹⁶ prefixed by a superscript ^s,¹⁹⁷ and broken into morphemes by dashes (the sign $\neq$ precedes suffix pronouns). The apparatus also notes corrections and deletions made by the copyists, including a brief description of how the deletion or correction has been made. A full list of critical signs is available on p. xv.

4.2.3. Translation, Notes, and Glossary

Translations are largely continuous, although we indicate line breaks in the translation to aid in the comprehension of text structure. Paragraph breaks are used to indicate separate texts or text sections (such as the passage from formula to ritual instructions). We generally indicate line breaks in the original text at every five lines of the translation by a vertical stroke followed by the line number (|⁵) but further line breaks are sometimes indicated where these aid in understanding the structure of the text. Words broken across lines, or which survive only partially, are not broken up either across line divisions or by square brackets in order to maximise legibility and searchability. Words broken across lines are assigned to the line which contains most of their letters, and if both lines have an equal number of letters, they are usually assigned to the first of the lines on which they appear. Words whose translation is uncertain, either because of damage, or for other reasons, are marked with a superscript question mark. Words marked by an asterisk appear in the glossary at the end of the volume (pp. 471–488).

For deities and culturally significant figures who are well known, we use the standard English (or at times Latin) equivalent, thus 'Jesus' (ⲓⲥⲟⲩⲥ), 'Isis' (ⲏⲥⲉ), and 'John' (ⲓⲟⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ, in the case of the Apostle or Evangelist). For historical people who were not famous, and superhuman beings whose names do not have a standard English form, we use a standard transliteration scheme, based on but modified from the Leipzig-Jerusalem transliteration system (fig. 2).¹⁹⁸ Thus, for example, the copyist responsible for *PCM* I 21–26, who has the same name as the Apostle John, is called in this work the Deacon Iōhannēs (ⲓⲟⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ).

¹⁹⁶ In this case, we use *i.e.* ("that is") rather than *l.* ("read"), that is, we understand our intervention as an interpretation rather than a correction.

¹⁹⁷ Comparable signs are used when, more rarely, we compare forms in other dialects, such as Bohairic (^B) and Faiyumic (^F).

¹⁹⁸ Grossmann/Haspelmath 2015.

Letter	Name ¹⁹⁹	Transl.	Value ²⁰⁰
ⲁ	<i>alpha</i>	a	/a/
ⲃ	<i>beta</i>	b	/β/
Ⲅ	<i>gamma</i>	g	/k/ or /g/
ⲅ	<i>delta</i>	d	/t/ or /d/
Ⲇ	<i>epsilon</i>	e	/ε/
Ⲉ	<i>zeta</i>	z	/z/
Ⲋ	<i>eta</i>	ē	/e/
Ⲍ	<i>theta</i>	th	/tʰ/
Ⲏ	<i>iota</i>	i	/i/ or /j/
Ⲑ	<i>kappa</i>	k	/k/
Ⲓ	<i>lambda</i>	l	/l/
Ⲕ	<i>mu</i>	m	/m/
Ⲗ	<i>nu</i>	n	/n/
Ⲙ	<i>xi</i>	x	/ks/
Ⲛ	<i>omicron</i>	o	/ɔ/
Ⲝ	<i>pi</i>	p	/p/

Letter	Name	Transl.	Value
Ⲟ	<i>rho</i>	r	/r/
Ⲡ	<i>sigma</i>	s	/s/
Ⲣ	<i>tau</i>	t	/t/
Ⲥ	<i>upsilon</i>	u	/u/ or /w/
Ⲧ	<i>phi</i>	ph	/pʰ/
Ⲩ	<i>chi</i>	kh	/kʰ/
Ⲫ	<i>psi</i>	ps	/ps/
Ⲭ	<i>omega</i>	ō	/o/
Ⲯ	<i>shai</i>	š	/ʃ/
Ⲱ	<i>fai</i>	f	/f/
Ⲳ	<i>khai</i>	ḥ	/x/
Ⲵ	<i>barred hori</i>	ḥ	/x/
Ⲷ	<i>hori</i>	h	/h/
Ⲹ	<i>djandja</i>	č	/tʃ/
Ⲻ	<i>kjima</i>	c	/k/ or /tʃʰ/
Ⲽ	<i>ti</i>	ti	/ti/

Fig. 2: Transliteration scheme used in this volume

Each translation ends with a list of the editors' initials (for which see the list of abbreviations), and a description of how the manuscript was examined, either via photograph alone or also through in-person inspection ('autopsy'), and who was responsible for producing tracings of tableaux, where relevant.

4.3. Palaeographical Descriptions

In our palaeographical descriptions, we try to make use of a regular vocabulary in order to standardise these as much as possible, despite the uniqueness of every hand.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ The names of the Coptic letters here are those used by modern Copticists, corresponding to the Greek names in the cases where the alphabets overlap; for the Coptic names, see the initial entries for each letter in Crum CD; Peust 1999: 58–60.

²⁰⁰ Given here are the approximate values for these letters in classical Sahidic; the actual pronunciation changed considerably across dialect and over time, and likely also depended upon their position in words and phrases. For discussions of Coptic phonology, see Sobhy 1915; Worrell 1934; Peust 1999: 56–65 *et passim*; Casey 2022.

²⁰¹ For discussions of Coptic palaeography, and the terminology used here, see Boud'hors 1997;

The term *majuscule* (generally equivalent to *uncial*) refers to the ‘capital’ forms of letters in which each has, in principle, the same height; these letterforms may also be referred to as *bilinear*, that is, they can be understood as being written between two lines, an upper line marking the height of all or nearly all letters, and a lower line, marking the lowest point of all letters. The term *minuscule* refers to letterforms similar to those of modern Greek lowercase letters. These may also be referred to as *quadrilinear*, since the letters can be understood as being written between four lines, with their bodies generally resting between two central lines, and the ascendant or descendant parts of certain letters reaching higher or lower boundary lines. The concept of *modus* refers to letter width; early majuscules tend to give all letters (with a few exceptions, such as *i*) equal width, and are thus referred to as *unimodular*. By contrast, later *bimodular* hands, used from the sixth century or so, vary the width of letters, with *e*, *o*, and *c* usually being markedly narrower than other letters.

A further point of description is *slope*; hands may be described as *upright*, or *slanting* or *inclined* to one side. *Cursivity* describes the degree to which hands make use of ligatures—if letters regularly join together, they may be described as cursive, or as making use of ligatures. Hands may furthermore be described more vaguely in terms of *regularity*, *formality*, and *training*. Regular hands consistently produce letters with the same shapes, sizes, and spacing. Formal hands are by definition regular, but also seem to consciously reproduce particular canonical styles, often associated with high-prestige texts, and aim for a high degree of legibility.²⁰² Informal or irregular hands tend to be more idiosyncratic, with more variation in letterform, sizing, spacing, and so on. While trained scribes might deliberately produce informal texts, some informal hands may be described as ‘untrained’, as ‘literates with specific competences’, or as ‘functional semi-literates’.²⁰³ In these cases we sometimes make use of Raffaella Criobiore’s categories of learner hands, in particular the *alphabetic* and *evolving* hands.²⁰⁴ Alphabetic hands describe writers who know the alphabet and the letterforms, but can only write individual letters slowly and with some difficulty, while evolving hands seem to write with more frequency, but are not able to write with absolute regularity or in a canonical style. *Shading* refers to the thickness of the

MacCoull 1997 (note that some of the dates given are incorrect); Delattre 2007: 127–132; Gardner/Choat 2004; Askeland 2018; Mihálykó 2019: 83–92; Boud’hors 2020; Krueger 2020: 166–183; Amory forthcoming. We also thank Yasmine Amory for her helpful advice on this section, and for her many invaluable comments on our palaeographical descriptions.

²⁰² Here we follow the definitions of formality and informality offered in Crisci/Degni 2011: 25–6. We thank Yasmine Amory for this reference.

²⁰³ For this term, see Petrucci 2002: 20–21; Amory forthcoming.

²⁰⁴ Criobiore 1996: 33, 112. As Yasmine Amory points out, the terminology is not ideal, since ‘evolving’, for example, implies a stage in training, whereas here we use it to describe an established writer. Nonetheless, the categories identified by Criobiore are useful in more narrowly defining types of non-expert writing, and may imply the highest level of scribal training attained by particular writers.

strokes which make up the letters, and whether there is variation in line thickness. *Flourishes* and *serifs* are terms which refer to decorative extensions or ticks which may be used at the ends of strokes.

In general, the hands contained in this collection are usually either highly informal, or represent the right-sloping majuscule common in *Kleinliteratur* (“minor literature”)—technical texts such as medical, magical, and alchemical works—as well as in the colophons of literary texts.²⁰⁵ Occasionally, we see examples of cursive documentary-type hands which evolve from the sixth century onwards. There are relatively few letterforms which we consider absolutely diagnostic of a date; one exception to this is the so-called “flat mu”, which almost resembles an inverted π (Π); this form seems to appear only in the tenth century.²⁰⁶

Where more than one hand writes a single manuscript, we mark changes of hand by adding *m(anus)* + number in the left margin of the Coptic text. Where individual copyists use markedly different styles for different sections, we likewise mark *s(tyle)* + number in the left margin.²⁰⁷

5. The Contents of *Papyri Copticae Magicae I*

In choosing texts for this volume, it has been necessary to be selective, but we have been unable to use entirely objective criteria. The corpus as a whole is not yet well enough studied to propose a purely chronological arrangement, as is done for the *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies*; the work of dating the manuscripts is best carried out alongside their publication. We also see the Coptic magical papyri as an open corpus, which will grow as more texts are discovered or published. As a result, a strictly chronological arrangement would become incoherent over time. Instead, we divide the corpus first by basic type—formularies and applied texts (see 3.2)—then divide the latter category into texts which are ‘aggressive’ (broadly, curses and love spells) and ‘amuletic’ (healing, exorcistic, protective, and for gaining favour). This first volume contains formularies.

For this volume of formularies, we aim to provide a selection which gives readers a good idea of the general nature of the corpus, mixing long texts whose histories can be traced for centuries across multiple languages (*e.g.*, *PCM* I 11 & 25) with shorter and more idiosyncratic examples (*e.g.*, *PCM* I 2 & 35). We have deliberately picked some which we judge to be particularly important—*PCM* I 1, for example, is the earliest well-dated magical text in a standard Coptic dialect, and its archaeological context provides a rich idea of *Sitz im Leben* (“lived context”) not possible for the other manuscripts.

We have also selected many texts which benefitted significantly from re-edition,

²⁰⁵ Till 1942: 101; Boud’hors 1997; Mihálykó 2019: 85–92.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Mihálykó 2019: 16–18.

²⁰⁷ For the concept of ‘style’ in papyrology, see Fournet 2019: 572–575, 581.

including several from the University of Heidelberg papyrus collection (*PCM* I 21–33, 35), all of which date to the tenth or eleventh centuries CE. Nine of these (*PCM* I 21–29) provide us with an example of an archive containing magical texts, and even those which do not belong to this archive show striking similarities of format, content, and language. This is also true of three other manuscripts from other modern collections dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries (*PCM* I 34, 36, 37). Presenting these texts together has allowed us to bring out these shared features. We nonetheless exclude texts, including those from Heidelberg, with significant Arabic-language content, reserved for a future volume.

The Heidelberg group also includes some of the longest surviving texts, several belonging to the category of the ‘magical liturgies’; for this reason we include other extensive exemplars, including the Leiden Anastasy Codex (*PCM* I 11) and Rossi’s ‘Gnostic’ Tractate (*PCM* I 12), which offer both notable similarities and contrasts with the Heidelberg material. The inclusion of Rossi’s famous ‘tractate’ suggested to us the inclusion of its largely forgotten sibling, the much more fragmentary second ‘tractate’, perhaps found with it (*PCM* I 13).

We also include in this volume most of the ‘narrative charms’ (*PCM* I 6, 7, 15, 16, 20, 29), and the related texts featuring Pharaonic deities (*PCM* I 4, 8, 9); these have attracted considerable attention in past research, and so we hope that presenting new editions of them will prove useful to their ongoing study.²⁰⁸

The remaining manuscripts contain the briefer and more idiosyncratic texts which constitute the majority of the corpus. *PCM* 2, 3 & 10 demonstrate the important place accorded to female reproductive health in magical texts: respectively, a procedure for healing uterine bleeding, a curse to cause it, and a prayer to allow a woman to become pregnant.²⁰⁹ In the other texts of this volume we see a still wider range of purposes: *PCM* I 5 represents a typical example of a short healing recipe, which may be found both alone in individual sheets and as part of larger collections (*cf.* *PCM* I 33 & 36); *PCM* I 14, perhaps a love spell, demonstrates the use of figural images reminiscent of those on later and more complex formularies. *PCM* I 17 & 19 have more idiosyncratic goals—acquiring a good singing voice and maintaining the virginity of a woman. Finally, *PCM* I 18 contains a curse whose vivid description of the sickness it aims to bring about is accompanied by a brief but evocative account of the workings of the celestial hierarchy reminiscent of those found in a more extensive form in the ‘magical liturgies’.

²⁰⁸ Excluded manuscripts which could be counted among these include *BKU* I 1 (KYP M76), to be published with the other manuscripts of its archive (KYP A14); and four recently (re-) published manuscripts: Mich.Ms. 136 (Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M128); Saqqara F.17.10 (SA.03/141) (van der Vliet 2018a; Zellmann-Rohrer/Love 2022; KYP M716); Naqlun N. 78/93 (KYP M1135) and *P.Herm.Copt.* 67 (KYP M57) (both Kalchenko/van der Vliet 2022).

²⁰⁹ For another recently-published recipe to treat a gynaecological problem, see BnF Copte 129.20 fol. 178 (Preininger 2022; KYP M108) ll. 1–5.

Text Editions

PCM I 1. Letter of Oualēs to Psais containing separation spell

Kellis (Ismant al-Kharab)

23.7 (H) × 7.7 (W) cm

Late IV CE

Other references: Kellis Excavation no. P88 + P77B + P79 + P92.49; TM 85886; *P.Kell. V Copt.* 35; KYP M176; Bélanger Sarrazin #189.

Editions: Mirecki *et al.* 1997 (*ed. pr.*); Gardner *et al.* 1999.

Translations: Mirecki *et al.* 1997; Gardner *et al.* 1999; van der Vliet 2019b: 332–334; Hope/Bowen 2022: 423–424.

Additional commentary: Shisha-Halevy 2002; Mirecki 2013; Love 2016: 273–276; van der Vliet 2020: 263–265; Teigen 2021: 205–206, 248, 280; Brand 2022: 102, 104–105, 280–281; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar 2022a: 42–54; Love 2022a: 180–181.

Present location: Ismant al-Kharab magazine, Egypt.

Image: Gardner *et al.* 1999: plate 27.

Linguistic description: Written in Lycopolitan (L4); initial 3 lines of the formula (front ll. 1–3) and address (back ll. 11–12) in Greek.

Contents:

1. Front ll. 1–22: Separation spell (KYP T350)
2. Front ll. 23–42, back ll. 1–8: Letter from Oualēs to Psais (KYP T1506)
3. Back ll. 9–10: Address formula (KYP T1505)

A complete papyrus sheet with some damage along the folds. The text is a formulary copied as part of a letter from a man named Oualēs to another named Psais, found in room 6 of House 3 of Area A during the Dakhleh Oasis Project excavation of Kellis, with various fragments being found in the years between 1977 and 1992.¹ The letter begins with instructions for a separation spell taking up 22 lines on the front (→), followed by the contents of the letter—a resumé of the request which led to the sending of the letter, an apology for not finding the text requested, and a counter request that the addressee copy and send other texts in return. This letter takes up the remaining 20 lines of the front, and then 8 lines on the back, written at 90° counterclockwise to the text of the front. Finally, the address is written in Greek on the back in 2 lines on the opposite corner from the end of the letter, with the point where the seal would be attached (*locus sigilli*) indicated by a cross, broken where the string tying the letter closed would have been. 5 horizontal and 3 vertical creases are apparent (from the perspective of the front), indicating that it was folded before being sent. The tall, narrow format is typical of Greek and Coptic letters dating to before the fifth century, including examples from Kellis.²

¹ Specifically deposit 3 + deposit 4 north-west corner, east wall + deposit 5 west wall; see Gardner *et al.* 1999: 118.

² For the formats of Greek letters, see Fournet 2009; Sarri 2017. For similar letters from Kellis,

At several points, the scribe has left blank spaces (*vacats*) between words or lines, presumably to avoid imperfections in the papyrus' writing surface.³

The site of Kellis, modern Ismant al-Kharab, is in the Dakhla Oasis, 350 kilometres west of the Nile Valley. Area A House 3 is a particularly rich site, containing over 200 texts written in Coptic, Greek, and to a lesser extent, Syriac, testifying to the lives of one or more extended families who seem to have been Manichaean Hearers.⁴ Alongside various epistolary, business, and administrative documents, the preserved manuscripts contain a number of ritual texts, including hymns, a prayer for the unction of the sick known from other Christian liturgical sources, a Greek magical formulary containing healing prescriptions, and three amulets against disease.⁵ The texts document a period from the end of the third century into the 390s, at which point the house, along with the rest of the village, was abandoned, perhaps due to the encroachment of the desert. The inhabitants of the house at this period were involved in various businesses, primarily weaving, trading cloth and finished clothing as far as the Nile Valley, but also the maintenance of fruit trees (olive and perhaps jujube), some of which were leased out.⁶ The house appears to have been stripped of valuable items when it was abandoned, so that the remaining texts are apparently those left behind in storage jars on the roof, which subsequently collapsed and fell into the ground-floor rooms.⁷

The writer of the letter, Oualēs (the Greek writing of the Latin *Valens*) lived outside Kellis, and is responsible for one other letter to the inhabitants of House 3 (*P.Kell.* V *Copt.* 36); it has been suggested that he was a member of the Manichaean monastic and clerical group known as the Elect, but this remains uncertain.⁸ Psais (the Greek form of the Egyptian *Pšai*) was one of the younger members of the household of House 3, known from several other texts in the archive, and identified by Klaas Worp as Psais III, since this name was a recurrent one within the family.⁹

The hand of Oualēs is an accomplished, largely bilinear majuscule, inclined to the right and rather cursive; α, ε, and τ are regularly ligatured to the following letter. Bilinearity is broken by β, ρ, χ, q, and †, which descend below the lower line,

cf. *P.Kell.* V *Copt.* 20, 25, 26, 31, 36, 39, 43, 50.

³ E.g., at front ll. 22, 29, 40–43; back ll. 4–5; cf. Jones 2015 for scribes avoiding damaged areas of papyrus.

⁴ For recent overviews, see Teigen 2021: 53–80; Brand 2022: 40–90; Hope/Bowen 2022: 42–48.

⁵ Prayer for the unction of the sick: *P.Kell.* I *Gr.* 88 (KYP M1105); Greek formulary: *.Kell.* I 85 (KYP M185); published Greek amulets: *P.Kell.* I 86 (KYP M2114) & *P.Kell.* I 87 (KYP M184). For a discussions of the magical and other ritual/technical texts, see Dosoo/Torallas Tovar: 2022a; Brand 2022: 98–105.

⁶ For a recent overview, see Teigen 2021: 75–79.

⁷ Bowen 2015: 235.

⁸ For this proposal see Gardner *et al.* 1999: 34–35, Mirecki *et al.* 1997: 5–6; Teigen 2021: 248–249; cf. Brand 2022: 280–281.

⁹ Worp 1995: 50–54; Gardner *et al.* 1999: 41, 57–58; cf. Mirecki *et al.* 1997: 6; Teigen 2021: 66–67; Brand 2022: 341.

Papyri Copticae Magicae

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Coptic Magical Texts
Volume 1: Formularies

Edited by
Korshi Dosoo and Markéta Preininger

In collaboration with
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Selina Schuster, and Julia Schwarzer

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*Cum nuper tecum (reverende pater) in cænobio tuo apud Herbipolim
aliquandiu conversatus, multa de chymicis, multa de magicis,
multa de cabalisticis caeterisque; quae adhuc in occulto
delitescunt arcanis scientiis atque artibus una contulissemus:
magna inter cæteras questio erat (...) magia ipsa...*
Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa to Johannes Trithemius (1509/1510)

KD: *Dedicated to the memory of Deirdre Jill McGarry*

MP: *Dedicated to the memory of Jacqueline Trak, who taught me how to learn*

Foreword

It has become increasingly common to see “magic” as a negative word, primarily designating illicit religion and ritual. But while this was often true in antiquity, in the modern day it tends to conjure up different associations—the promise of romance and excitement (“magical adventures”) or of miraculous ease and efficiency (“it works like magic!”). This may be why magical texts are often of such interest, even—and perhaps especially—to non-scholars; they seem to embody the distance between our own mundane present and the past, in its alien distance and possibility. Yet the reality is that magical texts are often inaccessible or obtuse—difficult in their language, and drawing deeply from a reservoir of cultural references unfamiliar to most modern readers.

The present volume is the product of the project *The Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* (2018–2023), whose goal was to make one group of these texts, those written in Coptic, more accessible to scholars and laypeople. This project was funded by, and housed at, the Julius Maximilian University Würzburg through the Excellent Ideas programme. We must in particular thank Martin Stadler and Daniel Schwemer for supporting the initial proposal, made by the project leader Korshi Dosoo; without their advocacy, and later guidance, the project, and this volume, would never have come to be.

When the project began in 2018, Dosoo worked alongside Edward O.D. Love and Markéta Preininger, respectively the post-doctoral and doctoral research fellows. In 2021, Love moved on from the project, while Preininger became the post-doctoral research fellow, and Julia Schwarzer in turn joined the team as doctoral research fellow. Throughout the course of the project, the core team was assisted by numerous co-workers and collaborators, notably Matouš Preininger, who worked as information technician from 2020–2022, and Stella Türker and Selina Schuster, who joined as research assistants in 2020 and 2022 respectively. While we continually received invaluable support from the Coptological, Papyrological, and Egyptological communities, a number of colleagues were recognised as contributors to the project based on their valuable input: Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin, Anne Grons, Krisztina Hevesi, Bill Manley, Ortal-Paz Saar, Anne Sieberichs, Simon St-Arnault Chiasson, and David Tibet.

The initial goal of the project was to develop a database which would facilitate the study of the corpus within its larger context, by including data on magical texts in Coptic, Greek, Demotic, and other relevant languages. This materialised in the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects*, launched online in October 2020. The database initially focused on metadata—that is, physical and bibliographical descriptions of manuscripts—but, over the five years of the

project, we continually edited published and unpublished Coptic texts and made them available through the *Kyprianos* database. From the beginning of the project, we envisaged its culmination in a published volume. It is now clear that the full corpus will require an extensive series of volumes, and it is the first of these which you are reading now.

Our original conception of the volume was of something like a *Sammelbuch*, a volume that would bring together and present editions and translations with minimal commentary. Our reasons for this were simple—while we are confident that we have made significant progress in understanding these texts, major unanswered questions remain, and we thus preferred to separate the presentation of the texts from their interpretation. Consultation with colleagues nonetheless convinced us that something more complete was required. As a result, this volume does contain extensive commentary, and, while we are certain that it will become outdated over time, we nonetheless hope that it will allow readers an initial basis on which to develop their own understandings and interpretations.

This volume offers editions of 37 manuscripts from Egypt, written in Coptic, dating to between the fourth and eleventh centuries of the common era. These are of the type known as formularies, handbooks describing numerous rituals for accomplishing diverse goals, such as obtaining health, love, success, and cursing enemies. In a sense, it is here that we see a link between our modern conceptions of magic as a domain of infinite possibility, and past conceptions, in which ‘magical’ texts offered one way of dealing with the dangers, conflicts, and frustrations of life. While all ancient texts are valuable in providing windows onto the past, our experience has been that magical texts are often particularly rich sources; we find in them everything from the structure of the angelic hierarchy of the highest heavens to names for and descriptions of cooking pots.

Acknowledgments

This project is heavily indebted to the work of previous and contemporary scholars who have worked on Coptic magic, figures such as Angelicus Kropp, Marvin Meyer, Jacques van der Vliet, and David Frankfurter, who have been a great inspiration to us over the last five years, and readers will see their names regularly cited.

Of more immediate relevance for the project, we must thank again Martin Stadler and Daniel Schwemer, as well as Roland Baumhauer, the former dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Alfred Forchel, former president of the Julius Maximilian University Würzburg for financing and supporting the project. Korshi Dosoo would like to thank Malcolm Choat, Rachel Yuen Collingridge, Jennifer Cromwell, and Victor Ghica, his first papyrological and Coptological mentors; Iain Gardner and Jay Johnston, on whose project he first began to explore

Coptic magical texts in depth; and Davide, for his constant support. We thank those who read and commented on the manuscript of this first volume of *Papyri Copticae Magicae* at various stages of its production, who improved its quality immeasurably—Yasmine Amory, Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin, Lajos Berkes, Anne Boud'hors, Dylan Burns, Nathan Carlig, Anna Cherkashina, Eyob Derillo, Christopher Faraone, David Frankfurter, Krisztina Hevesi, Tea Ghigo, Anne Grons, Ursula Hammed, Eliza Jacobi, Frederic Krueger, Ágnes Mihálykó, Ivan Miroschnikov, Marijn van Putten, Ortal-Paz Saar, Joseph Sanzo, Valérie Schram, Sofía Torallas Tovar, Jacques van der Vliet, Vincent Walter, and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer. The inevitable mistakes which remain are our own. We thank also the curators and staff of the various collections which hold the manuscripts studied here, who kindly allowed us access to them, provided us with photographs, and answered our questions about their materiality and acquisition—Andrea Jördens and Elke Fuchs at the University of Heidelberg; Jan Moje at the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Daniel Soliman, Lara Weiss, Jeroen Rensen, and Eliza Jacobs at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden; Claudio Gallazzi at the University of Milan; Gisela Bélot at the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire in Strasbourg; Charles Powers at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Julie Scott at the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum; Charikleia Armoni at the Kölner Papyrussammlung, and Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri and Giovanna Donadoni. We would also like to thank Nadja Aboulenein, Adrienn Almásy-Martin, Paola Buzi, Jean-Charles Coulon, Jennifer Cromwell, Frank Feder, Jean-Luc Fournet, Marius Gerhardt, Gianluigi Galli, Massimo Giuseppetti, Arcangela Carbone Gross, Colin Hope, Raquel Martín Hernández, Beatrice Melchiorri, So Miyagawa, Ahmed Nakshara, Luigi Prada, Joachim Quack, Sebastian Richter, Stefanie Schmidt, Alin Suciu, and Alexandros Tsakos, as well as the *Coptic Scriptorium*, *Database and Dictionary of Greek Loanwords in Coptic*, *PATHs*, and *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* projects and their members, all of whom helped us in innumerable ways in the course of our work on the volume and the project which lay behind it. We would like to thank our present and former teammates, whose hard work can be seen on every page—Edward O.D. Love, Matouš Preininger, Selina Schuster, Julia Schwarzer, and Stella Türker. Finally, we would like to thank those whose names escape us for now, but whose contributions were no less real and valuable.

Coptic text in this volume is typeset in Antinoou, developed by Michael Everson. Greek text is typeset in IFAO Grec, conceived by Jean-Luc Fournet for the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, and developed by Ralph Hancock with the assistance of Adam Bülow-Jacobsen. Arabic text is typeset in Scheherazade, developed by the SIL. Ethiopic text is typeset in Ethiopic Lessan, developed by the Senamirmir Project. Syriac text is typeset using East Syriac Adiabene, part of the Meltho fonts package from Beth Mardutho: The Syriac Institute.

Contributors to this volume

This volume was produced under the direction of Korshi Dosoo, who is also the primary author of the introduction. Both he and Markéta Preininger, the second author, were involved in every aspect of the volume, from initial conception to publication, and are jointly responsible for all of the manuscript introductions, editions, notes, and the glossary. Edward O.D. Love was involved in some way in the work which lies behind all of the manuscript editions in the volume, either collecting their metadata, producing tracings, working on apparatuses, or as one of the primary text editors. Julia Schwarzer participated in the editions of several of the manuscripts, worked extensively as a researcher on various aspects of the volume, including the identification of Biblical passages, produced most of the tracings, and was involved with many of the practical aspects of the volume's creation, including the *index locorum*, the index of Arabic words and, with Markéta Preininger, the indices of Greek words and abbreviations. Selina Schuster was responsible for most of the initial work of layout, as well as the formatting and the bibliography. Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin cooperated with the team externally to produce several editions in this publication. For some of the more complex tracings (those on pp. 310, 320, 366), automatic binarisation was carried out by Raquel Martín Hernández using the techniques described in Martín Hernández/Shaus 2022, before being manually touched up by Julia Schwarzer.

Using this volume

The volume is intended to accommodate a broad audience. For students and enthusiasts without knowledge of Coptic, we provide English translation and commentaries to the texts. For experts in Coptic and papyrology and other specialists, we provide detailed information on acquisition of the manuscripts, hands, dialect, and a detailed apparatus and index of Greek and Coptic words and abbreviations at the end. A glossary at the end of the book gives brief definitions of some of the most common concepts and expressions found in the manuscripts.

This volume exists in a symbiotic relationship with the *Kyprianos* online database. Every manuscript has an ID number in this database, given in the section “other references” in the introduction to each papyrus in the form KYP M(anuscript) followed by the number; each individual textual unit also has a reference, KYPT(ext) + number. These allow the manuscripts and their constituent texts to be consulted online, and doing so will allow readers to see any updates or corrections, or additional bibliography, which has appeared since the publication of this volume.

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Plate XII. *PCM I 32 (P.Bad.V 131)* page 2. Photography: Elke Fuchs © Institut für Papyrologie, Universität Heidelberg.

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Plate XV. *PCM I 35 (P.Bad. V 135)* front. Photography: Elke Fuchs © Institut für Papyrologie, Universität Heidelberg.

Plate XVI. *PCM I 35 (P.Bad. V 135)* back. Photography: Elke Fuchs © Institut für Papyrologie, Universität Heidelberg.

List of Critical Signs

[]	Gap due to damage in the writing surface
[...]	Presumed number of lost letters
[[]]	Deletion by copyist
\ΔΒΓ/	Letters written above the line
/ΔΒΓ\	Letters written below the line
{ }	Deletion by the editor
< >	Addition or emendation by editor
()	Resolution of an abbreviation
. . . .	Unreadable letters
ΔΒΓ	Damaged or uncertain letters
⁵	Line change
- - - - -	Papyrus broken
*Iao	Word appears in the glossary
Iao [?]	Translation uncertain
<i>vac.</i>	Vacat (unwritten space)

Papyri Graecae Magicae

**Greek Magical Papyri
Texts**

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Supernatural Assistant](#)

[Papyri graecae magicae
I.54](#)



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Papers on the Greek Magical Papyri

[Self-Identification with Deity and Voces Magicae in Ancient Egyptian and Greek Magic](#)

[The Demons of Magic](#)

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Acquiring a Supernatural Assistant Greek Magical Papyri

Pnouthios to Keryx, a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all. . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move]. . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [not] I have dis patched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]: After the preliminary purifications, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is dis appearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon's head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pure rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping] an oblong stone, it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven.

[You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the goddess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess.

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly learn the decisions of the gods. but do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods and Mendesian wine, set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words to the god; "I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, `Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!'"

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak

about what you propose. Test this oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, "Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will," and the god vanishes.

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar — with the single exception of fish--and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork, you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered with marble — and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary — and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very

many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-runnnng foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold and cold things / warm, he will light lamps and extinguish them again. And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air. And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

And this is spoken next: "Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, might, boundless, un defiled, indescribably, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from me from this day forth through all the time of my life."

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to him after his

departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone asks you "What do I have in mind?" or "What has happened to me?" or even "What is going to happen?," question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god, but he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do something, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, ["Come!"] and you will see him actually standing near you. And say to him, "Perform this task," and he does it at once, and after doing it he will say to you, "What else do you want? For I am eager for heaven." If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, "Go, lord," and he will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure, and you will be [worshipped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no one except [your] legitimate son alone when he asks you for the magic powers imparted [by] us. Farewell.

The address to the sun / requires nothing
except the formula "IAEOBAPHRENEMOUN"
and the formula "IARBATHA."

Having sanctified yourself in advance and abstained from meat [?] and from all impurity, on any night you wish, wearing pure garments, go up on a high roof. Say the first [prayer of] union when the sunlight is fading...having a black Isiac band over your eyes...When the sun rises, greet it...reciting this [hereafter specified] holy spell, burning uncut frankincense [etc.]...While you are reciting the spell, the following sign will occur: A hawk flying down will stop [in the air] in front of you and, striking his wings together in the middle [in front of his body], will drop a long stone and at once fly back, going up into heaven. You take up that stone and having cut...engraved and pierced it...wear it around your neck. Then at evening, going up to your roof again and standing facing the light of the [sun] god, sing the hymn [specified], sacrificing myrrh [etc.]...And you will soon have a sign, as follows: A fiery star, coming down, will stand in the middle of the roof and...you will perceive the angel whom you besought, sent to you, and you will promptly learn the counsels of the gods. But don't you be afraid. Go up to the god, take his right hand, kiss him, and say these [specified spells] to the angel. For he will respond concisely to whatever you wish [to ask]. You, then, make him swear with this [specified] oath that he will remain inseparable from you and...will not disobey you at all...And you set forth [these] words for the god [to agree to]: "I shall have you as a dear companion, a beneficent god serving me as I may direct, quickly, with your power, already while I am on earth; please, please, show [grant] me [this], O god!" And you yourself speak...in accordance with what he says, briefly...But when the third hour [of the night-

about 9 p.m.] comes, the god will leap up at once. Say "Go lord, blessed god, whither you eternally are, as you wish," and the god will become invisible. This is the holy [rite for] acquiring an attendant [deity].

Know therefore that this god, whom you have seen, is an aerial spirit. If you command, he will perform the task at once. He sends dreams, brings women or men...kills, overthrows, raises up winds from the earth, brings gold, silver, copper, and gives it to you whenever you need; he frees from bonds . . . opens doors, makes invisible...brings fire, water, wine, bread and whatever foodstuffs you want...he stops ships [in mid voyage] and again releases them, stops many evil demons, calms wild beasts and immediately breaks the teeth of savage serpents; he puts dogs to sleep or makes them stand voiceless; he transforms [you] into whatever form you wish;...he will carry you into the air;...he will solidify rivers and the sea promptly and so that you can run on them standing up;...he will indeed restrain the foam of the sea if you wish, and when you wish [he is able] to bring down stars and...to make hot things cold and cold hot; he will light lamps and quench them again; he shakes walls and sets them ablaze. You will have in him a slave sufficient for whatever [tasks] you may conceive, O blessed initiate of holy magic, and this most powerful assistant, who alone is Lord of the Air, will accomplish [them] for you, and all the [other] gods will agree, for without this god nothing is [done].

Communicate this to no one else, but hide it, by Helios, since you have been thought worthy by the Lord God to receive this great mystery....[Here follow the spells to be used in

the preceding ceremony.]...And when you send him away, after he goes, sacrifice to him...and pour an oblation of wine, and thus you will be a friend of the powerful angel. When you travel he will travel with you; when you are in need he will give you money; he will tell you what is going to happen and when and at what time of night or day. If anyone ask you, "What do I have in mind?" or "What happened to me?" or "[What] will happen?" ask the angel, and he will tell you sotto voce, and you say it to the inquirer as if from yourself. When you die he will embalm your body as befits a god, and taking up your spirit will carry it into the air with himself. For an aerial spirit [such as you have become] having been united with a powerful assistant will not go into Hades. For to this [god] all things are subordinate. So when you wish to do something, say into the air only his name and "Come," and you will see him, and standing right beside you. Then tell him, "Do such and such"-the work [you want done]-and he will do it at once, and having done it, will ask you, "Do you want anything else? For I am in a hurry to go back to heaven." If you have no other orders at the moment, tell him, "Go, Lord," and he will go. Now this god will be seen only by you, nor will anyone hear his voice when he speaks, except you only. When a man [is sick] in bed he will call you whether he will live or die, and [if the latter] in which day and which hour...He will also give you wild plants and [tell you] how to perform cures; and you will be worshipped as a god, since you have the god as a friend.

Papyri graecae magicae III.1-59

[P.G.M. III.1-164 is a multipurpose magical recipe, part of which deals with restraining charioteers (lines 15-30). The instructions begin with the ritual drowning of a cat while reciting a formula to Sekhmet-Bastet, a "cat-faced" goddess mentioned in several other Egyptian magical texts.]

Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus, one for ..., and one for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean sheet of papyrus, with cinnabbar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and charioteers, and the chariot boards and the racehorses. Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer. Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place ... with colors, ... bury ... looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) ..., saying:

"Angel, ... [SEMEA], chthonic ... lord (?), grant [safety?], ... O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTORE; hold ... restrain ..., PHOKENSEPSEUARE[KTATHOUMISONKTAI], for me, the spirit ... the daimon of [the] place ... and may the [deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god ... THACHOCHA EIN CHOUCHEOCH, and by the great chthonic god, ARIOR EUOR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: I call

upon you, Mother of all men, you who have
brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even
Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA
NEBOUTOSOUAETH, Entrapper, Mistress of
corpses, Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,
LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYOR; I conjure you,
the daimon that has been aroused in this place,
and you, the daimon of the cat that has been
endowed with spirit; come to me on this very day
and from this very moment, and perform for me the
NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish).
(trans. J.M. Dillon in H.D. Betz (1986))

*[The process continues, with the word IAEO being
written on the first and third lamellae and a more
elaborate conjuration spell being written on the
second lamella.]*

This spell calls upon Egyptian and Jewish powers for the purpose of revelation. The text includes initial words of power, brief instructions for the use of the invocation, a series of greetings, and a concluding request for revelation. In syncretistic fashion the invocation combines traditional Egyptian lore with other references. Part of this spell is paralleled in PDM XIV.627-35.

SAPHPHAIOR
BAELKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX
the great demon and the inexorable one,
...IPSENTANCHOUCHEOUCH

DOOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK ANTRAPHEU
BALE
SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH
OUANTH
BALA SHOUPLA SRAHENNE DEHENNE
KALASHOU
CHATEMMOK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI
On the day of Zeus, at the first hour,
But on the (day) of deliverance, at the fifth hour,
A cat
At the eighth, a cat

Hail, Osiris, king of the underworld,
lord of embalming,
who is south of Thinis,
who gives answer in Abydos,
who is under the noubs tree in Meroe,
whose glory is in Pashalom.

Hail, Althabot
Bring Sabaoth unto me.
Hail, Althonai, great Eou, very
valiant
Bring Michael unto me,
The mighty angel who is
with god.
Hail, Anubis, of the district of
Hansiese,
You are upon your
mountain.
Hail, goddesses,
Thoth the great, the great,
the wise.
Hail, gods,
Achnoui Acham Abra
Abra Sabaoth
For Akshha Shha is my
name,
Sabashha is my true name
Shlot Shlot very valiant is my
name
So let the one who is in the
underworld
Join the one who is in the
air.
Let them arise, enter, and
give answer to me
Concerning the matter
about which I ask them.
The usual.

This text gives instruction for driving out a demon. After the opening sentence, the text indicates the words to be uttered, and the words to be addressed to the divine (1231-39) are given in Coptic. These Coptic words are the only Christian element in the text. The reference to "the seven" probably indicates the seven spheres of the sky. Next, the text describes the procedures to bind and defeat the demonic force (1248-52). Lastly, there are instructions for the preparation of an amulet. The utterances directed toward the amulet include permutations and verbal transformations based upon BOR and PHOR (P-Hor), are probably the name of the Egyptian god Horus. Other utterances refer to the Egyptian god Bes and the Greek word for favor (charis).

Excellent spell for driving out demons:

Formula to be spoken over his head: Place the olive branches before him and stand behind him and say, "Greetings, god of Abraham; greetings, god of Jacob; Jesus the upright, the holy spirit, the son of the father, who is below the seven, who is within the seven. Bring Yao Sabaoth; may you power issue forth from N., until you drive away this unclean demon Satan, who is in him. I adjure you, demon, whoever you are, by this god Sabarbarbathioth Sabarbarathiouth Sababarbathioneht Sabarbarbaphai. Come out, demon, whoever you are, and stay away from N., hurry, hurry, now, now! Come out, demon, since I bind you with unbreakable adamantine fetters, and I deliver you into the black chaos in perdition.

Procedure: Take seven olive branches. For six of them tie together the two ends of each one, but for the remaining one use it as a whip as you utter the adjuration. Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the demon, hang around N. an amulet, which the patient puts on after the expulsion of the demon, with these things written on a tin metal leaf: BOR PHOR
PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN
BAUBA TE PHOR BORPHORBA
PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIE
PHORBA PHARBA PHORPHOR PHORBA
BOBORBORBA PAMPHORBA PHORPHOR
PHORBA, protect N.

Sword of Dardanos: Rite which is called "sword," which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul^[1] of whomever you wish. As you say the spell, also say: "I am bending to my will th e soul of him NN."

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above her head: "ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI"; and below Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standi ng on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche. And below Eros these names: "ACHAPA ADONAIE BASMA CHARAKO IAKOB IAO E PHARPHAREI." On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing one another and beneath Eros's feet these letters: "SSSSSSSS," and beneath Psyche's feet: "EEEEEEEE." Use the stone, when it has been engraved and consecrated, like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say this *spell*:

"I call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the whole world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every soul life-giving reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn, foun der of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud reasonable thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly inhabit every soul. You engender an unseen fire as you carry off every living thing without growing we ary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in pain from the time when the world came into being. You also come and bring pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men dare beyond what is fitting and take re fuge in your light which is darkness. Most headstrong, lawless,

implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless,
generator of frenzy, archer, torch-carrier, master of
all living sensation and of everything clandestine,
dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence,
through whom the light and to whom the light
travels, infantile when you have been engendered
within the heart, wisest when you have succeeded;
I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great
name: AZARACHTHARAZA LATHA IATHAL Y Y Y
LATHAI ATHA LLALAPH IOIOIO AI AI AI
OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,
first-shining, night-shining, night rejoicing, night-
engendering, witness, EREKISITHPHE
ARARACHARARA EPHTHISIKERE IABEZEBYTH
IT, you in the depth, BERIAMBO BERIAMBEBO,
you in the sea, MERMERGO U, clandestine and
wisest, ACHAPA ADONAIE MASMA CHARAKO
IAKOB IAO CHAROUER AROUER LAILAM
SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA KARBA
MENABOTH EIIA. Turn the 'soul' of her NN to me
NN, so that she may love me, so that she may feel
passion for me, so that she may give me what is in
her power. Let her say to me what is in her soul
because I have called upon your great name."

And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword: "One
THOURIEL MICHAEL GABRIEL OURIEL MISAEEL
IRRAEL ISTRAEL: May it be a propitious day for
this name and for me who know it and am wearing
it. I summon the immortal and infallible strength of
God. Grant me the submission of every soul for
which I have called upon you." Give the leaf to a
partridge to gulp down and kill it. Then pick it up
and wear it around your neck after inserting into
the strip the the herb called "boy love."

The burnt offering which endows Eros and the
whole procedure with soul is this: manna, 4 drams;
storax, 4 drams; opium, 4 drams; myrrh, [f drams;]
frankincense, saffron bdella, one-half dram each.
Mix in rich dried fig and blend everything in equal
parts with fragrant wine, and use it for the

performance. In the performance first make a burnt offering and use it in this way.

And there is also ***a rite for acquiring an assistant***, who is made out of wood from a mulberry tree. He is made as a winged Eros wearing a cloak, with his right foot lifted for a stride and with a hollow back. Into the hollow put a gold leaf after writing with a cold-forged copper stylus so-and-so's name [and]: "MARSABOUTARTHE -- be my assistant and supporter and sender of dreams."

Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door with the Eros and say: "Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, say what I propose." And go to your home, set the table, spread a pure linen cloth, and seasonal flowers, and set the figure upon it. Then make a burnt offering to it and continuously say the spell of invocation. And send him, and he will act without fail. And whenever you bend her to your will with the stone, on that night it sends dreams, for on a different night it is busy with different matters. (trans. E.N. O'Neill in H.D. Betz (1986))

[[1]] H.D. Betz (1986), pg. 69n.218 remarks: "Since the operator does not want spiritual love, PSYCHE here is probably the female pudenda. Against this interpretation is THN YUXHN TOU DEINA (l. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read THS DEINA."

A restraining [rite] for anything, works even on chariots. It also causes enmity and sickness, cuts down, destroys, and overturns, for [whatever] you wish. The spell [in it], when said, conjures daimons [out] and makes them enter [objects or people]. Engrave in a plate [made] of lead from a cold-water channel what you want to happen, and when you have consecrated it with bitter aromatics such as myrrh, bdellium, styrax, and aloes and thyme, with river mud, late in the evening or in the middle of the night, where there is a stream or the drain of a bath, having tied a cord [to the plate] throw it into the stream -- or into the sea -- [and let it] be carried along. Use the cord so that, when you wish, you can undo [the spell]. Then should you wish to break [the spell], untie the plate. Say the formula seven times and you will see something wonderful. Then go away without turning back or giving an answer to anyone, and when you have washed and immersed yourself, go up to your own [room] and rest, and use [only] vegetable food. Write [the spell] with a headless bronze needle.

The text to be written is: "I conjure you, lord Osiris, by your holy names OUCHIOCH OUSENARATH, Osiris, OUSERRANNOUPHTHI OSORNOUPHE Osiris-Mnevis, OUSERSEMENTH AMARA MACHI CHOMASO EMMAI SERBONI EMER Isis, ARATOPHI ERACHAX ESEO IOTH ARBIOTHI AMEN CH[N]OUM (?) MONMONT OUZATHI PER OUNNEPHER EN OOO, I give over to you, lord Osiris, and I deposit with you this matter:" [*Here one would write what effect the spell should have and on whom.*]

But if you cause [the plate] to be buried or [sunk in] river or land or sea or stream or coffin or in a well, write the Orphic formula, saying, "ASKEI KAI TASKEI" and, taking a black thread, make 365

knots and bind [the thread] around the outside of the plate, saying the same formula again and, "Keep him who is held" (or "bound"), or whatever you do. And thus the plate is deposited. For Selene, when she goes through the underworld, breaks whatever [spell] she finds. But when this [rite] has been performed, [the spell] remains [unbroken] so long as you say over [the formula] daily at this spot [where the plate is deposited]. Do not hastily share [this information] with anyone, for you will find [its like (?) only] with much labor. (trans. Morton Smith in H.D. Betz (1986))

Ecloga Ex Papyris Magicis: Liber I

a Johanne Opsopoeo

Liber I

* * *

Selections from Magical Papyri by John
Opsopaus

Book I

Shall we write about the things not
to be spoken of?
Shall we divulge the things not to be
divulged?
Shall we pronounce the things not
to be pronounced?

- Julian, Hymn to the Mother of the
Gods

Introduction

Origin of the Magical Papyri

Although most of the magical papyri were discovered in Egypt the nineteenth century and brought together as part of the Anastasi Collection, they were not completely published until 1925. In fact, the first complete translation into English had to wait until 1986 (Betz).

It is quite likely that many of the papyri come from a single source, perhaps a tomb or temple library, and it is commonly supposed that they

were collected by a Theban Magician. In any case, they are one of the best sources of Greco-Egyptian magic and religion, comparable to the Qumran scrolls for Judaism and the Nag Hamadi library for Gnosticism. We are extremely lucky that they have survived, since magical books and scrolls were often systematically burned (Acts 19:19; but not just by the Christians: Augustus ordered 2000 to be burned).

Contents

Here are the translations of a few spells, prayers, etc. that I thought might be useful or interesting. The information in [brackets] following each indicates the collection (PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae, PDM = P. Demoticae M.), the papyrus number and the lines where the spell can be found. The source for these translations is Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

The spells, prayers, etc. are organized by category:

- I. Protection
- II. Divination and Visions
- III. Self-Improvement
- IV. Health and Healing
- V. Craft
- VI. Miscellaneous

Pronunciation of Magical Names

In general, most of the "voces magicae" (magical names) are written in Old Coptic, which used Greek letters, so you will do best if

you think Greek. Thus, Y sounds between English "u" and "y", something like German umlauted "u". Pronounce CH as in German "ach" or Scotch "loch". The symbol E' represents eta, so pronounce like a long "a"; O' represents omega, so pronounce like a long "o". The diphthong "OU" is pronounced like English "oo". The symbols PH (phi) and TH (theta) probably should be aspirated "p" and "t", but may have been pronounced like English "f" and "th" by the time the papyri were written. The symbol "NN" in a spell means "fill in the blank," generally with the name of the one on whose behalf the spell is cast (thus, "NN" or "the NN man"), or with the question or problem to which the spell is addressed (thus, "the NN matter").

I. PROTECTION

i. Protective Spell

Taking Sulfur and Seed of Nile Rushes, burn as Incense to the Moon and say, "I call on You, Lady Isis, whom Agathos Daimon permitted to rule in the entire Black Land [i.e., Egypt]. Your name is LOU LOULOU BATHARTHAR THARE'SIBATH ATHERNEKLE'SICH ATHERNEBOUNI E'ICHOMO' CHOMO'THI Isis Sothis, SOUE'RI, Boubastis, EURELIBAT CHAMARI NEBOUTOS OUE'RI AIE' E'OA O'AI. Protect me, Great and Marvelous Names of the God (add the usual [i.e., the protection you seek]); for I am the One Established in Pelusium, SERPHOUTH MOUISRO' STROMMO' MOLO'TH MOLONTHE'R PHON Thoth. Protect me, Great and Marvelous Names of the Great God! (add the usual) "ASO' EIO' NISAO'TH. Lady Isis, Nemesis, Adrasteia, Many-named, Many-formed, glorify me, as I have glorified the Name of Your Son Horus! (add the usual)" [PGM VII.490-504]

ii. Restraining Spell

Write on a Tin Lamella with a Bronze Stylus before Sunrise the Names "CHRE'MILLON MOULUCH KAMPY CHRE'

O'PHTHO' MASKELLI (formula) ERE'KISIPHTHE' IABEZEBYTH." Then throw it into River or into Sea before Sunrise. Also write on it, with the others, these Characters: "[six symbols, see below] Mighty Gods, restrain (add the usual, whatever you wish)." [PGM VII.417-22]

[The six symbols are: (1) an X in a circle; (2) a backwards capital E; (3) a Z with a small circle at the end of each line segment (four in all); (4) draw a capital E on its side with the legs pointing down, add small leftward pointing feet to the first two legs, add two upward tick marks from the back between the second and third legs, extend the back to the left a little, and the first leg up a little to make a backwards L at the top-left corner, extend this upward from the left end to make a small |_| sign, then write a tiny U nested inside; (5) an X with a small circle on the end of the right leg; (6) a small epsilon or set membership sign.]

iii. Spell for Restraining Anger

If you want Someone to cease being Angry with you, write with Myrrh this Name of Anger: "CHNEO'M" [probably Egyptian Khnum]. Hold it in your Left Hand and say: "I am restraining the Anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEO'M." [PGM XII.179-81]

iv. Against Every Wild Animal, Aquatic Creature and Robbers

Attach a Tassel to your Garment and say: "LO'MA ZATH AIO'N ACHTHASE MA . . . ZAL BALAMAO'N E'EIOY, protect me, NN, in the Present Hour! Immediately, immediately! Quickly, quickly!" [PGM VII.370-3]

v. Charm of Hekate Ereschigal Against Fear of Punishment

If He [i.e., a punishment daimon] comes forth, say to Him: "I am Ereschigal, the One holding Her Thumbs, and not even one Evil can befall Her!" If, however, He comes close to you, take hold of your Right Heel and recite the following: "Ereschigal, Virgin, Bitch, Serpent, Wreath, Key, Herald's Wand, Golden Sandal of the Lady of Tartaros!" And you will avert Him. "ASKEI KATASKEI ERO'N OREO'N IO'R MEGA SAMNYE'R BAUI (3 times) PHOBANTIA SEMNE', I have been initiated, and I went down into the Underground Chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw the Other Things Down Below, Virgin, Bitch, and all the rest!" Say It at the Crossroad, and turn around and flee, because it is at those

Places that She appears.

Saying It Late at Night, about what you wish, It will reveal it in your Sleep; and if you are led away to Death, say It while scattering Seeds of Seseme, and It will save you. [PGM LXX.4-19]

vi. Indispensable Invisibility Spell

Take Fat or an Eye of a Nightowl and a Ball of Dung rolled by a Beetle and Oil of an Unripe Olive and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your Whole Body with it and say to Helios: "I adjure You by Your Great Name, BORKE' PHOIOUR IO' ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEO' IEO' IEO' IEO' IEO' IEO' IEO' NAUNAX AI AI AEO' AEO' E'AO!" And moisten It and say in addition: "Make me Invisible, Lord Helios, AEO' O'AE' EIE' E'AO', in the Presence of Any Man until Sunset, IO' IO' O' PHRIXRIZO' EO'A!" [PGM I.222-31]

II. DIVINATION AND VISIONS

vii. Direct Vision Spell "EEIM TO EIM ALALE'P BARBARIATH MENE BREIO ARBATHIAO'TH IOUE'L IAE'L OUE'NE'IE MESOMMIAS, let the God who prophesies to me come and let Him not go away until I dismiss Him, OURNAOUR SOUL ZASOUL OUGOT NOOUMBIAOU THABRAT BERIAOU ACHTHIRI MARAI ELPHEO'N TABAO'TH KIRASINA LAMPSOURE' IABOE ABLAMATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI!"

In a Bronze Cup over Oil. Anoint your Right Eye with Water from a Shipwreck and the Left with Coptic Eyepaint, with the same Water. If you cannot find Water from a Shipwreck, then from a Sunken Skiff. [PGM V.54-69]

viii. Request for a Dream Oracle

Take a Strip of Clean Linen and write on it the following Name. Roll it up to make a Wick, pour Pure Olive Oil over it and light it.

The Formula to be written is this: "HARMIOUTH LAILAM CHO'OUCH ARSENOPHRE' PHRE'U PHTHA HARCHENTECHTHA."

In the Evening then, when you are about to go to Sleep, being Pure in every respect, do this: Go to the Lamp, say 7 times the following Formula, extinguish the Light and go to Sleep.

The Formula to be spoken is as follows: "SACHMOUNE [i.e., Sakhmet] PAE'MALIGOTE'RE'E'NCH, the One who Shakes, who Thunders, who has Swallowed the Serpent, Surrounds the Moon, and Hour by Hour Raises the Disk of the Sun, CHTHETHO'NI is Your Name. I ask You, Lords of the Gods, SE'TH CHRE'PS: reveal to me concerning the Things I wish." [PGM VII.359-69]

ix. Spell for Revelation

[Addressed to Ursa Major (Great Bear)]: "KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN You who shook and shake the World, You who have swallowed the Ever-living Serpent and daily raise the Disk of the Sun and of the Moon, You whose Name is ITHIOO' E'I ARBATHIAO' E', send up to me, NN, at Night the Daimon of This Night to reveal to me concerning the NN thing." [PGM IV.1323-30]

x. Saucer Divination of Aphrodite

Having kept oneself Pure for 7 days, take a White Saucer, fill It with Water and Olive Oil, having previously written on Its Base with Myrrh Ink: "E'IOCH CHIPHA ELAMPSE'R ZE'L A E E' I O Y O'" (25 letters [in Greek]); and beneath the Base, on the outside: "TACHIE'L CNTHONIE' DRAXO'" (18 letters). Wax over with White Wax. On the outside of the Rim at the Top: "IERMI PHILO' 6 ERIKO'MA DERKO' MALO'K GAULE' APHRIE'L I ask" (say it 3 times). Let It rest on the Floor and looking intently at It, say "I call upon You, the Mother and Mistress of Nymphs, ILAOCH OBRIE' LOUCH TLOR; Come in, Holy Light, and give Answer, showing Your Lovely Shape!"

Then look intently at the Bowl. When you see Her, welcome Her and say, "Hail, Very Glorious Goddess, ILARA OUCH. And if You give me a Response, extend Your Hand."

And when She extends It, expect Answers to your Inquiry. But if She does not listen, say, "I call upon the ILAOUCH who has begotten Himeros, the Lovely Horai and You Graces; I also call upon the Zeus-sprung Physis [Nature] of

All Things, two-formed, indivisible, straight, foam-beautiful
Aphrodite. Reveal to me Your Lovely Light and Your Lovely
Face, O Mistress ILAOUCH. I conjure You, Giver of Fire, by
ELGINAL, and by the Great Names OBRIE'TYCH
KERDYNOUCHILE'PSIN NIOU NAUNIN IOUTHOU
THRIGX TATIOUTH GERTIATH GERGERIS GERGERIE'
THEITHI. I also ask You by the All Wonderful Names, OISIA
EI EI AO' E'Y AAO' IO'IAIAIO' SO'THOU BERBROI
AKTEROBORE GERIE' IE'OYA; bring me Light and Your
Lovely Face and the True Saucer Divination, You shining
with Fire, bearing Fire all around, stirring the Land from afar,
IO' IO' PHTHAIE' THOUTHOI PHAEPHI. Do it!"

Preparation: having kept yourself Pure, as you learned, take
a Bronze Drinking Cup, and write with Myrrh Ink the
previously inscribed Stele [charm or amulet] which calls
upon Aphrodite, and use the untouched Olive Oil and clean
River Water. Put the Drinking Cup on your Knees and speak
over it the Stele mentioned above, and the Goddess will
appear to you and will reveal concerning what Things you
wish. [PGM IV.3209-54]

III. SELF-IMPROVEMENT

xi. Memory Spell

Take Hieratic Papyrus and write the Prescribed Names with
Hermaic Myrrh Ink. And once you have written them as they
are prescribed, wash them off into Spring Water from 7
springs and drink the Water on an empty stomach for seven
days while the Moon is in the East.

This is the Writing on the strip of papyrus: "KAMBRE'
CHAMBRE SIXIO'PHI HARPON CHNOUPHI
BRIONTATE'NO'PHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR
BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAO'PH AKTIO'PHI
ARTO'SE BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHE' SPHE' NOUSI NOUSI
SIEGO' SIEGO' NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOUCHA
LINOUCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIO' CHYCHBA
DE'TOPHO'TH II AA OO YY E'E' EE O'O'." After doing
these things wash the Writing off and drink as is prescribed.

This is also the composition of the Ink: Myrrh Troglitis, 4
drams; 3 Karian Figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus Dates, 7 dried
Pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed Wormwood, 7
wings of the Hermaic Ibis, Spring Water.

When you have burned the Ingredients, prepare them and write. [PGM I.232-47]

xii. Another Memory Spell

Take a Silver Tablet and engrave it [with the Uzait Horu, or "Sacred Eye of Horus"] after the God [i.e., Helios, the sun] sets. Take Cow's Milk and pour it [or, perhaps, heat it]. Put down [into?] a Clean Vessel and place the Tablet under [it]; add Barley Meal, mix and form Bread: twelve Rolls in the Shape of Female Figures. Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an Empty Stomach, and you will know The Power.

[The formula]: "BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX O' . . .
ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM
MAIL AAAAAAAA IIIY E'I AI O'O'O'O'O'O'O' MOUMOU
O'YIO' NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . .
LAILAM AE'O O'AE' O'AE' E'OA' AO'E' E'O'A O'E'A, enter,
Master, into my Mind, and grant me Memory, MMM E'E'E'
MTHPH!"

Do this monthly, facing the Moon, on the First Day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the Goddess [i.e., Selene, the moon], and wear the Tablet as an Amulet. [PGM III.410-23]

xiii. Spell for Strength

"PHNOUNEBEE' (2 times), give me Your Strength, IO'
ABRASAX, give me Your Strength, for I am ABRASAX!"
Say it 7 times while holding your two Thumbs. [PGM LXIX.1-3]

xiv. Your Great Name, for Favor

"Everyone fears Your Great Might. Grant me the Good Things: The Strength of AKRYSKYLOS, the Speech of EUO'NOS, the Eyes of Solomon, the Voice of ABRASAX, the Grace of ADO'NIOS, the God. Come to me, Kypris, every day! The Hidden Name bestowed to You:
THOATHOE'THATHO-
OYTHAETHO'USTHOAITHITHE'THOINTHO'; grant me Victory, Repute, Beauty toward all Men and all Women!"
[PGM XCII.1-16]

xv. Business Spell

Take Orange Beeswax and the juice of the Aeria Plant and of Ground Ivy and mix them and fashion a Figure of Hermes having a hollow bottom, grasping in his left hand a Herald's Wand and in his right a small Bag. Write on Hieratic Papyrus these Names, and you will see Continuous Business: "CHAI'O'CHEN OUTIBILMEMNOUO'TH ATRAUICH. Give Income and Business to this place, because Psentebeth lives here." Put the Papyrus inside the Figure and fill in the hole with the same Beeswax. Then deposit in a wall, at an inconspicuous place, and crown Him on the outside, and sacrifice to Him a cock, and make a Drink Offering of Egyptian Wine, and light for Him a Lamp that is not colored Red. [PGM IV.2359-72]

xvi. Spell for Assertiveness

"Greetings, Lord, You who are the Means to obtain Favor for the Universe and for the Inhabited World. Heaven has become a Dancing Place for You, ARSENOFHRE', O King of the Heavenly Gods, ABLANATHANALBA, You who possess Righteousness, AKRAMMACHAMAREI, Gracious God, SANKANTHARA, Ruler of Nature, SATRAPERKME'PH, Origin of the Heavenly World, ATHTHANNOU ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTO'TH PA . . . E'RINTASKLIOUTH E'PHIO' MARMARAO'TH! "Let my Outspokenness not leave me. But let every Tongue and Language listen to me, because I am PERTAO' [ME'CH CHACH] MNE'CH SAKME'PH IAO'OYEE' O'E'O' O'E'O' IEYOYOE'IE'IAE'A IE'O'YOEI, Give me graciously whatever You want." [PGM XII.182-189]

IV. HEALTH AND HEALING

xvii. Fever Amulet

"ABLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARACH
BLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARA
LANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMAR
ANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMA
NATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAM
ATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARA
THANABLANAMACHARAMARACHAR
ANABLANAMACHARAMARACHA
NABLANAMACHARAMARACH

ABLANAMACHARAMARA
BLANAMACHARAMAR
LANAMACHARAMA
ANAMACHARAM
NAMACHARA
AMACHAR
MACHA
ACH
A

"O Tireless One, KOK KOUK KOUL, save Tais whom Taraus bore from every Shivering Fit, whether Tertian or Quartan or Quotidian Fever, or an Every-other-day Fever, or one by Night, or even a Mild Fever, because I am the ancestral, tireless God, KOK KOUK KOUL! Immediately, immediately! Quickly, quickly!" [PGM XXXIII.1-25]

xviii. Spell for Coughs

In Black Ink, write on Hyena Parchment: "THAPSATE STHRAITO" - or as I found in another: "TEUTHRAIO' THRAITEU THRAITO' THABARBAO'RI [symbol: an X in a circle] LIKRALIRE'TA - deliver NN from the Cough that holds him fast." [PGM VII.203-5]

xix. Spell for Migraine Headache

Take Oil in your Hands and utter the Spell: "Zeus sowed a Grape Seed: it parts the Soil; He does not sow it; it does not sprout." [PGM VII.199-201]

xx. Spell for Scorpion Sting

"OR OR PHOR PHOR SABAO'TH ADO'NE SALAMA TARCHEI ABRASAX, I bind you, Scorpion of Artemisia, three-hundred and

fifteen times, on the fifteenth day of Pachon . . ." [PGM XXVIIIa.1-7]

xxi. A Contraceptive, the Only One in the World

Take as many Bittervetch Seeds as you want for the Number of Years you wish to remain Sterile. Steep them in the Menses of a Menstruating Woman. Let them steep in her own Genitals. And take a Frog that is alive and throw the Bittervetch Seeds into its Mouth so that the Frog

swallows them, and release the Frog alive at the place where you captured him. And take a Seed of Henbane, steep it in Mare's Milk; and take the Nasal Mucus of a Cow, with Grains of Barley, put these into a Leather Skin made from a Fawn and on the outside bind it up with Mulehide Skin, and attach it as an Amulet during the Waning of the Moon in a Female Sign of the Zodiac on a Day of Kronos or Hermes [i.e., Saturn or Mercury]. Mix in also, with the Barley Grains, Cerumen from the Ear of a Mule. [PGM XXXVI.320-32]

xxii. A Prescription to Stop Blood

Juice of "Great-Nile" Plant together with Beer; you should make the Woman drink it at Dawn before she has eaten. It stops. [PDM xiv.953-5]

xxiii. The Way to Know it of a Woman Whether She will be Pregnant

You should make the Woman urinate on this Plant, above [i.e., "Great-Nile" plant], at Night. When Morning comes, if you find the Plant scorched, she will not conceive. If you find it green, she will conceive. [PDM xiv.956-60]

V. CRAFT

xxiv. Spell for Picking a Plant

Use it before Sunrise. The Spell to be spoken: "I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my Five-fingered Hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a Certain Purpose. I adjure you by the Undefined Name of the God: if you pay no Heed to me, the Earth which produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned - ever in Life again, if I fail in this Operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHO'CHA BRAEO' MENDA LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEO'; fulfil for me the Perfect Charm!" [PGM IV.286-95]

xxv. Procedure for Obtaining Herbs

Among the Egyptians Herbs are always obtained like this: the Herbalist first purifies his own Body, then sprinkles with Natron and fumigates the Herb with Resin from a Pine Tree

after carrying it around the Place 3 times. Then, after burning Kyphi and pouring the Libation of Milk as he prays, he pulls up the Plant while invoking by Name the Daimon to whom the Herb is being dedicated and calling upon Him to be more effective for the Use for which it is being acquired.

The Invocation for him, which he speaks over any Herb, generally at the Moment of Picking, is as follows:

"You were sown by Kronos, you were conceived by Hera, you were maintained by Ammon, you were given birth by Isis, you were nourished by Zeus the God of Rain, you were given growth by Helios and Drosos [Dew]. You are the Dew of all the Gods, you are the Heart of Hermes, you are the Seed of the Primordial Gods, you are the Eye of Helios, you are the Light of Selene, you are the Zeal of Osiris, you are the Beauty and Glory of Ouranos, you are the Soul of Osiris' Daimon which revels in Every Place, you are the Spirit of Ammon. As you have exalted Osiris, so exalt yourself and rise just as Helios rises each day. Your size is equal to the Zenith of Helios, your Roots come from the Depths, but your Powers are in the Heart of Hermes, your Fibers are the Bones of Mnevis [i.e., Mr-wr, the holy bull of Heliopolis], and your Flowers are the Eye of Horus, your Seed is Pan's Seed. I am washing you in Resin as I also wash the Gods [i.e., the cult statues] even as I do this for my own Health. You also be cleaned by Prayer and give us Power as Ares and Athena do. I am Hermes! I am acquiring you with Good Fortune and Good Daimon both at a Propitious Hour and on a Propitious Day that is effective for all things."

After saying this, he rolls the Harvested Stalk in a Pure Linen Cloth (but into the place of its Roots they threw seven Seeds of Wheat and an equal number of Barley, after mixing them with Honey), and after pouring in the Ground which has been dug up, he departs. [PGM IV.2967-3006]

xxvi. Interpretations of Herbs and Other Ingredients

Which the Temple Scribes employed, from the Holy Writings, in translation. Because of the Curiosity of the Masses they [i.e., the scribes] inscribed the Names of the Herbs and Other Things which they employed on the Statues of the Gods, so that they [the masses], since they do not take Precaution, might not practice Magic, [being prevented] by the Consequence of their Misunderstanding. But we have collected the explanations from many Copies, all of them Secret.

Here they are:

A Snake's Head: a Leech.
A Snake's Ball of Thread: this means Soapstone.
Blood of a Snake: Hematite.
A Bone of an Ibis: this is Buckthorn.
Blood of a Hyrax: truly of a Hyrax [probably the rock hyrax, *Procavia capensis*].
Tears [Sleep Sand] of a Hamadryas Baboon: Dill Juice.
Crocodile Dung: Ethiopian Soil.
Blood of a Hamadryas Baboon: Blood of a Spotted Gecko.
Lion Semen: Human Semen.
Blood of Hephaistos: Wormwood.
Hairs of a Hamadryas Baboon: Dill Seed.
Semen of Hermes: Dill.
Blood of Ares: Purslane.
Blood of an Eye: Tamarisk Gall.
Blood from a Shoulder: Bear's Bane [probably *Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.].
From the Loins: Camomile.
A Man's Bile: Turnip Sap [probably *Brassica napus* L.].
A Pig's Tail: Leopard's Bane [probably a variety of leopard's bane in the genus *Boronicum*, or one of the *heliotropes*].
A Physician's Bone: Sandstone.
Blood of Hestia: Camomile.
An Eagle: Wild Garlic [*Trigonella foenumgraecum*, but the reading is doubtful].
Blood of a Goose: A Mulberry Tree's Milk.
Kronos' Spice: Piglet's Milk.
A Lion's Hairs: Tongue of a Turnip [i.e., the leaves of the taproot].
Kronos' Blood: . . . of Cedar.
Semen of Helios: White Hellebore.
Semen of Herakles: this is Mustard-rocket [probably *Eruca sativa*].
A Titan's Blood: Wild Lettuce.
Blood from a Head: Lupine.
A Bull's Semen: Egg of a Blister Beetle.
A Hawk's Heart: Heart of Wormwood.
Semen of Hephaistos: This is Fleabane.
Semen of Ammon: Houseleek.
Semen of Ares: Clover.
Fat from a Head: Spurge.
From the Belly: Earth-apple.
From the Foot: Houseleek.

[PGM XII.401-44]

[Similar lists can be found in De succedaneis transmitted among the works of Galen, Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia (Kuehn, ed.), vol. 19, 721-47; adapted version in Paul of Aegina, Paulus Aegineta, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum IX/2 (Heiberg, ed.), vol. II, 401-8; and in Dioscorides' Materia Medica.]

VI. Miscellaneous

xxvii. Prayer to Selene for Any Spell

[Since several aspects of this ritual are contrary to modern Pagan and Wiccan ethics and practice, I had some misgivings about including it in this collection, but decided to do so, because the hymn is so beautiful, so moving and so empowering. It has been discussed by K. Kerényi, "Die Goettin Natur," Eranos-Jahrbuch 14 (1947), 39-86.]

"Come to me, O Beloved Mistress, Three-faced
Selene; kindly hear my Sacred Chants;
Night's Ornament, young, bringing Light to Mortals,
O Child of Morn who ride upon the Fierce Bulls,
O Queen who drive Your Car on Equal Course
With Helios, who with the Triple Forms
Of Triple Graces dance in Revel with
The Stars. You're Justice and the Moira's Threads:
Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos
Three-headed, You're Persephone, Megaira,
Allekto, Many-Formed, who arm Your Hands
With Dreaded, Murky Lamps, who shake Your Locks
Of fearful Serpents on Your Brow, who sound
The Roar of Bulls out from Your Mouths, whose Womb
Is decked out with the Scales of Creeping Things,
With Pois'nous Rows of Serpents down the Back,
Bound down Your Backs with Horrifying Chains
Night-Crier, Bull-faced, loving Solitude,
Bull-headed, You have Eyes of Bulls, the Voice
Of Dogs; You hide Your Forms in Shanks of Lions,
Your Ankle is Wolf-shaped, Fierce Dogs are dear
To You, wherefore they call You Hekate,
Many-named, Mene, cleaving Air just like
Dart-shooter Artemis, Persephone,
Shooter of Deer, night shining, triple-sounding,
Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
And Goddess of the Triple Ways, who hold

Untiring Flaming Fire in Triple Baskets,
And You who oft frequent the Triple Way
And rule the Triple Decades, unto me
Who'm calling You be gracious and with Kindness
Give Heed, You who protect the Spacious World
At night, before whom Daimons quake in Fear
And Gods Immortal tremble, Goddess who
Exalt Men, You of Many Names, who bear
Fair Offspring, Bull-eyed, Horned, Mother of Gods
And Men, and Nature, Mother of All Things,
For You frequent Olympos, and the broad
And boundless Chasm You traverse. Beginning
And End are You, and You Alone rule All.
For All Things are from You, and in You do
All Things, Eternal One, come to their End.
As Everlasting Band around Your Temples
You wear Great Kronos' Chains, unbreakable
And unremovable, and You hold in
Your Hands a Golden Scepter. Letters 'round
Your Scepter Kronos wrote Himself and gave
To You to wear that All Things stay steadfast:
Subduer and subdued, Mankind's Subduer,
And Force-subduer; Chaos, too, You rule.
Hail, Goddess, and attend Your Epithets,
I burn for You this Spice, O Child of Zeus,
Dart-shooter, Heav'nly One, Goddess of Harbors,
Who roam the Mountains, Goddess of Crossroads,
O Nether and Nocturnal, and Infernal,
Goddess of Dark, Quiet and Frightful One,
O You who have Your Meal amid the Graves,
Night, Darkness, Broad Chaos: Necessity
Hard to escape are You; You're Moira and
Erinys, Torment, Justice and Destroyer,
And You keep Kerberos in Chains, with Scales
Of Serpents are You dark, O You with Hair
Of Serpents, Serpent-girded, who drink Blood,
Who bring Death and Destruction, and who feast
On Hearts, Flesh Eater, who devour Those Dead
Untimely, and You who make Grief resound
And spread Madness, come to my Sacrifices,
And now for me do You fulfill this Matter."

[Tr.: E. N. O'Neil]

Offering for The Rite: For doing Good, offer Storax, Myrrh,
Sage, Frankincense, a Fruit Pit. But for doing Harm, offer
Magical Material of a Dog and a Dappled Goat (or in a
similar way, of a Virgin Untimely Dead).

Protective Charm for The Rite: Take a Lodestone and on it have carved a Three-faced Hekate. And let the Middle Face be that of a Maiden wearing Horns, and the Left Face that of a Dog, and the One on the Right that of a Goat. After the Carving is done, clean with Natron and Water, and dip in the Blood of One who has died a Violent Death. Then make Food Offering to it and say the same Spell at the time of the Ritual. [PGM IV.2785-2890]

xxviii. Love Spell

Aphrodite's Name, which becomes known to No One quickly, is NEPHERIE'RI [i.e. Nfr-iry.t, "the beautiful eye", an epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor] - this is the Name. If you wish to win a Woman who is beautiful, be Pure for 3 days, make an offering of Frankincense, and call this Name over it. You approach the Woman and say it seven times in your Soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it will succeed. But do this for 7 days. [PGM IV.1265-74]

xxix. To be Able to Eat Garlic and Not Stink

Bake Beetroots and eat them. [PGM VII.173]

xxx. To Let Those Who Have Difficulty Intermingling

[i.e. Socializing] Perform Well Give Gum mixed with Wine and Honey to be smeared on the Face. [PGM VII.179-80]

xxxi. To be Able to Drink a Lot and Not Get Drunk Eat a baked Pig's Lung. [PGM VII.181]

xxxii. To be Able to Copulate a Lot

Grind up fifty Tiny Pinecones with 2 ozs. of Sweet Wine and two Pepper Grains and drink it. [PGM VII.184-5]

xxxiii. To Get an Erection When You Want Grind up a Pepper with some Honey and coat your Thing. [PGM VII.186]

xxxiv. Love Salve

. . . Hawk's Dung; Salt, Reed, Bele Plant. Pound together. Anoint your Phallus with it and lie with the Woman. If it is dry, you should pound a little of it with Wine, anoint your

Phallus with it, and lie with the Woman. Very Good. [PDM
xiv.1155-62]

*** FINIS ***

Ecloga Ex Papyris Magicis: Liber II

a Johanne Opsopoeo

Liber II

* * *

Selections from Magical Papyri by John
Opsopaus

Book II

'Tis true : There's Magicke in the
web of it:
A Sybill, that had numbred in the
world
The Sun to course, two hundred
compasses,
In her Prophetticke furie sow'd the
Worke:
The Wormes were hallowed, that
did breede the Silke,
And it was dyde in Mummey, which
the Skilfull
Conserv'd of Maidens hearts.

-- Shakespeare, Othello, III.iv.70

Introduction

Contents

This is the second book of spells, charms, prayers, rituals etc. from the Greek magical papyri and Demotic spells. I have selected items that seem interesting and useful.

Unfortunately, many of the papyri are very fragmentary and incomplete, and others make use of complicated magickal symbols and figures that are hard to represent in ASCII, so I have had to omit some otherwise worthwhile spells and charms. For these I suggest consulting Betz (below), which contains nearly 600 spells, charms, prayers, invocations, etc.

The information in [brackets] following each selection indicates the collection (PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae, PDM = P. Demoticae M.), the papyrus number and the lines where the spell can be found. The source for these translations is Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

The spells, prayers, etc. are organized by category:

- I. Protection
- II. Divination and Visions
- III. Self-Improvement
- IV. Health and Healing
- V. Craft
- VI. Miscellaneous

Pronunciation of Magical Names

In general, most of the "voces magicae" (magical names) are written in Old Coptic, which used Greek letters, so you will do best if you think Greek. Thus, Y sounds between English "u" and "y", something like German umlauted "u". Pronounce CH as in German "ach" or Scotch "loch". The symbol E' represents eta, so pronounce like a long "a"; O' represents omega, so pronounce like a long "o".

The symbols PH (phi) and TH (theta) probably should be aspirated "p" and "t", but may have been pronounced like English "f" and "th" by the time the papyri were written. The symbol "NN" in a spell means "fill in the blank," generally with the name of the one on whose behalf the spell is cast (thus, "NN" or "the NN man"), or with the question or problem to which the spell is addressed (thus, "the NN matter").

I. PROTECTION

i. Charm to Break Enchantment

Taking a Three-Cornered Sherd from a Fork in the Road -- pick it up with your Left Hand -- inscribe it with Myrrhed Ink and hide it. [Write:] "ASSTRAELOS CHRAELOS, dissolve every Enchantment against me, NN, for I conjure You by the Great and Terrible Names which the Winds fear and the Rocks split when they hear it."

[There are seven Symbols to be written on the Sherd; they look like this: (1) a Greek capital upsilon (like a Y with sagging arms), with small circles at all three ends; (2) an X with small circles on the ends; (3) a squared-off U with small circles at the ends of the arms; (4) a line inclined to the right, with a small right-angle bend to the right at the end, small circles at both ends; (5) a line inclined to the right, small circles on ends, but slightly to the left; (6) arc or rounded L from upper left to lower right, circles on ends; (7) An A with circles on its feet. The whole sign looks something like this: Y X U / ^) L A] [PGM XXXVI.256-64]

ii. Charm to Restrain Anger and Charm for Success

(No Charm is Greater, and it is to be performed by means of Words Alone.) Hold your Thumbs and repeat the Spell 7 times: "ERMALLO'TH ARCHIMALLO'TH stop the Mouths that speak against me, because I glorify Your Sacred and Honored Names which are in Heaven."

To Augment the Words: Take Papyrus and write thus: "I am CHPHYRIS [i.e., the god Khepri, the scarab]. I must be

Magical Procedure which, with Complete Ease, produces a Holy Power....

Whenever you want to Inquire about Matters, take a Bronze Vessel, either a Bowl or a Saucer, whatever Kind you wish. Pour Water: Rain Water if you are calling upon the Heavenly Gods, Sea Water if Gods of the Earth, River Water if Osiris or Sarapis, Spring Water if the Dead. Holding the Vessel on your Knees, pour out Green Olive Oil, bend over the Vessel and speak the Prescribed Spell. And address whatever God you want and ask about whatever you wish, and He will reply to you and tell you about Anything. And if He has spoken dismiss Him with the Spell of Dismissal, and you who have used this Spell will be Amazed.

The Spell spoken over the Vessel is: "AMOUN AUANTAU LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAU IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHO'MACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN God! Appear to me this very Hour and do not Frighten my Eyes! Hither to me, O NN God, be Attentive to me because he [probably should be "I"] Wishes and Commands this ACHCHO'R ACHCHO'R ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHO' CHARACHO'CH CHAPTOUME' CHO'RACHARACHO'CH APTOUMI ME'CHO'CHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHO' CHARACHO' PTENACHO'CHEU" (a Hundred [Greek] Letters).

But you are not unaware, Mighty King and Leader of Magicians, that this is the Chief Name of Typhon, at whom the Ground, the Depth of the Sea, Hades, Heaven, the Sun, the Moon, the Visible Chorus of Stars, the whole Universe all Tremble, the Name that consists of 100 Letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you called will appear, God or Dead Man, and He will give an Answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your Satisfaction, dismiss the God merely with the Powerful Name of the Hundred Letters as you say, "Depart, Master, for the Great God, NN, wishes and commands this of You!" Speak the Name, and He will depart. Let this Spell, Mighty King, be transmitted to You Alone, Guarded by you, Unshared!

There is also the Protective Charm itself which you wear while Performing, even while Standing: onto a Silver Leaf inscribe this Name of 100 Letters with a Bronze Stylus, and wear it strung on a Thong from the Hide of an Ass. [The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon.] [PGM IV.154-160, 222-260]

v. Vessel Divination

To inquire opposite the Moon: You should do it as a Vessel Inquiry alone or with a Youth. If you are the one who is going to Inquire, you should equip your Eye with Green Eye-Paint and Black Eye-Paint. You should stand on a High Place on the Top of your House. You should speak to the Moon when it fills the Sound-Eye on the 15th Day, you being Pure for Three Days. [The Sound-Eye is Uzait Horu, the wdz.t-eye or Sacred Eye of Horus; the Moon fills the Sound-Eye when it is full.] You should recite this Spell opposite the Moon seven or nine times until He [the Moon (masculine in Egyptian)] appears to you and speaks to you: "Hail, SAKS Amoun SAKS ABRASAKS, for You are the Moon, the Great One of the Stars, He who formed them! Listen to these things which I said! Walk in accordance with the Words of my Mouth! Reveal Yourself to me, THAN THANA THANATHA, this is my Correct Name!" Nine times of saying it until She [the Moon] reveals Herself to you. [PDM xiv.695-700]

vi. Method of 29 Letters for Receiving an Omen

"Great is the Lady Isis!" Copy of a Holy Book found in the Archives of Hermes: The Method is that concerning The 29 Letters [of the Coptic alphabet], through which Letters Hermes and Isis, who was seeking Osiris, Her Brother and Husband, found Him. Call upon Helios and all the Gods in the Deep concerning Those Things for which you want to receive an Omen. Take 29 Leaves of a Male Date Palm and write on each of the Leaves the Names of the Gods. Pray and then pick them up Two By Two. Read the Last Remaining Leaf and you will find your Omen, how things are, and you will be answered clearly. [PGM XXIVa.1-25]

vii. Charm of Solomon's Collapse

[That is, Solomon's Charm to produce a trance.]

(Works on Boys and on Adults): I swear to you by the Holy Gods and the Heavenly Gods not to share the Procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for Something Questionable unless a Matter of Necessity forces you, lest perchance Wrath be preserved for you.

Formula to be Spoken: "OURIO'R AME'N IM TAR CHO'B

KLAMPHO'B PHRE' PHRO'R PTAR OUSIRI SAIO'B TE'LO'
 KABE' MANATATHO'R ASIO'RIKO'R BE'EINO'R AMOUN
 O'M ME'NICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA
 AOU ALAKAMBO'T BE'SINO'R APHE'SIO'R PHRE'PH
 AME'I OUR LAMASIR CHE'RIO'B PITRE'M PHE'O'PH
 NIRIN ALLANNATHATH CHE'RIO'CH O'NE' BOUSIRI
 NINOUNO AMANAL GAGO'SARIE'R ME'NIAM TLE'R OOO
 AA ETNE' OUSIRI OUSIRI OUSIRI OUSIRI ME'NE'MB
 MNE'M BRABE'L TNE'KAIO'B. Hear me, that is, my Holy
 Voice, because I call upon Your Holy Names, and reveal to
 me concerning the Thing which I want, through the NN Man
 or Little Boy, for otherwise I will not defend Your Holy and
 Undefined Names! Come to me, You who became Hesies
 and were carried away by a River; inspire the NN Man or
 Boy concerning that which I ask You: BARBE'TH MNO'R
 ARARIAK TARE'RIM O'AR TE'RO'K SANIO'R ME'NIK
 PHAUEK DAPHORIOUMIN LARIO'R E'TNIAMIM KNO'S
 CHALAKTHIR KRO'PHE'R PHE'SIMO'T PRE'BIB KNALA
 E'RIBE'TIM GNO'RI! Come to me through the NN Man or
 Little Boy and tell me accurately since I speak Your Names
 which Thrice-Greatest Hermes [i.e., Hermes Trismegistos]
 wrote in Heliopolis with Hieroglyphic Letters: ARBAKO'RIPH
 ME'NIAM O'RAO'B ABNIO'B ME'RIM BAIAX CHENO'R
 PE'NIM O'RA O'RE'SIOU OUSIRI PNIAMOUSIRI
 PHRE'OUSIRI HO'RIOUSIRI NAEIO'ROUSIRI
 ME'NIMOUSIRI MNE'KOUSIRI PHLE'KOUSIRI
 PE'LE'LOUSIRI O'NIO' RABKOUSIRI ANIO'BOUSIRI
 AME'AOUSIRI ANO'ROUSIRI AME'N'PHE'OUSIRI
 AME'NIOUSIRI XO'NIO'R E'OUROUSIRI! Enter into him
 and reveal to me concerning the NN Matter!"

After you have Purified the Designated Man by keeping him
 from Intercourse for 3 Days, you yourself also being Pure,
 enter together with him. After you have taken him up to an
 Open Place, seat him on Unbaked Bricks, dress him and
 give him an Anubian Head of Wheat and a Falcon-Weed
 Plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a Palm
 Fiber of a Male Date Palm, extend your Hands up to
 Heaven, toward the Rays of the Sun, and say the Formula 7
 times. Next make an offering of Male Frankincense after
 pouring out Wine, Beer, Honey or Milk of a Black Cow onto
 Grape-Vine Wood. Then say the Formula 7 times just into
 the Ear of the NN Man or Little Boy, and right away he will
 fall down. But you sit down on the Bricks and make your
 Inquiry, and he will describe Everything with Truth. You
 should crown him with a Garland of Indigenous Worm-
 Wood, both him and you, for the God delights in the Plant.

Dismissal of the Lord: Into the Ear of NN: "ANANAK

ARBEQUE'RI AEE'IOYO'!"

If He tarries, sacrifice on Grape-Vine Charcoal a Sesame Seed and Black Cumin while saying: "ANANAK O'RBEOUSIRI AEE'IOYO', go away, Lord, to Your Own Thrones and protect him, NN, from all Evil!" You learned thoroughly; keep it Secret.

The Awakening is as follows: Stand away from the Boy or Man, having your Palms spread on your Buttocks, your Feet together on the Ground, recite the following often until he is moved either toward the Right or toward the Left: "AMOUN E'EI ABRIATH KICHO'P O'TEM PITH." Then as a Dog [i.e., presumably, bark like a dog]. [PGM IV.850-929]

viii. Spell for Revelation

Keep yourself Pure for 7 days before the Moon becomes Full by abstaining from Meat and Uncooked Food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly Half of your Food in a Turquoise Vessel [probably faience, i.e., blue-green glazed pottery, rather than actual turquoise], over which you are also to Eat, and by abstaining from Wine. When the Moon is Full, go by yourself to the Eastern Section of your City, Village, or House and throw out on the Ground the Left-Over Morsels. Then return Very Quickly to your Quarters and shut yourself in before He can get there, because He will shut you out if He gets there before you. But before you throw out the Morsels, fix in the Ground at a Slight Angle a Verdant Reed that is about Two Cubits long, tie some Hairs from a Stallion about the Mid-Section of a Horned Dung Beetle, and suspend the Beetle from the Reed by them. Then light a Lamp that has not been used before and place it under the Beetle in a new Earthen-Ware Dish, so that the Heat from the Lamp barely reaches the Beetle. Stay Calm after you have thrown out the Morsels, gone to your Quarters, and shut yourself in; for the One you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with Weapons, will try to force you to release the Beetle. But remain Calm, and do not release it until He gives you a Response; then release it right away. And every day during the Period of Purification when you are about to Eat and to go to Bed, speak the following Spell 7 times (you are to say them again when you return to your Quarters after throwing out the Food). Keep it Secret: "You with the Wooden Neck, you with the Clay Face, come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the Great God who is in Heaven!"

The Phylactery [charm worn for protection] for the foregoing:
With Blood from the Hand or Foot of a Pregnant Woman,
write the Name given below on a Clean Piece of Papyrus;
then tie it about your Left Arm by a Linen Cords and wear it.
Here is what is to be written: "SHTE'IT CHIEN TENHA, I
bind and loose."

The dismissal: When you release the Beetle, say: "Harko,
Harko is my Name; Harko is my True Name!" Guard these
Instructions well!

The Rite: an Onion.

[Probably means: Use the Procedure involving an Onion.]
[PGM IV.52-85]

ix. A "God's Arrival" of Osiris

[I.e., an Invocation of Osiris for a Revelation] "O Isis, O
Nephthys, O Noble Soul of Osiris Wennefer, come to me! I
am Your Beloved Son, Horus. O Gods who are in Heaven,
O Gods who are in the Earth, O Gods who are in the
Primeval Waters, O Gods who are in the South, O Gods
who are in the North, O Gods who are in the West, O Gods
who are in the East, come to me tonight! Teach me about
Such and Such a Thing about which I am asking. Quickly!
Quickly! Hurry! Hurry!"

Formula: On a Phoenix written with Myrrh Water and
Juniper Water. Put a Pellet of Gum on your Right Hand;
recite these Writings to it in the Evening while your Hand is
stretched out to the Moon, while you are going to Sleep;
and leave your Hand before you. Very Good. 4 times. [PDM
Suppl.130-38]

III. SELF-IMPROVEMENT

x. Prayer to Helios: A Charm to Restrain Anger and for
Victory and for Securing Favor

(None is Greater): Say to the Sun (Helios) 7 times, and
anoint your Hand with Oil and wipe it on your Head and
Face.

Now the Prayer is: "Rejoice with me, You who are set over the East Wind and the World, for whom all the Gods serve as Body-Guards at Your Good Hour and on Your Good Day, You who are the Good Daimon of the World, the Crown of the Inhabited World, You who arise from the Abyss, You who Each Day rise a Young Man and set an Old Man, HARPENKNOUPHI BRINTANTE'NO'PHRI BRISSKYL MAS AROURZORBOROBA MESINTRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMMAO'PHI. I beg You, Lord, do not allow me to be Over-Thrown, to be Plotted Against, to receive Dangerous Drugs, to go into Exile, to fall upon Hard Times. Rather, I ask to obtain and receive from You Life, Health, Reputation, Wealth, Influence, Strength, Success, Charm, Favor with all Men and all Women, Victory over all Men and all Women. Yes, Lord, ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHNA PHO'ZA PHNEBENNOUNI NAACHTHIP... OUNORBA, accomplish this Matter which I want, by means of Your Power." [PGM XXXVI.211-30]

xi. Prayer

"I call upon You who have All Forms and Many Names, Double-Horned Goddess, Mene, whose Form no one knows except Him who made the entire World, IAO', the One who shaped You into Twenty-Eight Shapes of the World so that they might complete every Figure and distribute Breath to every Animal and Plant, that it might Flourish, You who grow from Obscurity into Light and leave Light for Darkness" (beginning to leave by Waning).

"And the First Companion of Your Name is Silence, the Second a Popping Sound, the Third Groaning, the Fourth Hissing, the Fifth a Cry of Joy, the Sixth Moaning, the Seventh Barking, the Eighth Bellowing, the Ninth Neighing, the Tenth a Musical Sound, the Eleventh a Sounding Wind, the Twelfth a Wind-Creating Sound, the Thirteenth a Coercive Sound, the Fourteenth a Coercive Emanation from Perfection.

"Ox, Vulture, Bull, Beetle, Falcon, Crab, Dog, Wolf, Serpent, Horse, She-Goat, Asp, Goat, He-Goat, Baboon, Cat, Lion, Leopard, Field-Mouse, Deer, Multi-Form, Virgin, Torch, Lightning, Garland, a Herald's Wand, Child, Key.

"I have said Your Signs and Symbols of Your Name so that You might hear me, because I pray to You, Mistress of the Whole World. Hear me, You, the Stable One, the Mighty

One! APHEIBOE'O' MINTE'R OCHAO' PIZEPHYDO'R
CHANTHAR CHADE'ROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU
PHE'RZON AINDE'S LACHABOO' PITTO' RIPHTHAMER
ZMOMOCHO'LEIE TIE'DRANTEIA
OISOZOCHABE'DO'PHRA"

(add the usual). [PGM VII.756-94]

IV. HEALTH AND HEALING

xii. Phylactery for Fever, Phantoms, Daimons, etc.

"I, Abrasax, shall deliver. Abrasax am I! ABRASAX
ABRASICHO'OU, help little Sophia-Priskilla. Get hold of and
do away with what comes to little Sophia-Priskilla, whether it
is a Shivering Fit -- get hold of it! Whether a Phantom -- get
hold of it! Whether a Daimon -- get hold of it! I, Abrasax,
shall deliver. Abrasax am I! ABRASAX ABRASICHO'OU.
Get hold of, get hold of and do away with... what comes to
little Sophia-Priskilla on This Very Day, whether it is a
Shivering Fit -- do away with it! Whether a Daimon -- do
away with it!" [PGM LXXXIX.1-27]

xiii. Spell for Dog Bite

To be said to the Bite of the Dog: "My Mouth being full of
Blood of a Black Dog, I spitting out the Redness of a Dog, I
come forth from Alkhah [Egyptian `rq-hh (Alxai), a sacred
place at Abydos, the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris
was buried]. O this Dog who is among the Ten Dogs which
belong to Anubis, the Son of His Body, extract your Venom,
remove your Saliva from me also! If you do not extract your
Venom and remove your Saliva, I shall take you up to the
Fore-Court of the Temple of Osiris, my Watch-Tower. I will
do for you according to the Voice of Isis, the Magician, the
Lady of Magic, who Bewitches everything, who is Never
Bewitched in her Name of Isis, the Magician."

You pound Garlic with Gum, put it on the Wound of the Dog
Bite, and speak to it Daily until it is Well. [PDM xiv.554-62]

V. CRAFT

xiv. This is the Consecration for All Purposes: Spell to Helios

"I invoke You, the Greatest God, Eternal Lord, World Ruler, who are over the World and under the World, Mighty Ruler of the Sea, rising at Dawn, shining from the East for the Whole World, setting in the West. Come to me, Thou who risest from the Four Winds, benevolent and lucky Agathos Daimon, for whom Heaven has become the Processional Way. I call upon Your Holy and Great and Hidden Names which You rejoice to hear. The Earth flourished when You shone forth, and the Plants became fruitful when you laughed; the Animals begat their Young when You permitted. Give Glory and Honor and Favor and Fortune and Power to this, NN, Stone which I consecrate today (or to the Phylactery [charm] being consecrated) for [or in relation to] NN. I invoke You, the greatest in Heaven, E'I LANCHYCH AKARE'N BAL MISTHRE'N MARTA MATHATH LAILAM MOUSOUTH SIETHO' BATHABATHI IATMO'N ALEI IABATH ABAO'TH SABAO'TH ADO'NAI, the Great God, ORSENOPHRE' ORGEATE'S TOTHORNATE'SA KRITHI BIO'THI IADMO' IATMO'MI METHIE'I LONCHOO' AKARE' BAL MINTHRE' BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI ARSIOUTH ERO'NER'THER, the Shining Helios, giving Light throughout the Whole World. You are the Great Serpent, Leader of all the Gods, who control the Beginning of Egypt and the End of the Whole Inhabited World, who mate in the Ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH NINTHE'R. You are He who becomes Visible each Day and Sets in the Northwest of Heaven, and Rises in the Southeast.

In the 1st Hour You have the Form of a Cat; Your Name is PHARAKOUNE'TH. Give Glory and Favor to this Phylactery.

In the 2nd Hour You have the Form of a Dog; Your Name is SOUPHI. Give Strength and Honor to this Phylactery, or to this Stone, and to NN.

In the 3rd Hour You have the Form of a Serpent; Your Name is AMEKRANEBECHEO THO'YTH. Give Honor to the God NN.

In the 4th Hour You have the Form of a Scarab; Your Name is SENTHENIPS. Mightily strengthen this Phylactery in this Night, for the Work for which it is consecrated.

In the 5th Hour You have the Form of a Donkey; Your Name is ENPHANCHOUH. Give Strength and Courage and Power to the God, NN.

In the 6th Hour You have the Form of a Lion; Your Name is BAI SOLBAI, the Ruler of Time. Give Success to this Phylactery and Glorious Victory.

In the 7th Hour You have the Form of a Goat; Your Name is OUMESTHO'TH. Give Sexual Charm to this Ring (or to this Phylactery, or to this Engraving).

In the 8th Hour You have the Form of a Bull; Your Name is DIATIPHE', who becomes visible everywhere. Let all Things done by the use of this Stone be accomplished.

In the 9th Hour You have the Form of a Falcon; Your Name is PHE'OUS PHO'OUTH, the Lotus Emerged From the Abyss. Give Success and Good Luck to this Phylactery.

In the 10th Hour You have the Form of a Baboon; Your Name is BESBYKI. [Prayer for gift omitted?]

In the 11th Hour You have the Form of an Ibis; Your Name is MOU RO'PH. Protect this great Phylactery for Lucky Use by NN, from this Present Day for All Time.

In the 12th Hour You have the Form of a Crocodile; Your Name is AERTHOE'. [Prayer for gift omitted?]

You who have set at Evening as an Old Man, who are over the World and under the World, Mighty Ruler of the Sea, hear my Voice in this Present Day, in this Night, in these Holy Hours, and let all done by this Stone, or for this Phylactery, be brought to fulfillment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate It. Please, Lord KME'PH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECHOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAO' YAI! I conjure Earth and Heaven and Light and Darkness and the Great God who created All, SAROUSIN, You, Agathon Daimonion the Helper, to accomplish for me everything done by the Use of this Ring or Stone!"

When you complete the Consecration, say, "The one Zeus is Serapis!" [PGM IV.1596-1715]

the "A" [alpha] with an Open Mouth, undulating like a Wave;
the "O" [omicron] succinctly, as a Breathed Threat;
the "IAO" [iota alpha omega] to Earth, to Air, and to
Heaven;
the "E" [eta] like a Baboon; ...
the "E" [epsilon] with Enjoyment, aspiring it;
the "Y" [upsilon] like a Shepherd, drawing out the
Pronunciation.

[This description, taken from a longer spell, does not specify
the pronunciation of "I" (iota) or "O" (omega).] [PGM V.24-
30]

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

xvi. Bear-Charms which Accomplishes Everything

[The Bear is the constellation Ursa Major, which represents
the soul of Typhon.]

Formula: "I call upon You the Greatest Power in Heaven,
appointed by the Lord God to turn with a Strong Hand the
Holy Pole, NIKAROPLE'X. Listen to me, Helios, Phre [i.e.
Helios-Pre]! Hear the Holy Prayer, You who hold together
the Universe and bring to Life the whole World,
THO'ZOPITHE' EUCHANDAMA O'CHRIENTHE'R
OMNYO'DE'S CHE'MIOCHYNGE'S IEO'Y" (perform a
sacrifice) "THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI
KANTHIMEO' ZANZEMIA O'PER PEROMENE'S RO'THIEU
E'NINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN MENI KE'DEUA
KE'PSE'OI" (add the usual).

Petition to the Sun at Sunset. Formula: "THE'NO'R, O
Helios, SANTHE'NO'R, I beseech You, Lord, may the Place
and Lord of the Bear devote Themselves to me"

(while petitioning, sacrifice Armara [for recipe, see
"Offering", below]. Do it at Sunset).

Charm of Compulsion for the 3rd Day: "ANTEBEROYRTO'R
EREMNETHE'CHO'R CHNYCHIROANTO'R
MENELEOCHEU E'ESSIPO DO'TE'R EUARE'TO' GOU PI
PHYLAKE' O'MALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA do the NN
Thing."

The First Formula in a Different Way: "THO'ZOPITHE',
 Bear, Greatest Goddess, Ruling Heaven, Reigning over the
 Pole of the Stars, Highest, Beautiful-Shining Goddess,
 Incorruptible Element, Composite of the All, All-Illuminating,
 Bond of the Universe AEE'IOYO' (square [probably means
 arranged in lines forming a square:

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A E E'I O Y O'
E E'I O Y O'A
E'I O Y O'A E
I O Y O'A E E'
O Y O'A E E'I
Y O'A E E'I O
O'A E E'I O Y

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)), You who stand on the Pole, you whom the Lord God
 appointed to turn the Holy Pole with Strong Hand:
 THO'ZOPITHE' (formula)."

Offering for the Procedure: 4 Drams of Frankincense, 4
 Drams of Myrrh, 2 Ounces each of Cassia Leaf and of
 White Pepper, 1 Dram of Bdellion, 1 Dram of Asphodel
 Seed, 2 Drams each of Amomon, of Saffron, or Terebinth
 Storax, 1 Dram of Wormwood,... of Vetch Plant, Priestly
 Egyptian Incense, the Complete Brain of a Black Ram.
 Combine these with White Mendesian Wine [i.e. from city of
 Mendes in Nile Delta] and Honey, and make Pellets of
 Bread.

Phylactery for the Procedure: Wear a Wolf Knuckle-Bone,
 mix Juice of Vetch and of Pond-Weed in a Censer, write in
 the Middle of the Censer this Name:

"THERMOUTHEREPSIPHIRIPHI PISALI" (24 [Greek]
 letters), and in this Way make an Offering. [PGM IV.1275-
 1322]

xvii. Powerful Spell of the Bear which Accomplishes
 Anything

Take the Fat of a Black Ass, the Fat of a Dappled She-
 Goat, the Fat of a Black Bull, and Ethiopian Cumin, mix all
 together and make an Offering to the Bear, having as a
 Phylactery Hairs from the same Animals which you have
 plaited into a Cord and are wearing as a Diadem around
 your Head. Anoint your Lips with the Fats, smear your

whole Body with Storax Oil, and make your Petition while holding a Single-Shooted Egyptian Onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a Palm Fiber of a Male Date Palm, kneel down, and speak the following Formula:

"I call upon You, Holy, Very-Powerful, Very-Glorious, Very-Strong, Holy, Autochthons, Assistants of the Great God, the powerful Chief Daimons, You who are Inhabitants of Chaos, of Erebus, of The Abyss, of The Depth, of Earth, Dwelling in the Recesses of Heaven, Lurking in the Nooks and Crannies of Houses, Shrouded in Dark Clouds, Watchers of Things Not To Be Seen, Guardians of Secrets, Leaders of Those in the Underworld, Administrators of the Infinite, Wielding Power over Earth, Earth-Shakers, Foundation-Layers, Servants in the Chasm, Shudderful Fighters, Fearful Ministers, Turning The Spindle, Freezing Snow and Rain, Air-Transversers, Causing Summer Heat, Wind-Bringers, Lords of Fate, Inhabitants of Dark Erebus, Bringers of Compulsion, Sending Flames of Fire, Bringing Snow and Dew, Wind-Releasers, Disturbers of the Deep, Treaders on the Calm Sea, Mighty in Courage, Grievors of the Heart, Powerful Potentates, Cliff-Walkers, Adverse Daimons, Iron-Hearted, Wild-Tempered, Unruly, Guarding Tartaros, Misleading Fate, All-Seeing, All-Hearing, All-Subjecting, Heaven-Walkers, Spirit-Givers, Living Simply, Heaven-Shakers, Gladdening the Heart, Those Who Join Together Death, Revealers of Angels, Punishers of Mortals, Sunless Revealers, Rulers of Daimons, Air-Transversers, Almighty, Holy, Unconquerable AO'TH ABAO'TH BASYM ISAK SABAO'TH IAO' IAKO'P MANARA SKORTOURI MORTROUM EPHRAULA THREEERSA; do the NN matter!"

Then write on a Piece of Papyrus the Hundred-Lettered Name of Typhon, curved as a Star, and bind It in the middle of the Core with the Letters showing.

This is the Name [Greek letters]: ACHCHO'R ACHCHO'R ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHO' CHARACHO'CH CHAPTOUME' CHO'RA CHO'CH APTOUMIME' CHO'CHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHO' CHARACHO'CH PTENACHO'CHEOU. [PGM IV.1331-89]

xviii. To Keep Bugs Out of the House

Mix Goat Bile with Water and sprinkle it. [PGM VII.149-50]

xix. To Keep Fleas Out of the House

Wet Rose-Bay with Salt Water, grind it and spread it. [PGM
VII.150-4]

*** FINIS ***

Ecloga Ex Papyris Magicis: Liber III

a Johanne Opsopoeo

Liber III

* * *

Selections from Magical Papyri by John Opsopaus

Book III

Introduction

Contents

This is the book of love spells, charms, prayers, rituals etc. from the Greek magical papyri and Demotic spells. They are not suitable for public consumption.

The information in [brackets] following each selection indicates the collection (PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae, PDM = P. Demoticae M.), the papyrus number and the lines where the spell can be found. The source for these translations is Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), "The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells," Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Pronunciation of Magical Names

In general, most of the "voces magicae" (magical names) are written in Old Coptic, which used Greek letters, so you will do best if you think Greek. Thus, Y sounds between English "u" and "y", something like German unlauted "u". Pronounce CH as in German "ach" or Scotch "loch". The symbol E' represents eta, so pronounce like a long "a"; O' represents omega, so pronounce like a long "o". The symbols PH (phi) and TH (theta) probably should be aspirated "p" and "t", but may have been pronounced like English "f" and "th" by the time the papyri were written.

The symbol "NN" in a spell means "fill in the blank," generally with the name of the one on whose behalf the

spell is cast (thus, "NN" or "the NN man"), or with the question or problem to which the spell is addressed (thus, "the NN matter").

SPELLS

i. Love Spell

Aphrodite's Name, which becomes known to No One quickly, is NEPHERIE'RI [i.e. Nfr-iry.t, "the beautiful eye", an epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor] -- this is the Name. If you wish to win a Woman who is beautiful, be Pure for 3 days, make an offering of Frankincense, and call this Name over it. You approach the Woman and say it seven times in your Soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it will succeed. But do this for 7 days. [PGM IV.1265-74]

ij. Love Spell Which Acts in the Same Hour

Take a Seashell and write the Holy Names with the Blood of a Black Ass.

Spell: "I adjure you, Shell, by Bitter Necessity, (MASKELLI formula) [i.e., MASKELLI MASKELLO' PHNOUKENTABAO' OREOBAZAGRA RHE'XICHTHO'N HIPPOCHTHO'N PYRIPE'GANYX] and by those who have been placed in charge of the Punishments, LAKI LAKIO' LAKIMOU MOUKILA KILAMOU IO'R MOUO'R MOUDRA MAXTHA MOUSATHA: attract her, NN, whom NN bore" (add the usual, whatever). "Do not be stubborn, but attract her, OUCH OUCH CHAUNA MOUCHLIMALCHA MANTO'R MOURKANA MOULITHA MALTHALI MOUI E'IE'I YYY AE' AIE' YOO' AE'I AE'I AE'I AO'A AO'A AO'A IAO' O'AI O'AI AIO' O'AI IO'A IAO' O'AI, attract her, NN" (add the usual).

As the Moon waxes in Aries or in Taurus [add the usual, whatever you wish]. [This line may belong to another spell.] [PGM VII.300a-310]

ijj. Love Spell

For Love say while kissing passionately: "I am THAZI N EPIBATHA CHEOUCH CHA I am I am CHARIEMOUTH LAILAM" (add the usual). [PGM VII.405-6]

iv. To Appear in Someone's Dreams

If you wish to appear to Someone at Night in Dreams, say to the Lamp that is in daily use, say frequently:
"CHEIAMO'PSEI ERPEBO'TH, let her, NN, whom NN bore, see me in her Dreams, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!" (and add the usual, whatever you wish). [PGM VII.407-10]

v. Excellent Love Charm

Inscribe by scratching on a Tin Lamella. Write and lay it down, walking over it. And what is written is this: "I adjure you by the Glorious Name of Bacchios" [i.e., Bacchus] (add the usual, whatever you wish). [PGM VII.459-61]

vi. Excellent Love Charm

Inscribe by scratching on a Tin Lamella the Characters and the Names, and after making it Magically Potent with some Magical Material, roll it up and throw it in the Sea.

The Characters are these: "[omitted]ICHANARMENTHO' CHASAR, cause her, NN, to love me" (add the usual). Write with a Copper Nail from a Shipwrecked Vessel. [PGM VII.462-66]

vij. From "The Diadem of Moses"

Take the Plant Snapdragon and hold it under your Tongue while lying asleep. And rise early and before you speak to Anyone recite the Names, and you will be Invisible to Everyone.

But when you say them over Drinking Cups and give them to a Woman, she will love you, since this Spell has Power over Everything:

"ARESKILLIOUS THOU DALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR MOULABO'TH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHO'RBAO' SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASO' IAO' SABAO'TH ADO'NAI."

For what you wish, say: "Get her, NN, for me, NN" (add the usual, whatever you wish). [PGM VII.619-27]

viii. Cup Spell, Quite Remarkable

Say the Spell that is spoken to the Cup 7 times: "You are Wine; You are not Wine but the Head of Athena. You are Wine; You are not Wine, but the Guts of Osiris, the Guts of IAO' PAKERBE'TH SEMESILAM O'O'O' E' PATACHNA IAAA." (For the spell of compulsion: "ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI EEE, who has been stationed over Necessity, IAKOUB IA IAO' SABAO'TH ADO'NAI ABRASAX.").

"At whatever Hour You descend into the Guts of her, NN, let her love me, NN, for all the Time of her Life." [PGM VII.643-51]

ix. Love Spell

In Conversation, while kissing passionately, say: "ANOK THARENEPIBATHA CHEOUCHCHA ANOA ANOK CHARIEMOCHTH LAILAM." [PGM VII.661-63]

x. A Good Potion

Take a piece of Hieratic Papyrus and write on it: "IAO' O' ESTABISASE' TOUREO'SAN ATHIACHIO'OUE'NOU ACHE'MACHOU. Let her, NN, whom NN bore, love me, NN when she has drunk this Drink. [PGM VII.969-72]

xi. Love Spell of Attraction

Purify yourself from Everything for ... Days and say this Spell at Sunrise: "Helios ... but come here to me, Mistress AKTIO'PHIS ERESCHIGAL PERSEPHONE"; attract to me and bind her, NN, whom NN bore, to the Man who is pining away with Passion for her; at this very moment, inflame her that she fulfill the Nightly Desires of NN, whom NN bore. Aye Lord NETHMOMAO' Helios, enter into the Soul of her, NN, whom NN bore, and burn her Heart, her Guts, her Liver, her Spirit, her Bones. Perform successfully for me this Charm, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!" [PGM VII.981-93]

xij. Love Spell

"ARMIOYT SITHANI YTHANI ARIAMYSI SOBRTAT BIRBAT MISIRITHAT AMSIETHARMITHAT, bring NN, whom NN bore, out of her Abodes in which she is, to any House, any Place in which NN, whom NN bore, is while she

love him and craves him, she making the Gift of his Heart at every moment!"

You should write this in Myrrh Ink on a Scrap of Clean Byssus and put it in a Clean New Lamp, which is filled with Genuine Oil, in your House from Evening until Dawn. If you find the Hair of the Woman, put it in the Wick! It is good! [PDM xiv.1063-69]

xiii. Love Spell of Attraction

"I adjure You, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes and all the Rest Down Below; attract and bind Sarapias whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutharin bore, now, now; quickly, quickly! By her Soul and Heart attract Sarapias herself, whom Helen bore from her own Womb, MAEI OTE ELBO'SATOK ALAOUBE'TO' O'EIO ... AE'N. Attract and bind the Soul and Heart of Sarapias, whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutharin bore from her Womb now, now; quickly, quickly!" [PGM XXXII.1-19]

*** FINIS ***

The "Mithras" Liturgy

from the Paris Codex

Edited and Translated by Marvin W. Meyer

Preface

This work provides the reader with a brief introduction, Greek text, and English translation of the fascinating though difficult document known as the Mithras Liturgy.

I initially prepared an introduction and translation of the Mithras Liturgy for a seminar on the Hellenistic mystery religions; the seminar was convened by Dr. Hans Dieter Betz during the fall semester of 1975 at Claremont Graduate School. My thanks to the participants in the seminar for their helpful comments.

In particular I thank Dr. Edward O'Neil of the University of Southern California for his perceptive suggestions.

Marvin W. Meyer
Claremont, California
February, 1976

Introduction

The so-called Mithras Liturgy is included in this series of texts and translations for several reasons. The Liturgy is frequently mentioned in secondary literature, and has been partially translated into English upon several occasions,

but it has not previously been available in its entirety in English translation. Furthermore, the Mithras Liturgy deserves the attention of students of early Christian literature and the history of religions, particularly Graeco-Roman religion: the Liturgy reflects an important religious tendency of its day, a syncretistic piety utilizing astrology and magic and emphasizing the ecstatic ascent of the individual soul. Of additional interest is the relationship of the Mithras Liturgy to the previously known Hermetic literature and the recently discovered tractates from Nag Hammadi (cf., for example, page 3, note b , below).

The Mithras Liturgy is part of the great magical codex of Paris (Papyrus 574 of the Bibliotheque Nationale). Presumably compiled in the early fourth century C.E., this codex contains a variety of tractates, hymns, recipes, and prescriptions, which were apparently collected for use in the working library of an Egyptian magician. Lines 475- 834 of this codex constitute the Mithras Liturgy; these boundaries for the Liturgy are suggested by the continuity of thought within the Liturgy, by the punctuation utilized by the scribe, and by the apparent transition to a different section (lines 835-849: astrological calculations). Interestingly, lines 467-474 parallel lines 821-823 and 830-834: thus the Mithras Liturgy is placed between two closely related versions of spells utilizing lines from Homer.

The Mithras Liturgy received its name and fame from A. Dieterich. In 1903 Dieterich published his valuable book, *Eine MithrasLiturgie*, in which he proposed that the text in question contains an official liturgy of the Mithras cult, a Mithraic ritual for the ascent and immortalization of the

soul. Although the Mithras Liturgy had been later adopted and somewhat adapted by Egyptian magicians, Dieterich concluded, the text still preserves the highest sacrament in which the blithraic initiate could participate. However, since the publication of Dieterich's book, F. Cumont, R. Reitzenstein, and others have expressed skepticism concerning the Mithraic origin of the Liturgy. Thus, such scholars have suggested that more significant parallels to the Liturgy can be found in the hermetic writings, or in individualistic and private mysteries, or in Graeco-Egyptian syncretism, magic, and solar piety. Yet the evidence amassed by Dieterich cannot be easily dismissed, for he highlights important echoes of Mithraism in the Mithras Liturgy: particularly striking are the mention of "the great god Helios Mithras" (line 482), the invocation of the elements (lines 487-537), the description of the fire-breathing god Aion (lines 587- 616), and the portraits of Helios (lines 635-637) and the highest God (lines 693-704). Furthermore, the accounts of Celsus (in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6. 21-22) and Porphyry (*De antro nympharum*, 5-6 etc.) on Mithraism verify the fact that such a liturgy for the soul's ascent as the Mithras Liturgy could be quite compatible with at least some expressions of Mithraism.

Consequently, it is advisable to conclude that the Mithras Liturgy may indeed represent some variety of Mithraism--though not, to be sure, Mithraism as it is usually presented. If there is Mithraism in this papyrus, it is a Mithraism on the fringe, a Mithraism preoccupied with individualism, syncretism, and magic. The Mithras Liturgy may thus illustrate a direction taken by those carrying on the Mithras tradition in Egypt.

The text of the Mithras Liturgy is composed of two main parts: a liturgical mystery of ascent (lines 475-750), and a set of instructions (lines 750-834) for the use of the mystery. After the brief introduction (lines 475- 485), the mystery of ascent presents the seven liturgical stages for the soul's ecstatic journey: the soul thus encounters the four elements (lines 485-537), in their generative and regenerative aspects; the lower powers of the air (lines 537-585), including the winds, bolts of thunder and lightning, and meteors; Aion and the Aionic powers (lines 585-628) , as planetary guardians of the heavenly doors; Helios (lines 628-657), young and fiery; the seven Fates (lines 657-672) and, next, the seven Pole-Lords (lines 673-692), both groups from the region of the fixed stars, and both depicted in Egyptian fashion; and finally the highest God (lines 692-724), portrayed like Mithras himself. After the conclusion (lines 724-750) to the mystery of ascent, the instructions for the use of the mystery present a scarab ceremony of the sun (lines 750-798) provide instructions for the obtaining of the kentritis herb and the fashioning of amulets (lines 798-830) and append two additional spells (lines 831-834) The predominant place of magic within the Mithras Liturgy deserves special mention. The entire text of the Liturgy is permeated with magic, including breathing techniques (cf. lines 537-538: drawing in breath from the rays) , special recipes (cf. lines 750-755: preparing the cake for the scarab), magical rituals (cf. lines 767-769: burying the scarab) amulets (cf. lines 659-660: kissing the amulets), and magical formulae. The magical formulae themselves are diverse in character: some seem onomatopoeic (cf. line 488, PPP: making a popping sound,

possibly like thunder), symbolic (cf. line 487, AEEIOYO: using the seven vowels in a series), or perhaps glossolalic (cf. line 492, EY EIA EE); some seem derived from or imitative of Greek (cf. line 562, PROPROPHEGGE: Primal Brightener?) Egyptian (cf. line 672, ARARRACHES: Horus of the two horizons; and line 717, PHRE: Re, the Sun) , or Semitic words (cf. line 591, SEMESILAM: Eternal sun; and line 593, IAO: Yahweh).

The Greek text which follows is that of K. Preisendanz, though a few minor changes have been made (e.g., the paragraphing) . Regrettably, only a few notes can be provided here; for additional information the reader is referred to the following selected bibliography:

Dieterich, Albrecht. Eine MithrasLiturgie (19031. 19102 edited by Richard WUnsch. 19233, edited by Otto Weinreich, reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966).

For the reactions by other scholars to Dieterich, see the "Nachtrage" (19233) 219ff.

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Ancient World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), vol.1, 176-194, especially 192ff.

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Smith, Morton. "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in Biblical and Other Studies, edited by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 142-160, especially 158ff.

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Actual Text

(475) Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche, as I write these mysteries handed down for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immortality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take (480) the juices of herbs and spices, which will to you at the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an inquirer (485) and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the ceremony:¹

"First -origin of my origin, AEEIOYO, first
beginning of my beginning,² PPP SSS PHR[]
spirit³ of spirit, the first of the spirit (490) in me,
MMM, fire given by god to my mixture of the
mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, EY EIA
EE, water of water, the first of the water in me,
OOO AAA EEE, earthy substance, the first of
the earthy substance in me, (495) YE YOE, my
complete body (I, _____ whose mother is
_____ ⁴), which was formed by a noble arm
and an incorruptible right hand in a world
without light and yet radiant, without soul and
yet alive with soul, YEI AYI EYOIE: now if it be
your will, METERTA (500) PHOTH
(METHARTHA PHERIE, in another place)⁵
YEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and,
following that, to my underlying nature, so that,⁶
after the present need which is pressing me
exceedingly, I may gaze upon the immortal
(505) beginning with the immortal spirit,
ANCHREPHRENESOYPHIRIGCH, with the
immortal water, ERONOYI PARAKOYNETH,
with the most steadfast air, EIOAE
PSENABOTH; that I may be born again in
thought, KRAOCHRAX R OIM ENARCHOMAI,⁷
(510) and the sacred spirit may breathe in me,
NECHTHEN APOTOY NECHTHIN ARPI ETH;
so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE;
that I may gaze upon the unfathomable,
awesome water of the dawn, NYO THESO
ECHO OYCHIECHOA, and the vivifying
(515), and encircling aether may hear me,
ARNOMETHPH; for today I am about to behold,
with immortal eyes -- I, born mortal from mortal
womb, but transformed by tremendous power
and an incorruptible right hand (520)! -- and with
immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and and
master of the fiery diadems--
I, sanctified through holy consecrations!-- while

there subsists within me, holy, for a short time,
 my human soul-might, which I will again (525)
 receive after the present bitter and relentless
 necessity which is pressing down upon me--
 I, _____ whose mother is _____ according
 to the immutable decree of god, EYE YIA EEI
 AO EIAY IYA IEO! Since it is impossible for me,
 born (530) mortal, to rise with the golden
 brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, OEY
 AEO EYA EOE YAE 5IAE, stand, O perishable
 nature of mortals, and at once me safe and
 sound after the inexorable and pressing (535)
 need. For I am the son PSYCHO[N] DEMOY
 PROCHO PROA, I am MACHARPH[.]N MOY
 PROPSYCHON PROE!"

Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up three
 times as much as you can, and you will see
 yourself being lifted up and (540) ascending to
 the height, so that you seem to be in mid-air.
 You will hear nothing either of man or of any
 other living thing, nor in that hour will you see
 anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather
 you will see all immortal things. For in that day
 (545) and hour you will see the divine order of
 the skies: the presiding gods⁸ rising into
 heaven, and others setting. Now the course of
 the visible gods will appear through the disk of
 god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-
 called "pipe" (550), the origin of the ministering
 wind. For you will see it hanging from the sun's
 disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this
 object toward the regions westward, boundless
 as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions
 of the East--and the other (viz. the west wind),
 similarly, toward its own (555) regions.⁹ And
 you will see the gods staring intently at you and
 rushing at you. So at once put your right finger
 on your mouth and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence! Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! (560) Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOY!" Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say: "PROPROPHEGGE MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGE NEMETHIRE ARPSSENTEN PTTETMI MEOY ENARTH PHYRKECHO PSYRIDARIO (565) TYRE PHILBA." Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs. So when you see that the world above is clear (570) and circling, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to shock you. Then say again: "Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of (575) the deep, OXY¹⁰ O XERTHEYTH." Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and immediately you will see (580) many five- pronged stars coming forth from the disk and filling all the air. Then say again: "Silence! Silence!"

And when the disk is open, you will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight (585). At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. The third prayer:

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, _____
whose mother is _____, O Lord, you who
have bound together with your breath the fiery
bars of the fourfold (590) root, O Fire-Walker,
PENTITEROYNI, Light-Maker (others:
Encloser), SEMESILAM, Fire-Breather,
PSYRINPHEY, Fire-Feeler, IAO, Light-Breather,

OAI,¹¹ Fire-Delighter, ELOYRE, Beautiful Light,
 AZAI, Aion, ACHBA, (595) Light-Master,
 PEPPER PREPEMPIPI, Fire-Body,
 PHNOYENIOCH, Light-Giver, Fire-Sower, AREI
 EIKITA, Fire-Driver, GALLABALBA, Light-
 Forcer, AIO, Fire-Whirler, PYRICHIBOOSEIA,
 Light-Mover, SANCHEROB, Thunder-Shaker
 (600), IE OE IOEIO, Glory-Light,
 BEEGENETEE Light-Increaser,
 SOYSINEPHIEN, Fire-Light-Maintainer,
 SOYSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI
 MARMARENTEY, Star-Tamer: open for me,
 PROPROPHEGGE EMETHEIRE
 MORIOMOTYREPHILBA, because, (605) on
 account of the pressing and bitter and
 inexorable necessity, I invoke the immortal
 names, living and honored, which never pass
 into mortal nature and are not declared in
 articulate speech by human tongue or mortal
 speech (610) or mortal sound: EEO OEEO IOO
 OE EEO EEO OE EO IOO OEEE OEE OOE IE
 EO OO OE IEO OE OOE IEO OE IEE EO EE IO
 OE IOE OEO EOE OEO OIE OIE EO OI III
 EOE OYE EOOEE EO EIA AEA EEA (615)
 EEEE EEE EEE IEO EEO OEEEEOE EEO EYO
 OE EIO EO OE OE EE OOO YIOE."

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until
 completing the first utterance; then, similarly,
 begin the second, until you complete the (620)
 seven immortal gods of the world. When you
 have said these things, you will hear thundering
 and shaking in the surrounding realm; and you
 will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then
 say again: "Silence!" (the prayer) Then open
 your eyes and you will see the doors (625) open
 and the world of the gods which is within the
 doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the
 sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends. So
 stand still and at once draw breath from the

divine into yourself, while you look intently.
Then when (630) your soul is restored, say:
"Come, Lord, ARCHANDARA PHOTAZA
PYRIPHOTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO
PHORATHEN ERIE PROTHRI PHORATHI."

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of them. For when (635) you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown. At once greet him with the fire-greeting:

"Hail, O Lord, Great Power, Great Might, (640) King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your strength, O Lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who has begotten and made you: that a man --

I, _____ whose mother is _____ (645) who was born from the mortal womb of _____ and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good-- resolves to worship (650) you, and prays with all his human power (that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EORO RORE ORRI ORIOR ROR ROI (655) OR REORORI EOR EOR EOR EORE!)."

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all

your breath and straining your sides; and kiss (660) the amulets and say, first toward the right: "Protect me, PROSYMERI!" After saying this, you will see the doors thrown open, and seven virgins coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called the Fates (665) of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

"Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars!¹²

(670) Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAES!
Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEES!
Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN!
Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHES!
Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIE!
Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAES!
Hail to you, the seventh, EROY ROMBRIES!

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces of black bulls, in linen (675) loin-cloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole-Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name: "Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn (680) at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body (685), and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my Lords and powerfully ruling Gods!

Hail to you, the first, AIERONTHI!
Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!
Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOYR!
(690) Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTO!
Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHROALITHO!
Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHOPS!
Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHE!"

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning-bolts going down, and lights flashing (695), and the earth shaking, and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,¹³ and holding in his right hand a golden (700) shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear¹⁴ which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour. Then you will see lightning-bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body. And at once (705) produce a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses: bellow long until the conclusion, and again kiss the amulets, and say: "MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI, life of me, _____" stay!

Dwell in (710) my soul! Do not abandon me, for one entreats you, ENTHO PHENEN THROPIOTH."

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

"Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water!
Hail, O Founder of the earth!
Hail, O Ruler of the wind!
O Bright Lightener (715) , PROPROPHEGGE

EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THETH MIMEO
YENARO PHYRCHECHO PSERI DARIO PHRE
PHRELBA!

Give revelation O Lord, concerning the matter of

O Lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, (720) I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death-- as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery.¹⁵ I am PHEROYRA MIOYRI."

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation (725). Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time (730) you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses. If you also wish to use a fellow-initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure together With you for (735) days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as though prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man (740): treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is "First origin of my origin, AEEIOYO." And say the successive things as an initiate, over his (745) head, in a soft voice, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing

his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer (750) be in effect. Instruction for the ritual:

Take a sun-scarab which has twelve rays,¹⁶ and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;¹⁷ put in together with it the seed of the lotometra, (755) and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it (viz. the scarab) moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and (760) spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in mid-heaven:

"I have consecrated you, that your essence may be useful to me, to _____ alone, IE IA E EE OY EIA, that you may prove useful to me (765) alone. For I am PHOR PHORA PHOS PHOTIZAAS (others: PHOR PHOR OPHOTHEI XAAS)."

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with Myrrh and wine from Mendes and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean-field. (770) Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization. If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called "kentritis," and smear it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; (775) and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you

want, and he will give to you.¹⁸

Now presentation¹⁹ before the great god is like this: obtaining the above-mentioned herb (780) kentritis, at the conjunction (viz. of the sun and the moon)²⁰ occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter formula, as is mentioned below. And keeping yourself pure for three days before, set out early in the morning toward the East, (785) lick off the leaf while you show it to the Sun, and then he (viz. the sun god) will listen to you attentively. Begin to consecrate this at the divine new moon,²¹ in the Lion. Now this is the formula:

"I EE 00 IAI."

Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf (790) , throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly. But the god said to me: "Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, consult while wearing the great mystery (795) of the scarab revitalized through the twenty-five living birds,²² and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year." The kentritis plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the (800) black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the Lord (805) pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant.

it is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and

have fruit (810) like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called talapes, like the wild beet. Now the amulets require this procedure: copy the right one onto the skin (815) of a black sheep, with myrrh-ink, and after tying it with sinews of the same animal, put it on; and copy the left one onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHYMERI" (820), and has this text: "So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses." (Il. X. 564) "And men gasping among grievous slaughters." (Il. X. 521) "And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea." (Il. X. 572) "You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." (Il. VIII.424) (825) Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said: "Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINOTHER NOPSITHER THERNOPSI" (and so on, as you like). (830) "So Ares suffered, when Otos and mighty Epialtes²³ ... him. (Il. V. 385) spell for restraining anger: "You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." (Il. VIII.424) For friends: "Let ... seize ... , lest we become a source of joy for our enemies." (Il. X. 193)

Notes

1. Or "spell"; note also, below, the translation of logos [lambda omicron gamma omicron sigma -- RE] with "prayer."

2. Cf. On the Eighth and Ninth (Nag Hammadi Codex VI, tractate 6), page 60, line 20. With regard to the Mithras Liturgy in general, cf. this tractate as well as another Hermetic tractate,

Corpus Hermeticum XIII.

3. "Spirit," "breath," "wind": pneuma [pi nu eta upsilon mu alpha -- RE] as one of the four elements.
4. Here the initiate was supposed to introduce his own name and that of his mother. This formula appears several times in the Liturgy.
5. one of the several variant readings suggested by a scribe.
6. Preisendanz takes the ina-clauses [iota nu alpha -- RE] as independent clauses.
7. Apparently used here as part of the magical utterance, enarchomai [eta nu alpha rho chi omicron mu alpha iota -- RE] is Greek for "I begin."
8. Moving, revolving heavenly bodies, which may influence human affairs and preside over the days.
9. or, with slightly different punctuation: "For you will see it hanging like a pipe from the sun's disk, toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the East; but if the . other (viz. the west wind) be assigned, similarly to its own (555) regions, you will see the reverse of the sight."
10. Perhaps OXY [omicron xi upsilon -- RE], "brightly."
11. A permutation of the divine name IAO. cf. also AIO (below, line 598).

12. The reference to the four pillars supporting heaven seems Egyptian. On the seven Fates of heaven, cf. [line of text missing in copy -- RE]

13. Eastern [particularly, Persian -- RE] attire.

14. The constellation called the Great Bear was known in Egypt as the Bull, or the Bull's Foreleg. Cf. also, with Dieterich, the place of the bull in Mithraism.

15. According to Dieterich, here ends the Mithras Liturgy per se.

16. The scarab, the Egyptian god Kheper, represented the rising sun.

17. Literally "at the seizure of the moon." This interesting phrase probably designates the new moon.

18. For examples of Jewish and Christian parallels to this familiar statement, cf. Matthew 7:7, and H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Muenchen: Beck, 1926), vol. 1, 450ff.

19. Presentation or introduction to the great god for the sake of attaining friendship and communion with the god.

20. That is, at the new moon.

21. The new moon according to the heavens, made by god, in distinction from the new moon according to the calendar, made by man.

22. This allusion to the birds is somewhat

obscure.

23. [Sic; but this giant's name is usually given as Ephialtes. He and his brother Otos imprisoned Ares in a bronze jar. -- RE]

Preamble

The last little volume gave the reader a brief outline of what is known of the cult of Mithra and the spread of the Mithriac Mysteries in the Western world. We have now to deal with a Mithriac Ritual of the most instructive and intensely interesting character, which introduces us to the innermost rite of the carefully guarded secrets of the Mithriaca.

This Ritual is all the more precious in that our knowledge of the Liturgies of the ancient Pagan cults of the West is of the scantiest nature. A few fragments only remain, mostly in the form of hymns; whereas the Ritual before us is complete, and the only complete one so far discovered. Dieterich calls it a {9} Liturgy; but a Liturgy is a service in which several take part, whereas it is plain that our Ritual was a secret and solemn inner rite for one person only.

The credit of unearthing it from the obscurity in which it was buried, and of conclusively demonstrating its parent-age, is due to Dieterich; for though Cumont in his great work quotes several passages from the unrevised text, he does so only to reject it as a genuine Mithriac document.

It is dug out of the chaos of the great Paris Magic Papyrus 574 (*Supplement grec de la Bibliotheque nationale*), the date of which is fixed with every probability as the earliest years of the fourth century A.D.. The original text of the Ritual has, however, been plainly worked over by a school of Egyptian magicians, who

inserted most of the now unintelligible words and names (*ashma ovomata, nomina barbara, nomina arcana*), and vowel-combinations and permutations (*voces {10} mysticæ*), of their theurgic language, which were known in Egypt as "words of power."

The subject is naturally one of the most obscure that is known to scholarship, and so far no one has thrown any real light on it. That, however, there was once in Egypt and Chaldeæ a science of this "nature language," or "tongue of the gods," which subsequently passed into the superstition of a purely mechanical tradition, is highly probable; and one means towards a recovery of the understanding of its nature is a study of the still living tradition of *mantra-vidya*, or the science of *mantrah*, or mystic utterances and invocations, in India of to-day.

When these evidently later insertions are removed, there still remains a certain number of *nomina arcana* and *mystica voces* which cannot be removed without doing violence to the text. It, therefore, follows that these stand as part of the Ritual. Did they, however, form part {11} of the *original* Ritual? The original Ritual must have contained, one would have imagined, Persian names. But the distinguished scholar Bartholomae, whom Dieterich has called in to his assistance, declares that nothing Persian can be made out of them without violent changes of the letters. But why, it might be asked, should not the original Persian Ritual have contained *nomina arcane* taken over from Chaldeæ? However this may be, our Greek Ritual evidently contained certain names and words "of power," before it reached the hands of the Egyptian magical school who inserted the majority of the mantric formulæ in our present

text.

The latter are, of course, entirely eliminated from the translation, while the former are marked by obeli.

On the whole the most likely supposition is that we have before us (when the latter insertions are removed) a Ritual translated or paraphrased into Greek, and adapted for use in Egypt, {12} and that, too, for picked members of the most esoteric circles. For our Ritual is not for the initiation of a neophyte of the lower grades, but for a candidate who is to self-initiate himself in the solitary mystery of apotheosis, whereby he became a true " Father " of the inmost rites, one possessing face to face knowledge and gnosis.

Dieterich thinks that this Greek ritual was first made in Egypt about 100-150 A.D., and was used in the Mysteries until 200 A.D. It was then that it got into the hands of the magical school, and was included, together with many other pieces, some of them similarly treated, in a collection which was copied on the papyrus which we now possess, about 300 A.D.

It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that we have in this Ritual of initiation certain theurgic practices of Egyptian tradition combined with the traditional Mithraic invocations done into Greek.

As to the chanting of the vowels, it is {13} of interest to learn from Demetrius, *On Interpretation*, c. 71 (p.20 Raderm.), that: "In Egypt the priests hymn the Gods by means of the seven vowels, chanting them in order; instead of the pipe and lute the musical chanting of these letters is heard. So that if you

were to take away this accompaniment you would simply remove the whole melody and music of the utterance (*logos*)."

The statement of Nicomachus of Gerasa the "musician " and mystic (second century A.D.), is still clearer; for he not only tells us about the vowels and consonants, but also of certain other " unarticulated " sounds which were used by the theurgists, and which are directed to be used in the rubrics of our Ritual. In speaking of the vowels or "sounding letters " - each of the seven spheres being said to give forth a different vowel or nature-tone - Nicomachus (c. 6) informs us that these root-sounds in nature are combined with certain material elements, as they are in spoken speech with the {14} consonants; but " just as the soul with the body, and music with the lyre- strings, the one produces living creatures and the other musical modes and tunes, so do those root-sounds give birth to certain energetic and initiatory powers of divine operations. It is because of this that whenever theurgists are awe- struck in any such operation, they make invocation symbolically by means of "hissings" and "poppings" and un-articulated and discordant sounds.

The exact translation of the Greek terms, *surigmoj* and *poppusmoj* is somewhat of a difficulty. The first denotes a shrill piping sound or hissing, the Latin *stridor*. It is used of such different sounds as the rattling of ropes, the trumpeting of elephants and a singing in the ears. The second is used of a clicking or clucking with the lips and tongue, and of the whistling, cheeping, chirruping, warbling or trilling of birds. It is used of the smack of a loud kiss and also of the cry "hush." Both

Aristophanes and Pliny {15} tell us that it was used as a protection against, or rather a reverent greeting of, lightning; and the latter adds that this was a universal custom.

The English "pop" perhaps represents the idea of the Greek most nearly. In the Ritual, however, I have rendered it by "puff" as it is connected with breath. It is evident that we have here to do with certain nature-sounds, which have disappeared from articulate speech, except in some primitive languages such as the "clicking" of the Zulus. It pertains to the art of *onomatopiia or onomatopoesis*, or the forming of words expressive of natural sounds. The 'root-idea seems to be that in mystic operations designed to bring man in touch with the hidden powers of nature, the language of nature must be employed.

As we have said, the Ritual before us is not of the nature of a church or temple service; on the contrary, it contains directions for a solitary sacrament, in which the whole effort of the celebrant {16} is to stir into activity, and bring into conscious operation, his own hidden nature or the root-substance of his being. It is a *yoga-rite (unio mystica)*, or act for union, in which the physical breath, the etheric currents, and the psychic auræ, or life-breaths, or *prana's* work together with the inbreathing of the Great Breath, or Holy Spirit, or Atmic Energy.

It should therefore prove of very great interest to many who have of late heard much concerning yoga, both in its higher contemplative modes, and also in its modes of deep and psychic breathing (*hatha-yoga*); for it may be news to many that in the ancient West, especially in Egypt, there was a high art of this

selfsame *yoga* which has been developed so elaborately in India.

We will now give a translation of the Ritual and then proceed to comment on it. The prayers and utterances are printed in italics, and the rubrics or instructions in Roman type. {17}

The Ritual

I.

[THE FATHER'S PRAYER.]

O Providence, O Fortune, bestow on me Thy Grace - imparting these the Mysteries a Father only may hand on, and that, too, to a Son alone - his Immortality - [a Son] initiate, worthy of this our Craft, with which Sun Mithras, the Great God, commanded me to be endowed by His Archangel; so that I, Eagle [as I am, by mine own self] alone, may soar to Heaven, and contemplate all things.

II.

THE INVOCATORY UTTERANCE (LOGOS).

1. *O Primal Origin of my origination; Thou Primal Substance of my substance; First Breath of breath, the breath that is in me; First Fire, God-given for the Blending of the blendings in me, [First Fire] of fire in me; First Water of [my] water. the water in me; Primal Earth-essence of the earthy essence in me; Thou Perfect Body of me - N. N. son of N. N., son of N.N. (fem.) - fashioned by Honoured Arm and Incorruptible Right Hand, in World that's lightless, yet radiant with Light, [in World] that's soulless, yet filled full*

of Soul!

2. If, verity, it may seem good to you, translate me, now held by my lower nature, unto the Generation that is free from Death; in order that, beyond the insistent Need that presses on me, I may have Vision of the Deathless Source, by virtue of the Deathless Spirit, by virtue of the Deathless Water, by virtue of the [Deathless] Solid, and [by virtue of] the [Deathless] Air; in order that 1 may become re-born in Mind; in order that 1 may become initiate, and that the Holy Breath may breathe in me; in order that 1 may admire the Holy Fire; that 1 may see the Deep of the [New] Dawn, the Water that doth cause [the Soul] to thrill; and that the, Life-bestowing Æther which surrounds [all things] may give me, Hearing.

3. For 1 am to behold to-day with Deathless Eyes - I, mortal, born of mortal womb, but [now] made better by the Might of Mighty Power, yea, by the Incorruptible Right Hand - [I am to see to-day] by virtue of the Deathless Spirit the DeathlessÆon, the master of the Diadeins of Fire - I with pure purities [now] Purified, the human soul-power of me subsisting for a little while in purity; which [power] I shall again receive transmitted unto me beyond the insistent Bitterness that presses on me, Necessity whose debts can never go unpaid - I, N. N., son of N. N. (fem.) - according to the Ordinance of God that naught can ever change.

4. For that it is beyond my reach that, born beneath the sway of Death, I should [unaided] soar into the Height, together with the golden sparklings of the Brilliancy that knows no Death.

5. Stay still, O nature doomed to Perish,

*[nature] of men subject to Death! And
straightway let me pass beyond the Need
implacable that presses on me; for that I am His
Son; I breathe; I am!*

III.

[THE FIRST INSTRUCTION.]

1. Take from the [Sun-]rays breath, inhaling thrice [as deeply] as thou canst; and thou shalt see thyself being raised aloft, and soaring towards the Height, so that thou seem'st to be in midst of Air.
2. Thou shalt hear naught, nor man nor beast; nor shalt thou see aught of the sights upon the earth, in that same hour; but all things thou shalt see will be immortal.
3. For thou shalt see, in that same day and hour, the Disposition of the Gods – the Ruling Gods ascending heavenwards, the other ones descending. And through his Disk - the God's, my Father's - there shall be seen the Way-of-going of the Gods accessible to sight.
4. And in like fashion also [shall be seen] the Pipe, as it is called, whence comes the Wind in service [for the day]. For thou shalt see as though it were a Pipe depending from His Disk; and toward the regions Westward, as though it were an infinite East Wind. But if the other Wind, toward the regions of the East' should be in service, in the like fashion shalt thou see, toward the regions of that [side,] the converse of the sight.
5. And thou shalt see the Gods gazing intently

on thee and bearing down upon thee. Then straightway lay thy dexter finger on thy lips and say:

IV.

[THE FIRST UTTERANCE.]

Silence! Silence! Silence!

The Symbol of the Living God beyond Decay.

Protect me, Silence! †!

Next "hiss" forth long: Sss! Sss!

Then "puff" saying: †!

And thereon shalt thou see the Gods gazing benignly on thee, and no longer bearing down upon thee, but proceeding on the proper order of their doings.

V.

[THE SECOND INSTRUCTION.]

When, then, thou see'st the Upper Cosmos clean and clear, with no one of the Gods (or Angels) bearing down on thee, expect to hear a mighty thunder-clap so as to startle thee.

Then say again:

THE [SECOND] UTTERANCE (LOGOS).

1. *O Silence! Silence!*

I am a Star, whose Course is as your Course,

shining anew from out the depth 20.0pt">t.

Upon thy saying this, straightway His disk will start expanding.

2. And after thou hast said the second utterance - to wit, twice *Silence* and the rest - "hiss" twice, and "puff" twice; and straightway shalt thou see a mighty host of stars, five-pointed, emerging from His Disk, and filling all the Air.

3. Then say again:

O Silence! Silence!

And when His Disk is opened [fully] out, thou shalt behold an infinite Encircling and Doors of Fire fast closed.

Straightway set going then the utterance that follows, closing thy eyes:

THE THIRD UTTERANCE (LOGOS).

1. *Hear me, give ear to me - N. N., son of N. N. (fem.) - O Lord, who with Thy Breath hast closed the Fiery Bars of Heaven; Twin-bodied; Ruler of the Fire; Creator of the Light; O Holder of the Keys; Inbreather of the Fire; Fire-hearted One, whose Breath gives Light; Thou who dost joy in Fire; Beauteous of Light; O Lord of Light, whose Body is of Fire; Light-giver [and] Fire-sower; Fire-loosener, whose Life is in the Light; Fire-whirler, who sett'st the Light in motion; Thou Thunder-rouser; O Thou Light-glory, Light-increaser; Controller of the Light Empyrean; O Thou Star-tamer!*

2. *Oh! Open unto me! For on account of this,*

*the bitter and implacable Necessity that presses
on me, I do invoke Thy Deathless Names,
innate with Life, most worshipful, that have not
yet descended unto mortal nature, nor have
been made articulate by human tongue, or cry
or tone of man:*

ëëö · öëëö · iöö · öë · ëëö · ëëö · öëëö · iöö ·
öëëë · öëë · ööë · ië · ëö · öö · öë · iëö · öë · ööë
· iëööë · iëëö · eë · iö · öë · iöë · öëö · eoë · oeö
· öië · öiëëö · oi · iii · ëöë · öüë · ëö · öëë · eöëia
· aëaeëa · ëëëë · eeë · eeë · iëö · ëëö · öëëëö
· ëëö · euö · öë · eiö · ëö · öë · öë · öë · ee ·
ooouiöë!

3. Utter all these with Fire and Spirit once unto
the end; and then begin again a second time,
until thou hast completed [all] the Seven
Immortal Gods of Cosmos.

When thou hast uttered them, thunders and
crashings shalt thou hear in the Surround, and
feel thyself a-shake with every crash. Then
once more utter *Silence!* [and] the utterance
[following it].

4. Thereon open thy eyes ; and thou shalt see
the Doors thrown open, and the Cosmos of the
Gods that is within the Doors; so that for joy and
rapture of the sight thy Spirit runs to meet it,
and soars up.

Therefore, hold thyself steady, and, gazing
steadily into thyself, draw breath from the
Divine.

When, then, thy Soul shall be restored, say:

VIII.

[THE FOURTH UTTERANCE.]

1. *Draw nigh, O Lord!*

Upon this utterance His Rays shall be turned on thee, and thou shalt be in midst of them.

2. When, then, thou hast done this, thou shalt behold a God, in flower of age, of fairest beauty, [and] with Locks of Flame, in a white Tunic and a scarlet Mantle, wearing a Crown of Fire. Straightway salute Him with the Salutation of the Fire:

IX.

[THE FIFTH UTTERANCE.]

1. *Hail Lord! O Thou of mighty Power; O King of mighty Sway; Greatest of Gods; O Sun; Thou Lord of Heaven and Earth; O God of Gods! Strong is Thy Breath; strong is Thy Might!*

O Lord, if it seem good to Thee, make Thou announcement of me unto God Mosthigh, who hath begotten and created Thee !

2. *For that a man - N.N., son of N.N. (fem.), born of the mortal womb of N.N. (fem.), and of spermatic ichor, yea, of this [ichor], which at Thy Hands to-day hath undergone the transmutation of re-birth -, one, from so many tens of thousands, transformed to immortality in this same hour, by God's good-pleasure, of God transcendent Good-, [a man, I say,] presumes to worship Thee, and supplicates with whatsoever power a mortal hath.*

3. Upon this utterance He shall come to the

Pole, and thou shalt see Him moving round as on a path.

Then gaze intently, and send forth a prolonged "bellowing," like to a horn-note, expelling the whole breath, with pressure on the ribs, and kiss the amulets, and say first to that upon the right:

X.

[THE SIXTH UTTERANCE.]

Protect me! †!

When thou hast uttered this. thou shalt behold the Doors thrown open, and, issuing from the Depth, Seven Virgins, in byssus-robcs, with serpent-faces. and golden sceptres in their hands. These are they who are the so-called Heaven's Fortunes (*Tychai*).

When thou dost see these things, make salutation thus:

XI.

[THE SEVENTH UTTERANCE.]

1. Hail Heaven's Seven Fortunes, Virgins august and good, ye sacred ones who live and eat with †! Ye holiest Protectors of the Four Supports!

Hail thou, the First, †!

Hail thou, the Second, †!

Hail thou, the Third, †!

Hail thou, the Fourth, †!

Hail thou, the Fifth, †!

Hail thou, the Sixth, †!

Hail thou, the Seventh, †!

2. There come forth others, too - Seven Gods, with faces of black bulls, in linen loincloths, with seven golden fillets on their heads. These are the so-called Heaven's Pole-lords.

And in like fashion unto each of them thou must make salutation with his special name.

XII.

[THE EIGHTH UTTERANCE.]

1. Hail Guardians of the Pivot, ye, sacred sturdy Youths, who all, at once, revolve the spinning Axis of Heaven's Circle, ye who let loose the thunder and the lightning, and earthquake-shocks and thunder-bolts upon the hosts of impious folk, but [who bestow] on me, who pious am and worshipper of God, good-health, and soundness of my frame in every Part, and Proper stretch of hearing and of sight, and calm, in the now Present good-hours of this day, O mighty Ruling Lords and Gods of me!

Hail thou, the First, †!

Hail thou, the Second, †!

Hail thou, the Third, †!

Hail thou, the Fourth, †!

Hail thou, the Fifth, †!

Hail thou, the Sixth, †!

Hail thou, the Seventh, †!

2. Now when they [all] are present in their order, here and there, gaze in the Air intently, and thou shalt see lightnings down-flashing, and lights a-quiver, and the earth a-shake; and [then] a God descending, [a God] transcending vast, of radiant Presence, with golden Locks, in flower of age, [clad] in a Robe of brightness, with Crown of gold [upon His Head], and Garments [on His Legs], holding in His Right Hand the golden Shoulder of the Calf.

This latter is the Bear that moves the Heaven[-dome], and changes its direction, now up now down, according to the hour.

Then shalt thou see lightnings leap from His Eyes and from His Body stars.

3. Straightway send forth a "bellowing" prolonged, with belly-pressure, to start thy senses going all together-prolonged unto the very end, kissing again the amulets and saying:

XIII.

[THE NINTH UTTERANCE.]

† , [O Lord] of me - N. N. - abide, with Me, within my Soul! Oh! leave me not! For † bids thee [remain].

And gaze intently on the God, with "bellowing"

prolonged, and thus salute Him:

[THE TENTH UTTERANCE.]

*Hail Lord, Thou Master of the Water! Hail,
Founder of the Earth! Hail, Prince of Breath!*

*O Lord, being born again, I Pass away in being
made Great, and, having been made Great, I
die.*

*Being born from out the state of birth-and-death
that giveth birth to [mortal] lives, I now, set free,
Pass to the state transcending birth, as Thou
hast stablished it, according as Thou hast
ordained and made, the Mystery.*

The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden

COL. I.

(1) [A vessel-divination which a physician ?] of the nome of Pemze [gave to me]. Formula: (2) '[O god N.]the border of whose girdle (?) rests in Peremoun (?), whose face is like a spark (3) of(?) an obscene(?) cat, whose toes(?) are a rearing uraeus (4)..... quick[-ly ?]; put light and spaciousness in my vessel (5) Open to me the earth, open to me the Underworld, open to me the abyss, (6) great of bronze of Alkhah, ye gods that are in heaven, that are exalted, come ye (7) [put ?] light and spaciousness in my vessel, my (8) [this] boy, whose face is bent over this vessel (oil) ; cause to succeed (9)for this vessel-divination is the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought (10)..... come in to me, O my compeller (?), for everything (11)' and cause the eyes of this child to be opened to them all, (12)..... for I am the Pharaoh Lion-ram; Ram-lion-lotus is my name (13). to thee here to-day, for I am Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, Setem (14) [is my true name, &c.] Hrenoute, Lapptotha, Laxantha, Sa-(ij)(risa, &c.) Bolbouel (*bis*), Louteri, (Klo-)Kasantra, Iaho (16) [is my name, &c., Balkam the] dread (?) one of heaven, Ablanathanalba, the gryphon (17) [of the shrine of God, &c.]. '[You] say it, drawling (?) with. your voice: 'O beautiful oxherd, my compeller, (18). ask thee about here to-day: and do thou cause the eyes of this boy to be opened (19)..... and do thou. protect this boy whose face is bent down [over this (20) vessel] of god, lord of earth, the survivor (?) of the earth, lord of earth . . . (21) I am Hor-Amon that sitteth at this

vessel-divination here to-day (22)..... . . . this
 vessel-divination here to-day; Marikhari, thou . .
 .. (23) and that they tell me my inquiry.
 Say to them (*bis*) "O holy gods of the abyss (24)
 [I am] of earth by name, under the
 soles [of] whose [feet ?] the gods of Egypt are
 placed (25) thar, for I am. Ta-pishtehei of
 earth by name (26)..... preserve thee, O
 Pharaoh, Pashamei that resteth at the mouth (?)
 (27) these shoulders of real gold. Truth
 is in (?) my mouth, honey (28) [is in my lips ?]
 Ma . . . tha for I am Stel, laho. Earth-
 opener." '

COL. II.

(1) You say to the boy 'Open your eyes'; when
 he opens his eyes and sees the light, you make
 him cry out, (3) saying 'Grow (*bis*), O light, come
 forth (*bis*), O light, rise(*bis*), O light, ascend (*bis*),
 O light, thou who art without,(3) come in.' If he
 opens his eyes and does not see the light, you
 make him close his eyes, (4) you call to him
 again;

formula: 'O darkness, remove thyself from
 before him (sic) ! O light, bring the light, in to me
 ! (5) Pshoi that is in the abyss, bring in the light
 to me! O Osiris, who is in the Nesheme-boat,
 bring in the light to me! (6) these four winds that
 are without, bring in the light to me! O thou in
 whose hand is the moment (?) that belongeth to
 these hours (7) bring in the light to me! Anubis,
 the good oxherd, bring in the light to me! for
 thou (8) shalt give protection (?) to me here to-
 day. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of
 Osiris; thou shalt bring the gods of the place (9)
 of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do
 my business, and they shall make my affair
 proceed; Netbeou, thou shalt cause them to do

it. (10) For [I am ?] Touramnei, Amnei, A-a, Mes
not see the light, you ma~e him close his eyes,
(4) you call to him again;

formula: 'O darkness, remove thyself from
before him (sic)! O light, bring the light, in to me!
(5) Pshoi that is in the abyss, "bring in the light
to me! O Osiris, who is in the Nesheme-boat,
bring in the light tome? (6) these four winds that
are without, bring in die light to me! O thou in
whose hand is the moment (?) that belongeth to
these hours (7) bring in the light: to me I Anubis,
the good oxherd, bring in the light to me! for
thou (8) shalt give protection (?) to me here to-
day. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of
Osiris; thou shalt bring the gods of the place (9)
of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do
my business, and they shall make my affair
proceed; Netbeou, thou shalt cause them to do
it. (10) For [I am ?] Touramnei, Amnei, A-a, Mes
(bis), Ornouorf (bis), Ornouorf (bis), Pahorof,
(11). . . . Pahrof, lo, a little(?) king, Touhor; let
this child prosper, whose face is bent down to
this (12) oil [and thou shalt] escort (?) Souchos
to me until he come forth. Setem is my name,
Setem is my correct name. For I am (13) L[ot],
M[oulo]t, Toulot.Tat, Peintat is my correct name.
O great god whose name is great, (14) appear
to this child without alarming or deceiving,
truthfully.'

You utter these (15) charms seven times, you
make him open his eyes.

If the light is good and he says 'Anubis is
coming in,' you call before him (Anubis).

(16) Formula: ' O Riz Muriz, O To-ur-to, O this
beautiful male born of Herieou, the daughter of
the Neme, (17) Come to me, for thou art this

lotus-flower that came forth from in the lotus of Pnastor, and that illuminates the whole earth; (18) hail! Anubis, come to me, the High, the Mighty, the Chief over the mysteries of those in the Underworld, the Pharaoh of those in Amenti, the Chief Physician, (19) the fair [son ?] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, thou manifestest thyself in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. Thou servest (20) the souls of Abydos, for they all live by thee, these souls (namely) those of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth, show thyself to me (21) here to-day. Thou art Thoth, thou art he that came forth from the heart of the great Agathodaemon, the father of the fathers of all the gods; come to the mouths (22) of my vessel to-day and do thou tell me answer in truth to everything that I shall inquire about, without falsehood therein; for I am Isis (23) the Wise, the words of whose mouth of mine (sic) come to pass.'

Formula: seven times. You say to the boy ' Speak to Anubis, saying (24) "Go forth, bring in the gods." '

When he goes after them and brings them in, you ask the boy, saying ' Have the gods (25) come in?' If he says 'They have come' and you (sic) see them, you cry before them.

Formula: ' Raise thyself for me (*bis*), Pshoi; raise thyself, Mera(26), the Great of Five, Didiou, Tenziou, do justice to me. Thoth, let creation (?) fill the earth with light, O (thou who art an) ibis in (27) his noble countenance, thou noble one that enters the heart, let truth be brought forth, thou great god whose name is great.'

Say seven times.

(28) You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying "Bring in a table for the gods and let them sit." '

When they (29) are seated you say 'Bring in a (jar of) wine, broach it for the gods; bring in some bread, let them eat, let them drink,

COL. III.

(1) 'let them eat, let them drink, let them pass a festal day.'

When they have finished, you speak to Anubis (sic) saying 'Dost thou make inquiry for me ?' If he says 'At once,' you say to him 'The god who will make my inquiry (2) to-day, let him stand up.'

If he says 'He has stood up,' you say to him (i.e. the child) 'Say to Anubis "Carry off the things from the midst" '; you cry (3) before him (i.e. the god) instantly saying 'O Agathodaemon of to-day, lord of to-day, O thou whose (possession) these moments are!'

You cause him (the boy) to say (4) to Anubis 'The god who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name.'

When he stands up and tells his name, you ask him (5) concerning everything that you wish. Its spirit-gathering.

You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them (6) to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you place them in their manner in which they were (7) placed, again; and you place three tiles

under the oil; and the other four tiles, you arrange them about the child without (8) touching any part of him against the ground; or seven palm-sticks, you treat them in this fashion also. And you take seven clean loaves (9) and arrange them around the oil, with seven lumps of salt, and you take a new dish and fill it with (10) clean Oasis oil and add to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness (?) so that it becomes clear (11) exceedingly; and you take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman, you speak down into his head (12) while he stands, previously, (to learn) whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel.

If he is profitable, you make him lie on(?) his belly; (13) you clothe (?) him with a clean linen tunic (?), (you call down into his head), there being a girdle on the upper part (14) of the tunic; you utter this invocation that is above, down into his head, he gazing downwards (looking) into the oil, for seven times, his eyes being (15) closed.

When you have finished, you make him open his eyes, you ask him about what you desire; you do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

(16) The invocation that you utter down into his head previously to test him in his ears as to whether he will be profitable in going to (17) the vessel.

Formula: 'Noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, (18) hawk, noble and mighty.'

You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this, then (19) his ears

Speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it be his right ear, (30) he is good; if it be his left ear, he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods enter and tell (21) you answer truthfully.

You put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame; it will be enchanted instantly.

Prescription to make them (22) speak: you put a frog's head on the brazier, then they speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: you put the bile (23) of a crocodile with pounded frankincense on the brazier.

If you wish to make them come in quickly again, you put stalks (?) of anise (?) on the brazier together with the (24) egg-shell as above, then the charn works at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man, you put sulphate of copper on the brazier, then he comes in.

(25) If you wish to bring in a spirit, you put *sa-wr*-stone with stone of *ilkh* on the brazier, then the spirit comes in. You put the heart (26) of a hyaena or a hare, excellent (*bis*).

If you wish to bring in a drowned man, you put sea-*karab*-stone (?) on the brazier.

(27) If you wish to bring in a murdered (?) man, you put ass's dung with an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier, then he comes in.

If you (28) wish to make (them) all depart, you put ape's dung on the brazier, then they all depart to their place, and you utter their spell of dismissal also.

(29) If you wish to bring in a thief, you put crocus powder with alum on the brazier.

The charm which you pronounce when you (30) dismiss them to their place: ' Good dispatch, joyful dispatch!'

(31) If you wish to make the gods come in to you and that the vessel work its magic quickly, you take a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow (32) and put it on the brazier; then. it works magic in the moment named, and the light comes.

(33) An amulet to be bound to the body of him who has the vessel, to cause it to work magic quickly. You take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], (34) four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain, them with the blood of a hoopoe, and you bind it with a scarab in its attitude of the sun-god, (35) drowned, being wrapped in byssus, and you bind it to the body of the boy who has the vessel and it will work magic quickly; there being nothing [in the world better (?)] than it (?).

COL. IV.

(1) A scout-spreader (?), which the great god Imuthes makes. Its spirit-gathering. You bring a table of olive-wood (2) having four feet, upon (?) which no man on earth has ever sat, and put it, it being clean, beside (?) you. When you wish (3) to make an inquiry-of-god(?) with it truthfully

without falsehood, behold (this is) the manner of it.

You put the table in a clean room (?) (4) in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you cover it with a tunic (?) from its head to its feet, and you put four bricks (5) under the table before it, one above another (?), there being a censer of clay before it (the table); and you put charcoal (6) of olive-wood on it (the censer) and put wild-goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ankh*. and make them into balls (7) and put one on the brazier, and lay the remainder at your side (?), and pronounce this spell in Greek (?) speech to it - Formula - and you spend, the night without speaking (8) to any one on earth, and you lie down and you see the god in the likeness of a priest wearing fine linen and wearing (a) nose at his feet. (9) 'I invoke thee who art seated in the invisible darkness and who art in the midst (10) of the great gods sinking and receiving the sun's (11) rays and sending forth the luminous goddess Neboutosoualeth, (12) the great god Barzan Boubarzan Narzazouzan Barzabouzath, (13) the sun; send up to me this night thy archangel (14) Zebourthaunen; answer with truth, truthfully, without falsehood, without (15) ambiguity concerning this matter, for I conjure thee by him (16) who is seated in the flaming vesture on the silver (?) head of the (17) Agathodaemon, the almighty four-faced daemon, the highest (18) darkling and soul- bringing (?) Phox; do not disregard me, but send up (19) speedily in this night an injunction (?) of the god,' Say this three times.

(20) Then he speaks with you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning everything that you wish. When he has finished,

and goes away again, (21) you place a tablet of reading (?) the hours upon. the bricks and you place the stars upon it and write your purpose (?) on a new roll (22) and place it on the tablet, then. he (?) makes your stars appear which are favourable for your purpose (?).

(23) [A method] of lucky-shadows (?), that is tested: a hawk's egg with myrrh, pound (?), put on your eyes of it, then it makes lucky-shadows (?).

(24) Another again: head and blood of a hoopoe; cook (?) them and make them into a dry medicament and paint your eyes with it; then you see them, again.

COL. V.

(1) And you set up your [planisphere ?] and you stamp on the ground with your foot seven times and recite these charms to the Foreleg, turning (?) to the North seven times (2) and you return, down and go to a dark recess.

(3) A question-form, tested. You go to a dark clean recess with its face open to the south and you purify it with (4) natron-water, and you take a new white lamp in which no red earth or gum-water has been put and place a clean wick (5) in it and fill it with real oil after writing this name and these figures on the wick with ink of myrrh beforehand; (6) and you lay it on a new brick before you, its underside being spread with sand; and you pronounce these spells over the lamp again another seven times. You display frankincense in front of (7) the lamp and you look at the lamp; then you see the god about the lamp and you lie down on a rush mat without speaking (8) to any one on earth. Then he

makes answer to you by dream. Behold its invocation.

Formula: (In margin: Behold the spells which you write on the wick; Bakhukhsikhukh, and figures) (9) 'Ho!l Murai, Muribi, Babel, Baoth, Bamui, the great Agathodaemon, (10) Muratho, the . . . form of soul that resteth above in the heaven of heavens, (11) Tatot (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Momhtahi (?) (*bis*), Lahi (*bis*), Bolboel, I (*bis*), Aa, Tat (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Yohel (*bis*), the first servant (12) of the great god, he who giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god who is seated (13) in the fire, he who is in the midst of the fire which is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and the power of god; reveal thyself to me (14) here to-day in the fashion, of thy revelation to Moses which thou didst make upon the mountain, before whom thou thyself didst create darkness and light, (15) - insertion - I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer in truth without falsehood; for I will glorify thee (16) in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee (17) before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he (=thou) of the great glory, Peten (*bis*), Pater, Enphe (*bis*), (18) O god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him. Come down (in) to me (19) into the midst of this flame that is here before thee, thou of Boel (*bis*), and let me see the business that I ask about (20) to-night truly without falsehood. Let it be seen (?), let it be heard (?), O great god Sisihoout, otherwise said Armioouth, come (21) in before me and give me answer to that which I shall ask about, truly without falsehood. O great

god that is on the mountain (22) of Atuki (of Gabaon), Khabaho, Takrtat, come in to me, let my eyes be opened to-night for any given thing (23) that I shall ask about, truly without falsehood . . . the voice (?) of the Leasphot, Neblot . . . lilas.'

Seven times: and you lie down (24) without speaking.

The ointment which you put on your eyes when you are about to inquire of the lamp in any lamp-divination:

you take some flowers (25) of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the garland-seller, otherwise said of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh and put them (26) in a *lok*-vessel of glass and stop its mouth very well for twenty days in a secret dark place. After twenty days, if you (27) take it out and open it, you find a pair (?) of testicles in it with a phallus. You leave it for forty days and when you take it out (28) and open it, you find that it has become bloody; then you put it on a glass thing and put the glass thing into a pottery thing (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you desire to make inquiry of the lamp with it at any time if you fill your eyes with this (30) blood aforesaid, and if you go in to pronounce a spell over the lamp you see a figure of a god standing behind (?) the lamp, and he speaks (31) with you concerning the question which you wish; or you lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you rise and pronounce his compulsion. (32) You must lie down on green reeds, being pure from a woman, your head being turned to the south and your face being turned to the north and the face of the lamp being turned northwards likewise.

(33) insert above - 'I pray thee to reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer truly concerning the given matter which I ask thee about.'

COL. VI.

(1) An inquiry of the lamp.

You go to a clean dark cell without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall (2) and you take a white lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean, and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, (3) and you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn in his rising and you bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times, (4) and you take it into the cell, you being pure, and the boy also, and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being (5) closed, seven times. You put pure frankincense on the brazier. You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. (6) When you have finished you make him open his eyes towards the lamp; then he sees the shadow of the god about the lamp, and he inquires for you (7) concerning that which you desire.

You must do it at midday in a place without light, if it be that you are inquiring for a spirit damned, a wick of sail-cloth (?) (8) is what you put in the lamp and you fill it with clean butter.

If it is some other business, a clean wick with pure genuine oil (9) is that which you put in the lamp; if you will do it to bring a woman to a man, ointment of roses is that which you put in the lamp. You must lay the lamp (10) on a new brick

and the boy also must sit on another brick with his eyes closed. You cry down into his head four times. (11) The spells which you recite (to the lamp) to the wick previously before you recite to the boy: formula: 'Art thou the unique great wick of the linen of Thoth ?(12) Art thou the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned, woven by the hand of Isis, spun. by the hand of Nephthys? (13) Art thou the original band that was made for Osiris Khentamente? Art thou the great bandage with which Anubis put forth his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god? (14) I have brought thee to-day - ho! thou wick - to cause the boy to look into thee, that thou mayest make reply to every matter concerning which I ask here to-day. (15) Is it that you will (?) not do it? O wick, I have put thee in the hand of the black cow, I have lighted thee in the hand (16) of the female cow. Blood of the Drowned one is that which I put to thee for oil; the hand of Anubis is that which is laid on thee. The spells (17) of the great Sorcerer are those which I recite to thee. Do thou bring me the god in whose hand is the command to-day and let him give me answer as to everything about which(18) I inquire here to-day truly without falsehood. Ho! Nut, mother of water, ho! Apet, mother of fire, (19) come unto me, Nut, mother of water, come Apet, mother of fire, come unto me Yaho.' You say it drawling(?) with your voice exceedingly. You say again: ' Esex, Poe, Ef-khe-ton,' otherwise said, ' Khet-on,' seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, these alone are the things that you recite (21) to the lamp, and you lie down without speaking. But if obduracy take place, you rise, you recite (22) his summons, which is his compulsion.

Formula; 'I am the Ram's face, Youth is my name: I was born under the venerable persea (23) in Abydos, I am the soul of the great chief

who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse that is in U-pek; (24) I am he whose eyes are as the eyes of Akhom when he watcheth Osiris by night; I am Teptuf upon the desert of Abydos;(25) I am he that watcheth the great corpse which is in Busiris; I am he who watcheth for Light-scarab-noble (?).'

(In margin) The spells that you write on the lamp, Bakhukhsikhukh (and figures) (26) ' whose name is hidden in my heart; Bibiou (Soul of souls) is his name.'

Formula, seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, (27) these things alone are what you recite.

If it is an inquiry by the boy that you are about, you recite these aforesaid to the lamp (28) before calling down into the head of the boy, you turn round (?), you recite this other invocation to the lamp also.

Formula.: 'O Osiris, O lamp (29) that giveth vision of the things (of days) above, that giveth vision of the things below and vice versa, O lamp (*bis*), Amen is moored in thee; O lamp (*bis*) I (30) invoke thee, thou goest up to the shore of the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Do I speak (31) to thee ? Dost thou come that I may send thee ? Ho, lamp, witness (?) to thyself, since thou hast found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and tehen, (32) Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female gods about him. Speak, Isis, let it be told (33) to Osiris concerning the things which I ask about, to cause the god to come in whose hand is the command, and give me answer to everything about which I shall inquire (34) here to-day.

When Isis said "Let a god be summoned to me that I may send him, he being discreet (?) as to the business on which he will go and he accomplish it," (35) they went and they brought to her; thou art the lamp that was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet thy mother and of Heke thy father is (36) cast at thee, thou shalt not be lighted for Osiris and Isis, thou shalt not be lighted for Anubis until thou hast given me an answer to everything which I ask (37) about here to-day truly without telling me falsehood. If thou wilt not do it, I will not give thee oil.

COL. VII.

(1) 'I will not give thee oil, I will not give thee fat. O lamp; verily I will give thee the body of the female cow and put blood (2) of the male bull into (?) thee and put thy band to the testicles (?) of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, O ye of the underworld, the box of myrrh that is in my hand; (3) receive me before you, O ye souls of Aker belonging to Bi-wekem, the box of frankincense that hath four corners. O dog, which is (4) called Anubis by name, who resteth on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of frankincense, let there come to me (5) the ointment for the son of the lamp that he (?) may give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood therein. (6) Io, Tabao, Soukhamamon, Akhakhanbou, Sanauani, Ethie, Komto, (7) Kethos, Basaethori, Thmila, Akhkhon, give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day.' Seven times. (8) The spells of the boy: Boel, Boel (*bis*), li (*bis*), Aa (*bis*), Tattat (*bis*), he that giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, (9) he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god that sitteth in the fire, he that is in the midst of the fire, he that is

in the lake of heaven, (10) in whose hand is the greatness and might of God, reveal thyself to this boy who hath my vessel to-day, and let him give me answer truly (11) without falsehood. I will glorify thee in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre. I will glorify thee (12) before the moon, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he of the great glory, (13) Peteri, Peteri, Pater, Enphe, Enphe, the god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, (14) who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this fire that is here before thee, he of Boel, Aniel (15) realise me to see the business about which I am inquiring here to-day, let it be seen, let it be heard (16) and do thou give strength to the eyes of the boy who has my vessel, to cause him to see it, and to his tears to cause him to hear it, O great god Siainont, (17) before me and cause my eyes to be opened to everything forwhich I pray here to-day, (18) Akhremto, come in into the midst of this flame, O great god that is upon the hill of (Atugi) Gabaon, Khabaho, Takrtat.' You recite this (19) until the light appear.

When the light appears, you turn round (?), you recite this spell-copy a second time again. Behold the spell-copy also (?) of the summons (20) that you recite: 'Ho! speak to me (*bis*) Thes, Tenor, the father of eternity without end, the god who is over the whole earth, Salkmo, (21) Balkmo, Brak, Nephro, Bampre, Brias, Sarinter, Melikhriphs, (22) Largnanes, Herephes, Mephrobrias, Pherka, Phexe, Diouphia, (23) Marmareke, Laore-Krephie, may I see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here, may answer be made to me (24) to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood. Ho! Adael, Aphthe,

Khokhomole, (25) Hesenmigadon. Orthobaubo,
Noere, Sere, Sere, San-kathara, (26)
Ereskhigal, Saggiste, Dodekakiste, Akrourobore,
Kodere.' (27) You make him open his eyes and
look at the lamp, and ask him as to that which
you wish. If obstinacy appear, he not having
seen the god, you turn round(?), (28) you
pronounce his compulsion.

Formula: 'Semea-kanteu, Kenteu, Konteu,
Kerideu, Darenko, Lekaux, (29) come to me,
Kanab, Ari-katei, Bari-katci, disk, moon of the
gods, disk, hear my voice, let answer be given
me (30) as to everything about which I ask here
to-day. O perfume of Zalabaho, Nasira, Hake,
arise (?) O Lion-ram, (31) let me see the light to-
day, and the gods; and let them give me answer
as to everything about which I ask here to-day
truly. Na, Na, Na, Na, is thy name, (32) Na, Na,
is thy true name.'

You utter a whisper (?) with your voice loudly;
you recite saying, ' Come to me laho, laeu, (33)
laho, Auho, laho, Hai, Ko, Hoou, Ko, Nashbot,
Arpi-Hap(?), Abla, Balbok, (34) Honbek (Hawk-
face), Ni, Abit, Thatlat, Maribal.'

COL. VIII.

(1) If [the god(?)] delay so as not to come in,
you cry: (2) 'Maribal, Kmla, Kikh, Father of the
fathers of the gods, go round (?), one Eye
weeps, the other laughs, loh (bis, bis), Ha, Ha,
He, (3) St, St, St, St, Ihe, laho, seek (?); let
there come to me the god in whose hand is the
command to-day, and let him give me reply to
everything (4) about which I ask here to-day.'
You say, 'Pef-nuti(?)' with your mouth each time,
and you cry, 'I cast fury at thee of him who
cutteth thee, of him who devoureth thee. (5) Let

the darkness separate from the light before me.
 Ho! god, Hu-bos, Ri.khetem, Si (*bis*), Aho (?),
 Ah, Mai (?) ("I do not"?), (6) Kha, Ait, Ri-shfe,
 Bibiu, laho, Ariaaha (*bis*), Arainas ("do for her"),
 Euesetho ("they will turn the face"), Bekes, Gs,
 Gs, Gs, Gs, (7) Ianian, Eren, Eibs, Ks, Ks, Ks,
 Ks, let the god come to me in whose hand is the
 command and give me answer as to everything
 about which I (8) inquire here to-day. Come in.
 Piatouu, Khitore; ho! Shop, Shope, Shop,
 Abraham, the apple (?) of the Eye of the *uzat*,
 (9) Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmro, so as to create,
 Kom, Kom-wer-wot, Sheknush (?) is thy real
 name, let answer be told to me (10) as to
 everything about which I ask here to-day. Come
 to me Bakaxikhekh, tell me answer to everything
 which I ask about here to-day truly (11) without
 telling me falsehood.' Formula. Seven times.
 (12) 'A direct (?) inquiry by (?) the voice of
 Pasash(?) the priest of Kes; he (the informant)
 tells it, saying it is tested, nine times : (13) 'I am
 Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau son of Tapshau, of
 his mother Tapshau, if it be that (14) any given
 thing shall happen, do not come to me with thy
 face of Pekhe; thou shalt come to me in thy form
 of a priest,(15) in thy figure of a servant of the
 temple. (But) if it shall not come to pass, thou
 (shalt) come to me in thy form of a Kalashire,
 (16) for I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau, the
 son of Tapshau, of his mother Tapshau.' [Say it]
 opposite (17) the Shoulder constellation on the
 third day of the month, there being a clove of
 three-lobed white garlic and there being three
 needles (18) of iron piercing it, and recite this to
 it seven times; and put it at thy head Then he
 attends to you and speaks with you.

COL. IX.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Chons.

'[Homage ?] to thee, Chons-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, the noble child that came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time (?), one he is . . . (2) Ho! silver, lord of silver, Shentei, lord of Shentei, lord of the disk. the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian, come to me, noble child, the great god that is in (3) the disk, who pleaseth men (?), Pomo, who is called the mighty bull (*bis*), the great god that is in the *uzat*, that came forth from the four [boundaries?] (4) of eternity, the punisher of the flesh (?), whose name is not known, nor his nature, nor his likeness (?). I know thy name, I know thy nature, I [know] (5) thy likeness. Great is thy name, Heir is thy excellent is thy name. Hidden is thy name. Mighty one of the gods is thy name, "He whose name is hidden from all the gods" is thy name, Om, (6) Mighty Am is thy name, "All the gods" is thy name, Lotus-lion-ram, is thy name, "Loou comes, lord of the lands " (*bis*) is thy name, Amakhr of heaven is thy name, "Lotus-flower of stars (?) (7) cometh," Ei-io Ne-ei-o is thy name. Thy form is a scarab with the face of a ram; its tail a hawk's, it wearing (?) two panther-skins(?). Thy [serpent is a serpent ?] (8) of eternity, thine orbit (?) a lunar month, thy tree a vine-tree and persea(?), thy herb the herb of Amen, thy fowl of heaven a heron, thy fish of [the deep(?)] (9) a black lebes. They are established on earth. Yb is thy name in thy body in (?) the sea, thy figure of stone in which thou camest forth is a . . .; (10) heaven is thy shrine, the Earth thy fore-court; it was my will (?) to seize thee here to-day, for I am one shining, enduring: my . . . (11) faileth (?) if I have not done it through (?) the delay, I not having discovered thy name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor (?) of heaven. (But) I have done it, [enduring ?]

hunger (12) for bread, and thirst for water; and do thou rescue(?) me and make me prosper and give me praise, love, and reverence before every man. For I am(?) the [mighty] bull, (13) the great god that is in the *uzat*, that came forth from the four regions (?) of space (?). I am Hune (youth), the great name that is in heaven, whom they call . . . (14) Amphoou (*bis*), "True" (*bis*), "He is praised to(?) Abydos." "Ra," "Horus the boy" is my name, "Chief of the gods" is my correct name, preserve me, make me to prosper, make my vessel to become [successful?]. (15) Open to me Arkhah before every god and every man that hath come forth from the stone of Ptah. For I am the serpent that came forth from Nun, I am a(16) proud (?) Ethiopian, a rearing serpent of real gold, there being honey in my (?) lips; that which I shall say cometh. to pass at once. Ho! . . . (17) mighty one, for I am Anubis, the baby creature (?); I am Isis and I will bind him, I am Osiris and I will bind him, I am Anubis [and I will bind] him. Thou wilt save me from every . . . (18) and every place of confusion(?). Lasmalnout, Lesmatot, protect me, heal me, give me love, praise and reverence in my vessel (19), my bandage (?) here to-day. Come to me, Isis, mistress of magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem, (20) a snake of the son(s) of Atum is that which . . . a uraeus-diadem at my head; for he that shall strike (?) me (?) shall strike (?) King Mont here to-day . . . (21) Mihos, mighty one shall send out a lion of the sons of Mihos under compulsion to fetch them to me (*bis*) the souls of god, the souls (22) of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead, so that they tell me the truth to-day concerning that after which I am inquiring: for I am (23) Horus son of Isis who goeth on board at Arkhah to put

wrappings on the amulets, to put linen on the Drowned one, (24) the fair Drowned one of the drowned (?). They shall rise, they shall flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), my word-seeking (?).

(25) Arouse them for me (*bis*), the spirits, the dead; rouse their souls and forms at (?) the mouths of my vessel; rouse them for me (26) with the dead; rouse [them] for me (*bis*); rouse their souls and their forms. The fury of Pessiwont ("Her (whose) son is Wont"), the daughter of Ar . . . (27) rouse them for me (*bis*) the Unti from their places of punishment, let them talk with their mouths, let them speak with their lips, let them say that which I have said, [about that which] (28) I am asking them here to-day; let them speak before (?) me, let truth happen to me; do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true (*bis*) name [without](20) falsehood in it. [Ho?] scarab of true lapislazuli that sitteth at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer? (30) fill thy mouth with the water of [the pool ?], pour it on my head together with him who is at my hand; make me prosper, make him prosper, and. conversely, until my words [happen ?], let (31) that which I say come to pass; for if that which I have said do not come to pass, I will cause fire to go round about this Seoue until that which I have said do come to pass; for [they came] (32) to the earth, they listened to me , , . they said to me, "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am Atum in. the sun-boat of Phre; I am Ariotatu, the Shto of. . . (33) I looked out before. . . to observe Osiris the Ethiopian, he came into my head, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Ophois behind him, (34) two sons of Rere mooring him. They said to me "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am one of those two hawks that watch over Isis and

Osiris, the diadem, the . . . (35) with its glory (?)
. . . , bring them to me (*bis*), the souls of god, the
souls of man, the souls of the Underworld, the
souls of the horizon,

COL. X.

(1) the spirits, the dead; let them tell me the truth
to-day in that about which I shall ask: for I am
Artemi . . . se(?)-mau, rising in the East.

(2) Come in to me, Anubis with thy fair face, I
have come to pray to thee. Woe(?) (*bis*). fire
(*bis*), [South, North,] West, East, (3) every
breeze of Amenti, let them come into being,
proved (*bis*), established, correct, enchanted,
like the fury [of the great one] of reverence; for I
am (4) lae, lao, laea, lao, Sabaoth, Atone ; for I
cast fury at thee, Thial, Klatai, (5) Arkhe, loa,
Phalekmi, lao, Makhahai, lee, Kho..n,
Khokhrekhc, Aaioth, (6) Sarbiakou, Ikra,
Phibiek, Momou, Mounaikh, Sritho, Sothon,
Naon, Kharmai, (7) the fury of all these gods,
whose names I have uttered here to-day, rouse
them for me (*bis*), the drowned (?), the dead; let
your (plur.) soul and your (plur.) form live for me
(8) at the mouths of my lamp, my bandage (?),
my word-seeking (?). Let him make me answer
to every word [about] which I am asking here to-
day in truth (*bis*) without (9) falsehood therein.
Hasten(*bis*), quickly (*bis*).'
Its spirit-gathering:

You go to a dark chamber with its [face] open to
the South or East (10) in a clean place: you
sprinkle it with clean sand brought from the
great river; you take a clean bronze cup or (11)
a new vessel of pottery and put a lok-measure
of water that has settled (?) or of pure water into
the [cup] and a *lok*-measure of real oil (12) pure,

or oil alone without putting water into it, and put a stone of *qs-ankh* in the vessel containing oil, and put a 'heart- (13) of-the-good-house' (plant ?) in the bottom of the vessel, and put three bricks round about the vessel, of new bricks, (14) and place seven clean loaves on the bricks that are round the vessel and bring a pure child that has been tested (15) in his ears before, that is, is profitable in proceeding with the vessel. You make him sit on a new [brick] and you also sit (16) on another brick, you being at (?) his face, otherwise said, his back, and you put your hand before [his] eyes, [his eyes being] closed and call down (17) into the middle of his head seven times. When you have finished, you take your hand from before his eyes, you [make him bend over] the vessel; you put your hand. (18) to his ears, you take hold of them with your hand also, you ask the child saying, 'Do you [? see...]?' If he says, 'I see a (19) darkness,' you say to him ' Speak, saying, "I see thy beautiful face, and do thou [hear my salutation ?], O great god Anubis!" '

(20) If you wish to do it by vessel alone, you fill your eyes with this ointment, you sit (?) [over the vessel ?] as aforesaid, your eyes being (21) closed; you utter the above invocation seven times, you open your eyes, you ask him concerning everything [that you wish (?)]. . . you do it from the (22) fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the *uzat*.

[A] vessel-[inquiry] alone in order to see (23) the bark of Phre. Formula, : ' Open to me heaven, O mother of die gods! Let [me see the ba]rk of Phre descending and ascending (24) in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father [on account of] the things

which have proceeded from me. (25) O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret (?), Open to me, mistress of the spirits, [open] to me, primal heaven, let (26) me worship the Angels! [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven Kinga, hoi! ye [seven Monts}, bull that engendereth, lord of strength (27) that lighteth the earth, soul of the abyss; ho! lion as lion of(?) the abyss, bull of the night, hail! thou that rulest the people of the East, (28) Noun, great one, lofty one, hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West, hail! [soul of souls, bull] of the night, bull (?) of bulls, (29) son of Nut, open to me, I am the Opener of earth, that came forth from Geb, hail! [I am I, I.] I, E, E, E, [He, He, He,] (30) Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat(?) Ib, Thi[bio. Ar]joui, Ouoou, [laho.']

(31) Formula: blood of a *smun*-goose. blood of a hoopoe, blood of a n[ightjar], *ankh-amu* plant, [senepe plant], (32) 'Great-of-Amen' plant, qes-ankh stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'footprint-of-Isis' plant, pound, make into a ball, [you paint] your [eyes] with it; put(?) a goat's-[tear] (33) in (?) a' pleasure-wood ' of ani or ebony wood, [you bind it (?)] around (?) you [with a] (34) strip of male-palm fibre in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eyes . . . (35) according to what is prescribed for it.

COL. XI

(1) A spell of giving favour:

'Come to me, O..... thy beautiful name. O Thoth, hasten (*bis*); come to me. (2) Let me see thy beautiful face here today..... [I stand (?)] being in the form of an ape; and do thou greet (?) me (3) with praise and adoration (?) with thy

tongue of. . . [Come unto me] that thou mayest
 hearken to my voice to-day, and mayest save
 me from all things evil (4) and all slander (?).
 Ho! thou whose form is- of his great and
 mysterious form, from whose begetting came
 forth a. god, (5) who resteth deep (?) in Thebes;
 I am of the great Lady, under whom cometh
 forth the Nile, (6) I am the face of reverence
 great..... soul (?) in his protection; I am the
 noble child (7) who is in the House of Re: I am
 the noble dwarf who is in the cavern the
 ibis as a true protection, who resteth in On; (8) I
 am the master of the great foe, lord of the
 obstructor(?) of semen, mighty my name
 (?) I am a ram, son of a ram, Sarpot Mui-Sro
 (and vice versa) (9) is my name, Light-scarab-
 noble (?) is my true name (*bis*); grant me praise
 and love [and reverence from N. son of] N. to-
 day, and let him give me all good things, (10)
 and let him give me nourishment and fat things,
 and let him do for me everything which I [wish
 for; and let him not] injure me so as to do me
 harm, nor let him say to me a thing (11) which (I)
 hate, to-day, to-night, this month, this year, [this]
 hour (?). . .

[But as for my enemies ?] the sun shall impede
 their hearts and blind (12) their eyes, and cause
 the darkness to be in their faces; for I am Birai. ..
 rai, depart ye(?), Rai; I am the son of
 Sochmet,(13) I am Bikt, bull of Lat, I am Gat.
 son of Gat, whose the Underworld, who
 rests deep(?) in the Great Residence in On, (14)
 I am son of Heknet, lady of the protecting
 bandage (?), who binds with thongs (?) [I am
 the] phallus (?) which the great and mighty
 Powers guard, (15) which rests in Bubastis; I am
 the divine shrew-mouse which [resteth with] in
 Skhym ; lord of Ay, sole(?) lord. . . (16) is my
 name Light-scarab-noble (?) is my true name

(bis).

Ho! all ye these gods, [whose names I have spoken] here to-day, come to me, that ye may hearken to that which I have said to-day (17) and rescue [me] from all weakness(?), every disgrace, everything, every evil (?)to-day;grant mepraise, love [andreverence before] such an one, the King and his host, (18) the desert and its animals; let him do everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who shall see] me or to whom I shall speak or who shall speak (19) to me, among every man, every woman, every child, every old man, every person [or animal or thing (?) in the]whole land, [which] shall see me in these moments to-day, (20)and let them cause my praise to be in their hearts of everything which I shall [do] daily, together with those who shall come to me, to (?) overthrow every enemy (?), (21) hasten (*bis*) quickly (*bis*), before I say them or repeat them.'

Over an ape of wax. An oxyrhynchus(?) fish - you put it (22) in prime lily otherwise *tesheps*-oil or moringa(?) oil which [has been . . . and you put liquid ?] styrax to it, with prime frankincense together with seeds of (23) 'great-of-love' plant in a metal (?) vase; you bring a wreath of flowers of.. ... and you anoint it with this oil as above, and recite (24) these spells over it seven times before the sun in the morning, before speaking to any man on earth; you extract it, you anoint your face with it, (25) you place the wreath, in your hand, and proceed to any place [and be] amongst any people; then it brings you (26) great praise among them exceedingly.This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius] (?) ; there is no better than it.

COL. XII.

(1) [A method for making] a woman love a man.

Opobalsamum, one *stater* (?); malabathrum, one *stater* (?). (2) *kusht*, one *stater* (?), scented . . ., one *stater* (?); *nerue*, one *stater* (?); genuine oil, two *lok*; you pound these [medicaments]. (3) You put them into a clean [vessel], you add the oil on the top of them one day before the lunar period (?); when the lunar period (?) (4) comes, you take a black *Kesh* . . . -fish measuring nine fingers - another says seven - in length, its eyes being variegated (?) of the colour of(?) the .. .(5) [which you (?)] find in a water (?) . . . you put it into this oil above-mentioned for two days; you recite this formula to it (the oil) at dawn . . . (6) before going [out of your] house, and before speaking to any man on earth.

When two days have passed [you] (7) rise early in the morning [and go] to a garden; you take a vine-shoot before it has ripened grapes, (8) you take it with your left hand, you put it into your right hand - when it has grown seven digits (in length)- you carry it [into your] (9) house, and you take the [fish] out of the oil, you tie it by its tail with a strip (?) of flax, you hang it up to . . .(10) of(?) the vine-wood. [You place] the thing containing oil under it until it (the fish) pours out bydrops that which is in it downwards, (11) the vessel which is under [it] being on a new brick for another three days; when the three days have passed, you [take it] (12) down, you embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and fine linen; you put it in a hidden place or in [your chamber] (13) You pass two more days; you recite to the oil again for seven days; you keep it; when you [wish] (14) to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it.

(15) The spells which you recite to the oil.

'I am Shu, Klabano, I am Re, I am Komre, I am son of Re, I am (16) Sisht (?), son of Shu; a reed (?) of the water of On, this gryphon which is in Abydos. Thou (fem.) art Tepe-were (first, great) great of sorcery, (17) the living uraeus, thou art the sun-boat, the lake of Ua-peke; grant to me praise, love, and lordship before (18) every womb, every woman. Love(?) is my true name'.

[Another (?)] invocation of it again; 'I am Shu, Klakinok, I am Iarn, (19) I am Gamren, I am Se Paer(?) ipaf lupen, Dynhs, Gamrou, water of On, I am (20) Shu, Shabu, Sha. . . . , Shabaho, Lahy-lahs, Lahei, the great god who is in the East (31) Labrathaa, I am that gryphon which is in Abydos.'

[Another] form of them (?) again (?) to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa, before. ...' Thou art Thoueris, the great of sorcery, [cat(?)] of Ethiopia, daughter of Re, lady of the uraeus; thou art Sochmet, the great, lady of Ast, (23) who hast seized every impious person [eyeball (?)] of the sun in the *uzat*, born of the moon at the midmonth at night, thou art Kam (?) (24) mighty, abyss, thou art Kam (?).... great one (fem.) who art in the House of the obelisk in On; thou art the golden mirror, [thou art?] (25) the *sektet*-boat, the sun-boat of Re Lanza, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Amazon (?) in the (36) of dum-palm fruit (?), these , of Bywekem; the favour and love which the sun, thy father, hath given to thee, send [them] (27) to me down into this oil, before the heart, and eyes of (?) every woman before whom I come in.'

[Invocation] to a *Kesh* . . -fish (28) of nine digits and black; [you put it] in an ointment of roses; you drown it therein; you take it [out], (29) you hang it up by [its] head[. . . days (?)]; when you have finished you put it on a glass vessel; you [add] a little water of sisymbrium (30) with a little amulet (?) -of-Isis. . . and pounded; you recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You anoint your head with [it](31) in the hour when you lie with [any (?)]woman. [You] embalm the fish with myrrh and natron; you bury it in your chamber or in a hidden place.

COL. XIII.

(1) The mode of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband,(2) 'Woe! (*bis*), flame! (*bis*); Geb assumed his form of a bull, coivit [cum filia ?] matris suae Tefnet, again (3) because (?) the heart of his father cursed (?) his face; the fury of him whose soul is as flame, while his body is as a pillar (?), so that(?) he..... ..(4) fill the earth with flame and the mountains shoot with tongues (?) : - the fury of every god and every goddess Ankh-uer, Lalat(?), (5)Bareshak, Belkesh, he cast upon (?) N. the son of N. [and (?)] N. the daughter of N., (6) send the fire towards his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . of fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] (7) into his heart at any time, until he cast N. daughter of N. out of his abode, she having (?) (8) hatred to his heart, she having quarrel to his face; grant for him the nagging (?) and squabbling (?), the fighting and quarrelling between them (9) at all times, until they are separated from each other, without agreeing again for ever.' Gum, . . . , (10) myrrh; you add wine to them; you make them into a figure of

Geb, there being a *was*-sceptre in his hand.

(11)[The uses (?)] of the shrew-mouse (?) to which it is put (goes).

You take a shrew-mouse (?), you drown it in some water; you make the man drink (12) of it; then he is blinded in his two eyes.

Grind its body (?) with any piece of food, you make the man eat it, then he makes a (13). . . and he swells up and he dies.

If you do it to bring a woman, you take a shrew-mouse (?), you place it on a Syrian (14) pot, you put it on the backbone (?) of a donkey, you put its tail in a Syrian pot or in a glass again; you let it loose (?) alive within (15) the door of a bath of the woman, you gild (?) it (sic) and embalm its tail, you add pounded myrrh to it, you put it in a gold ring (?), (16) you put it on your finger after reciting these charms to it, and walk with it to any place, and any woman whom you shall take hold of, she [giveth herself(?)] unto you.(17) You do it when the moon is full.

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, you take its body, dried, you pound [it, you] take (18) a little of it with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand; you mix it with it, you put it(19) in a cup of wine; you give it to the woman and she drinks it; then she has a passion for you.

You put its gall into a (measure of) wine (20) and the man drinks it; then he dies at once; or (you) put it into any piece [of food].

You put its heart (?) into a seal-ring(?) (21) of gold; you put it on your hand, and go anywhere;

then it brings you [favour, love, and] reverence.

You drown a hawk in (22) a (measure of) wine;
you make the man drink it, then he dies.

You put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into
any food, (23) then he dies.

You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and [cook]
it, and anoint the man with it; then [he dies(?)].

(24) You wish to produce a skin-disease on a
man and that it shall not be healed, a *hantous*-
lizard[and (?)] a *hafleele*-lizard, you cook them
with [oil (?)],(25) you wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it troublesome (?), you put
..... then it is troublesome (?).

You put beer(?)(26) to the eye of a man,
then he is blinded.

(27) The charms which you recite to the ring at
the time of taking hold of the woman 'Yaho,
Abrasax, (28) may N. daughter of N. love me,
may she burn for me by the way (?).' You
Then she conveys herself (?) after you; you
write it (29) again on the strip with which you
wrap up the [shrew-mouse (?)].

COL. XIV.

(1) That which another man said to me; 'Open
my eyes,' unto four times. (2) [A vessel-
divination :] ' Open my eyes; open thy eyes,'
(and) vice versa, unto three times. ' Open, Tat;
Open, Nap,' three times; (3) ' open [unto me?]'
three [times ?], 'for I am Artamo, born of Hame-o
(?), the great basilisk of the East, rising in glory
together with thy father (4)at dawn; hail (*bis*),

Heh, open to me Hah,' you say it with a
 drawling(?)voice 'Artamo, open to me Hah; if
 thou dost (5) not open to me Hah, I will make
 thee open to me Hah. O Ibis (*bis*), sprinkle(?),
 that I may (?) see the great god. Anubis, the
 power, (6) that is about (?) my head. the great
 protector (?) of the *uzat*, the power, Anubis, the
 good ox-herd, at every opening(?) (of the eye ?)
 which I have (?) made, (7) reveal thyself to me;
 for I am Nasthom, Naszot, Nashoteb,
 Borilammai (*bis*), (8) Mastinx, Anubis, Megiste,
 Arian, thou who art great, Arian, Pi-anuzy (?),
 Arian, (9)he who is without. Hail, Phrix, lx,
 Anaxibrox, Ambrox, Eborx, Xon, (10) Nbrokhria,
 the great child, Anubis; for I am that soldier. O
 ye of the Atef- crown, ye of Pephnun,
 Masphoneke; (11) hail! let all that I have said
 come to pass here to-day; say, hail! thou art
 Tham, Thamthom, Thamathom, (12)
 Tharnathomtham, Thamathouthi, Amon (*bis*),
 thy correct name, whom they call Thom, (13)
 Anakthom; thou art ltth; Thouthi is thy name,
 Sithom, Anithom Op-sao(?), Shatensro (14)
 black; open to me the mouths of my vessel here
 to-day; come to me to the mouths of my vessel,
 my bandage (?), let (15) my cup make the
 reflection (?) of heaven; may the hounds of the
kulot give me that which is just in the abyss;
 may they tell me (16) that about which I inquire
 here to-day truly (*bis*), there being no falsehood
 in them , Makhopneuma.'

(17) Formula : you take a bowl of bronze, you
 engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with
 water left to settle (?) and (18) guarded(?)
 lest(?) the sun should reach it; you finish its (sur-
)face (of the water) with fine oil. You place it on
 [three ?] new bricks, their lower sides being
 sprinkled (19) with sand; you put four other
 bricks under the child; you make the child lie

down upon (?) his stomach; (20) you cause him (?) to place his chin on the brick of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, he having a cloth spread over his head, (21) there being a lighted lamp on his right, and a censer with fire on his left; you put a leaf of (22) Anubis-plant on the lamp, you put this incense on (the fire); you recite these spells, which are above, to the vessel seven times.

The incense which you put (23) on (the fire): frankincense (?), wax (?), styrax, turpentine (?), date- stone (?); grind them with wine; you make them into a (24) ball and put them on (the fire).

When you have finished, you make the child open his eyes, you ask him, saying, 'Is the god coming in?' If he says (25) 'The god has come in,' you recite before him:

formula; 'Thy bull(?) Mao, ho! Anubis, this soldier(?), this Kam, (26) this Kem . . . Pisreithi (*bis*), Sreithi (*bis*), Abrithi is thy name, by thy correct name.'

(27) You ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry which you are asking about, you call to him seven times; you dismiss the god to his home.

His dismissal formula: (38) ' Farewell (*bis*) Anubis, the good ox-herd, Anubis (*bis*), the son of a (?) jackal (and ?) a dog . . . another volume saith: the child of . . . (29) Isis (?) (and 7) a dog, Nabrishoth, the Cherub (?) of Amenti, king of those of.....' Say seven times.

You take (30) the lamp from (?) the child, you take the vessel containing water, you take the cloth off him. You do it also (31) by vessel-

inquiry alone, excellent (*bis*), tried (?), tested nine times. The Anubis-plant. It grows in very numerous places;(32) its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant (?)]; it turns (?) white; its flower is like the flower of conyza.(33) . . . you . . . eye . . . before you . . . the vessel.

COL. XV.

(1) A potion. You take a little shaving of the head of a man who has died a violent death, (2) together with seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave of a dead (?) man; you pound them with ten *oipe*, (3) otherwise nine,(of) apple-seeds (?); you add blood of a worm (?) of a black dog to them,with a little (4) blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand, and with your semen (?), and you (5) pound them together and put them into a cup of wine and add three *uteh* to it of (6)the first-fruits of the vintage, before you have tasted it and before they have poured out from it; and you pronounce this invocation to it seven times (7) and you make the woman drink it; and you tie the skin of the parasite aforesaid with a band of byssus (8) and tie it to your left arm.

Its invocation formula: 'I am he of Abydos in truth, (9)by formation ?)(and ?) birth in her (?) name of Isis the bringer (?) of fire, she of the mercy-seat of the Agathodaemon. (10)I am this figure of the sun, Sitamesro is my name. I am this figure of a Captain of the host, very valiant, this (11)Sword (?), this Overthrower(?), the Great Flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this Fortress(?), this Sword(?), this (12)Overthrower (?) is my name. I am this figure of One Drowned, that testifieth by writing, that resteth on die other side(?) here under (13)the great offering-table (?) of Abydos; as to which,

the blood of Osiris bore witness to her (?) name of Isis when it (the blood) was poured into (14) this cup, this wine. Give it, blood of Osiris (that?) he(?) gave to Isis to make her feel love in her heart for him (15) night and day at any time, there not being time of deficiency. Give it, the blood of N. born of N. to give it (16) to N. born of N. in this cup, this bowl of wine to-day, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, (17)the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N. the daughter of N. feel it, (18) she seeking after N. the son of N. everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu,(19) let N. born of N. feel it, she loving him,mad after him,inflamed by him, seeking him (20)everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.'

(21) Another method of doing it again. The paring (?) of your nail's point (?)from an apple-fruit(?), and blood (22)of your finger aforesaid again; you pound the apple and put blood on it,and put it in the cup of wine (23) and invoke it seven times, and make the woman drink it at the moment named.

(24) [A spell] of going to meet a sovereign (?) when he fights with you and will not parley (?) with you. (25) 'Do not pursue me, thou! I am Papipetou Metoubanes. I am carrying (26) the mummy of Osiris and I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, (27) to take [it] to Tastai (?) and to deposit it in Alkhah; if N. deal blows at me, (28) I will cast it at him. 'Its invocation in Egyptian also is this as below; (29) 'Do not pursue me, N., I am Papipetu Metubanes. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, (30) I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to cause it to rest in Alkhah. If N. fight with me to-day, (31) I will cast it away.' Say

seven times.

COL. XVI.

(1, 2)The words of the lamp: 'Both, Theou, le, Oue, O-oe, la, Oua -otherwise,Theou, le, Oe, Oon, la, Oua- Phthakh, Eloie - otherwise, Elon, excellent(*bis*) - (3)lath, Eon, Puriphae, leou, la, lo, la, loue, come down (4) to the light of this lamp and appear to this boy and inquire for me about that which I ask (5) hereto-day, lao, laolo, Therentho, Psikhimeakelo,(6) Blakhanspla, lae, Ouebai, Barbaraithou, leou, Arponknouph, (7) Brintatenophri, Hea, Karrhe, Balmenthre, Menebareiakhukh, la, (8)Khukh, Brinskulma, Arouzarba, Mesekhriph, Niptoumikh, (9) Maorkharam, Ho! Laankhukh, Omph, Bnmbainouioth, (10) Segenbai, Khooukhe, Laikham, Armioouth, "You say it, (11) it (*sic*) being pure, in this manner: 'Ogodthatliveth, Olamp thatis lighted,Takrtat, he of eternity, bring in (13) Boel! - three times - 'Arbeth-abi, Outhio, O great great god, bring Boel (13) in, Tat (*bis*), bring Boel in!' Three times.' Takrtat, he of Eternity, bring (14) Boel in! 'Three times.' Barouthi, O great god, bring Boel in!" Three times.

(15)The invocation which you pronounce before Phre in the morning before reciting to the boy, in order that that which thou doest may succeed:
(16) 'O great god, Tabao,Basoukham,Amo, Akhakharkhan-kraboun-zanouni- (17)edikomto, Kethou- basa -thouri-thmila-alo.'Seven times.

(18) Another method of it again.You rise in the morning from your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, (19) in order that every thing which you will do shall prosper in your hand, you being pure from every abomination.

You pronounce this invocation before Phre three times or seven times. (20) 'Io, Tabao, Sokhom-moa, Okh-okh-khan-bouzanau, An-(21) iesi, Ekomptho, Ketho, Sethouri, Thmila, Alouapokhri, let everything(22) that I shall apply (?)my hand to here to-day, let it happen.'

Its method. You take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you (put) (23)a clean wick in it, and you fill it with pure genuine oil and lay it in aplace cleansed with natron water and concealed, (24)and you lay it on a new brick, and you take a boy and seat him upon anothernew brick, his face being (25) turned to the lamp,and you close his eyes and recite these things that are (written) above downinto the boy's head seven times. You make him (26)open his eyes. You say to him, ' Do you see the light ? ' When he says toyou 'I see the light in the flameof the lamp,' you cry at that moment saying(27)'Heoue' nine times. You ask him concerningeverything that you wish afterreciting the invocationthat you made previouslybefore Phre in the morning.(28) You do it in a place with (its) entranceopen to the East, and put the face of the lamp turned (blank).You put the face of the boy (29) turned (blank) facing the lamp, you being on his left hand.You cry down into his head, you strike his head with your second finger, (that) of the . . . , of your (30) right hand.

COL. XVII.

(1) Another method of it again, very good, for the lamp.You (say?): 'Boel,' (*thrice*), I, I, I, A, A, A, Tat, Tat, Tat, the first attendant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, (2) the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame which is not quenched, the great god that dieth not, the great god he that sitteth in the

flame, who is in the midst of the flame,(3) who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come within in the midst of this flame and reveal thyself to this boy here to-day; cause him to inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall (4)ask him here to-day: for I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee on Earth, (5) I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who perisheth not, he of the great glory, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of the great glory, (6) Petery (*bis*). Pater, Emphe (*bis*), O great great god, who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created, deity, deity not having (7) created him, come in to me with Boel, Aniel; do thou give strength to the eyes of this boy who has my vessel (8) to-day, to (?) cause him to see thee, cause his ears to hear thee when thou speakest; and do thou inquire for him concerning everything and every word as to which I shall ask him here to-day, (9) O great god Sisaouth, Akhrempto, come into the midst of this flame he who sitteth on the mountain (10) of Gabaon, Takrtat, he of eternity, he who dieth not, who liveth forever, bring Boel in, Boel (*bis*), (i i) Arbethbainouthi, great one, O great god (*bis*) (bring) fetch Boel in, Tat (*bis*)(bring) fetch Boel in.'

You (12)say these things seven times down into the head of the boy, you make him open his eyes, you ask him saying, ' Has the light appeared ?' (13) If it be that the light has not come forth, you make the boy himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

Formula: ' Grow, O light, come forth (14) O light, rise O light, lift thyself up O light, come forth O light of the god, reveal thyself to me, O servant

of the god, in whose hand is the command of to-day;(15)who will ask for me.'

Then he reveals himself to the boy in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, he looking (16) towards the lamp.Do not let him look towards another place except the lamp only; if he does not look towards it, then he is afraid.(17) You do all these things, you cease from your inquiry, you return, you make him close his eyes, you speak down into his head this other (18) invocation which is below, that is, if the gods go away and the boy ceases to see them: 'Arkhe-khem-phai, Zeon,(19) Hele, Satrapermet, watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or scared, and make (20) him return to his original path. Open Tei (the Underworld), open Tai (Here).'

I say it that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better (31)than the beginning. This is the method again, its form: you take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you put a wick of (22)clean linen in it, you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick, you make the boy sit on another brick (23)opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes, you recite down into bis head according to the other method also.

Another invocation which (24) you recite towards Phre in the morning three timesor seven times. Formula : 'lotabao, Sokh-ommoa, Okh- (25)-okh-Khan,Bouzanau, Aniesi, Ekomptho, Ketho, Sethori, (26) Thmilaalouapokhri may everything succeed that I shall do to-day,' and they will(?) succeed.

If it be that you do not apply (?) purity to it, it does not succeed; its chief matter is purity.

Another (27) invocation like the one above again.

Formula: 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, I, I, I, A, Tat (*thrice*), he who giveth the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which does not (28) perish, the god who liveth, who dieth not, he who sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might (29) of the god, reveal thyself to this boy, Heou (*bis*), Heo, that he may inquire for me, and do thou make him see and let him look and let him listen to everything which I (30) ask him, for I will glorify thee in heaven, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who does not perish, (31) he of greatness. Peteri (*bis*), Emphe (*bis*), O great god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, (32) deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with Boel, Aniel, and give strength to the eyes of Heu (*bis*).

COL. XVIII.

(1) Of Heu (*bis*), the son of Heo (*bis*) for he shall see thee with his eyes, and thou shalt make his ears to hear, (2) and shalt speak with him of everything; he shall ask thee about it, and thou shalt tell me answer truly; for thou art the great god (3) Sabaoth; come down with Boel, Tat (*bis*) ; bring Boel in, come into the midst of this flame (4) and inquire for me concerning that which is good; Takrtat, he of eternity, bring Boel in,' three times,'Arbeth, (5)Bainouthio, Ogreat god, bring Boel in,' three times. You say these things down into the head of the boy, (6) you make him open his eyes, you ask him as to everything according

to the method which is outside, again.

(7) [Another ?] vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchus nome gave me; you also make it with a vessel-inquiry alone by yourself:
(8) 'Sabanern, Nn, Biribat, Ho! (bis) O god Sisiaho who (art) on the mountain of Kabaho, (9) in whose hand is the creation of the Shoy, favour (?) this boy, may he enchant the light, for I am (10) Fair-face' - another roll says, 'I am the face of Nun - in the morning, Halahoat midday, I am (11) Glad-of-face in the evening, I am Phre, the glorious boy whom they call Gartaby name; I am he that came forth (12) on the arm of Triphis in the East; I am great, Great is my name, Great is my real name, I am Ou, Ou (13) is my name, Aou is my real name; I am Lot Mulo, I have prevailed (?) (*bis*), he whose (14) strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, They-yt (*bis*), To (*bis*), (15) Hatra (*bis*), the Dog-face (*bis*). Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, (16) bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis, (17) the noble boy whom Isis loves, who inquires for his father Osiris Onnophris. Hail! Anubis, (18) Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, (19) my knot(?) here to-day; may I flourish, may he flourish whose face is bent down to this vessel here to-day (20) until the gods come in, and may they tell me answer truly to my question about which I am inquiring (21) here to-day, truly without falsehood forth with (?). Hail! Anubis, (22) O creature (?), Child, go forth at once, bring to me the gods of this city and (23) the god who gives answer (?) to-day, and let him tell me my question about which I am asking to-day.

Nine times.

(24) You open your eyes or (those of) the boy and you see the light. You invoke the light, saying, 'Hail,(25) O light, come forth (*bis*) O light, rise (*bis*) O light, increase (*bis*) O light, O that which is without, come in.' You say it nine times, (26) until the light increases and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis comes in and takes his stand, (27) then you say to Anubis, 'Arise, go forth, bring in to me the gods of this city (or ?) village,' (28) then he goes out at the moment named and brings the gods in. When you know (29) that the gods have come in, you say to Anubis, ' Bring in a table for the gods (30) and let them sit down.'When they are seated, you say to Anubis, ' Bring a wine-jar in and some cakes; let them eat, let them drink.' (31) While he is making them eat and making them drink, you say to Anubis, ' Will they inquire for me to-day ? ' If he says 'Yes' again, you say to him, (32) 'The god who will ask for me, let him put forth his hand to me and let him tell me his name.' When he tells you his name, you ask him as to that which you desire. When you have ceased asking him as to that which you desire, you send them away.

COL. XIX.

(1)[Spell] spoken to the bite of the dog. (?)'I have come forth from Arkhah, my mouth being full of blood of a black dog. (3) I spit it out, the . . . of a dog. O this dog,who is among the ten dogs (4) which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract thy venom, remove thy saliva (?) from me (?) again,(5) If thou dost not extract thy venom and remove thy saliva (?), I will take thee (6) up to the court of the temple of Osiris, my watch-tower (?). I will do for thee the

parapage(?) of birds (?) (7) like the voice of Isis, the sorceress (?), the mistress of sorcery (?), who bewitches (?) everything and is not bewitched (?) (8) in her name of Isis the sorceress (?).' And you pound garlic with *kmou* (?) (9) and you put it on the wound of the bite of the dog; and you address it daily until it is well.

(10) [Spell] spoken for extracting the venom from, the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or (?) (11)... 'Hail to him! (*bis*) Yablou, the golden cup of Osiris. (12) Isis (and) Osiris (and) the great Agathodaemon have drunk from thee; the three gods have drunk, I have drunk (13) after them myself; for, dost thou make me drunk? dost thou make me suffer shipwreck? dost thou make me perish ? (14) dost thou cause me confusion? dost thou cause me to be vexed of heart? dost thou cause my mouth (15) to speak blasphemy? May I be healed of all poison pus (and) venom which have been ed to my heart; (16) when I drink thee, may I cause them to be cast up in the name of Sarbitha, the daughter (17) of the Agathodaemon; for I am Sabra, Briatha, Brisara, Her (18) is my name. I am Horus Sharon (?) when he comes from receiving acclamation (?), Yaho, (19) the child is my name as my real name.' (Pronounced) to a cup of wine (20) and you put (sic) fresh rue and put it to it; and you make invocation to it seven times, and make (21) the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

[Spell] spoken to the man, when a bone has stuck (22) in his throat. 'Thou art Shlate, Late, Balate, (23) the white crocodile, which is under (?) the . . . of the sea of fire, whose belly (24) is full of bones of every drowned man. Ho! thou wilt spit forth this bone for me to-day, which

acts(?) [as] (35) a bone, whichwhich as
 (?) a bandage, which does everything without
 (26) a thing deficient; for I am(?) a lion's fore-
 part, I am a ram's head (?), I am a leopard's
 tooth; (27) Gryphon is my real name, for Osiris is
 he who is in my hand, the man named (28) is he
 who gives (?) my. . . . ' Seven times. You make
 invocation to a little oil. You (29) put the face of
 the man upwards and put it (the oil) down into
 his mouth, and place your finger and (30) your
 nail [to the ?] two muscles (?) of his throat; you
 make him swallow the oil and make him (31)
 start up suddenly, and you eject the oil which is
 in his throat immediately; (32) then the bone
 comes up with the oil.

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. (33) The
 exorcism (?) of Amen (and ?) Thriphis; say: ' I
 am this Hakoris (?) strong, Shlamala, Malet,
 secret (?) (34) mighty Shetei, Greshei, Greshei,
 neb Rent Tahne Bahne (?) this [dog ?] (35) this
 black [one], the dog which hath bewitched (?),
 this dog, he of these four hitch-pups (?), the
 jackal (?) being (?) a son of Ophois.(36) O son
 of Anubis, hold on (?) by thy tooth, let fall thy
 humours (?); thou art as the face (37) of Set
 against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop
 against the Sun; Horus the son of Osiris, born of
 Isis(is he ?) at whom thou didst fill thy mouth
 (i.e. bite), (38) N. son of N. (is he) (?) at whom
 thou hast filled thy mouth; hearken. to this
 speech. Horus who didst heal burning pain (?),
 who didst go to the abyss, (39) who didst found
 the Earth, listen, O Yaho, Sabaho, Abiaho by
 name.'

You cleanse (?) the wound, you pound (40) salt
 with . . .; apply it to him.

Another: you pound rue with honey, apply it; you

say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it (?).

COL. XX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the sting : (2) 'I am the Kings son, eldest and first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis (?), she came (?) after me (3) forth to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh, to the nome of those cannibals, saying, (4) "Haste (*bis*), quick (*bis*) my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis," saying, "Arise and come (5) to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt, he is ruler over (6) the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand." (7) The moment of saying those things she brought me a blow (?), fell my tail (?) upon me. (8) It (?) gathered together (?), it (?) coming to me with a sting (?): I sat down and (9) wept. Isis, my mother, sat before me, saying to me, "Do not (10) weep (*bis*), my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis; lick with thy tongue on thy heart, repeatedly (?) (11) far as the edges of the wound (?); lick the edges of the wound (?) as far as the edges of thy (12) tail (?). What thou wilt lick up, thou swallowest it; do not spit it out on the ground; for thy (13) tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaemon, thy tongue (?) is that of Atum." ' (14) And you lick it with your tongue, while it is bleeding, immediately; thereafter, you recite to a little (15) oil and you recite to it seven times, you put it on the sting daily; you (16) soak a strip of linen, you put it on it.

(17) [The spell] which you say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: (18) 'Isis sat reciting to the oil Abartat and lamenting (?) to the true oil, (19) saying, "Thou being praised, I will praise thee, O oil, I will praise (20) thee, thou being praised by

the Agathodaemon; thou being applauded (?) by me myself, I will praise thee (21) for ever, O herb oil - otherwise true oil - O sweat of the Agathodaemon, amulet (?) of Geb. It is Isis who (22) makes invocation to the oil. O true oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter (23) which cometh down from the sun-boat at dawn, thou wilt make the healing effect (?) of the dew of dawn which heaven hath cast (24) on to the earth upon every tree, thou wilt heal the limb which is paralysed (?), thou wilt make a remedy (25) for him that liveth; for I will employ thee for the sting of the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis, my child, (26) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well? For I will employ thee for (the ?) sting of N. the son of N., (27) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well?" '

Seven times.

Spell spoken to fetch a bone out of a throat. (28)
'I am he whose head reaches the sky and his feet reach the abyss, who hath raised up (?) this crocodile . . . in Pizeme (?) (29) of Thebes; for I am Sa, Sime, Tamaho, is my correct name, Anouk (*bis*), saying, hawk's-egg (30) is that which is in my mouth, ibis-egg is that which is in my belly; saying, hope of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, (31) bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides; paying, that which is in thy belly let it come to thy heart; that which is in thy heart, (32) let it come to thy mouth; that which is in thy mouth, let it come to my hand here to-day; for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who standeth (33) in the seven sanctuaries, for I am the son of the god who liveth.'

(Say it) to a cup of water seven times: thou causest the woman (sic) to drink it.

COL. XXI.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Osiris.

(2) 'Hail to him! Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in This, and his feet in Thebes, he who giveth answer (?) in Abydos, (3) whoseis (in?) Pashalom, he who is under the nubs tree in Meroe, who is on the mountain of Poranos, who is on my house to eternity, (4) the house of Netbeoufor ever, he whose countenance is as the resemblance (?) of the face of a hawk of linen, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a serpent, (5) whose back is the back of a crocodile (?), whose hand is a man's, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, in whose hand is this wand of command, (6) hail to him Iaho, Sabaho, Atonai, Mistemu, Iaiuu; hail to him, Michael, Sabael, (7) hail to him, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who carries a wound (?) on one foot, (8) hide the darkness in the midst, bring in the light for me, come in to me, tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here to-day.'

Nine times, (9) until the god come and the light appear.

You must do it in the manner of the remainder as above again; the boy's face being to the East and your own face to the West; you call down into his head.

(10) [The method] of the scarab of the cup of wine, to make a woman love a man.

You take a fish-faced(?) scarab, this scarab bring small and having no horn, it wearing three

plates (11) on the front of its head; you find its face thin (?) outwards - or again that which bears two horns -. You take it at the rising of the sun; you bind (?) yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back, (12) and bind (?) yourself on (?) your face with a strip of palm-fibre, the scarab being on the front (?) of your hand; and you address it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times.

When you have finished, you drown it (13) in some milk of a black cow; you approach (?) its head with a hoop (?) of olive wood; you leave it till evening in the milk. When evening comes, you (14) take it out, you spread its under part with sand, and put a circular strip of cloth under it upon the sand, unto four days; you do frankincense-burning before it. When the four days have passed, and it is dry, (15) you take it before you (lit. your feet), there being a cloth spread under it. You divide it down its middle with a bronze knife; you take (?) its right half, and your nails of your right hand and foot; (16) you cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood, you pound them with nine apple-pips together with your urine or your sweat free from oil (17) of the bath; you make it into a ball and put it in the wine, and speak over it seven times, and you make the woman drink it; and you take its other half, the left one, together with your nails of your left hand (18) and foot also, and bind them in a strip of fine linen, with myrrh and saffron, and bind them to your left arm, and lie with the woman with them bound upon you.

(19) If you wish to do it again without its being drowned, then you do it again on the third of the lunar month. You do it in this manner that is above for it again. You pronounce its invocation to it before the Sun in the morning, you cook (it),

(20) you divide it, you do it according to that which is above again in everything.

[The invocation] which you pronounce to it before the Sun in the morning:

'Thou art this scarab of real lapis-lazuli; I have taken thee out of the door of my temple; thou carriest (?) (21)... .of bronze to thy nose (?), that can eat (?) the herbage that is trampled (?), the field-plants (?) that are injured for the great images of the men of Egypt. I dispatch thee to N. born of N. (22) to strike her from her heart to her belly (*bis*), to her entrails (*bis*), to her womb; for she it is who hath wept(?) before the Sun in the morning, she saying to the Sun, "Come not forth," to the Moon, "Rise not," to the water, "Come not to the men of Egypt," to the fields, "Grow not green," and to the great trees of the men of Egypt, "Flourish not." (24) I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to injure her from her heart unto her belly (*bis*), unto her entrails (*bis*), unto her womb, and she shall put herself on the road (?) after N. born of N. at every time (?).'

(25) [The spell] that you pronounce to it, while it is in the milk.

'Woe(?), great (*bis*), woe(?), my(?) great, woe (?) his (?) Nun, woe (?) his (?) love. O scarab (*bis*), thou art the eye of Phre, the heart (?) (26) of Osiris, the open-hand (?) of Shu, thou approachest in this condition in which Osiris thy father went, on account of N. born of N. until fire is put to her heart and the flame (27) to her flesh, until she shall follow (?) N. born of N., unto every place in which he is.'

[The spell] which you utter to it when you cook it:

'O my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?),
(28) thou who didst cast semen and who dost
cast semen among all the gods, whom he that is
little (and ?) he that is great found among the
two great enneads in the East of Egypt, (29)
who cometh forth as a black scarab on a stem of
papyrus-reed; I know thy name, I know thy
"the work of two stars" is thy name, (30) I cast
forth fury upon thee to-day: Nephalam, Balla,
Balkha(?), Iophphe; for every burning, every
heat, every fire that thou makest (31) to-day,
thou shalt make them in the heart, the lungs, the
liver (?), the spleen, the womb, the great
viscera, the little viscera, the ribs, the flesh, the
bones, in every limb, (32) in the skin of N. born
of N. until she follow (?) N. born of N. to every
place in which he is.'

[The spell] that you pronounce to it in the wine:

'O scarab (*bis*), thou art the scarab (33) of real
lapis-lazuli. thou art the eye of Phre, thou art the
eye of Atum, the open-hand (?) of Shu, the
heart (?) of Osiris, thou art that black bull, the
first, that came forth from Nun, (34) the beauty
of Isis being with thee; thou art Raks, Raparaks,
the blood of this wild boar(?) which they brought
from the land of Syria unto Egyptto the
wine, (35) I send thee; wilt thou go on my
errand? Wilt thou do it? Thou sayest, "Send me
to the thirsty, that his thirst may be quenched,
and to the canal that it may be dried up, and to
the sand of the snyt that it may be scattered
without (36) wind, and to the papyrus of Buto
that the blade may be applied to it, while Horus
is saved for (?) Isis, catastrophes grow great for
the Egyptians, so that not a man or woman is
left in their midst."

I (37) send thee; do like unto these; I send thee

down to the heart of N. born of N. and do thou make fire in her body, flame in her entrails, put the madness to her heart, (38) the fever (?) to her flesh; let her make the pursuit of the "Shoulder"-constellation after the "Hippopotamus"-constellation ;let her make (39) the movements of the sunshine after the shadow, she following after N. born of N. to every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing the place of the earth in which(40) she is. Take away her sleep by night;give her lamentation and anxiety by day; let her not eat, let her not drink,let her not sleep, let her not eat under (41) the shade of her house until she follow (?) him to every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glance turned (?), she not knowing the place (42) of the earth in which she is, until she see him, hereye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every Let fly (?) the tip of her feet (43) after his heels in the street at all times without fail at any time. Quick (*bis*), hasten (*bis*).'

COL. XXII.

(1) Behold! (spell?) of the name of the Great-of-Five which they pronounce to every spirit. There is none that is (2) stronger than it in the books. If you pronounce these charms to any vessel, (3) then the gods depart not before you have questioned them concerning every word and they have told you (4) the answer about heaven, earth, and the underworld, a distant inquiry (?), water, (5) (and) the fields. A charm which is in the power (?) of a man to pronounce.

COL. XXIII.

(1) A spell to inflict (?) Catalepsy (?)

Formula.(2) You take an ass's head, and you place it between your feet opposite the sun in the morning when it is about to rise, (3) opposite it again in the evening when it goes to the setting, and you anoint your right foot with set-stone (4)of Syria, and your left foot with clay, the soles (?) of your foot also and place your right hand (5) in front and your left hand behind, the head being between them. You anoint your hand, of your two hands, with ass's blood, (6) and the two *fnz* of your mouth, and utter these charms towards the sun in the morning and evening of four days, then (7) he sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you do it for seven days, you do its magic, you bind a thread of palm-fibre (8) to your hand, a mat (?) of wild palm-fibre to your phallus and your head; very excellent.

This is the invocation which you utter before the sun:

(9) 'I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, (10) almighty, god of gods dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou that hatest (11) a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of (12) the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." (13) Invoke thee, Typhon Set, I perform thy ceremonies of divination, (14) for I invoke thee by thy powerful name in (words ?) which thou canst not (15) refuse to hear; lo erbeth, lopakerbeth, lobolkhoseh, lopatathnax, (16) losoro, loneboutosoualeh, Aktiophi, Ereskhigal, Neboposoaleh, (17) Aberamenthou, Lerthexanax, Ethreloth, Nemareba, Aemina, (18) entirely (?) come to me and approach and strike down Him or Her with

frost and (19) fire; he has wronged me, and has poured out the blood of Typhon(?) beside (?) him (20) or her: therefore I do these things.'

Common form.

(21) To divine, opposite the moon. You do it by vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a child. If it is you who will inquire, you fill your eye (22) with green eye-paint (and) stibium, you stand on a high place, on the top of your house, you address the moon when it fills (23) the *uzat* on the 15th day, you being pure for three days; you pronounce this invocation to the moon seven or nine times until he appear to you (34) and speak to you ; ' Ho! Sax, Arnun, Sax, Abrasax; for thou art the moon, (25) the chief of the stars, he that did form them, listen to the things that I have(?) said, follow the (words) of my mouth, reveal thyself to me, Than, (26) Thana, Thanatha, otherwise Thei, this is my correct name.

'Nine (times) of saying it until she (sic) reveal herself to thee.

(37) Another form of it again, to be pronounced to the moon.

You paint your eye with this paint, you (going ?) up before the moon when it fills the *uzat*, then you see the figure of the god in the *uzat* (28) speaking unto you. 'I am Hah, Qo, Amro, Ma-amt, Mete is my name, for I am . . . bai, So, Akanakoup, (29) Meikh, Akh, Akh, Hy, Meikh is my true (*bis*) . . . eternity, I am Khelbai, Setet, Khen (?) -em-nefer is my name, Sro, Oshenbet, is my correct name.'

(30) Say it nine times. You stand opposite the moon, your eye being filled with this ointment; -

green eye-paint (and) stibium, grind with Syrian honey and put the gall of a chick (31) full grown to it, and put it on a thing of glass, and lay it (by) for yourself in a hidden place till the time when you are ready for it; then you do it again as above.

COL. XXIV.

(1a) For catalepsy (?) - another:

(2a) flour of wild dates (3a) which has been beaten up(?) with milk, (4a)(5a) you make them up together into a ball, (and) put in the wine. (1)A medicament, when you wish to drug(?) a man - tested: - (2) scammony root, 1 drachm, (3) opium, 1 drachm; pound with milk, (4) you make it into a ball and put it into some food (?), (5) which is cooked (?), and let him eat it; then he is upset.

(6) Another, when you wish to make a man sleep for two days: - (7) mandragora root, 1 ounce, (8) liquorice (?), 1 ounce, (9) hyoscyamus, 1 ounce, (10) ivy, 1 ounce; (11) you pound them like (sic) a *lok*-measure of wine.

If you wish to do it cleverly (?) (12) you take four portions to each one of them with an *uteh* of wine, (13) you moisten them from morning to evening; you clarify them, (14) you make them drink it; very good.

Another, the fourth (?) : - pips (?) [of] (15) apple, 1 stater (?), 1 kite, pound with flour.(16) You make it into a cake (?); you make the man eat it, whom you wish.

(17) A medicament for making a man sleep; very good:

- (18) pips (?) of apple, 1 stater (?), 1 drachma, mandragora root, 4 drachmas, (19) ivy, 4 drachmas; pound together; you put fifteen (20) *uteh* of wine to it; you put it into a glass *glyt*; (21) you keep it.

If you wish to give it, you put a little into a cup of wine, (22) you give it to the man.

Ivy: it grows in gardens, (23) its leaf is like the leaf of *shekam*, being divided into three lobes (24) like a vineleaf; It (the leaf) is one palm in measurement; its blossom (25) is like silver - another says gold.

Another: gall of an Alexandrian weasel, (26) you add it to any food.

Another: a two-tailed lizard.

(27) A medicament for catalepsy (?) : gall of cerastes, pips(?) of western apples, herb of *klo*, (28)pound them together; make into a pill, put (it) into the food(?).

(29) Another: you put camel's blood with the blood of a dead man (30) into the wine; you make the man drink it; then he dies.

(31) Another: you put a night-jar's blood into his eye; then he is blinded.

(32) Another: you put a bat's blood;this is the manner of it again.

(33) Another: you drown a hawk in a jar of wine; you make the man drink it; (34.) then it does its work.

A shrew-mouse (?) in the same way; it does (35) its work also. Its gall also, you add it to the wine, (36) then it does its work very much.

You put the gall (37) of an Alexandrian weasel into any food; then it does its work.

You put a (38) two-tailed lizard into the oil and you cook it with it; you anoint (39) the man with it; then it does its work.

COL. XXV.

(1) The words of the lamp for inquiry of the boy.

(2) Formula: 'Te, Te, Ik, Tatak, Thethe, (3) Sati, Santaski, Kromakat, (4) Pataxurai, Kaleupankat, A-a-tieui, (5) Makat-sitakat, Hati, Hat-ro, E-o-e, (6) Hau(?). E; may they say to me an answer to everything concerning which I ask here to-day, (7) for I am Harpocrates in Mendes, for I am Isis the Wise; (8) the speech of my mouth comes to pass.'

Say seven times.

You take a new lamp(?), (9) you put a clean linen wick into it brought from a temple, (10) and you set it on a new brick, brought from the mould(?) and clean, on which (11) no man has mounted(?); you set it upright, you place the lamp(?) (12) on it; you put genuine oil in it, or Oasis oil, (13) and you set two new bricks under you; you place the boy between (14) your feet; you recite the charms aforesaid down into the head of the boy, (15) your hand being over his eyes; you offer myrrh upon a willow leaf (16) before the lamp. You do it in a dark place, the door of it (17) opening to the East or the South, and no cellar being underneath it, (18) You do

not allow the light to come into the place
aforesaid; you purify the said place beforehand.
(19) You push the boy's back to the opening of
the niche.

When you have finished, you recite a charm,
(20) bringing your hand over his eyes, A boy
who has not yet gone with a woman, (21) is he]
whom you make come before you (?); you
question him, saying. 'What do you see?'(22)
then he tells you about everything that you ask
him. (23)

A method to put the heart of a woman after a
man; done in one moment (?), and it comes to
pass instantly.

You take (24) a swallow (?) alive, together with
a hoopoe, (both) alive. Ointment made for them:
(25) blood, of a male ass, blood of the tick (?) of
a black cow; you anoint (26) their heads with
lotus ointment; you utter a cry before the sun in
his moment of rising; (27) you cut off the heads
of the two; you take the heart out of the right ribs
(28) of both of them; you anoint it with the ass's
blood and the blood of the tick (?) of a black
cow, (29) as aforesaid; you put them into an
ass's skin you lay them in the sun until they (30)
are dry for four days; when the four days have
passed, you pound them, you put them into a
(31) box; you lay it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man,
you take (32) the shaving (?) of a pleasure-wood
(?); you recite these correct names before them;
(33) you put it into a cup of wine or beer; you
give it to the woman and she drinks it.

(34) 'I am Bira, Akhel, La-akh, Sasm-fialo(?),
(35) Ples-plun, Ioane, Sabaathal, Sasupu, (36)

Nithi, put the heart of N. born of N. after N. born of N. in (37) these hours to-day.'

Seven times. You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Very excellent.

COL. XXVI

(1) Another invocation again of this cup of wine:

(2) 'Birakethat, (3) Samara, (4) Pilpioun, (5) lahout,(6) Sabaouth, (7, 8) Saipounithas.'

(9)Another invocation belonging to it again, in another book:

(10) 'I am Biraka-that, (11) Lathat, (12) Sasmira,(13) Plipron, (14) Takon,(15) Sabakhot, (16) Sasoupounitha,(17) send the heart of N. after (18) Sasoupounithas.'

COL. XXVII.

(1) Another vessel-divination, (to be done) alone, for seeing the bark of Phre.

The invocation which you recite : 'Open to me O (?) heaven, mother of the gods! (2) Let me see the bark of Phre going up and going down in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father (3) on account of a thing that hath proceeded from me. O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret open to me, mistress of spirits, (4) open to me primal heaven; let me worship the angels! for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven kings; ho! ye seven (5) Monts, bull that engendereth, lord of strength, that enlighteneth the earth, soul of the abyss(?). Ho! lion as lion of(?) the abyss (?), bull of the night; (6) hail! thou that rulest the

people of the East, Noun, great one, lofty one;
hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the
West; hail! soul of souls, (7) bull of the night, bull
(?) of (two ?) bulls, son of Nut. Open to me, I am
the Piercer of earth, he that came forth from
Geb; hail! I am (8) I, I, I, E, E, E, He, He, He, Ho,
Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat(?) Ib,
Thibai (9) great, Aroui. Ouoou, laho. The spirit-
gathering; blood of a *smune*-goose, blood of a
hoopoe, blood of a night jar, (10) *ankh-amu*
plant, *senepe* plant, Great-of-Amen-plant, *ges-
ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, ' foot-
print (?) -of-Isis' plant, pound and make into a
ball, and paint (11) your eyes with it upon (?) a
goat's tear, with a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or
ebony; you tie yourself at your side (12) with a
strip (?) of male-palm fibre.

(13) The way of making the vessel-inquiry of the
lamp. You take a clean bright lamp without
putting minium (or) gum-water into it, its wick
being of fine linen; you fill it with genuine oil (14)
or oil of dew; you tie it with four threads of linen
which have not been cooked (?); you hang it on
an East wall (on) (15) a peg of bay-wood; you
make the boy stand before it, he being pure and
not having gone with a woman; you cover his
eyes with your hand; (16) you light the lamp and
you recite down into his head, unto seven times;
you make him open his eyes; you ask him,
saying, 'What are the things which you have
seen?' (17) If he says, 'I have seen. the gods
about the lamp,' then they tell him answer
concerning that which they will be asked, if you
wish to do it by yourself alone, (18) you fill your
eyes with the ointment aforesaid; you stand up
opposite the lamp when alight; you recite to it
seven times with your eyes shut; when you have
finished, you open (19) your eyes; then you see
the gods behind(?) you; you speak with them

concerning that which you desire: you ought to do it in a dark place.

The invocation which you recite, (20) formula: ' I am Manebal, Ghethethoni, Khabakhel, let me worship thee, the child of Arpithnapira, (21) Pileasa, Gnuriph-arisa, Teni-irissa, Psi, Psi, Irissa, (22) Gimituru-phu-sa, Okmatsisa, Oreobazagra, Pertaomekh, (23) Peragomekh, Sakmeph, come into me, and inquire for me about the inquiry which I am inquiring about, truthfully without (24) falsehood.'

Its spirit-gathering: the ointment which you put on your eyes, when you are about to make any divination by the lamp. (25) You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh, (26) and put them into a *lok* of glass; you close its mouth very carefully for twenty days in a hidden dark place; after (27) twenty days you take it forth, you open it; then you find a pair (?) of testicles and a phallus inside it; you leave it for forty days; and you take it (28) forth; you open it; then you find that it has become bloody; you must put it into something of glass, and you put the glass thing into a pottery (thing) (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you wish to make a divination (?) by the lamp with it, you fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, you proceed to lie down, (30) or you stand opposite the lamp; you recite this invocation aforesaid; then you see the god behind(?) you, while you are standing up or lying down.

Excellent (*bis*) and tried(?).

(31) You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink, 'Bakhukhsikhukh,' or, as says another book, 'Kimeithoro Phosse'; (32) this

method which is written above is the method, of the divination of Manebai.

If you wish to do it (33) by inquiry of the lamp, this also is the form, it is also profitable for(?) the divination of Muribai. If you do it (34) by vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you make the boy stand upright (35) before the lamp, he having his face covered; you recite to his head, standing over him, this Greek invocation; when you have finished, you uncover (36) his face, then he answers you truthfully.

COL. XXVIII.

(1) Another mode of vessel-inquiry, alone.

Formula: 'I am the lord of Spirits, Oridimbai, Sonadir, Episghes, Emmime, (2) Tho-gom-phrur, Phirim-phuni is thy name; Mimi, Bihiu (*bis*), Gthethoni, I am Ubaste, Ptho, (3) Balkham born of Binui, Sphe, Phas, I am Baptho, Gam-misatra is thy name, Mi-meo, (4) Ianume.'

Its spirit-gathering : you go to a clean place, you take a vessel of bronze, you wash it with water of natron, you put a *lok*-measure (5) of oil to it; you place it on the ground; you light a bronze lamp; you put it on the ground by the bronze vessel; (6) you cover yourself with a clean linen robe, you and the vessel; you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, for seven times; you open your eyes; (7) you ask it concerning that which you wish; if you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths to your mouth, you cry: 'laho, (8) lph, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, Aphoe.'

\Then they make answer to you concerning

everything concerning which you will ask of it again. If they do not tell you answer, you recite (9) this other name: ' Goethix, Mantounoboe, Kokhir-rhodor, Dondroma, Lephoker, (10) Kephaersore.'

If you recite these, then they inquire for you truthfully.

(11) Another vessel-inquiry; you put vegetable oil into it; you must proceed as above.

\Formula: 'Speak unto me (*bis*), Hamset, god of the gods of darkness, (12) every demon, every shade that is in the West and the East, he that hath died hath done it(?), rise up to me (*bis*), O thou living soul, O thou breathing soul, may (13) my vessel go forth, my knot(?) here to-day, for the sake of the veasel of Isis the Great, who inquireth for her husband, who seeketh for her brother; Menash (*bis*), (14) Menaof (*bis*).'

Say, 'Menash (*bis*), Menanf (*bis*), Phoni (*bis*),' a multitude of times; and you say to the boy, 'Say, (15) "Depart, O darkness; come to me O light," and open your eyes at once.'

Then the gods come in and tell thee answer to everything.

COL. XXIX.

(1) Behold a form of inquiry of the sun, of which they say it is well tested.

Its spirit-gathering: you take a young boy who is pure, you make the spirit-formula (?) (2) which is written for it; you take him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment at which (3) the sun shall rise, and it comes up entirely with the entire(?) disk; you put a new

mat(?) of linen behind (?) him; you (4) make him shut his eyes; you stand upright over him; you recite down into his head; you strike down on (5) his head with your Ra-finger of your right hand, after filling his eye with the paint which you made before: (6) ' Nasira, Oapkis, Shfe (*bis*), Bibiou (*bis*) is thy true name (*bis*), Lotus, open to me heaven(7) in its breadth and height, bring to me the light which is pure; let the god come to me, who has the command, and let him say to me (8) answer to everything which I am asking here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein (?), Arkhnoutsi, Etale, Tal, (9) Nasira, Yarmekh, Nasera, Amptho, Kho, Amamarkar, Tel, Yaeo, (10) Nasira, Hakia, Lotus, Khzisiph, Aho, Atone, I .I. E. O, Balbel, (11) let the pure light come to me; let the boy be (?) enchanted; let answer be given me; let the god who has the command come to me and tell (12) me answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth without falsehood therein.'

Thereafter you recite his compulsion another (13) seven times, his eyes being shut.

Formula: 'Si. si. pi. thiripi S . A. E. O. Nkhab (14) Hrabaut, Phakthiop, Anasan, Kraana, Kratris, Ima- (15) ptaraphne, Araphnu, come to the boy; let the god who has the command come to him, let him tell me answer to everything (16) which I shall ask here to-day.'

If the light is slow to come within, you say, 'Ke, Ke, Salsoatha, Ippel, (17) Sirba,' seven times; you put frankincense (?) on the brazier, you utter this great name after all those, you utter it (18) from beginning to end, and vice versa, four times, Auebothiabathabaithobeua ; (19) you say: 'Let the boy see the light, let the god who has the command come in; let him tell me

answer to everything about which I shall ask
(20) here to-day, in truth without falsehood
therein.'

Behold, another form of it again. You take the
boy to an upper lofty (21) place, you make him
stand in a place where there is a large window
before him, its opening looking to the East
where the sun shines (22) in rising into it; you
paint the boy's eye with the paint which is
prescribed for it, you recite to him . . . times or
seventimes; you stand over him; you make him
(23) gaze before the sun when it fills the *uzat*,
he standing upright on a new brick, there being
a new linen robe behind him (?), and his eyes
being closed; (24) you recite down into his head;
you strike on his head with your finger described
above; you offer frankincense (?) before him;
when you have finished you make him open his
eyes, (25) then he sees the gods behind him (?)
speaking with him.

[The ointment] which you put in the boy's eyes
when he goes to any vessel-inquiry of the sun
(26). You take two . . . of the river both alive,
you bum one of them with vine-wood before the
sun, you put the blood of the other to (?) it, (27)
you pound it with it with myrrh, you make them
into a pill, they measuring one finger (in length);
you . . . put into his eyes; you take a kohl-pot
(?) of and a kohl-stick (?) of (28) *lel* (?). You
pound this drug with a little *set-stone*(?) of
Ethiopia and with Egyptian vine-water; you fill
your eyes with it, you (29) fill your eyes with this
drug, you look towards the sun when it fills the
uzat, your eyes being open towards it; then he
appears to you, he gives you answer (?) (30) to
everything. Its chief point is purity; it is profitable
for the boy, and it is profitable to you yourself as
a. person (acting) alone.

VERSO COL. I.

(1) Eyebrow of Ra: ophrus eliou.(3) Eyebrow of the moon. ophrus selenes.(3) These are some herbs.

(4) Heliogonon. (5) Selenegonon. (6) These are some herbs.

(7) Spurge, (8) which is that small herb that is in the gardens (9) and which exudes milk.(10) If you put its milk on a man's skin, (11) it causes a blister.

VERSO COL. II.

(1) Chamaemelon. 'Clean-straw' is its name.

(2) Leucanthemon.'Prick-horse' (?) is its name.

(3) Crinanthemon. 'None is better than I'is its name.

(4) Chrysanthemon, 'Fine-face' is its name, otherwise said 'the gold flower' (5) of the wreath-seller; its leaf is strong, itsstemiscold (?), (6) its flower is golden; its leaf is like crinanthemon.

(7) Magnesia, (8) manesia.(9) A stone of. . . black like (10) stibium; when you grind it, it is black.

(11) Magnes. Magnesia viva; it is brought (i.e. imported ?).

(12) Maknes. When you scrape it, it is black.

(13) Maknes of man. It is brought (14) from India

(?); when you scrape it (15) it exudes blood.

(16) To drug(?) your enemy; (17) an *apshe*-beetle(?); you burn it with styrax(?), (18) you pound it together with one drachma of apple (19) and a . . . and you.... (20) and you put a.....

.

VERSO COL. III.

(1) Medicament [for a catalepsy (?). Gall of ceras]tes, (2) pips (?) of western apples, herb of *k/o*. (3) Grind them together, make into a ball, put it into wine(?), and drink (?).

(4) Lees of wine. (5) It is a white stone like (6) galbanum. There is another sort which is made(7) into lime (?). The way to know it (8) that it is genuine is this. You grind a little (9) with water; you rub it on the skin (10) of a man for a short time; then it (11) removes the skin. (12) Its name in Greek (?) aphroselenon, (13) 'foam of the moon,' It is a white stone.

(14) A medicament for making a woman love a man: fruit(?) of acacia; (15) grind with honey, anoint his phallus with it, (16) you (sic) lie with the woman.

(17)' Foam of the moon'; this is a white stone like (18)glass,(when?) it is rubbed into fragments like orpiment.

VERSO COL. IV.

(1) Medicament for an ear that is watery. (2) Salt, heat with good wine; (3) you apply to it after cleansing (?) it first.(4) You scrape salt, heat with wine; (5) you apply to it for four days.

(6) Salamandra, (7) a small lizard (8) which is of the colour of chrysolite. (9). It has no feet.

(10) 'Ram's horn,' *kephalike* is its name, (11) a herb which is like a wild fennel bush; (12) its leaf and its stem are incised like (13) the 'love-man' plant: you pound it when it is dry, you gather(?) it, (14) you make it into a dry powder; you apply it to any wound; then it is cured.

Styrax, (16) it grows like sloe (?) (17) as to its leaf; its seed is twisted (18) like the 'ram's horn' plant, it bearing (19) a small spine at its end.

VERSO COL. V.

(1) A medicament to stop blood juice of 'Great Nile(?)' plant (2) together with beer; you make the woman drink it in the morning (3) before she has eaten; then it stops.

(4) The way to know it of a woman whether she is enceinte: you make the woman (5) pass her water on this herb as above again (6) in the evening; when the morning comes and if you find the plant (7) scorched (?), she will not conceive; if you find it (8) flourishing, she will conceive.

(9) A medicament to stop blood : leaf of *sheisha*, (10) leaf of 'fly-bronze,' fresh; pound, put (it) (11) on you, you lie with the woman.

Another: myrrh, (12) garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with (13) old scented wine; put (it) on you, you lie with her.

(14) Asphodelos, (15) otherwise called 'wild onion.' (16) *Khelkebe*, (17) otherwise called 'wild

garlic.'

VERSO COL. VI.

(1) A remedy to cure water in a woman. The first remedy; salt and oil; pound; apply to the vulva (?) daily (?) two days.

(2) After the two days, the second remedy: white lead, you pound it with a little pigment from an oil-dealer (3) very carefully; you put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg and pound them; you take a strip (4) of linen cloth which is fine-spun(?); you dip it in this medicament. She must bathe in the bath, she must(5) wash in good wine; you put the medicated strip on her; you draw(?) it in (and) (6) out of her vulva for a short time, like the phallus of a man, until the medicament (7) spreads (?), you remove it, you leave her till evening; when evening comes, you dip a bandage (?) in genuine honey, (8) you put it on her until morning, for three, otherwise said four, days.

VERSO COL VII.

(1) Another to follow it: juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed down, one ladleful (?), water of the ears of a *kle*-animal, one ladleful (?) like the ladle (2) of a (wine-)cup; you add a *uteh*-measure of good wine to them; and she drinks it at midday, before she has (3) eaten anything whatever, after bathing in the bath, which she has done before; when evening comes, you put the rag (?) (4) with honey on her as above for sevendays.

Another to follow : you take a new dish; you put (5) ten *uteh*-measures of old sweet wine on it; you put a half *kite* of fresh rue on it from (6)

dawn till midday; let her bathe in the bath, and come out and drink it. When it is evening (7) you put honey on her as above again for seven days.

VERSO COL. VIII.

(1) Gout

(2) You make the man sit down; you place clay under the feet of the man ; (3) you put . . . to it(?), his feet resting on it; you ask (4) the man, saying, ' Has it hearkened ? ' for three days. Thereafter you take an ant (?), (5) you cook it in oil of henna; you anoint his feet (6) with it. When you have finished, you take Alexandrian figs and dried grapes (7) and potentilla; you pound them with wine; you anoint him besides (?) (8) these; and you blow on him. with your mouth.

VERSO COL. IX.

(1) Another:

(2) 1 *kite* of Euphorbia, (3) 1/2 *kite* of pepper, (4) 1 *stater* (?) of pyrethrum (?), (5) 1 *stater* (?) of adarces, (6) native sulphur, 1 *stater* (?), (7) any wine 6 *staters* (?); (8) genuine oil . . . you pound them, (9) you make them into a poultice; apply to the part (10) which is painful of the man.

VERSO COL. X.

(1) Another talisman for the foot of the gouty man:

(2) you write these names on a strip (3) of silver or tin; you put it (4) on a deer-skin, you bind it to the foot (5) of the man named, *derma elaphion*, with the two feet. (6) '*thembarathem* (7)

ourembrenoutipe (8) *aiokhthou* (9)
semmarathemmou (10) *naioou*. Let N.son of N.
recover (11) from every pain which is in his feet
and two legs.'

(12) You do it when the moon is in the
constellation of Leo.

VERSO COL. XI.

(1) Remedy for a . . . foot (?):

(2) garlic, frankincense, (3) old (4) genuine
oil ; pound (together); anoint him (5) with it.
When it is dry, you wash it (6) with cold water;
then he recovers.

(7) Remedy for a foot which is much
sprained(?); very excellent.

(8) You wash his foot with juice of cucumber; (9)
you rub it well on his foot.

(10) Another:

sycomore figs(?) of . . .; fruit(?) of acacia, (11)
persea fruit(?); pound (together); apply (it) to
him. (12) ' I am the great Shaay (otherwise said,
the great Sheray ?), who makes magic for the
great Triphis, the lady of Koou (?)(3) Lol Milol,
the water of thy brother (?) is that which is in my
mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, is (4)
that which is in my heart; my heart yearns, my
heart loves. The(?) longing such as a she-cat (5)
feels for a male cat, a longing such as a she-
wolf feels for a he-wolf, a longing such as a bitch
feels for(6) a dog, the longing which the god, the
son of Sopd(?), felt for Moses going to the hill of
Ninaretos (7) to offer water unto his god, his
lord, his Yaho, Sabaho, his Glemura-muse,

Plerube . , S Mi (8) Ahrasax, Senklai - let N.
daughter of N. feel it for N. son of N.; (9) let her
feel a yearning, a love, a madness great
she seeking for him (going) to every place. The
fury (10) of Yaho, Sabaho, Horyo . .
Pantokrator, Antorgator, (11) Arbanthala., Thalo,
Thalax: for I cast fury upon you

VERSO COL. XIII.

(1) 'of the great gods of Egypt: fill your hands
with flames and fire; employ it, cast it on the
heart of N. daughter of N. (2) Waste her away,
thou (?) demon; take her sleep, thou (?) man of
Amenti; may the house(3) of her father and her
mother (and) the places where she is; call
out "There is flame of fire (4) to her," while she
speaks, saying, "Have mercy (?)," she standing
outside and murmuring "Have mercy (?)."

For I am an agent (?) of Geb, (5) Horus Ron
Phre is my name, tear her name out of Egypt for
forty days, thirty-three months, 175 days, the
complement of six months, (6) Gyre, Thee,
Pysytu, Ekoimi, Atam.'

Seven times.

Dung of crocodile, a little placenta (?) of a she-
ass, (7) together with sisymbrium, seven *oipi* of
antelope's dung, the gall of a male goat, and
first-fruits of oil: (8) you heat them with stalks of
flax. You recite to it seven times for seven days;
you anoint your phallus (9) with it, you lie with
the woman; you anoint the breast (?) of the
woman also.

(10) To cause a woman to love her husband:
pods of acacia, pound with honey, anoint your
phallus with it (11) and lie with the woman.

To make a woman *amare coitum suum*.

Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

VERSO COL. XIV.

(1) To make (2) alum, 1 drachm, (3) pepper, 1 drachm, (4) *mhnknwt*, dried, 4 drachms, (5) satyrium, 4 drachms. (6) Pound together into a dry medicament; do your business with it (7) like that which you know with any woman.

VERSO COL. XV.

(1) The names of the gods whom you want(?) when you are about (?) to bring in a criminal [by vase-questioning ?] (2) Maskelli, Maskello, Phnoukentabao, (3) Hreksyktho, Perykthon, Perypeganex, (4) Areobasagra, otherwise Obasagra. (5) This name you utter it before a ship that is about (?) to founder on account of the names (6) of Dioscoros, which are within, and it is safe. You recite them to the bowl (?) of Adonai, which is written (7) outside. It will do a mighty work (?) bringing in a criminal.

VERSO COL. XVI.

(A row of figures, viz. 3 scarabs, 3 hawks, and 3 goats.) (1) 'Armioout (otherwise Armiouth), Sithani, Outhani, (2) Aryamnoi, Sobrtat, Birbat, Misirythat, (3) Amsietharmithat: bring N. daughter of N. out of her abodes (4) in which she is, to any house and any place which N. son of N. is in ; she loving him and craving for him, (5) she making the gift of his desire(?) at every moment.'

You write this in myrrh ink on a strip (6) of clean fine linen, and you put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, (7) in your house from evening till morning. If you find a hair of the woman to put in the wick, it is excellent.

VERSO COL. XVII.

(1) A spell to bring [a woman] to a man (and ?) to send dreams, otherwise said, to dream dreams, also.

\(2) (A line of symbols or secret signs.) (3) You write this on a rush-leaf and you place (it) under your head; you go to sleep; then (4) it makes dreams and it sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you put it (the leaf) on the mouth of a mummy. (5) It brings a woman also; you write this name on the rush-leaf with the blood of a or a hoopoe (?); (6) and you put the hair of the woman in the leaf, and put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you write on the earth with this name, saying: 'Bring (7) N. daughter of N. to the house in the sleeping-place in which is N. son of N.' (8) Now it is also an *agogimon*.

VERSO COL. XVIII.

(4) 'Reveal thyself to me, god N., (5) and speak to me concerning that which I shall ask thee, (6) truthfully, without telling me (7) falsehood.'

Saffron, 2 (measures), (8) stibium of Koptos, 2 (measures), (9) pound together with blood of a lizard, (10) make into a ball, and rub it with milk (11) of one who has born a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you make invocation (?) to him (?) (13) before any lamp or the 'Shoulder' constellation in the evening.

VERSO COL. XIX.

(1) A spell for bringing a woman out of her house.

You take a(2) of a wild she-cat; you dry it; you take a heel-tendon (?) [of a (?). ... which has been (?)] (3) drowned; you fashion a ring the body (? bezel) of which is variegated (?) with gold [in the form of two (?)] (4) lions, their mouths being open, the face of each being turned to the other; you put some its face (?). (5) If you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you place the ring on the upper part of a lamp, (6) which is lighted, you say, 'Bring N. daughter of N. to this place (7) in which I am, quickly in these moments of to-day.'

Then she comes at once.

VERSO COL. XX.

(1) To heal ophthalmia(?) in a man.

'[Ho?]'Amon, this lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down (2) from Meroe to Egypt, he finds my son Horns betaking himself as fast as his feet move (?), and he injured (?) him (3) in his head with three spells in Ethiopian language, and he finds N. son of N. and carries him as fast as his feet move(?), (4) and injures his head with three spells in Ethiopian language: Gentini, Tentina, (5) Kwkwby, [Ak]khe, Akha.'

(6) (Say it) to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, you anoint the man who has ophthalmia (?) with it.

(7) You also write this on a new papyrus; you

make it into a written amulet on his body: - 'Thou art this eye of heaven' in the writings (followed by an eye with rays, as drawn in the papyrus). (1-3) (Fragments) (4) of Ethiopia (?), ankh-amu flowers, (5) pound, make (?) of the river, (6) paint your eye with it.

VERSO COL. XXII.

(1). tested.(2) Behold [the ointment which you] put on your eye when you (3) approach the vessel of inquiry alone:

green eye-paint, (4) stibium, *ges-ankh* (?), amulet of , flowers of black *sher-o* (?) (5) which are beans (?), blood of hoopoe, (6) pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice (7) of Egyptian (?) grapes, and *set-stone*(?) of Ethiopia; then (8) you see the shadow of every god and every goddess.

(9) Its

'I invoke you (plur.), ye great gods who shine with the sun, Themouks (10) Amp . . . Piam, Enpaia, Eiboth, Eiae, Sabaoth, (11) open(?) to me (*bis*), ye great gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the (12) light, and let me see the god who inquires to-day, hasten (*bis*) for the protection (13) Ablanathanalba, the mighty god, Marara, Atone, Abeiath, (14) N . . . Senen(?), [Psh]oi, Zatraperkemei, Osiris, (15) Lillam is his name. Open to me (*bis*), ye great gods, let my eyes be opened to the light, (16) and let me see the god who inquires to-day. Open to me (*bis*). I cast the fury on you (plur.) of the great (*bis*) god, (17) whose might is great (?), who lives for ever, give power to the name(?) (18) the name

of the god (?) open to me (*bis*), (19) ye
great [gods] who shine with the sun, let [my
eyes] be opened [to the light, and let] me (20)
[see the god] who answers to-day, hasten (*bis*) .
. . times . . .'

VERSO COL. XXIII.

(Lines 1-9 fragments.) (10) dungdried and
burnt, 2 (measures), (11) pound (with oil of)
henna and honey, (12) anoint [your phallus]
therewith, and lie with her.

VERSO COL. XXIV.

(1)(2), ...on it, and you (3) of fine
linen on it (? him), these three names being
written on it, (4)with myrrh; you light it and
place it (5)..... your head; you recite them to it
again nine times. (6)..... the lamp; you do it at
the time of the third hour(?) of evening (7) [and
you] lie down (?).

Formula : 'lobasaoumptho (8) [Khrome(?)
Lou]khar let my eyes be opened (9) in truth
concerning any given matter which I am praying
for here (10) [to-day, in] truth without telling thee
(sic) falsehood.'

(11) 'lobasaoumpththokhromeloukhar, (12) let my
eyes be opened in truth concerning any given
thing which I am praying (13) for here to-day.'

(1)..... (2) hawk's dung, salt, *asi* plant, (3) *bel*,
pound together, anoint (4) your phallus with it
and lie with (5) the woman. If it is dry, you (6)
pound a little of it with wine, and you (7) anoint
your phallus with it (8) and you lie with the
woman.

Excellent (*bis*).

VERSO COL. XXVI.

(1) If you wish [to make] the gods of the vessel(?) speak with you, (2) when the gods come in, you say this name to them nine times: (3) 'laho, Iphe, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, (4) Aphoe.'

Then he makes command to you as to that which you shall ask him about. If delay (5) occur, so that answer is not given you, you recite this other name to them nine times until (6) they inquire for you truthfully: 'Goethix, Mantou, (7) Noboe, Khokhir, Hrodor, Dondroma, (8) Lephoker, Kephaersore.'

Seven times.

(9) laho , Eiphe, On, Kindathour, Nephar, Aphoe.

VERSO COL. XXVII.

(1) According to that which is above within, saying, 'I am this Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, (2) Setem is my correct name. I am Gantha, Ginteu, Griteu, (3) Hrinoute, Arinoute, Labtatha, Laptutha, (4) Laksantha, Sarisa, Markharahuteu, (5) Arsinga-khla; another volume (says) Arsinga-label, Bolboel. (6) Boel (*bis*), Loteri, Klogasantra, laho, (7) is my name, laho is my correct name, Balkham, the mighty (?) one of heaven, (8) Ablanathanalba, gryphon of the shrine of the god which stands to-day (?).'

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

(1) You shall cause a star(?) to go . . . place(?) under the earth (?) (2) when the moon is in the constellation of Scorpio.

VERSO COL. XXIX.

(1) [Spell to] make mad any man or any woman.

(2) You take the hair of the man whom you wish, together with the hair (3) of a dead (murdered ?) man; and you tie them to each other, (4) and tie them to the body of a hawk, and you release (?) it (5) alive. If you wish to do it for some days, (6) you put the hawk in a place and you feed it in your house.

VERSO COL. XXX.

(1) If you dung of a *smoune*-goose, (2) then her body falls.

(3) Another: you anoint your phallus with dung of (4) a *kel*, and you lie with (the) woman, then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee).

(5) You pound dung of..... with honey, (6) and you anoint your phallus with it as above again.

(7) Another: dung of hyaena(?) with ointment of (8) roses as above again.

(9) Another: you fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung (10) when the menstruation is on her; then she is cured. (11) Ass's dung also - this method (of treatment).

VERSO COL. XXXI.

(1) 'Sisihoout (2) otherwise Armioth, (3) the god who liveth, the lamp which is (4) lighted, come within (5) before me, and give me answer (6) concerning that which I ask about here (7) to-

day.'

VERSO COL XXXII.

(1) To make rave for a man. (2) You take a live shrew-mouse (?), (3) and take out its gall and put it in one place, (4) and take its heart and put it in another place. You (5) take its whole body, you pound it very much; (6) when it is dry, you take a little of the pounded stuff with a (7) little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart, (8) of your left hand, and put it in a cup of wine (9) and you make the woman drink it, then she has a passion for you.

(10) You put its gall into a cup of wine, then she dies (11) instantly; or put it in meat or some food.

(12) You put its heart in a ring of gold and put it (13) on your hand; then it gives you great praise, love, and respect.

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

(1) Horus he was going up a hill at midday in the verdure season, mounted on a white horse on a black horse, (2) the papyrus rolls [of...] being on(?) him, those of the Great of Five in his bosom. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgement (3) eating [of the produce ?] of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief. Said they, 'Horus, come, art thou eating? Horus, come, wilt thou eat ?'

He said, 'Take yourselves from me; (4) there is no [desire ?] in me for eating. I am ill in my head ; I am ill in my body; a fever hath taken hold of me, a South wind hath seized me. (5) Doth Isis [cease] to make magic? Doth Nephthys cease to

give health? Are the sixteen Netbeou, is the one Power (6) of God, are [? the 3]65 gods seated to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile(?), my(?) Chief, until they remove the fever (7) from the head of the son of Isis (and) from the head of N. born of N., the fevers by night, the fevers by day, the headache, this burning, (8) this heat of the fevers of of his feet, remove from the head of N. born of N.'

(Say it) over genuine oil (9) seven times, and anoint his hand, his body, his feet, and pronounce the words to him.

Source:

F.Ll. Griffith 1904 The Demotic
Magical Papyrus of London and
Leiden, H.Grevel & Co., London

Note: This spell is an example of a curse tablet inscription that tapers off and forms a triangle, as this translation from J. Gager (1992) reveals.

I invoke you, spirit of one untimely dead, whoever
you are, by the mighty
names SALBATHBAL AUTHGEROTABAL
BASUTHATEO ALEO SAMMABETHOR.
Bind the horses whose names and
images/likeness on this implement I entrust to you;
of
the Red [team]: Silvanus, Servator, Lues,
Zephyrus, Blandus,
Imbraius, Dives, Mariscus, Rapidus, Oriens,
Arbustus; of the
Blues: Imminens, Dignus, Linon, Paezon,
Chrysaspis, Argutus,
Diresor, Frugiferus, Euphrates, Sanctus, Aethiops,
Praeclarus. Bind their running, their power, their
soul, their onrush, their speed. Take away their
victory,
entangle their feet, hinder them, hobble them, so
that
tomorrow morning in the hippodrome they are not
able to run
or walk about, or win, or go out of the starting
gates,
or advance either on the racecourse or track,
but may they fall with their drivers, Euprepes, son
of
Telesphoros, and Gentius and Felix and
Dionusios "the biter" and Lamuros. For
AMUEKARPTIR
ERCHONSOI RAZAABUA DRUENEPHISI
NOINISTHERGA
BEPHURORBETH command you. Bind the horses
whose
names and images I have entrusted to you on this
implement; of the Reds: Silvanus,
Servator, Lues, Zephyrus, Blandus, Imbraius,

Dives, Mariscus, Rapidus, Oriens, Arbustus;
and of the Blues: Imminens, Dignus,
Linon, Paezon, Chrysaspis, Argutus,
Derisor, Frugiferus, Euphrates, Sanctus,
Aethiops, Praeclarus. Bind their running,
their power, their soul, their onrush,
their speed. Take away their victory,
entangle their feet, hinder them,
hobble them, so that tomorrow
morning in the hippodrome they
are not able to run or walk
about, or win, or go out
of the starting gates, or
advance either on the racecourse,
or circle around the turning point;
but may they fall with their
drivers, Euprepes, son of
Telesphoros, and Gentius and
Felix, and Dionysius "the
biter" and Lamuros. Bind
their hands, take away
their victory, their exit,
their sight, so that they
are unable to see their
rival charioteers, but
rather snatch them up
from their chariots
and twist them to
the ground so that
they alone fall,
dragged along
all over the
hippodrome,
especially
at the turning
points, with
damage to
their body,
with the
horses
whom
they
drive.

Now,
quickly.

(trans. J. Gager (1992), no. 9)

SEMESILAM DAMATAMENEUS IESNNALLELAM
LAIKAM ERMOUBELE IAKOUB IA IOERBETH
IOPAKERBETH EOMALTHABETH ALLASAN. A
curse. I invoke you by the great names so that you
will bind every limb and every sinew of Victoricus --
the charioteer of the Blue team, to whom the earth,
mother of every living thing, gave birth -- and of his
horses which he is about to race; under
Secundinus (are) Iuvenis and Advocatus and
Bubalus; under Victoricus are Pompeianus and
Baianus and Victor and Eximius and also
Dominator who belongs to Messala; also (bind)
any others who may be yoked with them. Bind their
legs, their onrush, their bounding, and their
running; blind their eyes so that they cannot see
and twist their soul and heart so that they cannot
breathe. Just as this rooster has been bound by its
feet, hands, and head, so bind the legs and hands
and head and heart of Victoricus the charioteer of
the Blue team, for tomorrow; and also (bind) the
horses which he is about to race; under
Secundinus, Iuvenis, and Advocatus and Bubalus
and Lauriatus; under Victoricus, Pompeianos, and
Baianus and Victor and Eximius and Dominator
who belongs to Messala and any others who are
yoked with them. Also I invoke you by the god
above the heaven, who is seated upon the
Cherubim, who divided the earth and separated
the sea, IAO, ABRIAO, ARBATHIAO, ADONAI,
SABAO, so that you may bind Victoricus the
charioteer of the Blue team and the horses which
he is about to race; under Secundinus, Iuvenis,
and Advocatus, and under Victoricus Pompeianus,
and Baianus and Victor and Eximius and
Dominator who belongs to Messala; so that they
may not reach to victory tomorrow in the circus.
Now, now, quickly, quickly.

(trans. J. Gager (1992), no. 12)

I invoke you, whoever you are, spirit of the dead,
IONA, the god who established earth and heaven. I
bind you by oath, NEICHAROPLEX, the god who
holds the power of the places down beneath. I bind
you by oath, ..., the god ... of the spirits. I bind you
by oath, great AROUROBAARZAGRAN, the god of
Necessity. I bind you by oath,
BLABLEISPHTHEIBAL, the firstborn god of Earth
"on which to lie(?)" I bind you, LAILAM, the god of
winds and spirits. I bind you, ... RAPOKMEPH (?)
the god who presides over all penalties of every
living creature. I bind you, lord
ACHRAMACHAMAREI, the god of the heavenly
firmaments. I bind you, SALBALACHAOBRE, the
god of the underworld who lords over every living
creature. I bind you, ARCHPHESON(?) of the
underworld, the god who leads departed souls,
holy Hermes, the heavenly AONKREIPH, the
terrestrial.... I bind you by oath, IAO, the god
appointed over the giving of soul to everyone,
GEGEGEN. I bind you, SEMESEILAM, the god
who illuminates and darkens the world. I bind you,
THOBARRABAU, the god of rebirth. I bind you, ...,
the god who... the whole wine-troughs.... I bind
you, AOABAOTH, the god of this day in which I
bind you. I bind you, ISOS, the god who has the
power of this hour in which I bind you. I bind you,
IAO IBOEA, the god who lords over the heavenly
firmaments. I bind you, ITHUAO, the god of
heaven. I bind you, NEGEMPSENOPUENIPE, the
god who gives thinking to each person as a favor. I
bind you, CHOOICHAREAMON, the god who
fashioned every kind of human being. I bind you,
ECHETAROPSIEU, the god who granted vision to
all men as a favor. I bind you, THESTHENOTHRIL
. CHEAUNXIN, who granted as a favor to men
movement by the joints of the body. I bind you,
PHNOUPHOBOKEN, the Father-of-Father god. I
bind you, NETHMOMAO, the god who has given
you (the corpse) the gift of sleep and freed you
from the chains of life. I bind you, NACHAR, the

god who is the master of all tales. I bind you,
STHOMBLOEN, the god who is lord over slumber. I
bind you, OE IAO EEEAPH, the god of the air, the
sea, the subterranean world, and the heavens, the
god who has produced the beginning of the seas,
the only-begotten one who appeared out of himself,
the one who holds the power of fire, of water, of the
earth and of the air. I further bind you, AKTI...PHI
ERESCHEICHAL NEBOUTOSOUANT, throughout
the earth (by?) names of triple-form Hekate, the
tremor-bearing, scourge-bearing, torch-carrying,
golden-slippered-blood-sucking-netherworldly and
horseriding (?) one. I utter to you the true name
that shakes Tartarus, earth, the deeps and heaven,
PHORBABORPHORBABORPHOROR BA
SUNETEIRO MOLTIEAIO Protector
NAPUPHERAIO Necessity MASKELLI MASKELLO
PHNOUKENTABAOTH OREOBARZARGRA
ESTHANCHOUCHENCHOUCHEOCH, in order
that you serve me in the circus on the eighth of
November and bind every limb, every sinew, the
shoulders, the wrists, and the ankles of the
charioteers of the Red Team: Olympos,
Olympianos, Scorteus, and Iuvencus. Torture their
thoughts, their minds, and their senses so that they
do not know what they are doing. Pluck out their
eyes so that they cannot see, neither they nor their
horses which they are about to drive: the Egyptian
steed Kallidromos and any other horse teamed with
them; Valentinus and Lampadius... Maurus who
belongs to Lampadius; Chrysaspis, Juba and
Indos, Palmatus and Superbus... Boubalus who
belong to Censorapus; and Ereina. If he should
ride any other horse instead of them, or if some
other horse is teamed with these, let them [not]
outdistance [their foes] lest they ride to victory.

(trans. J. Gager (1992), no. 10)

D.T. 271 (Hadrumetum, North Africa, c. 3rd cent. C.E.)

I invoke you *daimonion* spirit who lies here, by the holy name AOTH ABAOTH, the god of Abraham and IAO, the god of Jacob, IAO AOTH ABAOTH, god of Israma, hear the honored, dreadful and great name, go away to Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and bring him to Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth, [so that] loving, frantic, and sleepless with love and desire for her, he may beg her to return to his house and become his wife. I invoke you, the great god, eternal and more than eternal, almighty and exalted above the exalted ones. I invoke you, who created the heaven and the sea. I invoke you, who set aside the righteous. I invoke you, who divided the staff in the sea, to bring Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and united him with Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth, loving, tormented, and sleepless with desire and love for her, so that he may take her into his house as his wife. I invoke you, who made the mule unable to bear offspring. I invoke you, who separated light from darkness. I invoke you, who crushes rocks. I invoke you, who breaks apart mountains. I invoke you, who hardened the earth on its foundations. I invoke you, by the holy name which is not spoken. ...I will mention it by a word with the same numerical equivalent and the *daimones* will be awakened, startled, terrified, to bring Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and unite him with Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth, loving and begging for her. Now! Quickly! I invoke you, who made the heavenly lights and stars by the command of your voice, so that they should shine on all men. I invoke you, who shook the entire world, who breaks the back of mountains and casts them up out of the water, who causes

the whole earth to tremble and then renews all its inhabitants. I invoke you, who made signs in the heaven, on earth and on the sea, to bring Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and unite him as husband with Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth, loving her, sleepless with desire for her, begging for her, and asking that she return to his house and become his wife. I invoke you, great, everlasting and almighty god, whom the heavens and the valleys fear throughout the whole earth, through whom the lion gives up its spoil and the mountains tremble with earth and sea, and [through whom] each becomes wise who possesses fear of the Lord who is eternal, immortal, vigilant, hater of evil, who knows all things that have happened, good and evil, in the sea and rivers, on earth and mountain, AOTH, ABAOTH, the god of Abraham and IAO of Jacob, IAO AOTH, ABAOTH, god of Israma, bring Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and unite him with Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth, loving, frantic, tormented with love, passion, and desire for Domitiana, whom Candida bore; unite them in marriage and as spouses in love for all the time of their lives. Make him as her obedient slave, so that he will desire no other woman or maiden apart from Domitiana alone, to whom Candida gave birth, and will keep her as his spouse for all the time of their lives. Now, now! Quickly, quickly!

(trans. J. Gager (1992), no. 36)

Self-Identification with Deity and Voces Magicae in Ancient Egyptian and Greek Magic

by [Laurel Holmstrom](#)

Occultists and esotericists, such as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn [1], have theorized that ancient Egyptian magic is a primary source for western magic practice and ideas. Since we know that the Hermetica and Neo-platonic theurgy have had a profound influence on later European magical traditions [2], an inquiry into possible relationships between Egyptian and Greek magical ideas would be useful in exploring the veracity of the occultists' claim. This paper focuses on one set of ancient texts, the Greek Magical Papyri, which offer considerable potential for investigating this relationship.

The PGM (Papryi Graecae Magicae) [3] is the name given to a cache of papryi of magical spells collected by Jean d'Anastaisi in early 1800's Egypt. Hans Deiter Betz, in his introduction to the newest English translation, speculates that these papyri may have been found in a tomb or temple library and the largest papyri may have been the collection of one man in Thebes.[4] However, the exact provenance for the PGM is unknown. Betz states that through literary sources it is known that quite a number of magical books of spells were collected in ancient times, most of which were destroyed.[5] Thus, the PGM are a very important source for first-hand information about magical practices in the ancient Mediterranean.

The PGM spells run the gamut of magical practices from initiatory rites for immortality to love spells and healing rites. Most of the papyri are in Greek and Demotic with glosses in Old Coptic and are dated between the 2nd century BC and the 5th century AD. The spells call upon Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Gnostic and Christian deities.

Two of the most intriguing aspects of these texts are the practice of self-identification with deity and the use of *voces magicae* in performing magical rituals. In many of the spells, the practitioner is told to use "I am" with a specific deity name to empower or work the spell. PGM I 247-62, a spell for invisibility, states "I am Anubis, I am Osir-phre, I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am Osiris whom Seth destroyed. "[6] The use of specific magical language in these texts, the *voces magicae*, is abundant. Most of these words are

considered "untranslatable" by the scholars working with the papyri [7]. Words of power in the incantations are composed of long strings of vowels, A EE EEE IIII OOOOO, YYYYYY, OOOOOOO, alone or with special names of deities or daimons which are often palindromes and significantly lengthy as in
IAEOBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI.
[8] The exact pronunciation of these *voces magicae* was key to the success of the spells.

Since Egyptian funerary texts clearly identify the deceased with deity and the power of words and language is a predominant feature of Egyptian magic, these notions found in the PGM appeared to provide a possible link between ancient Egyptian and Greek magic.

Throughout the funerary literature of ancient Egypt, from the Pyramid Texts to the Book of the Dead, there is abundant evidence that ancient Egyptians thought that human beings could become deities. Deities were seen as possessing *heku*, magic, an aspect of the original creative power that formed the cosmos. [9] Thus, magic was perceived to be an intrinsic part of reality and the divine. [10] The Coffin Texts provide a guide book for the deceased to help her or him retain what magic they already possess and to gain more. Naming is extremely important in this experience and it is the ability to name all the gods and objects encountered that proves one has acquired enough magic to sit with the gods. [11] In these texts, the deceased is clearly identified with the god Osiris. By using *hisoraloe* the deceased will successfully navigate the journey to the afterlife as did Osiris. The use of *hisoraloe* in magical practice was common, particularly in healing rites. [12] By knowing the names of all encountered in the afterlife and establishing a link with a deity that had already been successful in this realm, the deceased was well prepared for the journey.

In the Pyramid texts, the initial Utterances appear to be a script directing the different Egyptian deities to recite specific formulas on the deceased king's behalf. Utterance 1 begins "recitation by Nut, the greatly beneficent", utterance 2, "recitation by Geb" and so forth. [13] Evidence that these utterances were spoken during funeral rites are the notes after the recitations which give directions saying, for example, "pour water"(ut 23) and "cold water and 2 pellets of natron"(ut 32). The priests and priestesses are taking the role of the deities in preparing the deceased to join the gods in the afterlife as well as the deceased being identified with Osiris. Self-identification with deity is an "authentically Egyptian trait".

[14]

Language, and particularly naming, carries substantial magical power in Egyptian thought. The goddess Isis, once she learns Ra's true name, is then able to cure him of snake bite. [15] One of the oldest cosmologies of the Egyptians from Memphis (approx. 2700 BC) describes the god Ptah creating by his mind (heart) and word (tongue) [16]. Thus, words contain a primal substance and the act of speaking mirrors original creation. Speaking creates reality. Writing was given to humans by the god Thoth and the Egyptians called their language "words of the gods" and hieroglyphs "writing of the sacred words." [17]

The Pyramid Texts, Coffin Text and the Book of the Dead all exhibit the Egyptian belief in the power of language to affect the world. Words, spoken or written were not just symbols, but realities in themselves. [18] Hieroglyphs held particular resonance with magical power and most of the funerary texts were written in hieroglyphs. The Egyptians clearly believed that humans have energetic doubles in the world beyond the physical and it seems reasonable to suspect that the hieroglyphs were thought to have a similar existence since they were written on the *inside* of the pyramid tombs or coffins or on scrolls placed *inside* the coffins for the deceased to use. Further evidence of the reality of the images themselves comes from the practice of cutting particular hieroglyphs in half to diminish their potential effect. [19]

Vowel chanting is also found in Egyptian religious practice as reported by Demetrius in his Roman treatise, *De Eloutione*:

"in Egypt the priests, when singing hymns in praise of the gods, employ the 7 vowels which they utter in due succession and the sound of these letters is so euphonious that men listen to it in place of the flute and lyre" [20]

The distinction between religion and magic in scholarly discourse breaks down in the context of Egyptian religion and it is reasonable to suspect that vowel chanting could be used for more than hymns of praise by Egyptian priests.

Thus, self-identification with deity and use of a specific kind of magical language found in

the PGM places Egyptian magical notions within a Greek magical context. The question then becomes, can evidence be found that Greek magic, prior to the PGM, included these practices and do they appear in later Greek magical material that we know to have influenced the European tradition.

Betz states in the Encyclopedia of Religion that "magic was an essential part of Greco-Roman culture and religion." [21] In classical Greece, Egypt and Thessaly were considered prime sources of magical knowledge, but by 323 BC magical material in Greece had increased considerably. Betz further states that it was "Hellenistic syncretism that produced the abundance of material available today." [22] Greek magical practitioners distinguished different types of magic; goeteia - lower magic, mageia - general magic and theourgia - higher magic. Theourgia, appears to be the most likely place to find self-identification with deity and the use of *voces magicae*.

Self-identification with deity in magical acts as part of ancient Greek magical practice prior to the PGM is not evident. The Greeks speculated that humans and gods "had the same mother", but a huge gap existed between them. From ancient times to the latest date of the PGM, Greek notions about the relationship between human existence and divine existence took a variety of forms [23,] but never followed the Egyptian pattern of the possibility of declarative divine identity. The ancient Greeks believed that communion with the gods was possible as in the Eleusian and Dionysian mysteries [24] and Empedocles declared he had the knowledge to make himself immortal. [25] But, the Greek idea of a divine spark within the human soul which can be activated, contemplated and re-united with the gods still assumes an other-ness of deity and validates the fundamental separateness of human existence from the divine.

For the Egyptians, the divine appears to be immanent in the world. The world of humans and gods were not seen as being decidedly different. Human activity continued after death and Gods, embodied as the Pharaoh, lived in human society. Magical practice was merely clarifying what already exists. For the Greeks, magic was a conduit for communication and communion with deity or a process whereby the soul could be purified through direct contact with the Divine. Egyptians had only to affirm a state of being through speech to create the sought reality. "Repeated commands or assertions that a desired state of affairs was already in being, are a common feature of Egyptian spells." [26]

However, there are references to the *voces magicae* in ancient Greek material aside from the PGM. Early, are the *Ephesia grammata*, (ASKION, KATASKION, LIX, TETRAX, DAMNAMENEUS, AISIA) mystic letters that were supposedly inscribed on the statue of Artemis at Ephesus used verbally and written to avert evil. A lead tablet inscribed with the Ephesia grammata dates to the 4th c BC and they were said to be used spoken as an apotropiac charm while walking in a circle around newlyweds. [27]

Peter Kingsley, writing of Empedocles' magical worldview, states "there is nothing that is not vibrantly and knowingly alive. For him [Empedocles] - everything - even the words spoken by a man of understanding has an existence, intelligence and consciousness of it's own." [28] This notion appears close to the Egyptian ideas that words are not symbols, but realities.

Orpheus healed human pathos with poems and the lyre, while Pythagoras could chant his disciples to sleep and heal body and soul through musical words. [29] Fox argues that the PGM are carrying forward this "shamantic" tradition of magical musical charms. For the actual author(s) of the PGM, the notion of the magical potency of language could have been very strong indeed coming out of both the Egyptian and Greek magical traditions.

The use of *voces magicae* continues into later Coptic texts. For a spell invoking a "thundering power to perform every wish" the practitioner should say: "I invoke you. . .who is addressed with the great secret name HAMOUZETH BETH ATHANABASSETONI ." [30] Vowel incantations are also found in these Coptic texts in figures typical of the PGM: [31]

AEEIOUO
EEIOU
EIO
IO
I

Voces magicae are also referred to in the Chaldean Oracles which are contemporary with the PGM and they appear to be an intrinsic part of the theurgist's ritual. What is intriguing, for this study, about the Chaldean Oracles, is the relationship between the *voces magicae*

and the process of immortalization of the soul, which is the goal of theurgy. These texts provide the closest approximation to self-identification with deity in a non-Egyptian context. According to the Chaldeans, the soul, in its descent to the body gathers impure substances. Through theurgistic rites, the soul can re-ascend, encounter the Divine and be purified of these impure substances and attain immortality. The *voces magicae* invoke the assistant spirits that will help the soul to ascend without fear of being dragged down into Hades. [32] However, even though immortalization is the goal, self-identification with deity is not declared and only the soul can attain such a state.

The idea that the Egyptian language specifically held magical power is seen in the writings of people of the time. In the Hermetica (CH xvi) there is a passage which states that Greeks will not understand the Hermetica when translated into their language as Greek does not contain the power of Egyptian. [33] The Chaldean Oracles state "do not ever alter the foreign names (of the gods)". Lewy elaborates further, "It is impossible to translate the magical formula, because its power is not due to its external sense." [34] Iamblichus, describing the difficulty of translating the Hermetica from Egyptian to Greek says ". . . for the very quality of the sounds and the [intonation] of the Egyptian words contain in itself the force of things said." [35] Invocation of deities by their secret names is also characteristic of Egyptian magic prior to the PGM according to Pinch, but unfortunately she does not give examples. [36]

Scholars have identified other potential sources beside Egyptian for specific *voces magicae*. The glossary in the Betz edition of the PGM speculates on a few of the *voces magicae*. Jewish and Greek origins are offered as well as Egyptian for the eight names considered. Betz finds an intricate syncretism of Greek, Egyptian and Jewish elements in the texts. [37] To tease out the various strands and definitively locate the origin of specific *voces magicae* is yet to be done and will be difficult. What we may be seeing in the *voces magicae* is a general and wide-spread ancient Mediterranean magical practice. It could be that ABRACADABRA is a cousin to the *voces magicae* in the PGM.

Further questions to be asked regarding the *voces magicae* are: what were the potential avenues of magical communication between Egypt and Greece in the 4th century BCE where the earliest evidence of specific magical words is found in the *Ephesia grammata*? Is there evidence of specific *voces magicae*, other than vowel chanting, in Egyptian magical

practice prior to the PGM? If the specific form comes from Greek notions, why are the *voces magicae* in the PGM glossed into Old Coptic in many spells where the main body of the text is in Greek?

In conclusion, the claim that the roots of European magic can be traced to Egyptian magic appears highly suspect in regard to the notions discussed. Egyptian ideas and practices of self-identification with deity do not seem to be compatible with Greek notions of the relationship between the human and divine worlds. Through the *voces magicae* there is evidence of a generalized magical tradition in the ancient Mediterranean from which the European tradition may draw, but not specifically from Egypt.

Endnotes

1. Flying Roll no. XVI "The History of the Rosicrucian Order" states "Know then, O Aspirant, that the Order of the Rose and Cross hath existed from time immemorial and that its mystic rites were practised and its hidden knowledge communicated in the initiations of the various races of Antiquity. Egypt, Eleusis, Samothrace, Persia, Chaldea and India alike cherished these mysteries, and thus handed down to posterity the Secret Wisdom of the Ancient Ages. . ." Flying Rolls were semi-official internal documents of the Order of an instructional and theoretical nature. see King, Frances. *Ritual Magic of the Golden Dawn*. Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1987 & 1997, p. 105. See also Ramacharaka. *The Kybalion: a study of the Hermetic philosophy of ancient Egypt and Greece*. Chicago:"The Yogi Publication Society.
2. see "Occultism" in The Encyclopedia of Religion, Mircea Elidae, ed.
3. I am using Betz, Hans Deiter. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. Papyri Graecae Magicae refers to the original title of the Preisendanz edition.
4. see Betz, Introduction to the PGM, p. xlii.
5. Ibid, p xli.
6. PGM I, 140, 195.
7. Betz, p. xliii.
8. Betz, p. 332
9. Pinch, p. 6.
10. In hieroglyphics, the word for magician uses the symbol for a god as the determinative.

Personal communication with Dr. W. Poe, 11/24/97.

11. Brier, p. 125

12. Pinch, p. 23 and Kotansky, Roy. "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets." in Faraone & Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*.

13. Faulkner, p.1, 4 and 6.

14. Fowden, p. 26.

15. Pinch p. 7.

16. Eliade, p. 89.

17. Personal communication with Dr. W. Poe, 11/24/97.

18. Barb, p. 155

19. Ibid

20. Fowden, p. 118.

21. see "MAGIC: Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity" in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*.

22. Ibid.

23. see Corrigan, K. "Body and Soul in Ancient Religious Experience" in Armstrong, A.H. ed. *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality*.

24. Willoughby

25. Kingsley, p. 233-38.

26. Pinch, P. 72. For another perspective on this problem, I asked subscribers to ARCANA, a listserv devoted to the scholarly study of the occult if they know of any examples of self-identification with deity in Western magical practice outside of theurgy. Aleister Crowley's works and the writings of the Golden Dawn were mentioned several times. One writer specifically wrote: "In all their initiatory rituals, the officers [of the Golden Dawn] took on the forms and powers of various Egyptian gods and directed that force at the initiate" (Benjamin Rowe, Oct 6, 1997 email correspondence, see also <http://w3.one.net/~browe>) He also suggested that John Dee's Enochian magic included self-identification with deity implicitly in it's "Angelic Calls". The significance of Dee's use of this particular magical practice is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is fascinating that the Golden Dawn associated Egyptian magical practice with divine self-identification. Exactly how this association was made is also not our topic, but it apparently did not come through the Greek magical tradition.

27. Kotansky, p. 111.

28. Kingsley, p. 230

29. see Fox, Patricia. "In Praise of Nonsense" in Armstrong, A.H. *Classical Mediterranean*

Spirituality.

- 30. Meyer & Smith, p. 239.
- 31. Ibid, p. 234 and PGM I, 15-20.
- 32. Lewy, p. 227-257.
- 33. see Fowden, chapter 1.
- 34. Lewy, p. 240.
- 35. Fowden, p. 30.
- 36. Pinch, p. 23.
- 37. Betz, p. xliii

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The Demons of Magic

by Morton Smith

I was first asked to talk about demons of magic and the notion was that I would show slides representing various demonic beings, demons we find on the magical gems. It occurred to me that you were probably familiar with them. You certainly would be if you looked at the works placed on the admirable bibliography that was circulated, especially Bonner's *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* is to be highly recommended. If you do look at those you will find that the imagination of the Greco-Near Easterners of the second century A.D. produced a fantastic population of beings who are quite unlike ancient near Eastern gods, on the one hand, and even less like the standard Greek or Roman gods, on the other. As far as iconography goes there was a flourishing or a remarkable growth of new and fantastic forms. This did not by any means take care of all the gods that were used in magic. I will come back to that point presently.

I decided not to deal with this question because I thought, as I have said, that if you were reading the recommended bibliography or if you were interested in the purely iconographic side of magical invention, you could easily do that for yourselves. A friend of mine who gave up church history for history of art told me, "I used to have to read the texts but now I just have to look at the pictures." For iconographic studies you could do that; one picture is worth a thousand words. Besides that, I was having trouble as I started preparing for that since the magical gems commonly show the gods that are invoked, how do you know when something

that appears on a magical gem is a god, and when is it a daimon. Take the rooster-headed angledped, for instance. He is a rooster from the neck up, and from the neck to the knees he is a Roman soldier in regular Roman soldier's armor. He grasps a good round Roman shield, and wields the whip. And from the knees down he is a pair of serpents. An odd creature. Very widely represented, very often with the name Abrasax, which led to a belief that he was a representation of Abrasax. But lao also appears very often in connection with him. So it was thought too that he was a representation of lao. You had your choice, and you could solve the problem by saying that this was a representation of Abrasax-lao or lao-Abrasax, product of syncretism. Then go on to the remarks of the heresiologists about Abrasax as the demon of the year whose number is 365, and the god of the highest heaven which has all the lower heavens below him, and so on. But is he a god or is he a demon?

So I decided that I was facing a new problem, or a problem that I had not seen adequately studied. And that is what exactly is the usage of the term daimon, and related terms? What usage does that family of terms have in magical texts in the Greco-Roman world? That is what I have been looking at for preparation of this paper. You know of course that the Septuagint has a very simple and brief answer to that, *apantes hoi theoi ton ethnon daimonia*, "all the gods of the gentiles are daimonia" (Septuagint Ps. 95.5). The Hebrew Psalm 96 calls them *elilim*. To Homer this statement would have been unobjectionable. Homer knows that gods are daimones and Nock argued this in *Classical Philology* 45 (1950):49, with references to many previous discussions. Daimonia is just the

derived adjective from the daimones so that's no problem. But what is wrong is that the Septuagint didn't intend to make a statement of fact, that statement is polemic. The reader is intended to understand that, contrary to Homer, daimones are not gods. Daimones are inferior beings. And the Septuagint, by saying that all the gods of the gentiles are daimonia, is degrading them to a class of beings subordinate or inferior to the one true God.

When the Septuagint does this it was not doing something that was radically new or peculiarly Jewish. The subordination of daimones to theoi has classical precedents. One thinks immediately of Plato's *Apology*, of course. But Plato is by no means the only one nor is he the first. So you are faced with this fact that in the classical tradition is double. On the one hand, there is a tradition from Homer on down equating daimon with theos. On the other hand, there is tradition dating back to the pre-Socratic philosophers subordinating daimon to theos. The question is, how did the magicians deal with this problem of second-class supernatural citizens? In the papyri, first of all you must remember that the bulk of papyri comes from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., were written at that time, and certainly contain in some instances considerably older materials and in some instances contains materials invented by the writer. The safest thing to conclude is that you have materials from the fourth to the fifth century, in general. Sometimes one can see what looks like significant changes but it's hard to be sure. For instance, in the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, daimon is used pretty consistently all the way through until the last couple of hundred lines. Then daimonia comes

in and daimon disappears. It looks as if you had an appendix or at least as if the last sections of that papyrus were written by someone who was subordinating these beings to daimon-like beings. Daimonion is a step down--it isn't actually a pejorative term or anything of this sort, but it is a step down from daimon. And if this step should occur, then all usage of daimonion in the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, at least all those which the index chose to record, come after the line 3000 and run a few hundred lines. This is a small appendix and that the adjectival form is absent in the first 3000 lines is significant or seems significant.

So you can trace or see in some instances things that look like development but they are not very extensive and they don't enable me at least to see any consistent development in the body of papyrus material. What struck me first and hardest on reviewing that material is that daimones play a comparatively minor part in ancient magic. I expected them to be all over the place. In fact, when I started to write I said that they would be coextensive: magic, ancient Greco-Roman magic and daimones. But they are not. The great bulk of ancient magic, of magic recorded by the papyri, and I should say a good half of the magic recorded by deifixiones, and all of the magic that appears on the magical gems is done by gods as far as the writers go. They think and speak of the beings they are writing about, for the great majority of cases as theoi. Daimon and daimonion as far as I know never appear on the magical gems at all. There is one instance, in a gem in Braunschweig (number 186 of the Braunschweig gems in the big German collection *Antike Gemmen*) does have something that is restored or read as daimonion

on it. But unfortunately that gem, because of stylistic grounds, is probably 16th to 17th century A.D. The chance that it is ancient is quite small. And there are a lot of points against it besides that use of daimonion.

I haven't examined all of the ancient gems, of course. But this judgment is based on a concordance of them that was prepared by Mrs. Francis Schwartz who examined about twenty of the major and minor published collections and a half dozen standard works on ancient gems. So we can leave the gems out of the question. The people who made them may have thought that they were representing daimonia but they never happened to say so, and we can't go confidently beyond their silence. In the deifixiones you run into another question, but I'll come back to deifixiones in just a moment.

The papyri give you the fullest description of the daimones and their place in the world. They refer to them fairly often, as a class of beings who are intermediate, apparently, between gods and men. They are supernatural beings, in the sense that they haven't got human physical location and limitations, but they are subordinate to the gods. They are found in the air, on the earth, in the waters, and on the sea, and also in the underworld. An especially important class of them are the demons of the underworld, particularly the demons of the dead who become daimones after death--apparently all the dead do, and whenever you have a dead man you have a decidaimon who can be called up if you have some remains of the body, the proper spells, and so on. The decidaimon will be particularly effective if the dead man was

killed violently, especially if was executed for a crime, but also if he died young, particularly if he died before marriage. Those who did not reach their time of flourishing, and those who died as infants, especially, provide lots of demonic service for the magicians. All of these daimones for the most part are what you might call the help, the labor, of the magical world. They are called in to provide various services for the magician. For example, "Go to a such and such house and stand next to somebody and take the appearance of the god or demon that he or she particularly reveres and tell the target person as follows." Then you give the message you want conveyed. Or "take control of them," usually used in attempts to get women. "Make her jump out of bed and come to me right away and pound on the door." "Inflame her with passion. Make her burn." And so forth and so on. You can also change the gender, but women, on the whole, are easier. The magical world is predominantly straight, so charms of this sort are usually for men trying to get women. You can also send out demons to commit murder, or for all sorts of other purposes, such as to get information. I suppose that if magic were still going there would be spells like, "Go to my competitor's computer and read what he has on the following keys." So these, what I might call lower class help, the helper class of demons, frequently appear in lists, especially when you are talking about the Great Name. "I have the Great Name at which the gods prostrate themselves, the demons are terrified, the wild animals take flight, rivers flow backwards..." and so forth and so on. You can go right on down. You normally start with the gods, then the demons, then the men or wild animals, and then other physical phenomenon, such as the seas will calm, and so forth.

This makes up the great majority of references to daimones in the Magical Papyri. They vary, but I don't think it's worthwhile giving the figures because they don't tell you much since the papyri are such greatly different lengths. So the fact that you have four or five papyri in which there are no references to demons at all is not so impressive as it sounds when you look at those papyri and find that four of them are of one page only. All of the longer papyri contain some references to daimones and I imagine that they average on the whole two or three per hundred lines. This isn't enough to make them by any means a major concern. They are very apt to be used when you have a spell for a purpose. You may, in many cases, use demons to carry out the purpose, but you may not. I think the majority of cases, probably the bulk, well I'd say a small but substantial majority of cases demons don't function, the magic is done directly by the power of the name or by knowledge of secret names or in most cases by the action of the god you call on. And even when there are demons, in a great majority of cases they function merely as obedient to the name of the god which you have, or to the commands which are authorizations that the god has given to you. So the first thing to do is line up the god (go directly to the provost). Then after that is settled you go, with authorization from the deity, to the subordinate official, the daimon. And then the daimon will do as you tell him and he must do as he is told because you have the authorization of the great god So-and-so whose name you pronounce, and you may also display his seal and the like.

That makes up the bulk of the magic and demons are not really very important. Well, at this point I am being challenged by the

communist thinkers about demonology, who'll say it is true that demons provided the working force of the ancient world but who is to say that the work force of ancient magic and who is to say that the work force is unimportant. Now they were the people who did the work, and so on. I leave that argument without further discussion. This wasn't the way the ancient magicians saw it. They are strictly social snobs. Their notion is that the gods are important and the demons are simply there to do what you order them to do once the god has given you the authorization. It's a world in which the rights of the servant class are not considered. Those were the good old days.

Besides this, however, there is a very interesting class of exceptional passages which occur much more rarely but deserve, I think, much more attention. These are the ones that carry on the old tradition of identifying the gods as daimones, so that you get a list of names for example: lord god of gods, king daimon, followed by magical voces. Further on down in 460 in PGM 4, Helios Horus is addressed as "ruler of the world" or "lord of the world," "daimon of sleepless fire." Not only that but you have references to high gods who alike subordinate the gods and the daimons. Octiothus, for instance in 26.2, is "the only tyrant and swift fate of gods and daimones alike." And Selene is pretty much the same thing in 26.65. What really shows the seriousness of the problem you are getting into is (I'm still in the Great Paris Papyrus) in 29.74 are the directions for collecting herbs. An Egyptian when collecting herbs takes hold of the plant and calls on the daimon to whom the plant is sacred. This is obviously to the god to whom the plant is sacred, and they've just been

called daimones, and this is shown by what follows. He tells the plant that it is the heart of Hermes, the eye of the sun, the light of the moon and so on. So Helios, Selene, Hermes are clearly the gods to whom the plant is sacred and they've just been called daimones. Not only that, but he tells the plant that it is the soul of the daimon of Osiris, which (not who [masculine], but which), was carried everywhere (I think the text is correct, but I don't know. It certainly is an extremely puzzling passage.) There are more of them in the next papyrus, papyrus 5. "I invoke you who created earth and bones and all flesh and every spirit (whose clearly the high god) conducting all things according to law, eternal eye, daimon of daimones, god of gods, lord of the spirits, inerrant aeon, eaoueaouae. I call you because I can, I call you because I am . . ." and so forth, the magician goes on to declare his magical powers. And then the god, daimon of daimons, god of gods, lord of the spirits and inerrant aeon is expected, on the account of who the magician is, to show him proper respect and do as he is told. This spell, by the way, belongs to anti-social magic. It will break bonds, it will break fetters, it will make thieves invisible, send dreams, win favors with ladies and gentlemen and so forth and so on.

You get into PGM 7 and 8 and you find an interesting spell which occurs several times: "Spell for demanding a dream from Bes." "I call on you the headless god who has sight in his feet. You who lightning and thunder . . ." etcetera. Besides being headless, he is cosmic. "Arise, daimon. You are not a daimon but the blood of the two hawks on the coffin of Osiris . . ." etcetera. You go on to what the two hawks are up to and come back. "I conjure you

daimon by your two names: Anouth-anouth. You are the headless god." and so forth, "Answer me." It's quite clear that the terms "daimon" and "god" are fluctuating back and forth here as practically equivalent terms. And that the creature we have in mind, a headless being with eyes on his feet is much like, or like what would ordinarily be considered a good daimon, then what would ordinarily be considered a high god. But he is the high god and I think he is the high god because he is the earth which hasn't got a head, which has a great stretch of flat land. The shoulders with the neck cut off which wears around itself the seed as a great serpent out of which the gods and men and other things grow. As gods, plants and men and the like are shown growing from this headless being wearing the great serpent around his middle as a loincloth. I'm describing a lapis lazuli gem in the British museum that shows this very clearly; it is reasonably well inscribed so you can see these details. There are a number of other gems showing this headless demon and we also find him in statues. There are a couple of lead statues from Syracuse showing him with his eyes (in this case) not on the feet but in the tummy. You have a headless torso with a face on the navel and there is another to prove that this was not just a Syracusan peculiarity. You have another statue of the same sort from the neighborhood of Constantinople. So this earth god is Bes and he also agathos daimon. Bes and agathos daimon and the headless god are very closely intertwined. That was easier to do because as you all know agathos daimon is serpentine. Agathos daimon is a well recognized god, who has well recognized cults in Egypt also elsewhere in southern Italy and the like.

But you find other gods also being called daimon, and quite explicitly in Papyrus 7.961. "Come to me invisible pantocrator, creator of the gods... Come to me invincible daimon Seth...Come to me fire-bright spirit, the god not to be despised. Daimon and daimon, subdue enslave Miss So-and-So." The connection of agathos daimon in this sort of passage which is particularly marked appears again in PGM 12.130f. "And I say also to you because I have . . . " (the magician is telling the deity he is speaking to him) " . . . and I say also to you daimon of great power go to the household of Miss So-and-So and you obey me agathos daimon whose power is greatest of the gods. Obey me, go!" There is another one of these in 13.762, an invocation of agathos daimon: "Whose hidden name the daimones are terrified, of whom the sun and the moon are the eyes shining in the eyes of men. He has his good affluences in the stars, daimones and fortunes and moira..." and so on. I think these suffice to show the problem that you have here, and I suspect it may be to a considerable extent a literary problem, in other words, that the early Homeric tradition of daimones as gods, given the importance of Homer in classical education is living on, side by side, with the developing and increasingly powerful classification of daimones as subordinate spirits. And since magic is a matter of ad hoc spells rather than a systematic thinking, it's not surprising that you get survivals and mixed forms of these various different lines and stages of earlier thought.

The application of daimon to greater gods is relevantly limited. Apollo is called a daimon. Agathos daimon of course is one. Selene, especially when she is being called on to do

unpleasant things, and Octinofus, with whom she is identified, are daimones. The use is occasional. Seth is a shady deity despite being described as a brilliant god. Here's one more that has a surprise at the end and shows how this carries on. I don't know whether it is into Christianity or is taking up things from Christianity. Once again this is a loosing spell. "... who loose all bonds. Go and loose the iron around so and so because the great and unspeakable and holy and just and fearful and powerful and authoritative and terrifying and unneglectable daimon, the great god Zora and Merabach commands you." And that is the type of thing you've come to expect. But then "When the bonds are broken, say I thank you lord that the Holy Spirit the only begotten living one released me. And again say the spell, "God who set the stars in their places, a string of magical voces, "daimon, deceitful one." And also the whole name of Helios with a long string of magical voces, which are the whole name of Helios. So apparently I take it that the mix up of the Holy Spirit the only begotten would date this prior to the Council of Constantinople, when the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was put pretty much in final form and separation from the only begotten was settled. The Spirit was not begotten but preceded. The Son was begotten and did not precede. How far these doctrinal, even though they did have imperial power behind them, decisions won acceptance in magical circles is what we would like to know. If you are mainly interested in breaking your bonds, having your fetters broken and being able to leave prison without anyone noticing you, you might not be too sensitive to theological decisions. But I do think that sufficiently indicates the mix-up of the situation that confronts us.

I guess I came across one thing that I'll like to call your attention to. A passage I found was a spell for an oracle in PGM 4.964 which is addressed to be said before a lamp. It is addressed to the living god, the invisible begetter of light, and it beseeches him by his strength "to arouse your daimon and come into this flame and fill it with the divine spirit and show me your power and let the house be open, the house of the god, be open for me. The house which is in this light and become a light, breadth, depth, length, height, brilliance and let that which is inside shine forth, Lord Bouel (Bouel is good, old Egyptian god who plays a large role in the Demotic papyrus.)" You can see the auto-suggestion of the magician, "Let the flame be open, ... let me see the depth, the breadth and the depth ..." and so on. But you notice that if you start doing this with gestures you find yourself in four dimensions. It is possible that the magicians with their extraordinary powers anticipated Einstein. But I am inclined to believe that four dimensional thought is a modern phenomenon and what you have here is simple, old fashioned rhetoric. In spite of the fact that it does not make sense when you try and do it, and you find yourself getting tangled up. What is remarkable is that this appears also in Ephesians 3:18 with the same four dimensions, not three. "Therefore, I bend my knees to the father, from whom every paternity is named in heaven and on earth and whom every fatherland is named in the heavens and on earth in order that the prayer that he may give to you according to the wealth of His glory and power to be strengthened through His spirit in the inner man. To make Christ dwell with faith in your hearts, being rooted in love that is founded in order that you may have the strength to comprehend with all

the saints what is the breadth and the length and the height and the depth." That I noticed before and I think I might have put it in *Jesus the Magician*, or somewhere in a previous publication. But what I noticed this time is that this whole passage in Ephesians is full of parallels to this whole passage in PGM 4.964f. In Ephesians it starts with a prayer to the Living God, the Begetter of light. a prayer to the Father, that "...He may give you according to the power of His glory to be strengthened." In the magical text goes on to say, ". . . Give your strength and arouse your daimon to be strengthened by his spirit and show me your power." Ephesians has, "And let the house of the all ruling God be opened to cause Christ to dwell by means of faith in your hearts in order that you may understand with all the saints what is the length and depth ..." and so on. Ephesians says " . . in order that you may be filled with all of the fullness of God." And the magical text says, "And may the lord Bouel who is within shine forth." It's clearly not a word for word derivation. These are two representatives of a single tradition which has the same essential thoughts in it but has been cast independently in two different sets of words. Nevertheless, they preserve the same body of topics in roughly the same order. Since this is done by arousing the god who is entreated to arouse his daimon in order to do this, I think that makes a fair ending for this talk about daimones.

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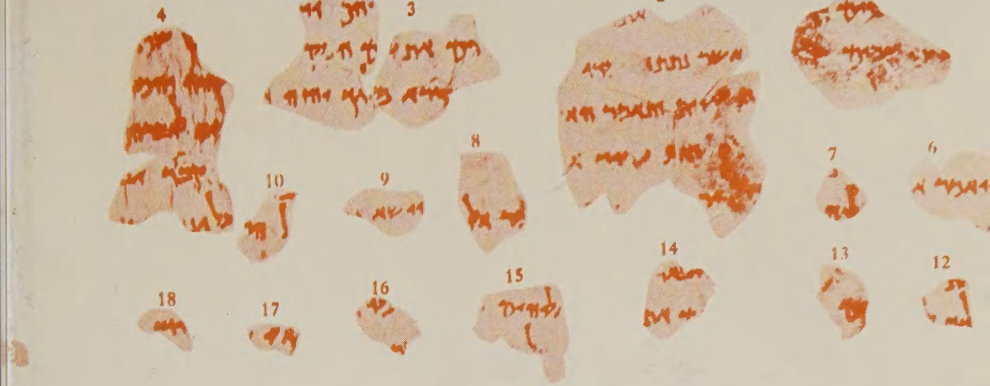
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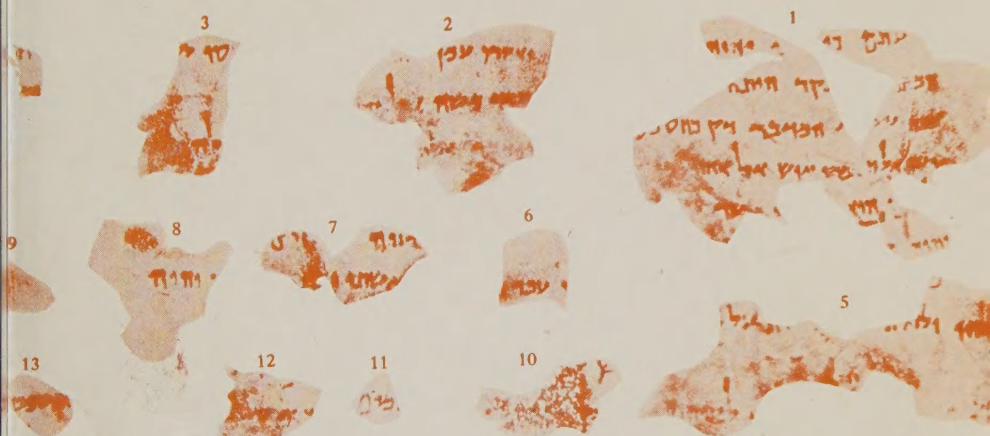


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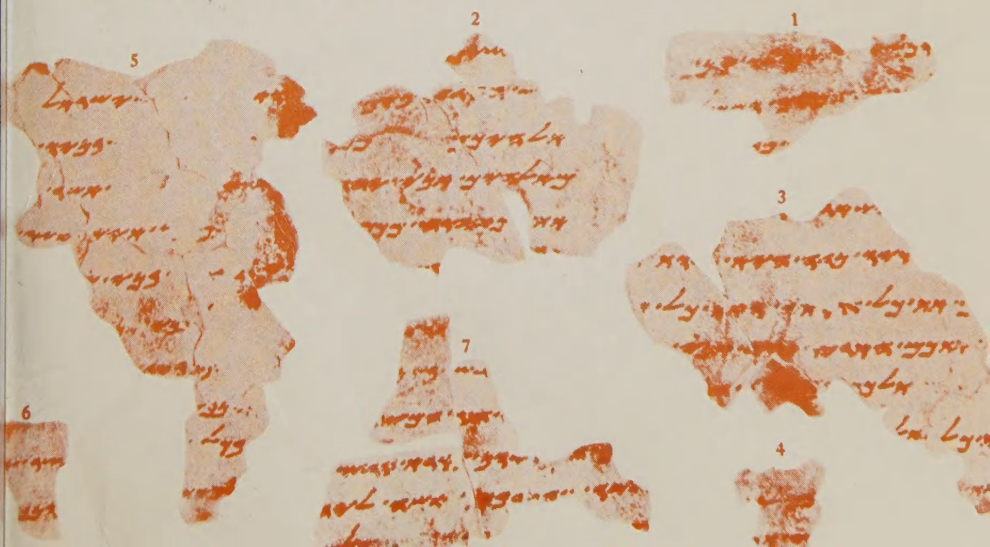
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PREFACE

This work provides the reader with a brief introduction, Greek text, and English translation of the fascinating though difficult document known as the Mithras Liturgy. I initially prepared an introduction and translation of the Mithras Liturgy for a seminar on the Hellenistic mystery religions; the seminar was convened by Dr. Hans Dieter Betz during the fall semester of 1975 at Claremont Graduate School. My thanks to the participants in the seminar for their helpful comments. In particular I thank Dr. Edward O'Neil of the University of Southern California for his perceptive suggestions.

Marvin W. Meyer
Claremont, California
February, 1976

INTRODUCTION

The so-called Mithras Liturgy is included in this series of texts and translations for several reasons. The Liturgy is frequently mentioned in secondary literature, and has been partially translated into English upon several occasions, but it has not previously been available in its entirety in English translation. Furthermore, the Mithras Liturgy deserves the attention of students of early Christian literature and the history of religions, particularly Graeco-Roman religion: the Liturgy reflects an important religious tendency of its day, a syncretistic piety utilizing astrology and magic and emphasizing the ecstatic ascent of the individual soul. Of additional interest is the relationship of the Mithras Liturgy to the previously known Hermetic literature and the recently discovered tractates from Nag Hammadi (cf., for example, page 3, note b, below).

The Mithras Liturgy is part of the great magical codex of Paris (Papyrus 574 of the Bibliothèque Nationale). Presumably compiled in the early fourth century C.E., this codex contains a variety of tractates, hymns, recipes, and prescriptions, which were apparently collected for use in the working library of an Egyptian magician. Lines 475-834 of this codex constitute the Mithras Liturgy; these boundaries for the Liturgy are suggested by the continuity of thought within the Liturgy, by the punctuation utilized by the scribe, and by the apparent transition to a different section (lines 835-849: astrological calculations). Interestingly, lines 467-474 parallel lines 821-823 and 830-834: thus the Mithras Liturgy is placed between two closely related versions of spells utilizing lines from Homer.

The Mithras Liturgy received its name and fame from A. Dieterich. In 1903 Dieterich published his valuable book, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, in which he proposed that the

text in question contains an official liturgy of the Mithras cult, a Mithraic ritual for the ascent and immortalization of the soul. Although the Mithras Liturgy had been later adopted and somewhat adapted by Egyptian magicians, Dieterich concluded, the text still preserves the highest sacrament in which the Mithraic initiate could participate. However, since the publication of Dieterich's book, F. Cumont, R. Reitzenstein, and others have expressed skepticism concerning the Mithraic origin of the Liturgy. Thus, such scholars have suggested that more significant parallels to the Liturgy can be found in the Hermetic writings, or in individualistic and private mysteries, or in Graeco-Egyptian syncretism, magic, and solar piety. Yet the evidence amassed by Dieterich cannot be easily dismissed, for he highlights important echoes of Mithraism in the Mithras Liturgy: particularly striking are the mention of "the great god Hēlios Mithras" (line 482), the invocation of the elements (lines 487-537), the description of the fire-breathing god Aiōn (lines 587-616), and the portraits of Hēlios (lines 635-637) and the highest God (lines 693-704). Furthermore, the accounts of Celsus (in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6. 21-22) and Porphyry (*De antro nympharum*, 5-6 etc.) on Mithraism verify the fact that such a liturgy for the soul's ascent as the Mithras Liturgy could be quite compatible with at least some expressions of Mithraism.

Consequently, it is advisable to conclude that the Mithras Liturgy may indeed represent some variety of Mithraism--though not, to be sure, Mithraism as it is usually presented. If there is Mithraism in this papyrus, it is a Mithraism on the fringe, a Mithraism preoccupied with individualism, syncretism, and magic. The Mithras Liturgy may thus illustrate a direction taken by those carrying on the Mithras tradition in Egypt.

The text of the Mithras Liturgy is composed of two main parts: a liturgical mystery of ascent (lines 475-750),

and a set of instructions (lines 750-834) for the use of the mystery. After the brief introduction (lines 475-485), the mystery of ascent presents the seven liturgical stages for the soul's ecstatic journey: the soul thus encounters the four elements (lines 485-537), in their generative and regenerative aspects; the lower powers of the air (lines 537-585), including the winds, bolts of thunder and lightning, and meteors; Aiōn and the Aionic powers (lines 585-628), as planetary guardians of the heavenly doors; Hēlios (lines 628-657), young and fiery; the seven Fates (lines 657-672) and, next, the seven Pole-Lords (lines 673-692), both groups from the region of the fixed stars, and both depicted in Egyptian fashion; and finally the highest God (lines 692-724), portrayed like Mithras himself. After the conclusion (lines 724-750) to the mystery of ascent, the instructions for the use of the mystery present a scarab ceremony of the sun (lines 750-798), provide instructions for the obtaining of the kentritis herb and the fashioning of amulets (lines 798-830), and append two additional spells (lines 831-834).

The predominant place of magic within the Mithras Liturgy deserves special mention. The entire text of the Liturgy is permeated with magic, including breathing techniques (cf. lines 537-538: drawing in breath from the rays), special recipes (cf. lines 750-755: preparing the cake for the scarab), magical rituals (cf. lines 767-769: burying the scarab), amulets (cf. lines 659-660: kissing the amulets), and magical formulae. The magical formulae themselves are diverse in character: some seem onomatopoeic (cf. line 488, P̄P̄P̄: making a popping sound, possibly like thunder), symbolic (cf. line 487, AEĒIOYŌ: using the seven vowels in a series), or perhaps glossolalic (cf. line 492, ĒY ĒIA ĒĒ); some seem derived from or imitative of Greek (cf. line 562, PROPROPHEGGĒ: Primal Brightener?), Egyptian (cf. line 672, ARARMACHĒS: Horus of the two horizons; and line 717, PHRĒ: Re, the Sun), or Semitic

words (cf. line 591, SEMESILAM: Eternal Sun; and line 593, IAO: Yahweh).

The Greek text which follows is that of K. Preisendanz, though a few minor changes have been made (e.g., the paragraphing). Regrettably, only a few notes can be provided here; for additional information the reader is referred to the following selected bibliography:

- Dieterich, Albrecht. *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (1903¹. 1910², edited by Richard Wünsch. 1923³, edited by Otto Weinreich, reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For the reactions by other scholars to Dieterich, see the "Nachträge" (1923³), 219ff.
- Hopfner, Theodor. *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, 21, 23. Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924; republished Amsterdam: Hakker, 1974-).
- Nilsson, Martin P. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (2. Aufl. München: Beck, 1961), vol. 2, 670, 686ff.
- Nock, Arthur D. "Greek Magical Papyri," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1929) 219-235. Reprinted in Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), vol. 1, 176-194, especially 192ff.
- Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri.* Edited and translated by Karl Preisendanz. 2 Aufl. edited by Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), vol. 1, 88-101.
- Smith, Morton. "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Biblical and Other Studies*, edited by Alexander Altman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 142-160, especially 158ff.
- Wessely, Carl, editor. *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe, 36. Wien: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1888).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(475) Ἰλαθί μοι, Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχή,¹ τάδε γράφοντι
τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα,² παραδοτὰ μυστήρια, μόνῃ δὲ τέκνῃ ἀθανασίαν
ἀξιῶ, μύσται³ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως ταύτης (χρὴ οὖν σε,
ὦ θύγατερ, λαμβάνειν (480) χυλοὺς βοτανῶν καὶ εἰδῶν τῶν
μ[ελ]λόντων σοι <μηνυθῆσθαι> ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου
συντάγματος), ἣν ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥλιος Μίθρας ἐκέλευσέν
μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος
αἰ<τ>ητῆς⁴ οὐρανὸν βαίνω (485) καὶ κατοπτεύω πάντα.

ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἥδε ἡ κλήσις·

"[Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως· αεθίου,
ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς<ς> πρώτη πῖπ ῥῥῥ ῥῥ['] ,
πνεῦμα πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος (490)
πρῶτον μῦμ,
πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων
θεοδώρητον, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρὸς πρῶτον ηυ
για εη,
ὔδωρ ὕδατος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον ωω
ααα εεε,
οὐσία γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτη
(495) υη υωη,
σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα,
διαπεπλασμένον ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου καὶ
δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου ἐν ἀφωτίστῃ καὶ
διαυγεῖ κόσμῳ, ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ
υηι αui ευωιε.

1. The goddess Psychē, "Soul." Dieterich and Wessely read Τύχη, "Fortune."

2. The term ἄπρατα may mean "unsold," "unprostituted," or "undefiled"; Preisendanz suggests "unverkäuflich." Dieterich takes the πρατα of the MS as the Doric of πρῶτα, "first."

3. Dieterich: ἀξίῳ μύστη, "an initiate worthy (of)."

4. Dieterich emends the αἰητης of the MS to αἰητός, the Doric of ἀετός, "eagle." On the possibility of the eagle as an initiatory grade within Mithraism, cf. Porphyry, *De abstinētia*, 4. 16.

(475) Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psychē,
as I write these mysteries handed down <not> for gain but
for instruction; and for an only child I request immor-
tality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is
necessary for you, O daughter, to take (480) the juices
of herbs and spices, which will <be made known> to you
at the end of my holy treatise), which the great god
Hēlios Mithras ordered to be revealed to me by his arch-
angel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an
inquirer (485) and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the ceremony:^a

"First origin of my origin, AEĒIOYŌ,
first beginning of my beginning,^b PPP ŠŠŠ PHŖ['],
spirit^c of spirit, the first of the spirit (490)
in me, MMM,
fire given by god to my mixture of the mixtures
in me, the first of the fire in me, EY
ĒIA EĒ,
water of water, the first of the water in me,
ŌŌŌ AAA EEE,
earthy substance, the first of the earthy sub-
stance in me, (495) YĒ YŌĒ,
my complete body (I, _____ whose mother is
_____^d), which was formed by a noble arm
and an incorruptible right hand in a world
without light and yet radiant, without soul
and yet alive with soul, YĒI AYI EYŌIE:

a. Or "spell"; note also, below, the translation of λόγος with "prayer."

b. Cf. *On the Eighth and Ninth* (Nag Hammadi Codex VI, tractate 6), page 60, line 20. With regard to the Mithras Liturgy in general, cf. this tractate as well as another Hermetic tractate, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII.

c. "Spirit," "breath," "wind": πνεῦμα as one of the four elements.

d. Here the initiate was supposed to introduce his own name and that of his mother. This formula appears several times in the Liturgy.

ἔάν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξη μετερτα (500) φωθ· (μεθαρθα
 φηριη ἐν ἄλλῳ) ἱερεζαθ,
 μεταπαρὰδῶναί με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει, ἐχομένως¹
 τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει·
 ἵνα μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπείγουσάν
 με χρεῖαν ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον (505)
 ἀρχὴν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι ανχρεφρενεσου-
 φιριγχ·
 τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι ερονουῖ παρακουνηθ,
 τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι εἴοαη ψεναβωθ,
 ἵνα νοήματι μεταγεν<ν>ηθῶ κραοχραξ ρ οἴμ
 εναρχομαι,
 (510) καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα νεχθεν
 αποτου νεχθιν αρπι ηθ,
 ἵνα θαυμάσω τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ κυφε,
 ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν
 ὕδωρ νυω θεσω εχω ουχιεχωα,
 καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζωογόνος (515) καὶ περικεχυ-
 μένος αἰθήρ αρνομηθ,
 ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεύειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθανάτοις
 ὄμμασι,
 θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας, βεβελτιω-
 μένος ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς
 χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου (520),
 ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ
 δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων,
 ἀγίοις ἀγιασθεῖς ἀγιασμασι,
 ἀγίας ὑφεστῶσης μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
 μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως,

1. So Preisendanz; MS: εχομενος, which Dieterich emends to ἐχόμενον, "held."

now if it be your will, METERTA (500) PHŌTH
 (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place)^a
 ĪEREZATH,
 give me over to immortal birth and, following
 that, to my underlying nature,
 so that,^b after the present need which is press-
 ing me exceedingly, I may gaze upon the
 immortal (505) beginning with the immortal
 spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOPHIRIGCH,
 with the immortal water, ERONOYĪ PARAKOYNĒTH,
 with the most steadfast air, EĪOAĒ PSENABŌTH;
 that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX
 R OĪM ENARCHOMAI,^c
 (510) and the sacred spirit may breathe in me,
 NECHTHEN APOTOY NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH;
 so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE;
 that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome
 water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ
 OYCHIECHŌA,
 and the vivifying (515) and encircling aether
 may hear me, ARNOMĒTHPH;
 for today I am about to behold, with immortal
 eyes--
 I, born mortal from mortal womb, but transformed
 by tremendous power and an incorruptible
 right hand (520)!--
 and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aiōn and
 master of the fiery diadems--
 I, sanctified through holy consecrations!--
 while there subsists within me, holy, for a
 short time, my human soul-might,

a. One of the several variant readings suggested by a scribe.

b. Preisendanz takes the ĭva-clauses as independent clauses.

c. Apparently used here as part of the magical utterance, ἐνάρχουμαι is Greek for "I begin."

ἦν ἐγὼ πάλιν (525) μεταπαραλήψομαι μετὰ τὴν
ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ κατεπεΐγουσάν με πικρὰν
ἀνάγκην ἀχρεοκόπητον,

ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖνα, ὃν ἡ δεῖνα, κατὰ δόγμα θεοῦ
ἀμετάθετον εὐη υἷα ἐηι αὼ εἷαυ ἵνα ἴω.
ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν θνητὸν (530) γεγῶτα
συνα<ν>ιέναι ταῖς χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαρυγαῖς
τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδόνης ὡησ αεω ἦσα εὼη
υαε ωιαε,

ἔσταθι, φθορτὴ βροτῶν φύσι,
καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ> με ὑγιῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτη-
τον καὶ κατεπε[ί]λγουςαν (535) χρεῖαν.

ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς ψυχῶ[ν] δεμῶν προχῶ πρῶα,
ἐγὼ εἰμι μαχαρφ[.]ν μου πρῶψυχῶν πρῶε."

ἔλκε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων πνεῦμα γ' ἀνασπῶν, ὃ δύνασται, καὶ ὄψη σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφιζόμενον [κ]αὶ (540) ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὕψος, ὥστε σε δοκεῖ[ν μ]έσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὔτε ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζῴου ἁλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὄψη οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάντα δὲ ὄψη ἀθάνατα· ὄψη γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας (545) καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεύοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοῦς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας. ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὀρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρὸς μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλὸς (550), ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου· ὄψη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον. εἰς δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπηλιώτην, ἐὰν ἦ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος

which I will again (525) receive after the
present bitter and relentless necessity
which is pressing down upon me--

I, _____ whose mother is _____, according to the
immutable decree of god, EYĒ YĪA EĒI AŌ
EĪAY İYA İEŌ!

Since it is impossible for me, born (530) mor-
tal, to rise with the golden brightnesses
of the immortal brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒYA EŌĒ
YAE ŌIAE,

stand, O perishable nature of mortals,
and at once <receive> me safe and sound after
the inexorable and pressing (535) need.

For I am the son PSYCHŌ[N] DEMOY PROCHŌ PRŌA,
I am MACHARPH[.]N MOY PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE!"

Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up three times
as much as you can, and you will see yourself being lifted
up and (540) ascending to the height, so that you seem to
be in mid-air. You will hear nothing either of man or of
any other living thing, nor in that hour will you see any-
thing of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see
all immortal things. For in that day (545) and hour you
will see the divine order of the skies: the presiding
gods^a rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the
course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of
god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-called
"pipe" (550), the origin of the ministering wind. For you
will see it hanging from the sun's disk like a pipe. You
will see the outflow of this object toward the regions
westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to
the regions of the East--and the other (viz. the west wind),

a. Moving, revolving heavenly bodies, which may in-
fluence human affairs and preside over the days.

ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέρη (555) τὰ ἐκείνου, ὅψη τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὁράματος· ὅψη δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένους.

σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθες δεξιὸν δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ λέγε.

"σιγή, σιγή, σιγή,
σύμβολον θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀφθάρτου·

(560) φύλαξόν με, σιγή νεχθεῖρ θανμελου,"
ἔπειτα σύρισον μακρὸν συριγμόν, ἔπειτα πόππυσον λέγων·

"προπροφεγγη μοριος προφυρ προφεγγη νεμεθιρε
αρψεντεν πιτητμι μεωυ εναρθ φυρκεχω
φυριδαριω (565) τυρη φιλβα,"

καὶ τότε ὅψη τοὺς θεοὺς σοι εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μηκέτι ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων.

ὅταν οὖν ἔδης τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν (570) καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὀρ<μ>ώμενον, προσδόκα βροντῆς μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκπλαγῆναι. σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε.

"σιγή, σιγή (λόγος),
ἐγὼ εἰμι σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ,
καὶ ἐκ (575) τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων οἷον ο
ξερθευθ."

ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται. μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν β' λόγον, ὅπου "σιγή, σιγή" καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, σύρισον β' καὶ πόππυσον β', καὶ εὐθέως ὅψη ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου (580) ἀστέρας προσερχομένους πενταδακτυλιαίους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὅλον τὸν ἀέρα. σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε.

"σιγή, σιγή."

similarly, toward its own (555) regions.^a And you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living, incorruptible god!

(560) Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOY!"

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

"PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ

NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PITĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH

PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIO (565) TYRĒ PHILBA."

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear (570) and circling, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to shock you. Then say again:

"Silence! Silence! (the prayer)

I am a star, wandering about with you,

and shining forth out of (575) the deep, OXY^b

O XERTHEYTH."

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and immediately you will see (580) many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and filling all the air. Then say again:

"Silence! Silence!"

a. Or, with slightly different punctuation: "For you will see it hanging like a pipe from the sun's disk, toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the East; but if the other (viz. the west wind) be assigned, similarly, to its own (555) regions, you will see the reverse of the sight."

b. Perhaps óξύ, "brightly."

καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνυγέντος ὀψη ἄπυρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας
 πυρίνας ἀποκεκλεισμένας (585).

σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δίδωκε τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον καμμύων
 σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. λόγος γ'.

"ἐπάκουσόν μου,

ἄκουσόν μου, τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα,

κύριε, ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κληῖθρα τοῦ
 τετραριζώματος (590),¹

πυρίπολε πεντιτερουνι,

φωτὸς κτίστα (οἱ δέ· συγκλεῖστα) Σεμεσιλαμ,

πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ,

πυρίθυμε Ἰάω,

πνευματόφως ωαῖ,

πυριχαρῇ ελουρε,

καλλίφως αζαῖ,

Αἰών αχβα,

(595) φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι,

πυρισώματε φνουηνιοχ,

φωτοδῶτα,

πυρισπόρε αρει εἴκιτα,

πυρικλόνε γαλλαβαλβα,

φωτοβίαιε αιω

πυριδῖνα πυριχιβοοσηια,

φωτοκινῆτα σανχερωβ,

κεραυνοκλόνε (600) ιη ωη ιωιω,

φωτὸς κλέος βεεγενητε,

αύξησίφως σουσινεφιεν,

πυρισησίφως σουσῖνεφι αρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντευ,

ἀστροδάμα.

ἄνοιξόν μοι, προπροφεγγη εμεθειρε μοριομοτυρη-

φιλβα,

¹. A reference to the four elements? Here the MS has Δ λιζωματος (Wessely reads Δ διζωματος). Preisendanz has τετραλιζώματος, and suggests, as a possible translation, "viermal gewundenen (?) Gürtels."

And when the disk is open, you will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight (585).

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. The third prayer:

"Give ear to me,
 hearken to me, _____ whose mother is _____,
 O Lord, you who have bound together with your
 breath the fiery bars of the fourfold (590)
 root,
 O Fire-Walker, PENTITEROYNI,
 Light-Maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,
 Fire-Breather, PSYRINPHEY,
 Fire-Feeler, IAŌ,
 Light-Breather, ŌAĭ,^a
 Fire-Delighter, ELOYRE,
 Beautiful Light, AZAĭ,
 AiŌn, ACHBA,
 (595) Light-Master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,
 Fire-Body, PHNOYĒNIOCH,
 Light-Giver,
 Fire-Sower, AREI EĪKITA,
 Fire-Driver, GALLABALBA,
 Light-Forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-Whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
 Light-Mover, SANCHERŌB,
 Thunder-Shaker (600), IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Glory-Light, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-Increaser, SOYSINEPHIEN,
 Fire-Light-Maintainer, SOYSĪNEPHI ARENBARAZEI
 MARMARENTEY,
 Star-Tamer:
 open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE
 MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA,

a. A permutation of the divine name IAŌ. Cf. also AIŌ (below, line 598).

ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι (605) ἕνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης
καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης τὰ
μηδέπω χωρήσαντα εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν μηδὲ
φρασθέντα ἐν διαριθρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης
γλώσσης ἢ θνητοῦ φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς
ἀθάνατα ζῶντα (610) καὶ ἔντιμα ὀνόματα·

ηεω οηεω ιωω οη ηεω ηεω οη εω ιωω οηηε ωηε ωοη
ιη ηω οω οη ιεω οη ωοη ιεω οη ιεεω εη ιω
οη ιοη ωηω εοη οεω ωιη ωιη εω οι ιιι ηοη
ωυη ηωοηε εω ηια αηα εηα (615) ηεεη εεη
εεη ιεω ηεω οηεεοη ηεω ηυω οη εῖω ηω ωη ωη
εε οοο υιωη."

ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος τὸ πρῶτον
ἀποτελῶν, εἷτα ὁμοίως τὸ δεύτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἕως ἐκτελέσης
τοῦς (620) ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου. ταῦτά σου
εἰπόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς καὶ κλόνου τοῦ περιέχοντος.
ὁμοίως δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσεται ταρασσόμενον. σὺ δὲ πάλιν
λέγε·

"σιγῇ" (λόγος),

εἷτα ἄνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὄψῃ ἀνεφγυΐας (625) τὰς
θύρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν,
ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμά
σου συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν.

στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἀτενίζων εἰς
σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα. ὅταν (630) οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ
ψυχὴ, λέγε·

"πρόσελθε, κύριε, ἀρχανδαρα φωταζα πυριφωτα
ζαβυθιξ ετιμενμερο φοραθην εριη προθρι
φοραθι."

τοῦτο εἰπόντος στραφήσονται ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτῖνες· ἔσιδε
αὐτῶν μέσον. ὅταν (635) οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης, ὄψῃ θεὸν
νεώτερον, εὐειδῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ
χλαμύδι κοκκίνῳ ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον. εὐθέως ἄσπασαι
αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἀσπαστικῷ·

because, (605) on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech (610) or mortal sound:

ĒEĒ OĒEĒ IŌŌ OE ĒEĒ ĒEĒ OE EŌ IŌŌ OĒĒE ĒĒE ŌOE
 IĒ EŌ OŌ OE IEŌ OE ŌOE IEŌ OE IEEŌ EĒ IŌ OE
 IOĒ ŌEĒ EOĒ OEŌ ŌIE ŌIE EŌ OI III EŌE ŌYE
 EŌOĒE EŌ EIA AEA EEA (615) EEEĒ EEEĒ EEEĒ IEŌ
 EĒE OĒEEEOĒ EĒE EYŌ OE EŌ EŌ ŌE ŌE EE OOO
 YIOE."

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then, similarly, begin the second, until you complete the (620) seven immortal gods of the world. When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again:

"Silence!" (the prayer)

Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors (625) open and the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently. Then when (630) your soul is restored, say:

"Come, Lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA
 ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI
 PHORATHI."

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of them. For when (635) you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown. At once greet him with the fire-greeting:

"κύριε, χαῖρε,
 μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>λοκράτωρ, (640) βασιλεῦ,
 μέγιστε θεῶν, ἡλίου, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 καὶ τῆς γῆς, θεὸς θεῶν,
 ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνολή,
 ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις, κύριε·
 ἐάν σοι δόξη,
 ἀγγειλὸν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ,
 τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι,
 ὅτι ἄνθρωπος,
 ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, (645) γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς
 ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ
 καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπὸ σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος,
 ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπαθανατισθεὶς ἐν
 ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ, ὑπερβαλλόν-
 τως ἀγαθοῦ,
 προσκυνῆσαι σε (650) ἀξιοῖ
 καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύνάμιν ἀνθρωπίνην
 (ἵνα συνπαραλάβῃς τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ
 ὥρας ὠρονόμον, ᾧ ὄνομα θραψικρι· μοριροκ,
 ἵνα φανεῖς χρηματίσει ἐν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις· εωρω
 ρωρε ωρρι ωριωρ ρωρ ρωι (655) ωρ ρεωρωρι
 εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε)."

ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὄψῃ αὐτὸν
 περιπατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ.

σὺ δὲ ἀτενίζων καὶ μύκωμα μακρὸν κερατοειδῶς, ὅλον
 ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦμα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγὼνα, μυκῶ καὶ
 καταφίλει (660) τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ
 δεξιόν·

"φυλαξὸν με προσυμηρι·"

ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὄψῃ θύρας ἀνοιγομένας καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ
 τοῦ βάθους ζ' παρθένους ἐν βυσσίνοις, ἀσπίδων πρόσωπα
 ἐχούσας. αὗται καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ (665) Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι
 χρύσεα βραβεῖα. ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἀσπάζου οὕτως·

"Hail, O Lord,
Great Power, Great Might, (640) King, Greatest
of gods, Hēlios, the Lord of heaven and
earth, God of gods:

mighty is your breath;
mighty is your strength, O Lord.
If it be your will,
announce me to the supreme god,
the one who has begotten and made you:
that a man--

I, _____ whose mother is _____, (645) who was
born from the mortal womb of _____ and from
the fluid of semen,

and who, since he has been born again from you
today, has become immortal out of so many
myriads in this hour according to the wish
of god the exceedingly good--

resolves to worship (650) you,
and prays with all his human power
(that you may take along with you the horoscope
of the day and hour today, which has the
name THRAPSIARI MORIROK,

that he may appear and give revelation during
the good hours, EÖRÖ RÖRE ÖRRI ÖRIÖR RÖR
RÖI (655) ÖR REÖRÖRI EÖR EÖR EÖR EÖRE!)."

After you have said these things, he will come to the
celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a
road.

Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like
a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your
sides; and kiss (660) the amulets and say, first toward
the right:

"Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!"

After saying this, you will see the doors thrown
open, and seven virgins coming from deep within, dressed
in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are
called the Fates (665) of heaven, and wield golden wands.
When you see them, greet them in this manner:

"χαίρετε, αἱ ζ' Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ
ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτοι τοῦ
μινιμιρροφορ, καὶ ἀγιώταται φυλάκισσαι τῶν
τεσσάρων στυλίσκων.

(670) χαῖρε, ἡ πρώτη, χρεψενθαης,
χαῖρε, ἡ β', μενεσχεης,
χαῖρε, ἡ γ', μεχραν,
χαῖρε, ἡ δ', αραρμαχης,
χαῖρε, ἡ ε', εχομμη,
χαῖρε, ἡ ς', τιχνονδαης,
χαῖρε, ἡ ζ', ερου ρομβριης."

προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ζ' θεοὶ ταύρων μελάνων
πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώμασιν (675) λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ'
διαδήματα χρύσεια. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὁμοίως ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ
αὐτῶν ὄνόματι.

"χαίρετε, οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες, οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ
ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι,
οἱ στρέφοντες (680) ὑπὸ ἔν κέλευσμα τὸν
περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
καὶ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ
κεραυνῶν βολὰς ἀφιέντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φύλα,
ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὄντι ὑγείαν καὶ
σώματος ὁλοκληρίαν (685), ἀκοῆς τε καὶ
ὁράσεως εὐτονίαν, ἀταραξίαν ἐν ταῖς
ἐνεστώσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς
ῥαῖς,

οἱ κύριοί μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί·
χαῖρε, ὁ πρῶτος, αἶρωννθι,
χαῖρε, ὁ β', μερχειμερος,
χαῖρε, ὁ γ', αχριχιουρ,
(690) χαῖρε, ὁ δ', μεσαργιλτω,
χαῖρε, ὁ ε', χιχρωαλιθω,

"Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars!^a

(670) Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAËS!

Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEËS!

Hail to you, the third, MECHHRAN!

Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHËS!

Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIË!

Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAËS!

Hail to you, the seventh, EROY ROMBRIËS!

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces of black bulls, in linen (675) loin-cloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole-Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

"Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths,

who turn (680) at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven,

who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people,

but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body (685), and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day,

O my Lords and powerfully ruling Gods!

Hail to you, the first, AÏERŌNTHI!

Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!

Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOYR!

(690) Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTŌ!

Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRŌALITHŌ!

a. The reference to the four pillars supporting heaven seems Egyptian. On the seven Fates of heaven, cf. the Seven Hathors.

χαῖρε, ὁ *f'*, ἐρμιχθαθωψ,
χαῖρε, ὁ *ζ'*, εορασιχη."

ὅταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα τῇ τάξει, ἀτένιζε τῷ
ἀέρι καὶ ὄψῃ κατερχομένης ἀστραπᾶς καὶ φῶτα μαρμαίροντα
(695) καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ κατερχόμενον θεὸν ὑπερ-
μεγέθη, φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν,
ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναξυρίσι, κατέχοντα
τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου (700) ὧμον χρύσειον, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἄρκτος
ἡ κινουσα καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν ἀνα-
πολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα. ἔπειτα ὄψῃ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν
ὁμμάτων ἀστραπᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλομένους.

σύ δὲ εὐθέως (705) μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν
γαστέρα, ἵνα συνκινήσῃς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μακρὸν εἰς
ἀπόθεσιν, μυκῶ καταφιλῶν πάλιν τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγων·

"μοκριμο φεριμοφερερι ζω<ή> μου, τοῦ δεῖνα,
μένε σύ,
νέμε ἐν τῇ (710) ψυχῇ μου,
μή με καταλείψῃς, ὅτι κελεύει σοι ἐνθὸ φενεν
θροπιωθ."

καὶ ἀτένιζε τῷ θεῷ μακρὸν μυκώμενος καὶ ἀσπάζου οὕτως·

"κύριε, χαῖρε, δέσποτα ὕδατος,

χαῖρε, κατάρχα γῆς,

χαῖρε, δυνάστα πνεύματος,

λαμπροφегγῇ (715), προπροφегγῃ ἐμεθιρι

αρτεντεπι· θηθ· μιμεω υεναρω φурхехω ψηρι

δαριω· φρη φρηλβα·

χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος.

Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHŌPS!

Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICĒ!"

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning-bolts going down, and lights flashing (695), and the earth shaking, and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,^a and holding in his right hand a golden (700) shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear^b which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour. Then you will see lightning-bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

And at once (705) produce a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses: bellow long until the conclusion, and again kiss the amulets, and say:

"MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI, life of me, ____:
stay!

Dwell in (710) my soul!

Do not abandon me, for one entreats you, ENTHO
PHENEN THROPIŌTH."

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

"Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water!

Hail, O Founder of the earth!

Hail, O Ruler of the wind!

O Bright Lightener (715), PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI
ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ
PSĒRI DARIŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA!

Give revelation, O Lord, concerning the matter
of ____.

a. Eastern attire.

b. The constellation called the Great Bear was known in Egypt as the Bull, or the Bull's Foreleg. Cf. also, with Dieterich, the place of the bull in Mithraism.

κύριε, παλινγενόμενος απογίγνομαι,
 αξιόμενος καὶ αύξηθεῖς (720) τελευτῶ,
 ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμενος, εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν
 ἀναλυθεῖς πορεύομαι,
 ὡς σὺ ἔκτισας,
 ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας
 καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον.
 ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι."

ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοδῆσει (725). ὑπέκ-
 λυτος δὲ ἔσει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, ὅταν σοι
 ἀποκρίνηται. λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ
 εἰπὼν ἀπελεύσεται, σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεὸς, ὡς ταῦτα πάντα
 χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως, καὶ τότε (730) μνημονεύσεις ἀπαρ-
 βάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα, καὶ ἦν μυρίων
 στίχων ὁ χρησμός.

ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς καὶ συνμύστη χρήσασθαι ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα
 ἐκεῖνον μόνον σὺν σοι ἀκούειν, συναγνευέτω σοι <ζ'> (735)
 ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλανείου. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ
 μόνος ᾖς καὶ ἐγχειρῇς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα, λέγεις ὡς
 ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλῃς,
 κρίνας, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος (740),
 χρησάμενος τῷ τ<ρ>όπῳ ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ
 ἀπαθαν<ατ>ισμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·
 "γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αετιουω." τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς
 μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς (745) κεφαλῆς ἀτόνῳ φθόγγῳ,
 ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ, κρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ. γίγνεται
 δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμὸς οὗτος τρὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ
 βουληθῇ τις, ὃ τέκνον, μετὰ

τὸ παράγγελμα παρακοῦσαι, τῷ οὐκέτι (750) ὑπάρξει.

Διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως·

λαβὼν κάνθαρον ἡλιακὸν τὸν τὰς ιβ̄ ἀκτῖνας ἔχοντα ποίησον εἰς βησίον καλλάϊνον βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι, συνεμβάλων αὐτῷ λωτομήτρας σπέρμα (755) καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποίησον μαζίον, καὶ εὐθέως αὐτὸν ὄψη προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθίοντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγη, εὐθέως θνήσκει. τοῦτον ἀνελόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει, καὶ (760) στρώσας καθαρείως ἄμμον ἱερὰν ἐπίθες τὸ ἀγγεῖον καὶ λέγε τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ' ἡλίου μεσουρανοῦντος·

"ἐγὼ σε ἐτέλεσα,

ἵνα μοι ἡ σου οὐσία γένη χρήσιμος, τῷ δεῖνα
μόνῳ ιε ια η εη ου εια·

ἐμοὶ μόνῳ (765) χρησιμεύσης·

ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι φωρ φορα φως φωτίζας (οἱ δέ· φωρ
φωρ οφοθει ξας)."

τῇ δὲ ζ' ἡμέρᾳ βαστάξας τὸν κάνθαρον, θάψας ζμύρνη καὶ οἷνῳ μενδησίῳ καὶ βυσσίῳ ἀπόθου ἐν κυαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι. (770) τὸ δὲ χρῆσμα ἐστιάσας καὶ συνευαχηθεὶς ἀπόθου καθαρείως εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμόν.

ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῃ θέλῃς δεικνύειν, ἔχε τῆς καλουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν περιχρίων τὴν ὄψιν, οὗ βούλει, μετὰ ῥοδίνου, (775) καὶ ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν. τούτου μείζον' οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πραγματεῖαν. αἰτοῦ δέ, ἂ βούλει, τὸν θεόν, καὶ δώσει σοι.

the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer (750) be in effect.

Instruction for the ritual:

Take a sun-scarab^a which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;^b put in together with it the seed of the lotometra, (755) and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it (viz. the scarab) moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and (760) spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in mid-heaven:

"I have consecrated you,
that your essence may be useful to me, to _____
alone, IE IA Ē EĒ OY EIA,
that you may prove useful to me (765) alone.
For I am PHĒR PHORA PHĒS PHOTIZAAS (others:
PHĒR PHĒR OPHOTHEI XAAS)."

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and wine from Mendēs and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean-field. (770) Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called "kentritis," and smear it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; (775) and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.^c

a. The scarab, the Egyptian god Kheper, represented the rising sun.

b. Literally "at the seizure of the moon." This interesting phrase probably designates the new moon.

c. For examples of Jewish and Christian parallels to this familiar statement, cf. Matthew 7:7, and H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: Beck, 1926), vol. 1, 450ff.

ἡ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις ἐστὶν ἡδε· βαστάξας κεντρῖτιν τὴν προκειμένην (780) βοτάνην τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένη λεόντι ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζυύρην γράψον ἐπὶ φύλλου περσέας τὸ ὀκταγράμματον ὄνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται, καὶ πρὸ γ' ἡμερῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθὲ πρῶίᾳ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, (785) ἀπόλειχε τὸ φύλλον δεικνύων ἡλίῳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως. ἄρχου δὲ αὐτὸν τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λεόντι κατὰ θεὸν νομηνίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστὶν τοῦτο·

"ἱ εε οο ἱαῖ."

τοῦτο ἔκλειχε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῇς, καὶ τὸ φύλλον (790) ἐλίξας ἔμβαλε εἰς τὸ ῥόδινον. πολλὰκις δὲ τῇ πραγματείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑπερεθαύμασα.

εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός·

"μηκέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι,

ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντα εἰς ποταμὸν

<χρῆ> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον (795)

τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος διὰ τῶν

κῆ ζῶων ὀρνεων,

χρᾶσθαι ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γ',

κατὰ πανσέληνον."

ἡ δὲ κεντρῖτις βοτάνη φύεται ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παῦνι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς (800) μελάνης γῆς, ὁμοία δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ ὀρθῷ περιστερεῶνι. ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως γίγνεται· ἴβεως πτερὸν κρίεται τὸ ἀκρομέλαν χαλασθὲν τῷ χυλῷ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θιγεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερὰ. τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου (805) ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενελαΐτῃ ἐν τῇ φαλαγρῷ πρὸς ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς πλησίον τοῦ Βησάδος βοτάνης.

Now presentation^a before the great god is like this: obtaining the above-mentioned herb (780) kentritis, at the conjunction (viz. of the sun and the moon)^b occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter formula, as is mentioned below. And keeping yourself pure for three days before, set out early in the morning toward the East, (785) lick off the leaf while you show it to the Sun, and then he (viz. the sun god) will listen to you attentively. Begin to consecrate this at the divine new moon,^c in the Lion. Now this is the formula:

"İ EE OO İAİ."

Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf (790), throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

"Use the ointment no longer,
but, after casting it into the river,
<you must> consult while wearing the great
mystery (795) of the scarab revitalized
through the twenty-five living birds,^d
and consult once a month, at full moon, instead
of three times a year."

The kentritis plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the (800) black earth, and is similar to the erect verbenā. This is how to recognize it: an ibis-wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the Lord (805) pointed this out, it was found in Menelaïtis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Bēsas plant.

a. Presentation or introduction to the great god for the sake of attaining friendship and communion with the god.

b. That is, at the new moon.

c. The new moon according to the heavens, made by god, in distinction from the new moon according to the calendar, made by man.

d. This allusion to the birds is somewhat obscure.

ἔστιν δὲ μονόκλωνον καὶ πυρρὸν ἄχρι τῆς ῥίζης καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν (810) ἔχοντα ὅμοιον τῷ κορύμβῳ ἀσπαράγου ἀγρίου. ἔστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ καλουμένῳ ταλάπῃ, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦτλον.

τὰ δὲ φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμένα (815) προβάτου μέλανος ζμυρνομέλανι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δήσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζῴου περιῶσαι, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ. εὐώνυμον <ον τ>οῦ "προσθυμηρι" πληρέστατον (820) καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει·

"ὡς εἰπὼν τάφοιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους·"

"ἄνδρας τ' ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέοισι φόνοισι·"

"αὐτοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσση·"

"τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι·"

(825) ἀνέβη Ζεὺς εἰς ὄρος χρυσοῦν μόσχον ἔχων καὶ μάχαιραν ἀργυρέαν· πᾶσιν μέρος ἐπέδωκεν, Ἀμάρφᾳ μόνον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἶπεν δέ·

"ἔξαφες, ὃ ἔχεις,

καὶ τότε λήψει ψινωθερ νωπιθερ θερνωψι"

(κοινόν).

(830) "τλῆ μὲν Ἀρης, ὅτε μιν ᾠτος κρατερός τ' Ἐπιάλτης."

θυμοκάτοχον·

"τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι·"

πρὸς φίλους·

"αἰρεῖτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν·"

It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit (810) like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called talapēs, like the wild beet.

Now the amulets require this procedure: copy the right one onto the skin (815) of a black sheep, with myrrh-ink, and after tying it with sinews of the same animal, put it on; and copy the left one onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHYMĒRI" (820), and has this text:

"So speaking, he drove through the trench
the single-hoofed horses." (II. X. 564)

"And men gasping among grievous slaughters."
(II. X. 521)

"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the
sea." (II. X. 572)

"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear
against Zeus." (II. VIII.424)

(825) Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said:

"Let go of what you have,
and then you will receive, PSINŌTHER NŌPSITHER
THERNŌPSI" (and so on, as you like).

(830) "So Arēs suffered, when Ōtos and mighty
Epialtēs ... him." (II. V. 385)

Spell for restraining anger:

"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against
Zeus." (II. VIII.424)

For friends:

"Let ... seize ..., lest we become a source of joy
for our enemies." (II. X. 193)

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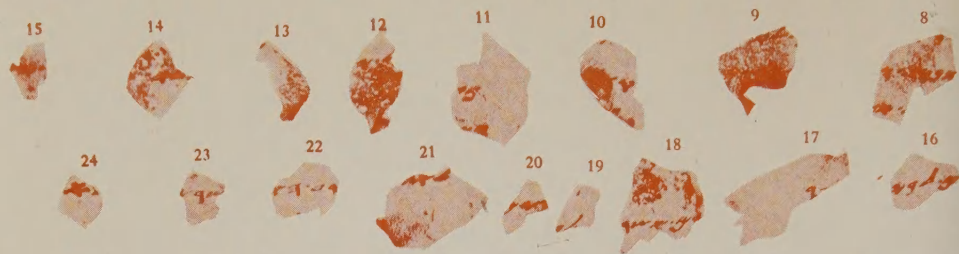
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TEXTS & TRANSLATIONS



GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGION



THE DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF LONDON AND LEIDEN

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THE
DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF
LONDON AND LEIDEN

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PREFACE

THE MS., dating from the third century A.D., which is here edited for the first time in a single whole, has long been known to scholars. Its subject-matter—magic and medicine—is not destitute of interest. It is closely connected with the Greek magical papyri from Egypt of the same period, but, being written in demotic, naturally does not reproduce the Greek hymns which are so important a feature of those papyri. The influence of purely Greek mythology also is here by comparison very slight—hardly greater than that of the Alexandrian Judaism which has supplied a number of names of Hellenistic form to the demotic magician. Mithraism has apparently contributed nothing at all: Christianity probably only a deformed reference to the Father in Heaven. On the other hand, as might have been expected, Egyptian mythology has an overwhelmingly strong position, and whereas the Greek papyri scarcely go beyond Hermes, Anubis, and the Osiris legend, the demotic magician introduces Khons, Amon, and many other Egyptian gods. Also, whereas the former assume a knowledge of the *modus operandi* in divination by the lamp and bowl, the latter describes it in great detail.

But the papyrus is especially interesting for the language in which it is written. It is probably the

latest Egyptian MS. which we possess written in the demotic script, and it presents us with the form of the language as written—almost as spoken—by the pagans at the time when the Greek alphabet was being adopted by the Christians. It must not be forgotten, too, that this is the document which contributed perhaps more than any other to the decipherment of demotic, partly through its numerous Greek glosses.

We have therefore thought that a complete edition, with special reference to its philological importance, would be useful. The vocabulary is extensive, comprising about a thousand words. The present volume, containing the introduction, the transliteration, translation, and notes, will be followed by a complete glossary, with separate indices of Greek words, invocation names, names of animals, plants, and minerals, and a list of the glosses, &c., besides a chapter dealing with the principal grammatical forms met with in the MS., and a hand-copy of the text; the photographic reproduction by Hess of the pages in the British Museum and Leemans' facsimile of those at Leiden will of course preserve their independent value for reference, as, for instance, in judging the condition of the MS. and the precise forms of the signs in particular passages.

There is considerable inconsistency in the spelling of words in the papyrus itself. So much having to be rendered more or less conventionally, while fresh light is thrown daily on the intricacies of demotic, it is probable that there are a good many inconsistencies in our transliterations, translations, and notes, in spite of the watchfulness of the excellent reader at the Clarendon

Press. Those, however, who have dealt with the subject at all will probably not judge these too hardly.

In conclusion, we have to record our gratitude, first, to our predecessors in publication and decipherment of the papyrus—to Reuvens, Leemans, and Hess, to Brugsch, Maspero, Revillout, and W. Max Müller—but for whose varied contributions our task would have been infinitely more laborious even in the present advanced state of the study: and secondly, to the authorities of the Egyptian department in the British Museum, and of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, for their courtesy in affording every facility for studying the original MS., and more especially to Dr. Boeser of the Leiden Museum for much kindness and assistance.

F. LL. G.

H. T.

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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE MS.

THE demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden was discovered at Thebes with other papyri, principally Greek but dealing with subjects of a like nature, in the early part of the last century, and was bought by Anastasi, who was at that time Swedish consul at Alexandria, and made a large collection of Egyptian MSS. When Anastasi obtained the MS. it must already have been torn into two parts, and it is even probable that he obtained the two parts at different times, since he sold his Egyptian collections, including the Leiden MS., to the Dutch government in 1828, while the London portion was bought at the sale of his later collections at Paris in 1857 for the British Museum (No. 1072 in Lenormant's Catalogue).

The Leiden fragment was made known to the world much earlier than that in the British Museum. Its importance for the deciphering of the demotic script by the help of the numerous glosses in Graeco-Coptic characters was at once perceived by the distinguished scholar Reuvens, at that time Director of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, who proceeded to study it carefully, and in 1830 published an admirable essay¹ in which he sketched the principal contents of the MS. and indicated its value for the progress of demotic

¹ Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs, par C. J. C. REUVENS. Leide, 1830. (Première lettre, Papyrus bilingues.)

studies. He then took in hand its reproduction, and the MS. was lithographed in facsimile under his direction, and he had corrected the proofs of the first plate when he was cut off by a premature death in 1835; his work was carried to completion and published by his successor in the Directorship of the Museum, Leemans, in 1839¹. Heinrich Brugsch studied it closely, and drew from it most of the examples quoted in his Demotic Grammar published in 1855; but, although later scholars have frequently quoted from it and translated fragments of it, the MS. has hitherto remained without complete translation, commentary, or glossary.

The London MS., however, lay from 1857 onwards almost unnoticed in the British Museum. To the late Dr. Pleyte, Leemans' successor at Leiden, belongs the credit of discovering that the two MSS. originally formed one. He had studied the Leiden portion, and at once recognized the handwriting of its fellow in London. Without publishing the fact, he communicated it to Professor Hess of Freiburg, when the latter was working in Leiden on the MS. there. Professor Hess went on to London, and, having fully confirmed Dr. Pleyte's statement, published in 1892 a reproduction of the British Museum MS. with an introduction, including the translation of one column, and a glossary².

Reuvens in his essay dwelt at some length on the 'gnostic' character of the MS. He devoted his attention mainly to the parts which contain the glosses, and those are almost exclusively magical invocations, among which occur the names of gods, spirits, and demons, Egyptian, Syrian, Jewish, &c., strung together in a manner similar

¹ *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide: papyrus égyptien démotique à transcriptions grecques I. 383, publié par le Dr. CONRAD LEEEMANS. Leide, 1839.*

² *Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar von J. J. Hess. Freiburg, 1892.*

to those found in gnostic writings and on gnostic gems. He even went so far as to associate them with the name of a particular gnostic leader, Marcus, of the second century, chiefly on the ground of his recorded use of Hebrew and Syriac names in his invocations and the combinations of vowels. In consequence the MS. has acquired the name of the 'Leiden Gnostic,' and the term 'Gnostic' has been passed on to the London MS. But as will be seen from the complete translation here published, there is nothing in the work relating to the gnostic systems—it deals with magic and medicine, and it seems a misnomer to call the MS. gnostic merely because part of the stock-in-trade of the magician and medicine-man were a number of invocation names which he either picked up from the gnostics or derived from sources common to him and them. Hence it has been thought desirable to abandon the epithet 'gnostic,' and to call the work the 'Magical papyrus of London and Leiden' (Pap. mag. LL.).

II. CONDITION OF THE MS.

The London portion is in far better condition than the Leiden portion. The papyrus is pale in colour and the ink very black; consequently where the MS. has not suffered material damage it is easy to read, as the scribe wrote a beautiful and regular hand.

The Leiden papyrus, on the other hand, has unfortunately suffered much, as Leemans, with a view to protecting the surface, covered both recto and verso with 'vegetable' paper, which probably could not be removed now without serious injury to the MS.; but either the paper or the adhesive matter employed with it has darkened and decayed, rendering the writing illegible in places.

In 1829, while the MS. was still in charge of Reuvens and before it had been subjected to the operation above described, he took a tracing of it which has been preserved, and which, though of little assistance in points of minute detail, may be relied on for filling up with certainty many groups which are now wholly lost in the original.

The main body of the writing is on the recto (horizontal fibres) of the papyrus, while on the verso are written memoranda, medical prescriptions, and short invocations.

The London MS. is Pap. No. 10070 of the British Museum (formerly Anast. 1072).

The Leiden MS. is known as I. 383 (reckoned among the Anastasi MSS. as A. 65).

The London portion forms the initial part of the MS. and joins on to the Leiden portion without a break, the tenth and last column of the London MS. and the first of the Leiden forming one column.

The first London column is imperfect, and it is not possible to say with certainty whether the MS. began with it or whether there was an anterior part now lost. It is quite possible that it began here. On the other hand, it is certain that the MS. is imperfect at the end, since the broken edge of the papyrus at Leiden shows traces of a column of writing succeeding the present final column.

It is impossible to estimate how much is lost, as the MS. is not an original composition on a definite plan, but a compilation of heterogeneous material collected together without any logical order.

The two portions, if joined together, would measure, roughly speaking, some 5 m. (about 16½ feet) in length. In height it averages nearly 25 cm. (10 in.). The writing is in columns, of which there are twenty-nine on the

recto, while on the verso are thirty-three small columns or portions of columns; but these are not marked off, as are the recto columns, by vertical and horizontal framing lines¹, nor are they written continuously, but they seem to have been jotted down there on account of their brevity and discontinuous character.

The recto columns vary somewhat in size, but average 20 × 20 cm. (8 in. square). The writing is frequently carried beyond the framing lines.

In each column of the recto the number of lines is on the average about thirty to thirty-three; but the number is very irregular, ranging from forty-three in one column to five in another.

III. CONTENTS.

As has been stated above, the MS. is a compilation. An analysis of the contents will be found on page 14. From this it will be seen to consist mainly of directions for divination processes involving numerous invocations, together with erotica and medical prescriptions, in which, however, magic plays as large a part as medicine.

The MS. is far from being unique in regard to its contents. Fragments of similar works in demotic exist at Paris (Louvre, No. 3229, published by Maspero, *Quelques papyrus du Louvre*, 1875), and at Leiden (I. 384 verso, Anast. 75, published by Leemans, *Mons. du musée de Leide*, 1842, pl. ccxxvi-vii) a MS. partly demotic and partly Greek, the latter portion being published by Leemans in *Pap. graeci mus. lugd. bat.* 1885, ii. Pap. V, and re-edited by Dieterich, *Pap. Mag. Mus. Lugd. Bat.* The Greek papyri containing similar texts are numerous, many examples having been pub-

¹ The horizontal lines on the recto are continuous for the whole length of the papyrus.

lished from the museums of Berlin, Leiden, London, and Paris by Goodwin, Parthey, Leemans, Wessely, and Kenyon.

The well-known codex of the Bibliothèque Nationale published by Wessely, *Denkschr. Kais. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, xxxvi. 1888, contains a few invocations in Old Coptic along with the Greek (cf. Griffith, *A. Z.* 1901, p. 85, and bibliography, *ibid.* p. 72).

Magic was from the earliest times largely developed by the Egyptians in relation both to the dead and the living. Under the former head fall both the pyramid texts and other texts found in the tombs, including most of the Book of the Dead, which consists mainly of magical invocations intended to make smooth the path of the deceased in the next world.

Magical texts for the use of the living are found in the Harris magical papyrus (ed. Chabas, 1860), the Metternich stela (ed. Golenischeff, 1877) and kindred stones, the Berlin papyrus edited by Erman (*Zaubersprüche für Mutter u. Kind*, 1901), &c. Reference may be made to the volume on Egyptian magic by Dr. Wallis Budge, 1899, and to a special study on vessel-divination by E. Lefébure, 'Le vase divinatoire,' in *Sphinx*, 1902, VI. 61 seq. Cf. also Dieterich, 'Abraxas'; Kenyon in *Cat. Greek Pap. in B. M.*, I. 62 seq.; Miss Macdonald in *P. S. B. A.*, xiii. 160 seq.; Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, &c.

In the closely allied department of medicine, it is sufficient to refer to the Ebers papyrus, the Kahun papyri, and the Berlin medical papyrus (ed. Brugsch, *Rec. Mon.* pl. 87-107), which offer many parallels. Among the Greek medical writers it is noticeable that Alexander of Tralles seems much more closely allied to the Egyptian school, if that be represented by our MS., than Galen.

But though the subject-matter of the MS. is not without its interest for the history of magic and medicine, its chief claim to publication lies in its philological interest. From the first its numerous glosses have attracted the attention of scholars, and have been the means of fixing the value of a large number of demotic groups. Further it is in date probably the latest known papyrus written in the demotic script; most of the glosses are really Coptic transcriptions, and under this head may likewise be included all the Egyptian words written in cipher; so that the MS. in these furnishes us with a series of very early Coptic words, including several grammatical forms of great interest. Possibly too the text may be of importance in relation to the question of dialects in pagan Egypt; but that is a subject too little worked out at present to allow of definite statements. The vocabulary is very extensive, and includes a number of Greek words, the names of over 100 plants, besides numerous animals and minerals.

IV. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE MS.

It may be useful to record here the names of those who have dealt with the MS. at greater length than a mere passing reference or quotation, and to whom we are indebted for many suggestions:—

REUVENS. *Supra*, p. 1.

LEEMANS. *Mons. &c., texte; Aegyptische Papyrus in demotischer Schrift, &c.* 1839.

MASPERO. *Rec. trav.*, i. 18-40 (1870).

REVILLOUT. *Setna*, introd. pp. 3-48 (1877); *Rev. Égypt.*, i. 163-172 (1880), ii. 10-15, 270-2 (1881); *Poème satyrique* (1885).

PLEYTE. *P. S. B. A.*, 1883, 149.

BRUGSCH. *Wtb. pass.*, *A. Z.*, 1884, 18 seq.

MAX MÜLLER. *Rec. tr.*, viii. 172 (1886), xiii. 149 (1890).

HESS. Setna pass. (1888), Zur Aussprache des Griechischen, in the *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, vi. 123; Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar, 1892.

GROFF. Mém. de l'Institut Égypt. iii. 337 seq. (1897), and Bulletin du même, 1897, 1898.

As the London portion of the MS., which in the order of contents is the first part, was published fifty years later than the second part at Leiden, it follows that each publication has an independent numbering of the columns, starting from I. In view of the fact that there are many references in demotic literature already to the columns by their numbers as established by the publications of Leemans and Hess, it would have been desirable to retain the existing numbering if possible. But, as will be seen by comparison of the hand copy of the whole MS. which accompanies this edition with the former publications, the changes in the way of consolidation of the columns, and in some cases necessary re-numbering of the lines, have made it compulsory to introduce a new and continuous numbering of the columns. For instance, Hess col. X and Leemans col. I form a single column, and the same is the case with Leemans cols. II and III and cols. IV and V, and with verso, cols. XVI and XVII, XXII and XXIII. A comparative table of the old and new numbers will be found at the end.

V. THE GLOSSES.

There are about 640 words with transcriptions in Coptic characters in addition to a few inserted in the text.

Besides all the letters of the Greek alphabet we find the following used:—

ft (= R 26/15).	6 (= t: w 9/11).
z (= R 7/33, 25/34).	y (= q 2/10, 9/14).
h (= λ 25/34, 35 text).	^ (= 2 9/14, 25/34).
⌘ (= ω 2/13, 5/23, 8/8).	9 (= 2 2/4).
3 (= w 1/25, 8/9, 13, V. 5/9).	5 (= s 9/6, 29/10).
λ (= w 2/18).	♣ (= x 2/26, 29/10).

The glosses were undoubtedly written by the same scribe who wrote the demotic text. And it seems that he wrote the glosses before he filled in the rubrics. For the handwriting of the demotic text and of the rubrics is unquestionably the same; and in filling up in red the empty spaces he had left for rubrication, the scribe took occasion to fill in with his red ink occasional lapses in the black writing. In the text this can be observed in e.g. 24/1, the omitted *str* (?) has been filled up in red, and also the omitted determinative in the last word of 28/8, an omitted letter in *phr* 29/11, an omitted word *sn* interlineated in 29/12, and a plural sign in 25/26; and so too the gloss *ewē* in 28/8, overlooked when the glosses were originally inserted in black ink.

It is a fact that there is often a considerable difference between the Greek letters in the passages written in Greek and in the glosses (e.g. *παπιπετον* in 15/25 and 15/29), but this may be accounted for by the fact that the former are written in a cursive hand with ligatures, while the glosses are carefully written with separately formed letters without ligatures for distinctness' sake in the narrow space between the lines.

The above considerations, however, only show that the text and glosses were written by the same hand in our existing MS. It does not follow that they were written by the original compiler. Max Müller has argued (Rec. tr., viii. 175) that they must be due to another individual since they are mostly in the Fayumic

dialect, while the dialect of the demotic text is 'Untersahidisch' (i. e. Achmimic, so called by Stern). In *Rec. tr.*, xiii. 152 *n.*, he replaces the latter term by a more precise definition: 'Die Mundart steht zwischen Fayumisch u. dem Mittel-ägyptischen von Akhmim, letzterem näher.' But it is very doubtful whether this distinction between the text and the glosses can be maintained. The only example quoted by Max Müller that distinctly suggests Fayumic is the gloss $\lambda\omega$ and λ over a group in 16/5 and 25/34, which he reads as = (e) $\rho\sigma\sigma$, regarding the interchange of ρ and λ as evidence of Fayumic dialect. But the demotic group in question does not read *er-w*, but *mr* as in *mr-ḥ* (1/17, 2/7, 14/6, 28), and the gloss $\lambda\omega$ represents the absolute form of the late Egyptian word which we see in its construct form in Sahidic $\lambda\epsilon\alpha\alpha\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ and in $\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omega\nu\iota\varsigma$. From the detailed examination of the dialect (in vol. ii) it appears probable that the dialect of the text does not show any distinction from that of the glosses, and it is not necessary to go behind the scribe of the present MS. and place the compiler earlier. He may well have been one and the same.

VI. DATE.

Reuvers (u. s. p. 151) placed the date of the MS. in the first half of the third century A. D., and this was repeated by Leemans.

Groff and Hess attributed it on palaeographical grounds to the second century; but in the light of recent additions to the knowledge of Greek palaeography, and the opinions based on them of Kenyon, Grenfell, and Hunt (see *A. Z.*, xxxix. (1901) p. 78), the third century must be accepted as the date of the MS. But this, of course,

is the date at which the papyrus was written, and merely furnishes a *terminus ad quem* for deciding as to the date of the contents.

That the whole of the papyrus, in its present state, was written by one and the same scribe—with the possible exception of verso XXVIII—can scarcely be a matter of doubt to any one who has studied closely the handwriting of the original MSS. It must be stated, however, that Reuvens and Leemans were of opinion that the glosses were written by a later hand than that of the body of the text: but this question has been discussed above (p. 9), and apart from the identity of ink, and the material proof given there, it may be added that the hieratic glosses in 27/8 are certainly written by the same hand as the numerous hieratic passages scattered through the text.

The date of the contents is a much more complicated question. Written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic, and partly in Greek, they wear the aspect of a compilation, which is borne out by the varied and disconnected nature of the subject-matter.

It has been suggested that the work is a translation into demotic of a Greek original, and perhaps this is the first question demanding discussion. *Prima facie* it may be said to be likely, as so many similar works exist in Greek. The introduction of three invocations of considerable length written in Greek characters almost compels us to accept that origin for those particular sections, viz. 4/1-19, 15/24-31, 23/7-20. It seems probable that the translator felt he could transfer to Egyptian the prescriptions and preparations, while the formula of incantation had to be left in the original language. Had these sections been written in Egyptian originally, it is not likely that an incantation in a foreign tongue would be inserted in the place presumably of an Egyptian one.

And in the first named instance there is the additional evidence of two true Greek glosses, i.e. not *Coptic transcriptions* of the demotic words, but Greek equivalents of the two words 'table' and 'goose,' which seem to be inserted clearly to prevent a misunderstanding of the original terms. In the second instance 15/24-31, the original Greek lines 25-28 are immediately followed by a demotic translation of the same passage (ll. 29-31), which points in the same direction. Translation from the Greek is rendered probable, outside the passages already referred to, by the transcription of Greek prescriptions and substances in 24/1-25, and verso I, II, VIII, IX. According to an ingenious suggestion of Max Müller, in verso II the otherwise unintelligible phrase *m^cnes n rm* is almost certainly a mistranslation of *μαγνησία ἀνδρεία*. Max Müller has also (Rec. tr., viii. 175-6) given strong reasons for regarding the passage 25/23-37 as being translated from a Greek original. However, even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian—certainly so in the case of the Greek passage in 15/25-28, which has itself clearly an Egyptian origin.

On the other hand, some of the chief sections of the MS. show no traces of Greek influence, e.g. cols. VI and XV. 1-20; but it would be rash to say that they are older; they may well represent only a purer Egyptian source. Max Müller (Rec. tr., viii. 172) has suggested that some of the magic formulae go back to the period from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty. This cannot be true of more than a few phrases. The language indeed is not entirely uniform, but throughout the papyrus the vocabulary and grammar are distinctly not 'Late Egyptian'; they are 'demotic,' and that too

of a kind which approaches Coptic much more closely than in any other known papyrus. Certain passages, such as the spell in 13/1-10, show more or less archaism, but in all cases it is mixed with late forms.

The use of hieratic might be thought to indicate some antiquity where it occurs. But the writing is a strange jumble; the hieratic is inextricably though sparingly mixed with the demotic, a single word being often written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic. Where hieratic signs occur the language is not generally more archaic than when the demotic is pure. In 23/24 the word *Abrasax* is written in hieratic. Now *Abrasax* is usually regarded as a typical gnostic invocation name, Irenaeus having stated that it was invented by Basilides (fl. 125 A.D.). This statement is now generally regarded as an error, and the name may be earlier; but there is no authority for placing it in pre-Christian times (cf. Hort, s.v. *Abrasax*, in Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; Dieterich, *Abrasax*, p. 46; C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Kopt. Spr.*, 1892, p. 562).

Not many documents written in hieratic have been ascertained to be later than the first century A.D.; but they were plentiful at Tanis amongst the burnt papyri found by Professor Petrie in the house of 'Bakakhuu' (Asychis), the destruction of which Mr. Petrie was disposed to date to 174 A.D. (Tanis, i. p. 41); and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. v. 237) mentions hieratic as still taught in the schools (circa A.D. 160-220). Hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the name of Decius (249-251), are found in the temple of Esneh, and the existence of hieroglyphic almost implies that of hieratic.

Judging by the language, it is difficult to believe that any part of the work in its present redaction is more than a century or two older than the papyrus itself.

The contents of the papyrus may be classified as follows :—

1. Divination—

- (a) by the vessel of oil I-III, IX-X. 22, XIV, XVIII. 7-33, XXI. 1-9, XXII (?), XXVIII, verso XXII, verso XXVI.
- (b) by a lamp V, VI-VII, VIII. 1-12, XVI, XVII-XVIII. 6, XXV. 1-22, XXVII. 13-36, verso XVIII, verso XXIV, verso XXXI.
- (c) by the sun X. 22-end, XXVII. 1-12, XXIX.
- (d) by moon XXIII. 21-31.
- (e) by the Foreleg constellation (Great Bear) verso XVIII.
- (f) by stars ? IV. 23-4.
- (g) through the priest Psash (?) VIII. 12-end.
- (h) through Imuthes IV. 1-22.
- (i) by dreams verso XVII, eye-paint XXI, invocation XXVII ? XXVIII.
- (k) for thief-catching III. 29, or shipwreck (?) verso XV.

2. to obtain favour and respect XI, verso XXXII.
to avert anger of superior XV. 24-31.

3. Erotica—

- by potions XV. 1-21, XXI. 10-43, XXV. 23-XXVI.
- by salves XII, verso III. 14-16, XII-XIII. 9, XIII. 10-11, XIV, XXIII, XXV, XXX, XXXII.
- αγωγιμον* verso XVI, XVII, XIX.
- διακοπη* XIII. 1-10.

4. Poisons, &c.—

- blinding XIII. 11, XXIV. 30.
- soporifics XXIII. 1-20, XXIV, verso II. 16-III. 3.
- maddening (magic) verso XXIX.
- slaying XXIII. 7, XXIV. 28, verso XXXII.
- uses of the shrew-mouse, &c. (chiefly in erotica) XIII. 11-end and verso XXXII.

5. Healing—

- poison XIX. 10-21.
- sting XX. 1-27.
- dog's bite XIX. 9, 32-40.
- bone in throat XIX. 21-32, XX. 27-33.
- gout and other affections of feet verso VIII-X, XI.
- water in ears verso IV. 1-5.
- ophthalmia (?) verso XX.
- fever verso XXXIII.
- haemorrhage, &c. in woman verso V. 1-3, 9-13, V. 4-8.
- to ascertain pregnancy verso V. 4-8.

6. names or descriptions of plants, drugs, &c. verso I-II. 15, III. 4-13, 17-18, IV. 6-19, V. 14-17.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

COLUMN I-III. Divination by vessel with medium.

1/2-3/5 invocation ; 3/5-3/35 directions.

IV. 1-19. Process employed by Imuthes.

1-8 directions ; 9-19 Greek invocation.

IV. 20-22. For a horoscope (?).

IV. 23-24. Eye-paints.

V. 1-2. fragmentary.

3-32. Divination by lamp without medium.

3-8 directions ; 9-23 invocations ; 24-32
prescription for eye-paint and further
directions.

VI-VIII. 11. Divination by lamp, with medium and alone.

6/1-11 directions ; 6/11-8/11 invocations.

VIII. 12-18. Divination alone, according to the priest
Psash (?).

12-16 invocation ; 16-18 directions.

IX-X. 22. Divination of Chons by vessel.

9/1-10/9 invocation ; 10/9-10/19 directions
for use with medium ; 10/20-10/22 for
use alone.

X. 22-35. Divination by vessel to see the bark of Ra, alone.

23-30 invocation ; 30-35 directions.

XI. Formula for acquiring praise and honour.

1-21 invocation ; 21-26 directions.

XII. Eroticon.

1-14 directions ; 15-18 invocation ; 18-27
alternative invocation ; 27-31 further
directions.

XIII. To separate a man from a woman.

2-9 invocation ; 9-10 directions (? incom-
plete) ; 11-29 uses of shrew-mouse (?) and
other animals, &c., for removing the man
and procuring the woman.

XIV. Divination by vessel with medium.

2-16 invocation ; 17-32 directions.

COLUMN XV. 1-20. Eroticon.

1-8 directions; 8-20 invocation.

XV. 21-23. Another eroticon.

XV. 24-31. Formula for averting anger of a superior.

25-28 Greek invocation; 29-31 demotic translation of the same.

XVI. 1-14. Divination by lamp; invocation.

XVI. 15-17. Invocation before the sun for success generally.

XVI. 18-30. Divination by lamp with a medium.

18-19 directions; 20-22 invocation; 22-30 further directions.

XVII. 1-21. Another method of divination by lamp with medium.

1-11 invocation; 11-21 directions.

XVII. 21-23. Another method of the same.

XVII. 24-26. Another method of the same.

XVII. 27-XVIII. 6. Another method of the same.

XVIII. 7-33. Divination by vessel with medium or alone.

8-23 invocation; 24-33 directions.

XIX. 1-9. Formula for the bite of a dog.

1-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XIX. 10-21. Formula for extracting poison from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a philtre.

11-19 invocation; 19-21 directions.

XIX. 21-32. Formula for a bone in the throat.

22-28 invocation; 28-32 directions.

XIX. 32-40. Formula for the bite of a dog.

33-39 invocation; 39-40 directions.

XX. 1-27. Formula for the sting of a scorpion (?).

2-13 invocation; 14-27 directions and invocation to the oil.

XX. 27-33. Formula for a bone in the throat.

XXI. 1-9. Divination by vessel through Osiris.

2-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XXI. 10-43. Eroticon (a scarab in wine).

10-20 directions; 20-43 invocations.

XXII. 1-5. Divination by vessel for spirit summoning (incomplete).

XXIII. 1-20. Formula to inflict catalepsy and death.

2-8 directions; 9-20 Greek invocation.

COLUMN

- XXIII. 21-26. Vessel-divination by the moon.
21-24 directions ; 24-26 invocation.
- XXIII. 27-31. Another method of the same.
- XXIV. Various prescriptions for producing sleep,
catalepsy, death, &c.
- XXV. 1-22. Divination by lamp with a medium.
2-8 invocation ; 9-22 directions.
- XXV. 23-31. Eroticon.
- XXV. 31-XXVI. 18. Eroticon.
25/31-33 directions ; 25/34-37 invocation ; 26/1-18 alternative invocation.
- XXVII. 1-12. Divination by vessel with medium, for
seeing the bark of Ra.
1/9 invocation ; 9-12 directions.
- XXVII. 13-36. Divination by lamp with medium.
13-19 directions ; 20-24 invocation ;
24-36 prescription for eye-paint and
further directions.
- XXVIII. 1-9. Divination by vessel, alone.
1-4 invocation ; 4-9 directions.
- XXVIII. 10-15. Another method of the same.
- XXIX. 1-20. Divination by the sun with medium.
1-4 directions ; 5-12 invocation ; 12-
17 alternative invocation ; 17-20
further directions.
- XXIX. 20-30. Another method of the same.

VERSO.

- I. Names of plants.
- II. 1-15. Names of plants and minerals.
- II. 16-20. Prescription for sleeping draught.
- III. 1-3. Another.
- III. 4-13, 17-18. Names of minerals.
- III. 14-16. Eroticon.
- IV. 1-5. Prescription for the ears.
- IV. 6-19. Names of animals and plants.
- V. 1-3, 9-13. Prescriptions for hæmorrhage in women.
- V. 4-8. Prescription for ascertaining pregnancy.
- V. 14-17. Names of plants.

- VI-VII. Prescriptions for ailments of women.
- VIII-X. Prescriptions for gout.
 - XI. Prescriptions for ailments of the feet.
- XII-XIV. Erotica.
- XV. Formula for thief-catching and against shipwreck (?).
- XVI. Eroticon.
- XVII. Formula for dreams.
- XVIII. Divination by lamp, or by the Fore-leg (Great Bear)
Constellation.
 - XIX. Formula for summoning a woman.
 - XX. Prescription for ophthalmia (?).
 - XXI. Formula for an eye-paint (?).
- XXII. Vessel-divination, alone.
- XXIII. Eroticon.
- XXIV. Lamp-divination.
- XXV. Eroticon.
- XXVI. Invocation for use in vessel-divination.
- XXVII. Invocation for the same (?).
- XXVIII. Directions for spirit-summoning (?).
- XXIX. Formula to produce madness.
- XXX. Erotica.
- XXXI. Invocation for use in lamp-divination.
- XXXII. Formula for producing love or death of a woman, and
acquiring praise.
- XXXIII. Formula for removing fever.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

TRANSLATION.

RESTORATIONS are placed in *square* brackets []. Lacunae in the original, for which no restoration is suggested, are represented by dots. Words in *round* brackets () are not in the original, but are added by the translators; those between angular brackets < > are intended to be omitted.

The second person singular has been rendered by 'thou, thee' in invocations, by 'you' elsewhere. In the very few instances in which the second person plural occurs, it is indicated by the use of 'ye' or 'you' (plur.); (*bis*) following a word indicates that the word is followed in the original by the sign *sp sn*, implying that the word or phrase is to be repeated.

An accurate transcription of the magic names is given in the transliteration; in the translation we have rendered the sound approximately without strict adherence to any one system, generally following the glosses where they exist, as it was thought that this would be the most useful course for such readers as are not Egyptian scholars.

TRANSLITERATION.

For the system, see note preceding the demotic glossary. Words transliterated with Coptic letters *between asterisks* are written in *cipher* in the original.

REFERENCES.

In referring to the plates of the papyrus in vol. ii, Col. I. l. 1 is quoted as 1/1 and verso, Col. II. l. 3 as V. 2/3, &c.

TRANSLITERATION

COL. I.

1. ḥn p tš n Pr-mze z-mt
2. štte n pe-f ryt ḥtp n Pr- . . . e ḥr-f mw tylk
3. n 'm t(?) e ne-f(?) šh(?)n 're-t 'nh't
4. tkr my p wyn p wstn ḥn pe hn
5. a'wn n-y p t a'wn n-y t ty't a'wn n-y p nwn
6. 'o't n ḥmt n 'rq-ḥḥ n ntr-w nt n t p't nt θsc
'm-n
7. wyn p wstn ḥn pe hne pe
8. ḥm-ḥl nte ḥr-f pḥt a py hne (nhē) my wz

COL. I.

l. 1. Restore from 18/7. The parallel text to ll. 13-17 shows that more than half of the page is lost, but the heading line was probably not of full length. *Pr-mze* is *πεμζε* (Oxyrhynchus), capital of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

l. 2. *Pr- . . . e (?)*. The group suggests a reading *Pr-'r-'mn* for *περεμν* (Pelusium), but the 'r (?) sign is perhaps too upright, and it is more likely that the two signs following *Pr* are a special group for some divine name. Nothing is known of the religious importance of Pelusium, or even of its name in Egyptian, but the city is mentioned in a Greek invocation quoted below at l. 12.

l. 3. *sh (?)*. This group, here in the plural, may represent  *sh*, 'toes' (LANGE, A. Z., 1896, 76). Cf. LEPSIUS, Todtenb., c. 42, l. 9 *kw sh-w-i sh-w-i m 'r/w (sic) 'nh-w*, 'my fingers and toes are as rearing serpents.' But the same group recurs in 7/2 as a masc. sing. subst. where the context rather suggests the meaning 'testicles.'

'nh-i, of a serpent, cf. 12/17; in Egyptian *PLEYTE*, Pap. Tur., cxxxii. 4 and (very late) Mar. Pap. Boul., I. Pl. 9, ll. 5-6. It seems to mean 'darting forward for attack.' Similar meanings, 'rise,' &c., are common, esp. in late texts, Br., Wtb., 198-9; cf. also 9/16, 10/7. But in GRIFFITH, Tell el Yahudiyeh, xxv. 15, an enraged serpent *'nh nf-w-f* 'breathed its vapour' at a god, *'nh* being there a transitive verb surviving in Sah. *anw-tnw* 'breathe,' BSCIAI, Rec. tr., vii. 25 (Job ix. 18).

TRANSLATION

COL. I.

(1) [A vessel-divination which a physician?] of the nome of Pemze [gave to me]. Formula: (2) '[O god N.] the border of whose girdle (?) rests in Peremoun (?), whose face is like a spark (3) of (?) an obscene (?) cat, whose toes (?) are a rearing uraeus (4) quick[-ly ?]; put light and spaciousness in my vessel (5) Open to me the earth, open to me the Underworld, open to me the abyss, (6) great of bronze of Alkhah, ye gods that are in heaven, that are exalted, come ye (7) [put ?] light and spaciousness in my vessel, my (8) [this] boy, whose face is bent over this vessel

l. 4. *p wynn p wstn*, cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. v. 17 (ed. DIETERICH) γευσθω βα(θυσ) πλα(τος) μη(κος) αυγη in an ονειρου αιτησις.

l. 5. Or perhaps '[Open to me, O heaven!], open to me, O earth!' &c. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1180 ανοιγητι (sic) ουρανε.

ty.t transcribed ΤΗΙ in Gloss. 17/20, O. C. Par. ΤΗ (A. Z., 1883, 94). In II Kham. ii. 10, &c., the judgement of the dead takes place in Tei, which seems convertible with Amenti.

p nwn. It is a question whether this is the hieroglyphic . The latter occurs only twice in this papyrus, but in one of the instances it is clearly parallel to *nwn*. Cf. xxi. 33 *nle-k py k km hyt r pyr n p*  with ix. 15 *nk p hf r pyr n p nwn*.

l. 6. *rg-hh*. BRUGSCH, Dict. Geog., 130, 1121 = [a]λχα 15/27, O. C. Par. αλχδδ (A. Z., 1883, 104), the necropolis at Abydos where the head of Osiris was preserved. It is spelt with *l*, *lg-hh* only once in 15/30, cf. the converse in *gh'ikter* = χαρακτηρ 5/5.

m-n. αωωωω, cf. MÜLLER, A. Z., 1893, 50, who suggests that it is cohortative 1st plur. 'let us come,' or for *m-w n-y*, 'come ye unto me,' with the *n-y* unaccented being reduced to an enclitic, but cf. 11/16 *m-n n-y*.

l. 8. *nhe*, 'oil,' and *hne*, 'vessel,' confused in the writing. Parallel passages authorize either.

9. e ze py šn-hne p šn-hne n ʾS:t pe e-s qte
 10. ʾm n-y a hn . . . pe ḥtr ze hb nb . . .
 11. . . . [nte-]k t wn yr:t-f n py ḥlw a bl ar-w tre-w
 12. z ʾnk pe p pr-ʿo my-sr sr-my-srpt rn-yt
 13. [a]r-k ty n p-hw z ʾnk pe syt-tʾ-k stm rn-yt stm
 14. hrenwte lʿppt-t-thʿ lʿksnthʿ sʿ
 15. l bwel sp-sn lwtery gʿsʿntrʿ yʿh-ʿo
 16. [p]šft n t p:t ʾblnʿthʿnʿlbʿ p srff
 17. [e-ʾr-k] zt-f e-ʾr-k sq n ḥrw-k p mr-ʾḥ-nfr pe ḥtr

l. 10. *ḥtr* here and elsewhere perhaps 'compeller,' meaning him (here Anubis) who compels the gods to do the magician's will.

l. 11. *aa*. Note this gloss as a variant or correction of *nte-k ty*, also in l. 18.

l. 12. *z ʾnk*. For the essentially Egyptian identification of the utterer of the spell with his god see DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 136 note, and cf. *Iambl. de Myst.* vi. 6.

p pr-ʿo my-sr, cf. the corrupt *τον μουισδρω τον αναξ* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. ix. 11-12.

sr-my-srpt. The same signs recur grouped together in varying order as a divine appellative in 9/6 and 11/8. The knife  and hide  are the zodiacal signs of Leo and Aries (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22); the flower or seed-head is the peculiar determinative of the *carpot* throughout this papyrus. The same divine name, composed of a lotus bud (?)  with lion and spelt-out name of ram (*srw*), occurs in LEPS., *Todt.*, cap. 162, l. 5, variants giving *srpḏ* for the lotus bud (?) (Br., Wtb., 1265) and *mʿy* for the lion (Leyd. Lijkpap., No. 16). Cf. also PLEYTE, *Chapitres Suppl.*, Pl. 14 and 131. The group of a lotus leaf, lion, and ram is figured on several hypocephali, the best example being in BUDGE, *Lady Meux Cat.*, 2nd ed., Pl. VI. Cf. PLEYTE, *ib. text*, Pl. opp. p. 60. Probably none of these instances are earlier than the Persian invasion. Outside our papyrus the normal order is evidently lotus-lion-ram, and Greek versions agree with this: *Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXI. l. 499* *εγω ειμι ο εν τω Πηλουσιω καθιδρυμενος Σερφουθ: μονισρω:* (so facs.), similarly l. 557; in Leyd. Pap. V. col. 3 a, l. 6, the spelling is varied and corrupt. In each case *σερφουθ* is marked off from *μονισρω*, the latter appearing as one word. On a gnostic gem in the Wilson Collection belonging to Aberdeen University is the legend:—*σερφουθ μονισρω λαιλαμ δος μοι χαριν πραξιν νεικην*. In this combination the lotus (*carpot*, see below, 2/17), the lion (*μοσι*, see below, 5/11), and the ram (*ερω*, see below, 11/8 and 14/13, and decan names in Br., Wtb. *Suppl.*, 995) probably all represent solar attributes.

rn-yt. This abnormal spelling apparently arises from a combination

(oil); cause to succeed (9) for this vessel-divination is the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought (10) come in to me, O my compeller (?), for everything (11) and cause the eyes of this child to be opened to them all, (12) for I am the Pharaoh Lion-ram; Ram-lion-lotus is my name (13) to thee here to-day, for I am Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, Setem (14) [is my true name, &c.] Hrenoutê, Lapptotha, Laxantha, Sa-(15)[risa, &c.] Bolbouel (*bis*), Louteri, (Klo-)Kasantra, Iaho (16) [is my name, &c., Balkam the] dread(?) one of heaven, Ablanathanalba, the gryphon (17) [of the shrine of God, &c.]. [You] say it, drawling(?) with your

of the earlier *ryn-y* and the later form found in O. C. Par. **ερεντ** (A. Z., 1900, 89, cf. Boh. **ερενκ** **Ηνν**. Actes, 108). Cf. 14/2 *yr̄t-yr̄t*.

l. 13. Lines 13-17 are repeated with the missing passages complete in verso XXVII, which is written on the back of this and the following column.

syt-p-k. The first element is written as the 'serpent' **εῖτ** in the parallel text and *k* is bull (**κρ**, 7/33), but *p* seems meaningless. It may possibly be 'the impregnator of the cow,' cf. BUDGE, *Nesiamsu*, iii. 6, *p k syt m k-wt*. In PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, i. 252, we have practically the same phrase introduced into an O. C. context which gives an entirely different meaning, 'I am Osiris whom Set destroyed,' **ΠΕΝΤΑΣΤΗ ΤΑΡΟ(ς)**; see ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 109 note.

stm, i.e. 'hearing,' or perhaps 'hearer,' but the personal determinative is absent.

l. 15. *Kasantra* alone without **κλο** appears in the demotic of both texts, suggesting a reminiscence of the prophetess Cassandra.

l. 16. *srrf* the hieroglyphic *sfr* of II Beni Hasan, Pl. IV, a winged quadruped with raptorial beak. The *srrf* is described in Kufi, xv. 1 seq., as 'the image (?) of god (?), the king (?) of all that is in the world, the avenger that cannot (himself) be punished; his beak is that of the falcon, his eyes those of a man, his limbs of a lion, his ears of a . . . , his scales of a water- . . . , his tail a serpent's.' Further, he is the mightiest of beings next to God, has authority over everything on earth like Death, and is the instrument of God's vengeance.

l. 17. *sq*, cf. 6/19 for the complete phrase. The meaning 'drawl' is not quite certain. It must be some artificial way of speaking, such as whining or muttering, cf. 7/32 and Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 1, l. 38, col. 3. l. 2, and *φθογγος αναγκαστικός*, &c., Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. 765 seq.

18. a šnt-k ar-f ty n p-hw nte-k t wn yr-t-f n
py [lw]

19. nb nte-k nhm py 'lw nte hr-f ph[t a py]

20. n ntr hry-t p-sepe-n-p-t hry-t

21. ank pe Hr 'Mn nt hms a py šn-hne ty n
p[hw]

22. py šn-hne ty n p-hw m'rygh'ry e'r-k

23. nte-w z pe šn n-y z n-w sp-sn n ntr-w nt w'eb
n p nwn

24. n t n rn nte n ntr-w n Kmy h' hr n gpe-w

25. th'r z ank t'-py-šteh-ty n t n rn

26. t wz-k p pr-'o peš'm-ty nt htp hr r

27. ny hpš-w n nb n m't t m't n r-y p 'bye

28. th' z ank pe stel y'h-'o wn-t

COL. II.

1. e'r-k z n p hm-hl z a-wn n yr-t-k e-f wn yr-t-f nte-f
nw a p wyn e'r-k t 'r-f 'š

2. z 'w sp-sn p wyn pyr sp-sn p wyn θse sp-sn p wyn
hy sp-sn p wyn p nt n bl

3. 'm a hn e-f hp nte-f wn yr-t-f nte-f tm nw a p wyn
e'r-k t 'r-f htm yr-t-f

p-mr-'h pronounced *p-le-che*, produces the common Ptolemaic proper name Πελαίας, as is proved by a bilingual (SPIEGELBERG, Strassb. Pap. No. 21, text, pp. 21-2, the reading *P-ers* to be corrected to *p-mr-'h*; the Greek nominative shown in GRENF. Amh. Pap. LI. 5). The religious significance of this appellation, 'the good oxherd,' is not clear, nor has it been traced in early texts; from 2/7 it is clearly applied to Anubis, and perhaps dogs were used for herding cattle in Ancient Egypt? It is probably equivalent to Gk. ποιμην, for which see GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 26, B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 31. If the Good Shepherd is the meaning, we may note the Χριστος Ανοβις of Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. vi. 17.

1. 19. *nhm* written with the lotus bud, cf. BR., Wtb., 796-7.

1. 20. *pet*. In the writing of the glosses the aspirate is suppressed before *p*, even in 19/19 *npat* for *p-hrt*, so also 16/7 *napph*, 28/9 *poaoop* 29/14 *paētwt*, V. 33/3 *apaet*. The initial demotic group *hry* is seen in

voice: 'O beautiful oxherd, my compeller, (18)
 ask thee about here to-day; and do thou cause
 the eyes of this boy to be opened (19)
 and do thou protect this boy whose face is bent down
 [over this (20) vessel] of god, lord of earth, the
 survivor(?) of the earth, lord of earth (21)
 I am Hor-Amon that sitteth at this vessel-divina-
 tion here to-day (22) this vessel-divination
 here to-day; Marikhari, thou (23)
 and that they tell me my inquiry. Say to them (*bis*)
 "O holy gods of the abyss (24) [I am] of
 earth by name, under the soles [of] whose [feet?] the
 gods of Egypt are placed (25) thar, for I am
 Ta-pishtehei of earth by name (26) preserve
 thee, O Pharaoh, Pashamei that resteth at the mouth (?)
 (27) these shoulders of real gold.
 Truth is in (?) my mouth, honey (28) [is in my lips?]
 Ma tha for I am Stel, Iaho, Earth-opener."

COL. II.

(1) You say to the boy 'Open your eyes'; when he
 opens his eyes and sees the light, you make him cry out,
 (2) saying 'Grow (*bis*), O light, come forth (*bis*) O light,
 rise (*bis*) O light, ascend (*bis*) O light, thou who art
 without, (3) come in.' If he opens his eyes and does

Ptolemaic proper names commencing with $\Phi\rho\iota$ - 'sheikh' = *p-hry*-. The
 pronunciation here would be *hri-to* rather than *pert*, unless the spelling is
 fanciful.

l. 21. Hor-Amon is known in figures of glazed pottery (LANZONE, Diz.
 Mit., 601).

l. 23. *sp-sn*. It seems probable that this group may be used simply as
 a mark of emphasis, e.g. after *m šs*, 'exceedingly,' and here after the
 imperative 'say to them!' It can hardly mean 'say to them twice.'

l. 26. *hr r*, or 'opposite,' as in Coptic *gipent*-.

l. 27. *'bye*, cf. 9/16: or perhaps, 'The truth of my mouth [is] the honey
 [of my lips].'

4. e·r-k š ar-f n whm z-mt-t p kke a·l-k n ḥ-t-f p wyn a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn
5. p š·y nt ḥn p nwn a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn Wsr nt ḥr nšme·t a·ny p wyn n-y
6. a ḥn py IV tw nt n bl a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn p nte p šp pa ny wne·t-w n t·t-f a (*sic*)
7. a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn Ḳp p-mr·ḥ nfr a·ny p wyn n-y a ḥn z e·r-k
8. a t s·o ar-y ty n p-hw z ḥnk Ḳr s Ḳt p s nfr n Wsr e·r-k a ḥny n ntr-w n t s·t
9. wype e·r-k a t ḥ-r-w ḥr n pe ḥb n-se t mš·e(?) te·t yp·t Ne-tbew e·r-k a ty ḥ-r-w ḥr n·m-s
10. z(?) twr·m-ne ḥm-ne ḥ· mes sp-sn ḥo-rnw-ḥo-rf sp-sn ḥo-rnw-ḥo-rf sp-sn pḥ-ḥo-r-f
11. pḥ-r-f y·ḥo qwy n stn tw-ḥr my wz py ḥw nte ḥr-f pḥte a py
12. nh[e nte-k(?)] t ph(?) n-y Sbk š· nte-f pyr stm rn-yt stm pe pe rn n mt z ḥnk
13. l . . [m] t twlot tḥt pynt·t pe rn n mt p ntr ḥo nte ne·ḥw rn-f

COL. II.

l. 4. *a·l-k*. The *a* is an addition above the line. *l-k* would be $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\kappa$, but the *a* prefixed suggests * $\alpha\lambda\iota\epsilon\kappa$ on the analogy of $\alpha\lambda\iota$, hardly $\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon\kappa$ 'cease,' cf. St., § 384. The gloss may of course be incomplete, like some others.

a·ny, the same formula in O. C. Par. $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\omega\theta\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\iota$ A. Z., 1900, p. 87.

l. 5. *p š·y* O. C. Par. $\pi\sigma\omicron\iota$ A. Z., 1883, p. 105: 1900, 92 and $\Psi\omicron\iota$ ib. 93 from Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1643. A god whose name often occurs in Graeco-Egyptian names, *Σενψαυς*, &c. (cf. SPIEGELBERG, Demot. Stud., i. p. 57*), and in the titles of Antoninus Pius was translated *ἀγαθοδαίμων*. In the older texts (*š·y*) he seems to be mainly a god of destiny (LANZ., Diz. Mit., 1185).

p š·y nt ḥn p nwn = $\sigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\upsilon\ \sigma\ \phi\eta\nu\omicron\nu\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 239.

nšme·t, the bark of Osiris: see Rec. trav., xvi. 105 seq., esp. p. 121.

l. 6. *šp*. The meaning is very uncertain. It might be 'the ruling star,' cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 9, l. 36 $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

not see the light, you make him close his eyes, (4) you call to him again; formula: 'O darkness, remove thyself from before him (*sic*)! O light, bring the light in to me! (5) Pshoi that is in the abyss, bring in the light to me! O Osiris, who is in the Nesheme-boat, bring in the light to me! (6) these four winds that are without, bring in the light to me! O thou in whose hand is the moment(?) that belongeth to these hours (7) bring in the light to me! Anubis, the good oxherd, bring in the light to me! for thou (8) shalt give protection(?) to me here to-day. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of Osiris; thou shalt bring the gods of the place (9) of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do my business, and they shall make my affair proceed; Netbeou, thou shalt cause them to do it. (10) For [I am?] Touramnei, Amnei, A-a, Mes (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Pahorof, (11) Pahrof, Io, a little(?) king, Touhor; let this child prosper, whose face is bent down to this (12) oil [and thou shalt] escort(?) Souchos to me until he come forth. Setem is my name, Setem is my correct name. For I am (13) L[ot], M[oulo]t, Toulot, Tat,

l. 8. *co* may be only magical gibberish, but suggests the word for 'protection,' 'amulet.'

l. 9. *wyfe*, the gods of the place of judgement are presumably the numerous gods of Egypt who assisted at the judgement of the dead. Cf. V. 33/2.

Ne-ibew, a deity (?) unknown except in the proper name *Πανετβεus*, GRENF. Pap. Tebt. No. 88, l. 20 (B.C. 115-4). There are said to be sixteen of them in V. 33/5 q. v.

mšc, of an inanimate object in a transferred sense.

l. 11. *qwy n sm*, perhaps only gibberish, to be pronounced *kouiens* (?).

l. 12. *ph* or perhaps *še*.

Sšk. It seems curious that the very well-defined god Souchos should be asked for when Anubis is the one really required: doubtless he might be supposed to dwell in the liquid oil.

rn-yt, &c. Cf. O. C. Par. *ερεντ . . . πε πα ρεν π λιπτ* (A. Z., 1884, pp. 23-4, 1900, p. 89). το ονομα το αληθινον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 115.

l. 13. Lot Moulot may perhaps be the missing words, cf. 18/13.

14. wnh a py 'lw aph-^o-b-^o-s 'psewst-^o-s ep^oletsy^o
e-^r-k 'š ny

15. šh-w n sp VII e-^r-k t 'r-f wn yr-t-f nte p wyn a^{ny}
nte-f z 'Np 'y a hn e-^r-k 'š h-t-f

16. z-mt-t 'y ryz mw ryz 'y t wr t 'y py hwt nfr a-ms
heryew t šr-t n t neme-t

17. 'm n-y z nte-k py sšn 'r pyr hn t srpt n p nws-t-r
nt 'r wyn a p t tre-f

18. hy 'Np 'm n-y p hy p zr p hry-sšt n na t ty-t p
pr-^o n na 'mnt p wr syn

19. . . nfr n Wsr p nht hr-f 'wt n ntr-w e-^r-k h^o n t ty-t
ne-hr t-t-f n Wsr e-^r-k šms

20. [n] by n 'Bt z e-w 'nh n'm-k tre-w ny by-w na ty-t
tsre-t 'm a p t wnh-k ar-y

l. 14. *aph-^o-b-^o-s*, &c. As the glosses show this is merely a transcription of the Greek words ἀφόβως ἀψεύτως ἐπ' ἀληθεία, and to mark this the determinative of that which is foreign is placed at the end of each word. It is interesting to find the initial letter /, here and in 10/30, representing the Gk. α, and so indicating that that was its normal pronunciation. In Achm. it corresponds to α, rarely ε, in Sah. and Boh. to ε, rarely α. ε is probably a wearing down or shortening of the earlier α.

l. 15. *a^{ny}*, a peculiar writing (as if *a-ⁿ-y*) for αηαι, occurring also in I Kham. v. 14*.

16. *y*. The sign represents  and is transcribed *ny* twice 7/24, 16/9. This can hardly be the pronunciation of the interjection . The usual interjection in religious texts is   which occurs here frequently spelt    , but we consider  to be distinct from *hy*.

ryz mw ryz, cf. 18/13 *lot mw lot*, 27/5 *rw my rw*, V. 12/3 *lyl mw lyl*.
neme-t apparently a goddess, perhaps of destruction: usually this

* The group for *ny* is that which spells *ne-ne* (πανοτ) in ordinary texts, but here the *ne* is superfluous, and in this papyrus a false *ne* is always written before *ne*, so that πανοτ has to be written out *ne(-ne)-ne*. In other texts as well as this we find *ne-nfr* with a false *ne*, probably due to the initial sound of *nfr*, and this may have led to the otiose *ne* before *ne* in the present text.

Peintat is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, (14) appear to this child without alarming or deceiving, truthfully.' You utter these (15) charms seven times, you make him open his eyes. If the light is good and he says 'Anubis is coming in,' you call before him (Anubis). (16) Formula: 'O Riz Muriz, O To-ur-to, O this beautiful male born of Herieou, the daughter of the Neme, (17) Come to me, for thou art this lotus-flower that came forth from in the lotus of Pnastor, and that illuminates the whole earth; (18) hail! Anubis, come to me, the High, the Mighty, the Chief over the mysteries of those in the Underworld, the Pharaoh of those in Amenti, the Chief Physician, (19) the fair [son?] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, thou manifestest thyself in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. Thou servest (20) the souls of Abydos, for they all live by thee, these souls (namely) those of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth, show thyself to me

name is attached to the execution-block, but here it has the determinative of fire.

l. 17. Cf. Horus on the lotus at Erment L. D. iv. 61, g. 65; and in Greek papyri, *χειρ μορφην νηπιου παιδος επι λωτω καθημενος* PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, ii. 106; *ο επι του λωτου καθημενος και λαμπυριδων την ολην οικουμενην* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. iii. 15.

ssn, *srpt*, see LORET, *Rec. trav.*, i. 190, for a useful but by no means final discussion of the Egyptian names of the lotus. *srpt* (see 1/12) is a name apparently of late introduction, *ssn* is very ancient, and both words are to be paralleled, with varied meaning, in Semitic languages. From this passage one may conjecture that *srpt* is the lotus bud and *ssn* the flower.

l. 18. *wr syn*, 'chief physician,' an old Egyptian official title (O. K. in P. S. B. A., xi. 306, Persian period BRUGSCH., *Thes.*, 639), but amongst the gods most applicable to Thoth. Apparently Thoth and Anubis are here united, cf. the name Hermanubis and l. 21. *hry-ssn*, 'chief over the mysteries,' is another old title appropriate enough for either Thoth or Anubis.

l. 20. 'For they all live by thee.' Apparently Anubis was responsible for the provision of food and attendance on the souls.

21. ty n p-hw nte-k Thwt nte-k p e'r pyr n ht-f n p š'y
 'o p yt-w sp-sn n n ntr-w tre-w 'm a r n r-w.

22. n pe hne n p-hw nte-k z n-y wh n mt-t m't hr mt-t
 nb nt e-y šn hr-w e-mn mt-t n 'ze n'm-w z 'nk 'S:t

23. t rħe-t nte n z n r-y hp z-mt sp VII e'r-k z n
 p hm-hl ze a-zy-s n 'Np z

24. mš' a bl a'ny n ntr-w a hn e-f mš' m-s-w nte-f
 'nyt-w a hn e'r-k šn p 'lw z hr n ntr-w

25. 'y a hn e-f z hr-w 'y nte-k nw ar-w e'r-k 'š h-t-w
 z-mt-t nhe-k n-y sp-sn p š'y nhs-t-k mer'

26. p wr-ty tsytsyw tnnzyw a'ry mt ar-y Thwt my 're
 qme mh p t n wyn hb

27. m hr-f šps šps 'q a p ht my t hp t m't p ntr 'o nte
 ne'w rn-f z sp VII

28. e'r-k z n p hm-hl z a-zy-s n 'Np z a'ny w' tks a
 hn hr n ntr-w my hms-w e-w

l. 21. *p yt-w sp-sn* is intended to be read *p yt yt-w* as 8/2. Cf. the common appellation *προπατωρ* in the Gk. papyri. 'Father of the fathers of all the gods' occurs perhaps as early as the N. K. in Boul. Pap. No. 17, p. 7, l. 6 (Hymn to Amon-Re).

l. 22. *nte-k z n-y wh*. For this formula cf. O. C. Par. *ἵκεαι οὖω πατ*
αδωῆ ἐπιπατρ *αἰαοὶ ἐροῦ* (*sic*) (A. Z., 1900, 89). *εἰσελθε καὶ χρηματι*
σον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 445. *šn*, lit. 'inquire,' is used vaguely, both of the
 inquiry and of the answer in this papyrus, as *χρηματίζειν* in Greek. *ὑμῖν*
ᾤα in Copt. is 'beg for,' not 'ask a question'; possibly it has such a
 meaning here.

l. 24. *hr n ntr-w 'y*, &c. = **(ḡ)ἀκητηρ εἰ . . .* **(ḡ)αὐ εἰ* (see chapter
 on grammar in vol. ii).

l. 25. 'And you see them' is an addition above the line which does
 not seem appropriate, as the boy, not the magician, is to see them.

nhe-k . . . nhs-t-k: the defective spelling *nhe* is found again in the
 papyrus, leaving no doubt that it represents *nhsē*, 'waken,' 'raise.' The
 verb is 'ivtae infirmae' according to SETHE, and the suffix form, lost in
 Coptic, shows here a curious uncertainty as to the retention of the *t*.

l. 26. *wr-ty*. Originally the title of the high priest of Thoth at
 Hermopolis Magna (Khmun), it was perhaps applied later to the ibis-
 god himself (e.g. LEGRAIN, *Livre des transf.*, iv. 5). Evidently in con-
 nexion with this, Thoth is called 'the god five times great' (ϣ), the
 mighty (*wr*) lord of Khmun' (II MAHAFFY, *Petrie Pap. Pl.* 13, II Kham.

(21) here to-day. Thou art Thoth, thou art he that came forth from the heart of the great Agathodaemon, the father of the fathers of all the gods; come to the mouths (22) of my vessel to-day and do thou tell me answer in truth to everything that I shall inquire about, without falsehood therein; for I am Isis (23) the Wise, the words of whose mouth of mine (*sic*) come to pass.' Formula: seven times. You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying (24) "Go forth, bring in the gods."' When he goes after them and brings them in, you ask the boy, saying 'Have the gods (25) come in?' If he says 'They have come' and you (*sic*) see them, you cry before them. Formula: 'Raise thyself for me (*bis*), Pshoi; raise thyself, Mera (26), the Great of Five, Didiou, Tenziou, do justice to me. Thoth, let creation (?) fill the earth with light; O (thou who art an) ibis in (27) his noble countenance, thou noble one that enters the heart, let truth be brought forth, thou great god whose name is great.' Say seven times. (28) You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying "Bring in a table for the

5, 7). The common Ptolemaic name Πορτις (cf. GRENFELL, Gk. Pap. I, II; Amherst Pap.; WILCKEN, Gr. Ostr.) in the witnesses of the Grey antigraph (Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. I. Pl. 27) is *P-wr-ty* in the corresponding Berlin demotic Pap. 3119 verso (Berl. Dem. Pap. Pl. 16). Πορτις is no doubt founded on an abbreviated pronunciation of the name which we have here with its full value *P-wer-tiu*. In V. 33/2 we have the normal orthography of the title, varied here and in 22/1.

my're qme. Meaning very uncertain; if the dot after *qme* be taken as closing the phrase, the *'r* must be regarded as passive in meaning 'let a creation (?) be made,' cf. 5/22 *my wn yr-t* and GRIFF., High Priests, p. 87, n. to l. 6, and SETHE, Verb., ii. § 247, and *mḥ* following the dot suggests an imperative. Perhaps *Maregom* (?) is to be taken as a magical name.

l. 27. '*q a p ḥt*, perhaps may be participial rather than imperative. '*q r ḥt*, lit. 'enter the heart,' is common in early demotic in the sense of 'please.' Cf. ΔΚΡΤΗ= (SPIEGELB., Rec. trav., xxiii. 201) ΩΚ Π ΖΗΤ (BSCIAI, ib., vii. 27).

29. *hms eʾr-k z aʾny wʾrp a hn klp-f a n ntr-w aʾny hyn-w t a hn my wm-w my swr-w*

COL. III.

1. *my wm-w my swr-w my ʾr-w hw nfr e-w wh eʾr-k z n ʾNp z ʿnn (sic) eʾr-k šn n-y e-f z t ḥ-t eʾr-k z n-f z p ntr nt ne ʾr pe šn*

2. *n p-hw my ʾr-f ḥ e rt-f e-f z ḥ-f eʾr-k z n-f z a-zy-s n ʾNp z fy n nk n t mte eʾr-k ʿš*

3. *ḥ-t-f ty hte-t z p šʿy n p-hw p nb n p-hw p nte pe-f pe ny wne-t-w eʾr-k t ʾr-f zt-s*

4. *n ʾNp z p ntr nt ne šn n-y n p-hw my ʾr-f z n-y rn-f e-f ḥ a rt-f nte-f z rn-f eʾr-k šn-t-f*

5. *a mt-t nb nt eʾr-k wh-f pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr ʾny-k tbe VII nmy e bʾr te-w qym nʾm-w a pnʿ-w*

6. *a p ke ḥr eʾr-k fy-t-w eʾr-k wʿb n wš n zh-w a nte(?) nb n p t nte-k smne-t-w n pe-w ky e-wne-w*

7. *smne-t nʾm-f ʿn nte-k smne tbe III ḥr p nḥe t k-t tbe-t IV nte-k sʿr-w n p qt n p ḥm-ḥl(?) n wš n*

8. *zh ʿe-t nte-f a p ʾytn nge bʿe VII nte-k ʾr-w n py smte ʿn nte-k ʾny t VII e-w wʿb*

9. *nte-k sʿr-w n p qte n p nḥe erme tyk VII n ḥm nte-k ʾny wʿt bʾt-ne-t nmy nte-k mḥ-s n*

1. 29. *wʾrp*, 'a (vessel of) wine,' probably the *κεραμιον* of the Rosetta stone: cf. the use of *ḥt*, 'silver,' in contracts = *ṭbn*.

COL. III.

1. 1. *ʾr hw nfr*: from this and other passages it is clear that the actual meaning of this common expression is not to pass a day of pleasure, but simply 'enjoy oneself.'

ʾNp would seem to be an error for *p ḥm-ḥl*, 'the boy.'

t ḥ-t, probably as we say 'the first thing,' 'at once.'

1. 2. *n t mte*, 'from the midst,' i. e. of the gods seated at the meal.

1. 3. *p-hw . . . ny wne-t-w*, cf. note on 2/6.

1. 5. *swḥ-yḥ*, lit. 'spirit-gathering,' is the title for the material arrangements for divination as to locality, censings, salves, &c., to be employed, not the invocations.

Egyptian bricks are crude. The use of burnt brick was introduced by the Romans and increased to Byzantine times, but crude brick remained throughout the principal building material.

gods, and let them sit.” When they (29) are seated, you say ‘Bring in a (jar of) wine, broach it for the gods; bring in some bread, let them eat, let them drink,’

COL. III.

(1) ‘let them eat, let them drink, let them pass a festal day.’ When they have finished, you speak to Anubis (*sic*) saying ‘Dost thou make inquiry for me?’ If he says ‘At once,’ you say to him ‘The god who will make my inquiry (2) to-day, let him stand up.’ If he says ‘He has stood up,’ you say to him (i. e. the child) ‘Say to Anubis “Carry off the things from the midst”’; you cry (3) before him (i. e. the god) instantly saying ‘O Agathodaemon of to-day, lord of to-day, O thou whose (possession) these moments are!’ You cause him (the boy) to say (4) to Anubis ‘The god who will inquire for me to-day, let him tell me his name.’ When he stands up and tells his name, you ask him (5) concerning everything that you wish.

Its spirit-gathering. You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them (6) to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you place them in their manner in which they were (7) placed, again; and you place three tiles under the oil; and the other four tiles, you arrange them about the child without (8) touching any part of him against the ground; or seven palm-sticks, you treat them in this fashion also. And you take seven clean loaves (9) and arrange them around the oil, with seven lumps of salt,

1. 6. *nte nb*. The reading not quite certain, but extremely probable.

1. 7. *p qt*. The usual group for *qt* is very much abbreviated, and is thus identical with that for *wh*, ‘wish,’ but there can be little doubt of the reading. The meaning must be that the bricks are laid about the boy so that he can stand or sit on them without touching the ground.

1. 9. *tyk* can scarcely be other than Sah. *τασ*. The otiose *y* may be

10. nhe n whe e-f w^cb nte-k t a t b^ct^cne-t hm sp-sn n wš n t hp h^cyse nte-f hp c-f stf

11. m šs sp-sn nte-k ny w^c hm-hl e-f w^cb e b-r te-f še erme s-hm-t e-r-k sze a hry hn zz-f

12. e-f h a rt-f a t h-t z n e-f a r šw n še a p hne e-f hp e-f r šw e-r-k t str-f a hr he-t-f

13. e-r-k hbs-f n w^ct šnt-t n yw-t e-s w^cb e-r-k š a hry hn zz-f e wn w^c ryt n t ry-t hry-f (*sic*?)

14. n t šnt-t e-r-k š py š nt hry a hry hn zz-f c-f kšp a hry nw a hn p nhe š^c sp VII e yr-t-f

15. htm e-r-k wh e-r-k t r-f wn yr-t-f e-r-k šn-t-f a p nte r-k wh-f hr r-k-f š^c p nw n p θ VII n p hw

16. p š nte r-k š-w (*sic*) a hry hn zz-f n h-t a znt-f n ne-f msz-w z n e-f a r šw n še hr

17. p hne z-mt-t hb šps nšr bk šps aphte-t my w^cb-y mw ky hb šps nšr

18. bk šps aphte-t e-r-k š n-y a hry hn zz-f š^c sp VII e-r-k t w ny hr

19. mt-t ne-f msz-w e-hp nte pe-f msz II mt-t (ne)nfr-f m šs sp-sn e-f hp e pc-f msz n

20. wnm(?) pe (ne)nfr-f e-f hp e p . . . pe ne-bn-f phre-t n phr p hne n gtg nte n ntr-w y a hn nte-w z

compared with that in *hyl* for *hāl* 13/12, *P-šylem* (21/3) = O. C. *πασαλωα*, and is brought about by such forms as *ny-t-k* (root *ny*) for *n-t-k*, *my* (1101) *αα*, *rn-yl* for *rn-t* (1/12).

l. 10. Oasis oil, cf. 6/2, not mentioned elsewhere; a kind of 'real oil,' but not identical with it 25/12.

hm sp-sn must be read *hmhm*, C. *ψημψημ*, cf. 2/21, 18/13, 24/12.

hyse, meaning quite uncertain: cf. perhaps *hyse* in I Kham. 6/19, II Kham. 6/16.

l. 12. *a hr he-t-f*, a curious expression, 'on the face of (?) his belly,' cf. the use of *hr* in l. 6.

l. 13. *šnt-t n yw-t*: Boh. *ψεντω πασ* (PEYRON), cf. *συνδων βυσσινη* Hdt. ii. 86. The Egyptian *šnt-t* was the loin-cloth or tunic, and in this papyrus it still seems to signify a dress, though in Coptic it can be used simply for 'cloth.' Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 88 (A. Z., 1883, 99) and Brit. Mus. Pap. Gr. No. XLVI. l. 206, for the use of *συνδων* in magic.

Omit the words 'you call down into his head.'

and you take a new dish and fill it with (10) clean Oasis oil and add to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness (?) so that it becomes clear (11) exceedingly; and you take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman, you speak down into his head (12) while he stands, previously, (to learn) whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel. If he is profitable, you make him lie on (?) his belly; (13) you clothe (?) him with a clean linen tunic (?), (you call down into his head), there being a girdle on the upper part (14) of the tunic; you utter this invocation that is above, down into his head, he gazing downwards (looking) into the oil, for seven times, his eyes being (15) closed. When you have finished, you make him open his eyes, you ask him about what you desire; you do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

(16) The invocation that you utter down into his head previously to test him in his ears as to whether he will be profitable in going to (17) the vessel. Formula: 'Noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, (18) hawk, noble and mighty.' You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this, then (19) his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it be his right ear, (20) he is good; if it be his left ear, he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that

l. 14. Omit 'looking' as corrected by the addition above the line.

l. 15. *n p θ VII*: for the reading *θ*, rather than *θ zonet*, compare V. 24/6. The phrase is evidently to be connected with the Coptic idiom *πνατ η̄ ᾱνψιτε*, 'the ninth hour.' *ᾱν:ᾱν* are feminine.

l. 19. *e-ħp*, probably an unique spelling in demotic instead of the usual *e-f ħp*, for *εψωνε*.

l. 20. The word for left (sinister) cannot yet be transliterated. In Egyptian we have *lhy* and *smh*, in Sah. *għotp* and Boh. *ααση*: in several passages we have *gbyr*, the Achmim. *σħip* (Zach. xii. 6, in

21. n-k wh n mt-t m't e'r-k t qwqe n swht n **aceg**
nge p nt hn-s a t st-t hr phre-f ty hte-t phre-t a t r-w

22. sze e'r-k t tp n **κροτ** a p 'h hr r-w sze phre-t
a ny n ntr-w a hn n kns e'r-k t shy

23. n msh hr 'nte sq a p 'h e'r-k wh a t r-w y a hn n
tkr 'n e'r-k t h n **εαιε** e p 'h erme t qwqe

24. n swht nt hry hr phr-f ty hte e'r-k wh a ny rm
e-f 'n' a hn e'r-k t g'l'g'ntsy a p 'h hr w-f a hn

25. e'r-k wh a ny y'h a hn e'r-k t s-wr hr ny(?) n ylh
a p 'h hr w p y'h a hn e'r-k t ht

26. n hyt-t nge wn-t(?) nfr sp-sn e'r-k wh a ny hsy a
hn e'r-k t g'eb n y'm a p 'h

27. e'r-k wh a ny rm e-f mwt a hn e'r-k t hs n **eo**
hr s Nb-t-h-t a p 'h hr w-f a hn e'r-k

28. wh a t še(-w) n-w tre-w e'r-k t hs n **en** a p 'h hr
r-w še n-w a pe-w m' tre-w ntc-k š pe-w r n wt-w 'n(?)

Pap. Rain. Mith. ii. 266); *gbyr* may possibly be connected with *gbyr* and with the demotic ligature here; or *hmr* may be the reading of the latter.

l. 22. *tp*. Two portions of the body are written *tp* in the demotic of this papyrus. One has the det. of bone as well as that of flesh, and is undoubtedly *tan*, 'horn,' Eg.  Without the det. of bone we have the *tp* of an ass or a hoopoe, which presumably means the head or skull; in other cases, e.g. 19/26, one may doubt whether horn *tan* is not intended by the same group.

l. 23. *sq*, written with the crocodile, presumably = *cike*; see the verb in BRUGSCH, Rec., iv. Pl. 97, l. 16, and as a participle attached to a word meaning incense, ib., Pl. 85 A, ll. 3, 7, and 11; Pl. 96, l. 6.

εαιε suggests *εαιε*: *εαιε*, i.e. 'anise,' or according to some MSS. 'mint,' LOKER, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. pp. 53, 71; and it seems possible that the tall dry stalks of the anise (as opposed to the commonly prescribed seeds) should be denoted by *h*, lit. 'wood.'

l. 24. *g'l'g'ntsy* with gloss *καλακανθι* suggests *κολοκύνθις*; but as the determinative here indicates a mineral and not a plant, it must be intended for *χαλκάνθη*, 'sulphate of copper,' which is written *χαλκάνθη* in Leyd. Pap. X. 1, 3.

l. 25. *y'h*, 'spirit' of a dead person, or a 'demon': the Gk. *δαίμων*, which may be good or bad (Pap. Bibl. Nat. passim). On the Bentresh Stela the demon possessing the princess is *h*.

the gods enter and tell (21) you answer truthfully. You put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame; it will be enchanted instantly.

Prescription to make them (22) speak: you put a frog's head on the brazier, then they speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: you put the bile (23) of a crocodile with pounded frankincense on the brazier.

If you wish to make them come in quickly again, you put stalks (?) of anise (?) on the brazier together with the (24) egg-shell as above, then the charm works at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man, you put sulphate of copper on the brazier, then he comes in.

(25) If you wish to bring in a spirit, you put *sa-wr* stone with stone of *ilkh* on the brazier, then the spirit comes in. You put the heart (26) of a hyaena or a hare, excellent (*bis*).

If you wish to bring in a drowned man, you put sea-*karab*-stone (?) on the brazier.

(27) If you wish to bring in a murdered (?) man, you put ass's dung with an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier, then he comes in.

If you (28) wish to make (them) all depart, you put ape's dung on the brazier, then they all depart to their place, and you utter their spell of dismissal also.

ylh. The *h* is written by a sign common enough in other texts, but in this MS. found only here, and in 6/20 *htn* and 23/29 *hlby*.

l. 26. *hsy*, 'approved,' 'deified,' as an expression for one drowned or devoured by a crocodile (19/24), cf. Hdt. ii. 90, and note to l. 31.

gr'b n y'm, 'sea-*karab*,' determined as a mineral can scarcely be *καραβος* = 'palinurus vulgaris,' unless its shell be treated as such. Cf. *καρκινος ποταμιος* in Pap. Bibl. Nat. 2458, 2687. In favour of the sense 'crab' or 'crayfish' we might suppose that it was called 'sea-*karab*' to distinguish it from the *καραβος*, 'beetle.'

l. 27. *rm e-f mwt*, *pequoor*, but perhaps meaning 'murdered man,' not merely a 'dead' man.

l. 28. *še n-w*: this ethical dative adds a certain force to the word, of

29. e·r-k wḥ a ʾny ʿze a ḥn e·r-k t ḥqe n grwgws ḥr
ʾbn t a p ʿḥ n sh nte ʾr-k š e·r-k šʿne

30. wt-w e pe-w(?) mʿ wt nfr wt rše

31. e·r-k wḥ a t ʾre n ntr·w ʾy n-k a ḥn nte p hn pḥr
n tkr e·r-k ʾny wʿ mḥrr nte-k t še-f n ḥsy ḥn p(?) ʾrt n
ʾḥ-t km-t

32. nte-k ty-f a p ʿḥ ḥr pḥre-f n t wne-t n rn-s nte p
wyn ḥp

33. wʿ s a mr-f a ḥ-t-f n p nt ḥr hne a t ʾr-f pḥr n tktk
e·r-k ʾny wʿ swt n ʿyw n ʿy XVI IV-t n ḥt IV-t n [wt ?]

34. IV-t sšt IV-t n ʾtme-t nte-k ʾr-w n wʿ swt nte-k
sp-w n snf n qwqwpt nte-k mr-f n wʿ mḥrr n ʿḥ-f n p rʿ

35. ḥsy e-f qs n ḥbs(?) n š-stn nte-k mr-f a ḥe-t-f n p
ḥm-ḥl nt ḥr p hn ḥr pḥr-f n tkr e [mn mt-t ?] n p [t . . .]
nʾm-f(?)

COL. IV.

1. wʿ sš-(?)mšt e·ḥr ʾr-s p ntr ʿo ʾy-m-ḥtp pe-f swḥ-ʾyh ḥr
ʾny-k wʿ tks n ḥ n zyt

withdrawal into or to oneself, an idea naturally associated with sleeping or lying down (*str n-k* 4/8) and best seen with the verb *še*, which by itself means 'go,' while *še n-f* (*ⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲥ*) means 'go away,' 'go home,' 'withdraw.'

1. 29. ʾny ʿze a ḥn, probably = *κλεπτην πιασαι* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 172.

e·r-k šʿne = *εκψαν*-, an isolated instance at present. The following is the *απολυσις* of the Gk. papyri, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 333.

1. 31. *t še-f n ḥsy* = *ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ*, cf. Sah. *ⲁⲩⲩⲉ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲥⲁⲛ* 1 Tim. i. 19, and *ⲁⲱⲕ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ* 'be drowned' (PEYRON). The literal meaning is 'thou shalt cause him to go as one praised (pleasing).' Similarly in I Kham. iv. 9, 14, 20 drowning is expressed by ʾr-f ḥs-t p Rʿ, 'He did that which pleased Re (the sun god).' *ḥsy* has det. of sun and in some cases the divine det. ʿ prefixed to the word-sign, cf. 15/12. In Gk. our expression is rendered by *ἐκθέωσον*, 'deify,' or possibly 'consecrate,' which proves that the meaning 'blessed dead,' i.e. 'divinised,' was not yet forgotten: *λαβων μυγαλον εκθεωσον πηγαιω υδατι, και λαβων καθαρους σεληνιακους δυο εκθεωσον υδατι ποταμιω* Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 2455; *εασον καλαβωτην εις κρινων εως αν αποθεωθη* B. M. Pap. CXXI. 629; *αποθωσον εις* [γαλα, &c.] Berl. Pap. I. 5.

ḥsy—as a proper name = *Ασιης* (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 7*), lit. 'praised' or 'blessed'—is an euphemism for 'drowned.' No other meaning is ascertained in demotic for the word as subst.; and that it

(29) If you wish to bring in a thief, you put crocus powder with alum on the brazier.

The charm which you pronounce when you (30) dismiss them to their place: 'Good dispatch, joyful dispatch!'

(31) If you wish to make the gods come in to you and that the vessel work its magic quickly, you take a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow (32) and put it on the brazier; then it works magic in the moment named and the light comes.

(33) An amulet to be bound to the body of him who has the vessel, to cause it to work magic quickly. You take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], (34) four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe, and you bind it with a scarab in its attitude of the sun-god, (35) drowned, being wrapped in byssus, and you bind it to the body of the boy who has the vessel and it will work magic quickly; there being nothing [in the world better (?)] than it (?).

COL. IV.

(1) A scout-spreader (?), which the great god Imuthes makes. Its spirit-gathering. You bring a table of olive-

implies that condition is shown by the determinative of water added to the name on mummy tickets (SPIEGELBERG, l. c.). We may thus be sure of its meaning in l. 26 q. v. and in l. 35, as well as in the numerous parallels to the passage here under discussion. Applied to Osiris, also, the word 'drowned' is quite appropriate, see 6/12.

l. 33. See the same list of the colours in BR., Wtb. Suppl., p. 173.

l. 34. *n ḥf n p r*, the *καθαρον ηλιακον τον τας ιβ ακτινας εχοντα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 751: i.e. true scarab with front tarsi drawn to edge of thorax, so displaying 12 spines (4 on head and each leg), fancifully compared to sun's rays; cf. hieroglyph of the sun's glory ☀.

l. 35. The reading at the end is very uncertain: perhaps *ar-f*.

COL. IV.

l. 1. Imuthes, cf. SETHE, *Untersuch. II*, Imhotep. In B. M. Pap. CXXI. 630 he appears as *τον εν Μεμφει Ασκληπιον*; and in the demotic of Leyd. I.

2. e-f θ rt-t IV e bnp rm nb n p t hms hr ʾt-f a nhe nte-k h^c-f e-f w^b a te-k-t qts(?) e-ʾr-k wh

3. a ʾr whe(?) n^m-f n mt-t m^c-t n wš n mt-t n ʾze tey-s pe-f smte e-ʾr-k h^c p tks hn w^c . . . e-f w^b

4. n t mt-t n p m^c e-f hn a zz-k nte-k hbs-f n w^c-t šnt-t n zz-f a rt-f nte-k h^c tbe-t

5. IV hr rt-f n p tks ne-hr-f e t w^c-t n t r^c-t hry-t n t w^c-t n^m-w e wn w^c-t hw-t n sⁿ ne-hr-f nte-k t zbe-t

6. n h n zyt ar-s nte-k t ʿt n sre-t e-f nt-yt hr hl hr qs-^{nh}(?) nte-k ʾr-w n bnn-t

7. nte-k t w^c-t a p ʿh nte-k h^c p sp a te-k-t qts(?) nte-k ʿš py ʿš n mt-t wyⁿⁿ(?) ar-f z-mt-t nte-k str n wš n szy

8. wbe rm nb n p t nte-k str n-k hr nw-k a p ntr e-f n p smte n w^c w^b e-f θ hbs(?) n š-stn hr ʾt-f e-f θ še a rt-f

9. *επεικαλουμαι σε τον εν τω αορατω σκοτει καθημενον και ανα μεσον*

10. *οντα των μεγαλων θεων δυνοντα και παραλαμβανοντα τας ηλιακας*

11. *ακτεινας και αναπεμποντα την φαεσφορον θεαν νεβουτο-σουαληθ*

384, verso I* he is invoked as 'Imhotp-wer (the Great), son of Ptah and Khretankh,' as at Deir el Medineh, SETHE, *ib.*, 24.

tks, elsewhere a 'boat,' but the gloss *τραπαισεν* defines it as a 'table.' TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 23, mentions oracles from tables. *hms hr ʾt* in l. 2 can hardly mean anything but 'sit upon,' which rather implies a 'bench,' cf. B. M. Pap. XLVI. 3 *βαθρον*.

l. 2. *a te-k qt* (?) -s, cf. *κοτε*, 'circulus,' but *wš-s* is a possible reading, and it may be conjectured to mean 'at your convenience,' also in l. 7.

l. 3. *whe* with prefixed *ʿ* (?), the reading doubtful. For a word *wš*, 'letter,' see II Kham. ii. 28, &c. The meaning here seems always to be a *direct* divination without medium. We have *whe* (?) *n p hbs*, 'lamp divination,' 27/29; *whe* (?) *n Manebai*, 'a divination named Manebai,' 27/32; *whe* (?) *a hrw Pe-sh*, 'divination for the voice of Pasash,' 8/12.

tke for *tks*, like *nhe* for *nhs* cf. 2/25.

'room (?)', the reading and meaning very uncertain.

l. 5. Or 'one by each of them (the feet),' but the expression hardly admits of this.

l. 6. *sre-t* with gloss *χρηναυριον*, perhaps a wild goose, cf. Br., Wtb. Suppl., 1082. Note the fem. gender, which apparently distinguishes it

wood (2) having four feet, upon (?) which no man on earth has ever sat, and put it, it being clean, beside (?) you. When you wish (3) to make an inquiry-of-god (?) with it truthfully without falsehood, behold (this is) the manner of it. You put the table in a clean room (?) (4) in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you cover it with a tunic (?) from its head to its feet, and you put four bricks (5) under the table before it, one above another (?), there being a censer of clay before it (the table); and you put charcoal (6) of olive-wood on it (the censer) and put wild-goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ankh*, and make them into balls (7) and put one on the brazier, and lay the remainder at your side (?), and pronounce this spell in Greek (?) speech to it—Formula—and you spend the night without speaking (8) to any one on earth, and you lie down and you see the god in the likeness of a priest wearing fine linen and wearing (a) nose at his feet.

(9) 'I invoke thee who art seated in the invisible darkness and who art in the midst (10) of the great gods sinking and receiving the sun's (11) rays and sending forth the luminous goddess Neboutosoualeth,

from the domesticated duck called *sr*, found from the O. K. onwards, which is masc.

1. 7. *wynn*(?), cf. V. 3/12. There as well as here the 'foreign' sign after *mt-t* refers to Greek words. In 27/35 the word is spelt out strangely *wy'ny*; *wynn* is the usual demotic spelling, *σρενν* the Coptic, but *σρεν* is quoted by PEYRON in Sah., and perhaps this is the form indicated in 27/35. In 12/25 we have *wy'nyne-t* for the fem.

sr n-k, ethical dative: see note to *še n-w* 3/28.

szu wbe, cf. the common phrase in Greek magic *κοιμω μηδενι δους αποκρυσιν* B. M. Pap. XLVI. l. 398, CXXI. l. 748, CXXII. 67; *κοιμω αναποκριτος* XLVI. l. 458.

1. 8. *ef θ še*, apparently as seen in very late sculpture in figures of gods, &c., with jackals' heads on their feet indicating wariness and swiftness (?). Cf. MASPERO, *Les Origines*, p. 149; PLEYTE, Chap. Supplem., i. p. 133; in Greek papyri *εν τοις ποσιν εχων την ορασιν* (?).

12. θεον μεγαν βαρξαν βουβαρξαν ναρξαζουσαν βαρξαβουξαθ
 13. ηλιον αναπεμτον μοι εν τη νυκτι ταυτη τον αρχαγγε-
 λον σου
 14. ζεβουρθαννην· χρηματισον επ' αληθειας αληθως αφευ-
 δως αν-
 15. αμφιλογως περι τουδε πραγματος οτι εξορκιζω σε κατα του
 εν τη
 16. πυρινη χλαμυδι καθημενου επι της αρουρεας κεφαλης του
 αγα-
 17. θου δαιμονος παντοκρατορος τετραπροσωπου δαιμονος υψι-
 στου σκο-
 18. τιου και ψυχαουγεου φωξ μη μου παρακουσης αλλα ανα-
 πεμψον
 19. ταχος τη νυκτι ταυτη επιτα . αιην του θεου τουτο ειπας γ'
 20. hr 'r-f sze wbe-k n r-f wbe r-k n mt:t m'c:t hr hb nb
 e'r-k wh-f e-f wh e-f še n-f 'n
 21. hr 'r-k wh w'c pyngs n 'š wne:t(?) hr n tbe:tw(?)
 nte-k wh n syw·w hr 't-f nte-k sh pe-k 's-shne a w'c z'm
 nmy
 22. nte-k wh-f hr p pyn'ks hr 'r-f t 'w ne-k syw·w n-k
 e-w wz hr pe-k 's-shne
 23. n wz hyb e-f znt swh n *~~hes~~* hr hl hy t a
 yr:t-k n'm-f hr 'r-k wz hyb:t
 24. k:t 'n tpe hn'c snf n *~~ροσροσπ~~(?)et* θ-h-w(?) nte-k
 'r-w n phre šwy smt yr:t-k n'm-f hr nw-k ar-w 'n

l. 16. *αρουρεας*. Mr. Kenyon suggests that this may possibly be a corruption of *αργυρεας*.

l. 18. *ψυχαουγεου*. Mr. Kenyon, who has kindly looked at this passage in the original MS., writes: 'I think the fourth letter is *a*, not *λ*, . . . and the only thing I can think of is *ψυγαγωγου*. In this case we should again have *γ* and *ο* confused (as in *αρουρεας* = *αργυρεας*?). This leaves *φωξ* unaccounted for, but a nominative (and from its termination it could be nothing else) is out of place here, so that the corruption must in any case be rather extensive. I do not think anything but *επιταγην* can be read in l. 19. Probably *επιταγη* is meant.' The word *ψυγαγωγου* is probably to be taken as associated with the idea of necromancy.

(12) the great god Barzan Boubarzan Narzazouzan Barzabouzath, (13) the sun; send up to me this night thy archangel (14) Zebourthaunen; answer with truth, truthfully, without falsehood, without (15) ambiguity concerning this matter, for I conjure thee by him (16) who is seated in the flaming vesture on the silver(?) head of the (17) Agathodaemon, the almighty four-faced daemon, the highest (18) darkling and soul-bringing(?) Phox; do not disregard me, but send up (19) speedily in this night an injunction(?) of the god.' Say this three times.

(20) Then he speaks with you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning everything that you wish. When he has finished, and goes away again, (21) you place a tablet of reading(?) the hours upon the bricks and you place the stars upon it and write your purpose(?) on a new roll (22) and place it on the tablet; then he(?) makes your stars appear which are favourable for your purpose(?).

(23) [A method] of lucky-shadows(?), that is tested: a hawk's egg with myrrh, pound(?), put on your eyes of it, then it makes lucky-shadows(?). (24) Another again: head and blood of a hoopoe; cook(?) them and make them into a dry medicament and paint your eyes with it; then you see them, again.

φωξ may be an indeclinable magic name, though the customary line has not been drawn over it. Cf. ο μέγας και ισχυρος θεος φους . . . B. M. Pap. CXXIV. 20 and φωξε below 7/22.

l. 20. *r-f wbe r-k*: στομα προς στομα Berl. Pap. I. 39.

l. 23. *wz h-yb*. The shadow is probably that of the god appearing in the lamp. Cf. 6/6.

l. 24. *θ-h-w*, probably the imperative of some verb *θh* (?) followed by the suffix of the object, meaning e. g. 'cook them,' so also Louvre Dem. Mag. vi. 18 *nte-k θ-h-w*.

COL. V.

1. nte-k ty 'h pe-k(?) nte-k qlhe a p 'ytn n(?) rt-k
n sp VII nte-k 'š ny šh-w a p hps [e hr(?)]-k st a mhty n
sp VII

2. nte-k st-k a hry nte-k še a w't ry-t n kke

3. w' e-f znt nte-k še-k (*šic*) a w't ry-t n kke
e-s w'b e hr-s wn a p-rs nte-k t w'b-s n mw

4. n hsm nte-k 'ny w' hbs nmy e-f wbh e bnp-w t prš
mw n qme ar-f nte-k t w' šl

5. e-f w'b ar-f nte-k mh-f n nhe n m't bn-s sh py rn
hn' ny gh'lgter a p šl n r'w hl n h't

6. nte-k wh-f hr w't tbe-t nmy ne-zz-k e hr-f prh n š'
nte-k 'š ny sh a p hbs 'n n ke sp VII e'r-k t 'lbwnt a hry
ne-hr

7. p hbs e'r-k nw m-s p hbs hr nw-k a p ntr n p qte n
p hbs nte-k str n-k hr w't tme-t n qme e bnp-k sze

8. wbe rm nb n p t hr z-f n-k wh n rswe-t tey-s pe-f 'š
z-mt't (tey-s sh-w nt e'r-k sh a p šl hbs **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲**

COL. V.

(1) And you set up your [planisphere?] and you stamp on the ground with your foot seven times and recite these charms to the Foreleg, turning(?) to the North seven times (2) and you return down and go to a dark recess.

(3) A question-form, tested. You go to a dark clean recess with its face open to the south and you purify it with (4) natron-water, and you take a new white lamp in which no red earth or gum-water has been put and place a clean wick (5) in it and fill it with real oil after writing this name and these figures on the wick with ink of myrrh beforehand; (6) and you lay it on a new brick before you, its underside being spread with sand; and you pronounce these spells over the lamp again another seven times. You display frankincense in front of (7) the lamp and you look at the lamp; then you see the god about the lamp and you lie down on a rush mat without speaking (8) to any one on earth. Then he makes answer to you by dream. Behold its invocation. Formula: (*In margin*: Behold the spells which you write on the wick: Bakhukhsikhukh, and figures)

gr. Zauberpap., I. l. 277. As to the use of red earth and gum with pottery cf. the quotation from SACY, s.v. $\alpha\omega\iota$, in PEYRON, p. 380 a.

1. 5. $r^2w\ h^l$, 'myrrh ink,' $\sigma\mu\upsilon\rho\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$, probably somewhat after the recipe given in PARTHEY, u. s. II. 34^a.

gh^l/g^lter = $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\rho\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, a term. techn. for mystic symbols: cf. WÜNSCH, Sethian. Verfluchungstafeln, p. 98; SCHMIDT, Gnostische Schriften, p. 54 seq.

1. 6. $ne-zz-h$. It seems probable that $\mathfrak{N}^1 Q$ reads zz , for apart from any other correspondences we have this compound preposition written out as $ne-zz$ in 14/6 and Louvre Dem. Mag. iv. 19. 22.

ʾlbwnt , * $\Delta\Lambda\Theta\omicron\pi\omicron\tau$ * 22/17, evidently = $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\nu\omicron\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

1. 8. $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ looks like 'Soul of Khukh, son of Khukh.' The magic-name compounds with $\chi\omicron\nu\chi$, $\chi\nu\chi$, $\chi\omega\omega\chi$ are very numerous; cf. P. Sophia, § 361, $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\omega\omega\chi$ and elsewhere often $\beta\alpha\iota\chi\nu\chi$. SETHE, Verbum, i. § 417, suggests that the $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ is the elemental god KK , 'darkness.'

9. hy ank mwr'y mwryby b'bel b'-o-th b'-my p š'y
 10. 'o mwr'th-'o p . . . ḥbr n by nt ḥtp n ḥry ḥn n
 p't n p't-w (*sic*)
 11. t'tot sp-sn bwl'y sp-sn my-ḥr . . . sp-sn ḥhy sp-sn
 b-'o-lbwel y sp-sn 'x tt sp-sn bwel sp-sn y-'o-hel sp-sn p
 šmsy ḥyt
 12. n p ntr 'o p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t st:t p
 nte t st:t n r-f nte b-r-re-s ḥm p ntr 'o nt ḥms
 13. ḥn t st:t p nt n t mt:t n t st:t nt n p šy n t p't nte
 p 'w erme p n'š n p ntr n t:t-f wnh-k ar-y
 14. ty n p-hw mw ky p ky n wnh-k a mwses nta e'r-k
 r-f ḥr p tw nte ḥr-k t ḥp p kke p wyn ne-ḥr-f
 15. tg(?)a te-y tbḥ n'm-k nte-k wnh-k ar-y ty n py grḥ
 nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n
 'ze z e-y a š'š-k
 16. n 'Bt e-y a š'š-k n t p't ne-ḥr p r' e-y a š'š-k ne-ḥr
 ḥ e-y a š'š-k
 17. ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-r-f thm pe p š'š' 'o
 petery sp-sn p'ter enphe sp-sn **enpe ḥ**
 18. p ntr nt n t r' ḥry:t n t p't nte p šbt nt (ne)'ne-f n
 t:t-f 'r t ḥp ntr e bnp ntr t ḥp-f 'm n-y
 19. a ḥry a ḥn n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty ḥ-t-k pa bwel
 sp-sn nte-k t m'y p 'š-šḥne [nt] e-y šll ḥrr-f
 20. n py grḥ n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze my m's my
 stm-s p ntr 'o sysyhowt sp-sn ke-z **apawoto** 'm
 21. a ḥn ḥr zz-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f n
 mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze p ntr 'o nt ḥr p tw

l. 10. Read *ḥn t p't n n p-tw* or *ḥn p't p-tw*.

l. 11. In the demotic there is one uncertain sign that may correspond to **ṯṯ** of the gloss.

l. 12. Lines 12-22 are parallel to 7/8-18, 17/1-10, 17/27-32.

l. 14. Moses was a popular hero with many legends in Jewish circles, both before and after Christ (WIEDEMANN in P. S. B. A. xi. 29, 267). Note that the form of the name employed is Greek and not Hebrew; cf. V. 12/6.

nla e'r-k: cf. note to 15/13.

(9) 'Ho! I am Murai, Muribi, Babel, Baoth, Bamui, the great Agathodaemon, (10) Muratho, the . . . form of soul that resteth above in the heaven of heavens, (11) Tatot (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Mouihtahi(?) (*bis*), Lahi (*bis*), Bolboel, I (*bis*), Aa, Tat (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Yohel (*bis*), the first servant (12) of the great god, he who giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god who is seated (13) in the fire, he who is in the midst of the fire which is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and the power of god; reveal thyself to me (14) here to-day in the fashion of thy revelation to Moses which thou didst make upon the mountain, before whom thou thyself didst create darkness and light, (15)—*insertion*—I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer in truth without falsehood; for I will glorify thee (16) in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee (17) before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he (=thou) of the great glory, Peteri (*bis*), Pater, Enphe (*bis*), (18) O god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him. Come down (in) to me (19) into the midst of this flame that is here before thee, thou of Boel (*bis*), and let me see the business that I ask about (20) to-night truly without falsehood. Let it be seen (?), let it be heard (?), O great god Sisihoout, otherwise said Armioouth, come (21) in before me and give me answer to that which

l. 15. The pointer at the beginning of the line refers to the similar sign at the beginning of ll. 33-4, which offer a variant version of l. 15. One may conjecture that the pointer represents the Eg. *dg*, Copt. $\tau\omega\sigma : \tau\omega\chi$, 'plant,' 'insert,' 'join.'

l. 17. *thm*, a mistake or metathesis for *htm*; cf. 7/12, 17/5, 30. *petery*, &c. See vol. ii, Mythological Index.

22. n 'twgy (ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲃⲁⲱⲛ) gh'b'h-ʿo 'm n-y a ḥn my wn yr't
a bl n py grḥ ḥr t mn t mt't

23. nt e-y šn ḥrr-s n mt't m't n wš n mt't n 'ze a
... ḥrw (?) n p le'sphwt nb-lot . . lyl's sp VII nte-k str n-k

24. n wš n sze p kys nt e'r-k ty-s a yr't-k e'r-k 'nn'y a
šn n p ḥbs n šn nb n ḥbs ḥr 'ny-k hyn-w ḥrre n *ḥʿλ*

25. n *ḥʿωk* ḥr gm-k-ysw n p m' n p s-qlm ke-z p
s-trmws e'r-k 'ny't-w e-w knn e'r-k ty-sw

26. e w' lq n yl e'r-k 'm r-f m šs sp-sn š' hw XX n w'
m' e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s hw XX e'r-k

27. 'ny't-f a ḥry nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k hyn-w ḥry-w
ḥn-f erme w' mz e'r-k ḥ'f š' hw XL nte-k 'ny't-f a
ḥry

28. nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k-f e-ḥr-f 'r snf e're ḥr 'r-k ty-f
a w' nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a ḥn w' nk

29. n blz n w' m' e-f hep n nw nb e'r-k wh a 'r
n p ḥbs n'm-f n nw nb e'r-k mh yr't-k n py

30. snf nt ḥry e'r-k 'nn'y a ḥn a 'š sh a p ḥbs ḥr nw-k
a w' sšt n ntr e-f 'ḥ n p bl n p ḥbs nte-f sze

31. wbe-k ḥr p šn nt e'r-k wh-f nge nte-k str ḥr 'w-f
n-k a 'r-f tm 'y n-k e'r-k nhs e'r-k 'š pe-f thm

l. 22. Atugi with gloss Gabaon: cf. 7/17.

l. 24. Lines 24-30 are repeated in 27/24-29.

l. 25. ḥʿλ n ḥʿωk = ḥʿλḥʿωk, 'raven's eye,' the Greek bean.

gm-k-ysw, an extraordinary form; but, it is to be feared, no guide to the real pronunciation, which was probably *gemyoks* or *gemyoksu*; the written *y* is thus superfluous, cf. 3/9 note, or at least misplaced.

s-qlm, see note in glossary. 'The place of the garland-seller': does this mean his shop or his garden?

ty-sw: the regular form in this papyrus, as it were, *ⲧⲏⲥⲱ. In *gm-k-ysw*, above, the *sw* = Eg. *st*, plur. of the absolute object-pronoun. Here, after the infinitive, it is abnormal, the *s* being inserted before the proper suffix *-w* on false analogy. In Coptic (St., § 342, p. 169, and PIEHL, A. Z., 95. 42) the only clear instance of this false form seems to be Sah. ⲉⲣⲁⲓⲥⲱ. The similar ⲧⲉⲛⲡⲱⲟⲩⲥⲉ, ⲧⲉⲛⲡⲱⲟⲩⲥⲱ, &c., are also etymologically wrong, but they seem to be helped by the causative with *sm-f*: see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 85.

l. 26. *y'*: ⲓⲁⲗ: ⲉⲓⲁⲗ probably to be connected with *ἰαλος*.

I shall ask about, truly without falsehood. O great god that is on the mountain (22) of Atuki (of Gabaon), Khabaho, Takrtat, come in to me, let my eyes be opened to-night for any given thing (23) that I shall ask about, truly without falsehood . . . the voice(?) of the Leasphot, Neblot . . . lilas.' Seven times: and you lie down (24) without speaking.

The ointment which you put on your eyes when you are about to inquire of the lamp in any lamp-divination: you take some flowers (25) of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the garland-seller, otherwise said of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh and put them (26) in a *lok*-vessel of glass and stop its mouth very well for twenty days in a secret dark place. After twenty days, if you (27) take it out and open it, you find a pair (?) of testicles in it with a phallus. You leave it for forty days and when you take it out (28) and open it, you find that it has become bloody; then you put it on a glass thing and put the glass thing into a pottery thing (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you desire to make inquiry of the lamp with it at any time if you fill your eyes with this (30) blood aforesaid, and if you go in to pronounce a spell over the lamp you see a figure of a god standing behind (?) the lamp, and he speaks (31) with you concerning the question which you wish; or you lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to

m. This group cannot be read *tm*, *twm*. It must be connected with *ome*, 'clay.'

l. 27. *hyn-w*, 'some,' here and elsewhere suggests the meaning of 'a pair' (Hess, *Setne*, p. 30).

1. 28. $\epsilon(\varrho)\alpha\psi\bar{\rho}\kappa\omicron\psi$, see the chapter on Grammar.

e're: probably the Eg. emphasizing particle $\left| \bigcirc \right.$, cf. 7/1.

The meaning of *ħr ʾr-k, wān*, here is not merely consuetudinal but injunctional, equivalent to the old *sdmħrf*, as used e.g. in Pap. Ebers (ERMAN, Grammar, 2nd ed. § 221).

32. e-re hr r-k str hr qme wt e-r-k w'b a s-hm-t e zz-k
st a rs e hr-k st a mhty [e] hr-f n p hbs st a mhty h-f

33. tg(?) a hry te-y tbh n'm-k nte-k wn-h-k ar-y ty n
py grh nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wh n mt-t m't hr
t mn t mt-t

34. nt e-y šn n'm-k e-tbe-t[-s ?]

COL. VI.

1. w' šn n p hbs hr še-k a w't ry-t n kke e-s w'b 't
wyn nte-k šte w' qel nmy hr w't z'e-t

2. ybt nte-k 'ny w' hbs ht c bnp-w t prš mw n qme
ar-f e pe-f s'l w'b nte-k mh-f n nhe n m't e-f w'b n whe

3. nte-k 'š n sh-w n t'w R' tp twe m h'f nte-k 'ny p
hbs wbe p r' e-f mh nte-k 'š n sh-w nt hry ar-f n sp IV

4. nte-k θy-t-f a hn a t ry-t e-r-k w'b erme p 'lw nte-k
'š n sh-w a p 'lw e-bnn-f nw m-s p hbs 'n e yr-t-f

5. htm š' sp VII e-r-k t 'lbwnt a p 'h e-f w'b e-r-k t t
n pe-k tb' a zz-f n p 'lw e yr-t-f htm

6. e-r-k wh e-r-k t r-f wn yr-t-f a hr p hbs hr nw-f a t
hyb-t n p ntr n p qte n p hbs nte-f šn n-k

7. a p nt e-r-k wh-f e-re hr r-k-f n mre-t n w' m' e
mn-te-f wyn e-f hp e-r-k šn hr 'yh š're w' s'l n ht

8. n zy p nt e-r-k ty-f a p hbs nte-k mh-f n syr c-f w'b
c-f hp e ge 'š-shne pe s'l e-f w'b hr nhe n m't e-f w'b

9. p nt e-r-k ty-f a p hbs e-f hp e-r-k a r-f a 'ny
s-hm-t n hwt skne n wrt p nt e-r-k ty-f a p hbs e-re
hr wh-k p hbs

1. 34. *e-tbe-t-s* must be the reading.

COL. VI.

1. 1. A niche in a wall with special orientation for magic utensils, &c., occurs in the nineteenth dynasty; see NAVILLE, *Quatre stèles*.

1. 3. *Pw R'*, &c. Perhaps the title of some specific religious work, like the hymns to the rising sun prefixed to the New-Kingdom Books of the Dead: or an invocation in an earlier part of the papyrus now lost.

1. 7. *'yh š're*. The meaning is not quite clear. In II Kham, ii. 26

you, you rise and pronounce his compulsion. (32) You must lie down on green reeds, being pure from a woman, your head being turned to the south and your face being turned to the north and the face of the lamp being turned northwards likewise.

(33) *insert above*—‘I pray thee to reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer truly concerning the given matter which I ask thee about.’

COL. VI.

(1) An inquiry of the lamp. You go to a clean dark cell without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall (2) and you take a white lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean, and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, (3) and you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn in his rising and you bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times, (4) and you take it into the cell, you being pure, and the boy also, and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being (5) closed, seven times. You put pure frankincense on the brazier. You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. (6) When you have finished you make him open his eyes towards the lamp; then he sees the shadow of the god about the lamp, and he inquires for you (7) concerning that which you desire. You must do it at midday in a place without light. If it be that you are inquiring for a spirit damned, a wick of sail-cloth (?) (8) is what you put in the lamp and you fill it with clean butter. If it is some other business, a clean wick with pure genuine oil (9) is that which you put in the lamp; if you will do it to bring

there is mentioned a book for *sh̄r 'hy*, ‘overthrowing (or laying) demons’; cf. note 3/25.

1. 9. *skne n wrt*, *ροδιον ελαιον*, DIOSC. i. 53.

10. hr w'c't tbe't nmy nte p 'lw hms h-f hr ke tbe't
e yr't-f htm e'r-k 'š a hry hn zz-f š' sp IV

11. n sh·w nt e'r-k 'š-w a p s'l a p hbs a t h'c't
e b'r te-k 'š a p 'lw z-mt't 'n nte-k p s'l w'c't 'o n t
mnh't n Thwt

12. 'n nte-k p hbs n š-stn n Wsr p hsy ntr n sšne
n t't 'S't n msne n t't Nb't-h't

13. 'n nte-k p hrt tp a'r-w n Wsr hnt 'mnt 'n nte-k
p snb 'o a-fy 'Np t't-f erme-f a t h'e't n Wsr p ntr wr

14. a'r-y 'ny n'm-k n p-hw 'y p s'l a t nw p 'lw a
hn-k nte-k 'r wh a mt't nb nt e-y šn hrr-w ty n
p-hw 'n

15. tm 'r-y-s p nt e'r-k 'r-f 'y p s'l a'r-y t n'm-k a
t gyzt n t 'h't kme't a'r-y t mh n'm-k hn t gyzt

16. n t 'h't s-hm't snf n p hsy p nt e-y t n'm-f m-s-k
hr nhe t kyz n 'Np t nt wh ar-k n sh·w

17. n p wr hyq n nt e-y 'š n-k n'm-w nte-k 'ny n-y
p ntr nte p wh-shne n t't-f n p-hw nte-f z n-y wh a
mt't nb nt e-y šn.

18. hrr-w ty n p-hw n mt't m'c't n wš n mt't n 'ze
'y Nwt mw't mw hy 'P't mw't st't

l. 12. *p hsy*, cf. l. 16, and above, note to 3/31. 'Approved,' 'praised' would be a rather unexpected term to apply to Osiris himself, though it could be explained as equivalent to *m'c' hrrw* and 'deified.' The sense 'drowned' is quite applicable, as Osiris' body was at least sunk in the waters, cf. the text of Ptah published by BREASTED, A. Z., 1901, Pl. II, ll. 19, 62; and this sense is implied in Brit. Mus. Pap. XLVI. 259-63 *οστα Οσιριους του Εσιη (Θασιε) του ενεχθεντα εν τω ρευματι του ποταμου* for three days and three nights. Plutarch's account, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 13 et seqq., hardly needs quotation.

sšne, &c. Cf. similar passage in Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 12, l. 1.

t't 'S't . . . t't Nb't-h't. In both cases the strong *t* is written at the end of the word for 'hand.' Presumably it is an old dual form.

l. 13. *snb a-fy*, &c., the linen used by Anubis in wrapping the mummy of Osiris.

l. 14. *a'r-y 'ny*, *Δεμε*, rather than past relative, which would have taken *n'm-f* instead of *n'm-k*; so also in l. 15, &c.

a t. This is hardly an imperative *a t*.

a woman to a man, ointment of roses is that which you put in the lamp. You must lay the lamp (10) on a new brick and the boy also must sit on another brick with his eyes closed. You cry down into his head four times. (11) The spells which you recite <to the lamp> to the wick previously before you recite to the boy: formula: 'Art thou the unique great wick of the linen of Thoth? (12) Art thou the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? (13) Art thou the original band that was made for Osiris Khentamente? Art thou the great bandage with which Anubis put forth his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god? (14) I have brought thee to-day—ho! thou wick—to cause the boy to look into thee, that thou mayest make reply to every matter concerning which I ask here to-day. (15) Is it that you will (?) not do it? O wick, I have put thee in the hand of the black cow, I have lighted thee in the hand (16) of the female cow. Blood of the Drowned one is that which I put to thee for oil; the hand of Anubis is that which is laid on thee. The spells (17) of the great Sorcerer are those which I recite to thee. Do thou bring me the god in whose hand is the command to-day and let him give me answer as to everything about which (18) I inquire here to-day truly without falsehood. Ho! Nut, mother of water, ho! Apet, mother of fire,

l. 15. *an* **tauac*, lit. 'Is not-doing-it that which you will (?) do?' Cf. l. 37.

'h-t kme-t, black animals are generally prescribed in both Greek and demotic magic. Cf. B. M. Gk. Pap. CXXI. l. 301, &c., &c.

l. 16. *t 'h-t s-hm-t*, 'the female cow,' seems curious, but is quite correct, being due to the fact that, except for the gender of the article, there is no distinction in sound between the words for 'ox' and 'cow.' Cf. 7/1, 2.

l. 17. *p wh-s/hne*. The 365 gods are mentioned V. 33/6. Probably one of these presided over the course of each day.

l. 18. Nut, goddess of the sky, wife of Geb and mother of Osiris; Apt, probably the birth-goddess, worshipped in a small temple at Karnak, in

θs-phr ʔy p ḥbs sp-sn ʔMn mne nʔm-k ʔy p ḥbs sp-sn
te-y

30. ʔš n-k eʔr-k ʔnnʔ a ḥry ḥr zz p yʔm ʔo p yʔm
n [h]r p yʔm n Wsr ʔn e-y z

31. n-k ʔn eʔr-k ʔy ḥb-yt-k ʔy p ḥbs mtr ar-k n-t
gm-k Wsr ḥr pe-f rms n zwf tḥn

32. e ʔS-t ne-zz-f e Nb-t-h-t ne-rt-f e n [ntr-w] ḥwt-w
n ntr-w s-ḥm-tw n pe-f qte a-zy-s ʔS-t my z-w-s

33. n Wsr e-tbe n mt-tw nt e-y šn ḥrr-w a t ʔw p
ntr nte p wh-šḥne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb nt
e-y šn ḥrr-w

34. ty n p-hw e ʔS-t z my ʔš-w n-y a wʔ ntr ḥb-y-s
e n(?) šq-f a n mt-tw nt e-f a še nʔm-s nte-f mnq-s

35. šm-w ʔny-w n-s nte-k p ḥbs p-eʔny-w n-s p ḥyt
n Šm-t te-k.t mw.t erme Ḥke pe-k yt

36. ḥwy ar-k bnn-k mḥ a Wsr erme ʔS-t bnn-k mḥ
ʔNp e bnp-k z n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn

37. ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t mʔt n wš n z n-y mt-t
n ʔze ʔn tm ʔry-s p nt eʔr-k a ʔr-f bn e-y a t n-k nḥe

COL. VII.

1. bn e-y a t n-k nḥe bn e-y a t n-k ʔt ʔy p ḥbs
eʔry e-y a t n-k n t ḥe-t n t ʔḥ-t s-ḥm-t nte-y t-t snf

1. 31. *ḥb-yt-k*, note the final *stm-f*, especially common in the 1 pers. sing. Cf. l. 34.

n-t with *stm-f* = πτερε, cf. I Kham. 5/35, II Kham. 6/3 (GRIFF., High Priests, p. 193).

rms, see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 100. Evidently the πλοιον παπυρινον ο καλειται αιγυπτιστι ρωψ of Leyd. Pap. U. col. 2, l. 6, 7; an *m* before *s* would naturally become *p* in the mouth of a Greek.

1. 32. *n ntr-w ḥwt-w . . . s-ḥm-tw*, O. C. Par. πτερ ζσιμε . . . πτερ ζοοτικ A. Z., 1900, p. 88. Cf. the same expression in the Hittite treaty, L. D. III. 146, ll. 26, 30.

1. 34. *e n(?) šq-f*. Perhaps an adjectival verb of the form παποψ 'he being clever' (or discreet, or swift, &c.).

1. 35. *p ḥyt n . . . ḥwy* seems to be equivalent to ἐξορκίζω σε κατα *Ḥke*, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 851, 859. As a form of the god Shu

of the things <of days> above, that giveth vision of the things below and vice versa; O lamp (*bis*), Amen is moored in thee; O lamp (*bis*) I (30) invoke thee, thou goest up to the shore of the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Do I speak (31) to thee? Dost thou come that I may send thee? Ho, lamp, witness(?) to thyself, since thou hast found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and *tehen*, (32) Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female gods about him. Speak, Isis, let it be told (33) to Osiris concerning the things which I ask about, to cause the god to come in whose hand is the command, and give me answer to everything about which I shall inquire (34) here to-day. When Isis said "Let a god be summoned to me that I may send him, he being discreet(?) as to the business on which he will go and he accomplish it," (35) they went and they brought to her; thou art the lamp that was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet thy mother and of Heke thy father is (36) cast at thee, thou shalt not be lighted for Osiris and Isis, thou shalt not be lighted for Anubis until thou hast given me an answer to everything which I ask (37) about here to-day truly without telling me falsehood. If thou wilt not do it, I will not give thee oil.

COL. VII.

(1) 'I will not give thee oil, I will not give thee fat, O lamp; verily I will give thee the body of the female

he would be connected with the lion-headed goddess Tefnut, here perhaps assimilated to the lion-goddess Sochmet.

l. 37. *bn e-y a* (sic) *t*. The *a* is false with neg. fut., but occurs commonly in this papyrus. See 7/1, &c.

COL. VII.

l. 1. *e-ry* with gloss **epe**, apparently = Eg. , as *e-re* in 5/28: here 'verily' or 'but.'

2. n p ḥ hwt m-s-k nte-y t t-t-k n p ḥswe(?) n ḥft
Ḥr a-wn n-y ḥy na t ty-t t tb-t n ḥl nt n t-t-y

3. šp-t a ḥr-tn ḥy n by-w ḥqr-w(?) na bywkm t tyb-t n
ḥnte nt ḥr qh IV ḥy p ḥe nt e-w

4. z n-f ḥNp n rn nt ḥtp ḥr t tybe-t n ḥl e rt-f
smn-t ḥr t tybe-t n ḥnte my ḥw n-y

5. p kys m-s p šre ḥbs nte-f z n-y wh ḥr mt-t nb
nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t m-t e mn mt-t n ḥze
nḥm-w

6. y-ḥo tḥb-ḥo swgḥmḥmw ḥkhḥkhḥnbw sḥwḥny etsie
qm-t

7. geth-ḥo-s bḥse-th-ḥo-ry thmylḥkhḥkhw aḥry n-y wh
a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw sp VII

8. n sh-w n p ḥlw b-ḥo-el b-ḥo-el sp-sn y-y sp-sn ḥḥ
sp-sn tt tt sp-sn p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t
st-t

9. p nte t st-t n r-f nte bḥr-s ḥm p ntr ḥo nt ḥms
ḥn t st-t p nt n t mt-t n t st-t p nt n p šy n t p-t

10. nte p ḥw erme p nḥš n p ntr n t-t-f wnḥ-k a py
ḥlw nt ḥr pe hne n p-hw nte-f z n-y wh n mt-t

11. m-t n wš n mt-t n ḥze e-y a ty ḥy-k n ḥBt e-y a
šḥḥ-k n t p-t ne-ḥr p rḥ e-y a šḥḥ-k

12. ne-ḥr ḥ e-y a šḥḥ-k n p t e-y a šḥḥ-k ne-ḥr p
nt ḥr p bḥt nte bḥr-f htm pe p šḥḥ

13. ḥo petery petery pḥter enphe enphe p ntr nt n t
ryt ḥryt n t p-t nte p šbt nt (ne)-

1. 2. Referring to the contest between Horus and Set when Horus injured the testicles of Set, and Set, at the same time, put out the eye of Horus. The eye of Horus symbolizes light—hence the threat to the lamp. But the reading and meaning are uncertain. Cf. note to 1/3.

t tb-t n ḥl seems to be in apposition to *ty-t*; a similar construction in l. 3.

1. 3. *ḥqr*. The double figure in the underworld formed of the foreparts of two lions or of a lion and a bull. LANZONI, Diz. Mit., p. 5.

bywkm seems to be the name of the Arabian desert at the latitude of El Kab, according to BRUGSCH, D. Geogr., 211, 1154, where the lion-

cow and put blood (2) of the male bull into (?) thee and put thy hand to the testicles (?) of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, O ye of the underworld, the box of myrrh that is in my hand; (3) receive me before you, O ye souls of Aker belonging to Bi-wekem, the box of frankincense that hath four corners. O dog, which is (4) called Anubis by name, who resteth on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of frankincense, let there come to me (5) the ointment for the son of the lamp that he (?) may give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood therein. (6) Io, Tabao, Soukhamamou, Akhakhanbou, Sanauani, Ethie, Komto, (7) Kethos, Basaethori, Thmila, Akhkhon, give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day.' Seven times. (8) The spells of the boy: 'Boel, Boel (*bis*), Ii (*bis*), Aa (*bis*), Tattat (*bis*), he that giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, (9) he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god that sitteth in the fire, he that is in the midst of the fire, he that is in the lake of heaven, (10) in whose hand is the greatness and might of God, reveal thyself to this boy who hath my vessel to-day, and let him give me answer truly (11) without falsehood. I will glorify thee in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee (12) before the moon, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he of the great glory, (13) Pterri, Peteri, Pater, Enphe, Enphe, the god who is above heaven, in

pair Shu and Tefnut were worshipped. Possibly the latter were identified with Aker.

The animal of Anubis was strictly a fox according to its shape, but coloured black.

1. 5. *p šre hbs*. Is this an expression for the wick, or for the boy-medium, or for the god?

1. 8. Lines 8-18, cf. 5/12-22.

14. 'ne-f n t:t-f 'r t hp ntr e bnp ntr t hp-f 'm a hn
n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty h:t-k pa bwel (анинл)

15. nte-k t { m'y p 'š-shne nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw

16. { p zr n n bel-w n p 'lw nt hr pe hne a t
my m's my stm-s p ntr 'o
m'-f-s erme msz-f a t stm-f p ntr 'o } s-y-s-y-hwt sp-sn

17. (αχρεωτω) 'm a hn { hr zz-y n p-hw nte-k t wn

18. { n t mt:t n ty st:t

yr't a bl n mt:t nb nt e-y šll hrr-w ty n p-hw } p ntr 'o nt

hr p tw n g'b'wn gh'b'h-'o (такартат) e'r-k 'š ny

19. š' nte p wyn hp a're p wyn hp e'r-k st e'r-k
'š ty h:t(?) sh n w'hm 'n tey-s t h:t n p thm

20. h-s nt e'r-k 'š-s 'y a:z(?) n-y sp-sn ths ten-'o-r p
yt n nhe z:t p ntr nt hr p t tre-f s'ikm-'o

21. b'ikm-'o br'k nephr-'o-b-'n-p-r' bry's s'ry-ntr-w
melykhryphs

22. l'rnkn'nes herephes mephr-'o-bry's phrg' phkse
ntsypšy'

23. m'rm'reke-t l-'o-re-grepšye my nw-y a p wh n p
šn nt e-y ty e-tbe't-f my 'r-w n-y wh

24. a mt:t nb nt e-y šn hrr-w ty n p-hw n mt:t m't
n wš n mt:t n 'ze 'y 't'el 'pthe gh-'o-gh-'o-m-'o-le

25. hesen-myng'nt-'o-n 'o-rth-'o-b'wb-'o n-'o-ere sere
sere sn-g'th'r'

26. eresgšyng'l s'kgyste n-t-te-g'gyste 'krwr-'o-b-'o-re
g-'o-ntere

ll. 15, 17. These interlineations are words to be substituted in the case of no medium being employed.

l. 19. *ty k-t* was first written before *sh*, and then *h* written upon the *k*: see the Glossary.

l. 20. *y*: after this word the name of the deity invoked would be expected: a vertical line following may indicate an omission. *z ny sp-sn* would seem to be an imperative with emphasis.

l. 22. *ntsypšy'*. *nt* represents δ and *ts* θ , so *nts* probably represents an aspirated *d*, i. e. *dh*, which is transcribed in the Greek by Δ alone; but *ts* also represents Δ in 2/26.

l. 25: Hesemigadon, &c. A similar string of names occurs in Brit.

whose hand is the beautiful staff, (14) who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this fire that is here before thee, he of Boel, Aniel

(15) { cause me to see the business about
(16) and do thou { give strength to the eyes of the boy
{ which I am inquiring here to-day, let it be seen, let
{ who has my vessel, to cause him to see it, and to his
{ it be heard
{ ears to cause him to hear it, } O great god Sisihout,

(17) { before me and cause my eyes
(18) Akhremto, come in { into the midst of this flame,
(17) to be opened to everything for which I pray here to-day,
(18) O great god that is upon the hill of (Atugi) Gabaon, Khabaho, Takrtat.' You recite this (19) until the light appear. When the light appears, you turn round (?), you recite this spell-copy a second time again. Behold the spell-copy also (?) of the summons (20) that you recite: 'Ho! speak to me (*bis*) Thes, Tenor, the father of eternity without end, the god who is over the whole earth, Salkmo, (21) Balkmo, Brak, Nephro, Bampre, Brias, Sarinter, Melikhriphs, (22) Largnanes, Herephes, Mephrobrias, Pherka, Phexe, Diouphia, (23) Marmareke, Laore-Krephie, may I see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here, may answer be made to me (24) to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood. Ho! Adael, Aphthe, Khokhomole, (25) Hesenmigadon, Orthobaubo, Noere, Sere, Sere, San-kathara, (26) Ereskhigal, Saggiste, Dodeka-

Mus. Gr. Pap. No. XLVI. l. 424, et seq.; WESSELY, *Ephes. Gram.*, 36, 244-5, 341, 377.

l. 26. Ereskhigal is the Sumerian goddess of the Underworld, cf. LEGGE, *P. S. B. A.*, xxii. 121, lit. 'mistress of the Great Land,' i.e. the infernal regions; see the myth in BUDGE and BEZOLD, *Tel-el-amarna Tablets*, No. 82, p. 140; the name is found also in an Assyrian text in R. C. THOMPSON, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 267 (from

27. e·r-k t ʔr-f wn yr-t-f nte-f nw m-s p ḥbs nte-k
šn-t-f a p nt e·r-k wh-f a·re ʔw n ḥt ḥp e bnp-f nw a
p ntr e·r-k st-k

28. e·r-k ʕš pe-f ḥtr z-mt-t seme·g·n-tw gen-tw
g·o-n-tw geryn-tw nt·reng·o lek·wks

29. ʔm n-y g·n·b a·ry k·t·y b·ryk·t·y ʔtn ḥ n n
ntr-w ʔtn stm ḥrw-y my z-w n-y wh

30. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʔy p ste
ns·l·b·ḥ·o n·syr· h·ke tw·f p my sr·w

31. my nw-y a p wyn n p-hw erme n ntr-w nte-w z
n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t
m·t n·n·n·n·n rn-k

32. n·n· pe-k rn n mte e·r-k ʕš šmšeke n ḥrw-k e-f
ʔy e·r-k ʕš z ʔm n-y y·h·o y·w

33. y·h·o ʔwh·o y·h·o h·y k hw q' n·šbt ʔr-py-hpe
ḥl·ḥl·n·bk

34. ḥr n bk ny·by·t th·tl·t my·ry·bl

COL. VIII.

1. a [ʔre p ntr(?)] ʔsq a tm ʔy a(?) ḥn e·r-k ʕš

2. my·ry·bl·qml·kykh p-yt-yt-w n n ntr-w pḥr w·t
yr·t rym k·t sby y·ḥ sp·sn sp·sn ḥ·ḥ·he

3. st·st·st·st yḥ y·h·o ḥḥ my ʔw n-y p ntr nte p
wh·sh·ne n p-hw n t·t·f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb

4. nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw e·r-k z pf-ntr(?) n r-k
tne sp nb n e·r-k ʕš te-y ḥwy ḥyt ar-k n p nt ḥt
n·m·k n p nt ʕme n·m·k

information kindly supplied by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Hall, of the
British Museum).

1. 28. The names in this line are found in Pap. XLVI above, l. 428,
and also on a Gnostic gem described by GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays,
1853, p. 54.

1. 30. *ʔwn-f*, 'raise him up!' or with reflexive masc. suffix 'arise!' instead of fem. as in Coptic *ʔornoc*, 'arise!'

COL. VIII.

1. 1. The short heading seems only intended to remind the reader of
the subject in hand (see 6/27), and is not a new heading.

kiste, Akrourobore, Kodere.' (27) You make him open his eyes and look at the lamp, and ask him as to that which you wish. If obstinacy appear, he not having seen the god, you turn round (?), (28) you pronounce his compulsion. Formula: 'Semea-kanteu, Kenteu, Konteu, Kerideu, Darenko, Lekaux, (29) come to me, Kanab, Ari-katei, Bari-katei, disk, moon of the gods, disk, hear my voice, let answer be given me (30) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. O perfume of Zalabaho, Nasira, Hake, arise (?) O Lion-ram, (31) let me see the light to-day, and the gods; and let them give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day truly. Na, Na, Na, Na, is thy name, (32) Na, Na, is thy true name.' You utter a whisper (?) with your voice loudly; you recite saying, 'Come to me Iaho, Iacu, (33) Iaho, Auho, Iaho, Hai, Ko, Hoou, Ko, Nashbot, Arpi-Hap (?), Abla, Balbok, (34) Honbek (Hawk-face), Ni, Abit, Thatlat, Maribal.'

COL. VIII.

(1) If [the god (?)] delay so as not to come in, you cry: (2) 'Maribal, Kmla, Kikh, Father of the fathers of the gods, go round (?), one Eye weeps, the other laughs. Ioh (*bis, bis*), Ha, Ha, He, (3) St, St, St, St, Ihe, Iaho, seek (?); let there come to me the god in whose hand is the command to-day, and let him give me reply to everything (4) about which I ask here to-day.' You say, 'Pef-nuti (?)' with your mouth each

l. 2. This continues from 6/34, which is short because of meeting the ruling: v. the facsimile.

my ʾr-y bl is repeated from the end of 6/34. Such repetition is usual where a page ends in the middle of a paragraph (e.g. in Cols. II-III, VI-VII), but there are exceptions as in Cols. IX-X. The sign over *bl* is hieratic for $\overline{\text{bl}}$ (= *bl*), as in 11/12.

l. 4. *pf-ntr* (?): possibly an archaic expression, 'that god,' but this and

5. my 're p kke prze a p wyn ne-ħr-y 'y p ntr ħw-ħs
r^c-t ħtm sy sp-sn 'w ħw 'w ħ-t b-r-y

6. gh' 't r^c-t šfe bybyw y^c-h-^co 'ry^cħ^c sp-sn a-ry n-s
e-w a st ħr bks gs-gs-gs-gs

7. y^cny^cn e-r-n e-y bs ks-ks-ks-ks my 'w n-y p ntr
nte p wħ-šħnc n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wħ a mt-t nb nt
e-y

8. šn ħrr-w ty n p-hw 'm a ħn py^c-t-w ħy-tre-t 'y
ħp ħpe ħp 'br^c-ħme p zf n t yr-t n t wz

9. qmr-qmr-qmr-qmr qm-r a-t ħp qm-qm wr wt š...
knwš pe-k rn n mte my z-w n-y wħ

10. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ħrr-w ty n p-hw 'm n-y
b^ck^cksykħekħ a-zy n-y wħ a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ħrr-w
ty n p-hw n mt-t m^c-t

11. n wš n z n-y mt-t n 'ze z-mt-t sp VII

12. w^c a ħrw pe-šħ p w^cb n ks e-f z n^cm-f z
e-f znt n sp IX

13. ank r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw-t-f
ta p šw e-f ħp

14. e t mn t mt-t ne ħp mpr 'y n-y n pe-k ħr n pħe-t
e-r-k a 'y n-y n pe-k ħbr n w^cb

15. n pe-k sšt n rm ħ-t-nt e-f ħp e bn-e-s a ħp
e-r-k 'y n-y n pe-k smte n g^cšyre

16. z 'nk r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw-t-f
ta p šw a ħr

other expressions that seem to have a meaning, such as 'do for her'
araimas, 'they shall return' *euesōl*, in l. 6, are likely to be only gibberish
ejaculations; cf. δωδεκαίστη in Greek magic.

ne'r-k = conjunctive *nt*, usually written *nt-k* as Boh. *ntek*.

l. 8. *wz*. The  eye is named *ous* (cf. gen. *ouat-os*), *ouaton* B. M.
Pap. XLVI. 75 and 92, pointing to the pronunciation *otaxe*, *otaxe* (?),
cf. *taouaris*, 'she of the sacred eye,' in SPIEGELB., *Eigenn.*, p. 51*.

l. 12. *pe-šħ*. There is no determinative to prove that this is a proper
name. The previous sign instead of *ħrw*, 'voice,' might be read as
'foreigner,' or 'Greek,' cf. 4/7, V. 3/12.

time, and you cry, 'I cast fury at thee of him who cutteth thee, of him who devoureth thee. (5) Let the darkness separate from the light before me. Ho! god, Hu-hos, Ri-khetem, Si (*bis*), Aho (?), Ah, Mai (?) ("I do not" ?), (6) Kha, Ait, Ri-shfe, Bibiu, Iaho, Ariaaha (*bis*), Arainas ("do for her"), Euesetho ("they will turn the face"), Bekes, Gs, Gs, Gs, Gs, (7) Ianian, Eren, Eibs, Ks, Ks, Ks, Ks, let the god come to me in whose hand is the command and give me answer as to everything about which I (8) inquire here to-day. Come in, Piatouu, Khitore; ho! Shop, Shope, Shop, Abraham, the apple (?) of the Eye of the Uzat, (9) Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmro, so as to create, Kom, Kom-wer-wot, Sheknush (?) is thy real name, let answer be told to me (10) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. Come to me Bakaxikhekh, tell me answer to everything which I ask about here to-day truly (11) without telling me falsehood.' Formula. Seven times.

(12) A direct (?) inquiry by (?) the voice of Pasash (?) the priest of Kes; he (the informant) tells it, saying it is tested, nine times: (13) 'I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau son of Tapshau, of his mother Tapshau, if it be that (14) any given thing shall happen, do not come to me with thy face of Pekhe; thou shalt come to me in thy form of a priest, (15) in thy figure of a servant of the temple. (But) if it shall not come to pass, thou (shalt) come to me in thy form of a Kalashire, (16) for I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau, the son of Tapshau, of his

Ks may be Cusae, or Cynopolis (El Qais), or some other town in Middle Egypt.

'Nine times tried' seems proverbial, cf. 14/31; and for the whole sentence, 29/1.

l. 14. *Phe-t*, a feline goddess worshipped at Speos Artemidos near Beni-Hasan in Middle Egypt. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 234.

l. 15. *g^hšyre*, see the Glossary.

17. p ḥpš n p mḥ III n p wrš e wn w^c yb n mzwł
ḥt n ḥlpe III e wn mḥ-n-tp III

18. n b^cnyp tks n^m-f nte-k š n-y ar-f n sp VII
nte-k ḥ^c-f ne-zz-k ḥr nw-f n-k nte-f sze erme-k

COL. IX.

1. p šn-hne n Ḥns . . . ḥr-k Ḥns m ws-t nfr ḥtp
p syf šps ʾr pyr n p sšn Ḥr nb nw w^c pw . . .

2. ʾy ḥt nb ḥt ʾy šn-ty-t nb šn-ty-t nb ʾtn p ntr ʿo
p k wt p šre n p ʾkš ʾm n-y p syf šps p ntr ʿo nt [ḥn]

3. p ʾtn nte ḥn-w . . . p-ʿo-m-ʿo nt e-w z n-f p k
sp-sn wr p ntr ʿo nt ḥn t wz-t ʾr pyr a bl ḥn p IV [ḥn]

4. n z-t p tbe n n ef-w nt e b ʾr-rḥ-w rn-f b ʾr-rḥ-w
ky-f b rḥ-w smte-f te-y ʾr-rḥ(-w) rn-k te-y ʾr-rḥ(-w) ky-k
te-y [ʾr-rḥ(-w)]

5. smte-k ʿo rn-k ʾw rn-k ʾḥ rn-yk ʾmn rn-k wr ntr-w
rn-yk ʾmn rn-f a ntr-w nb rn-yk ʿo-m

6. wr ʿm rn-k ntr-w nb rn-yk srpt-my-sr rn-yk l-ʿo-w
ʾy nb t-w sp-sn rn-yk ʾmḥr n p-t rn-k sšn n syw . . .

l. 17. *τριταῖος οὐσῆς τῆς σεληνῆς* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 170.

yḥ, lit. 'tooth.' Cf. Lat. 'spica allii.'

COL. IX.

l. 1. *Ḥns-m-ws-t-nfr-ḥtp*, the title of the principal form of Khons at Thebes, see the Bekhten stela. Khons was a moon-god, son of Amen and Mut. He is here identified with Horus and other gods.

For Horus rising from the lotus-flower see LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.*, ccxiv. 'Lord of time,' as the moon regulating seasons.

l. 2. *ḥt*, 'silver,' the moon-colour.

šn-ty-t, 'circuit of the underworld (?)'

p k wt, cf. his title 'ein feuriger Stier' in an inscription translated by BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 360; *wt* is evidently the Eg. *wz*.

p ʾkš, the Ethiopian, i. e. Amen, who at this time was popularly considered as, above all, the god of Meroe: see V. 20/1 and note.

l. 3. *nte ḥn-w* . . . Cf. *ḡne-ḡna* and below l. 10, and with the idea cf. Khons' title *nb ʾw-t ḥ*, 'lord of joy.'

p IV ḥn n z-t, cf. l. 13 with gloss. *ḡnae*. *ḥn* is a vessel below 12/29. Here it may be a 'space' referring to the 'four quarters.' *z-t* may perhaps refer to 'space,' not time. One may also suggest the meaning of 'four boundaries' or 'four seasons,' and in l. 8 *ḥn* seems to mean

mother Tapshau.' [Say it] opposite (17) the Shoulder constellation on the third day of the month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic and there being three needles (18) of iron piercing it, and recite this to it seven times; and put it at thy head. Then he attends to you and speaks with you.

COL. IX.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Chons. '[Homage ?] to thee, Chons-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, the noble child that came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time (?), one he is . . . (2) Ho! silver, lord of silver, Shentei, lord of Shentei, lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian, come to me, noble child, the great god that is in (3) the disk, who pleaseth men (?), Pomo, who is called the mighty bull (*bis*), the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four [boundaries?] (4) of eternity, the punisher of the flesh (?), whose name is not known, nor his nature, nor his likeness (?). I know thy name, I know thy nature, I [know] (5) thy likeness. Great is thy name, Heir is thy name, Excellent is thy name, Hidden is thy name. Mighty one of the gods is thy name, "He whose name is hidden from all the gods" is thy name, Om, (6) Mighty Am is thy name, "All the gods" is thy name, Lotus-lion-ram is thy name, "Loou comes, lord of the lands" (*bis*) is thy name, Amakhr of heaven is thy name, "Lotus-flower of stars (?)

a 'cycle.' Cf. τα τεσσαρα μέρη του ουρανου και τα τεσσαρα θεμελια της γης, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 552.

l. 4. *p the*, cf. note on Petbe in P. S. B. A. xxii. 162.

te-y 'r-rhw: the written *w* seems meaningless, for *rh* is not here in *stm-f* dependent on *te-y*. The latter is the pron. 1st sing. *†* followed by inf. or pseudo-part. For *'r-rh* see GRIFFITH, High Priests, p. 106.

l. 5. *'h* with gloss *as* and therefore not 'spirit,' which would be *is*. Perhaps it is the adjective 'beneficial.'

'He whose name is hidden from all the gods,' a phrase current in the New Kingdom for Amenra.

7. 'y 'y-y-^o ne-'y-^o rn-yk pe-k sšt mhrr n hr n sre
e st-f n bk e bs II hrr-f pe-k [hfe hfe]

8. n z-t pe-k hn n wrš pe-k h n h n elle 'št pe-k sym
n sym n 'Mn pe-k 'rw n t p-t byn pe-k rym n [p mty?]

9. lbs km st smn-t hr p t yb rn-k n te-k-t hē-t n p
y'm pe-k sšt n 'ny a-pyr-k n'm-f . . .

10. t p-t te-k-t qnḥ-t p t te-k-t hyw-t wn-ne p hny a
mht n'm-k ty n p-hw z 'nk ḥ(?) mne nw . . . y

11. 'e e bnp-y 'r-f hr 'sq e bnp-y gm rn-yk p ntr 'o
nte (ne-)y rn-f p hry hte-t n t p-t a-'r-y 'r-f 'r [p ḥkr?]

12. n p t p 'yb n p mw nte-k nḥt nte-k t wz-y nte-k
t n-y ḥs-t mr-t šfe-t a hr rm nb z 'nk pe p k . . .

13. p ntr 'o nt hn t wz-t 'r pyr a bl hn p IV hn n
z-t 'nk ḥwne p rn 'o nt n t p-t nt e-w z n-f . . .

14. 'm-ph-^o-w sp-sn n m't sp-sn ḥs-f a 'Bt R^c Hr
hnn(?) pe pe rn hry ntr-w rn-t n mte nḥt my wz-y my
ḥpe pe hne . . .

15. a'wn n-y n 'rq-ḥḥ a hr ntr nb rm nb 'r pyr

l. 7. The figure described may be compared with the ram-headed scarabs having hawk's wings which are common on late coffins, on the breast of the figure upon the inner coffins. What *bs* is is not evident. These scarabs often hold two Shen rings, or two sceptres with Maat feathers on the end.

pe-k [ḥfē ḥfē] *n z.t.* There seems to be space in the lacuna for the whole groups spelled out, as in l. 20. The extent of the lacuna, about 2 cm., can be judged by l. 12, where *k[wr]* has to be read. For the *ḥf n z.t.*, cf. I Kham. iii. 31; GRIFF, High Priests, p. 22; and *τον αειζων οφω* Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1323.

l. 8. 'š. The identity of this fruit-tree is very uncertain, v. LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 102.

rym n [p mty?]. Cf. I Kham. iii. 13, but the precise wording required is quite uncertain.

l. 9. *lbs*. There is a fish called *λεβίς*; and there is the modern *لبیس*. On the latter Mr. G. A. BOULENGER kindly furnishes a note, 'the lebis is the Arabic name of Labeo Niloticus, a fish allied to and not unlike our carp. Like the latter, without being absolutely black, it may be of a very dark olive brown above.'

yḥ probably has a definite meaning, but as yet it is obscure.

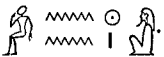
l. 10. *e hn-y*. This reading is possible, see the facsimile.

(7) cometh," Ei-io Ne-ei-o is thy name. Thy form is a scarab with the face of a ram; its tail a hawk's, it wearing (?) two panther-skins (?). Thy [serpent is a serpent ?] (8) of eternity, thine orbit (?) a lunar month, thy tree a vine-tree and persea (?), thy herb the herb of Amen, thy fowl of heaven a heron, thy fish of [the deep (?)] (9) a black *lebes*. They are established on earth. Yb is thy name in thy body in (?) the sea, thy figure of stone in which thou camest forth is a . . . ; (10) heaven is thy shrine, the Earth thy fore-court; it was my will (?) to seize thee here to-day, for I am one shining, enduring: my . . . (11) faileth (?) if I have not done it through (?) the delay, I not having discovered thy name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor (?) of heaven. (But) I have done it, [enduring ?] hunger (12) for bread, and thirst for water; and do thou rescue (?) me and make me prosper and give me praise, love, and reverence before every man. For I am (?) the [mighty] bull, (13) the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four regions (?) of space (?). I am *Hune* (youth), the great name that is in heaven, whom they call . . . (14) Amphoo (*bis*), "True" (*bis*), "He is praised to (?) Abydos," "Ra," "Horus the boy" is my name, "Chief of the gods" is my correct name, preserve me, make me to prosper, make my vessel to become [successful ?]. (15) Open to

l. 11. *a·r-y*. The translation is uncertain owing to the lacuna.

l. 12. *·nk pe p k* might mean 'I am he of the [mighty] bull'; if not, the magician identifies himself with Khons, see l. 3.

l. 14. *hsf a ·Bt*. The *a* as a separate letter seems certain, v. the facs. The gloss *hsf* has the appearance of a construct form, but it may well be for *hsaf*. Even so it is difficult to find a meaning for the phrase.

The reading of the group following *R·Hr* is not certain. The signs are .

l. 15. The 'stone of Ptah' is not otherwise known. For Ptah as a creator see BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 110; BREASTED, *A. Z.*, 1901, 51.

a bl ḥn p ʿny n Pth z ank p ḥf ʿr pyr n p nwn
ʿnk . . .

16. bre n ʿkš ʿnh n ḥf n nb n mʿt aʿre ʿbye n sp-t
p nt e-y a z-t-f ḥr ḥpe-f tw n hy . . .

17. apḥte z ʿnk ʿNp p sst (*sic*) nhne ʿnk ʿS-t e-y a
mr-f ank Wsr e-y a mr-f ank ʿNp [e-y a mr]-f eʿr-k a
nhm-t a . . . nb

18. s-t thth nb lsmtnwt lsmʿtot nḥt my wz-y my n-y
ḥs-t mr-t šfe-t ḥn pe hne . . .

19. pe swt ty n p-hw ʿm-t n-y ʿS-t t nb ḥyq t wr
ḥyq n n ntr-w tre-w Ḥr ḥ-t ʿS-t m-s-y Nb-t-ḥ-t n te
grpe

20. wʿ ḥf n šre ʿTm p nt . . . n ʿre-t a zz-y ze p nt
e-f a myšt e-f a myš stn Mnt ty n p-hw(?) n wʿ(?) . . .

21. a my-ḥs apḥte a t še a wʿ my n šr my-ḥs a bl
e-f qb y aʿn-t-w n-y sp-sn n by n ntr n by

22. n rm n by n t ty-t n by n t ʿhy-t n ʿyh-w n
n-mw-t-w nte-w (my ʿr-w) z n-y n t mʿt n p-hw a p
nt e-y šn m-s-f z ʿ[nk]

The snake as word-sign has six loops here and in 21/4, four loops in l. 16. This agrees with the snake determinative of *šy* which has usually four loops, once (19/12) six loops, and twice (3/3, 5/9) two loops, and Shoi is said to be 'in Nun' 2/5. It is thus the snake of Shay. But the sign, meaning distinctly a (sacred) snake, cannot read *šy*, which always means distinctly a divinity. *Hfe* is perhaps the most probable reading, see esp. 21/4; the det. of that word in 9/20 has only two loops, but in Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 9 five or six loops. *Syt* 14/3, V. 27/1 has four loops, but the head seems to be raised high; *syf* is derived from Eg. *š-t* which is represented by  in late texts, Br., Dict. Geogr., 762.

l. 16. *bre*: cf. *ḥwpe*, 'intumescere,' *ḥope*, 'fastuose se gerere,' or better *ḥepi*, 'juvenis.'

nh is evidently the serpent word met with in 1/3. Possibly both *bre* and *nh* are adjectives, and the construction may resemble the familiar Coptic construction with adjectives, St., § 187.

twn, apparently an unetymological spelling for *ntwn*: cf. 18/21.

l. 17. *sst*, error for *snt*: cf. 18/22.

l. 20. *wʿ ḥf n šre ʿTm*. Atum being a form of Ra, this may refer to the

me Arkhah before every god and every man that hath come forth from the stone of Ptah. For I am the serpent that came forth from Nun, I am a (16) proud (?) Ethiopian, a rearing serpent of real gold, there being honey in my (?) lips; that which I shall say cometh to pass at once. Ho! . . . (17) mighty one, for I am Anubis, the baby creature (?); I am Isis and I will bind him, I am Osiris and I will bind him, I am Anubis [and I will bind] him. Thou wilt save me from every . . . (18) and every place of confusion (?). Lasmalnout, Lesmatot, protect me, heal me, give me love, praise and reverence in my vessel (19), my bandage (?) here to-day. Come to me, Isis, mistress of magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem, (20) a snake of the son(s) of Atum is that which . . . a uraeus-diadem at my head; for he that shall strike (?) me (?) shall strike (?) King Mont here to-day . . . (21) Mihos, mighty one shall send out a lion of the sons of Mihos under compulsion to fetch them to me (*bis*) the souls of god, the souls (22) of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead, so that they tell me the truth to-day concerning that

poisonous serpent formed by Isis from the spittle of Ra, to bite him and make him reveal his secret name (texts of New Kingdom). With the construction compare l. 21 *w^c my n šr my-ḥs*, 10/13 *lbe.t III n lbe.t nmy*, and 10/10 *š^c n ny*.

l. 21. *My-ḥs*, a lion-god, son of Bubastis. For the pronunciation of the name see SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 4*.

i še a: the *a* is quite certain, but is very puzzling.

a·n-t-w n-y sp-sn. This should be an imperative: see also the parallel l. 35. Possibly *sp-sn* is falsely written here.

n by, gloss. *ḥḥar*. The plural sign is often omitted with *by*, and here we see the reason, viz. that the plural had no special form.

l. 22. *n-mw-t-w*, cf. l. 25. The prefixed *n* seems to represent a reduplication of the initial *m*, *n* being regularly assimilated to a following *m*.

Here we have *verves kai oi daimones* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1453.

23. Hr s 'S·t e-f 'nn^c a mr n 'rq-ḥḥ a hwy qst a hr
n s·w a t mnḥ·t n p ḥsy

24. p ḥsy nfr n n ḥsy·w e·r-k nhs e·r-k a rpy hr r
n r·w n pe hne pe swt pe z^l mt·t . . .

25. nhs n'm-w n-y [n] 'yh·w n mt·w nhs pe-w by
pe-w sst n n r·w n pe hne nhs-w n'm-w n-y . . .

26. erme n mt·w nhs n'm-w n-y sp-sn nhse(?) pe-w
by erme pe-w sst p ḥyt n py-s s wnte ta 'rb . . .

27. nhs n'm-w n-y sp-sn [n wn]te-w n ne-w s·t tbe
my 'r-w sze n r·w my 'r-w mt·t n spe-w my 'r-w z
p-e-z-y [a p nt]

28. e-y šn ḥrr-f ty n p-hw my 'r-w mt·t n . . . my
're mt·t m·t ḥp n-y mpr t hr hr hr rn hr rn n m·t
sp-sn(?) [e mn]

29. mt·t n 'ze n'm-w(?) [y] p mḥrr n ḥstb n m·t nt
ḥms hr zz p šy n p pr·o Wsr wn-nfr . . .

30. mḥ r-k n mw n(?) . . . kš-f a zz-y erme p nt
ne-t·t my wz-y my wz-f θs-phr š^c nte p-e-z-[y ḥp m]y
're

31. p-e-z-y ḥp z e·re tm te(?) p-e-z-y ḥp e-y a t qte
t st·t n p qte n ty sewe š^c nte p-e-z-y ḥp z . . .

32. a p t stm-w n-y . . . z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
'nk 'Tm n p wtn n p r^c ank 'ry'ttw t št·o-t n(?) . . .

l. 23. *a mr·t* in the Khamuas stories means 'on board ship' (High Priests, p. 98), but **ⲉⲙⲙⲣ** in Coptic is 'across,' 'to the other side,' 'beyond.' *a mr n* may be 'beyond' as a preposition; the same word is used in 15/12 in the same connexion (with the tomb of Osiris at Abydos).

l. 24. *e·r-k*. The gloss is certainly **ⲉⲣ**, and must be a correction.

swt is difficult to understand. The idea must be founded on the use of knots in magic, Lat. 'ligatura.'

z^l-mt·t probably = 'word-seeking,' from Eg. *z^r*, preserved also in **ⲁⲙⲣ**, &c. Were all these used at once, or were they alternatives?

l. 26. *wnte*: cf. LANZ., Diz. Mit., 165, or better BRUGSCH, Wtb. Suppl.,

322. It would be possible to read *ḥwnte*. From the next line the *wnte* would seem to be souls in torment or else punishing demons.

l. 27. *spe-w*, see Glossary, s.v. *sp^l*.

after which I am inquiring: for I am (23) Horus son of Isis who goeth on board at Arkhah to put wrappings on the amulets, to put linen on the Drowned one, (24) the fair Drowned one of the drowned (?). They shall rise, they shall flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), my word-seeking (?). (25) Arouse them for me (*bis*), the spirits, the dead; rouse their souls and forms at (?) the mouths of my vessel; rouse them for me (26) with the dead; rouse [them] for me (*bis*); rouse their souls and their forms. The fury of Pessiwont ("Her (whose) son is Wont"), the daughter of Ar . . . (27) rouse them for me (*bis*), the Unti from their places of punishment, let them talk with their mouths, let them speak with their lips, let them say that which I have said, [about that which] (28) I am asking them here to-day; let them speak before (?) me, let truth happen to me; do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true (*bis*) name [without] (29) falsehood in it. [Ho?] scarab of true lapislazuli that sitteth at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer! (30) fill thy mouth with the water of [the pool?], pour it on my head together with him who is at my hand; make me prosper, make him prosper, and conversely, until my words [happen?], let (31) that which I say come to pass; for if that which I have said do not come to pass, I will cause fire to go round about this *Seoue* until that which I have said do come to pass; for [they came] (32) to the earth, they listened to me . . . they said to me, "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am Atum in the sun-boat of Phre;

1. 28. *n hr(?) t-y(?)*. Perhaps a very incorrect writing for *n h-t-y*, 'before me.'

1. 29. *p šy*. Perhaps the 'lake of U-Peke' in 12/17.

1. 31. *e-re tm te, eperw*, but the *te* is inexplicable.

sewe. This seems a threat to burn the bandages or even the mummy of Osiris.

1. 32. *št-v-t*, probably the chest, Eg. *šyt*, of Osiris, BR., Wtb., 1410.

33. a·e-y kšp a bl ḥ[t-k?] a nw m-s Wsr p ʔkš e-f
ʔn·ʔw a ḥn a zz-y e wn šr ʔNp II ḥ-t-f šr Wpy [II m-s-f]

34. šr rr·t II mne [nʔm-]f z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
ank w· n py bk II nt rsy a ʔS·t erme Wsr t gr·p·t t . . .

35. erme py-s ʕw . . . a·ʔny·t-w n-y sp-sn n by n
ntr n by n rm by n t ty·t n by n t ʔḥy·t

COL. X.

1. n ʔyḥ·w n mt·w my ʔr·w z n-y t m·t n p-hw ḥr p
nt e-y šn ḥrr-f z ʔnk ʔrtemy(?) . . . mw·t e-f ḥ· ḥr ybt

2. ʔm n-y a ḥn ʔNp n pe-k ḥr nfr a·ʔr-y ʔy a wšte-k
. . . sp-sn ḥ·t sp-sn . . . [rs mḥ]t ʔmnt ybt

3. tw n ʔmnt nb my ʔr·w ḥp e-w šs sp-sn e-w smn·t
e-w swtn e-w pḥr e ḥ p ḥyt [n p wr?] šfe z ʔnk

4. y·e y·o y·e y·o s·b·o-th ʕ-t-ne z te-y ḥwy [ḥyt]
ar-k tsye gl·te

5. ʔrkhe y·o· ʔḥlekmy y·o m·kh·ḥy yee kh·o . . . n
kh·o-khrekhy ee·o-th

6. s·rby·qw ygr· pšybyeg m·o-mw mwnekh stsyth·o
s·o-th·o-n n·o-n kh·rm·y

7. p ḥyt n ny ntr·w tre-w a·z-y rn-w ty n p-hw nhs
nʔm-w n-y sp-sn n ḥsy·w n mt·w ʕḥe(?) pe·tn by pe·tn
sšt n-y

8. a n r·w n pe ḥbs pe swt pe z·l·c mt·t my ʔr·f n-y
wḥ ḥr mt·t nb nt e-y šn [ḥrr-w] ty n p-hw n mt·t m·t
sp-sn e mn mt·t

l. 33. 'The Ethiopian,' a curious epithet of Osiris. But he was worshipped in Ethiopia, Hdt. ii. 99, as well as at Philae, and he was dark-coloured, Plut., Is. et Os., c. 22. 33.

Ophois, Eg. *w·p·wt*, a jackal god.

l. 34. *Rr·t*, the name of the sow, *p·p*, and of the hippopotamus goddess, but here perhaps a snake goddess. The det. has only two loops.

gr·p·t. The det. is the uraeus, as in *ʔre·t*, l. 20. In 20/6 it seems to be simply a two-looped snake.

COL. X.

l. 1. Possibly the meaning is 'Artemi in the mother's womb.'

I am Ariotatu, the *Sheto* of . . . (33) I looked out before . . . to observe Osiris the Ethiopian, he came into my head, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Ophois behind him, (34) two sons of Rere mooring him. They said to me "Who art thou?" (*bis*). I am one of those two hawks that watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . (35) with its glory(?) . . . , bring them to me (*bis*), the souls of god, the souls of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon,

COL. X.

'(1) the spirits, the dead; let them tell me the truth to-day in that about which I shall ask: for I am Artemi . . . se(?)-mau, rising in the East. (2) Come in to me, Anubis with thy fair face, I have come to pray to thee. Woe(?) (*bis*), fire (*bis*), [South, North,] West, East, (3) every breeze of Amenti, let them come into being, proved (*bis*), established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the great one] of reverence; for I am (4) Iae, Iao, Iaea, Iao, Sabaoth, Atone; for I cast fury at thee, Thiai, Klatai, (5) Arkhe, Ioa, Phalekmi, Iao, Makhahai, Iee, Kho..n, Khokhrekhi, Aaioth, (6) Sarbiakou, Ikra, Phibick, Momou, Mounaikh, Stitho, Sothon, Naon, Kharmai, (7) the fury of all these gods, whose names I have uttered here to-day, rouse them for me (*bis*), the drowned(?), the dead; let your (plur.) soul and your (plur.) form live for me (8) at the mouths of my lamp,

1. 2. *wšt*, 'salute with reverence' is the real meaning, not altogether lost in Coptic.

1. 4. *te-y hwy hyt ar-k* clearly corresponds to *ἐξορκίζω σε*.

tsye, gloss *ⲉⲓⲁⲓ*. *ⲁⲓ* is here probably = short *ε*.

1. 7. *n hsy-w* opposed to *n ml-w*. In the Rhind. bil. *ḥ hsy-w*, 'approved spirits,' often, vii. 10, xiii. 9, xvii. 2. So perhaps here 'approved,' not 'drowned.'

**nhe*, again with a meaning allied to that in 1/1.

1. 8. *hbs*. Hitherto it has been the *hin*, 'vessel,' not the lamp.

9. n ʿze ḥn-w ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr še-k
a wʿ pr n kke e [ḥr]-f wn a pr-rs nge pr-ybt

10. n wʿ mʿ e-f wʿb eʾr-k prḥ-f n šʿ e-f wʿb n ʾny n
p yʿr-ʿo eʾr-k ʾny wʿ z n ḥmt e-f wʿb nge

11. wʿ hne n blz nmy nte-k t wʿ lq n mw n str nge
mw e-f wʿb a p z ḥnʿ wʿ lq n nḥe n mʿt

12. e-f wʿb nge nḥe wʿet-f n wš n t mw ar-f nte-k t
wʿ ʾny n qs-ḥḥ(?) a ḥn p hne ḥr nḥe nte-k t wʿ ḥt

13. n pr-nfr n p ʾytn n p hne nte-k t qte tbe-t III n
p qte n p hne n tbe-t nmy

14. nte-k ḥʿ t VII e-w wʿb ḥr n tbe-tw nt qte a p
hne nte-k ʾny wʿ ḥm-ḥl e-f wʿb e-f znt

15. n ne-f msz-w a t ḥ-t z e-f [ʾr] šw n še ḥr p hne
eʾr-k t ḥms-f ḥr [wʿ-t tbe-t] nmy nte-k ḥms ḥ-k

16. ḥr ke tbe-t eʾr-k wḥ pe-f [ḥr?] ke-z ʾt-f nte-k
t t-t-k a r yr-t-f [e yr-t-f] ḥtm eʾr-k ʿš a ḥry

17. ḥn t mt-t n zz-f n sp VII [eʾr-k] wḥ eʾr-k fy
t-t-k ḥr r yr-t-f eʾr-k p hne eʾr-k t t-t-k

18. a ne-f msz-w eʾr-k mḥt nʾm-w n t-t-k ḥ-k eʾr-k
šn n p ḥm-ḥl z ʿn aeʾr-k [nw a p ntr? ʿo?] e-f z te-y
nw a wʿt

19. kmeme-t eʾr-k z n-f ze a-z-ys z te-y nw a pe-k
ḥr nfr eʾr-k p ntr ʿo ʾNp

l. 9. *ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn* = *ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ* of the Greek papyri.

l. 11. *lq* = *λοσ*: *λοκ*, translating *κοτυλη*, which in the LXX. translates the Hebrew *log*. Whatever was the precise measure intended by the *λοκ*, it seems to have taken the place of the Egyptian *hin* (less than a pint).

mw n str: apparently water allowed to stand for the night.

l. 12. *ḥt n pr-nfr*. The Good House is the place of embalming, GRIFF., High Priests, p. 25; but the presence of a plant det. no doubt indicates that it is a plant-name here. *Ḥt* might then be *εγκαρδιον*, as a botanical term 'core.' More probably the whole expression 'heart of the Good House' is to be taken as the name of a symbolical plant, such as the 'resurrection' plant, *Anastatica hierochuntina*, or something similar. Cf. the story of the flower enclosing the heart of Bata put in a cup of

my bandage(?), my word-seeking(?). Let him make me answer to every word [about] which I am asking here to-day in truth (*bis*) without (9) falsehood therein. Hasten (*bis*), quickly (*bis*).¹ Its spirit-gathering: You go to a dark chamber with its [face] open to the South or East (10) in a clean place; you sprinkle it with clean sand brought from the great river; you take a clean bronze cup or (11) a new vessel of pottery and put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled(?) or of pure water into the [cup] and a *lok*-measure of real oil (12) pure, or oil alone without putting water into it, and put a stone of *gs-ankh* in the vessel containing oil, and put a 'heart- (13) of-the-good-house' (plant?) in the bottom of the vessel, and put three bricks round about the vessel, of new bricks, (14) and place seven clean loaves on the bricks that are round the vessel and bring a pure child that has been tested (15) in his ears before, that is, is profitable in proceeding with the vessel. You make him sit on a new [brick] and you also sit (16) on another brick, you being at (?) his face, otherwise said, his back, and you put your hand before [his] eyes, [his eyes being] closed and call down (17) into the middle of his head seven times. When you have finished, you take your hand from before his eyes, you [make him bend over] the vessel; you put your hand (18) to his ears, you take hold of them with your hand also, you ask the child saying, 'Do you [? see . . .]?' If he says, 'I see a (19) darkness,' you say to him 'Speak, saying, "I see thy beautiful face, and do thou [hear my salutation?], O great god Anubis!"'

water to revive, in the story of the Two Brothers. *gs-nh* might similarly be 'quicklime.'

1. 19. *wš'te* is probably to be restored at the end of the gap, as in ll. 2, 26. The translation may be 'and do thou [pray to] the great god Anubis.'

20. cʿr-k wh a ʿr-f n hne wʿet-k eʿr-k mh yr-t-k n
py kys eʿr-k [hms hrʿ p hneʿ] a h p nt hry e yr-t-k

21. htm eʿr-k š p š nt hry n sp VII eʿr-k wn
yr-t-k cʿr-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb [nt eʿr-k wh-fʿ . . .] hr
ʿr-k-f n θ n p hw

22. n mh IV n p wrš š p hw n mh XV nte . . .
pe e h mh wz-t [šn hn]e wʿet a nw

23. a p wtn n p rʿ z-mt-t [a]wn n-y t p-t t mw-t n
n ntr-w my [nw-y a p wt]n n p rʿ e-f hty-hn[t]

24. hn-s z ʿnk Gb ʿrpe ntr-w šll p nt e-y ʿr nʿm-f
mbh p rʿ pe y[t e-tbe] n mt-t-w ʿr še n t-t

25. ʿy hkne-t wr-t nb qnh-t tʿr-št(?) a-wn n-y t
nb ʿyh[w a-wn] n-y t p-t hy[t]t my

26. wšte-y n n wpt-w [z] ank Gb ʿrpe ntr-w ʿy p VII
stn hy p [VII mnt] k syt nb šfe-t

27. šlz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) mʿ rw(?) nn(?) k kke hy
hnt-ybt-w

28. nwn wr he hy by sre by ʿmnt-w hy [by by-w k]
kke k k-w

l. 22. *h mh wz-t*, i. e. at full moon.

šn hne wʿet = σκεψη δια λεκανης αυτοπτου, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 162; αὐθο-
πτική λεκανομαντεία, ib. l. 221; and αυτοπτ(ικος) λογος, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 53.

This passage to the end of the column is repeated in 27/1-12.

l. 23. *hty hn[t]*. The parallel 27/2 gives in hieratic *ht* followed by the
nose *hnt* and the det. of a boat. *ht* means 'float down the river,' 'go
north,' and *hnt*, 'sail up the river,' 'go south.' With this clue it is easy
to read in LERMANS' facsimile the verb *hty* in demotic, written as in the
word *mhty*, V. 1, with its proper det. of water, and following it the verb
hnt, also in demotic, with its proper det. the boat. Thus, though LERMANS'
facsimile cannot be confirmed owing to the wear of the papyrus, it is clear
that we have a compound expression *hty-hnt*, 'go down and up.' This is
the proper order for the two verbs, as is shown by *hn m hd m hnt*, 'rowing
to and fro,' in the Westcar Papyrus, V. 4. It of course refers to the
sinking to the horizon and rising to the zenith of the sun-boat.

l. 24. *rʿ ntr-w* is a very ancient title of Geb.

l. 25. *hkne-t*, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 855; MASPERO, Rec. tr., i. 21.

l. 26. Whether the number 7 originally acquired its sacred character in
Babylonia or not, it had that character in Egypt, cf. BRUGSCH, Thes.,

(20) If you wish to do it by vessel alone, you fill your eyes with this ointment, you sit (?) [over the vessel ?] as aforesaid, your eyes being (21) closed ; you utter the above invocation seven times, you open your eyes, you ask him concerning everything [that you wish (?)]. . . you do it from the (22) fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the *uzat*.

[A] vessel-[inquiry] alone in order to see (23) the bark of Phre. Formula : ' Open to me heaven, O mother of the gods ! Let [me see the ba]rk of Phre descending and ascending (24) in it ; for I am Geb, heir of the gods ; prayer is what I make before Phre my father [on account of] the things which have proceeded from me. (25) O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret (?), Open to me, mistress of the spirits, [open] to me, primal heaven, let (26) me worship the Angels ! [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail ! ye seven Kings, ho ! ye [seven Môts], bull that engendereth, lord of strength (27) that lighteth the earth, soul of the abyss ; ho ! lion as lion of (?) the abyss, bull of the night, hail ! thou that rulest the people of the East, (28) Noun, great one, lofty one, hail ! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West, hail ! [soul of souls, bull] of the night,

117 seqq. ; LEPS., Todtenb. Vorw., p. 6 ; Pap. Ebers LIV. 19 (eighteenth dynasty), the 7 Hathors (nineteenth dynasty, Pap. Orb. ix. 8 ; Br., Thes., 800) and the 42 assessors in the Book of the Dead, ch. 125. The occurrence of 7 spirits in the very ancient chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead is of special importance.

The 7 kings are not elsewhere mentioned. ' 4 Môts in their cities ' occurs in the text, ' Que mon nom fleurisse ' (LIEBLEIN, x. 3, and parallel passages), and 7 is a number associated with Hermonthis, the city of Mônt (BRUGSCH, Relig., 164, 7 Hathors and 7 Horus, L. D., iv. 63 c).

1. 27. The reading of the name     is uncertain. *Rw*, an obscure lion-god (Hieroglyphs, pp. 17, 18).

29. s' nw't a·wn n-y ank wb-t 'r pr n Gb ky [ank y·y]y e·e·e [he·he·he]

30. h-^o h-^o h-^o ank e-nep-^o myryp-^o-r^c m^c-t(?) 'b thy[by-^o 'rw.]wy . . . [y'h-^o]

31. z-mt snf n *^cⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ* snf n *ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲧ* snf n *^eⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁ* 'nh-^om·w [snw-p·t]

32. 'o-mn qs(?)-'nh hstb n m^c-t hl p-tgs-^oS·t nt 'r m bnn-t [nte-k smt yr-t]-k n^om-f t-t(?) [rym?]

33. n by-^on-p·t n w^c h n hr n 'ny nge h n hbyn [nte-k mr-k] a pe-k qte [n w^c-t]

34. pke n šr-bne-t hwt n [w^c] m^c e-f θse wbe p r^c bn-s t yr-t-k n

35. a h p nt sh ar-f

COL. XI.

1. r n t hse-t 'm n-y p pe-k rn nfr Thwt ys sp-sn 'm n-y

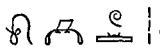
2. my m^o-y hr-k nfr ty n p-hw e-y n ky 'n nte-k šme . . .

3. n hš 'e n pe-k ls n stm-^ojk hrw-y n p-hw nhm-k-t mw 'hy nb t·w

4. r bn(?) nb hy p nte hbr-f n hbr-f 'o št a·pry ntr hr wt-t-f

l. 29. 'Son of Nut' might be either Osiris or Set, probably here the former: 'soul (*b'*) of Nut' is a possible reading.

l. 30. Anepo may be 'great Anubis' or 'elder Anubis.'

The gloss ^oⲟⲟ may be incomplete, in 27/9 it is ^oⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ: the hieratic probably reads .

l. 32. *p-tgs-^oS·t*, pronounced perhaps *pteksese*. Cf. *πυραγίς*, the fruit of the *κρᾶνεια* or cornel-tree.

l. 33. *h n hr*, apparently the name of some object made of wood, lit. wood or stick of satisfaction, possibly the kohl-stick.

'ny, possibly Eg. *'nnw* (Eb.) = *'wn* = *w'n*, 'juniper' (LORET, Fl. Phar., 2nd ed., p. 41), the *αρκευθίτις* of the Greek papyri. Its juice is used as a writing ink in Louvre dem. Mag. V. 20.

mr-k a pe-k qte, the restoration is from the parallel 27/11. The

bull (?) of bulls, (29) son of Nut, open to me, I am the Opener of earth, that came forth from Geb, hail! [I am I, I,] I, E, E, E, [He, He, He,] (30) Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat (?) Ib, Thi[bio, Ar]oui, Ououu, [Iaho.] (31) Formula: blood of a *smun*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a n[ightjar], *ankh-amu* plant, [*senepe* plant], (32) 'Great-of-Amen' plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'footprint-of-Isis' plant, pound, make into a ball, [you paint] your [eyes] with it; put (?) a goat's-[tear] (33) in (?) a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony wood, [you bind it (?)] around (?) you [with a] (34) strip of male-palm fibre in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eyes ... (35) according to what is prescribed for it.

COL. XI.

1. A spell of giving favour: 'Come to me, O..... thy beautiful name. O Thoth, hasten (*δῖς*); come to me. (2) Let me see thy beautiful face here to-day..... [I stand(?)] being in the form of an ape; and do thou greet (?) me (3) with praise and adoration (?) with thy tongue of ... [Come unto me] that thou mayest hearken to my voice to-day, and mayest save me from all things evil (4) and all slander (?). Ho! thou whose form is ofhis great and mysterious form, from whose be-

meaning 'to your side' is indicated by 21/12, *mr-k a pe-k hr* probably referring to a phylactery or knot tied at a particular place.

COL. XI.

1. 1. *t hse-t*, apparently not *t hp hse-t* as in l. 20. Cf. 12/21.

1. 2. *šme* (?), cf. *šm* 18/9, but with different det. One may perhaps conjecture *šm-t*, 'favour (?) me,' here; it is hardly *ḥw*, 'wash,' 'purify' (of clothes, BSCIAL, Rec. trav., vii. 27).

1. 3. Cf. ll. 16-17, and PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 128, *nḥm-k wī m' iḥ-t nb dw* (var. *iḥ-t nb bin dw*) *ḥpr m 'wy n rm-t ntr-w iḥ-w mt-w*.

1. 4. *r bn* may mean 'evil spell.'

5. nt ḥtp a mt(?) n N ank n t sr̄t(?) ʿo-t
nt e pyr Hḥp(?)

6. ḥr-s(?) ank p ḥr n šfe-t ʿo by m s-w-f ank
syf šps

7. nt n pr rḥ ank p nem šps nt m tḫ-t [h]b
n s-w n mḥ-t nt ḥtp n ʿN

8. ank p nb ḥrwy ʿo nb tm mḥ pḥt m
[rn]-yt(?) ank sre s sre srpt-my-[sr] ḥs-phr

9. rn-yt ḥḥ-pr-sr(?) rn-yt n mḥ-t sp-sn my n-y ḥs mr-t
[šfe-t ne-ḥr mn a-ms] mn n p-hw nte-f t n-y ḥy nb nfr

10. nte-f t n-y kew tfew nte-f ʿr mt-t nb nt e-y [a wh-s
nte-k tm t ʿr-f(?)] the a-ʿr-y a ʿr n-y mt-t bn(?) nte-f z n-y mt-t

11. e mst-s m hw pn m grḥ pn m ʿbt pn m rnp-t
tn m wne-t(?) e p rḥ a šḥt ḥt-w nte-f knm

12. yr-t-w nte-f t ḥp p kke m ḥr-w z ank byrḥy . . .
[rḥ]y ḥre-tn rḥy ank s Šḥm-t

13. ank bygt k lt ank gḥt s gḥt nte ty-t nte
ḥtp a mt(?) m h-t-ʿo-t m ʿN

14. ank s Ḥkne-t nb mke-t nt ʿrf n ḥne-t
nte n nḥt-w ʿo apḥt m sw-f

1. 5. *ḥtp a mt(?)*, cf. l. 13. *mt(?)* is written differently from *ante* and may well be a masculine word, such as *mt*, 'depth.' It can hardly be *anr*.

 *sr̄t* seems a possible reading.

pyr. The reading of the following words is uncertain. The construction with  @ (ete) suggests *nt e pyr Hḥp* (cf. V. 5/1) *ḥr-s*, and the facsimile admits of it.

1. 7. *pr rḥ*, 'House of Re,' Heliopolis.

1. 8. *nb ḥrwy*. It seems as if the scribe had substituted 'hostility' for *ḥrwy*, 'testicles,' unless the words here are mere gibberish.

The tail of  *sr* is traceable in the gap after  in the Leiden facsimile.

1. 9. Cf. l. 17 for the restoration.

1. 11. *mst-s*, probably for *mst-y-s*, 'which I hate,' unless it be passive, 'which is hated.' Note the present sense of the *stm-f* in a relative clause, apparently confined in demotic to the verbs *mr*, 'love,' and *mst*, 'hate' (see chapter on Grammar).

getting came forth a god, (5) who resteth deep (?) in Thebes; I am of the great Lady, under whom cometh forth the Nile, (6) I am the face of reverence great soul (?) in his protection; I am the noble child (7) who is in the House of Re: I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern the ibis as a true protection, who resteth in On; (8) I am the master of the great foe, lord of the obstructor(?) of semen, mighty my name (?) I am a ram, son of a ram, Sarpot Mui-Sro (and vice versa) (9) is my name, Light-scarab-noble (?) is my true name (*bis*); grant me praise and love [and reverence from N. son of] N. to-day, and let him give me all good things, (10) and let him give me nourishment and fat things, and let him do for me everything which I [wish for; and let him not] injure me so as to do me harm, nor let him say to me a thing (11) which (I) hate, to-day, to-night, this month, this year, [this] hour (?) . . . [But as for my enemies?] the sun shall impede their hearts and blind (12) their eyes, and cause the darkness to be in their faces; for I am Birai . . . rai, depart ye (?), Rai; I am the son of Sochmet, (13) I am Bikt, bull of Lat, I am Gat, son of Gat, whose the Underworld, who rests deep (?) in the Great Residence in On, (14) I am son of Heknet, lady of the protecting bandage (?), who binds with thongs (?) [I am the] phallus (?) which the great and mighty Powers guard,

kum. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 488, and the early Christian curse invoking blindness (CRUM, A. Z., 96. 85).

1. 12. **paï**, with det. of hide, may be the name of the lion(?), but there is a tendency to write **ai** words with this det. Cf. **ꜥaet**, 7/33.

hre-tu rꜥy suggests a fanciful writing for 'be far from me (*a rꜥy*, **apai**).

'Son of Sochmet,' perhaps Nefertem or Mihos, both being lion gods.

1. 13. The 'Great Residence in On' is the name of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis.

1. 14. *nht*. Cf. Rit. Pamonth, ii. 8, 'Hear ye, O divine powers of

15. nt htp mw hn pr-wbst-t ank p m'm ntr nt
hn shym-t nb y't nb ot(?)

16. rn-yt h-hpr-sr(?) rn-yt n m't sp-sn y ny ntr-w
tre-w [a-z-y rn-w(?)] ty n p-hw m-n n-y stm-tn n e-z-y
n p-hw

17. nhm-tn[-t] m nene nb ze nb hy nb t nb m hw pn
my n-y hst mr-t sf[e-t ne-hr] t mn p pr-o erme pe-f m's

18. p tw erme ne-f w-w nte-f r mt-t nb nt e-y a
zt-w n-f erme(?) [rm nb nt e-w a-nw(?)] a-r-y nt e-y
a sze erme-w nt e-w a sze

19. erme-y hn hwt nb s-hm-t nb hm-hl nb hl-o nb
hr nb [n p] t tre-f [nt e-w] a nw a-r-y hn ny
wne-tw n p-hw

20. nte-w ty hp te-t hse-t n ht-w n mt-t nb nt e-y
a n mne erme n nt e-w a y n-y e shr hfe(?)
nb-w(?)

21. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn e b-r te-y zt-w nte-y whm
zt-w . . . [p]h *een* n mnḥ tbt(?) nte-k ty-f

22. a hn w(?) ssn ke-z tšps tp nge nhe n bq e-f
. . . . n *nenehe* ar-f hr nt tp hn pr-w(?)

Bubastis, who have come out of your shrines,' and below, V. 33/5;
I Kham. iv. 7; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 109.

l. 15. *m'm*. Cf. 13/11, 13, and in cipher *emam* 24/34, V. 32/2.
This must be the shrew-mouse. Here it appears connected with
Letopolis, where the shrew-mouse was sacred to the blind Horus
(RENOUF, P. S. B. A., viii. 155). In 13/11 the animal is prescribed
to produce blindness, and in 13/12 and 24/34 it produces death in a man,
and in V. 32/2 erotic feeling in a woman. The *m'm*, with determinative
of an animal, is prescribed in Pap. Eb. 91/10; and in Pap. Kah. 7/9
the remains of a determinative will suit very well the picture of a mouse.
It is curious that the cipher writing yielding *emam* (which is certainly
the same creature, cf. 13/19-21 with V. 32) makes its name almost
identical with Sah. *amam*, which in Sap. 12/8 corresponds to σφῆκες
of LXX. In Coptic, however, the shrew-mouse is *alil* : *alil* (PEYR.,
Lex. and Gramm.). The *μυγᾶλος* (*sic*) is prescribed several times in Pap.
Bibl. Nat. in *dyogai*.

Shym (Рот-шнм) and *y't* are both names of Letopolis in the Delta.
The last group in the line looks like *ti*, but is probably intended for *w'ti*.

l. 16. For the restoration cf. 10/7.

(15) which rests in Bubastis; I am the divine shrew-mouse which [resteth with-] in Skhym; lord of Ay, sole(?) lord ... (16) is my name Light-scarab-noble(?) is my true name (*bis*). Ho! all ye these gods, [whose names I have spoken] here to-day, come to me, that ye may hearken to that which I have said to-day (17) and rescue [me] from all weakness(?), every disgrace, everything, every evil(?) to-day; grant me praise, love [and reverence before] such an one, the King and his host, (18) the desert and its animals; let him do everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who shall see] me or to whom I shall speak or who shall speak (19) to me, among every man, every woman, every child, every old man, every person [or animal or thing(?) in the] whole land, [which] shall see me in these moments to-day, (20) and let them cause my praise to be in their hearts of everything which I shall [do] daily, together with those who shall come to me, to(?) overthrow every enemy(?), (21) hasten (*bis*) quickly (*bis*), before I say them or repeat them.' Over an ape of wax.

An oxyrhynchus(?) fish—you put it (22) in prime lily otherwise *tesheps*-oil or moringa(?) oil which [has been ... and you put liquid?] styrax to it, with prime frank-

l. 17. *šfe-t*. In the conspiracy against Rameses III(?) of the twentieth dyn., we hear of a spell to give *nrrwy* and *šfe-t*, 'valour and respect.' NEWBERRY, Amherst Pap. II, l. 2.

l. 20. The last words may perhaps be *hf nb*(?), 'every enemy,' *nb* being written over the line as a correction of the plural signs. 'Enemy' is written *hf*(without *t*) as in I Rhind dem. 2, 3. The passage is very obscure.

l. 21. 'h, for a similar direction following the invocation, cf. V. 33/8.

The fish is here masc., and therefore different from that in 12/31.

l. 22. *ššn*, 'lotus,' may be an error for *skn ššn*, 25/26, *σουσινον*, Diosc. i. 62, oil of lilies (*κρυνα*), and *ελαιον σουσινον*, Pap. Berl. II. 249.

šps as an oil, Br., Wtb., 1602, made from *laurus cinnamomum* according to LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 51.

bg. v. LORET, Rec. trav., vii. 101.

neneke. v. LORET, Rec. trav., xvi. 148 *لبنى* styrax.

23. wr-mr-t hn w^c hn(?) n thne nte-k 'ny w^c 'nh n
 ths-f n py nhe nt hry nte-k 'š

24. ny [sh ?]-w ar-f n sp VII mbh p r^c n twe e b-r
 te-k sz[e wbe] rm nb n p t nte-k šty-f nte-k ths hr-k
 n^m-f

25. nte-k h^c [p]nh hn t-t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb
 'wt mš^c nb hr te-f t hp n-k

26. hs-t 'o-t 'wt-w m šs sp-sn py sp n sh pa p pr-'o
 [Ntryw(?)]š pe mn p nt (ne-)ne-f ar-f

COL. XII.

1. [w^c ky(?) a t 're] s-hm-t mr hwt hepwb^cls^cmw
 sttr(?) I hb'ryr(?) sttr(?) I

2. qwšt sttr(?) I n sty sttr(?) I mrwe sttr(?) I
 nhe n m^c-t lq II e-r-k nt ny [phre-tw(?)]

3. e-r-k ty-sw a w^c ['ngen(?)] e-f w^cb nte-k t p nhe n
 pe-w hr-w hr t h-t n p wrš w^c hw a-re p w[rš]

4. hp e-r-k 'ny w^c-t qeš [k]m(?) e-s 'r n tb^c IX
 ke-z VII n hyt e yr-t-s šel n 'wn n [p nt(?)]

1. 26. The *pa* is for *πα-*. *περο* in O. C. Par. corresponds to *p pr-'o* in 21/2. So also we have in B. M. Pap. XLVI, l. 113 *εγω ειμι αγγελος του φαρω οσοροννωφρις*, 'of Pharaoh Osoronnophris,' where *φαρω* = our *pa p pr-'o*. Undoubtedly the initial letter of *pr-'o* had already been lost by assimilation to the article. The tautology of *του φα-* is precisely the same as in *Αμενωφης του Παπιος*, 'Amenophis, son of Hapis,' in JOSEPHUS, *Contra Ap.* i. 26.

. . . . 3. The only kings whose names end in š are Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and the native Khebbesh. Of these Darius is doubtless the name to be restored here; cf. *Diod. Sic.* i. 95, and for his reputation as a magician in particular, *μαγικων διδασκαλος*, PORPHYRY, *de Abstin.*, iv. 16. That kings, as well as aspirants to the throne, used these arts is suggested by the spell 'of Rameses III' being given to the herdsman Penhuyban in order to give him 'valour and respect.' See note to l. 17 above.

COL. XII.

1. 1. Restore [w^c ky(?) a t 're] s-hm-t from 25/23, 31.

hepwb^cls^cmw: cf. *αποβαλσαμνα* (ξύλα) *Leyden Pap.* W. ix. 21 = *οποβαλσαμον*, 'juice of balsam tree'; cf. SIGISMUND, *Aromata*, pp. 14, 15.

αλλαδαου = *μυλαβαθρον*, 'leaf of Laurus Cassia'; SIGISMUND,

incense together with seeds of (23) 'great-of-love' plant in a metal (?) vase; you bring a wreath of flowers of
 ... and you anoint it with this oil as above, and recite (24) these spells over it seven times before the sun in the morning, before speaking to any man on earth; you extract it, you anoint your face with it, (25) you place the wreath in your hand, and proceed to any place [and be] amongst any people; then it brings you (26) great praise among them exceedingly. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius] (?) ; there is no better than it.

COL. XII.

(1) [A method for making] a woman love a man. Opobalsamum, one stater(?); malabathrum, one stater(?). (2) *kusht*, one stater(?); scented . . . , one stater(?); *merue*, one stater(?); genuine oil, two *lok*; you pound these [medicaments]. (3) You put them into a clean [vessel], you add the oil on the top of them one day before the lunar period (?); when the lunar period (?) (4) comes, you take a black *Kesh* . . . -fish measuring nine fingers—another says seven—in length, its eyes being variegated (?) of

Aromata, p. 33, and LEMM., Kopt. Apocr. Apostelacten (Mél. Asiat. t. x. p. 351). It occurs in magic prescriptions, Leyden Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10. The demotic group *hb* . . . corresponding to it is strange in form and difficult to read: there seems to be a gap between the *r* and the measure.

Graphically ☉, ☽ (fem.) are hieroglyphic equivalents of the demotic for *κίτε*, 'didrachma,' but from 24/15, 18 the former should be a small multiple of the latter. *στατηρ* (Copt. *catepe*, fem.) is common as a weight = 'tetradrachma,' in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.

1. 2. *qush*, perhaps *κοστος* (Diosc. i. 15), which follows *μαλαβαθρον* in a prescription, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2680; cf. Leyd. Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10.

19. The Hebrew log is .56 litre, about one pint, and the Coptic *λολ* translates *κορυλη*, which in all its varieties is no larger than a pint.

ny [*phre-tu* (?)] : cf. 29/28, 29.

1. 3. *w* [**ngen* (αγγελιον of l. 11) *e*]-*f w^{eb}* seems to fill the gap, which is too wide in the Pl. of vol. ii. in this and the following line according to the evidence of the succeeding lines.

4. *qesh* . . . , in l. 27 *qsh* . . . , in both cases broken. In l. 9 it is referred

5. [e·r-k] gm hn w^c mw(?) nte-k ty-s a py nhe
nt hry n hw II e·r-k š n py š ar-f n twe

6. e b·r te-k y n p [bl n pe-k(?)] y e b·r te-k sze
wbe rm nb n p t a·r p(?) hw II sny [e·r-k]

7. hrp a bl n twe e·r[-k še] a w^c km e·r-k ny w^c
šlhe n elle e b·r te-f wth elle

8. e·r-k fy·t-f n te-k·t [t·t n] e·r-k ty-f a te-k·t
t·t n wnm e·r-f r n tb^c VII e·r-k θy·t-f [a pe-k(?)]

9. y nte-k ny p [tbt(?)] a hry hn p nhe nte-k mr-s (*sic*)
a py-s st n tyb n mhe nte-k yh·t-s m-s [zz-f]

10. n p h n elle [nte-k h^c] p nk nt hr nhe hrr-s š^c
nte-s zlzl p nt n he·t-s a hr[y]

11. e p ngen nt hr[r-s] hr w^ct tbe nmy š^c ke hw III
a·re p hw III sny e·r-k [ny·t-s]

12. a hry e·r-k qs[-s] n hl hsm hbs n š-stn e·r-k
h^c-s n w^c m^c e-f hep hn pe-[k pr]

13. nge e·r-k r ke hw II e·r-k š a p nhe n
a hw VII e·r-k hrh ar-f e·r[-k wh (?)]

14. a t r-f te-f yp·t e[r-k th]s pe-k mt n hwt hn^c
pe-k hr e·r-k str erme t s-hm·t nt e·r-k r-f a·r-s

15. n sh nt e·r-k š-w a p nhe ank šwy(?)
glb·n·o ank r^c nk qm-r^c nk s r^c ank

16. syšt s šwy(?) qme(?) n mw n N py srff nt n Bt
nte·t tp·t wr·t wr hyq

to apparently as *p tbt*, 'the fish'; and in l. 31 is written with the fish sign, but with feminine article and termination. It seems characteristically female, the gender of the pronoun changing to fem. ungrammatically immediately after the masculine *tbt*, in l. 9, and no doubt it was sacred to some goddess. The lates niloticus (which according to MM. Lortet and Hugounenq is found of all sizes mummified at Latopolis, and is therefore the Latus, Ann. du Serv. iii. 15) is called in Arabic *qīṣr*, قش.

l. 6. *a·r*. The original reads perhaps *a r p*. In either case it is probably a slip for *a·re p*.

l. 8. Vice versa of 'Lotus Lion-Ram' is 'Lion-Ram Lotus,' not 'Ram Lion Lotus'; see note to 1/12.

l. 9. *p* [*tbt*]. The remains favour this restoration. The word does

the colour of(?) the . . . (5) [which you(?)] find in a water(?) . . . you put it into this oil above-mentioned for two days; you recite this formula to it (the oil) at dawn . . . (6) before going [out of your] house, and before speaking to any man on earth. When two days have passed [you] (7) rise early in the morning [and go] to a garden; you take a vine-shoot before it has ripened grapes, (8) you take it with your left hand, you put it into your right hand—when it has grown seven digits (in length)—you carry it [into your] (9) house, and you take the [fish] out of the oil, you tie it by its tail with a strip(?) of flax, you hang it up to . . . (10) of(?) the vine-wood. [You place] the thing containing oil under it until it (the fish) pours out by drops that which is in it downwards, (11) the vessel which is under [it] being on a new brick for another three days; when the three days have passed, you [take it] (12) down, you embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and fine linen; you put it in a hidden place or in [your chamber] (13) You pass two more days; you recite to the oil again for seven days; you keep it; when you [wish] (14) to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it. (15) The spells which you recite to the oil, 'I am Shu, Klabano, I am Re, I am Komre, I am son of Re, I am (16) Sisht(?), son of Shu; a reed(?) of the water of On, this gryphon which is in Abydos. Thou (fem.) art Tepe-were (first, great) great of sorcery,

not occur elsewhere in the papyrus. For the change of gender in *mr-s* see note to l. 4.

m-s [zz-f], see l. 29.

l. 12. *pe-[k pr]* restored from the parallel l. 31.

l. 13. *nge* here and in l. 31 seems to be placed after the alternative phrase, as is the case with *r-pw* in older Egyptian.

l. 14. *ar-s* for *ar-s*, *epoc*, 'to her.'

l. 15. *šwy*. The name of the god Shu (cf. l. 20) is here falsely written like *tau*.

17. t ʿre-t ʿnh-t nte-t [p w]tn p šy n wʿpke my n-y
 ḥs-t mrt šfe-t ne-ḥr

18. ʿte-t nb s-ḥm-t nb mrt pe rn n mte ʿš nte-s
 ʿn ʿnk šwy(?) klʿkyn-ʿo-k ank yʿrn

19. ʿnk gʿmren ʿnk se pe pʿeaypʿf ynpen
 ntynhš gʿm-r-n mw n ʿN ʿnk

20. šwy(?) šʿbw šʿ šʿbʿh-ʿo lʿh-ʿy-lʿhs(?) lʿh-ʿe-t
 p ntr ʿo nt ḥr pr-ybt-t

21. lʿbrʿthʿʿ a[nk p] srrf nt n ʿBt ky nʿm-y(?) ʿn(?)
 a t ḥs-t n ḥwt a ḥr s-ḥm-t ḥs-phr a ḥr . . .

22. nte-t t wrt t wr ḥyq ʿkš-t st n rʿ t nb
 ʿre-t nte-t Šhm ʿo-t nb ʿs-t

23. ʿr šhme sʿbe nb a t n p rʿ n t wz-t
 a-ms ʿḥ n t XV-t n grḥ nte-t qm

24. wr nwn nte-t qm wrt nt n ḥ-t-bnbn
 m(?) ʿN nte-t t yʿl n nb [nte-t t]

25. skte-t p wtn n p rʿ lʿnzʿ p ḥrt p šr n t
 wʿyʿnʿyne-t t pyt-t n t

26. n gwg ny št-t n by-wekm t ḥs-t t mrt nta
 p rʿ pe-t yt ty-s n-t m[y] . . .

27. n-y a ḥry ḥn py nḥe ḥr ḥt yr-t nb s-ḥm-t
 nb nt e-y ʿn-nʿ a ḥn a ḥr-w a wʿt qš

28. n tbʿ IX e-s km nte[-k ty-s a] ḥn wʿ sknn n wrt
 nte-k ʿr-s n ḥsy ḥn-f nte-k ʿny-t[-s a ḥry]

1. 18. ʿš nte-s ʿn. The blank before ʿš is perhaps for the insertion of a word (*ke* (?)) in red ink; *nte-s* is *ntac*, Str., § 299, and the invocation is still to the fish.

1. 20. *lʿh-ʿe-t*. The plural of *ʿe-t*, 'limbs,' is *noy* in O. C. Par. The singular may have been **he*.

1. 21. *nʿm-y*. Probably an error for *nʿm-f*, but the facsimile would admit of the reading *nʿm-w ʿn*.

1. 22. Thoueris is generally figured as a hippopotamus.

ʿs-t must be the place *ls-t*, dem. *ʿs*, mentioned in BRUGSCH, Dict. Geogr., pp. 70-71, as being under the rule of Sochmet.

1. 23. *wz-t*: sun or moon as eyes of heaven; cf. 8/8, 10/22, 29/23.

1. 24. *Ḥt-bnbn* [*m*] *ʿN* is the best restoration. The 'house of the obelisk' was a famous shrine in the temple of Heliopolis.

(17) the living uraeus, thou art the sun-boat, the lake of Ua-peke; grant to me praise, love, and lordship before (18) every womb, every woman. Love (?) is my true name.' [Another (?)] invocation of it again: 'I am Shu, Klakinok, I am Iarn, (19) I am Gamren, I am Se Paer(?)ipaf, Iupen, Dynhs, Gamrou, water of On, I am (20) Shu, Shabu, Sha , Shabaho, Lahy-lahs, Lahei, the great god who is in the East (21) Labrathaa, I am that gryphon which is in Abydos.'

[Another] form of them (?) again (?) to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa, before . . . 'Thou art Thoueris, the great of sorcery, [cat (?)] of Ethiopia, daughter of Re, lady of the uraeus; thou art Sochmet, the great, lady of Ast, (23) who hast seized every impious person [eye-ball (?)] of the sun in the *uzat*, born of the moon at the midmonth at night, thou art Kam (?) (24) mighty, abyss, thou art Kam (?) . . . great one (fem.) who art in the House of the obelisk in On; thou art the golden mirror, [thou art ?] (25) the *sektet*-boat, the sun-boat of Re Lanza, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Amazon (?) in the . . . (26) of dûm-palm fruit (?), these of Bywekem; the favour and love which the sun, thy father, hath given to thee, send [them] (27) to me down into this oil, before the heart, and eyes of (?) every woman before whom I come in.' [Invocation] to a *Kesh* . . . -fish (28) of nine digits and black; [you put it] in an ointment of roses; you drown it therein; you

l. 25. *skt-t*. It is interesting to find this clear spelling, not *smkt-t*, which seems to be that of the Pyramid Texts.

w'y'n'yn-t, an extraordinary spelling for *oreem*, 'Greek.'

pyt-t. pdty in Eg. seems to be a foreign soldier or mercenary. This is evidently a feminine derivative.

l. 26. *grwg* = *kwb* in Kufi, p. xx; probably the dûm-nut, as in Kufi it is evidently the fruit of a tree, so not *σοῦς: χοῦς*, carthamus.

l. 28. *skm n wrt*, *μυρον ποδινον* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 759. That it was of a consistency to choke a fish is seen by its use as a lamp-oil in 6/9.

29. nte-k 'yḥ m-s zz[-f] e'r-k wḥ e'r-k ty-s
a w' ḥn(?) n yl e'r-k (*sic*) w' ḥm n mw n s'mrem

30. erme w' ḥm n s-Ṣt e-f . . . [e-f] nt nte-k 'š ny
ar-f n sp VII n hw VII wbe t pr n p r' e'r-k ths
ḥr-k n'm[-f]

31. n p nw nt e'r-k str erme s-ḥm-t [nte-k] qs t . . . t
n ḥl ḥsm e'r-k tms-s n pe-k pr n w' m' e-f hep nge

COL. XIII.

1. p ky n prz ḥwt a s-ḥm-t s-ḥm-t a py-s hy

2. wy sp-sn ḥo sp-sn ṛ(?) Gb ḥbr-f n k nq-f
mw-t-f Tfn-t m whm . . .

3. mw wwhe(?) p ḥb n yt-f ḥr-f p ḥyt n p nte by-f
m st-t e ḥe-f (*sic*) m ḥn nte-f . . .

4. mḥ p t n st-t nte n tw-w syt n s'ḏ(?) p ḥyt n ntr
nb ntr-t nb 'nḥ wr l'ḏ(?)

5. b'reš'k bel-kš . . . ḥwy mn p šr n t mn . . t mn
t šr-t n t mn

6. my t st-t m-s ḥt-f t šht-t n pe-f m' n str e b(?)
. n st-t n mst . . .

1. 29. *t*, or a similar word, has dropped out between *e'r-k* and *w'*. Such omissions have often been supplied over the line by the scribe.

s'mrem, probably *sisymbrium*, of which there were two sorts, growing respectively on land and on water, Diosc. ii. 154-5. The former being also known as *Ἀφροδίτης στεφανός*, *herba venerea* (ib.), is very appropriate for this *ἀρωγή*. It may be *mentha sylvestris*, and the second species is *nasturtium* (SPRENGEL). Unfortunately the determinative is lost of our word, so that we cannot be sure that a plant was intended: cf. V. 13/7.

1. 30. *s-[n?]'S.t*. Among the ingredients of a sacred oil, Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 38, col. 1, is a plant called by this name. Here there is no det.

1. 31. *t ḥ(?)t* might mean 'the carcase,' but having no determinative almost certainly represents the *qēš* . . . -fish of II. 6, 27.

COL. XIII.

1. 1. For the subject, compare Leyd. Pap. Graec. V. col. 11, l. 15 (see LEEMANS' ed.), headed *w' prz*, *διακοπός*.

1. 2. The first sentence, as far as *p ḥyt*, is in clumsy archaistic language,

take it [out], (29) you hang it up by [its] head [. . . days (?)] : when you have finished you put it on a glass vessel ; you [add] a little water of sisymbrium (30) with a little amulet (?) of Isis and pounded ; you recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You anoint your head with [it] (31) in the hour when you lie with [any (?)] woman. [You] embalm the fish with myrrh and natron ; you bury it in your chamber or in a hidden place.

COL. XIII.

(1) The mode of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband. (2) 'Woe! (*bis*), flame! (*bis*) ; Geb assumed his form of a bull, coivit [cum filia ?] matris suae Tefnet, again (3) because (?) the heart of his father cursed (?) his face ; the fury of him whose soul is as flame, while his body is as a pillar (?), so that (?) he (4) fill the earth with flame and the mountains shoot with tongues (?) :—the fury of every god and every goddess Ankh-uer, Lalat (?), (5) Bareshak, Belkesh, be cast upon (?) N. the son of N. [and (?)] N. the daughter of N., (6) send the fire towards his heart and the flame in his place of

employing the obsolete *ʿb* for heart, *mw* for  or  , the suffix with the noun *hbr*, the past *stm-f*, &c.

wy sp-sn : cf. Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 16.

Geb is *Kporos*, the planet *Kporos* being named 'Horus the Bull,' and Nut, daughter of Tefnut, is the heavenly cow in the Destruction des Hommes, &c. The restoration before 'his mother' is, however, very uncertain. Cf. the Greek myth of *Kporos*, and Plutarch, de Iside et Or., cap. 12, where 'Pea is Nut.

1. 3. *he-f*, 'his body,' must be for *he-t-f*, but this spelling occurs elsewhere in the papyrus. Cf. 21/22.

ʿn might represent the city of On, but the determinative is apparently a stone.

1. 5. *hwy a (?) mn*, 'is cast upon (?) N.'

There are traces of writing covering $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the end of this line, perhaps erased by the original scribe, and wholly illegible now.

7. a ḥn a ḥt-f n hte-t nb šc nte-f ḥwy t(?) mn t šr-t mn (*sic*) a bl ḥn ne-f 'y-w e-s lk(?)

8. mst n ḥt-f e-s ḥr ḥnt(?) n ḥr-f my n-f p wywy p w'w'c p 'he(?) p ḥnt 'wt-w

9. n hte-t nb šc nte-w prz a ne-w 're-w e bnp-w ḥtp a šwe a nḥe ***ꜥꜣꜣ*** * p*

10. ***ꜣꜥꜣ*** nte-k t 'rp ar-w nte-k 'r-w n w'c twt(?) n Gb e wn w'c ws n t-t-f

11. n p 'm'm nt ḥr še-f ar-w e'r-k 'ny w'c 'm'm nte-k 'r-f n ḥsy ḥn ḥyn-w ***ꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-k t swr p rm n (*sic*)

12. n'm-f ḥr 'r-f ***ꜥꜣꜣ*** n p byl II e'r-k nt pe-f ***ꜣꜣꜣ*** ḥr nk nb(?) n wm nte-k t wm-f-s p rm ḥr 'r-f(?)

13. ***ꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-f ***ꜣꜣꜣ*** nte-f ***ꜣꜣꜣ*** e'r-k 'r-f a 'ny s-ḥm-t e'r-k 'ny w'c 'm'm e'r-k ḥc-f ḥr w'c-t blz n

14. ḥr nte-k wh-f ḥr t ḥse n w'c 'o nte-k t pe-f st ḥn w'c-t(?) blz n ḥr nge yl 'n nte-k wrḥ-f e-f 'nḥ a ḥn

15. n p r n w'c-t s-t-eyw n t s-ḥm-t nte-k -f n nb nte-k qs pe-f st nte-k t ḥl e-f nt ar-f nte-k ty-f a ḥn w'c-t 'lykt n nb

1. 7. At the end read *e-s ḥr* (?).

1. 9. **ꜥꜣꜣ** is probably the true native pronunciation of the word for gum, unaffected by the Greek.

1. 10. *twt* (?). The determinative of a star must mean that the planet form *Hr-p-k*, a bull-headed man standing with *was*-sceptre, is intended, BR., Thes., p. 68. With regard to the reading, the sign is the det. of *twt* in Bul. Pap. I. Pl. 37, l. 14, and in l. 15 stands for *twt*. *Twt*, 'figure,' seems to be the reading here, and wherever it occurs with the det. of divinity (15/10, &c.); but without det. (16/22, &c.) it means 'style,' 'method,' and is probably to be read *ky*. Max Müller, however (Rec. trav. ix. 26), shows reason for reading it *qle*, comparing Louvre dem. Mag. v. I, vi. 19; *qle*, though apparently masc., may be the origin of the fem. **ꜥꜣꜣ**.

1. 11. *ḥyn-w ꜣꜣꜣ*, some water: cf. 21/13 *ḥyn-w 'rt-t*.

1. 12. The word in cipher reads **ꜣꜣꜣ**, a word unknown in Egyptian. Probably it is a mis-writing for **ꜥꜣꜣ** (l. 17) = *swm* (σωμα) of V. 32/5.

sleeping, the . . . of fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] (7) into his heart at any time, until he cast N. daughter of N. out of his abode, she having (?) (8) hatred to his heart, she having quarrel to his face; grant for him the nagging (?) and squabbling (?), the fighting and quarrelling between them (9) at all times, until they are separated from each other, without agreeing again for ever.' Gum, . . . , (10) myrrh; you add wine to them; you make them into a figure of Geb, there being a *was*-sceptre in his hand.

(11) [The uses (?)] of the shrew-mouse (?) to which it is put (goes). You take a shrew-mouse (?), you drown it in some water; you make the man drink (12) of it; then he is blinded in his two eyes. Grind its body (?) with any piece of food, you make the man eat it, then he makes a (13) . . . and he swells up and he dies. If you do it to bring a woman, you take a shrew-mouse (?), you place it on a Syrian (14) pot, you put it on the backbone (?) of a donkey, you put its tail in a Syrian pot or in a glass again; you let it loose (?) alive within (15) the door of a bath of the woman, you gild (?) it (*sic*) and embalm its tail, you add pounded myrrh to it, you

wm-f-s p rm: note the superfluous *f*.

l. 13. *μωτητο*, probably a compound word, *μωτ-η-το*. It might mean 'water of spot (*τοε*)' or 'death of spot,' referring to a disease with spots or blisters.

blz n hr. Wine was imported from Syria in amphorae, but probably some special ware was denoted by this name.

l. 15. The word for bath is determined with the sign of fire: its name in Coptic is *ειουηε*: *ειωουηι* with variations; in the demotic there is no trace of the *η*, and it evidently means 'place of washings,' **ce-ειοουε*.

'You gild and embalm its tail' is perhaps the meaning.

l. 15. *ῥykt* (fem.), an unknown word, apparently the *gswr*, 'ring,' of l. 27. It is perhaps to be connected with *ἐλιξ* or *ἐλικτός*. *ῥαλακ*, 'ring,' and *ἀλκοτ*, 'vase,' have been suggested, but these are both masculine, and ignore the *ι*, which seems to be firm. The determinative appears to be that of silver, also found in *znf*, &c.

16. nte-k ty-s a pe-k tb^c bn-s š ny sh-w ar-f nte-k mš^c a m^c [nb?] erme-f a(?) s-ḥm-t nb nt e-r-k a mḥt n'm-s ḥr [wh?]s m-s-k

17. ḥr 'r-k-f e ḥ mḥ e-r-k 'r-f a t 're s-ḥm-t lyb m-s ḥwt e-r-k fy pe-f *coaa* e-f šwy e-r-k nt[-f e-r-k] fy

18. w^c ḥm n'm-f erme w^c ḥm n snf n pe-k tb^c n mḥ II n p s[l'py[n] n tek-t t:t n e-r-k th-f erme-f e-r-k ty-f

19. a w^c z n 'rp e-r-k ty-f n t s-ḥm-t nte-s swr-f ḥr 'r-s lyb [m-]s-k e-r-k t pe-f *caue* a w^c 'rp

20. nte p rm swr-f ḥr *ateq* ty hte-t nge ty-f a nk nb [n wm] e-r-k t pe-f *zet* a w^c ḥtm(?)

21. n nb nte-k ty-f a t:t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb ḥr te-f t ḥp n-k [ḥs-t mr-t šfe-]t e-r-k 'r w^c *hes* n ḥsy ḥn

22. w^c 'rp nte-k t swr-s p rm ḥr *ateq* e-r-k t p *caue* n [w^c g']e n r'qt a nk nb n wm

23. ḥr *ateq* e-r-k t w^ct *zaqlala* n st II a p nḥe [nte-k psy-]t-s nte-k ths p rm n'm-f ḥr

24. e-r-k wh a t ḥp *paeue* ḥr rm nte-s tm l'k-s w^ct *[z]antooc* [erme?] *zaqla[la]* nte-k psy-t-w ḥr

25. nte-k zqm p rm n'm-w e-r-k wh a t 'r-f *topp*(?) e-r-k t ḥr 'r-f *topp*(?) e-r-k ty ḥnk(?) . . .

26. a yr-t-f n rm ḥr 'r-f *swaa*

I. 16. 'The charms' are those at the foot of the column, l. 27 et seqq.

There seems scarcely space for the *a* before *s-ḥm-t*, and it should no doubt be omitted.

I. 17. There is a variant version in V. col. 32 of the prescriptions in ll. 17-20.

I. 18. *s'l'pyn*. The finger is always thus elaborately described in the pap., the blood being used in erotica as here 15/4, 22, V. 32/7. It is evidently the Boh. *celoun*, *الانصر* 'middle finger' in KIRCHER. But Sah. *celoun* is 'heart,' also *εποχόνδρια* (cf. 21/25, 33); and that a nerve connected the third (ring-) finger of the left hand with the heart is said

put it in a gold ring (?), (16) you put it on your finger after reciting these charms to it, and walk with it to any place, and any woman whom you shall take hold of, she [giveth herself(?)] unto you. (17) You do it when the moon is full. If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, you take its body, dried, you pound [it, you] take (18) a little of it with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand; you mix it with it, you put it (19) in a cup of wine; you give it to the woman and she drinks it; then she has a passion for you. You put its gall into a (measure of) wine (20) and the man drinks it; then he dies at once; or (you) put it into any piece [of food]. You put its heart (?) into a seal-ring (?) (21) of gold; you put it on your hand, and go anywhere; then it brings you [favour, love, and] reverence. You drown a hawk in (22) a (measure of) wine; you make the man drink it, then he dies. You put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any food, (23) then he dies. You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and [cook] it, and anoint the man with it; then [he dies (?)]. (24) You wish to produce a skin-disease on a man and that it shall not be healed, a *hantous*-lizard [and (?)] a *hafteele*-lizard, you cook them with [oil (?)], (25) you wash the man with them. If you wish to make it troublesome (?), you put, then it is troublesome (?). You put beer (?) (26) to the eye of a man, then he is blinded.

(AFION, frag. 7, MACROB. Saturn. vii. 13) to be a discovery of Egyptian anatomy. For fingers of the right hand see 16/29, 29/5.

l. 20. *hr* *ⲁⲧⲉⲩ*. It is very interesting to obtain the *stm-f* form following *hr*; but whether it would be **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ* or **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ* in Sah. may be a little doubtful. The vowel seems however to represent *e*, not *a*; and should therefore correspond to *a*, not *o*, in Sah.; but a Sah. form **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ*, or even **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ*, would be conceivable.

l. 21. *l* over the line seems to be a correction of *hp*.

27. n sh·w nt hr ʾr-k š·w a p gswr n p nw nt e·ʾr-k
mht n(?) t s-ḥm·t nʾm[-f] yḥ-ʿo ʾbrʿsʿks

28. my ʾre mn a·ms mn mryt my ʾr-s mḥ m-s-y a
p myt nte-k zrp(?) hr ʾr-s wh-s m-s-k hr sh-
k[-s?]

29. ʿn a t tys nt hr ʾr-k qs p [ʿmʿm(?)] nʾm-f

COL. XIV.

1. p-e·ze ke rm n-y z a·wn n yr·t sp-sn š·c sp IV(?)

2. a·wn n yr·t-yt a·wn n yr·t-k θs-phr š·c . . .
sp III a·wn tt a·wn nʾp III sp

3. a·wn III(?) z ʾnk ʾrtʿm-ʿo a·ms ḥme-ʿo p syt
ʿo n pr-ybt [nt] ḥ·c erme pe-k yt

4. n twe hy sp-sn ḥḥ(?) a·wn n-y ḥḥ hr z-k-f e·ʾr-k
sq n ḥrw-k ʾrtʿm-ʿo a·wn n-y ḥḥ e·ʾr-k

5. tm a wn n-y ḥḥ e-y a t ʾr-k wn n-y ḥḥ ḥb sp-sn
nwzh nte nw [a] p ntr ʿo ʾNp p nʿš

6. nt n-ne-zz-y p nʿšt ʿo n wz·t p nʿš ʾNp p mr ḥ
nfr a·wn nb e·ʾr-y

7. wnḥ-k a·ʾr-y z ʾnk nesthom neszot neshotb b-ʿo-
rylʿmmʿy sp-sn

1. 27. See l. 16 above for the employment of this spell.

1. 29. *qs*: the only embalming is of the tail of the shrew-mouse in l. 15.

COL. XIV.

1. 1. This line is merely a gloss on l. 2.

1. 2. The mark over *sp* occurs also in 29/22 and V. 9/8. In 29/22 it is placed over *sp* without any number following, in the other instance over a blank space where a numeral would be expected. Here a number has been written under *sp*, but below the line, as if inserted later, and the inference may be drawn that the sign in question indicates that a number is wanting.

1. 3. *Ham-o* might mean 'great carpenter,' but many Egyptian words in these magic names are no doubt almost meaningless, and it is difficult in translating to decide whether to give English equivalents or to transcribe them phonetically.

1. 5. *tm a wn*. The *a* is a mistake, or at least superfluous.

(27) The charms which you recite to the ring at the time of taking hold of the woman 'Yaho, Abrasax, (28) may N. daughter of N. love me, may she burn for me by the way (?).' You Then she conveys herself (?) after you ; you write it (29) again on the strip with which you wrap up the [shrew-mouse (?)].

COL. XIV.

(1) That which another man said to me : 'Open my eyes,' unto four times. (2) [A vessel-divination :] 'Open my eyes ; open thy eyes,' (and) vice versa, unto three times. 'Open, Tat ; Open, Nap,' three times ; (3) 'open [unto me ?]' three [times ?], 'for I am Artamo, born of Hame-o (?), the great basilisk of the East, rising in glory together with thy father (4) at dawn ; hail (*bis*), Heh, open to me Hah,' you say it with a drawling (?) voice 'Artamo, open to me Hah ; if thou dost (5) not open to me Hah, I will make thee open to me Hah. O Ibis (*bis*), sprinkle (?), that I may (?) see the great god Anubis, the power, (6) that is about (?) my head, the great protector (?) of the Uzat, the power, Anubis, the good ox-herd, at every opening (?) (of the eye ?) which I have (?) made, (7) reveal thyself to me ; for I am Nasthom,

mvzḥ is used of sprinkling a floor with water for the reception of visitors.

nta would mean 'that I may,' the demotic equivalent of which is usually written *nte-y*, though the *y* was not pronounced. Here we have *nte* alone written, unless the group be read *nte-w* 3rd pl., which would give the meaning 'that the god may be seen.'

1. 6. *n-ne-zz-y* : the *n* is a doubling of the initial.

'That I may see the god every time I open my eyes (?).' *e.r-y* is only past relative in ordinary demotic, but in early demotic is often future. Possibly it retains this meaning here, but if so it is a very exceptional usage.

Arian is repeated three times, each time with a different epithet, but the reading of the second is uncertain : it might mean 'this bringer of prosperity.'

8. m'stsynks 'Np mekyste 'ry'n p nt 'y 'ry'n py n(?)-wzy 'ry'n

9. p nt n bl hy phryks yks 'n'ksybr-ko-ks 'mbr-ko-ks eb-ko-rks ks-ko-n

10. nbr-ko-khr' . . p hrt wr 'Np z 'nk py mty ne-ṭef ne-pephnwn m'sph-ko-nege

11. hy my hp n-e-z-y nb ty n p-hw ze hy nte-k th'm th'mth-ko-m th'm'th-ko-m

12. th'm'thwmth'm th'm'thwtsy 'Mn sp-sn pe-k rn n mte nt e-w(?) z rn-f z th-ko-m

13. 'nkth-ko-m nte-k yt-th thwtsy rn-yk sythom 'nythom 'p-s' . . . š'tn-sr

14. km a-wn n-y n n r-w n pe hne ty n p-hw 'm n-y a n r-w n pe hne pe swt my 're

15. pe 'pt 'r p(?) w[be?] n t p't my 're n wh'r-w n p hwlot t n-y p nt n m't n p nwn my z-w n-y

16. p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw n m't sp-sn e mn mt-t n 'ze n'm-w ~~ḏ. e. h. i. o. t. w.~~ m'kh-ko-pnewm'

17. z-mt-t hr 'ny-k w' z n hmt nte-k pth w' twt n 'Np hn-f nte-k mh-f n mw n str n

18. mnt(?) b-r p r' gm-t-f nte-k zq hr-f n nhe n m't nte-k wh-f hr tb-t nmy e hrr-w prh

19. n š' nte-k t ke tb-t IV-t hr p hm-hl nte-k t 're p hm-hl str a hr he-t-f

20. nte-k t 'r-f(?) wh te-f mrt a t tb-t n p hne nte-k t 'r-f kšp a hn p nhe c wn w' hbs prh a zz-f

1. 13. *š'tn-sr-km* looks like 'sacrifice of black ram.'

1. 15. *wbe* (?). The facsimile gives *e* as the last letter of the word, and so excludes *wyn*. The previous group, apparently written *'re*, we have taken as *'r p*.

p hwlot has the determinative of locality.

1. 18. *mnt* (?), perhaps 'custodian,' as in I Kham. iv. 7. It might represent the name of the god Mōnth.

b-r with final sense? Cf. I Kham. iv. 12, note, and below 22/3. The facsimile would perhaps admit of a reading *e b 'r*.

Naszot, Nashoteb, Borilammai (*bis*), (8) Mastinx, Anubis, Megiste, Arian, thou who art great, Arian, Pi-anuzy (?), Arian, (9) he who is without. Hail, Phrix, Ix, Anaxibrox, Ambrox, Eborx, Xon, (10) Nbrokhria, the great child, Anubis; for I am that soldier. O ye of the Atefcrown, ye of Pephnun, Masphoneke; (11) hail! let all that I have said come to pass here to-day; say, hail! thou art Tham, Thamthom, Thamathom, (12) Thamathomtham, Thamathouthi, Amon (*bis*), thy correct name, whom they call Thom, (13) Anakthom; thou art Itth; Thouthi is thy name, Sithom, Anithom Op-sao (?), Shatensro (14) black; open to me the mouths of my vessel here to-day; come to me to the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), let (15) my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven; may the hounds of the *hulot* give me that which is just in the abyss; may they tell me (16) that about which I inquire here to-day truly (*bis*), there being no falsehood in them $\alpha\epsilon\eta\iota\sigma\tau\omega$, Makhopneuma.' (17) Formula: you take a bowl of bronze, you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with water left to settle (?) and (18) guarded (?) lest (?) the sun should reach it; you finish its (sur-)face (of the water) with fine oil, you place it on [three?] new bricks, their lower sides being sprinkled (19) with sand; you put four other bricks under the child; you make the child lie down upon (?) his stomach; (20) you cause him (?) to place his chin on the brick of the vessel; you make him look into

sq: reading not quite certain, but probably *sq hr-f* means $\alpha\omega\kappa$, 'complete its (sur-)face,' i. e. fill up the vessel with a thin layer of oil on the top of the water.

lb.t: the facsimile shows a numeral III (?) following, and 'a brick' is always *w.t lb.t*. The plural *hr-w* also follows; yet in l. 20 'the brick of the vessel' is spoken of in the singular.

l. 19. *a hr he-t-f*, a curious expression, possibly meaning 'on his face-and-stomach.'

21. e wn w^c ḥbs e-f θ-r-t ḥr pe-f wnm w^c ḥb ḥr st-t
ḥr pe-f . . . nte-k t w^c ḥlp n sym n

22. 'Np ḥr p ḥbs nte-k t py sty a ḥry nte-k ṣ ny
sh-w nt ḥry a p hne n sp VII p sty nt e-r-k t-t-f

23. a ḥry ḥbwnt mrḥe(?) ḥmwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s bne
nt-w ḥr ḥrp nte-k ḥr-w n

24. bnn nte-k t a ḥry n'm-w e-r-k wh e-r-k t ḥre p
ḥm-ḥl wn yr-t-f e-r-k šn-t-f ze ne(?) p ntr ḥy a ḥn e-f

25. z ḥr p ntr ḥy [a ḥn] e-r-k ṣ ḥ-t-f z-mt-t pe-k q'
m'o ḥy ḥNp py . . . oy py g'm

26. py km pe(?) . . . py srytsy sp-sn srytsy sp-sn
ḥbrytsy rn-yk n pe-k rn n mte

27. nte-k šn-t-f a p nt e-r-k [wh-f] e-r-k wh n pe-k
šn nt e-r-k šn ḥrr-f e-r-k ṣ ar-f n sp VII e-r-k wt
[p ntr] a pe-f ḥy pe-f wt z-mt-t

28. wt nfr sp-sn ḥNp p mr ḥ nfr ḥNp sp-sn p šr n
nw wnš whr p(?)[-e-ze?] ke-zm(?) z p šr n ne te(?)

29. ḥSt whr nḥbryš-o-tht(?) p gerwb n ḥmnt pr-o n
te . . . z sp VII e-r-k fy

30. p ḥbs a p ḥlw e-r-k fy p hne nt ḥr mw e-r-k fy
t šnto-t [ḥr] ḥ-t-f ḥr ḥr-k-f ḥn

31. n šn-hne [w^cḥ]t-k nfr sp-sn ḥp e-f znt n sp IX p
sym n ḥNp ḥr rt-f n hhe n m^c

32. te-f gbe-t m q[ty t] gbe-t [n sym?] n ḥr e-f θy
wbḥ te-f ḥrre m q-t[y t ḥ]rre n ḥnq

l. 21. *sym n ḥNp*, the *ανουβιαδα την των σταχυν* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. I, 901. Cf. below, l. 31.

l. 22. *t a ḥry* is the regular expression for putting incense on the censer or brazier.

l. 23. *ḥmwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s* Ἀμμωνιακὸν πόα ἐστὶν ὅθεν τὸ ἀμμωνιακὸν θυμιαμα, Diosc. iii, 98. The very slight alteration of *r* to *h* in the demotic would produce *θυμιάματος*.

l. 28. *p šr n nw wnš whr . . . p šr n ne te(?) ḥSt whr*. For *te* = τα- cf. 8/13, 'the son of those of (?) a (?) jackal and (?) hound . . . , the son of those of Ta-Ese and (?) hound'; possibly a form of pedigree in breeding animals.

the oil, he having a cloth spread over his head, (21) there being a lighted lamp on his right, and a censer with fire on his left; you put a leaf of (22) Anubis-plant on the lamp, you put this incense on (the fire); you recite these spells, which are above, to the vessel seven times. The incense which you put (23) on (the fire): frankincense (?), wax (?), styrax, turpentine (?), date-stone (?); grind them with wine; you make them into a (24) ball and put them on (the fire). When you have finished, you make the child open his eyes, you ask him, saying, 'Is the god coming in?' If he says (25) 'The god has come in,' you recite before him: formula: 'Thy bull (?) Mao, ho! Anubis, this soldier (?), this Kam, (26) this Kem . . . Pisreithi (*bis*), Sreithi (*bis*), Abrithi is thy name, by thy correct name.' (27) You ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry which you are asking about, you call to him seven times; you dismiss the god to his home. His dismissal: formula: (28) 'Farewell (*bis*) Anubis, the good ox-herd, Anubis (*bis*), the son of a (?) jackal (and ?) a dog . . . another volume saith: the child of . . . (29) Isis (?) (and ?) a dog, Nabrishoth, the Cherub (?) of Amenti, king of those of'. Say seven times. You take (30) the lamp from (?) the child, you take the vessel containing water, you take the cloth off him. You do it also (31) by vessel-inquiry alone, excellent (*bis*), tried (?), tested nine times.

The Anubis-plant. It grows in very numerous places;

l. 29. *gerwb* probably = קריב. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 3061; Leyd. Pap. Gr. V, col. 9, l. 16.

l. 30. *fy* must refer to the removal of the apparatus.

l. 32. [*sym*] *n hr*. There seems hardly room for more than the sign *sym*, and some slight remains agree with it.

The leaves of stachys are λευκά (Diosc. iii. 110), coloris in luteum inclinati (PLINY, N. H., xxiv. 86). The former compares it with the

33. e-r-k yr-t e b-r te-k
p hne

COL. XV.

1. w^c t swr e-r-k 'ny w^c hm n hñ n 'pe-t n w^c rm
e-f mw-t n htb-t

2. erme VII n blbyle-t n yt(?) n tms hn w^ct be-t n
rm e-f mw-t nte-k nt-w erme 'p-t X-t

3. ke-z IX-t pr-w n zph nte-k t snf n w^ct h'f'm't^c
n w^c 'e(?) km a h-t-w erme w^c hm n

4. snf n pe-k tb^c n mh II n p sl'pyn n te-k't t-t n
gbyr erme te-k't mt-t nte-k

5. hm-w n w^c sp nte-k ty-sw a w^c z n 'rp nte-k t-t
wth III ar-f n t

6. h'yt-t n p 'rp e b-r te-k tp-f e b-r te-w wtne hn-f
nte-k 'š py 'š ar-f n sp VII

7. nte-k t swr-s t s-hm-t n'm-f nte-k mr p h'r n p
syb nt hry n w^ct tys n š-stn

8. nte-k mr-s a pe-k znñ n gbyr pe-f 'š z-mt-t 'nk
pa(?) 'Bt n m^ct n

9. mnqe n ms n rn-s n 'S-t t sbb hh ta t s-t-sbh n
p š'y

10. 'nk py twt n p r^c s-t'me-sr rn-yt 'nk py twt n
mr mš^c a-ph't py

marrubium, the latter (through misunderstanding of *πράσιον*) with the
leek. Here we have it compared to the 'nge εινε: (εινοικ?) κόρυφα,
BSCIAL, Rec. trav., vii. 25; LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed., p. 68. Curiously
enough, amongst the synonyms of *κορυφα* in Diosc. iii. 126 *ἀνοβίας* occurs.
Evidently there is some confusion here with stachys.

ty wbb probably 'tends to whiteness.'

COL. XV.

1. 1. *hth-t*: this might represent an Achmimic infinitive ending in *e*,
but in the Hist. Rom. no. 245 there is a fem. subst. *hby*.

1. 2. *rm e-f mw-t*, no doubt again a man slain or murdered. Parts
of the body of those who had suffered a violent death were considered
peculiarly efficacious for magical purposes. Cf. P. S. B. A. xiii. 169-70.

1. 3. *pr-w*, a genitive *n* has probably been omitted by mistake.

(32) its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant(?)]; it turns (?) white; its flower is like the flower of conyza.

(33) . . . you . . . eye . . . before you . . . the vessel.

COL. XV.

(1) A potion. You take a little shaving of the head of a man who has died a violent death, (2) together with seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave of a dead (?) man; you pound them with ten *oipe*, (3) otherwise nine, (of) apple-seeds (?); you add blood of a worm (?) of a black dog to them, with a little (4) blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand, and with your semen (?), and you (5) pound them together and put them into a cup of wine and add three *uteh* to it of (6) the first-fruits of the vintage, before you have tasted it and before they have poured out from it; and you pronounce this invocation to it seven times (7) and you make the woman drink it; and you tie the skin of the parasite aforesaid with a band of byssus (8) and tie it to your left arm. Its invocation, formula: 'I am he of Abydos in truth, (9) by formation (?) (and ?) birth in her (?) name of Isis the bringer (?) of fire, she of the mercy-seat of the Agathodaemon. (10) I am this figure of the sun, *Sitamesro* is my name. I am this

h'ltm', referred to in l. 7 as *syb*. *Syb*, cf. 25/25, 28, = *cmh* : *cm* (Eg. *sp*), the meaning of which seems vague—parasitic worms and insects and even sores. Possibly our word may be connected with *ελμυς*.

a h't-w: see chapter on Grammar.

l. 7. *swr-s*: *s* is duplicated either as the object by *n'm-f* or as the subject by *t s-hm-t*.

l. 9. *n mnge n ms* is difficult.

n rn-s: it seems as if Abydos were here personified as Isis, cf. l. 13, or else we may translate 'by the name of Isis'; see 19/16.

τὰν : τὰ- represents Eg. *tnl*, to which τὰ- corresponds in Ptolemaic transcriptions of proper names. But possibly the *n* was retained in O. C. in looser combinations.

11. št^c py šhr-ʿo-t t ḥo ʿo-t rn-yt ʾnk py twt n Hr
py št^cm py št^c py

12. šhr-ʿo-t rn-t ʾnk py twt n ḥsy-ntr(?) nt mtr n šh
nt ḥtp a mr ty ḥr

13. t ḥtp-t ʿo-t n ʾBt nta mtr p snf n Wsr a rn-s n
ʾS-t e-w ty-f a ḥry ḥn

14. py z py ʾrp my nʾm-f snf n Wsr te-f n ʾS-t a t
ʾr-s w^c mr n ḥt-s ar-f

15. n grḥ mre-t n nw nb e mn nw šr my nʾm-f p
snf n mn a-ms mn a ty-f

16. n mn a-ms mn ḥn py z py ʾpt n ʾrp n p-hw a t
ʾr-s w^c mr n ḥt-s ar-f

17. p mr nta ʾr-s ʾS-t a Wsr e-s qte m-s-f a m^c nb
my ʾr-s mn t šr n mn

18. e-s qte m-s mn p šr n mn a m^c nb p pz nta ʾr-s
ʾS-t a Hr Bḥtt my

19. ʾr-s t mn s(?) mn e-s mr nʾm-f e-s lby m-s-f e-s
rqh n t-t-f e-s qte m-s-f

20. a m^c nb e wn w^c-t ḥo n st-t ḥn ḥt-s n ty-s wne-t
n tm nw ar-f

21. ke ky nʾm-f ʿn p znf n p ḥbys n te-k-t ʿne-t n
pr-w zpḥ ḥn^c snf

22. n pe-k tb^c nt šh a ḥry ʿn nte-k nt p zpḥ nte-k
t snf ar-f nte-k ty-f a p z n ʾrp

23. nte-k ʿš ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t n p
nw n rn-f

l. 12. *ḥsy*:  inserted after the *ḥ* seems to be a kind of determinative, also in 19/24. The reference here is, of course, to Osiris.

a mr: the geographical significance of this is difficult to grasp, but cf. 9/23.

l. 13. *t a ḥry ḥn*, 'pour into,' of liquids: cf. 19/29.

nt a seems to be the form for the relative before *stm-f* in this papyrus when used instead of the old relative form *a-stm-f*. Cf. l. 17, &c.

l. 14. *my nʾm-f*: above this is a letter resembling *a* erased by two lines; the following words are very difficult to understand. *Te-f* may be intended for the past relative *a-te-f*, 'which he gave.'

figure of a Captain of the host, very valiant, this (11) Sword (?), this Overthrower (?), the Great Flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this Fortress (?), this Sword (?), this (12) Overthrower (?) is my name. I am this figure of One Drowned, that testifieth by writing, that resteth on the other side (?) here under (13) the great offering-table (?) of Abydos; as to which the blood of Osiris bore witness to her (?) name of Isis when it (the blood) was poured into (14) this cup, this wine. Give it, blood of Osiris (that ?) he (?) gave to Isis to make her feel love in her heart for him (15) night and day at any time, there not being time of deficiency. Give it, the blood of N. born of N. to give it (16) to N. born of N. in this cup, this bowl of wine to-day, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, (17) the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N. the daughter of N. feel it, (18) she seeking after N. the son of N. everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu, (19) let N. born of N. feel it, she loving him, mad after him, inflamed by him, seeking him (20) everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.'

(21) Another method of doing it again. The paring (?) of your nail's point (?) from an apple-fruit (?), and blood (22) of your finger aforesaid again; you pound the apple and put blood on it, and put it in the cup of wine (23) and invoke it seven times, and make the woman drink it at the moment named.

1. 21. *znf*: an obscure word; cf. 25/32, V. 7/1. It occurs also in a Philae inscription (BR., Thes., 1017), perhaps with the meaning of a 'small portion.'

pr-w: cf. perhaps Sah. *ēāpa*, pl. *ēāpwe*. It is not clear whether the fruit or the pips are intended.

1. 22. *a hry*. The MS. appears to have the *a*, but it must be a mistake of the scribe.

24. n še ne-ḥr ḥry e-f <sre-w(?)> myḥ erme-k
nte-f tm sze ar-k

25. μη με διωκε οδε· ανοχ παπιπετου μετουβανες· βασταζω

26. την ταφην του οσιρεως και υπαγω καταστησαι αυτην
εις αβιδος

27. καταστησαι εις ταστας και καταθεσθαι εις [α]λχας εαν μοι
ο ♀ κοπους

28. παρασχη προσρεψω αυτην αυτω pe-f 'š n mt-t
rm n kmy 'n pe py nt [ḥr]y

29. mpr ptt m-s-y t mn ank p'pypetw metwb'nes e-y
fy ḥr t qs-t n Wsr

30. e-y 'nn' a θy't-s a 'Bt a ty ḥtp-s n 'Lgh'h e-f ḥp
nte t mn myḥ erme-y n p-hw

31. e-y a hwy't-s abl z sp VII

COL. XVI.

1. ke-z'm thew ye 'o-e 'o-n y' w' ke-z'm elon
nfr sp-sn

2. n mt-wt n p ḥbs b-'o-th thew ye we 'o-'o-e y' w'
pth'kh el-'o-e

3. y'th e-'o-n peryph'e yew y' y-'o y' ywe 'm a ḥry

4. a p wyn n py ḥbs nte-k wnḥ a py 'lw nte-k šn
n-y ḥr p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f

1. 24. *ḥry* probably means 'Sovereign,' 'king,' but may perhaps only mean a 'superior officer.' *sre-w* would seem to mean 'range soldiers,' 'array battle.'

1. 25. The Greek formula, ll. 25-28, is translated into demotic in ll. 29-31.

ανοχ, &c. This passage invites interpretation as Old Coptic, but if it really meant anything it must be corrupt, and the demotic version in l. 29 renders it phonetically as if it consisted of magic names. One may perhaps suggest *'nk pe pa p nt 'o my t w' b n-s*, 'I am the servant of him that is great; give discharge (*ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩⲏⲟ*) (of the fault or the liability) to her' (*sic* for 'to me'?).

1. 26. *ταφην*. At this time *ταφή* in Egypt = 'mummy,' as is seen by the mummy tickets (Pap. Rainer Mitth. V. 14).

(24) [A spell] of going to meet a sovereign(?) when he fights with you and will not parley(?) with you. (25) 'Do not pursue me, thou! I am Papipetou Metoubanes. I am carrying (26) the mummy of Osiris and I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, (27) to take [it] to Tastai(?) and to deposit it in Alkhai; if N. deal blows at me, (28) I will cast it at him.' Its invocation in Egyptian also is this as below: (29) 'Do not pursue me, N., I am Papipetu Metubanes. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, (30) I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to cause it to rest in Alkhah. If N. fight with me to-day, (31) I will cast it away.' Say seven times.

COL. XVI.

(1, 2) The words of the lamp: 'Both, Theou, Ie, Oue, O-oe, Ia, Oua—otherwise, Theou, Ie, Oe, Oon, Ia, Oua—Phthakh, Eloë—otherwise, Elon, excellent (*bis*)—(3) Iath, Eon, Puriphae, Ieou, Ia, Io, Ia, Ioue, come down (4) to the light of this lamp and appear to this boy

1. 27. *ταστας*: an unknown name. This phrase is not translated in the demotic.

[α]λχας: the λ is sufficiently recognizable in the facs.; see the note on 1/16. The *s* of *κοπος* is likewise seen in the facs.

εαν μοι, &c. WÜNSCH, in the Supplement on magic tablets to the Corp. inscript. Attic., quotes in his preface an inscription from the Collections du mus. Alaoui I. p. 57 (publ. also MASPERO, Et. myth. arch. ii. 297), a Latin eroticion of the 2nd cent. A.D. from Hadrumetum written in Greek characters: 'Si minus descendo in adytus Osyris et dissolvam τὴν ταφήν et mittam ut a flumine feratur. Ego enim sum magnus decanus magni dei Achrammachalala,' i.e. as WÜNSCH says, a sepulcro Osiridis arcam illius eripiet et in Nilum coniiciet, idem quod olim Typho fecerat.

COL. XVI.

1. 1. This is only a gloss on the second line.
1. 2. The apparent *n* at the beginning before *n mt-wt* is probably false.
1. 4. *ἄν*. In this papyrus this word is often used in such a way as to suggest the meaning 'answer' rather than 'inquire.' Perhaps it may mean both 'to inquire' and 'to be inquired of.'

5. ty n p-hw y^c-o y^c-o-mr therenth-^co psykšyme^ckhe-
mr bl^c

6. kh^cnspl^c y^ce we-by b^crb^crethw yew ^crp-^co-n-ghnwph

7. brynt^cten-^co-phry he^c g^crhre b^clmenthre meneb^cry-
^ckhegh y^c

8. khekh bryn-sk(?) ^clm^c ^crwns^crb^c meseghryph nyptw-
mykh

9. m^c-^co-rkh^cr^cm ^cy l^cnkhekh ^co-mph brymb^cynwy-^co

10. th sengenb^cy gh-^co-wghe l^cykh^cm ^crmy-^co-wth nte-k
zt-f

11. e-f w^cb n py smte p ntr nt ^cnh p ^chs nt θ-ryt
t^cgrt^ct pa zt wy

12. b-^co-el a ^chn š^c sp III ^crbeth b^cy wtsy-^co p ntr ^co
^co a-(?)wy b-^co-el

13. a ^chn t^ct sp-sn a-wy b-^co-el a ^chn š^c sp III t^cgrt^ct
pa zt [a^c]wy

14. b-^co-el a ^chn š^c sp III bewtsy p ntr ^co a-wy b-^co-el
a ^chn s^c sp III

15. p ^cš nt e-^cr-k ^cš-f a ^chr p r^c n ^chrp e b-^cr te-k ^cš
a p ^clw z a-^cr p nt e-^cr-k ^cr-f a ^chp

16. p ntr ^co t^cb^c-^co b^cswkh^cm ^cm-^co ^ckh^cgh^cr-kh^cn-
gr^cbwns^c

17. nwny^cetsyqmc-t g^cthwb^cs^cthwry^cthmyl^cl-^co sp VII

18. ke gy n^cm-f ^cn e-^cr-k tw^cn-k n t^cwe ^chr pe-k klk n
^chrp n p hw nt e-^cr-k a ^cr-f n^cm-f nge hw nb

19. z a-^cr p nt e-^cr-k a ^cr-f nb a mte n t^ct-k e-^cr-k
w^cb a bte nb e-^cr-k ^cš py ^cš a ^chr p r^c n sp III nge sp VII

20. y-^co-t^cb^c-^co s-^co-kh^cm-mw^c ^co-kh-^co-kh-kh^cn-bwns^c-
nw ^cn

21. yesy eg-^co-m-p-t geth-^co sethwry thmyl^c ^clw^cp-^co-
khry my ^cre hb nb

1. 5. The demotic sign corresponding to the glosses λo, λω is identical with that for r in R-qt^y = P_ΔROTE, and with that for mr = λc-, 'superin-
tendent'; λo, λω is evidently the absolute form of the construct λc-.

and inquire for me about that which I ask (5) here to-day, Iao, Iaolo, Therentho, Psikhimeakelo, (6) Blak-hanspla, Iae, Ouebai, Barbaraithou, Ieou, Arponknouph, (7) Brintatenophri, Hea, Karrhe, Balmenthre, Meneba-reiakhukh, Ia, (8) Khukh, Brinskulma, Arouzarba, Mese-khriph, Niptoumikh, (9) Maorkharam. Ho! Laankhukh, Omph, Brimbainouioth, (10) Segenbai, Khooukhe, Laikham, Armioouth.' You say it, (11) it (*sic*) being pure, in this manner: 'O god that liveth, O lamp that is lighted, Takrtat, he of eternity, bring in (12) Boel!'—three times—'Arbeth-abi, Outhio, O great great god, bring Boel (13) in, Tat (*bis*), bring Boel in!' Three times. 'Takrtat, he of Eternity, bring (14) Boel in!' Three times. 'Barouthi, O great god, bring Boel in!' Three times.

(15) The invocation which you pronounce before Phre in the morning before reciting to the boy, in order that that which thou doest may succeed: (16) 'O great god, Tabao, Basoukham, Amo, Akhakharkhan-kraboun-zanouni-(17)edikomto, Kethou-basa-thouri-thmila-alo.' Seven times.

(18) Another method of it again. You rise in the morning from your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, (19) in order that everything which you will do shall prosper in your hand, you being pure from every abomination. You pronounce this invocation before Phre three times or seven times. (20) 'Io, Tabao, Sokhom-moa, Okh-okh-khan-bouzanau, An-(21) iesi, Ekomphtho, Ketho, Sethouri, Thmila, Alouapokhri,

l. 7. *καρπε*: the aspiration of the second *ρ* is interesting. Cf. note to I/20.

l. 11. *ε-φωβ*: the lamp must be pure as described in ll. 22 et seqq. *α-ωυ*, sometimes perhaps written *ωυ*, is *αυ*-, *αυει*-, St., § 384, and is synonymous with *α-νυ*: cf. I7/10, &c.

l. 15. *α-ρ* = *αερε*, 'final.'

22. nt e-y a θy t-t ar-f ty n p-hw my ʔr-f ḥp pe-f ky
ḥr ʔny-k wʕ ḥbs nmy e bnp-w t prš ar-f nte-k (*sic*)

23. wʕ sʕl e-f wʕb ar-f nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n mʕt e-f wʕb
nte-k wḥ-f n wʕ mʕ e-f wʕb n mw n ḥsm e-f hep

24. nte-k wḥ-f ḥr wʕt tbe-t nmy nte-k ʔny wʕ ʕlw nte-k
t ḥms-f ḥr k-t tbe-t nmy e ḥr-f

25. st a p ḥbs nte-k ḥtm n yr-t-f nte-k ʕš ny nt ḥry
a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ʕlw n sp VII e-ʔr-k t ʔr-f wn

26. yr-t-f e-ʔr-k z n-f ʕn e-ʔr-k nw a p wyn e-f z n-k
te-y nw a p wyn ḥn t st-t n p ḥbs e-ʔr-k ʕš ty hte z

27. hewe 𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤀 n sp IX e-ʔr-k šn-t-f a p nt e-ʔr-k wḥ-f
nb bn-s ʕš p ʕš a-ʔr-k t ḥ-t mbḥ p rʕ n ḥrp

28. ḥr ʔr-k-f n wʕ mʕ e r wn a pr(?) ybt nte-k ḥʕ ḥr-f
n p ḥbs e-f st nte-k ḥʕ ḥr-f n p ʕlw

29. e-f-st a ḥr p ḥbs e-ʔr-k ḥr nʔm-f e-ʔr-k
ʕš a ḥry ḥn zz-f e-ʔr-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tbʕ n mḥ II n p(?)
ḥyne(?) n te-k-t t-t

30. n wnm

COL. XVII.

1. ke ky nʔm-f ʕn nfr sp-sn a p ḥbs e-ʔr-k(z?) b-ʕo-el
sp III y-y-y. 𐤀𐤀𐤀 tʔt tʔt tʔt p šmsy ḥyt n p ntr ʕo p nt
t wyn m šs sp-sn

2. p ḥbr n t st-t nte t st-t n r-f pa t st-t nte my-s ḥtm
p ntr nt ʕnḥ nte b-ʔr-f mw p ntr ʕo ⟨p⟩ nt ḥms ḥn t st-t
nt n t mt-t n t st-t nt

1. 22. θy t-t a, 'undertake,' 'apply hand to': cf. 17/26 θ wʕb a.

pe-f ky: this seems to correspond to py smt in l. 11.

t has been omitted by the scribe at the end of the line.

1. 28. f is omitted after r and pr is incomplete before ybt. The scribe has moreover been confused in describing the positions of the lamp and the boy.

1. 29. Thus the middle finger of the right hand must have had a different name from that of the left, see 13/18 and cf. 29/5 with this passage. ḥyne(?) has the det. of flesh and should be some part of the body.

let everything (22) that I shall apply (?) my hand to here to-day, let it happen.' Its method. You take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you (put) (23) a clean wick in it, and you fill it with pure genuine oil and lay it in a place cleansed with natron water and concealed, (24) and you lay it on a new brick, and you take a boy and seat him upon another new brick, his face being (25) turned to the lamp, and you close his eyes and recite these things that are (written) above down into the boy's head seven times. You make him (26) open his eyes. You say to him, 'Do you see the light?' When he says to you 'I see the light in the flame of the lamp,' you cry at that moment saying (27) 'Heoue' nine times. You ask him concerning everything that you wish after reciting the invocation that you made previously before Phre in the morning. (28) You do it in a place with (its) entrance open to the East, and put the face of the lamp turned (*blank*). You put the face of the boy (29) turned (*blank*) facing the lamp, you being on his left hand. You cry down into his head, you strike his head with your second finger, (that) of the, of your (30) right hand.

COL. XVII.

(1) Another method of it again, very good, for the lamp. You (say?): 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, A, A, Tat, Tat, Tat, the first attendant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, (2) the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame which is not quenched,

COL. XVII.

1. 1. *e'r-k*. 'Thou art Boel' would need *nte-k*: probably *e'r-k z* was intended.

1. 2. *pa t st-t*: the stroke over the *t* is merely a line separating off the interlineation.

nte my-s = *ετε μεε-*, elsewhere (l. 27, &c.) written etymologically *nte b'r-s*. Cf. *ο ασβεστος λυχνος* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1218.

3. n p šy n t p't nte p 'w erme p n's n p ntr
n t-t-f 'm a hn n t mt n ty st:t nte-k wnh-k (wnh-k)
a py 'lw ty n p-hw nte-k t 'r-f šn n-y hr mt:t nb
nt e-y

4. a šn-t-f [a]r-w ty n p-hw z e-y a š's-k n t p't ne-hr
p r' e-y a š's-k ne-hr 'h e-y a š's-k n p t

5. e-y a š's-k ne-hr p nt hr p bht nte b'r-f htm pa
p š's 'o nte p 'w erme p n's n p ntr n t-t-f pa p

6. š's 'o petery sp-sn p'ter emphe sp-sn p ntr 'o 'o
nt n t r' hry:t n t p't nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)'ne-f n t-t-f
p-e'r t hp ntr e bp ntr

7. t hp-f 'm n-y a hn erme b-'o-el 'nyel nte-k t p zr
n n byl-w n py 'lw nt hr pe hne

8. n p-hw a t nw-f ar-k a t stm msz-f ar-k e'r-k sze
nte-k šn n-f hr hb nb mt:t nb nt e-y a šn-t-f ar-w ty
n p-hw

9. p ntr 'o sy-s-'o-th 'khrem-p-t 'm a hn n t mt:t n
ty st:t p nt hms hr p tw

10. n g'b-'o-n t'grt't pa zt p nte b'r-f mw nt 'nh š'
nhh <a·wy> a'ny b-'o-el a hn b-'o-el sp-sn

11. 'rbethb'y·nwtsy 'o p ntr 'o sp-sn <a·(?)wy> a'ny
b-'o-el a hn t't sp-sn <a·wy> a'ny b-'o-el a hn
e'r-k

12. z ny sp VII a hry hn zz-f n p 'lw e'r-k t 'r-f wn
yr-t-f e'r-k šn-t-f z 'n hr p wyn hp

13. e-f hp e bnp p wyn pyr e'r-k t 're p 'lw h-f sze
n r-f a p hbs z-mt:t 'w p wyn pr

14. p wyn θs p wyn hy p wyn pr p wyn n p ntr
wnh-k a'r-y p šmsy n p ntr nte p wh-šhne n p-hw [n
t:]t-f

15. nt ne šn n-y hr 'r-f wnh-f a p 'lw n p nw n rn-f
hr š-k ny a hry hn zz-f n p 'lw e-f nw

1. 12. 'n hr = Boh. an a- cf. 2/24.

the great god that dieth not, the great god he that sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, (3) who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come within in the midst of this flame and reveal thyself to this boy here to-day; cause him to inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall (4) ask him here to-day; for I will glorify thee in heaven before Phrc, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee on Earth, (5) I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who perisheth not, he of the great glory, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of the great glory, (6) Petery (*bis*), Pater, Emphe (*bis*), O great great god, who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having (7) created him, come in to me with Boel, Aniel; do thou give strength to the eyes of this boy who has my vessel (8) to-day, to (?) cause him to see thee, cause his ears to hear thee when thou speakest; and do thou inquire for him concerning everything and every word as to which I shall ask him here to-day, (9) O great god, Sisaouth, Akhrempto, come into the midst of this flame, he who sitteth on the mountain (10) of Gabaon, Takrtat, he of eternity, he who dieth not, who liveth for ever, bring Boel in, Boel (*bis*), (11) Arbethbainouthi, great one, O great god (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in, Tat (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in.' You (12) say these things seven times down into the head of the boy, you make him open his eyes, you ask him saying, 'Has the light appeared?' (13) If it be that the light has not come forth, you make the boy himself speak with his mouth to the lamp. Formula: 'Grow, O light, come forth (14) O light, rise O light, lift thyself up O light, come forth O light of the god, reveal thyself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is the command of to-day, (15) who will ask for me.' Then he reveals himself to the boy in the moment named.

16. m-s p ḥbs mpr t ʾr-f nw m-s ge m^c m-s p ḥbs
w^ce-t-f e-f tm nw m-s-f ḥr ʾr-f htye-t

17. e-ʾr-k ʾr ny tre-w e-ʾr-k wh n pe-k šn e-ʾr-k st-k
e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f e-ʾr-k sze a ḥry ḥn zz-f n py ke

18. š nt ḥry ze a-ʾre n ntr-w še n-w nte p ʾlw lk-f e-f
nw ar-w ʾrkhe-khem-phe nsew

19. hele s^ctr^cpermt ḥrh a py ʾlw nte-k tm t ʾr-f htye-t
ḥnwḥe škl-t nte-k t

20. st-f a pe-f myt n ḥrp a-wn ty-t a-wn ty te-y z n^cm-s
z ne-(ne)-ne py šn-hne n p ḥbs(?)

21. a p ḥrp py smt ʾn pe pe-f ky ḥr ʾny-k w^c ḥbs nmy
e-bp-w t prš ar-f nte-k t w^c s^cl n

22. ḥbs ef w^cb ar-f nte-k mh-f n nḥe n m^ct e-f w^cb
nte-k wh-f ḥr w^ct tbe-t nmy nte-k t ḥms p ʾlw ḥr k-t tbe-t

23. wbe p ḥbs nte-k t ʾr-f ḥtm yr-t-f nte-k š a ḥry
ḥn zz-f a ḥ p ke ky ʾn ke š e-ḥr

24. ʾr-k š-f wbe p r^c n twe n sp III nge sp VII
z-mt-t y-ʾo-t^cbe-ʾo s-ʾo-kh-ʾo-mmw^c ʾo-kh

25. ʾo-kh-kh^cn bwns^c-nw ʾn yesy eg-ʾo-mth-ʾo geth-ʾo
seth-ʾo-ry thmy

26. l^clw^cp-ʾo-khry my ḥp mt-t nb nt e-y a ʾr-w n p-hw
nte-w ḥp e-f ḥp nte-k tm θ w^cb ar-f b-ʾr-f ḥp te-f mt-t
ʾo-t w^cb ke

27. š a ḥ p nt ḥry ʾn z-mt-t b-ʾo-cl sp III 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁
𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 sp III p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥbr n t st-t pa
t st-t nte b-ʾr-s

28. ḥtm p ntr nt ʾnh nte b-ʾr-f mw p nt ḥms ḥn t st-t
nt n t mt-t n t st-t nt n p šy n t p-t nte p ʾw erme p nš

29. n p ntr n t-t-f wnh-k a py ʾlw hew 𐤀𐤀𐤀 sp-sn he-ʾo

l. 19. *hele* has the Greek symbol of the sun (☉) above it.

l. 20. The demotic sign for  at the end apparently stands for *ḥbs*, 'lamp.'

l. 26. θ w^cb a: cf. 14/32.

le-f mt-t ʾo-t: cf. εστιν δε το αγαθον ζωδιον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 171.

You recite these things down into the head of the boy, he looking (16) towards the lamp. Do not let him look towards another place except the lamp only; if he does not look towards it, then he is afraid. (17) You do all these things, you cease from your inquiry, you return, you make him close his eyes, you speak down into his head this other (18) invocation which is below, that is, if the gods go away and the boy ceases to see them: 'Arkhe-khem-phai, Zeou, (19) Hele, Satrapernet, watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or scared, and make (20) him return to his original path. Open Teï (the Underworld), open Tai (Here).' I say it that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better (21) than the beginning. This is the method again; its form: you take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you put a wick of (22) clean linen in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick, you make the boy sit on another brick (23) opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes, you recite down into his head according to the other method also.

Another invocation which (24) you recite towards Phre in the morning thrice times or seven times. Formula: 'Iotabao, Sokh-ommoa, Okh-(25)-okh-Khan, Bouzanau, Aniesi, Ekomphto, Ketho, Sethori, (26) Thmilaalouapokhri may everything succeed that I shall do to-day,' and they will(?) succeed. If it be that you do not apply(?) purity to it, it does not succeed; its chief matter is purity.

Another (27) invocation like the one above again. Formula: 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, I, I, I, A, Tat (*thrice*), he who giveth the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which does not (28) perish, the god who liveth, who dieth not, he who sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might (29) of the god, reveal thyself to

nte-f šn n-y nte-k ty ʾr-f nw nte-f kšp nte-f stm a mt-t
nb nt e-y

30. šn-t-f ar-w z e-y a šš-k n t p-t e-y a šš-k n p t
e-y a šš-k ne-ħr p nt ħr p bħt nte b-ʾr-f htm

31. py ʿw petery sp-sn emphe sp-sn p ntr ʿo nt n
ħry(?) n t p-t nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)ʿne-f n t-t-f ʾr t ħp ntr

32. e bnp ntr t ħp-f ʾm a ħn n t mt-t n ty st-t erme
b-ʿo-el ʾnyel nte-k t p zr n n byl-w n hew sp-sn

COL. XVIII.

1. n hew sp-sn p šr n hew sp-sn z e-f a nw ar-k n
yr-t-f nte-k t stm msz-f

2. nte-k sze wbe-f n hb nb e-f a šn-t-k ar-f nte-k z
n-y wħ n mt-t m-t nte-k p ntr ʿo sʿ

3. b-ʿo-th ʾm a ħry erme b-ʿo-el t-t sp-sn a-wy b-ʿo-el
a ħn ʾm a ħn n t mt-t n ty st-t

4. nte-k šn n-y ħr p nt ne-(ne)ʿne-f tʾgrtʾt py zt a-wy
b-ʿo-el a ħn šʿ sp III ʾrbth

5. bʿynwtsy-ʿo p ntr ʿo a-wy b-ʿo-el a ħn sp III e-ʾr-k
z ny a ħry ħn zz-f n p ʿlw

6. e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f e-ʾr-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb a ħ p
ky nt n bl ʿn

7. šn-hne e te-s n-y wʿ syn ħn p tše n pr-mz ħr
ʾr-k-f ʿn n šn-hne wʿ-t-k

8. sʾbʾ nm nn(?) byrybʾt hy sp-sn p ntr sysyʾh-ʿo nt
ħr p tw n qʾbʾh-ʿo

9. nte t wt-t n p šʿy n t-t-f šm a py ħm-ħl my pħr-f
p wyn z ʾnk

1. 32. Gloss **ꜥꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣ**: the word is spelt in the demotic like **ꜥꜣꜣꜣ**,
'money,' with the det. of silver.

COL. XVIII.

1. 6. *n ʾl*: **ꜥꜥꜣ** in the Revenue Pap., WILCK., Ostr., i. 19 n., 'on the
verso,' 'on the other side.' Cf. V. 15/7. The verso columns I and II
are on the back of this Col. XVIII, but they do not contain the passage
here indicated.

this boy, Heou (*bis*), Heo, that he may inquire for me, and do thou make him see and let him look and let him listen to everything which I (30) ask him, for I will glorify thee in heaven, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who does not perish, (31) he of greatness, Peteri (*bis*), Emphe (*bis*), O great god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, (32) deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with Boel, Aniel, and give strength to the eyes of Heu (*bis*).

COL. XVIII.

'(1) Of Heu (*bis*), the son of Heu (*bis*), for he shall see thee with his eyes, and thou shalt make his ears to hear, (2) and shalt speak with him of everything; he shall ask thee about it, and thou shalt tell me answer truly; for thou art the great god (3) Sabaoth; come down with Boel, Tat (*bis*); bring Boel in, come into the midst of this flame (4) and inquire for me concerning that which is good; Takrtat, he of eternity, bring Boel in,' three times, 'Arbeth, (5) Bainouthio, O great god, bring Boel in,' three times. You say these things down into the head of the boy, (6) you make him open his eyes, you ask him as to everything according to the method which is outside, again.

(7) [Another?] vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchus nome gave me; you (can) also make it with a vessel-inquiry alone by yourself: (8) 'Sabanem, Nn, Biribat, Ho! (*bis*) O god Sisiaho who (art) on the mountain of Kabaho, (9) in whose hand is the creation of the Shoy, favour (?) this boy, may he enchant the

1. 9. *twt-t n p šy*: 'the generation of the Agathodaemon' probably signifies 'the fortune produced by the god of Fate.'

10. ḥr 'nw pe p ze k-z'm z 'nk ḥr nwn n twe ḥp-ḥr
n mre-t 'nk

11. ḥ n ḥr rhwe 'nk p r' p ḥrt šps nt e-w z n-f g'rt'
n rn ank p-e'r pyr a bl

12. ḥr p znḥ n t rpy-t n pr-ybt 'nk 'o sp-sn rn-yt 'o
pe pe rn n mte 'nk

13. rn-yt 'w pe pe rn n mte ank l'-o-t mw l'-o-t pe
p 'r-y g'm sp-sn p nte te-f

14. g'm-t ḥn t st-t pa py qlm n nb nt n zz-f th-'y-yt
sp-sn t sp-sn

15. h'tr' sp-sn p ḥr n 'e sp-sn hy 'Np p pr-'o n t
ty-t my še n-f p kke

16. a-'ny p wyn n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne z 'nk Ḥr s
Wsr a.ms 'S-t

17. p ḥrt šps nte mr-s 'S-t nt šn m-s pe-f yt Wsr
wn-nfr hy 'Np

18. p pr-'o n t ty-t my še n-f p kke a-'ny p wyn
n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne

19. pe swt ty n p-hw my wz-y my wz p nte ḥr-f pḥt
a py hne ty n p-hw

20. š' nte n ntr-w 'y a ḥn nte-w z n-y wh n mt-t m't
ḥr pe šn nt e-y šn

21. e-tbe-t-f ty n p-hw n mt-t m't n wš n mt-t n 'ze
twn hy 'Np

22. p snt nḥne mš' a bl ty wne-t a-'ny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t erme

23. p ntr nt θ wh n p-hw nte-f z n-y pe šn nt e-y
šn ḥrr-f n p-hw n sp IX

24. e'r-k wn yr-t-k nge p ḥm-ḥl nte-k nw a p wyn
e'r-k š' a p wyn z 'we-t-f

1. 10. *ḥr 'nw* possibly means 'ape-headed'; the word *šm* (l. 9) occurs with the name of the ape also in 11/2. The copula usually follows *'nk* and *nte-k* immediately in this papyrus, but is separated here as in l. 13 *'nk l'-o-t mw l'-o-t pe*.

1. 12. *t rpy-t*: either the goddess Triphis or possibly the constellation Virgo.

light, for I am (10) Fair-face'—another roll says, 'I am the face of Nun—in the morning, Halaho at midday, I am (11) Glad-of-face in the evening, I am Phre, the glorious boy whom they call Garta by name; I am he that came forth (12) on the arm of Triphis in the East; I am great, Great is my name, Great is my real name, I am Ou, Ou (13) is my name, Aou is my real name; I am Lot Mulot, I have prevailed (?) (*bis*), he whose (14) strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, They-yt (*bis*), To (*bis*), (15) Hatra (*bis*), the Dog-face (*bis*). Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, (16) bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis, (17) the noble boy whom Isis loves, who inquires for his father Osiris Onnophris. Hail! Anubis, (18) Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, (19) my knot (?) here to-day; may I flourish, may he flourish whose face is bent down to this vessel here to-day (20) until the gods come in, and may they tell me answer truly to my question about which I am inquiring (21) here to-day, truly without falsehood forthwith (?). Hail! Anubis, (22) O creature (?), Child, go forth at once, bring to me the gods of this city and (23) the god who gives answer (?) to-day, and let him tell me my question about which I am asking to-day.' Nine times.

(24) You open your eyes or (those of) the boy and you see the light. You invoke the light, saying, 'Hail,

or or: the hieratic (?) symbols below are of uncertain meaning.

1. 13. *p'r-y*. It is difficult to make sense of this as it stands. Possibly the *p* may be a copyist's error for *e*, in which case the meaning could be that given above.

g'm sp-sn read *g'mg'm* = *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ*, cf. 3/10.

1. 17. *nle mr-s*: perhaps present relative, see chapter on Grammar.

1. 23. *nl θ wh n p-hw* seems to correspond to *nle p wh shne n t-t-f n p-hw* 6/17, &c., and so may mean 'who governs to-day': see 21/2.

25. p wyn pr sp-sn p wyn θs sp-sn p wyn ʿw sp-sn
p wyn p nt n bl ʾm a hn eʾr-k z-t-f n sp IX

26. šʿ nte p wyn ʿw nte ʾNp ʾy a hn aʾre ʾNp ʾy
a hn nte-f smne nʾm-f

27. eʾr-k z n ʾNp z tw n mšʿ a bl aʾny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t tym

28. a hn hr še-f a bl n t hte-t n rn-s nte-f ʾny n ntr-w
a hn eʾr-k rh-s

29. z a n ntr-w ʾy a hn eʾr-k z n ʾNp z aʾny wʿ
tks a hn hr n ntr-w

30. nte-w hms e-w hms eʾr-k z n ʾNp aʾny wʿ ʾrp(?)
a hn erme hyn-w t-w my wm-w my swr-w

31. e-f t wm-w nte-f t swr-w eʾr-k z n ʾNp z n se
ne šn n-y n p-hw e-f z se ʿn eʾr-k z n-f z

32. p ntr nt ne šn n-y my ʾr-f t ʿhʿ t-t-f n-y nte-f
z n-y rn-f e-f z rn-f n-k eʾr-k

33. šn-t-f a p nt eʾr-k wh-f eʾr-k wh eʾr-k šn hr p
nt eʾr-k wh-f eʾr-k wt-w

COL. XIX.

1. [r(?)] n mt-t a p phs n p whr

2. aʾr-y ʾy a bl n ʾrq-hh e r-y mh n sof n ʾe(?) km

3. e-y syt nʾm-f p(?) tšcr(?) n whr py whr nt hn p X
n whr

4. nte wn-te ʾNp s-f n het-f šte n te-k-t mt-t ʿl n
pc-k zʾk nʾm-y(?) ʿn

5. eʾr-k tm šte n te-k-t mt-t nte-k ʿl n pc-k
zʾk e-y a θy-t-k

6. a hry a p hft-h n Wsr pe nw e-y a ʾr n-k n
p-eʾr-e-p-e ge-t(?) ʾpt-w(?)

l. 27. *bk-t tym*: cf. Matt. ix. 35, x. 11, 14.

l. 31. *se*, lit. 'they' (are so), = *ce*, 'yes.'

COL. XIX.

l. 1. Supply *r*, 'spell,' before *n mt-t*: cf. l. 32.

(25) O light, come forth (*bis*) O light, rise (*bis*) O light, increase (*bis*) O light, O that which is without, come in.' You say it nine times, (26) until the light increases and Anubis comes in. When Anubis comes in and takes his stand, (27) then you say to Anubis, 'Arise, go forth, bring in to me the gods of this city (or?) village,' (28) then he goes out at the moment named and brings the gods in. When you know (29) that the gods have come in, you say to Anubis, 'Bring in a table for the gods (30) and let them sit down.' When they are seated, you say to Anubis, 'Bring a wine-jar in and some cakes; let them eat, let them drink.' (31) While he is making them eat and making them drink, you say to Anubis, 'Will they inquire for me to-day?' If he says 'Yes' again, you say to him, (32) 'The god who will ask for me, let him put forth his hand to me and let him tell me his name.' When he tells you his name, you ask him as to that which you desire. When you have ceased asking him as to that which you desire, you send them away.

COL. XIX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the bite of the dog. (2) 'I have come forth from Arkhah, my mouth being full of blood of a black dog. (3) I spit it out, the . . . of a dog. O this dog, who is among the ten dogs (4) which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract thy venom, remove thy saliva (?) from me (?) again. (5) If thou dost not extract thy venom and remove thy saliva (?), I will take thee (6) up to the court of the temple of Osiris, my watch-tower (?). I will do for thee the *parapage* (?) of

1. 4. *šte* seems to mean 'extract' rather than 'enchant.'

1. 6. *p-e-r-e-p-e ge-t* might mean 'that which he of *ge-t* did.'

ge-t, perhaps 'sort,' II Kham. vii. 7.

pt.w. REUVENS has clearly *ptḥ.w*, the *ḥ* being apparently inserted by error between *t* and the determination of birds.

7. a ḥ p ḥrw n ḥS-t t šte-t t nb šte nt šte n nt nb
nte b-ḥr-w šte

8. n-s n rn-s n ḥS-t t šte-t nte-k nt *ḡzan*
ḥr *šmor*

9. nte-k ty-f a t tm-t n p phs n p whr nte-k mt-t ar-f
n mne šc nte-f (ne-)nfr

10. [r(?)] n mt-t a šte n t mt-t ḥr ḥt-f n rm e-ḥr-w t
swr-f phre-t nge(?)

11. zw-t ḥwe-t-f sp-sn y'blw p z n nb n Wsr

12. e swr ḥS-t Wsr p šcy 'o n ḥe-t-k e swr-w p III
ntr-w e swr-y

13. m-s-w ḥt ze n-k t ḥr-y th n-k t ḥr-y byk n-k t
ḥr-y hy

14. a bl n-k t ḥr-y hbrbr n-k t ḥr-y the n ḥt n-k t
ḥre r-y

15. z w' my wz-y a kr'o(?) mw-bn mtw-t nb a-e-w
ḥt(?)w a ḥt-y

16. e-y swr-k my te-y hwy-t-w a ḥry n rn-s n s'rbythc
t šrt

17. n p šcy z ḥnk s'br' brythc brys'r' her

18. rn-yt ank Ḥr šc-r-n(?) e-f n'w n p θ ḥwe-t-f y'h-'o

19. p ḥrt rn-yt n pe rn n mte a w' z n ḥrp

20. nte-k t *ḥeyoyy* e-f knn nte-k ty-f ar-f nte-k
mt-t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-f

21. p rm n twe e b-ḥr te-f wm [r(?)]n mt-t a p rm e
wn qs zthe

22. ḥr te-f šnbe-t nte-k pe šl'te l'te b'l'te

1. 7. ḥS-t ḥ šd-t is figured on a stela of Horus and the crocodiles in the British Museum, BUDGE, *Mummy*, p. 359; WILKINSON, *Anc. Eg.*, 3rd ed., vol. iii. Pl. 33. For šte see note to l. 4.

1. 8. πρᾶσον is prescribed for θηριοδικτοῖς, Diosc., ii. 178.

šmor (šmor?): cf. kmw, Br., Wtb. Suppl., 1245; or qmḥ, kmḥ, ib., Suppl., 1249; Wtb., 1455, 1495 = mḥ, 'fine meal.'

1. 9. tm-t, 'wound'; the word is best known in the Eg. ḥr dm-t = person stung, bitten, or wounded, written out in the Metternich stela, l. 32.

birds (?) (7) like the voice of Isis, the sorceress (?), the mistress of sorcery (?), who bewitches (?) everything and is not bewitched (?) (8) in her name of Isis the sorceress (?). And you pound garlic with *kmou* (?) (9) and you put it on the wound of the bite of the dog; and you address it daily until it is well.

(10) [Spell] spoken for extracting the venom from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or (?) (11) . . . 'Hail to him! (*bis*) Yablou, the golden cup of Osiris. (12) Isis (and) Osiris (and) the great Agathodaemon have drunk from thee; the three gods have drunk, I have drunk (13) after them myself; for, dost thou make me drunk? dost thou make me suffer shipwreck? dost thou make me perish? (14) dost thou cause me confusion? dost thou cause me to be vexed of heart? dost thou cause my mouth (15) to speak blasphemy? May I be healed of all poison, pus (and) venom which have been ed to my heart; (16) when I drink thee, may I cause them to be cast up in the name of Sarbitha, the daughter (17) of the Agathodaemon; for I am Sabra, Briatha, Brisara, Her (18) is my name. I am Horus Sharon (?) when he comes from receiving acclamation (?), Yaho, (19) the child is my name as my real name.' (Pronounced) to a cup of wine (20) and you put (*sic*) fresh rue and put it to it; and you make invocation to it seven times, and make (21) the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

[Spell] spoken to the man, when a bone has stuck (22)

l. 15. *kr^o* (?): the reading is very uncertain, and the remains will admit of reading *gr^o*, i. e. *κλ^o*.

a-e-w, perhaps for *εαω*, or simply *εω*.

l. 16. *n rn-s*: there is no fem. word preceding to which this can be attached. Apparently the pronoun is explained by the subsequent *S'rbytha*, and the passage may be translated 'by the name of Sarbitha.'

l. 20. Seeds or leaves of rue as an antidote to poison, &c., Diosc., 3/45. *km* is a word applied to leaves and flowers in this papyrus.

23. p msh wbh nt hr t stp-p-t(?) n p y'm n h-ʿo-h
nte he-t-f

24. mh n qs n hsy nb h'y e-r-k a syt n py qs n-y
a hry n p-hw e-f r

25. qs e-f r wšym(?) e-f r l . . . s n tys-t e-f r nge
nb e mn n

26. ge šre z ʿnk wʿ hʿ-t n my ank wʿ tp n sr ank
wʿ šl

27. n ʿbyw srrf pe pe rn n mte z Wsr p nt m t-t
p rm n rn-f

28. p nt sp VII nte-k mt-t a wʿ hm n *neg*
nte-k

29. t hr-f n p rm a hry nte-k ty-f a hry hn r-f nte-k
hn pe-k tbʿ erme

30. te-k-t ʿne mwt II n te-f šnbe-t nte-k t r-f
ʿm p nhe nte-k t

31. tw-n-f-s n htp nte-k t p nhe nt hn te-f šnbe-t a
bl ty hte-t

32. hr ʿw p qs a hry erme p *neg* r n mt-t a p
phs n p whr

33. p hyt(?) n ʿMn t rpt z ʿnk py hkr nht šlʿmʿf
mʿlet št(?)

34. a-phṯ št-ʿe-t grš-ʿe-t grš-ʿe nb rnt tʿhne(?) bʿhne(?)
py ʿe(?)

35. py km p ʿe(?) r(?) št(?) py ʿe(?) pa ty IV-t ʿlw-t
p wnš n šr wpy

36. p šr n ʿNp glz n pe-k šl hʿ n pe-k ryt a hry
e-r-k n hr

37. n St a Wsr e-r-k n hr n ʿpp a p rʿ Hr s Wsr
a.ms ʿS-t nta e-r-k mh r-k ar-f

1. 25. Copies and the original seem to admit the reading *wšym*, which may be connected with Eg. *wšm*, meaning perhaps a fine point; and *qs* in Egyptian is a harpoon-head.

1. 26. *ʿnk*, perhaps possessive 'mine is'; *tp*, parallel to *šl*, may here be 'horn': see 3/22.

in his throat. 'Thou art Shlate, Late, Balate, (23) the white crocodile, which is under (?) the . . . of the sea of fire, whose belly (24) is full of bones of every drowned man. Ho! thou wilt spit forth this bone for me to-day, which acts (?) [as] (25) a bone, which, which as (?) a bandage, which does everything without (26) a thing deficient; for I am (?) a lion's fore-part, I am a ram's head (?), I am a leopard's tooth; (27) Gryphon is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand, the man named (28) is he who gives (?) my'. Seven times. You make invocation to a little oil. You (29) put the face of the man upwards and put it (the oil) down into his mouth; and place your finger and (30) your nail [to the?] two muscles (?) of his throat; you make him swallow the oil and make him (31) start up suddenly, and you eject the oil which is in his throat immediately; (32) then the bone comes up with the oil.

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. (33) The exorcism (?) of Amen (and ?) Thriphis; say: 'I am this Hakoris (?) strong, Shlamala, Malet, secret (?) (34) mighty Shetei, Greshei, Greshei, neb Rent Tahne Bahne (?) this [dog ?] (35) this black [one], the dog which hath bewitched (?), this dog, he of these four bitch-pups (?), the jackal (?) being (?) a son of Ophois. (36) O son of Anubis, hold on (?) by thy tooth, let fall thy humours (?); thou art as the face (37) of Set against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop against the Sun; Horus the son of Osiris, born of Isis (is he ?) at whom thou didst fill thy

l. 27. *m t-t*, or 'beside me,' *ntoot*.

l. 31. *n htp*: in older demotic *n htp*, II Kham. 3/18; possibly the *t* may be an error.

l. 33. *hyt*(?): cf. 21/30.

hkr is determined with the signs of a foreigner and a man. It is perhaps the same word that constituted the name of king Akoris (*Hgr*) of the twenty-ninth dynasty.

l. 37. Apop, the dragon-enemy of the sun.

38. mn a.ms m[n nta(?)] e·r-k mḥ r-k ar-f stm n py
sze Ḥr ʾr t ʿlk ḥmm ʾr še a p nwn

39. ʾr snt p t stm p yḥ-ʿo sḥ-ʿo ʾbyḥ-ʿo n rn e·r-k
lšlš(?) t tm·t e·r-k nt

40. ḥm ʾh tt t ar-f ke e·r-k nt bšwš ḥr ʾby t ar-f nte-k
z-t-f ʿn a wʿ z n mw nte-k t swr-f-s

COL. XX.

1. n mt·t a t plege
2. ʾnk pe s stn wr tp ʾNp te mw Šḥm·t ʾS·t(?) ʾre-s(?)
ʾy m-s-y
3. a bl a p t n ḥr a p sbt n p t n ḥḥ a p tš n ny
wm-rm z
4. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp z twm·t-k
nte-k ʾy
5. a Kmy z pe-k yt Wsr e-f n pr-ʿo ⟨a⟩ n Kmy
e-f n wr a (sic) p
6. t tre-f n ntr·w tre-w n Kmy swḥ a θ t grep·t n t·t-f
7. t wne·t n z ny a·re-s fy n-y n wʿ·t fks·t hy te
nmte·t a·r-y

1. 38. This seems to imply an original chaos of burning.

1. 39. *p* seems distinct, *stm* is extremely doubtful.

lšlš(?): the reading is from REUVENS' copy. τῶσθε, 'purify,' is
determined by  in 5/3, and 'cleanse' fits the sense here.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *plege* = πλῆγη, as MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 174. πλῆγη is used especially of the sting of a scorpion, B. M. Gr. Pap. CXXI, l. 193, &c., but also of bites and stings of venomous animals in general, Diosc., Περι Ιοβολ. 19, and of wounds in general. Except that it bleeds (l. 14) there is little here to show what is meant by *plege* so long as ll. 7-8 remain unintelligible.

1. 2. According to this Anubis was the eldest son of Osiris (l. 5), and his mother was Sekhemet-Isis, called in l. 9 Isis. The liaison of Osiris with Nephthys (cf. PLUTARCH) is referred to in the O. C. of Pap. Bibl. Nat.
nte-s(?)y is a possible reading, *a·r-s* is not possible.

1. 3. *wm-rm*: there were Anthropophagi and Cynamolgi caninis capitibus (cf. 21/7) associated in Africa, apparently on the Upper Nile, Plin.,

mouth (i.e. bite), (38) N. son of N. (is he) (?) at whom thou hast filled thy mouth; hearken to this speech. Horus who didst heal burning pain (?), who didst go to the abyss, (39) who didst found the Earth, listen, O Yaho, Sabaho, Abiaho by name.' You cleanse (?) the wound, you pound (40) salt with . . . ; apply it to him. Another: you pound rue with honey, apply it; you say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it (?).

COL. XX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the sting: (2) 'I am the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis(?), she came (?) after me (3) forth to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh, to the nome of those cannibals, saying, (4) "Haste (*bis*), quick (*bis*) my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis," saying, "Arise and come (5) to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt, he is ruler over (6) the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand." (7) The moment of saying those things she brought me a blow (?),

H. N., 6. 35 ad fin. Northward, Anthropophagi were placed in Syria, ib. 7. 2, or in Parthia (ROBINSON, Apocr. Gosp., p. 23, and Preface): cf. Rec. tr., xxv. 41. The land of Hah (Millions) is not known.

l. 5. *a n Kmy . . . a p t* must be for *n Kmy . . . n p t*. Possibly the Faiyumic pronunciation *e* for *n* has produced this exceptional writing.

l. 7. The following may be suggested as an alternative translation for this difficult passage: 'At the moment when she said this, a wasp (?) flew to me, my spittle (?) fell down upon me (from fright); it (the wasp) drew near (or gathered itself together) to me, coming unto me with a sting.' Here *a-re-s* is taken as a relative attached to *z* as regularly in other demotic texts (I Kham. v. 1, &c.); the *n* before *fks.t* is omitted. *fy* is taken in the sense of 'fly' (see GRIFF, H. Priests, p. 178, note to l. 19), and *fks.t* as possibly an Egyptian rendering of σφήξ. The Coptic ϣορκας, meaning an aquatic (?) animal of some kind, can hardly be the same word for phonetic reasons; for the form of the *f* see l. 21. The word recurs in 21/7.

nmt.t as 'power' = *nm.t*: this makes no sense. Cf. Kufi, xii. 30, 'he swallowed his *nmt.t*' (of the monkey when terrified).

8. a·r-s swḥ a·e-s ʿy n-y n nw plege a·e-y ḥms a
ḥry a·e-y

9. rym ḥms ʾS·t te mw·t n pe mte a bl e-s z n-y mpr

10. rym sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp lkh n ls·t-k a
ḥt-k ḥs-phr

11. šꜥ n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) lkh n n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) šꜥ n
r·w n te-k·t

12. nmte·t p nt e·r-k a lkh-f e·r-k ʿm-f bn pꜥy n·m-f
a p t z pe-k

13. ls p ls n p šꜥy pe-k sꜥl pa ʾTm

14. nte-k lkh-f n pe-k ls e-f ḥr snf ty hte·t m-s-s e·r-k
mt·t a wꜥ ḥm

15. n nḥe nte-k mt·t ar-f n sp VII e·r-k t n·m-f a
t plege m-mne e·r-k

16. sp wꜥ·t tys n ʿyw e·r-k ty-s ar-f

17. nt e·r-k zt-f a p nḥe a ty-f a t plḡe
m-mne

18. ḥms ʾS·t e-s mt·t a p nḥe ʿbꜣrtꜣt e-s tyt a p nḥe

19. n mꜥ·t z e·r-k ḥsy te-y ne ḥys-t-k p nḥe te-y
ne ḥys

20. n·m-k e·r-k ḥse n t p šꜥy e·r-k mḥy n t·t ḥ·t
te-y ne ḥys-k

21. šꜥ zt p nḥe sp-sn n sym ke-z mꜥ·t p fty n p šꜥy
p s n Gb ʾS·t t nt

22. mt·t a p nḥe p nḥe n mꜥ·t t tltyle·t n hwm-p·t
p zlh n Hr-št

1. 10. *ls·t-k*. This form seems due to a confusion in endeavouring to write in archaic style. The *t* is quite unwarranted by Egyptian. We may compare the *t* added before the object pronouns following *stm-f*: cf. also note to l. 20. We have here a passage in which very modern forms $\alpha\pi\alpha\alpha\tau\omicron\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omicron\lambda$ are mixed with older forms *ḥms ʾS·t* (past *stm-f*) and this *ls·t-k*.

1. 12. *nmte·t*: if this means 'tail' we may compare Pist. Sophia, p. 323 $\tau\tau\alpha\pi\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\alpha\tau$, 'the point of the tail of the dragon.'

bn pꜥy: the Achmimic vetitive $\alpha\pi=\alpha\pi\rho$, cf. 21/23, probably derived from the old vetitive *m*. It occurs in Eg. as *bn*, Pap. Mag. Harris 8/7.

fell my tail (?) upon me. (8) It (?) gathered together (?), it (?) coming to me with a sting (?) : I sat down and (9) wept. Isis, my mother, sat before me, saying to me, " Do not (10) weep (*bis*), my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis ; lick with thy tongue on thy heart, repeatedly (?) (11) as far as the edges of the wound (?) ; lick the edges of the wound (?) as far as the edges of thy (12) tail (?). What thou wilt lick up, thou swallowest it ; do not spit it out on the ground ; for thy (13) tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaemon, thy tongue (?) is that of Atum."

(14) And you lick it with your tongue, while it is bleeding, immediately ; thereafter, you recite to a little (15) oil and you recite to it seven times, you put it on the sting daily ; you (16) soak a strip of linen, you put it on it.

(17) [The spell] which you say to the oil to put it on the sting daily : (18) ' Isis sat reciting to the oil Abartat and lamenting (?) to the true oil, (19) saying, " Thou being praised, I will praise thee, O oil, I will praise (20) thee, thou being praised by the Agathodaemon ; thou being applauded (?) by me myself, I will praise thee (21) for ever, O herb-oil—otherwise true oil—O sweat of the Agathodaemon, amulet (?) of Geb. It is Isis who (22) makes invocation to the oil. O true oil, O drop of

l. 17. *p/pe*: the word has been extensively corrected ; *p*, originally *ṣ*, and *g* and *e* being written above the line—see the facsimile.

l. 18. *tyt* = *τοετ*, plangere. The songs at funerals both in ancient and modern Egypt are in praise of the deceased, so the word may really mean, or at least imply, ' pronounce eulogy.'

l. 19. *hys-t-k*, and in l. 20 *hys-k*. It seems as if in one case the *t* was preserved and in the other lost. Compare the fact that this *ṣ* of verbs *iii^{ae}* inf., is often preserved in Sah. when lost in Boh.

l. 21. *nhe n sym* = *neg nciw*, i. e. *ῥαφάνων*, Drosch. i. 45 and Peyr. Lex.

fty, cf. 21/16, is the reading = *ḳwre*, not *šty*, *wyḏ*. For the form of *š* in this papyrus see *šty* in 19/7, 8 ; *f* over another sign has the tail very short.

l. 22. *zlh* means to pump, draw water.

23. nt ʔn-ʔw a ʔry n p wtn n twe e-ʔr-k a ʔr p nfr n
t yt-t n twe a hwy

24. t p-t a p-ʔytn a ʔr šn nb e-ʔr-k a t nfr t ʔe-t ʔr wh (?)
e-ʔr-k a ʔr pʔret

25. a p nt ʔnh z e-y a bk-k a t plege n s stn wr tp
ʔNp pe šr

26. z e-ʔr-k a mʔ-s n e-ʔr-k t nfr-s z e-y a bk-k a
plege n mn a-ms mn

27. z e-ʔr-k a mʔ-s n e-ʔr-k t nfr-s sp VII r n
mt-t a ʔny qs a bl ʔn šnbe-t

28. ʔnk p nte zz-f ʔy n t p-t e rt-t-f ʔy a p nwn ʔr
nhe n py msh msh (?) ʔn pr-zm (?)

29. n N z ʔnk sʔ syme t mʔh-ʔo pe pe rn n mte ʔnwg
sp-sn z swʔ-t n bk

30. p nt n r-y swʔ-t n hb p nt n ʔe-t z qs n ntr qs
n rm qs n hʔlet qs n rym

31. qs n ʔw qs n nk nb e mn nk ge z p nt n ʔe-t-k
my ʔw-f a ʔt-k p nt n ʔt-k

32. my ʔw-f a r-k p nt n r-k my ʔw-f a t-t ty n p-hw
z ʔnk p nt ʔn t VII n p-t nt smne-t

33. ʔn t VII n qnʔ-t z ʔnk p šr n p ntr nt ʔnh a
wʔ z n mw n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ʔm-t

l. 24. ʔr wh, past part. perhaps of $\sigma\tau\omega$, cessare, or of $\sigma\tau\omega\zeta$, permanere.

l. 25. bk would seem here to mean 'employ,' 'apply.'

l. 27. a bl; or a ʔry would be a possible reading.

l. 28. ʔy n . . ʔy a: cf. note to l. 5.

ʔr nhe n py msh meaning very uncertain; perhaps 'who has risen, nasce, as this crocodile,' or, if nhe = $\kappa\sigma\tau\zeta$, 'who has expelled this crocodile.' Cf. note to 2/25.

pr-zm. This, though usually written without the pr, must be the $\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$, situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, and well known in Coptic literature. The name zm may be written with the figure of a crocodile.

rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter (23) which cometh down from the sun-boat at dawn, thou wilt make the healing effect(?) of the dew of dawn which heaven hath cast (24) on to the earth upon every tree, thou wilt heal the limb which is paralysed(?), thou wilt make a remedy (25) for him that liveth; for I will employ thee for the sting of the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis, my child, (26) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well? For I will employ thee for (the?) sting of N. the son of N., (27) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well?" Seven times.

Spell spoken to fetch a bone out of a throat.

(28) 'I am he whose head reaches the sky and his feet reach the abyss, who hath raised up(?) this crocodile . . . in Pizeme(?) (29) of Thebes; for I am Sa, Sime, Tamaho, is my correct name, Anouk (*bis*), saying, hawk's-egg (30) is that which is in my mouth, ibis-egg is that which is in my belly; saying, bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, (31) bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides; saying, that which is in thy belly let it come to thy heart; that which is in thy heart, (32) let it come to thy mouth; that which is in thy mouth, let it come to my hand here to-day; for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who standeth (33) in the seven sanctuaries; for I am the son of the god who liveth.' (Say it) to a cup of water seven times: thou causest the woman (*sic*) to drink it,

1. 29. Egg of ibis and hawk, the same collocation in B. M. Pap. XLVI. 241.

1. 31. *e mn nk ge*, 'there being nothing else,' i. e. nothing not included in my words—a curious expression: cf. *emn nge šre*, 19/26.

COL. XXI.

1. p šn-hne n Wsr
2. ʾwe-t-f Wsr p pr-ʿo n t ty-t p nb n t qs-t p nte
zz-f n Tny e rt-t-f n N p nt θ wh n ʾBt
3. e te-f ʾwhe-t pr-šylem p nt hr p nbs n mrwe p nt
hr p tw n p-ʿo-r-ʿnws p nt hr pe pr šc nhe
4. p pr n Ne-tbew šc z-t p nte hr-f m sn n hr n bk
n š-stn a-ph̄te-t nte pe-f st n st n hf(?)
5. e te-f ʾt n ʾt n mnt(?) e te-f gyz n rm nt elθ(?)
n py mzh n ryt nte py bʿ n wh-sh̄ne n te-f gyz
6. ʾwe-t-f yʿhw sʿbʿh-ʿo ʾt-t-ne mystemw yʿwyw ʾwe-t-f
mykhʿel sʿbʿel
7. ʾwe-t-f ʾNp n p tše n n hr-n-ʾe(?)w p nte pe-f pe
py qh p nt fy fks hr t rt-t wʿt-t
8. hp p kke n t mt-t a-ny p wyn n-y a hn ʾm n-y a
hn a-z-y n-y p wh n p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw n
sp IX
9. šc nte p ntr ʾy nte p wyn hp hr ʾr-k-f a h p ky
n p sp nt <bl> hry ʿn e hr-f n p ʿlw a pr-ybt e hr-k h-k
a pr-ʾmnt e-ʾr-k šc a hry hn zz-f

COL. XXI.

1. 1. The first lines of this column have been made the subject of special study in connexion with the Old Coptic texts of Paris (written on the first pages of the Pap. Bibl. Nat., edited by WESSELY), which contain a variant version of them: ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 89; GRIFFITH, A. Z., 1900, 85; 1901, 86.

1. 2. Parallel to this line the O. C. (A. Z., 1883, Pl. 3) gives εοτωτq οτcιρε, перофѣти пинѣ пѣкансе петѣприсѣтин ет+ιωω πεφωτ петζα ζѣα ινωφѣс. пперофѣ. ете пец. εοοτ π πα σαλωμ. The notes to the foregoing in A. Z., 1900, 86 seq., may be consulted by those who wish to study its connexion with the demotic text,

Tny. The Edfu geographical list (Br., Dict. Geogr., 1359) states that the head of Osiris was preserved at Abydos (in the nome of This) and a *sbq*, 'foot(?)', at Thebes.

θ wh, O. C., ειωω : cf. 18/23.

1. 3. ʾwhe-t has the determinative of wood : cf. ʾwhy, Kufi, xi, 21.

pr-šylem, πασαλωμ, perhaps Jerusalem, or Siloam, Probably *n pr-šylem* is to be read.

COL. XXI.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Osiris. (2) 'Hail to him! Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in This, and his feet in Thebes, he who giveth answer (?) in Abydos, (3) whose is (in?) Pashalom, he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranos, who is on my house to eternity, (4) the house of Netbeou for ever, he whose countenance is as the resemblance (?) of the face of a hawk of linen, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a serpent, (5) whose back is the back of a crocodile (?), whose hand is a man's, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, in whose hand is this wand of command, (6) hail to him Iaho, Sabaho, Atonai, Mistemu, Iaiiu; hail to him, Michael, Sabael, (7) hail to him, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who carries a wound (?) on one foot, (8) hide the darkness in the midst, bring in the light for me, come in to me, tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here to-day.'—Nine times, (9) until the god come and the light appear. You must do it in the manner of the remainder as above again; the boy's face being to the East and your own face to the West; you call down into his head.

p nbs n mrwe: cf. MASPERO in P. S. B. A., xiii. 496. Cf. *n pr-wt* in l. 36.

p-o-r-nws, perhaps οὐρανός, in the sense of Olympus.

l. 4. *Ne-lbew*: see note on 2/9.

hf: a 'snake's' head or tail is regularly described as *n hf* in Eg.: cf. Leyd. I. 384, V. II*. 12.

l. 5. *mnt*: some monster or reptile with spiny back, perhaps a crocodile, to judge by the determinative, for which cf. 3/23. It may mean a guardian (ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲧ) dragon, as in I Kham. iv. 7.

nt elθ (?): very obscure, though the writing is clear.

l. 7. *hr-n-w*: cf. ⲭⲟⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ, Z., 235, and see the note to 20/3 and A. Z., 1900, 88 (Hdt. iv. 191).

t rt-t w-t-t, ⲟⲩⲉ-ⲣⲏⲧⲉ is thus perhaps one foot as opposed to dual ⲡⲁⲧ-.

l. 9. *nt n δl* and *nt hry* have both been written.

10. n p mhrr n p z n ʔrp a t (*sic*) s-ḥm-t mr
ḥwt e-ʔr-k ʔny wʕ mhrr n ḥr (?) ~~ⲛ~~ ⲥ nte py mhrr ḥm
pe nte mn-te-f tp e-f θ n III n ʔkym

11. ḥr t ḥ-t n zz-f ḥr gm-k pe-f ḥr e-f šm a bl nge
p nt θ tp II ʕn e-ʔr-k ʔny-t-f n t pr n p rʕ e-ʔr-k mr-k
n wʕ ḥbs(?) n p ḥrw n ʔ-t-k

12. nte-k mr-k a pe-k ḥr n wʕt pke-t n šr-bne-t e p
mhrr ḥr t ḥ-t n t-t-k nte-k mt-t ar-f a ḥr p rʕ e-f a pr
n sp VII e-ʔr-k wḥ e-ʔr-k θ-f n ḥsy

13. ḥn hyn-w ʔrt n ʔḥ-t km-et e-ʔr-k ḥn a zz-f n wʕ
. . . n ḥ n zyt e-ʔr-k ḥ-f šʕ rhwe ḥn p ʔrte a-ʔre rhwe
ḥp e-ʔr-k

14. ʔnt-f a ḥry e-ʔr-k prḥ ḥrr-f n šʕ nte-k t wʕt mnfre(?)
n ḥbs(?) ḥrr-f ḥr p šʕ šʕ ḥw IV e-ʔr-k ʔr ʕnte ʔh st-t
mbḥ-f a-ʔre p ḥrw IV sny nte-f šwy

15. e-ʔr-k ʔnt-f ne(?)-rt-t-k e wn wʕ ḥbs(?) prḥ ḥrr-f
e-ʔr-k prz-f n te-f mt-t n wʕ tk n ḥmt e-ʔr-k fy te-f pše-t
n wnm erme ne-k yb-w n t-t-k rt-t-k n wnm

16. e-ʔr-k zffz-w ḥr wʕt blz n ššw nmy n ḥ n elle e-ʔr-k
nt-w ḥr IX-t n blbyle-t n zpḥ erme te-k-t mt-t nge te-k-t
fty n wš n nḥe

17. n t s-t-eyw-t nte-k ʔr-f n wʕt bnn-t nte-k ty-f a
p ʔrp nte-k mt-t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t
nte-k fy te-f ke pše-t n . . . ḥnʕ ne-k yb-w n t-t-k

18. rt-t-k n . . . ʕn nte-k mr-w n wʕt tys n š-stn ḥr

1. 10. *a t s-ḥm-t mr*: supply *ʔre* after *t*; cf. 25/31, V. 3/14, 13/10.

'Fish-faced (?)': possibly the weevil as having the oxyrhynchus' snout. In Horap. the weevil (?) is *μονόκερως καὶ ἰδιό- (ἰβιό-?) μορφος*.

tp: cf. 3/22; *ʔkym* probably = Eg. *lkm*, 'shield.'

1. 11. *p nt θ tp II* = 'stag-beetle (?)'. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1, 65 *καυθαρον των ταυρομορφον*, and see Horap. I. 10 for Scarabaeidae, Lucanidae (*δίκε- ρως καὶ ταυροειδής*) and Rhynchophora.

1. 12. *mr* sometimes means 'wrap,' but see 11/33.

ḥ-t must be a mistake for *ḥ-t*, probably through confusion of the sounds *ḥ* and *ḥ*.

θ-f, not from *ʔ1: ʕ1*, which would give *θy-t-f*, but a false writing for *t še-f* above 3/31 = **ʔoq* from *ʔo: ʕo*.

(10) [The method] of the scarab of the cup of wine, to make a woman love a man. You take a fish-faced (?) scarab, this scarab being small and having no horn, it wearing three plates (11) on the front of its head; you find its face thin (?) outwards—or again that which bears two horns—. You take it at the rising of the sun; you bind (?) yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back, (12) and bind (?) yourself on (?) your face with a strip of palm-fibre, the scarab being on the front (?) of your hand: and you address it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you drown it (13) in some milk of a black cow; you approach (?) its head with a hoop (?) of olive wood; you leave it till evening in the milk. When evening comes, you (14) take it out, you spread its under part with sand, and put a circular strip of cloth under it upon the sand, unto four days; you do frankincense-burning before it. When the four days have passed, and it is dry, (15) you take it before you (lit. your feet), there being a cloth spread under it. You divide it down its middle with a bronze knife; you take (?) its right half, and your nails of your right hand and foot; (16) you cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood, you pound them with nine apple-pips together with your urine or your sweat free from oil (17) of the bath; you make it into a ball and put it in the wine, and speak over it seven times, and you make the woman drink it; and you take its other half, the left one, together with your nails of your left hand (18) and foot also, and bind them in a strip of fine linen, with myrrh and saffron, and bind them to your

l. 15. *ne-r-t-t-k*: a strange spelling.

 *fy*: so also in l. 17.

l. 16. *fly*, &c. *ρύπος βαλανείου* was actually prescribed as a drug, Diosc., i. 34.

hl grwgws nte-k mr-w a pe-k znḥ n gbyr nte-k str erme
t s-ḥm't e-w mr ar-k

19. e-f ḥp e-r-k wh a r-f 'n n wš n še-f n ḥsy ḥr r-k-f
'n n p mḥ III n p wrš e-r-k r n py smte nt ḥry n-f 'n
e-r-k šs pe-f šs ar-f a ḥr p r' n twe e-r-k zffz

20. e-r-k prz-f e-r-k r-f a ḥ p nt ḥry 'n n mt-t nb
nt e-r-k šs-f ar-f mbḥ p r' n twe nte-k pe
p mḥrr n ḥstb n m't a-n-y-t-k a bl n p r n pe rpe e-r-k

21. θy(?) zmyz ḥmt a šy-t-k nta rh wm p sym e-f hm
p sḥ't e-f gm' a n sšt(?) w 'y-w n na Kmy e-y hb n'm-k
a mn a-ms mn

22. a myḥ-t-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s sp-sn a ty-s mḥt sp-sn
a ty-s 'te-t z nte-s p-e-r r ty-s m't a ḥr p r' n twe
e-s z n p r'

23. z bn pr n p ḥ z bn wbn n p mw z bn 'y n na
Kmy n t sh-t z bn wlt' n šn-w 'y-w n na Kmy z bn wtwt

24. e-y hb n'm-k a mn a-ms mn a šk'-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s
sp-sn a ty-s mpt (*sic*) sp-sn a ty-s 'te-t nte-s wh-s a p
myt m-s mn a-ms mn n nw nb(?)

25. nt e-r-k šs-f ar-f e-f ḥn p r'te a-wy 'o
sp-sn a-wy pe 'o sp-sn a-wy nwn-f(?) a-wy mr-f p mḥrr
sp-sn nte-k t yr't n p r' p s'k'pyn

26. n Wsr t šḥn-t-t(?) n šwy e-r-k n'cy n py ky nta
Wsr pe-k yt še n'm-f e-tbe mn a-ms mn š' nte-w t t
st-t m-s ḥt-s t ḥot

27. m-s ny-s ef-w š' nte-s {ne} še mn a-ms mn a m'

1. 23. Read (n) n šn-w.

1. 24. mpt (*sic*) for mḥt.

The last group is  n nw nb: cf. l. 43; but in 27/10 we have *stm* written similarly.

1. 25. s'k'pyn, see note to 13/18.

1. 26. šḥn-t-t looks like a compound with šḥ, 'the toes' collectively, or 'a toe.' šḥ-n-t-t may therefore mean the toes, or the fingers (collectively) of Shu, referring perhaps to his hands which support the sky. The eyes of Ra and Atum were the most important instruments of their rule.

py ky, i. e. the condition of one drowned, Eriqs, cf. 6/12.

left arm, and lie with the woman with them bound upon you. (19) If you wish to do it again without its being drowned, then you do it again on the third of the lunar month. You do it in this manner that is above for it again. You pronounce its invocation to it before the Sun in the morning, you cook (it), (20) you divide it, you do it according to that which is above again in everything. [The invocation] which you pronounce to it before the Sun in the morning: 'Thou art this scarab of real lapis-lazuli; I have taken thee out of the door of my temple; thou carriest (?) (21) of bronze to thy nose (?), that can eat (?) the herbage that is trampled (?), the field-plants (?) that are injured for the great images of the men of Egypt. I dispatch thee to N. born of N. (22) to strike her from her heart to her belly (*bis*), to her entrails (*bis*), to her womb; for she it is who hath wept (?) before the Sun in the morning, she saying to the Sun, "Come not forth," to the Moon, "Rise not," to the water, "Come not to the men of Egypt," to the fields, "Grow not green," and to the great trees of the men of Egypt, "Flourish not." (24) I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to injure her from her heart unto her belly (*bis*), unto her entrails (*bis*), unto her womb, and she shall put herself on the road (?) after N. born of N. at every time (?).'

(25) [The spell] that you pronounce to it, while it is in the milk. 'Woe (?), great (*bis*), woe (?), my (?) great, woe (?) his (?) Nun, woe (?) his (?) love. O scarab (*bis*), thou art the eye of Phre, the heart (?) (26) of Osiris, the open-hand (?) of Shu, thou approachest in this condition in which Osiris thy father went, on account of N. born of N. until fire is put to her heart and the flame (27) to

l. 27. *ne*. This group occurs in a similar phrase in l. 41 and in l. 32, if the reading in the latter instance be correct. If it stands, then *ne* is difficult to explain; it looks like a preposition 'to,' but if l. 32

nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e-r-k š-f ar-f e-r-k kk n'm-f
hy pe hrt nfr p syf n wm-w(?) nhe(?)

28. p-e-r syt nt syt 'wt n ntr-w tre-w py nta p nt
n hm erme p nt 'y gm-t-f 'wt t p't(?) 'o-t II-t hr pr-ybt
n Kmy

29. e-f pr n nw mhr km hr w't bw n qme zwf te-y
'r-rh n pe-k rn te-y 'r-rh n te-k-t hm-t(?) t yp-t n syw
II(?) rn-k

30. te-y hwy hyt(?) ar-k n p-hw nph'lm b'll' b'lkhe
y-o-phphe z zf nb hmm nb sht nb nt e-r-k n'm-w

31. n p-hw e-r-k-sw hn p ht p wef p mws p nyš t
'te-t p mht 'o p mht hm n spyr-w n ef-w n qs-w n 'e nb

32. n p h'r n mn a.ms mn š' nte-s še(?) ne(?) mn
a.ms mn a m' nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e-r-k š- ar-f
hn p 'rp p mhr sp-sn nte-k pe p mhr

33. n hstb n m't nte-k t yr-t n p r' nte-k p byl n
'Tm t šhn-t-t(?) n šwy p s'l'pyn n Wsr nte-k py k km
hyt 'r pyr n p nwn

34. e p nfr n 'S-t erme-k nte-k r'ks r'p'r'ks p snf n
py 'š hwt a'n-w-f n p t n hr a Kmy hr p bl(?) a p 'rp(?)

be left out of the question, the fact that both in 21/27 and 21/41 š is written over *ne*, as if by an afterthought, suggests that *ne*, which is identical in spelling with *na* the auxiliary of the future, must be the verb *na*, 'go' (attaching itself to *noy* : *noy*, 'futurus esse'), as opposed to *nnoy*, 'come' (which is qualitative of *er*; see KABIS, A. Z., 75. 107). *na* is practically the qualitative of *we* (STERN, § 348). The correction of *ne* to š in both passages would therefore be particularly remarkable. Although, according to STEINDORFF, § 251, the qualitative is admissible in the conjunctive, it seems difficult after *uante*- : hence no doubt the correction; but if it be possible, the meaning would be 'until she be going,' while š expresses 'until she go.' It would seem that the scribe was puzzled by the *ne*, hence the mistakes and corrections. The following table of forms of the verbs 'come' and 'go' may be useful:—

	Inf.	Inf.	Qual.	Sim-f.
'go'	Copt. <i>we</i> : <i>we</i>	<i>noy</i> : <i>noy</i> , <i>na-</i>	<i>na</i>	(τ)εππο(ο)?
	Dem. š	<i>n'</i> <i>ne-</i>	<i>ne</i> (?)	<i>n'-f</i>
'come'	Copt. <i>er</i> : <i>i</i>	—	<i>n-noy</i>	(τ)ατο
	Dem. 'y	—	<i>n-w</i>	<i>'w-f</i>

her flesh, until she shall follow (?) N. born of N., unto every place in which he is.' [The spell] which you utter to it when you cook it: 'O my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), (28) thou who didst cast semen and who dost cast semen among all the gods, whom he that is little (and ?) he that is great found among the two great enneads in the East of Egypt, (29) who cometh forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus-reed; I know thy name, I know thy "the work of two stars" is thy name, (30) I cast forth fury upon thee to-day: Nephalam, Balla, Balkha (?), Iophphe; for every burning, every heat, every fire that thou makest (31) to-day, thou shalt make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver (?), the spleen, the womb, the great viscera, the little viscera, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, (32) in the skin of N. born of N. until she follow (?) N. born of N. to every place in which he is.'

[The spell] that you pronounce to it in the wine: 'O scarab (*bis*), thou art the scarab (33) of real lapis-lazuli, thou art the eye of Phre, thou art the eye of Atum, the open-hand (?) of Shu, the heart (?) of Osiris, thou art that black bull, the first, that came forth from Nun, (34) the beauty of Isis being with thee; thou art Raks, Raparaks, the blood of this wild boar (?) which they brought from the land of Syria unto Egypt

l. 28. *p't o-t*. It is very rarely that the Ennead is written without the addition of the word 'gods.' The double Ennead of eighteen gods is frequently mentioned from the earliest times onwards.

l. 29. *no*. Can this gloss represent a qualitative of *npe* as *o* of *eipe*? The usual qual. is *npe*.

n nw mhr for *n w' mhr*: cf. 14/28, 20/8.

hm-t (?), 'trade,' 'art' (?).

l. 30. *hyt*. In spite of its peculiar form this word can scarcely be other than *hyt*, both on account of its meaning and of its association with *hwy*. We may translate 'fury of Phalam,' &c.

l. 31. *mws*, O. C. *μαωτς*, probably from Eg. fem. *mls-t*, 'liver' or 'kidneys.' *p mht hm* named *p ky mht* in Pap. Rhind. iv. 6.

35. e-y hb-k n e-r-k n^c n pe hb n e-r-k a y-f hr-k
hb-t a p b nte-w thm-f a t hny-t nte-w t šwy-s a p š^c
n p snyt nte-w hh-f n wš

36. n tw p zwf n(?) pr-wt nte-w t p hmt m-s-f e Hr
wz n S-t n hylhr-w y-w n na Kmy nte-w tm h^c hwt
s-hm-t n te-w mt-t e-y hb

37. n-m-k yn a ny e-y hb n-m-k a hry a p ht n mn a-ms
mn nte-k r st-t n he-s sht hn ny-s mht my p lyb m-s ht-s

38. p trwš m-s ny-s ef-w my r-s m qte n p hps m-s
t ryr-t my r-s

39. n [p?] mš^c n p hy m-s t hyb-t e-s qte m-s mn a-ms
mn a m^c nb nt e-f n-m-w e-s mr n-m-f e-s lby m-s-f e
b-r-rh-s m^c n p t

40. e-s n-m-f θy ty-s qt n grh my n-s p hm p rwš n
mre-t mpr t wm-s mpr t swr-s mpr t str-s mpr t hms-s hr

41. t hyb-t n ny-s y-w š^c nte-s (ne) še n-f a m^c nb nt e-f
n-m-w e ht-s bh e yr-t-s hl e ny-s nw pn^c e-b-r-rh-s m^c

42. n p t e-s n-m-f š^c nte-s nw ar-f e yr-t-s m-s yr-t-f
b-s m-s b-f t-t-s m-s t-t-f e-s t n-f ty . . . nb my hr t
h-t n rt-t-s

43. m-s ne-f tbs-w n p [h]yr n nw nb e mn nw šr ys
sp-sn tkr sp-sn

COL. XXII.

1. tey-s n(?) p rn n wr-ty nt e-w š-w a yh nb e mn
p nte

1. 35. y-f here and in V. 12/5-8 must represent the infinitive form of
r, 'do,' with suffix $\Delta\Delta\eta : \Delta\eta\eta$.

hr-k: cf. V. 33/3.

thm seems to be the actual reading in the original, but if so it must
be an error for hm.

hny-t: cf. $\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\omega\eta\epsilon$, CRUM, Pap. Fay. No. 34.

1. 37. eme: ms, 'be like,' takes n in Coptic, but here is used with a.

1. 38. The reading is uncertain: perhaps my r-s p qte, or more likely
the plural n qte. The Shoulder and Hippopotamus are the two well-
known constellations: cf. BRUGSCH, Thes., i. 126-7; MASPERO, Les
Origines, p. 94.

1. 39. The first words may be n n mš^c, hardly n p mš^c.

to the wine, (35) I send thee; wilt thou go on my errand? Wilt thou do it? Thou sayest, "Send me to the thirsty, that his thirst may be quenched, and to the canal that it may be dried up, and to the sand of the *snyt* that it may be scattered without (36) wind, and to the papyrus of Buto that the blade may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for (?) Isis, catastrophes grow great for the Egyptians, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst." I (37) send thee; do like unto these; I send thee down to the heart of N. born of N. and do thou make fire in her body, flame in her entrails, put the madness to her heart, (38) the fever (?) to her flesh; let her make the pursuit of the "Shoulder"-constellation after the "Hippopotamus"-constellation; let her make (39) the movements of the sunshine after the shadow, she following after N. born of N. to every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing the place of the earth in which (40) she is. Take away her sleep by night; give her lamentation and anxiety by day; let her not eat, let her not drink, let her not sleep, let her not sit under (41) the shade of her house until she follow (?) him to every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glance turned (?), she not knowing the place (42) of the earth in which she is, until she see him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand; she giving to him every Let fly (?) the tip of her feet (43) after his heels in the street at all times without fail at any time. Quick (*bis*), hasten (*bis*).

COL. XXII.

(1) Behold! (spell?) of the name of the Great-of-Five which they pronounce to every spirit. There is none

COL. XXII.

l. 1. No more than the heading has been written. It can hardly refer to the spell in 2/25.

2. n-nht-f ar-w(?) hr n z'm-w e-r-k 'š ny sh-w a hne nb
3. b-re n ntr-w še n-w e bnp-k šn-t-w a mt-t nb nte-w
z n-k
4. p wh hr t p-t p t t ty-t šn e-f ww y p mw
5. t sh-t sh e-f n t-t-f n rm a 'š-f

COL. XXIII.

1. w^c r a t hy z-mt-t
2. hr 'ny-k w^c tp n 'o nte-k smn-t-f 'wt rt-k wbe p
r^c n twe e-f a pr
3. wbe-f 'n n rhwe e-f 'n-n^c a p htp nte-k ths te-k-t
rt-t n wnm n st
4. n hr te-k-t rt-t n n s'n n 'ršyn(?) w n te-k pt
'n nte-k smn te-k-t wnm
5. hr t h-t te-k-t hr ph e p tp n te-w mte-t
nte-k ths t-t-k n te-k-t t-t II-t n snf n
6. 'o hn^c t fnz II-t n r-k nte-k 'š ny sh-w a hr p r^c
n twe rhwe n hw IV hr
7. str-f e-r-k wh a t 'r-f * e-r-k 'r-f n hw VII
e-r-k 'r pe-f θ-we-t e-r-k mr w^c-t 'y n šr-
8. bne-t a t-t-k w^c-t pk n šr-bne hwt a hn-t-k hn^c zz-k
nfr nfr pw py(?) (p?) 'š nt e-r-k 'š-f a hr p r^c
9. επικαλουμαι σε τον εν τω κενεω πνευματι δεινον αορατον
10. παντοκρατορα θεον θεων φθοροποιον και ερημοποιον ο
μισων

1. 2. Reading *n-nht-f e-r-w* (?).
1. 3. Or final 'that the gods depart not.'
1. 5. Probably this spell was never copied out, the remainder of the page having been left blank.

COL. XXIII.

1. 1. . . . (?). The signs are   , suggesting catalepsy or an evil dream, but the reading is quite uncertain. The result is sleep (l. 7), and, if further prolonged, death.

1. 5. *hr bl* or *hr ph* (?).

t-t-k n te-k-t t-t II-t: probably meaning 'your two hands.' Cf. V. 10/4, 5, of the feet.

that is (2) stronger than it in the books. If you pronounce these charms to any vessel, (3) then the gods depart not before you have questioned them concerning every word and they have told you (4) the answer about heaven, earth, and the underworld, a distant inquiry (?), water, (5) (and) the fields. A charm which is in the power(?) of a man to pronounce.

COL. XXIII.

(1) A spell to inflict (?) catalepsy (?) Formula. (2) You take an ass's head, and you place it between your feet opposite the sun in the morning when it is about to rise, (3) opposite it again in the evening when it goes to the setting, and you anoint your right foot with *set*-stone (4) of Syria, and your left foot with clay, the soles(?) of your foot also: and place your right hand (5) in front and your left hand behind, the head being between them. You anoint your hand, of your two hands, with ass's blood, (6) and the two *fnz* of your mouth, and utter these charms towards the sun in the morning and evening of four days, then (7) he sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you do it for seven days, you do its magic, you bind a thread of palm-fibre (8) to your hand, a mat(?) of wild palm-fibre to your phallus and your head; very excellent. This is the invocation which you utter before the sun: (9) 'I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, (10) almighty, god of gods, dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou

1. 6. *fnz*: possibly the corners of the mouth.

1. 7. *θ-wei-t* seems to mean literally 'taking pledge,' *χι-εοτω: σι-αοτω*, so as to get power over a man or god; hence 'magic.' See I Kham. iv. 32.

1. 9. See a very similar invocation in *διακοπαί*, Leyd. Gr. Pap. V. 11/17, 15/21.

11. οικίαν ευσταθουσάν ὡς ἐξεβρασθῆς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτου καὶ ἐξῶ

12. χωρὰς ἐπενομασθῆς ὁ πάντα ρησῶν καὶ μὴ νικῶμενος

13. ἐπικαλῶμαι σε τυφῶν σηθ τας σας μαντείας ἐπιτελῶ

14. ὅτι ἐπικαλῶμαι σε τὸ σὸν αὐθεντικὸν σου ὄνομα ἐν οἷς οὐ δυνῇ

15. παρακοῦσαι ἡ ἐρβῆθ ἡ πακερβῆθ ἡ βολχῶσηθ ἡ παταθναξ

16. ἡ σωφω ἡ ὠνεβουτοσσυαλῆθ ἀκτιῶφι ἐρεσχιγαλ νεβοπο-
σοαλῆθ

17. ἀβεραμενθῶν λερθεξαναξ ἐθρελνωθ νεμαρεβα αεμῖνα

18. ὅλον ἦκε μοι καὶ βαδισὸν καὶ καταβαλε τὸν Δ ἡ τὴν
Δ ρίγει καὶ πν

19. ρετῶ αὐτὸς ἡδίκησεν με καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦφυωνος ἐξεχυσεν
παρ εαυ

20. τῶ ἡ αὐτῇ δια τοῦτο ταῦτα ποίω κοῖνα

21. a šn wbe ἥ e·r-k ῥ-f n šn·hn w·e·t nge ἡm·ḥl
e-f ἡp e nte-k nt ne šn e·r-k mḥ yr·t-k

22. n wyt mstme e·r-k ἥ ἡr zz w· m· e-f ὅse ἡr zz
pe-k pr e·r-k sze wbe ἥ e-f mḥ

23. wz·t n e·r-k w·b n hw III e·r-k š py š
wbe ἥ n sp VII nge sp IX š· nte-f wnḥ ar-k

24. nte-f sze wbe-k ḥ·y s·ks ὙMn s(t)-ks ἥbr·
s(t)-ks ze nte-k ἥ

25. p wr n n syw·w p·e·r ms·t·w stm m·s n·e·z·y mš·
m·s na r·y wnḥ-k a·r·y t·h·nw

26. t·he·nwn· t·hnw·th· pfe pe rn n mtr IX n z·t·s
š· nte-s wnḥ-s ar-k

l. 13. σηθ: the name of the brother of Osiris is usually written in the Greek papyri with the line over it. Cf. B. M. Pap. CXXI. 965, &c.

l. 15. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 893 *ονομασιν σου α ου δυνασαι παρακουσαι*.

l. 18. Frost and fire—probably ague and fever, as REVILLOUT suggests. Cf. *ῥιγοπύρετος* GALEN; *ριγοπυρετιον* Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 218.

l. 19. Read *τυφῶνος* (?).

l. 20. *κοῖνα*: cf. WESSELY, N. gr. Zauberpap., numerous references in index.

l. 22. *sze wbe* is not ἀποκρίνεσθαι here.

that hatest (11) a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of (12) the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." (13) I invoke thee, Typhon Set, I perform thy ceremonies of divination, (14) for I invoke thee by thy powerful name in (words?) which thou canst not (15) refuse to hear: Io erbeth, Iopakerbeth, Iobolk-hoseth, Iopatathnax, (16) Iosoro, Ioneboutsoualeth, Aktiophi, Ereskhigal, Neboposoaleth, (17) Aberamen-thoou, Lerthexanax, Ethreluoth, Nemareba, Aemina, (18) entirely(?) come to me and approach and strike down Him or Her with frost and (19) fire; he has wronged me, and has poured out the blood of Typhon(?) beside(?) him (20) or her: therefore I do these things.' Common form.

(21) To divine, opposite the moon. You do it by vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a child. If it is you who will inquire, you fill your eye (22) with green eye-paint (and) stibium, you stand on a high place, on the top of your house, you address the moon when it fills (23) the *uzat* on the 15th day, you being pure for three days; you pronounce this invocation to the moon seven or nine times until he appear to you (24) and speak to you: 'Ho! Sax, Amun, Sax, Abrasax; for thou art the moon, (25) the chief of the stars, he that did form them, listen to the things that I have(?) said, follow the (words) of my mouth, reveal thyself to me, Than, (26) Thana, Thanatha, otherwise Thei, this is my correct name.' Nine (times) of saying it until she (*sic*) reveal herself to thee.

1. 24. The acrophonic use of the group   *st* in *sz* is remarkable.

1. 26.   is read first *sa* and then *thi*.

After IX probably *sp* should be supplied.

ne-s wnh-s: it seems as if the feminine referred to the Greek moon *σελήνη*, the Egyptian being masculine.

27. ke ky n'm-f 'n a 'š-f wbe 'h e'r-k smt yr-t-k n
py smt e'r-k a hry a hr 'h e-f mh wz:t hr nw-k a p
sšt n p ntr hn t wz:t

28. e-f sze wbe-k 'nk h'h q' m(?) -r m'-'mt mte
pe pe rn z 'nk . . . by s-'o 'g'n'gwp

29. mlh 'h(?) 'h(?) hy mlh rn-yt n m'-'t sp-sn . . . z:t
ank hl(?) -by stt hn(?) m nfr rn-yt sr 'o šnbt pe rn n mte

30. z m sp IX e'r-k 'h wbe 'h e yr-t-k mh n py kys
wy(t) mstme nt hr 'by n hr nte-k t w' shy n w' ppy

31. 'o ar-f nte-k ty-f a w' nk n yl nte-k h'-'f n-k n w'
m' e-f hep š' p nw nt e'r-k a 'h n-f hr 'r-k-f 'n a h
p nt hry

COL. XXIV.

1 a. a k-t

2 a. nyt n bne hwt

3 a. e-f š'kh n 'rte

4 a. *e(?)^hλ*

5 a. nte-k 'r-w n w' m bnn t a p 'rp(?)

1. phre-t e'r-k wh a *p^hω^hε* e-f znt

2. *σκαμω^hνα p^hπ* (δραχμή) I

3. *οπι^hοτ* (δραχμή) I nt hr 'rte

4. nte-k 'r-f n bnn nte-k ty-f a w' *^hρη^hο^hε*

5. e-f zf(?) nte-f *ο^hα^hε^hγ* hr 'r-f *^hε^hα^hρ*

6. k-t e'r-k wh a t str rm n hw II

7. *^hα^hα^hπα^hρα^hκο^hρο^hτ p^hζα* (οὐγκία) I

8. *^hε^hλα^hρ^hε^hτι^hρο^hτ* (οὐγκία) I

1. 29. The group before *z:t* is difficult to read.

1. 31. 'h *n-f*, 'wait for, be ready for, it.'

COL. XXIV.

1. 1 a. The five short lines at the top corner have been taken first and numbered 1 a, &c.

1. 1. *ef znt* seems to belong to *p^hω^hε*, but may perhaps be loosely attached, like *nfr* in l. 17 to *phre-t*, without reference to its gender.

1. 2. *Convolvulus scammonia*, Diosc. iv. 168, found chiefly in Syria

(27) Another form of it again, to be pronounced to the moon. You paint your eye with this paint, you (going ?) up before the moon when it fills the *uzat*, then you see the figure of the god in the *uzat* (28) speaking unto you. 'I am Hah, Qo, Amro, Ma-amt, Mete is my name; for I am . . . bai, So, Akanakoup, (29) Melkh, Akh, Akh, Hy, Melkh is my true (*bis*) . . . eternity, I am Khelbai, Setet, Khen (?) -em-nefer is my name, Sro, Oshenbet, is my correct name.' (30) Say it nine times. You stand opposite the moon, your eye being filled with this ointment :—green eye-paint (and) stibium, grind with Syrian honey and put the gall of a chick (31) full grown to it, and put it on a thing of glass, and lay it (by) for yourself in a hidden place till the time when you are ready for it; then you do it again as above.

COL. XXIV.

(1 *a*) For catalepsy (?)—another : (2 *a*) flour of wild dates (3 *a*) which has been beaten up (?) with milk, (4 *a*) . . . (5 *a*) you make them up together into a ball, (and) put in the wine.

(1) A medicament, when you wish to drug (?) a man—tested :—(2) scammony root, 1 drachm, (3) opium, 1 drachm; pound with milk, (4) you make it into a ball and put it into some food (?), (5) which is cooked (?), and let him eat it; then he is upset.

(6) Another, when you wish to make a man sleep for two days :—(7) mandragora root, 1 ounce, (8) liquorice (?),

and Asia Minor; a strong cathartic, very griping. The root is used, and from it is obtained a gum resin (Brit. Pharmacop.). *πρι* is probably a mistake for *πριζ* *ρίζα*, *σκαμβωνίας* *ρίζα* occurring amongst the synonyms in Diosc., l.c.

1. 7. Mandragora, Diosc. iv. 76.

1. 8. *μελακρετικόν* might be *μήλα κρητικά* (?) (*κυνδώνια*), meaning quinces.

9. ***οὐγκία*** (οὐγκία) I
 10. ***ρεσο*** (οὐγκία) I
 11. e·r-k nt-w a ḥ w^c lq n 'rp e·r-k wh 'r-f n mt-t
 rm-rh
 12. e·r-k t ḥt(?) IV·t a p w^c sp-sn n'm-w erme(?) w^c
 with n 'rp nte-k
 13. <nte-k> thb-w n θ n twe š^c rhwe nte-k stf-w
 14. nte-k t swr-w-s nfr sp-sn k·t III·t ***ρεσο***
 15. ***σπο*** sttr-t(?) I qt I t n^c hr ***ωτι***
 16. nte-k 'r-f n ***σσι*** nte-k t wm-s p rm nt e·r-k
 wh-f
 17. phr·t a t 're rm 'n-q<te>tk nfr sp-sn
 18. pr·w ***σπο*** sttr-t(?) I $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t I nn·t n m'nt'r'gwrw
 IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
 19. gyss-^co-s IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t nt n w^c sp nte-k t
 20. with n 'rp XV ar-f nte-k ty-f a w^c·t glyt·t n yl
 21. nte-k hrh ar-f e·r-k wh a ty-f e·r-k t w^c ḥm a
 w^c z n 'rp
 22. e·r-k ty-f n p rm p gyss-^co-s hr rt-f ḥn n km·w
 23. te-f gbe·t m qty gbe·t n šk'm e-s prz n III ḥlp
 24. m qty gbe·t n elle hr 'r-s šp I n ḥy te-f hrre
 25. m qty ḥt ke-z nb k·t shy n ***σλε*** n R^cqt
 26. nte-k(?)t a nk nb n wm k·t w^c·t ***σλελε** ncer* II
 27. phre a shy n fy pr·w zph n pr·mnt sym(?)
 n ***λο***
 28. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p wm(?)

But more probably it is the *μελίκρητον*, 'honey and water,' of Hipp., Aph. v. 41 &c.; cf. also *γλυκὴ κρητικόν*, GALEN, de Antid. i. 12, &c., 'liquorice.'

l. 9. Hyoscyamus, henbane, Diosc. iii. 69, used as hypnotic, &c., Brit. Pharm.

l. 10. *κισσος*, Diosc. ii. 210.

l. 11. *a ḥ*: a curious usage.

mt·t rm-rh: cf. I Kham. iv. 37.

l. 12. The meaning may be that you take each of the four ingredients separately and soak it in wine. Perhaps the four *uteh* of wine make the *lok*.

1 ounce, (9) hyoscyamus, 1 ounce, (10) ivy, 1 ounce; (11) you pound them like (*sic*) a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly (?) (12) you take four portions to each one of them with an *uteh* of wine, (13) you moisten them from morning to evening; you clarify them, (14) you make them drink it; very good.

Another, the fourth (?) :—pips (?) [of?] (15) apple, 1 stater (?), 1 *kite*, pound with flour. (16) You make it into a cake (?); you make the man eat it, whom you wish.

(17) A medicament for making a man sleep; very good :—(18) pips (?) of apple, 1 stater (?), 1 drachma, mandragora root, 4 drachmas, (19) ivy, 4 drachmas; pound together; you put fifteen (20) *uteh* of wine to it; you put it into a glass *glyt*; (21) you keep it. If you wish to give it, you put a little into a cup of wine, (22) you give it to the man.

Ivy: it grows in gardens; (23) its leaf is like the leaf of *shekam*, being divided into three lobes (24) like a vine-leaf; it (the leaf) is one palm in measurement; its blossom (25) is like silver—another says gold.

Another: gall of an Alexandrian weasel, (26) you add it to any food.

Another: a two-tailed lizard.

(27) A medicament for catalepsy (?) : gall of cerastes, pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*, (28) pound them together; make into a pill, put (it) into the food (?).

w^c sp-sn = ora ora.

l. 14. *t swr-w-s*, 'let them absorb it,' or 'let the patient (?) drink it.'

l. 18. $\frac{1}{2}$ *gt-t*. This group of the *kite*, written with the sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ either over it, as twice in this line, or preceding it, as in l. 19 and V. 7/5, 9/3, doubtless represents the Coptic $\sigma\iota\epsilon\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$: $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$, which is also a fem. word, meaning half a didrachma, or drachma.

l. 26. *nle-k* seems superfluous, see note on plate.

ll. 27-28. A parallel passage, V. 3/1-3.

l. 27. * $\kappa\lambda\omicron$ *: LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. x. (Bull. St. Pet. xiii. 12) has shown that $\kappa\lambda\omicron$ was the name of a vegetable arrow poison.

29. k·t e·r-k t snf n **σεωωσι(?)λ** hr snf n rm e-f
mw·t
30. a p 'rp nte·k t swr-f p rm hr **ατεεγ**
31. k·t e·r-k t snf n 'mwlz a **ιτεεγ** hr 'r-f **σωναι**
32. k·t e·r-k t snf n **σενσλω** py smt 'n pe
33. k·t e·r-k 'r w' **hes** n hsy hn w' 'rp nte·k t
swr-f p rm
34. hr 'r-f te-f yp·t w' **εαιαι** n py smt 'n hr 'r-f
35. te-f yp·t 'n pe-f **cege** 'n e·r-k ty-s a p 'rp
36. hr 'r-f te-f yp·t m šs e·r-k t **cegi** n
37. g'le·t n R'qt a nk nb n wm hr 'r-f te-f yp·t e·r-k
t w'·t
38. **γαγλαελε** n st II a p nhe nte·k st(?)·t-s erme-f
nte·k ths
39. p rm n'm-f hr 'r-f te-f yp·t

COL. XXV.

1. n mt·tw n p hbs a šn n p 'lw
2. z-mt·t te·te yg t'k thethe
3. s'ty s'n-t'skl kr-'o-m'k't
4. p'tksur'y k'lew-p'nkt 'c·tsyewy
5. m'kt-syt'k't ht-y ht r y-'o-y
6. h'w(?) y my z-w n-y wh <a> n mt·t nb nt e-y šn
hrr-w ty n p-hw
7. z 'nk Hr p hrt hr 'b tt z ank 'S·t t rh·t
8. n n z n r-y hp z sp VII hr 'ny-k w'·t mšprt·t(?)
nmy
9. nte·k t w' s'l n hbs(?) e-f w'b ar-s n 'ny a bl hn
h·t-ntr nte·k
10. smn·t-s hr w'·t tbe·t nmy n 'ny n p myhl e-s w'b
e bnp

l. 30. *t swr-f (sic) p rm*: so also l. 33.

l. 35. *ty-s* for *ty-f*.

l. 38. *st-s*: can *ps-t-s* be intended? Cf. 27/14.

(29) Another: you put camel's blood with the blood of a dead man (30) into the wine; you make the man drink it; then he dies.

(31) Another: you put a night-jar's blood into his eye; then he is blinded.

(32) Another: you put a bat's blood; this is the manner of it again.

(33) Another: you drown a hawk in a jar of wine; you make the man drink it; (34) then it does its work. A shrew-mouse (?) in the same way; it does (35) its work also. Its gall also, you add it to the wine, (36) then it does its work very much. You put the gall (37) of an Alexandrian weasel into any food; then it does its work. You put a (38) two-tailed lizard into the oil and you cook it with it; you anoint (39) the man with it; then it does its work.

COL. XXV.

(1) The words of the lamp for inquiry of the boy. (2) Formula: 'Te, Te, Ik, Tatak, Thethe, (3) Sati, Santaskl, Kromakat, (4) Pataxurai, Kaleu-pankat, A-a-tieui, (5) Makat-sitakat, Hati, Hat-ro, E-o-e, (6) Hau (?), E; may they say to me an answer to everything concerning which I ask here to-day, (7) for I am Harpocrates in Mendes, for I am Isis the Wise; (8) the speech of my mouth comes to pass.' Say seven times. You take a new lamp (?), (9) you put a clean linen wick into it brought from a temple, (10) and you set it on a new brick, brought from the mould (?) and clean, on which

COL. XXV.

1. 6. $\pi\alpha\tau$: the demotic group is probably a ligature for some divine name.

1. 8. $n n z$, probably for $\epsilon\eta\tau\omega$, pronounced $\eta\eta\tau\omega$.

$m\dot{s}pr-t$: here and in l. 11 the first sign might be $\dot{h}$ as in the facs.

1. 10. $myhl$, possibly $\alpha\alpha\zeta\omega\lambda$, المنقر, in any case probably means the brick-maker's mould; my may well represent $\alpha\alpha$, as in imperative $\alpha\alpha-$.

11. rm ʕly ar-s nte-k t ʕh-s a rt-s nte-k smn t mšprt-t
12. hr ʔt-s nte-k t nhe n mʕt ar-s nge nhe n whe
13. nte-k smn tbe-t II-t nmy hrr-k nte-k hʕ p ʕlw ʔwt
14. rt-k nte-k ʕš n sh-w nt hry a hry hn zz-f n p ʕlw
15. e t-t-k hr r yr-t-f nte-k t hl a hry hr gbe-t n twre-t
16. ne-hr p hbs hr ʔr-k-f n wʕ mʕ e-f n kke e-f (*sic*)
pe-f r
17. wn a pr-ybt nge p rs e mn ʕy n p ʔytn hrr-f
18. nte-k tm hʕ wyn a ʔy a hn a p mʕ n rn-f nte-k
s-wʕb p mʕ n rn-f a t h-t
19. nte-k hwy ʔt-f n p ʕlw a p r n t ryt e-ʔr-k wh
e-ʔr-k ʕš sh
20. e-ʔr-k fy t-t-k hr r yr-t-f wʕ ʕlw e b-ʔr te-f še erme
s-hm-t
21. [p] nt e-ʔr-k t še-f ne-t-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z ʔh p nt
e-ʔr-k nw ar-f
22. hr mt-t-f erme-k n mt-t nb nt e-ʔr-k šn-t-f a-ʔr-w
23. wʕ ky a t ht s-hm-t m-s hwt ʔr n wʕt wne-t nte-f
hp ty hte-t hr ʔny-k
24. wʕt *hew(?)e* <e-s ʕnh> erme *ROTRON(?)AT*
e-w ʕnh kys n ʔr n-w
25. snfe n ʕo hwt snf n syb n ʔh-t km nte-k ths ne-w
26. ʕpe-t-w n skn sšn nte-k ʕš wʕ skp a hr p rʕ n te-f
wne-t n hʕ
27. e-ʔr-k ht(?) zz-w n t II-t e-ʔr-k ʔny pe-w ht a bl
n ne-w spyr n wnm
28. n t II-t nte-k ths-f n p snf n ʕo hnʕ p snfe(?)
n syb n ʔh-t km-t
29. nt hry e-ʔr-kt y-sw a hn wʕ hʕr n ʕo e-ʔr-k hʕ-w
n p rʕ šʕ nte-w

l. 11. ʕly would seem to represent $\alpha\lambda\epsilon:\alpha\lambda\mu$; the gloss $\alpha\lambda\omicron$ is strange.

a *rt-s* presumably means 'set it up on end.'

l. 17. ʕy n p ʔytn, probably to be taken together, meaning 'cellar.'

(11) no man has mounted(?); you set it upright, you place the lamp(?) (12) on it; you put genuine oil in it, or Oasis oil, (13) and you set two new bricks under you; you place the boy between (14) your feet; you recite the charms aforesaid down into the head of the boy, (15) your hand being over his eyes; you offer myrrh upon a willow leaf (16) before the lamp. You do it in a dark place, the door of it (17) opening to the East or the South, and no cellar being underneath it. (18) You do not allow the light to come into the place aforesaid; you purify the said place beforehand. (19) You push the boy's back to the opening of the niche. When you have finished, you recite a charm, (20) bringing your hand over his eyes. A boy who has not yet gone with a woman, (21) is he] whom you make come before you(?); you question him, saying, 'What do you see?' (22) then he tells you about everything that you ask him.

(23) A method to put the heart of a woman after a man; done in one moment(?), and it comes to pass instantly. You take (24) a swallow(?) alive, together with a hoopoe, (both) alive. Ointment made for them: (25) blood of a male ass, blood of the tick(?) of a black cow; you anoint (26) their heads with lotus ointment; you utter a cry before the sun in his moment of rising; (27) you cut off the heads of the two; you take the heart out of the right ribs (28) of both of them; you anoint it with the ass's blood and the blood of the tick(?) of a black cow, (29)

l. 21. Read [*p*] *nt e.r-k*, which is required by the space and the meaning.
ne-t-t-f: either *-f* must refer to the lamp, or to the action in general, or else it is a slip for *-k*.

l. 23. *w.t wne-t*: the preparation of the materials would take several days, but they could be kept ready for immediate use.

l. 24. **Bane** seems a likely word, but there is no authority for reading the third sign in the cipher word as **n**.

e-w 'nh does not mean that several hoopoes were required. There were only two birds: see l. 27.

30. šewy n hw IV a-re (?) p hw IV sny e-r-k nt-w
e-r-k ty-sw a w^c

31. ʔrky^c e-r-k h^c-f n pe-k ʔy e-r-k wḥ a t ʔre s-ḥm-t
mr ḥwt e-r-k θy

32. p znf n w^c ḥ n hr e-r-k š ny rn-w n mte a ḥr-w

33. e-r-k ty-f a w^c z n ʔrp nge ḥnke e-r-k ty-f n t
s-ḥm-t nte-s swr-f

34. ank byr^c-qhl b^o-qh s'smry^o-mr

35. pls-plwn ank ʔo-^cn-ne s'b^othl s'swpw

36. nythy my ḥt mn a-ms mn m-s mn a-ms mn ḥn

37. ny wne-t-w n p-hw sp VII ḥr ʔr-k-f n p mḥ
XIV n p wrše nfr sp-sn

COL. XXVI

1. ke š ʔn n py z n ʔrp

2. byr^cgetht

3. s'm^cr^c

4. pylpywn

5. y^chwt

6. s'b^cwth

7, 8. s'ypwnyth^cs

9. ke š nte-f ʔn ḥr ke-zm

10. ank byr^cg^ctht

11. l'tht

12. s'smyr^c

13. plyprn

14. ʔo-hw

15. s'b^cqht

16. s'swpwnyth^c

17. my ḥt mn m-s

COL. XXVII.

1. ke šn-hne w^ce-t a nw a p wtn n p r^c p š nt e-r-k
š-f a-wn n-y t p^ct t mw-t n n ntr-w

2. my nw-y a p wtn n p r^c e-f ḥt-ḥnt ḥn-s z ʔnk Gb
ʔrpe ntr-w šll p nt e-y ʔr n^om-f mbḥ p r^c pe yt

as aforesaid; you put them into an ass's skin; you lay them in the sun until they (30) are dry for four days; when the four days have passed, you pound them, you put them into a (31) box; you lay it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you take (32) the shaving (?) of a pleasure-wood (?); you recite these correct names before them; (33) you put it into a cup of wine or beer; you give it to the woman and she drinks it. (34) 'I am Bira, Akhel, La-akh, Sasm-rialo(?), (35) Ples-plun, Ioane, Sabaathal, Sasupu, (36) Nithi, put the heart of N. born of N. after N. born of N. in (37) these hours to-day.' Seven times. You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Very excellent.

COL. XXVI.

(1) Another invocation again of this cup of wine: (2) 'Birakethat, (3) Samara, (4) Pilpioun, (5) Iahout, (6) Sabaouth, (7, 8) Saipounithas.'

(9) Another invocation belonging to it again, in another book: (10) 'I am Biraka-that, (11) Lathat, (12) Sasmira, (13) Plipron, (14) Takou, (15) Sabakhot, (16) Sasoupounitha, (17) send the heart of N. after (18) Sasoupounithas.'

COL. XXVII.

(1) Another vessel-divination, (to be done) alone, for seeing the bark of Phre. The invocation which you recite: 'Open to me O (?) heaven, mother of the gods! (2) Let me see the bark of Phre going up and going

l. 34. *cacupriaλ*: note λ transcribing *mr*.

l. 35. Notice the transcription of the group for 'ass,' here 10, in 26/14 12-.

COL. XXVI.

l. 8. A gloss to l. 7.

COL. XXVII.

Lines 1-12 are a repetition of 10/22-34; see notes there.

3. e-tbe nt-t 'r še n t-t 'y hknēt wrt nb qnht t' r(?)
št-rd(?) a-wn n-y t nb 'yh-w

4. a-wn n-y t p't hyt-t my wšte-y n n wpt-w z 'nk
Gb 'rpe ntr-w 'y p VII stn 'y p VII

5. Mnt k syt nb šfe-t šhz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) m' rw(?)
nn(?) k kke

6. hy hnt-ybty-w nwn wr h'w hy by sr'w by 'mnty-w
hy by by-w

7. k kke k k-w s' nw-t a-wn n-y ank wb' t 'r pyr n
Gb hy 'nk

8. y-y-y e-e-e he-he-he h-ō h-ō h-ō ank 'nep-ō
myry-p-ō-r' m'-t(?) 'b thyby

9. 'ō 'rw-wy w'w y'h-ō p swh-'yh snfe n smnw snf
n qqwpt snf n 'mwłz

10. 'nh-'m-w snw-p't 'ō-Mn qs(?)-'nh hstb n m'-t hl
p-tgs-'S-t nt 'rw m bnn-t nte-k smt

11. yr-t-k n'm-f hr rym-t n by-'ō-n-p-t n w' h n hr n
'ny nge hbyn nte-k mr-k a pe-k qte

12. n w'-t pke-t n šn-bn-t hwt

13. p ky n 'r p šn-hne n p hbs e'r-k 'ny w' hbs e-f
w'b e-f wbh n wš n t prš mw n qme ar-f e pe-f šl n
š-stn nte-k mh-f n nhe

14. n m'-t nge nhe n yt-t nte-k mr-f n 'y IV-t n 'yw
e bnp-w st-t-w nte-k 'yh-t-f a w'-t z'y-t n pr-ybt

15. w'-t šmwe-t n h n tphn nte-k t 'h p hm-hl n pe-f
mt a bl e-f w'b e b-r te-f še erme s-hm-t nte-k hbs yr-t-f
n t-t-k

16. nte-k θ-r p hbs nte-k 'š a hry hn te-f 'pe-t š' sp
VII nte-k t 'r-f wn yr-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z 'h n-e-nw-k a'r-w

1. 8. Note the hieroglyphic transliterations of demotic.

1. 10. *snw-p't*, possibly *σίωπι*, 'mustard'; it occurs in Louvre dem.
mag. iii. 27 with gloss . . . *ροχλον* (?).

1. 14. *st-t-w*, or perhaps *ps-t-w*, which have not been boiled.

1. 15. *tphn*, probably *δάφνη*, Diosc. i. 106.

A good instance of *ανεψυτο εβολ*.

down in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father (3) on account of a thing that hath proceeded from me. O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret open to me, mistress of spirits, (4) open to me primal heaven; let me worship the angels! for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven kings; ho! ye seven (5) Môts, bull that engendereth, lord of strength, that enlighteneth the earth, soul of the abyss(?). Ho! lion as lion of(?) the abyss(?), bull of the night; (6) hail! thou that rulest the people of the East, Noun, great one, lofty one; hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West; hail! soul of souls, (7) bull of the night, bull (?) of (two?) bulls, son of Nut. Open to me, I am the Piercer of earth, he that came forth from Geb; hail! I am (8) I, I, I, E, E, E, He, He, He, Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat(?) Ib, Thibai (9) great, Aroui, Ououu, Iaho. The spirit-gathering: blood of a *smune*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-jar, (10) *ankh-ami* plant, *senepe* plant, Great-of-Amen-plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'foot-print(?) of-Isis' plant, pound and make into a ball, and paint (11) your eyes with it upon (?) a goat's tear, with a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony; you tie yourself at your side (12) with a strip(?) of male-palm fibre. (13) The way of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp. You take a clean bright lamp without putting minium (or) gum-water into it, its wick being of fine linen; you fill it with genuine oil (14) or oil of dew; you tie it with four threads of linen which have not been cooked(?); you hang it on an East wall (on) (15) a peg of bay-wood; you make the boy stand before it, he being pure and not having gone with a woman; you cover his eyes with your hand; (16) you light the lamp and you recite down into his head, unto seven times; you make him open

17. e-f z ḥr e-y nw a n ntr-w e-w n p qte n p ḥbs
ḥr z-w n-f wh a p nt e-w a šn-t-w ar-f e-f ḥp e-r-k wh
a r-f n t-t-k w-t-k

18. e-r-k mḥ yr-t-k n p kys nt ḥry e-r-k ḥ a rt-k
wbe p ḥbs e-f mḥ nte-k š ar-f n sp VII e yr-t-k ḥtm
e-r-k wh e-r-k wn

19. yr-t-k ḥr nw-k a n ntr-w n pe-k ph nte-k sze wbe-w
ḥr p nt e-r-k wh-f e-ḥr r-k-f n w m n kke p š nt
e-r-k š-f

20. z-mt-t ank m-neby ghthethwny **𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁** my
wšte-y-t-k p šr n rpythn-

21. pyr pyle-s' gnwryph-rys' tny-yryss' psy psy
yrys-s'

22. gymythwrrw-phws-s' 'o-qm'tsys' **𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁**
pert-o-mekh

23. per-g-o-mekh skmeph m n-y a ḥn nte-k šn n-y
ḥr p šn nte-y šn ḥrr-f n mt-t m-t n wš

24. n mt-t n ze pe-f swḥ-yḥ p kys nt e-r-k ty-f a
yr-t-k e-r-k n-n' a r nb n p ḥbs

25. ḥr ny-k hyn-w ḥrre n bel n ***𐤏𐤁𐤕𐤕*** ḥr gm-k-sw
n p m n p s-trmws e-r-k ny-t-w e-w gnn

26. nte-k ty-sw a w lq n yl e-r-k m r-f m šs sp-sn
š hw XX n w m e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s

27. hw XX e-r-k ny-t-f a ḥry e-r-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k
hyn-w ḥryw erme w m'z ḥn-f e-r-k ḥ-f š hw XL nte-k
ny-t-f

28. a ḥry nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k-f e-ḥr-f r snf a-re
ḥr r-k ty-f a w nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a ḥn w nk
n blz

29. n m e-f hep n nw nb e-r-k wh a r n p ḥbs

1. 19. *n pe-k bl* or *ph(?)*: cf. l. 30.

ll. 24-29 are a repetition of 5/24-30; see notes there.

l. 24. *wḥe(?)*. *šn* stands in the parallel. It seems that *wḥe(?)* is used of *μαντεία αὐτοπτική* (cf. note to 10/22), and *šn-lne*, when opposed to it (l. 34), means divination with a medium.

his eyes; you ask him, saying, 'What are the things which you have seen?' (17) If he says, 'I have seen the gods about the lamp,' then they tell him answer concerning that which they will be asked. If you wish to do it by yourself alone, (18) you fill your eyes with the ointment aforesaid; you stand up opposite the lamp when alight; you recite to it seven times with your eyes shut; when you have finished, you open (19) your eyes; then you see the gods behind(?) you; you speak with them concerning that which you desire; you ought to do it in a dark place. The invocation which you recite, (20) formula: 'I am Manebai, Ghethethoni, Khabakhel, let me worship thee, the child of Arpithnapira, (21) Pileasa, Gnuriph-arisa, Teni-irissa, Psi, Psi, Irissa, (22) Gimituru-phus-sa, Okmatsisa, Oreobazagra, Pertaomekh, (23) Peragomekh, Sakmeph, come in to me, and inquire for me about the inquiry which I am inquiring about, truthfully without (24) falsehood.' Its spirit-gathering: the ointment which you put on your eyes, when you are about to make any divination by the lamp. (25) You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh, (26) and put them into a *lok* of glass; you close its mouth very carefully for twenty days in a hidden dark place; after (27) twenty days you take it forth, you open it; then you find a pair(?) of testicles and a phallus inside it; you leave it for forty days; and you take it (28) forth; you open it; then you find that it has become bloody; you must put it into some thing of glass, and you put the glass thing into a pottery (thing) (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you wish to make a divination(?) by the lamp with it, you

l. 29. *n nzw nb*: the parallel 5/29, where this is repeated with the next sentence, shows that it cannot mean 'from all sight.'

n^m-f e^r-k m^h yr-t-k n py snf nt h^ry e^r-k 'n-n^c a n^q(te)t-k

30. nge e^r-k 'h wbe p h^bs e^r-k 'š n py 'š nt h^ry h^r nw-k a p ntr n pe-k ph(?)e^r-k 'h nge e^r-k str nfr nfr 'p

31. h^r sh-k py rn a t tys-t n p š'l n p h^bs n r'w hl
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 p-e-z ke zm 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶

32. py ky nt sh h^ry p ky n p n m^cneby pe e-f h^p e^r-k wh a 'r-f

33. n šn n p h^bs py smte 'n pe h^r 'r-f 'r šw 'n a n mwryby e-f h^p e^r-k 'r-f

34. n šn-hne n p h^bs e^r-k m^h p h^bs nt h^ry h^r w^ct tbe-t nmy nte-k t 'h p hm-hl a rt-f

35. n p mte n p h^bs e-f h^bs a pe-f h^r nte-k 'š a te-f(?) 'pe-t e^r-k 'h h^r 't-f n py 'š n mt-t w^cy'ny e^r-k wh e^r-k klp

36. h^r-f h^r 'r-f z n-k wh n mt-t m^ct

COL. XXVIII.

1. ke ky n šn-hne w^ce-t z-mt-t 'nk p nb by 'o-rytsym-by s-'o-n^ctsyr epysghes emmyme

2. th-'o-g-'o-m-phrwr phyrwm-phwny rn-yk mymy by-byw sp-sn gtheth-'o-ny ank Wbst-t pth-'o

3. b^clk^cm a-ms bynwy sphe phas ank b^cpth-'o g^cm-my-s^ctra rn-yk my-me-'o

4. yⁿwme pe-f sw^h-y^h h^r š-k a w^c m^c e-f w^cb nte-k 'ny w^c z n hmt nte-k y^c-f n mw n hsm nte-k t w^c lq

5. n a^he ar-f nte-k wh-f h^r p 'ytn nte-k θ-r w^ct l^cmps n hmt nte-k θ-s a p 'ytn h^r t-t p z n hmt

6. nte-k h^bs-k n w^ct šnto-t e-s w^cb nte-k erme p hne nte-k 'š a hn p hne e yr-t-k htm š^c sp VII e^r-k wn yr-t-k

1. 32. Manebai is the leading word in the invocation, l. 20.

1. 33. Muribai is a leading word in the invocation in the parallel 5/10 to which this evidently refers.

fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, you proceed to lie down, (30) or you stand opposite the lamp; you recite this invocation aforesaid; then you see the god behind (?) you, while you are standing up or lying down. Excellent (*bis*) and tried (?). (31) You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink, 'Bakhukhsikhukh,' or, as says another book, 'Kimeithoro Phosse'; (32) this method which is written above is the method of the divination of Manebai. If you wish to do it (33) by inquiry of the lamp, this also is the form; it is also profitable for (?) the divination of Muribai. If you do it (34) by vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you make the boy stand upright (35) before the lamp, he having his face covered; you recite to his head, standing over him, this Greek invocation; when you have finished, you uncover (36) his face, then he answers you truthfully.

COL. XXVIII.

(1) Another mode of vessel-inquiry, alone. Formula: 'I am the lord of Spirits, Oridimbai, Sonadir, Episghes, Emmime, (2) Tho-gom-phrur, Phirim-phuni is thy name; Mimi, Bibiu (*bis*), Gthethoni, I am Ubaste, Ptho, (3) Balkham born of Binui, Sphe, Phas, I am Baptho, Gammi-satra is thy name, Mi-meo, (4) Ianume.' Its spirit-gathering: you go to a clean place, you take a vessel of bronze, you wash it with water of natron, you put a *lok*-measure (5) of oil to it; you place it on the ground; you light a bronze lamp; you put it on the ground by the bronze vessel; (6) you cover yourself with a clean

COL. XXVIII.

1. 1. *epysghes emmyme*: MAX MÜLLER, Rec. trav., viii. 178, reads here *episkhes epimme*, and regards it as a transcription of ἐπισχες ἐνί με, 'come to me.' The reading is probably *emymme*, but it may still be a corruption of the Greek phrase he has suggested.

1. 5. θ-s, xoc.

7. e·r-k šn·t-f a p nt e·r-k wḥ-f e·r-k wḥ a t 're n
ntr·w n p hne sze wbe-k n r-w wbe r-k e·r-k š yḥ-ō

8. yph e-ō-e gynntethwr neph'r 'ph-ō-e ḥr 'r-w n-k wḥ
a mt·t nb nt e·r-k a šn·t-f a·r-w 'n a·r-w tm z n-k wḥ
e·r-k š

9. py ke rn ng-ō-ngethygs m'ntwn-ō-b-ō-e g-ō-
kšyrhr-ō-nt-ō-r nt-ō-ntr-ō-m' leph-ō-ger

10. geph'er-s-ō-re e·r-k š ny ḥr 'r-w šn n-k n mt·t m'·t

11. ke šn-hne e·ḥr 'r-k t·t nḥe n sym ar-f e·ḥr 'r-k-f
a ḥ p nt ḥry z-mt·t sze wbe-y sp-sn h'cmst p ntr n n ntr·w
n p kk

12. 'yḥ nb ḥyb·t nb nt ḥn 'mnt e·r-s p-e·r mw nhse
n-y sp-sn py by n 'nḥ py by n sns n my pry

13. pe hne pe swt ty n p-hw e-tb p hne n 'S·t wr·t
e-s šn m-s py-s hy e-s qte m-s py-s sn ḥwt mn'š sp-sn

14. mn'nf sp-sn a·zy-s z mn'š sp-sn mn'nf sp-sn ph-ō-
ny sp-sn n hh n sp nte-k z·t-s n p ḥm-ḥl ze a·zy-s

15. z my š n-k p kke 'm n-y p wyn nte-k wn yr·t-k
ty hte·t ḥr 'w n ntr·w a ḥn nte-w z n-k wḥ n mt·t nb

COL. XXIX.

1. tey-s ky n šn n p r' e-w z n'm-f z e-f znt m šs sp-sn
pe-f swḥ-ḥyḥ ḥr 'ny-k w' ḥm-ḥl e-f w'b nte-k 'r . . .

2. 'yḥ nt šḥ ar-f nte-k 'ny-t-f n p mt n p r' nte-k t ḥ-f
a rt-f ḥr w'·t tbe·t nmy n p nw nt e·re

3. p r' ne ḥ' n'm-f nte-f 'y a ḥry tre-f m tre p 'tn nte-k
t 'w w'·t qbe·t n 'yw nmy n pe-f ph (?) nte-k

1. 11. *p ntr n n ntr·w*: cf. *φρουθι νυθην*, Pap. Bib. Nat. 1643, and *προυτε νυθην τηρου*, B. M. XLVI. 8.

1. 12. *pr-'mnt*, the det. of *ḥn* being the same sign as *pr* that should have followed, one has been omitted.

e·r-s p-e·r mw: their meaning is obscure.

COL. XXIX.

1. 1. The end of the line is quite uncertain after *'r t(?)*.

1. 3. *qbe·t*: Boh. *κοῦτ*, in the Vienna ritual means a mat (?); in l. 23 we have a parallel passage with *šnt·t*.

linen robe, you and the vessel; you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, for seven times; you open your eyes; (7) you ask it concerning that which you wish; if you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths to your mouth, you cry: 'Iaho, (8) Iph, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, Aphoe.' Then they make answer to you concerning everything concerning which you will ask of it again. If they do not tell you answer, you recite (9) this other name: 'Gogethix, Mantounoboe, Kokhir-rhodor, Dondroma, Lephoker, (10) Kephhaersore.' If you recite these, then they inquire for you truthfully.

(11) Another vessel-inquiry: you put vegetable oil into it; you must proceed as above. Formula: 'Speak unto me (*bis*), Hamset, god of the gods of darkness, (12) every demon, every shade that is in the West and the East, he that hath died hath done it (?), rise up to me (*bis*), O thou living soul, O thou breathing soul, may (13) my vessel go forth, my knot (?) here to-day, for the sake of the vessel of Isis the Great, who inquireth for her husband, who seeketh for her brother; Menash (*bis*), (14) Menanf (*bis*). Say, 'Menash (*bis*), Menanf (*bis*), Phoni (*bis*),' a multitude of times; and you say to the boy, 'Say, (15) "Depart, O darkness; come to me O light," and open your eyes at once.' Then the gods come in and tell thee answer to everything.

COL. XXIX.

(1) Behold a form of inquiry of the sun, of which they say it is well tested. Its spirit-gathering: you take a young boy who is pure, you make the spirit-formula (?) (2) which is written for it; you take him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment at which (3) the sun shall rise, and it comes up entirely with the entire (?) disk; you put a new mat (?) of linen

4. t ʔr-f htm yr-t-f nte-k ɕh a rt-k hr ʔt-f eʔr-k ʕs a hry
hn zz-f eʔr-k qlhe a hry hn

5. zz-f n pe-k tbʕ n p rʕ n te-k-t t-t n wnm bn-s mh
yr-t-f n p smt aʔr-k n h-t

6. nʕsyrʕ ʕo-ʕpkys šfyw(?) sp-sn bybyw sp-sn rn-yk n
mʕt sp-sn srpt a-wn n-y t p-t n py-s

7. <n py-s> wšh py-s mt aʔny n-y p wyn nt wʕb my ʔw
n-y p ntr nte p wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y

8. wšh a mt-t nb nte ɕw-y šn hr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw n
mt-t mʕt e mn mt-t ʕze hn(?)w ʕrkhnwtsy etʕle tʕl

9. nʕsyrʕ yʕrmekh nʕserʕ ʕmpthw h-ʕo ʕmʕmʕrkʕr tel yʕ-ʕo

10. nʕsyrʕ hʕkyʕ srpt hzysyphth ɕh-ʕo ʕt-ne y.y.e(?)w
bʕlbel my

11. ʔw n-y p wyn e-f wʕb my phre p ʕlw my z-f n-y
wšh my ʔw n-y p ntr nte p wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z

12. n-y wšh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn hr-ʔr-w n mt-t mʕt
e mn mt-t n ʕze hn-w bn-m-s-s eʔr-k ʕs pe-f htr

13. n ke sp VII e yr-t-f htm z-mt-t sy-sy.pyʕtsyrypy
s.ʕ.ʕo.nkhʕb

14. hrʕbʕ-ʕo-t phʕkthy-ʕo-p ʕnʕʕn krʕʕnʕ krʕtrys tmʕ

15. ptʕrʕphne ʕrʕphnw ʔm n p ʕlw my ʔw n-f p ntr
nte p wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wšh a mt-t nb

16. nt e-y šn hr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw aʔre p wyn ʕsqe a
ʔy a hn eʔr-k z ke ke sʕls-ʕo-ɕthʕ yppel

17. syrbʕ n sp VII eʔr-k t *αλφωτονοττ* a p ɕh
eʔr-k z py rn ʕo m-s ny tre-w eʔr-k ʕs-f

18. n h-t-f a ph-t-f ʕs-phr n sp IV ʕueb-ʕo-th-yʕbʕth-
bʕyth-ʕo-beuʕ

19. eʔr-k z my mʕ p ʕlw p wyn my ʔw p ntr nte p
wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wšh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn

20. hr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t mʕt e mn mt-t n ʕze
hn-w tey-s ke ky nʕm-f(?) ʕn eʔr-k ʕy p ʕlw a wʕ

1. 5. *tbʕ n p rʕ*: possibly the 'Apollo-finger' of modern chiromancy, i. e. the third (ring-) finger. The operation described in 3/12, 16, is the *προκαδωνισια παιδα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 89.

behind (?) him; you (4) make him shut his eyes; you stand upright over him; you recite down into his head; you strike down on (5) his head with your Ra-finger of your right hand, after filling his eye with the paint which you made before: (6) 'Nasira, Oapkis, Shfe (*bis*), Bibiou (*bis*) is thy true name (*bis*), Lotus, open to me heaven (7) in its breadth and height, bring to me the light which is pure; let the god come to me, who has the command, and let him say to me (8) answer to everything which I am asking here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein (?), Arkhnoutsi, Etale, Tal, (9) Nasira, Yarmekh, Nasera, Amptho, Kho, Amamarkar, Tel, Yaeo, (10) Nasira, Hakia, Lotus, Khzisiph, Aho, Atone, I . I . E . O , Balbel, (11) let the pure light come to me; let the boy be (?) enchanted; let answer be given me; let the god who has the command come to me and tell (12) me answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth without falsehood therein.' Thereafter you recite his compulsion another (13) seven times, his eyes being shut. Formula: 'Si . si . pi . thiripi S . A . E . O . Nkhab (14) Hrabaot, Phakthiop, Anasan, Kraana, Kratris, Ima- (15) ptaraphne, Araphnu, come to the boy; let the god who has the command come to him, let him tell me answer to everything (16) which I shall ask here to-day.' If the light is slow to come within, you say, 'Ke, Ke, Salsoatha, Ippel, (17) Sirba,' seven times; you put frankincense (?) on the brazier, you utter this great name after all those, you utter it (18) from beginning to end, and vice versa, four times, Auebothiabathabaithobeu; (19) you say: 'Let the boy see the light, let the god who has the command come in; let him tell me answer to everything about which I shall ask (20) here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein.'

l. 8. *hn-w*: this seems to be the reading, cf. l. 12.

21. m^c hry e-f θse e-r-k t ʕ-f a rt-f n w^c m^c e wn w^c ššt ʕo n pe-f mt e r-f wn a pr-ybt e hr [re(?)] p r^c wbnē

22. a hn n ʕe-t-f nte-k smt yr-t-f n p ʕlw n p smt nt šh ar-f nte-k ʕš ar-f n . . . sp ke-z VII e-r-k ʕh hr ʔ-t-f nte-k t ʔ-r-f

23. kšp a hr p r^c e-f mḥ wz-t e-f ʕh a rt-f hr w^ct tbe-t nmy e wn w^ct šnto-t n ʕyw nmy n pe-f ph(?) e yr-t-f ḥtm

24. e-r-k ʕš a hry hn zz-f e-r-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tb^c nt šh hry ʕn e-r-k t *אלחורכור* a hry ne-hr-f e-r-k wh e-r-k t ʔ-r-f wn yr-t-f

25. hr nw-f a n ntr-w n pe-f ph(?) e-w sze wbe-f nt hr ʔ-r-k ty-f a yr-t-f n p ʕlw e-f ʔn-n^c a šn-hne nb n p r^c

26. hr ʔny-k *יזח(?)* II n p y^cr e-w ʕnh n p II nte-k wš p w^c n^m-w n ḥ n elle n p mt n p r^c nte-k t p snf n p ke a hr-f

27. nte-k t n^c-f erme-f hr ḥl nte-k ʔ-r-w n bnn-t e-w ḥy n tb^c w(?) e-r-k šʕe(?) t a yr-t-f e-r-k ʔny w^c ʔb n lyl(?) erme w^c ḥ n

28. hr n ll ʕn nte-k ḥy ty phre hr(?) w^c ḥm n st n t(?)-nhš hr mw n elle n Kmy nte-k mḥ yr-t-k n^m-f e-r-k

29. mḥ yr-t-k n ty phre nte-k q(?)šp a hr p r^c e-f mḥ wz-t e yr-t-k wn a hr-f hr ʔ-r-f wnh-f ar-k nte-f z(?) n-k(?) wh(?)

30. a mt-t nb te-f mt-t ʕo-t(?) w^cb hr ʔ-r-f ʔr šw a ḥm-ḥl nte-f ʔr šw n-k ḥ-k n rm w^ct

l. 21. *e hr p r^c* should be *e hr ʔre p r^c*; the condition of the MS. is very unsatisfactory in this part of the column.

l. 23. *mḥ wz-t*, i. e. at the summer solstice, Br., Thes., 296.

l. 26. For the use of vine-twigs as fuel for magic purposes, cf. HYVERN., Actes, p. 311; Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 544, &c.

Behold, another form of it again. You take the boy to an upper lofty (21) place, you make him stand in a place where there is a large window before him, its opening looking to the East where the sun shines (22) in rising into it; you paint the boy's eye with the paint which is prescribed for it, you recite to him times or seven times; you stand over him; you make him (23) gaze before the sun when it fills the *uzat*, he standing upright on a new brick, there being a new linen robe behind him (?), and his eyes being closed; (24) you recite down into his head; you strike on his head with your finger described above; you offer frankincense (?) before him; when you have finished, you make him open his eyes, (25) then he sees the gods behind him (?) speaking with him.

[The ointment] which you put in the boy's eyes when he goes to any vessel-inquiry of the sun (26). You take two of the river both alive, you burn one of them with vine-wood before the sun, you put the blood of the other to (?) it, (27) you pound it with it with myrrh, you make them into a pill, they measuring one finger (in length); you put into his eyes; you take a kohl-pot (?) of and a kohl-stick (?) of (28) *lel* (?). You pound this drug with a little *set-stone* (?) of Ethiopia and with Egyptian vine-water; you fill your eyes with it, you (29) fill your eyes with this drug, you look towards the sun when it fills the *uzat*, your eyes being open towards it; then he appears to you, he gives you answer (?) (30) to everything. Its chief point is purity; it is profitable for the boy, and it is profitable to you yourself as a person (acting) alone.

l. 27. *šše* or *šme*? The reading is uncertain.

l. 29. *qšp* or *kšp*? The latter is the correct form of the word.

l. 30. *mt-t 'o-t w'b*; cf. 17/26.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

1. ὀνῆ n r^c οφρὺς ἡλίου
2. ὀνῆ n ῑῆ οφρὺς (σεληνῆς)
3. hyn·w sym·w ne
4. ἡλιογονον
5. σεληνογονον
6. hyn·w sym·w ne
7. θιθυμαλος
8. nte py sym ḥm nt ḥr n km·w pe
9. nt ḥr ὀre t ὀw ὀrte a bl
10. e·r-k t pe-f ὀrt a ḥr n rm
11. ḥr ὀr-f blbl

VERSO COL. II.

1. χαμεμελον thw-w^cb rn-f
2. λευκανθεμον šq-ḥtr rn-f
3. κριναθεμον mn p nfr a ḥr-y rn-f
4. χρυσανθεμον nfr ḥr rn-f ke-z a t ḥrr-t nb

COL. I.

1. 1. ὀφρὺς ἡλίου is a synonym of the σχοῖνος ἐλεία in Diosc. iv. 52.
1. 4. ἡλιογονον: cf. ελιογωνον as synonym of εσσς in Peyr. Lex. 422 along with κυκκος (carthamus tinctorius, Diosc. iv. 187), ἀτρακτυλῖς (ib. iii. 97), &c.; so apparently a sort of thistle.
1. 5. σεληνογονον: the name given by προφήται to the παιονία (the modern paeonia) according to the synonyms in Diosc. iii. 147. The plant-names ascribed to the προφήται are naturally connected with deities, heavenly bodies and the like. SPRENGEL (Praefat., p. xvi) identifies the προφήται with those of Egypt, but this is perhaps too precise.
1. 9. The grammatical construction seems confused: one would expect εἰσαῖ or ετεῖσαῖ, St., §§ 426, 427. The writer has given the form of the relative ετωῶται, but has inserted ḥr, which seems to be an anomaly.
1. 10. GALEN, de Simpl. medic., viii. 19/7, makes the same remark about the juice of the τιβύμαλλος (Diosc. iv. 162), viz. that if dropped on the skin it burns it.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

(1) Eyebrow of Ra: ὀφρὺς ἡλίου. (2) Eyebrow of the moon. ὀφρὺς σελήνης. (3) These are some herbs.

(4) *Heliogonon*. (5) *Selenogonon*. (6) These are some herbs.

(7) Spurge, (8) which is that small herb that is in the gardens (9) and which exudes milk. (10) If you put its milk on a man's skin, (11) it causes a blister.

VERSO COL. II.

(1) *Chamaemelon*. 'Clean-straw' is its name.

(2) *Leucanthemon*. 'Prick-horse' (?) is its name.

(3) *Crinanthemon*. 'None is better than I' is its name.

(4) *Chrysanthemon*. 'Fine-face' is its name, otherwise

COL. II.

1. 1. χαμαίμηλον, chamomile (synonym of ἀνθεμὶς in Diosc. iii. 144, of παρθέμιον, ib. 145).

ihw-w'b = *ἵων + ὄνη* (?), 'clean hay,' probably on account of the scent. According to Apul. c. 24 *thaboris* (MS. var. *tuoris*) was the Egyptian name of the plant χαμαίμηλον (WIEDEMANN, *Altaeg. Wörter* v. Klass. Aut. umschr., p. 22).

1. 2. λευκανθεμον: synonym of ἀνθυλλίς, ἀνθεμὶς, παρθέμιον, Diosc. iii. 143-145, but none of these plants seem to suit the Egyptian name *šg hr*, 'prick(?)-horse.' Cf. *ἡβωκ*, fodere, and Ar. *عش*, 'prick.'

1. 3. κρινάνθεμον is said to be the houseleek; perhaps its occurrence in Diosc. iii. 127, as synonym of ἡμεροκαλλίς, gives a better explanation.

1. 4. χρυσάνθεμον, Diosc. iv. 58 = *Chrysanthemum coronarium*. The name also occurs as a synonym for ἀρτεμισία (ib. iii. 117) χρυσοκόμη, ἐλίχρυσον, and αἰζῶον τὸ μέγα (ib. iv. 55, 57, 88).

t hr-r-t nb: cf. LEMM, *Cypr. v. Ant.*, 12 a, 13, and p. 64, περρηρε (*sic*) *αἰπιοτή*. The Hawara wreaths contained specimens, PETRIE, *Hawara*, p. 53.

5. n p s-qlm te-f gbe't nht pe-f h 'kf
6. te-f hrre't n nb te-f gbe't m qty gryn^cthemwn
7. p m^cknesy^c
8. *μανεσια*
9. w^c 'ny n ty e-f km m qty
10. stem e'r-k nt-f e-f km
11. *μαγνης* p m^cknes nt 'nh hr 'n-w-f
12. *μακνης* e'r-k hyt-f e-f km
13. p m^cnes n rm hr 'n-w-f
14. n t 'n-tsyke e'r-k hyt-f
15. hr 'r-f t 'w snf a bl
16. a t pe-k zz
17. w^ct *επυε* nte-k wš[-s(?)] n *μενεεβ(?)*
18. nte-k nt-s erme qt I:t n *απωε*
19. erme w^ct *ε(?)ερωλ* nte-k . . .
20. nte-k t w^ct

VERSO COL. III.

1. phre[t a shy n fy]
2. pr-w zph n(?) pr(?)-mnt sym(?) n *κλο*
3. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p 'rp(?)
4. *φηκλης*
5. w^c 'ny e-f wbh pe e-f m qty
6. g'rb'n^c wn ke w^c e.hr 'r-w 'r-f

l. 7. *m^cknesy^c* is magnetic iron ore: cf. Diosc. v. 147; PLIN., H. N., 36. 25.

l. 10. *e-f km*: here *km* is probably pseudo-participle, but in l. 12 infinitive.

l. 11. *m^cknes nt 'nh* = *μάγνης ζών*, frequently referred to by ALEXANDER TRALLIANUS (ap. Fabricius, Bibl. gr. Hamburg, 1724, t. xii), e.g. p. 640 in prescriptions.

hr 'n-w-f: cf. l. 13, it is probably an imperfect sentence, unless it means 'it is imported.'

l. 13. *m^cnes n rm*: perhaps 'human magnes,' on account of the blood. Cf. PLIN., H. N., 36. 25, where the haematites magnes of Zimiris in Aethiopia is described as sanguinem reddens si teratur. He also

said 'the gold flower' (5) of the wreath-seller; its leaf is strong, its stem is cold (?), (6) its flower is golden; its leaf is like *crinanthemon*.

(7) Magnesia, (8) *manesia*. (9) A stone of black like (10) stibium; when you grind it, it is black.

(11) *Magnes*. Magnesia viva; it is brought (i.e. imported ?).

(12) *Maknes*. When you scrape it, it is black.

(13) *Maknes* of man. It is brought (14) from India (?); when you scrape it (15) it exudes blood.

(16) To drug (?) your enemy; (17) an *apshe*-beetle (?); you burn it with styrax (?), (18) you pound it together with one drachma of apple (19) and a and you (20) and you put a

VERSO COL. III.

(1) Medicament [for a catalepsy (?). Gall of ceras]tes, (2) pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*. (3) Grind them together, make into a ball, put it into wine(?), and drink (?).

(4) Lees of wine. (5) It is a white stone like (6) gal-

speaks of magnes mas and femina, the former being strongly magnetic and of reddish colour; and W. MAX MÜLLER has suggested to us that *n m* may here be for ἀνδρείος.

I. 14. *n-syke* = Ἰνδική (MAX MÜLLER). For Coptic forms of the name cf. LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. ii. (Bull. de l'Acad. St. Petersburg, x. 405).

I. 16. Probably the word is that in 23/1.

I. 17. *empe*: cf. the beetle *ḫḫy-t* of ch. xxxvi of the Book of the Dead.

II. 19-20. REUVENS' tracing and the facsimile show many scraps in the last lines, but they are too vague to be legible.

COL. III.

I. 1. Restored from 24/27.

I. 4. *φέλη*, 'lees of wine,' 'salt of tartar' (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 51, who gives references).

I. 6. *g'ḫ'n*: probably χαλβάνη, galbanum, the resinous sap of Bubo galbanum L., a plant of the fennel tribe used in medicine: see Diosc. iii. 87. Cf. also *ḫapḥan*, Costum dulce, *حلو الحبه*, Kircher, 186.

7. n sgewe p ky n rh-s
8. ar-f z nte-f n m^c-t pe e^r-k nt w^c hm
9. hr mw nte-k ths-f a p h^cr
10. n w^c rm n w^c-t hte hm hr ^r-f
11. ht(?) p h^cr
12. pe-f rn n mt-t wyⁿⁿ(?) *αφροσεληνον*
13. z^h n ^h w^c ^{ny} pe e-f wb^h
14. phr-t a ty ^{re} s-hm-t mr hwt θθ-t n šnt-t
15. nt hr ^{by} ths hnt-f (*sic*) n^m-f
16. nte-k str erme t s-hm-t
17. z^h n ^h w^c ^{ny} e-f wb^h pe e-f m qty
18. yl e-f h^yt n pke sp-sn m qty ^rseny^{gwn}

VERSO COL. IV.

1. phre-t n msze e-f n mw
2. hm zf hr ^{rp} e-f nfr
3. nte-k t ar-f bn-s šty n h-t
4. nte-k h^y(t?) hm w^c-t(?) zf(?) hr ^{rp}
5. nte-k t ar-f a hw IV
6. *σαλαματρα*
7. w^c-t h^fle^c hm
8. e-s n ^{wn} n k^rfyne
9. e mn-te-s rt-t
10. tp n sr κεφαλεκη rn-f
11. w^c sym e-f m qty w^c-t bw n šmr hwt

1. 7. *sgewe*. MAX MÜLLER (Rec. tr., viii. 174) suggests that σκευή may have the meaning 'quick-lime,' though this sense is not found in the dictionaries.

1. 12. *wyⁿⁿ* (?): cf. 4/7.

αφροσεληνον = *αφροσέλινος*, Diosc. v. 158, another name for *σεληνίτης λίθος*, selenite or foliated sulphate of lime (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 51, with reffs.).

ll. 14-16. These lines are repeated in V. 13/10-11.

1. 18. *^rseny^{gwn}* = *ἀρσενικόν*, yellow orpiment, i. e. sulphide of arsenic: cf. Diosc. v. 120. ALEX. TRALL., u. s., p. 632, mentions it in a prescription for gout.

banum. There is another sort which is made (7) into lime (?). The way to know it (8) that it is genuine is this. You grind a little (9) with water; you rub it on the skin (10) of a man for a short time; then it (11) removes the skin. (12) Its name in Greek (?) ἀφροσέληνον, (13) 'foam of the moon.' It is a white stone.

(14) A medicament for making a woman love a man: fruit (?) of acacia; (15) grind with honey, anoint his phallus with it, (16) you (*sic*) lie with the woman.

(17) 'Foam of the moon'; this is a white stone like (18) glass, (when?) it is rubbed into fragments like orpiment.

VERSO COL. IV.

(1) Medicament for an ear that is watery. (2) Salt, heat with good wine; (3) you apply to it after cleansing (?) it first. (4) You scrape salt, heat with wine; (5) you apply to it for four days.

(6) σαλαμάνδρα, (7) a small lizard (8) which is of the colour of chrysolite. (9) It has no feet.

(10) 'Ram's horn,' κεφαλική is its name, (11) a herb which is like a wild fennel bush; (12) its leaf and its stem

COL. IV.

l. 1. The cross x at the beginning of sections in this and the next column seems intended to catch the eye in the crowded writing on the original—see the facsimile.

Flux from the ears: cf. Pap. Eb. 91/3.

l. 7. *w^c.t* (?). The sign in the original is like *hmt*, 'bronze,' and scarcely like *w^c.t*.

l. 8. *k^{er}.yne* = καλαΐνη, chrysolite, greenish-yellow: cf. GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 44 (B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 197), and KRALL, Pap. Rain. Mitth., iv. 141.

l. 9. The σαλαμάνδρα of Diosc. ii. 67 has feet.

l. 10. *tp n sr*: probably κριός Diosc. ii. 126 = Cicer arietinum, PLINY, Nat. Hist. xviii. 32. See SPRENGEL, ad loc.

l. 11. *šmr hwt* = *שמר ברי*, TATTAM, Lex. from MS. Par. 44, p. 340. The Semitic word is interesting.

12. te-f gbe:t pe-f ḥ zq^c m qty
13. p mr-rm e^cr-k nt-f e-f šwy nte-k sḏ-f(?)
14. nte-k ^cr-f n kser-^co-n nte-k ty-f a šḥ nb
15. ḥr lk-f ταμονιακη
16. ḥr rt-s m qty slom(?)
17. n te-f gbe:t ne-f pr-w t-qty:t
18. m qty tp n sr e-f θ
19. swre:t ḥm n pe-f ph(?)

VERSO COL. V.

1. phre:t a(?) ^crz snf mw n ḥ^cp(?)^c-^co
2. ḥr ḥnqe nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm:t n^cm-f n twe
3. e b^c-r te-s wm ḥr ḥ-f
4. p ky a rḥ-s n s-ḥm:t z e-s ^cwr:t e^cr-k t ^cre
5. t s-ḥm:t ty-s m^c a ḥr py sym nt ḥry ^cn
6. ḥr rhwe a^cre twe ḥp nte-k gm p sym
7. e-f šhl^clt bn e-s a ^cwr:t e^cr-k gm-t-f
8. e-f wtwt e-s a ^cwr:t
9. phre:t a ḥt(?) snfe gbe:t n šyš^c
10. gbe:t n ḥmt-^cf e-f knn nt t
11. ar-k e^cr-k str erme t s-ḥm:t k-t ḥl
12. ḥzn shy n *σζαε* nt ḥr
13. ^crp ^cs n sty t ar-k e^cr-k str erme-s
14. ασφοδελος
15. ke-z a mzwł hwt

l. 13. *p mr rm*: cf. *φιλάνθρωπος*, synonym of *ἀπαρίμη*, Diosc. iii. 94, a bedstraw 'cleavers' (*προσέχεται δὲ καὶ ἡματίαις*, Diosc. ib.).

šl-f(?): cf. *ὑλαῦελ*, *cribrare(?)*.

l. 14. *kseron* = *ξηρόν*, as suggested by MAX MÜLLER, *Rec. tr.*, viii. 173.

l. 15. *ἀμμωνιακή*: cf. DIOD. iii. 88, and above.

l. 16. *slom*: perhaps = *ὑλωα*, *μολόχη*, a mallow.

COL. V.

l. 1. *ḥ^cp(?)^c-^co*, 'great Nile,' as name of some perhaps very juicy plant: cf. V. 33/5 for the reading.

ll. 4-8. A similar prescription in the nineteenth dynasty, Br., *Rec.*, ii. pl. 107: cf. RENOUE, *A. Z.*, 1873, 123, for recent parallels.

are incised like (13) the 'love-man' plant; you pound it when it is dry, you gather(?) it, (14) you make it into a dry powder; you apply it to any wound; then it is cured.

Styrax, (16) it grows like *slo*m(?) (17) as to its leaf; its seed is twisted (18) like the 'ram's horn' plant, it bearing (19) a small spine at its end.

VERSO COL. V.

(1) A medicament to stop blood: juice of 'Great Nile(?)' plant (2) together with beer; you make the woman drink it in the morning (3) before she has eaten; then it stops.

(4) The way to know it of a woman whether she is enceinte: you make the woman (5) pass her water on this herb as above again (6) in the evening; when the morning comes and if you find the plant (7) scorched(?), she will not conceive; if you find it (8) flourishing, she will conceive.

(9) A medicament to stop blood: leaf of *sheisha*, (10) leaf of 'fly-bronze,' fresh; pound, put (it) (11) on you, you lie with the woman. Another: myrrh, (12) garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with (13) old scented wine; put (it) on you, you lie with her.

(14) Asphodelos, (15) otherwise called 'wild onion.'

l. 4. *rh-s...s*: a characteristic construction in demotic: cf. II Kham. vi. 21. 27.

l. 9. *ht(?)*. This seems a curious use of the word.

l. 10. *hmt-f*. This looks like the literal translation of some foreign name. It is clearly a plant-name; but *χαλκόμυια*, which it suggests, is found only as the name of a kind of fly: cf. our 'corn-bluebottle.'

l. 13. *rp's*, 'old wine,' frequently prescribed in ALEX. TRALL.: cf. Corp. Pap. Rain. II. 183.

n sty = *οἶνος εὐώδης*, Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 1837.

l. 14. *ἀσφοδελός*, φύλλα ἔχων πρᾶσφ μεγάλῃ ὅμοια, Diosc. ii. 199.

l. 15. *χελκεβε*: evidently some bulbous plant like the last; called *βοτανήν χελκεβει* in Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 70. Cf. perhaps *γέλυς*.

16. $\chi\epsilon\lambda\kappa\epsilon\beta\epsilon$

17. ke-z hzn hwt

VERSO COL. VI.

1. phre:t a t 'lk mw hr s-hm:t t hyt:t n phre:t hm
hr nhe nt . . . n-s(?) hw(?) II

2. bn-s p hw II phr n mh II-t psymytsy nte-k nt-f
erme w' hm n 'nzyr n s-nhe

3. m šs sp-sn nte-k t nhe n m' t ar-f e-f nfr erme
w' t swht nte-k nt-w nte-k 'ny w' ol(?)

4. n hbs(?) n 'yw e-f šm' t nte-k sp-f n ty phre:t nte-s
zqm n t s't-eywe:t nte-s

5. y' n 'rp e-f <ne>nfr nte-k t p 'o-l n phre:t a
hry n'm-s nte-k s' y n'm-f n hn

6. a bl hn ty-s 'te:t n w' t hte:t hm n p smt n p
mz n p hwt š' nte t phre:t

7. hlhl nte-k 'ny-t-f a bl nte-k h' s š' rhwe a're rhwe
hp e'r-k sp w' t qlme:t n 'by

8. n m' t nte-k ty-f a hry n'm-s š' twe š' hw III
ke-z IV

VERSO COL. VII.

1. k't m-s-s mw n šwbe e-f lhm znf w' mw n msz n
qle:t znf w' a h p znf

2. n w' z nte-k t w' wth n 'rp e-f <ne>nfr a he:t-w
nte-s swr-f n mre:t e bap-s

3. wm nt nb n p t bn-s zqm n t s't-eywe:t a'r-s t
h't a're rhwe hp e'r-k t p 'l n

4. 'bye a hry n'm-s a h p nt hry š' hw VII k't
m-s-s e'r-k 'ny w' t lwps nmy e'r-k t

COL. VI.

1. 1. The last signs must be *hw II*, 'two days': cf. l. 2. The group before this is unusual. The first sign may be $\mathfrak{A}$, the uterus, reading *k't* or *hm-t*(?) (Kah. Pap. V. 2 note), and the last two might stand for *n-s*, 'to her,' or for *n mn*, 'daily.'

(16) Khelkebe, (17) otherwise called 'wild garlic.'

VERSO COL. VI.

(1) A remedy to cure water in a woman. The first remedy: salt and oil; pound; apply to the vulva(?) daily(?) two days.

(2) After the two days, the second remedy: white lead, you pound it with a little pigment from an oil-dealer (3) very carefully; you put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg and pound them; you take a strip (4) of linen cloth which is fine-spun(?); you dip it in this medicament. She must bathe in the bath, she must (5) wash in good wine; you put the medicated strip on her; you draw(?) it in (and) (6) out of her vulva for a short time, like the phallus of a man, until the medicament (7) spreads(?); you remove it, you leave her till evening; when evening comes, you dip a bandage(?) in genuine honey, (8) you put it on her until morning, for three, otherwise said four, days.

VERSO COL. VII.

(1) Another to follow it: juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed down, one ladleful(?), water of the ears of a *khe*-animal, one ladleful(?) like the ladle (2) of a (wine-) cup; you add a *uteh*-measure of good wine to them; and she drinks it at midday, before she has (3) eaten anything whatever, after bathing in the bath, which she has done before; when evening comes, you put the rag(?) (4) with honey on her as above for seven days.

1. 2. *psymytsy*, as REVILLOUT pointed out, is *ψιμίθιον*, 'white lead': cf. ZOEGA, 626; DIOSC. v. 103.

5. X n wth n 'rp 's e-f hlk ar-s e'r-k t w't $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
n bšwš e-f knn a h·t-f n θ

6. n twe š' mre't nte-s zqm n t s-t-eywe nte-s 'y a
bl nte-s swr-f a're rhwe

7. hp e'r-k t 'bye a hry n'm-s a h p nt hry 'n š'
hw VII

VERSO COL. VIII.

1. ποδακραν

2. e'r-k t hms p rm nte-k t š s'n hr rt-f n p rm

3. nte-k t š . . . m-s-f a rt-f hr 't-f e'r-k šn

4. p rm z hr-f stm š' hw III m-s-s e'r-k 'ny qpqp

5. e'r-k psy·t-f hr nhe n qwpre e'r-k ths rt-f

6. n'm-f e'r-k wh e'r-k 'ny qnt'e R'qt hr ell šw

7. hr sym n gyz e'r-k nt-w hr 'rp e'r-k slk-f n p bl

8. ny nte-k nyf m-s-f n r-k

VERSO COL. IX.

1. k·t

2. ευφορβιον I·t qt·t

3. πεπτερεως $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t

4. περηθου sttr·t(?) I·t

5. αυταρχες sttr·t(?) I·t

6. sttr·t(?) I·t διοναπερον

7. mn 'rp sttr·t(?) VI

COL. VIII.

1. 5. *nhe n qwpre* = *ελαιον κύπρινον*, Diosc. i. 65; PLIN., H. N., 12. 51; 13. 1, 2; 23. 46, made from the seeds or leaves of *ή κύπρος*, *χούπερ*, KIRCHER, p. 179, *Lawsonia inermis*, the henna of the Arabs. The red dye made from the leaves is now the commonest cosmetic in the East, but was perhaps little known anciently. The oil frequently occurs in prescriptions in ALEX. TRALL.

1. 7. *sym n gyz*: lit. 'hand-plant,' with gloss *πινταρταλος*, which no doubt stands for *πεντεδάκτυλος*, Diosc. iv. 42 = *πεντάφυλλον* (potentilla). According to LENZ, p. 702, it is still called in Greece by both names. Cf. PARTHEY, *Zauberpap.*, ii. 34. 40; Pap. bibl. nat. 287.

11. 7-8. *n p bl ny*: a curious construction, if correct.

COL. IX.

1. 3. *πεπτερεως* for *πεπέρεως*, 'pepper' (REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 50), cf.

Another to follow: you take a new dish; you put (5) ten *uteh*-measures of old sweet wine on it; you put a half *kite* of fresh rue on it from (6) dawn till midday; let her bathe in the bath, and come out and drink it. When it is evening (7) you put honey on her as above again for seven days.

VERSO COL. VIII.

(1) Gout. (2) You make the man sit down; you place clay under the feet of the man; (3) you put . . . to it (?), his feet resting on it; you ask (4) the man, saying, 'Has it hearkened?' for three days. Thereafter you take an ant (?), (5) you cook it in oil of henna; you anoint his feet (6) with it. When you have finished, you take Alexandrian figs and dried grapes (7) and potentilla; you pound them with wine; you anoint him besides (?) (8) these; and you blow on him with your mouth.

VERSO COL. IX.

(1) Another: (2) 1 *kite* of Euphorbia, (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of pepper, (4) 1 stater (?) of pyrethrum (?), (5) 1 stater (?) of adarces, (6) native sulphur, 1 stater (?), (7) any wine 6

Diosc. ii. 188; and for its use as a magico-medical ingredient, WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 25; and below V. 14/3; SIGISMUND, Aromata, p. 41.

1. 4. *περηθου* = *πυρέθρον*, apparently an umbellifer hot to the taste: cf. Diosc. iii. 78.

1. 5. *ανταρχες* = *αδαρχης*, Diosc. v. 136, a salt efflorescence on marsh plants. It is noteworthy that these four ingredients, spurge, pepper, *πυρέθρον*, and *αδαρχης*, are all found with many others in a prescription for gout given by ALEX. TRALL., lib. xi. p. 628.

1. 6. *διοναπερον* = *θείον άπυρον* (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50), native sulphur. For its use cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 168; ZOEGA, 626 **ени пѣтущя**. The **опанерон** of KIR. 203 = sulphur rubrum, is doubtless a corruption of the above.

8. n^he n m^c-t . . . ntek nt-w
9. nte-k 'r-w n w^c-t splelyn t a p m^c
10. nt šn n p rm

VERSO COL. X.

1. ke s a(?) rt-f n p-et'grwn
2. e'r-k sh ny rn-w a w^c pq
3. n ht nge tren e'r-k ty-f
4. a w^c h'r n 'ywr nte-k mr-f a rt-f
5. n p rm n rn-f *δερμα ελαφιον* n t rt-t II-t
6. *θεμελιαραθεμε*
7. *οτρεμελρενοττιπε*
8. *αιοχθοτ*
9. *σεμελιαραθεμειοτ*
10. *καιοτ* my lk mn a-ms mn
11. n šn nb nt hn ne-f pt-w te-f rt-w II-t
12. hr ' -k-f e 'h my

VERSO COL. XI.

1. phre:t n rt(?) . . .
2. hzn 'lbwnt
3. 's
4. n^he n m^c-t nt ths-f
5. n'm-f e-f šwy e'r-k y^c-f
6. n mw qbe hr lk-f
7. phre:t n rt-t e-f sk m šs sp-sn nfr sp-sn
8. e'r-k y^c rt-f n mw n šwbet
9. nte-k h^yt-f m šs sp-sn hr rt-f
10. k-t 'lqw n . . . θθ n šnt:t
11. šew nt t ar-f

1. 9. *splelyn*: cf. ZOEGL, 630 *σπλελιν*, apparently a 'plaster' or 'poultice,' probably = *σπλήν, σπληνιον*.

staters(?); (8) genuine oil you pound them, (9) you make them into a poultice; apply to the part (10) which is painful of the man.

VERSO COL. X.

(1) Another talisman for the foot of the gouty man: (2) you write these names on a strip (3) of silver or tin; you put it (4) on a deer-skin; you bind it to the foot (5) of the man named, *δέρμα ἐλάφιον*, with the two feet. (6) *‘θεμβαραθεμ (7) ουρεμβρενουτιπε (8) αιοχθου (9) σεμ-μαραθεμμον (10) ναισου.* Let N. son of N. recover (11) from every pain which is in his feet and two legs.’ (12) You do it when the moon is in the constellation of Leo.

VERSO COL. XI.

(1) Remedy for a foot(?): (2) garlic, frankincense, (3) old (4) genuine oil; pound (together); anoint him (5) with it. When it is dry, you wash it (6) with cold water; then he recovers.

(7) Remedy for a foot which is much sprained(?); very excellent. (8) You wash his foot with juice of cucumber; (9) you rub it well on his foot.

(10) Another: sycomore figs(?) of . . .; fruit(?) of acacia, (11) persea fruit(?); pound (together); apply (it) to him.

COL. X.

1. 1. *ῥ-εῖῑῑῑῑ* = *ποδαγῑῑῑ*.

1. 2. Cf. ALEX. TRALL, lib. xi. p. 656, for a similar method of dealing with gout. Such charms are as common in ancient times as in modern.

1. 3. Tin is frequently used for similar purposes: cf. WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 11.

1. 5. *ῑ ῑ ῑ ῑ ῑ ῑ*, that is with the two feet of the skin.

1. 12.  the knife is the sign of the Zodiac for Leo (BRUGSCH, Nouv. Rech., p. 22, Stobart tables, &c.): cf. 5/11 and note 1/12.

COL. XI.

1. 10. *twne* is perhaps the reading of the imperfect group.

VERSO COL. XII.

1. ke-z wr šcr'y(?)
2. 'nk pe wr š(?)-'y nt 'r hyq a t rpy-t 'ot nb
qwow(?)
3. ll mw ll p mw n sn-t(?) p nt n r-y p 't n H-t-hr-t
šw mr
4. p nt n ht-y ht-y pz pe ht mr p(?) wħe e-ħr 're 'm-t
5. 'y-f a 'm-mw wħe e-ħr 're wnš-t 'y a wnš wħe
e-ħr 're wħr-t 'y-t-f
6. a wħr p wħ nt a p ntr šr spd(?) 'y-y-t-f a mw-s-t-s
e-f 'n-n' a t sbt-t n nyn're-t-s
7. a wħ mw n [p]e-f ntr pe-f ħry pe-f y'h-'o s'b'h-'o
pe-f glemwr' mwse plerwbe s my
8. 'br's'ks senkl'y my 're mn a'ms mn 'y-f a mn a'ms
mn
9. my 'r-s w' pz w' mr w' lyb 'o e-s qte
m-s-f a m' nb p ħyt
10. n y'h-'o s'b'hw h-'o-ry-'o-n(?) p'n-t-rg'-t-r 'n-t-rg'-t-r
'rb'
11. nth'k' th'-'o th'k's z te-y ħwy ħyt a'r-tn

VERSO COL. XIII.

1. n n ntr-w 'y-w n Kmy mħ t-t-tn n st-t šht-t (bk-f)
ħwy-t-f a p ħt n mn a'ms mn
2. ħbq n'm-s nge 'yħ θ n ty-s qt-t mge rm 'mnt my
're p 'y

COL. XII.

1. 1. A gloss on l. 2.
1. 2. *qwow* (the first *w* may be a determinative ¶). BRÜGSCHE, Dict. Geog., 819, identifies this with the modern Qau (Antacopolis). But Qau is derived from Copt. $\pi\kappa\omega\sigma$, which in its turn is perhaps from the hierogl. *dw-q*.
1. 3. *p 't*: obesity is a mark of beauty in the East.
1. 5. *'y-f*: cf. note 21/35. 'y in this line must be an error for *'y-f*. *'y-t-f* at the end of the line must be the same word: cf. Boh. $\alpha\tau\sigma$ and $\alpha\tau\sigma$, and *ħsy-k* 20/20, beside *ħsy-t-k* 20/19.

VERSO COL. XII.

(1, 2) 'I am the great Shaay (otherwise said, the great Sheray?), who makes magic for the great Triphis, the lady of Kooou(?) (3) Lol Milol, the water of thy brother(?) is that which is in my mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, is (4) that which is in my heart; my heart yearns, my heart loves. The(?) longing such as a she-cat (5) feels for a male cat, a longing such as a she-wolf feels for a he-wolf, a longing such as a bitch feels for (6) a dog, the longing which the god, the son of Sopd(?), felt for Moses going to the hill of Ninaretos (7) to offer water unto his god, his lord, his Yaho, Sabaho, his Glemura-muse, Plerube . . S Mi (8) Abrasax, Senklai—let N. daughter of N. feel it for N. son of N.; (9) let her feel a yearning, a love, a madness great, she seeking for him (going) to every place. The fury (10) of Yaho, Sabaho, Horyo . . Pantokrator, Antorgator, (11) Arbanthala, Thalo, Thalax: for I cast fury upon you

VERSO COL. XIII.

(1) 'of the great gods of Egypt: fill your hands with flames and fire; employ it, cast it on the heart of N. daughter of N. (2) Waste her away, thou(?) demon; take her sleep, thou(?) man of Amenti; may the house

-
1. 6. Cf. *Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος ὑψίστου*, quoted from the Orac. Sibyll.
 2. 247 by PARTHEY, 2 Gr. Zauberpap., p. 58. *s-t* is **ch*, 'seat.'
 1. 7. *wh mw*: very common as a title equivalent to *χοαχότης*.
 [*p*]*e-f*: this correction of the text seems almost certain.
plerwbe perhaps = *πλήρωμα*.

COL. XIII.

1. 2. *nge* . . . *nge* must be *πσι: πxe* before the subject, though here before the imperative, which is not allowed in Coptic (W. MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., xiii. 151).

3. n py-s yt ty-s mw·t n ny-s m^c nte e-s n ȥe·t-w . . .
 ʕš e h-ʕo-h n st·t
4. ar-s e-s z ze n-ny e-s <ʕh> qrmrm n bl z ne-ʔy z
 ʔnk w^c·t ryt·t n Gb
5. Hr r(?)·ʕo-n p r^c rn-yt prq rn-s a bl n Kmy š^c hw
 XL ʔbt XXXIII CLXXV n hw p zq-r n VI n ʔbt
6. gyre thee(?) pysytw ek-ʕo(?)·ymy ʔt^cm sp VII
 hs n *~~u~~ceq* w^c ȥm n mw·t n ʕo·t
7. ȥn^c s^csmrym(?) ʔp·t VII·t n hs n *šgec* šȥy n
 ~~h~~eeene n ȥwt ȥ·t n yp·t n nȥe
8. nte-k st·t-w n glm n mȥ nte-k ʕš ar-f n sp VII
 n hw VII nte-k ths ȥn·t-k
9. n^ʔm-f nte-k str erme t s-ȥm·t nte-k ths ȥt-s n t
 s-ȥm·t ʕn
10. a t ʔre s-ȥm·t mr py (*sic*) hy ȥȥ·t n šnt·t nt ȥr
 ʔbye nte-k ths ȥn·t-k n^ʔm-f
11. nte-k str erme t s-ȥm·t a t ʔre s-ȥm·t mr
 nq-s hbete n r-f n w^c ȥtr ȥwt nte-k ths
12. ȥn·t-k n^ʔm-f nte-k str erme t s-ȥm·t

VERSO COL. XIV.

1. a t
2. ʔbn (δραχμη) I
3. *~~u~~mp* (δραχμη) I
4. mȥ n knwt(?) e-f šwy (δραχμη) IV
5. s^cterw (δραχμη) IV
6. nt n pȥre šwy a-ʔry yp·t n^ʔm-f
7. a ȥ p nt e-ʔr-k swne n^ʔm-f erme s-ȥm·t nb

1. 3. n ȥe·t-w. Note this Coptic form **ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲱⲧ** instead of the usual demotic *ȥn-w* lost in Coptic. In this particular phrase, however, *n^ʔm-w*, not *ȥn-w*, is usual.

1. 4. *n-ny . . . ne-ȥ*. It is suggested that, in spite of the strange orthography, **ⲛⲁⲓ** misereri is here intended.

1. 5. It is difficult to see what is intended by the numbers.

1. 6. The first words of this line have been read by PLEYTE (P. S. B. A.,

(3) of her father and her mother (and) the places where she is; call out "There is flame of fire (4) to her," while she speaks, saying, "Have mercy(?)," she standing outside and murmuring "Have mercy(?)." For I am an agent(?) of Geb, (5) Horus Ron Phre is my name, tear her name out of Egypt for forty days, thirty-three months, 175 days, the complement of six months, (6) Gyre, Thee, Pysytu, Ekoimi, Atam.' Seven times. Dung of crocodile, a little placenta(?) of a she-ass, (7) together with sisymbrium, seven *oipi* of antelope's dung, the gall of a male goat, and first-fruits of oil; (8) you heat them with stalks of flax. You recite to it seven times for seven days; you anoint your phallus (9) with it, you lie with the woman; you anoint the breast(?) of the woman also.

(10) To cause a woman to love her husband: pods of acacia, pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it (11) and lie with the woman.

To make a woman *amare coitum suum*. Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

VERSO COL. XIV.

(1) To make (2) alum, 1 drachm, (3) pepper, 1 drachm, (4) *mhnknwt*, dried, 4 drachms, (5) satyrium, 4 drachms. (6) Pound together into a dry medicament; do your business with it (7) like that which you know with any woman.

v. 152) as *κύριε θεέ πιστέ ἐξήμι* 'Αδάμ, 'O divine faithful Lord, I cast out Adam.'

l. 10. *py*: error for *py-s*.

COL. XIV.

l. 5. *sterw* = *στυρίων*, MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 176-177. For the plant (which is not identified) see Diosc. iii. 133. It is a venereal stimulant.

VERSO COL. XV.

1. n rn·w n n ntr·w nt hr wḥe-k-s e·r-k n·n(?) a
ny 'ze a hn swr(?)
2. m'skelly m'skell-ō phnwgentb'·ō
3. hreks(?)sygth-ō perygthe-ō-n perypeg'neks
4. 're-ō-b's'gr' ke-zm 'ō-b's'gr'
5. py rn hr z-k-f hr t ḥt n zy e-f n·n' a byk e-tbe
n rn·w
6. n **αιοκροπος** nt n hn nte-f wzy e·r-k š-w a p z(?)
n **ααωναι** nt sh
7. n bl e-f a 'r w't bk'y·i(?) 'ōt e-f ny 'ze a hn

VERSO COL. XVI.

1. 'rmy-ō-wt (ke-zm **απειροσ**) syth'ny wth'ny
2. 'ry'mwsy s-ō-br-tt byrb't my[s]yryth't
3. a-ms-th'rmyth't a·wy mn a-ms mn a bl hn ny-s
'y·w
4. nt e-s n'm-w a 'y nb nte mn a-ms mn n'm-w e-s
mr[t]-f e-s lby m-s-f
5. e-s 'r n p šp n ḥt-f n nw nb e·r-k sh ny n
r'w ḥl a w't tys·t
6. n š-stn e-s w'b nte-k ty-s a w' ḥbs nmy e-f w'b
e-f mh n nḥe n m't n ⟨p⟩
7. pe-k 'y n θ n rhwe a twe e·r-k gm p f'e n t
s-ḥm·t a ty-f a hn p s'l nfr-f (*sic*)

COL. XV.

1. 1. GROFF has written an elaborate study on this column in *Mém. de l'Inst. Égypt.* iii. 377; many of his readings are wrong, but it remains very difficult to read and interpret.

wḥe-k (?): the second sign is imperfect; *wšte-k* (?).

n·n' (?): cf. l. 5, *n·n'* (?).

'ze: cf. 3/29.

swr (?). Can this be really a trace of *hn*, to be restored *n šn hn*, 'by vase-questioning'?

1. 2. For a similar list of names see *Pap. Gr. Lugd.*, *Pap. V.*, col. 9, l. 10.

1. 5. Can **ετθε** have the meaning 'instead of'?

1. 6. The Dioscuri were the patron gods of sailors.

VERSO COL. XV.

(1) The names of the gods whom you want (?) when you are about (?) to bring in a criminal [by vase-questioning?] (2) Maskelli, Maskello, Phnoukentabao, (3) Hreksyktho, Perykthon, Perypeganex, (4) Areobasagra, otherwise Obasagra.

(5) This name you utter it before a ship that is about (?) to founder on account of the names (6) of Dioscoros, which are within, and it is safe.

You recite them to the bowl (?) of Adonai, which is written (7) outside. It will do a mighty work (?) bringing in a criminal.

VERSO COL. XVI.

(A row of figures, viz. 3 scarabs, 3 hawks, and 3 goats.)

(1) 'Armioout (otherwise Armiouth), Sithani, Outhani, (2) Aryamnoi, Sobrtat, Birbat, Misirythat, (3) Amsie-tharmithat: bring N. daughter of N. out of her abodes (4) in which she is, to any house and any place which N. son of N. is in; she loving him and craving for him, (5) she making the gift of his desire (?) at every moment.' You write this in myrrh ink on a strip (6) of clean fine linen, and you put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, (7) in your house from evening till morning. If you find a hair of the woman to put in the wick, it is excellent.

Bowl (?) of Adonai. Perhaps reference may be made to the familiar story of Nectanebus and the magic bowl in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

l. 7. *n bl*: see note on 18/6.

COL. XVI.

l. 7. For the use of hair in Egyptian magic, cf. the actual specimen mentioned by CHABAS, *Pap. Mag. Harris*, p. 184.

nfr-f or *nfr pe*: cf. 23/8.

VERSO COL. XVII.

1. w^c r a ʔny [s-ḥm-t?] n ḥwt a ḥb rswe-t ke-z a pre
rswe-t ʕn

2.

3. e-ʔr-k šḥ ny a w^ct gbe-t n ʔqyr nte-k ḥ^c ḥr zz-k
e-ʔr-k n·q<te>·t·k ḥr

4. ʔr-f rswe-t nte-f ḥb rswe-t e-f ḥp e-ʔr-k a ʔr-f a ḥb
rswe-t e-ʔr-k ty-s a r-f n w^c qs

5. ḥr ʔr-f ʔny s-ḥm-t ʕn e-ʔr-k šḥ py rn a t kbe-t n
ʕqyr n snf n *𐤀𐤁* nge *𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕* (sic)

6. nte-k t p f^ce n t s-ḥm-t a ḥn t gbe-t nte-k ty-s a
r-f n p qs nte-k šḥ n p ʔytn n py rn z a·wy

7. mn t šr-t n mn a p ʕy n p m^c n str nte mn p šr
n t mn nʔm-f

8. *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγωγίμων*

VERSO COL. XVIII.

1. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕

2. 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕

3. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕

4. wnḥ-k aʔr-y t mn p ntr

5. nte-k sze erme-y ḥr p nt e-y šn-t·k

6. ḥrr-f n mt-t m^ct e bnp-k z n-y

7. mt-t n ʕze *𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕* . . . II

8. *𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕* . . . II

9. nt ḥr snf n *𐤒(?)𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕*

10. ʔr m bnn-t nte-k ḥyt-f ḥr ʔrte

11. n ms-ḥwt t a yr-t-f n wnm nte-k ʕš(?) ar-f(?)

12. a ḥr <p> ḥbs nb nge p ḥpš n rhwe

VERSO COL. XIX.

1. w^c r n ʔny s-ḥm-t(?) a bl n py-s ʕy ḥr ʔny-k w^c
. . . . ce

COL. XVII.

1. 8. *ἀγωγίμων* = *ἀγώγιμον*. Cf. REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 50 and refs.
there; also *Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap.* CXXI. 295, 300, and p. 115.

VERSO COL. XVII.

(1) A spell to bring [a woman] to a man (and?) to send dreams, otherwise said, to dream dreams, also.

(2) (A line of symbols or secret signs.)

(3) You write this on a rush-leaf and you place (it) under your head; you go to sleep; then (4) it makes dreams and it sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you put it (the leaf) on the mouth of a mummy.

(5) It brings a woman also; you write this name on the rush-leaf with the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe (?);

(6) and you put the hair of the woman in the leaf, and put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you write on the earth with this name, saying: 'Bring (7) N. daughter of N. to the house in the sleeping-place in which is N. son of N.' (8) Now it is also an *αγωγίμων*.

VERSO COL. XVIII.

(1) ' *ἡροῦθεος* (2) *εκτοῦλα* (3) *ἡρρεφει*.

(4) 'Reveal thyself to me, god N., (5) and speak to me concerning that which I shall ask thee, (6) truthfully, without telling me (7) falsehood.' Saffron, 2 (measures), (8) stibium of Koptos, 2 (measures), (9) pound together with blood of a lizard, (10) make into a ball, and rub it with milk (11) of one who has born a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you make invocation (?) to him (?) (12) before any lamp or the 'Shoulder' constellation in the evening.

VERSO COL. XIX.

(1) A spell for bringing a woman out of her house.

COL. XVIII.

l. 8. **στηληκῆτ** = *στιμμί κοπτικόν*. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. XLVI. 67, CXXI. 336; Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1071.

l. 10. *rite n ms-hwt*: common in Old Egyptian prescriptions. Cf. *γάλα ἀρρενοτόκου γυναικός*, Diosc. v. 99, likewise in connexion with *στιμμί*.

2. n ʾm-t (*sic*) n ḥwt nte-k t šwy-f nte-k ʾny wʿ qbh(?)

3. n ḥsy nte-k mnqe wʿ kswr e ḥt-f šfe n nb

4. n my e(?) r-w wn e ḥr-f n wn a wn nʾm-w eʾr-k t n(?) nk ḥr(?)f

5. eʾr-k wh a ʾny s-ḥm-t n-k n nw nb eʾr-k wh p kswr n p ḥrw n wʿ ḥbs

6. e-f mh eʾr-k z ar-f(?) z a-wy mn t šr mn a py mʿ

7. nt e-y nʾm-f n tkr ḥn ny wnet-w n p-hw ḥr ʾw-s ty hte-t

VERSO COL. XX.

1. a ty lk yr-t-bn(?) n rm ʾMn py ḥwt ḥy py ḥwt ʾkš ʾr ʾy a ḥry

2. n mrwe a Kmy gm Ḥr pe šr e-f fy-t-f a hn rt-f a-e-f škʿ-f

3. a zz-f n III r n mt-t ʾkš e-f gm mn a-ms mn a-e-f fy-t-f a hn

4. rt-f a-e-f škʿ-f a zz-f n III r n mt-t ʾkš g(?)ntyny-tnty

5. nʾ qwqwby . . . khe ʾkhʾ

6. a wʿ ḥm n nḥe nte-k t ḥm ḥlyn ar-f nte-k ths p rm nt ḥr yr-t-bn(?) nʾm-f

7. nte-k sh ny ʿn a wʿ zm nmy nte-k ʾr-f n mze a ḥet-f nte-k py byl n t pʾt n n sh

COL. XIX.

1. 2. *qbḥ*: the reading of the first sign is doubtful. The determinative would lead one to expect ʾbḥ, 'tooth,' but it is difficult to read so. *qbḥ* would perhaps be *koḥg*, 'tendo,' or it may be the name of some animal which is to be drowned.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *yr-t(?)*, followed by det. or word-sign for evil, 'bad eye,' which might be either ophthalmia or 'evil-eye,' *εἰεφθονε*. The prescription perhaps favours the former.

1. 2. Amon was the god of Meroe: cf. II Kham. iv. 15.

You take a (2) of a wild she-cat ; you dry it ; you take a heel-tendon (?) [of a (?) which has been (?)] (3) drowned ; you fashion a ring, the body (?) bezel) of which is variegated (?) with gold [in the form of two (?)] (4) lions, their mouths being open, the face of each being turned to the other ; you put some its face (?). (5) If you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you place the ring on the upper part of a lamp, (6) which is lighted ; you say, 'Bring N. daughter of N. to this place (7) in which I am, quickly in these moments of to-day.' Then she comes at once.

VERSO COL. XX.

(1) To heal ophthalmia (?) in a man. '[Ho ?] Amon, this lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down (2) from Meroe to Egypt, he finds my son Horus betaking himself as fast as his feet move (?), and he injured (?) him (3) in his head with three spells in Ethiopian language, and he finds N. son of N. and carries him as fast as his feet move (?), (4) and injures his head with three spells in Ethiopian language : Gentini, Tentina, (5) Kwkwy, [Ak]khe, Akha.' (6) (Say it) to a little oil : add salt and nasturtium seed to it, you anoint the man who has ophthalmia (?) with it. (7) You also write this on a new papyrus ; you make it into a written amulet on his body :—'Thou art this eye of heaven' in the writings (followed by an eye with rays, as drawn in the papyrus).

The spell seems very corrupt, but some sense may be made of it by supplying *e-f* before *gm*.

l. 3. *a hn rt-f*, 'according to the movement (?) of his feet.'

l. 6. *hlyn*, *ϣλλει*, Sah. in Peyron = *κερδαμων* (*κάρδαμον*, Diosc. ii. 184) *κερδαμωμο* (*καρδάμωμον*, ib. i. 5).

l. 7. *mze*: cf. II Kham. ii. 26 ; P. S. B. A., 1899, p. 269 ; perhaps connected with *μαγία*.

VERSO COL. XXI.

1.
2.
3.
4. t-nhs(?) 'nh-ṣm
5. nt ṛ(?) n p yṛ
6. smt yr-t-k n'm-f

VERSO COL. XXII.

1. [e-f] znt
2. tey-s [p kys nt ḥr ṛ-k(?)] ty-f a yr-t-k eṛ-k ṛn-
3. nṣ a p hn n šn wṣ-t-k wyt
4. ms-tme qs(?)-'nh s(?) . . . ḥrrw n šr-ṣo-t(?)
5. km nte *epero(?)ṣ* pe snf n qwqwpt
6. nt . . . m bnn nte-k smt yr-t-k n'm-f ḥr mw
7. n elle n(?) Kmy(?) ḥr st n t(?)-nhs ḥr
8. nw-k a t ḥyb-t n ntr nb ntr-t nb
9. -f te-y ṣ n-tn n ntr-w ṣy nt ḥṣ-w erme p rṣ
t(?)semwks
10. ṛmp(?) p-yṣm-enpṣyṣ yb-ṣo-th yṣe sṣbṣ-ṣo-th
11. a-[wn] n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ṣy nt ḥṣ-w erme p rṣ
my wn yr-t a p
12. [wy]n nte-y mṣ p ntr nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn ze
p s ṣblṣ
13. n[ṣth]ṣndlbṣ p ntr wr mṣrṣrṣ ṣn-t-ne ṣbyṣth
14. n snn(?) . . ṣe n-t-sṣtrṣperqmṣe Wsr ly
15. l[ṣ]m rn-f a-wn n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ṣy my wn yr-t
a p wyn
16. nt[e-y] mṣ p ntr nt šn n p-hw a-wn n-y sp-sn te-y
ḥwy ḥyt aṣr-tn n p ntr ṣo sp-sn
17. . . . nte(?) ne-ṣy(?) te-f pḥt-t nt 'nh ṣṣ z-t my
pḥt-w sp-sn n p rnn

COL. XXII.

1. 4. *šr-ṣo-t km-t* = the edible seed *šr-t km-t*, E. E. F. Paheri, Pl. III. top
ine; BRUGSCH, Wtb., 1405: cf. the white *šr-t ḥzz-t* from which beer was

VERSO COL. XXI.

(1-3) (Fragments) (4) of Ethiopia (?), *ankh-amu* flowers, (5) pound, make(?) of the river, (6) paint your eye with it.

VERSO COL. XXII.

(1) tested. (2) Behold [the ointment which you] put on your eye when you (3) approach the vessel of inquiry alone: green eye-paint, (4) stibium, *ges-ankh* (?), amulet of, flowers of black *sher-o* (?) (5) which are beans (?), blood of hoopoe, (6) pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice (7) of Egyptian (?) grapes, and *set-stone* (?) of Ethiopia; then (8) you see the shadow of every god and every goddess.

(9) Its 'I invoke you (plur.), ye great gods who shine with the sun, Themouks (10) Amp . . . Piam, Enpaia, Eiboth, Eiae, Sabaoth, (11) open(?) to me (*bis*), ye great gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the (12) light, and let me see the god who inquires to-day, hasten (*bis*); for the protection (13) Ablanathanalba, the mighty god, Marara, Atone, Abeiath, (14) N Senen (?), [Psh]oi, Zatra-perkemei, Osiris, (15) Lilam is his name. Open to me (*bis*), ye great gods, let my eyes be opened to the light, (16) and let me see the god who inquires to-day. Open to me (*bis*). I cast the fury on you (plur.) of the great (*bis*) god, (17) whose might is great (?),

prepared, ib., Suppl., 1200. Here the former is made equivalent to *ερεκος*, presumably *ἄρακος* (= *Vicia cracca* L., common vetch according to LENZ, Bot. d. alten Griechen u. Römer, p. 726), which was a common cultivated plant in Egypt. Cf. Oxyrhynchus Pap. II. cclxxx. 16, Tebtunis Pap. pass.; in Coptic Corp. Pap. Rain. II. p. 176 (ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲓ), Crum Copt. MSS. Fay. p. 78 verso, l. 35 (ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ).

1. 7. *elle n(?) Kmy(?)*: cf. ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲏⲏⲉ, 'black grapes,' but see 29/28, which is practically a parallel.

18. sp-sn p rn n p [ntr?] a·wn n-y
sp-sn

19. [n ntr·w] 'y nt h^c-w erme p r^c my wn [yr·t a p
wyn nt]e-y

20. [m' p ntr] nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn . . . sp . . .

VERSO COL. XXIII.

1.
2. nt
3. hr(?)
4. ke
5. . . . naž
6. 'ny
7. pr·w
8.
9. ke 'n
10. hs šwy e-f wš . . . II
11. nt [hr nhe(?) n q]wpr hr 'by
12. ths [hnt-k(?)] n'm-f nte-k str erme-s

VERSO COL. XXIV.

1.
2. ar-f nte-k
3. n š-stn ar-f e py(?) rnn III šh ar-f
4. hr hl nte-k θ-r-f nte-k wh-f
5. zz-k nte-k 'š-w ar-f 'n n sp IX
6. hbs hr 'r-k-f n p nw n p θ III n rhwe
7. t-k z-mt't y-'o-b's'wmpth-'o
8. [ghr-'o-me lw]gh'r my wn yr't a bl
9. [n mt't] m't hr t mn t mt't nt e-y šll hrr-s ty
10. [n p-hw n] mt't m't n wš n z n-k mt't n 'ze
11. ιωβαλασταντωωχρωμελοσχαρ
12. my wn yr't a bl n mt't m't hr t mn t mt't nt
e-y šll
13. hrr-s ty n p-hw

who lives for ever, give power to the name (?) (18)
 the name of the god (?) open to me
 (*bis*), (19) ye great [gods] who shine with the sun, let
 [my eyes] be opened [to the light, and let] me (20) [see
 the god] who answers to-day, hasten (*bis*) ... times ...'

VERSO COL. XXIII.

(Lines 1-9 fragments.) (10) dung dried and
 burnt, 2 (measures), (11) pound (with oil of) henna and
 honey, (12) anoint [your phallus] therewith, and lie
 with her.

VERSO COL. XXIV.

(1) (2) on it, and you (3)
 of fine linen on it (? him); these three names being
 written on it, (4) with myrrh; you light it and
 place it (5) your head; you recite them to
 it again nine times. (6) the lamp; you do it
 at the time of the third hour (?) of evening (7) [and you]
 lie down (?). Formula: 'Iobasaoumpttho (8) [Khrome(?)
 Lou]khar; let my eyes be opened (9) in truth concern-
 ing any given matter which I am praying for here (10)
 [to-day, in] truth without telling thee (*sic*) falsehood.'

(11) 'Iobasaoumptthokhromeloukhar, (12) let my eyes
 be opened in truth concerning any given thing which
 I am praying (13) for here to-day.'

COL. XXIII.

1. 1. Probably some five or six short lines have completely disappeared
 before the beginning of the existing fragments of this column.

COL. XXIV.

Following this on LEYDEN, Pl. XIV., there are several scraps of Greek,
 &c., numbered 1-7. They are written on pieces of papyrus used for
 patching worn places, and have no necessary connexion with the text.

VERSO COL. XXV.

1.

2. hs n bk hm 'sy

3. bel nt n w^c sp ths

4. hn-t-k n'm-f nte-k str erme

5. t s-hm-t e-f hp nte-f šwy e'r-k

6. nt w^c hm n'm-f hr *epn* nte-k

7. ths hn-t-k n'm-f

8. nte-k str erme t s-hm-t nfr sp-sn

VERSO COL. XXVI.

1. e'r-k [wh a t 're n] ntr-w n p hne(?) sze wbe-k

2. a're n ntr-w 'y a hn e'r-k z py rn [a'r-w] sp IX

3. y'-o yph e'-o-e gynnt'hw'r neph'r

4. 'ph-o-e hr 'r-f wh-shne n-k a p nt e'r-k a šn-t-f
ar-f a'r θ-hr5. hp a tm z n-k wh e'r-k z py ke rn a'r-w n sp
IX š^c6. nte-w šn n-k n mt-t m^ct ng'-o-ngetsyks m'ntw7. n'-o-b'-o-e g'-o-ghyr hr'-o-n-t-r nt'-o-ntr'-o-m^c

8. leph'-o-ger gephe's-o-re sp VII

9. ιατω · εϕη · ωη · κηηααοορ · ηεφαρ · αφoe

VERSO COL. XXVII.

1. a h p nt hry hn z ank pe syt-t'-k stm rn-yt

2. stm pe pe rn n mt ank g'nth^c gyn-tw gyry-tw3. hry-ntr 'rynwte l'bt'th^c l'ptwth^c4. l'ks'nth^c s'rys^c m'rkhr'chw'tw5. 'rsyng^cghl^c k-zm 'rsyng^cl'bel b'-o-l-b'-o-el6. b'-o-el sp-sn l'-o-tery gl'-o-g's'ntr^c y'h'-o

7. rn-yt y'h'-o pe pe rn n mt b'lk'h'm p šft n t p t

COL. XXVI.

1. 1. This column is a reproduction of 28/7-10 with slight variations.

1. 4. θ-hr = Boh. σργο, 'delay.' This phrase is omitted in the parallel.

VERSO COL. XXV.

(1) (2) hawk's dung, salt, *asi* plant, (3) *bel*, pound together, anoint (4) your phallus with it and lie with (5) the woman. If it is dry, you (6) pound a little of it with wine, and you (7) anoint your phallus with it (8) and you lie with the woman. Excellent (*bis*).

VERSO COL. XXVI.

(1) If you wish [to make] the gods of the vessel (?) speak with you, (2) when the gods come in, you say this name to them nine times: (3) 'Iaho, Iphe, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, (4) Aphoe.' Then he makes command to you as to that which you shall ask him about. If delay (5) occur, so that answer is not given you, you recite this other name to them nine times until (6) they inquire for you truthfully: 'Goethix, Mantou, (7) Noboe, Khokhir, Hrodor, Dondroma, (8) Lephoker, Kephaersore.' Seven times. (9) Iaho . Eiphe . On . Kindathour . Nephar . Aphoe.

VERSO COL. XXVII.

(1) According to that which is above within, saying, 'I am this Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, (2) Setem is my correct name. I am Gantha, Ginteu, Griteu, (3) Hrinoute, Arinoute, Labtatha, Laptutha, (4) Laksantha, Sarisa, Markharahuteu, (5) Arsinga-khla; another volume (says) Arsinga-label, Bolboel, (6) Boel (*bis*), Loteri, Klogasantra, Iaho, (7) is my name, Iaho is my correct name,

l. 9. Repeats the invocation names in ll. 2-3.

COL. XXVII.

l. 1. This column is parallel to 1/13-16.

ni hry (*n?*) *hn*: *hn* must refer to the recto. Cf. *n bl* = 'verso,' 18/6, V. 15/7.

8. ʔbl'n'th'n'lb'c srrf n t qnh't n p ntr nt 'h n p-hw(?)

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

1. e-ʔr-k ne t š(?) syw(?) . . m(?) a hry(?) . . .
2. e 'h zl-t(?)

VERSO COL. XXIX.

1. . . . ty lb rm nb nge s-ḥm-t nb
2. e-ʔr-k θ p f'e n p rm nt e-ʔr-k wh-f erme p f'e
3. n w'c rm e-f **ⲁⲁⲟⲩⲧ** nte-k mr-w erme ne-w ʔre-w
4. nte-k mr-w a ḥe-t-f n w'c **ḥeṣ** nte-k wrh-f
5. e-f 'nh e-f ḥp e-ʔr-k wh a ʔr-f n hyn-w hw-w
6. e-ʔr-k ḥ'c p **ḥeṣ** n w'c m'c e-ʔr-k s'nh n'm-f n
pe-k 'y

VERSO COL. XXX.

1. e-ʔr-k hs n **ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ**
2. ḥr hy ḥe-[t]-s
3. k-t e-ʔr-k ths ḥn-t-k n hs n
4. **ḥeλ** nte-k str erme s-ḥm-t ḥr ʔr-s mr-t-k
5. e-ʔr-k nt hs n **ⲉⲓⲥ(?)ⲁⲉ** ḥr ʔby
6. nte-k ths ḥn-t-k n'm-f a ḥ p nt hry 'n
7. ke hs n **ḡaite** ḥr sknn n
8. wrt a ḥ p nt hry 'n
9. ke e-ʔr-k qp s-ḥm-t n hs n **ḡaioṣλ**
10. e p snf ḥrr-s ḥr lk-s
11. hs n **eo** 'n py smte

COL. XXVIII.

1. 1. This short column appears to be the only part of the papyrus written in a different hand from the rest. It is very obscure, and the words seem much abbreviated. The group elsewhere reading *nh* (ⲛⲏⲁ) is conspicuous, but is without the determinative, and perhaps has another meaning here.

1. 2. Cf. V. 10/12. The zodiacal sign *ⲙⲟⲗ* ★ stands for Scorpio (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22). For the reading *zl-t*(?), cf. O. L. Z., 1902, V. col. 6, 223.

Balkham, the mighty (?) one of heaven, (8) Ablanathanalba, gryphon of the shrine of the god which stands to-day (?).'

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

(1) You shall cause a star (?) to go . . . place (?) under the earth (?) (2) when the moon is in the constellation of Scorpio.

VERSO COL. XXIX.

(1) [Spell to] make mad any man or any woman.
(2) You take the hair of the man whom you wish, together with the hair (3) of a dead (murdered?) man; and you tie them to each other, (4) and tie them to the body of a hawk, and you release (?) it (5) alive. If you wish to do it for some days, (6) you put the hawk in a place and you feed it in your house.

VERSO COL. XXX.

(1) If you dung of a *smoun*-goose, (2) then her body falls.

(3) Another: you anoint your phallus with dung of (4) a *kel*, and you lie with (the) woman, then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee). (5) You pound dung of with honey, (6) and you anoint your phallus with it as above again.

(7) Another: dung of hyaena (?) with ointment of (8) roses as above again.

(9) Another: you fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung (10) when the menstruation is on her; then she is cured.

(11) Ass's dung also—this method (of treatment).

COL. XXIX.

1. 5. *n hynrw hw-w*. Does this mean 'for several days' or 'after several days'?

COL. XXX.

1. 2. *hy he-t-s*: perhaps of abortion, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵: 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

1. *ειαιτωοτ*
2. ke-z *αραιωρε*
3. p ntr nt 'wh p hbs nt θ-
4. r-yt 'm a hn
5. hr zz-y nte-k z n-y wh
6. hr p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw

VERSO COL. XXXII.

1. a t 're **λιδε**(?) m-s hwt
2. e'r-k 'ny w' **εαιαι** e-f 'nh
3. nte-k 'ny pe-f **ce[ɣ]*e* a bl nte-k h'-f n w' m'
4. nte-k 'ny pe-f **ɣe[ɾ]** nte-k h'-f n ke m' e'r-k
5. fy pe-f swm' tre-f e'r-k nt-f m šs sp-sn
6. e'r e-f šwy nte-k fy w' hm n p nt nt-yt ermc w'
7. hm n snf n pe-k tb' n mh II n p s'f'pyn
8. n te-k t't n gbyr nte-k ty-f a w' z n 'rp
9. nte-k t swr-s t hm't hr 'r-s **λιδε** m-s-k
10. e'r-k t pe-f **ceɣe** a w' z n 'rp hr **ατεε**
11. ty hte-t nge ty-f a ef nge nk n wm
12. e'r-k t pe-f **ɣet** a w' htm n nb nte-k ty-f
13. a t't-k hr ty-f n-k h's-t 'o't mrt šfet

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

1. a Hr [e-]f mš' a hry hr tw n mre-t
n 'h e-f t 'fyt a w' htr ht a w' htr km
2. e n zm . . . [hr '']t-f na p wr-ty hn qne-f a-e-f gm
n n ntr-w tre-w e-w hms-t a hry a t s't wpe-t
3. e-w wm [n p rt] n h'p pe wr hr-w Hr 'm n e'r-k
wm Hr 'm n e'r-k ne wm hr-f 'l-wt-tn a hr-y

Col. XXXII.

1. 1. This column is a paraphrase of 13/17-21.
1. 6. e'r e-f: possibly for *εαɣ*. The parallel has e-f šwy.

Col. XXXIII.

1. 1. a Hr. a in this papyrus appears as the auxiliary of the past ε-, but not of the present e-.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

(1) 'Sisihoout (2) otherwise Armioth, (3) the god who liveth, the lamp which is (4) lighted, come within (5) before me, and give me answer (6) concerning that which I ask about here (7) to-day.'

VERSO COL. XXXII.

(1) To make rave for a man. (2) You take a live shrew-mouse (?), (3) and take out its gall and put it in one place, (4) and take its heart and put it in another place. You (5) take its whole body, you pound it very much; (6) when it is dry, you take a little of the pounded stuff with a (7) little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart, (8) of your left hand, and put it in a cup of wine (9) and you make the woman drink it. Then she has a passion for you.

(10) You put its gall into a cup of wine, then she dies (11) instantly; or put it in meat or some food.

(12) You put its heart in a ring of gold and put it (13) on your hand; then it gives you great praise, love, and respect.

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

(1) Horus he was going up a hill at midday in the verdure season, mounted on a white horse on a black horse, (2) the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his bosom. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgement (3) eating [of the produce?] of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief.

[ε?] *f mš*, &c. : cf. O. C. in A. Z., 1883, 100; 1900, 90 *πεπικον* *ππτοστ* *πμερε* *πσωα*.

For Horus on horseback, cf. PLUT., de Is. et Osir., c. 19.

1. 2. *hms-t*: probably as Ach. *εμαστ* (as used for infinitive in l. 6) rather than *εμακνοστ*.

1. 3. *h'p* (?): cf. l. 6 and V. 5/1. A feminine word similarly spelt is found in connexion with embalming in BRUGSCH, Thes., 893, 895.

4. mn [ky?] n'm-y n wm te-y šn zz-y te-y šn hē-t a
w' g'wm' θy-t a w' tw rs ty 'h-y

5. ne 'S-t [lk]-s e-s šte ne Nb-ht lk-s e-s s'wze ne p
XVI n Ne-tbew-w ne pe(?) w' n nht

6. n ntr n[e p? 3?]65 n ntr hms-t a hry a wm n p
rt n t sh-t n h'p pe wr š' nte-w šte n p g'wm'

7. n zz[-f n p] šr n 'S-t n zz-f n mn a-ms mn n n
g'wm' n grh n n g'wm' n mre-t p šn zz py srrf

8. py hmm [n n g'wm'-w n ne 'r . . . n rt-f šte
a bl n zz-f n mn a-ms mn 'h nhe n m't

9. n sp VII [nte-k th]s t-t-f hē-t-f rt-f nte-k mt-t ar-f

Probably the word here, with divine determinative, is different, and may well represent *H'p*, 'the Nile.' The same group occurs in Pap. In-singer 16/21.

pe wr is difficult, 'belonging to the Great,' or 'son of the Great,' or 'my Great one.'

απαει: cf. note 1/20.

l. 5. *ne*: probably fut. neg. *nte*.

XVI n *Ne-tbew-w*: cf. 2/9 note; perhaps *οι δεκαεξ γιγαντες* of Berl. Pap. (PARTHEY), II. 102. There were also the 16 cubits of the Nile, and according to one account the body of Osiris was torn into sixteen pieces, Rec. tr., iii. p. 56, v. p. 86; other texts give fourteen parts (PLUTARCH) or seventeen (Rhind. bil. i. p. 3).

l. 6. [3]65 gods, i.e. one for each day of the year. Cf. the 365

Said they, 'Horus, come, art thou eating? Horus, come, wilt thou eat?' He said, 'Take yourselves from me; (4) there is no [desire?] in me for eating. I am ill in my head; I am ill in my body; a fever hath taken hold of me, a South wind hath seized me. (5) Doth Isis [cease] to make magic? Doth Nephthys cease to give health? Are the sixteen Netbeou, is the one Power (6) of God, are [? the 3]65 gods seated to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief, until they remove the fever (7) from the head of the son of Isis (and) from the head of N. born of N., the fevers by night, the fevers by day, the headache, this burning, (8) this heat of the fevers of of his feet, remove from the head of N. born of N.' (Say it) over genuine oil (9) seven times, and anoint his hand, his body, his feet, and pronounce the words to him.

names of the great god in Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. 4, 32, and the 365 gods, ib. W. 3, 13.

n t sh.t: erased in original.

l. 7. *srrf*: probably for *srj*.

l. 8. *ne 'r*  (?).

šte: a participle resuming the idea of *šte* in l. 6 after the long parenthesis.

ERRATUM

Page 40, note to line 2, *for* *κοτε* *read* *κοτε*

CORRESPONDENCE OF COLUMNS

Old No.	New No.	Old No.	New No.
	<i>Recto.</i>		<i>Verso.</i>
LONDON	I = I	LEIDEN	I = I
"	II = II	"	II = II
"	III = III	"	III = III
"	IV = IV	"	IV = IV
"	V = V	"	V = V
"	VI = VI	"	VI = VI
"	VII = VII	"	VII = VII
"	VIII = VIII	"	VIII = VIII
"	IX = IX	"	IX = IX
"	X } = X	"	X = X
LEIDEN	I } = X	"	XI = XI
"	II-III = XI	"	XII = XII
"	IV-V = XII	"	XIII = XIII
"	VI = XIII	"	XIV = XIV
"	VII = XIV	"	XV = XV
"	VIII = XV	"	XVI-XVII = XVI
"	IX = XVI	"	XVIII = XVII
"	X = XVII	"	XIX = XVIII
"	XI = XVIII	"	XX = XIX
"	XII = XIX	"	XXI = XX
"	XIII = XX	"	XXIII = XXI
"	XIV = XXI	"	XXII, XXIV = XXII
"	XV = XXII	"	XXV, XXVI = XXIII
"	XVI = XXIII	"	XXVII = XXIV
"	XVII = XXIV	LONDON	I = XXV
"	XVIII = XXV	"	II = XXVI
"	XIX = XXVI	"	III = XXVII
"	XX = XXVII	"	IV = XXVIII
"	XXI = XXVIII	"	V = XXIX
"	XXII = XXIX	"	VI = XXX
		"	VII = XXXI
		"	VIII = XXXII
		"	IX = XXXIII

It has been found necessary to make some changes in the numbering of the lines in Leid. I-V, XVII, and Verso Leid. III, VIII, XXII-XXVI.

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THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

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THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

Edited by
HANS DIETER BETZ

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Shall we write about the things not to be spoken of?

Shall we divulge the things not to be divulged?

Shall we pronounce the things not to be pronounced?

Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*

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Preface

This volume of translations of the Greek magical papyri has been a long time in the making. The project began in a planning colloquium at Claremont, California, May 31 to June 4, 1978. At this meeting, a team of scholars resolved to produce this translation volume as part of a research project on the Greek magical papyri, the project as a whole being designed as a contribution to the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*.

The translations turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than had been expected. Since it seemed desirable to expand the Preisendanz collection to include as many newly discovered and newly published magical papyri as possible, the number of papyri increased from 81 to 131. In this respect, the translation volume differs from the Preisendanz volumes. It differs also in that while Preisendanz reproduced only the Greek sections of bilingual Greek-Demotic papyri, this volume includes the full translations of all bilingual texts.

All translations are based on the Greek, Demotic, and Coptic texts. *PGM* I–LXXXI follow the Preisendanz edition, while *PGM* LXXXII–CXXX and *PDM* Supplement follow their critical editions, which are indicated in the notes. Translators were free to make changes in the texts when they thought it necessary; these changes are also indicated in the notes. Where earlier translations exist, they have been consulted, but all the translations included in this volume are new.

Unlike the Preisendanz edition, this new volume does not have an *apparatus criticus*. Instead, it has notes explaining difficulties in the text and the translation, and notes alerting readers to important information. It has been necessary to limit these notes to a degree which many readers may find drastic, but the team decided not to attempt what could only be a lengthy commentary on the papyri. Instead, they agreed that other research tools should be developed to encourage and assist further research on the papyri. The following research tools are presently being prepared:

1. An index of Greek words is being prepared by Professor Edward O'Neil.
2. A subject index based on the English translation is being worked out by Ms. Marjorie Menaul.
3. A collection of parallels between the magical papyri and early Christian literature is being prepared by the research team. This part of the project is most directly related to the task of the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, namely, the collection of parallels from ancient literature to the New Testament and the other Christian literature up to approximately A.D. 150.
4. A comprehensive bibliography, including editions and investigations of the magical papyri, is being assembled by Professor David Hellholm.

The present volume would not have come about without the generous support of institutions and individuals. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the entire venture from the beginning by substantial grants from 1978 to 1983. Without this financial assistance, the project would simply not exist; schol-

arly team projects of this magnitude cannot live on enthusiasm alone. Apart from the purely financial aspect, the officers of the NEH have helped more than they may realize by their quiet encouragement and confidence expressed over a number of years.

A great deal of assistance also came from the institutions where the project was initiated and where it is now based. These include the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, where the project was based during the years 1977 and 1978, and the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion at the University of Chicago, where it has been from 1978 to the present. Thanks are especially due to the officers of these institutions, Professors James M. Robinson and James Brashler of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; and Professors Joseph M. Kitagawa, formerly dean, and Franklin I. Gamwell, currently dean, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, as well as to Martin E. Marty, program coordinator for the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion of the University of Chicago.

The present project could not have succeeded without the unfailing loyalty and generosity of the members of the team, both contributors and consultants. Among these should be named Professors Jan Bergman, Walter Burkert, Franco Maltomini, and P. J. Sijpesteijn. The research specialists of the project, Professor William C. Grese (1977–80), and Mr. Roy Kotansky and Ms. Marjorie Menaui (1980–83), not only helped to carry the burdens of administration and editorship, but made substantial contributions to the project as well. To all of them sincere thanks are due.

H. D. Betz

Table of Spells

This list of spells presupposes the divisions in the texts and the identification of section titles made by the editor. In the Demotic spells, section titles are sometimes indicated by red lettering (but this is not done consistently). If no titles are given, this fact is stated (No title) and a short description of content is added.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Translator</i>	<i>Short Title</i>
<i>PGM I</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM I. 1–42</i>	E.N.O.	[Rite] for acquiring an assistant daimon
<i>PGM I. 42–195</i>	E.N.O.	The spell of Pnouthis (for acquiring an assistant daimon)
<i>PGM I. 195–222</i>	E.N.O.	Prayer of deliverance
<i>PGM I. 222–31</i>	E.N.O.	Invisibility spell
<i>PGM I. 232–47</i>	E.N.O.	Memory spell
<i>PGM I. 247–62</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for invisibility
<i>PGM I. 262–347</i>	E.N.O.	Apollonian invocation
<i>PGM II</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM II. 1–64</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM II. 65–183</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Alternative spell for revelation
<i>PGM III</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM III. 1–164</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Cat ritual for many purposes
<i>PGM III. 165–86</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Oracular request (?)
<i>PGM III. 187–262</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM III. 263–75</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 275–81</i>	E.N.O.	[Horoscope]
<i>PGM III. 282–409</i>	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for foreknowledge
<i>PGM III. 410–23</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 424–66</i>	W.C.G.	A copy from a holy book (spell for foreknowledge and memory)
<i>PGM III. 467–78</i>	W.C.G.	Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 479–83</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 483–88</i>	W.C.G.	Another (foreknowledge charm to detect a thief)
<i>PGM III. 488–94</i>	W.C.G.	Another (spell to detect a thief?)
<i>PGM III. 494–611</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios
<i>PGM III. 612–32</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Spell for gaining control of one's shadow
<i>PGM III. 633–731</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for a direct vision
<i>PGM IV</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM IV. 1–25</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 26–51</i>	H.M.	Initiation
<i>PGM IV. 52–85</i>	H.M. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 86–87</i>	M.W.M.	Phylactery against daimons

<i>PGM</i> IV. 88–93	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	Another, to Helios
<i>PGM</i> IV. 94–153	M.W.M.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 154–285	J.P.H. / E.N.O.	Nephotes to Psammetichos (letter concerning bowl divination)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 286–95	E.N.O.	Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 296–466	E.N.O.	Wondrous spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> IV. 467–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 469–70	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 471–73	H.M.	(No title) Verses from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 474	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 475–829	M.W.M.	(No title) The “Mithras Liturgy”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 830	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 831–32	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 833–34	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 835–49	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological text
<i>PGM</i> IV. 850–929	W.C.G.	Charm of Solomon that produces a trance
<i>PGM</i> IV. 930–1114	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Charm that produces direct vision
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1115–66	W.C.G.	Hidden stele (prayer)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1167–1226	W.C.G.	Stele (spell for deliverance)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1227–64	M.W.M.	Rite for driving out daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1265–74	E.N.O.	Aphrodite’s name (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1275–1322	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1323–30	W.C.G.	Another (Bear charm)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1331–89	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1390–1495	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1496–1595	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1596–1715	M.S.	Consecration for all purposes
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1716–1870	E.N.O.	Sword of Dardanos (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1872–1927	E.N.O.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1928–2005	E.N.O.	King Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2006–2125	E.N.O.	Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2125–39	M.S.	A restraining seal
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2140–44	W.C.G.	Pitys the Thessalian’s spell for questioning corpses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2145–2240	H.M.	Divine assistance from three Homeric verses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2241–2358	E.N.O.	Document to the waning moon
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2359–72	R.F.H.	Business spell
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2373–2440	R.F.H.	Charm for acquiring business
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2441–2621	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2622–2707	E.N.O.	Slander spell to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2708–84	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2785–2890	E.N.O.	Prayer to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2891–2942	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2943–66	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2967–3006	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3007–86	W.C.G.	Charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3086–3124	W.C.G.	Oracle of Kronos, called “little mill”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3125–71	M.S.	(No title) Spell for favor
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3172–3208	W.C.G.	Dream-producing charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3209–54	J.P.H.	Saucer divination of Aphrodite
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3255–74	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> V		(No title) Magical handbook

<i>PGM</i> V. 1–53	W.C.G.	Oracle of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> V. 54–69	W.C.G.	Direct vision spell
<i>PGM</i> V. 70–95	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell to catch a thief
<i>PGM</i> V. 96–172	D.E.A.	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (letter)
<i>PGM</i> V. 172–212	W.C.G.	Another way (spell to catch a thief)
<i>PGM</i> V. 213–303	M.S.	Hermes' ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 304–69	M.S.	(No title) Defixio
<i>PGM</i> V. 370–446	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM</i> V. 447–58	M.S.	(No title) Instruction concerning a magical ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 459–89	D.E.A.	Another way (spell for many purposes)
<i>PGM</i> Va. 1–3	H.M.	(No title) Spell for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VI. 1–47	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer for encounter with Helios
<i>PGM</i> VII		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM</i> VII. 1–148	H.M.	Homer oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 149–54	W.C.G.	To keep bugs out of the house
<i>PGM</i> VII. 155–67	W.C.G.	Days and hours for divination
<i>PGM</i> VII. 167–86	R.D.K.	Demokritos' "table gimmicks"
<i>PGM</i> VII. 186–90	R.F.H.	Favor and victory charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 191–92	E.N.O.	Spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> VII. 193–96	J.S.	For scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> VII. 197–98	J.S.	For discharge of the eyes
<i>PGM</i> VII. 199–201	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> VII. 201–2	J.S.	Another (for migraine headache)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 203–5	J.S.	For coughs
<i>PGM</i> VII. 206–7	J.S.	Another (for coughs)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 208–9	J.S.	For hardening of the breasts
<i>PGM</i> VII. 209–10	J.S.	For swollen testicles
<i>PGM</i> VII. 211–12	J.S.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 213–14	J.S.	For daily fever and nightly fever
<i>PGM</i> VII. 215–18	H.M.	Stele of Aphrodite (spell for favor)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 218–21	J.S.	Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 222–49	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle from Besas
<i>PGM</i> VII. 250–54	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 255–59	W.C.G.	Another to the same lamp
<i>PGM</i> VII. 260–71	J.S.	For the ascent of the uterus
<i>PGM</i> VII. 272–83	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological calendar
<i>PGM</i> VII. 284–99	E.N.O.	Orbit of the moon (horoscope)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300a–310	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 311–16	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 317–18	M.S.	Another phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 319–34	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 335–47	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 348–58	W.C.G.	Divination by means of a boy
<i>PGM</i> VII. 359–69	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 370–73	W.C.G.	(Spell) against every wild animal
<i>PGM</i> VII. 374–76	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> VII. 376–84	R.F.H.	Another (charm to induce insomnia)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 385–89	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 390–93	R.F.H.	Victory charm for the races
<i>PGM</i> VII. 394–95	R.F.H.	Coercive spell for restraining
<i>PGM</i> VII. 396–404	R.F.H.	Spell for silencing, subjecting, and restraining

<i>PGM VII. 405–6</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 407–10</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Dream spell
<i>PGM VII. 411–16</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for causing talk while asleep
<i>PGM VII. 417–22</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 423–28</i>	R.F.H.	To win at dice
<i>PGM VII. 429–58</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 459–61</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 462–66</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 467–77</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM VII. 478–90</i>	H.M.	(No title) Spell for dream revelation
<i>PGM VII. 490–504</i>	M.S.	(No title) Spell for protection
<i>PGM VII. 505–28</i>	H.M.	Meeting with your own daimon
<i>PGM VII. 528–39</i>	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 540–78</i>	J.P.H.	Lamp divination
<i>PGM VII. 579–90</i>	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM VII. 591–92</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Prayer of invocation
<i>PGM VII. 593–619</i>	D.E.A.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM VII. 619–27</i>	E.N.O.	From the Diadem of Moses (spells for invisibility and love)
<i>PGM VII. 628–42</i>	M.S.	(No title) Rite involving a magical ring
<i>PGM VII. 643–51</i>	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 652–60</i>	R.F.H.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM VII. 661–63</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 664–85</i>	E.N.O.	Request for dream revelations
<i>PGM VII. 686–702</i>	H.D.B.	Bear charm
<i>PGM VII. 703–26</i>	W.C.G.	Request for dream oracle
<i>PGM VII. 727–39</i>	W.C.G.	Charm for a direct vision of Apollo
<i>PGM VII. 740–55</i>	W.C.G.	[Request for a dream oracle]
<i>PGM VII. 756–94</i>	W.C.G.	Prayer
<i>PGM VII. 795–845</i>	J.P.H.	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination
<i>PGM VII. 846–61</i>	W.C.G.	Shadow on the sun (spell for revelation)
<i>PGM VII. 862–918</i>	E.N.O.	Lunar spell of Klaudianos
<i>PGM VII. 919–24</i>	R.F.H.	Hermes' wondrous victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 925–39</i>	R.F.H.	Another, charm to subject
<i>PGM VII. 940–68</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to subject
<i>PGM VII. 969–72</i>	E.N.O.	A good potion (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 973–80</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction . . .
<i>PGM VII. 981–93</i>	E.N.O.	[Love spell of attraction]
<i>PGM VII. 993–1009</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM VII. 1009–16</i>	W.C.G.	Divination by a dream
<i>PGM VII. 1017–26</i>	R.F.H.	[No title] Spell for favor and victory
<i>PGM VIII. 1–63</i>	E.N.O.	Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos
<i>PGM VIII. 64–110</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Request for a dream oracle of Besas
<i>PGM IX. 1–14</i>	R.F.H. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to subject and silence
<i>PGM X. 1–23</i>	E.N.O.	(No title [?]) Love spell
<i>PGM X. 24–35</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM X. 36–50</i>	R.F.H.	Apollo's charm to subject
<i>PGM XIa. 1–40</i>	H.M.	Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman
<i>PGM XIb. 1–5</i>	R.D.K.	(No title) "Table gimmick" (?)
<i>PGM XIc. 1–19</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM xii (PGM XII)</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM xii 1–5</i>	J.H.J.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PDM xii 6–20</i>	J.H.J.	A ring to cause praise

<i>PDM</i> xii 21–49	J.H.J.	(No title) Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease
<i>PGM</i> XII. 1–13	H.M.	Rite (to produce an epiphany of Kore)
<i>PGM</i> XII. 14–95	H.M.	Eros as assistant daimon
<i>PGM</i> XII. 96–106	R.F.H.	Himerios' recipes
<i>PGM</i> XII. 107–21	W.C.G.	Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 121–43	R.D.K.	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 144–52	W.C.G.	Request for a dream
<i>PGM</i> XII. 153–60	W.C.G.	Spell for a divine revelation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 160–78	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to release from bonds
<i>PGM</i> XII. 179–81	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for restraining anger
<i>PGM</i> XII. 182–89	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XII. 190–92	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear
<i>PGM</i> XII. 193–201	J.S.	[To make] a tincture of gold
<i>PGM</i> XII. 201–69	M.S.	A ring
<i>PGM</i> XII. 270–350	M.S.	A little ring for success and favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XII. 351–64	J.P.H.	Demokritos' "sphere"
<i>PGM</i> XII. 365–75	R.F.H.	Charm for causing separation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 376–96	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> XII. 397–400	H.M.	To gain favor and friendship forever
<i>PGM</i> XII. 401–44	H.D.B. / J.S.	Interpretations
<i>PDM</i> xii. 50–61	J.H.J.	Spell for separating one person from another
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 445–48]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 62–75	J.H.J.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 449–52]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 76–107	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 453–65]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 108–18	J.H.J.	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 466–68]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 119–34	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	A spell for it (fetching spell?)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 469–73]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 135–46	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 474–79]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 147–64	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	Another (love spell of attraction)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–734	M.S.	A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth Book of Moses"
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–343	M.S.	[Part A: Initiation ritual and magical handbook]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 343–646	M.S.	[Part B: A second, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 647–734	M.S.	[Part C: A third, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 734–1077	M.S.	(No title) A collection of miscellaneous spells
<i>PDM</i> xiv		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1–92	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 93–114	J.H.J. / W.C.G.	(No title) Spell for revelation
[<i>PGM</i> XIVa. 1–11]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 115	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vision (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 116	J.H.J.	Another spell for vision (?)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 117–49	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 150–231	J.H.J.	An inquiry of the lamp
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 232–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 239–95	J.H.J.	The vessel inquiry of Khonsu
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 295–308	J.H.J.	[A] vessel [inquiry]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 309–34	J.H.J.	A spell for causing favor
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 335–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 355–65	J.H.J.	Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 366–75	J.H.J.	The method (spell for separating man and woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 376–94	J.H.J.	(No title) Various recipes
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 395–427	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 428–50	J.H.J.	(No title) Two love potions
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 451–58	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for going before a superior
[<i>PGM</i> XIVb. 12–15]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 459–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 475–88	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 489–515	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 516–27	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 528–53	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 554–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 563–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of poison
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 574–85	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 585–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 594–620	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for sting
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 620–26	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 627–35	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 636–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love potion
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 670–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Introduction to a collection of spells (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 675–94	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	A spell (to cause “evil sleep”)
[<i>PGM</i> XIVc. 15–27]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 695–700	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 701–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 706–10	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell against “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 711–15	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 716–24	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 724–26	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 727–36	J.H.J.	A prescription (three prescriptions to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 737–38	J.H.J.	A prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 739–40	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 741	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 742	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 743–49	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 750–71	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 772–804	J.H.J.	A method (love spells)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 805–40	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 841–50	J.H.J.	Another method (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 851–55	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 856–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Inquiry of the sun
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 875–85	J.H.J.	Here is another (inquiry of the sun)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 886–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipes involving herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 897–910	J.H.J.	(No title) List of herbs and minerals
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 912–16	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 917–19	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 920–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 930–32	J.H.J.	A prescription (love spell)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 933–34	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 935–39	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a watery ear
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 940–52	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning sala- mander and herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 953–55	J.H.J.	A prescription (to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 956–60	J.H.J.	(No title) Test of pregnancy
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 961–65	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 966–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 970–77	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 978–80	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 981–84	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 985–92	J.H.J.	Gout (prescription)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 993–1002	J.H.J.	Another (prescription for gout)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1003–14	J.H.J.	(No title) Amulet for gout
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1015–20	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for unidentifiable ailment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1021–23	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1024–25	J.H.J.	(No title) Another prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1026–45	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1046–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1047–48	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1049–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1056–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spells involving <i>vores magicæ</i>
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1063–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1070–77	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to send dreams and make a woman love
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1078–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Request for revelation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1090–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Fetching spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1097–1103	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to heal an eye disease
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1104–9	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipe concerning eye ointment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1110–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to open eyes for divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1130–40	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1141–54	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1155–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1163–79	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1180–81	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragment from invocation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1182–87	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause madness
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1188–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1190–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1194–95	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1196–98	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1199–1205	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1206–18	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1219–27	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for fever
<i>PGM</i> XV. 1–21	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVI. 1–75	E.N.O.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XVIIb. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer
<i>PGM</i> XVIIc. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIa. 1–4	J.S.	(No title) Amulet for headache
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIb. 1–7	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XIXa. 1–54	E.N.O. / R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 1–3	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 4–18	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XX. 1–4	E.N.O.	[Spell for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XX. 4–12	E.N.O.	[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara for any inflammation
<i>PGM</i> XX. 13–19	E.N.O.	The charm of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XXI. 1–29	W.C.G.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Magico-medical recipes
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 1–26	D.E.A.	Prayer of Jacob
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 27–31	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 32–35	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIII. 1–70	E.N.O.	Fragment of the <i>Kestoi</i> of Julius Africanus
<i>PGM</i> XXIVa. 1–25	W.C.G.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIVb. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> XXVa–d	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulets (?)
<i>PGM</i> XXVI. 1–21	—	(No title) <i>Sortes Astrampsychi</i> (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXVII. 1–5	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIa. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIb. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIc. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXIX. 1–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer (poem)
<i>PGM</i> XXX a–f	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXI a–c	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXII. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIII. 1–25	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XXXIV. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Fragment from a novel
<i>PGM</i> XXXV. 1–42	R.F.H.	Charm for favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 1–34	M.S.	Charm to restrain
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 35–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 69–101	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 102–33	E.N.O.	Divination by fire (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 134–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 161–77	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger, and for success
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 178–87	M.S.	Charm to break spells
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 187–210	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 211–30	R.F.H.	Prayer to Helios: charm to restrain anger, and for victory and favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 231–55	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 256–64	M.S.	(No title) Charm to break enchantment
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 264–74	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 275–83	H.M.	Charm for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 283–94	E.N.O.	Pudenda key spell

<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 295–311	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 312–20	R.F.H.	Charm to open a door
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 320–32	J.S.	Contraceptive spell
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 333–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 361–71	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVII. 1–26	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVIII. 1–26	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIX. 1–21	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XL. 1–18	R.F.H.	(No title) Curse
<i>PGM</i> XLI. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLII. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIII. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLIV. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet against fever (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 1–4	R.F.H.	(No title) Request for revelation (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 4–8	R.F.H.	Spell to silence and subject
<i>PGM</i> XLVII. 1–17	M.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLVIII. 1–21	M.W.M.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIX	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> L. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Oracle (?)
<i>PGM</i> LI. 1–27	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LII. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 9–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 20–26	R.D.K.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> LIII–LVI	—	(No titles) Spells (?) of uncertain purpose (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LVII. 1–37	R.F.H.	(No title) Rite to acquire an assistant daimon (?)
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 1–14	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 15–39	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LIX. 1–15	M.S.	(No title) Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LX. 1–5	M.S.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 1–30	R.K.R.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 30–41	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 42	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 43–48	J.H.J. / R.D.K.	Remedy for [an] ulcer (?) of the head
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. i–v]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 49–57	J.H.J.	[Remedy for the] head (?)
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 58–62	R.D.K.	For an erection
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. xi, x]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 63–78	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for a dream revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 79–94	J.H.J.	Way of finding a thief
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 95–99	J.H.J.	Spell of giving praise and love in Nubian
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 100–105	J.H.J.	The red cloth of Nephthys
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 106–11	J.H.J.	Prescription for a donkey not moving
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 112–27	J.H.J.	Prescription for making a woman love
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 128–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 148–58	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 159–96	E.N.O.	Love charm
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 1–38]		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 197–216	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 39–71]		
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction

<i>PGM</i> LXII. 24–46	W.C.G. / J.P.H.	(No title) Saucer divination
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 47–51	M.S.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 52–75	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 76–106	J.S.	(No title) Spell (or two spells), to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 1–7	E.N.O.	(No title) Love-potion (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 7–12	E.N.O.	[Spell to make a woman] confess the name of the man she loves
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 13–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 21–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 24–25	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 26–28	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIV. 1–12	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 1–4	J.S.	Spell to [prevent pregnancy]
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 4–7	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> LXVI. 1–11	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> LXVII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXVIII. 1–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> LXIX. 1–3	D.E.A.	(No title) Victory spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 1–4	H.D.B.	Charm for favor, etc.
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 4–25	H.D.B.	Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 26–51	H.D.B.	Against fear and to dissolve spells
<i>PGM</i> LXXI. 1–8	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LXXII. 1–36	W.C.G.	[Rite concerning the Bear]
<i>PGM</i> LXXIII–LXXVI	—	(No titles) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LXXVII. 1–24	W.C.G.	(No title) Charm for getting a revelation
<i>PGM</i> LXXVIII. 1–14	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> LXXIX. 1–7	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXX. 1–5	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXXI. 1–10	W.C.G.	(No title) Greetings to deities
<i>PGM</i> LXXXII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Recipe for ingredients (fragment of formula?)
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIII. 1–20	R.D.K.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIV. 1–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> LXXXV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) For daimon possession
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 1–2	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 3–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVII. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVIII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIX. 1–27	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for fever, phantoms, daimons, etc.
<i>PGM</i> XC. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) Rite or phylactery
<i>PGM</i> XC. 14–18	H.D.B.	Salve for fever
<i>PGM</i> XCI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCII. 1–16	R.D.K.	[Charm] for favor
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Sacrificial rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 7–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicæ</i>
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 4–6	R.D.K.	Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 7–9	R.D.K.	For excellent health
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 10–16	R.D.K.	A phylactery for [fever]

<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 17–21	R.D.K.	For those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 22–26	R.D.K.	For the eyes
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 27–35	R.D.K.	[For] tumors [and] . . .
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 36–38	R.D.K.	[For . . .] and strangury
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 39–60	R.D.K.	Another, for migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for subjugation
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 7–13	R.D.K.	Concerning the mole-[rat]
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 14–18	R.D.K.	A remedy for all cases of . . . [epilepsy]
<i>PGM</i> XCVI. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 1–6	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell against eye disease (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 7–9	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 10–13	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 15–17	H.D.B.	For every [disease]
<i>PGM</i> XCVIII. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCIX. 1–3	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> C. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> CI. 1–53	H.D.B.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CII. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> CIII. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CV. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Invocation of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> CVI. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CVII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIX. 1–8	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> CX. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> CXI. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Instruction for making magical figures
<i>PGM</i> CXII. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIII. 1–4	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIV. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for attacks by daimons and for epilepsy
<i>PGM</i> CXV. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CXVI. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Invocation of Typhon-Seth
<i>PGM</i> CXVII. Fr. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXVIII	—	(No title) Magical scroll (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 1	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment from formulary
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 2–3	R.D.K.	Love spell through touch
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 4–6	R.D.K.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 7–11	R.D.K.	Charm to subject
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 4–5	R.D.K.	[For fever with shivering fits]
<i>PGM</i> CXX. 1–13	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for a variety of evils
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 1–5	H.D.B.	An excerpt for enchantments
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 5–25	H.D.B.	Enchantment using apples
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 26–50	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell (fetching charm?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 51–55	H.D.B.	For headache
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>

<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 24–47	R.D.K.	Erotylos
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 48–50	R.D.K.	For childbearing
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 51–52	R.D.K.	For sleep
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 53–55	R.D.K.	For strangury
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 56–68	R.D.K.	For a shivering fit
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 69–72	R.D.K.	For victory
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIb	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIc	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIId	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIe	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIf	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 6–43	R.D.K.	Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> CXXVa–f	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragments of spells
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIa. 1–21	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIb. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of formulary of magico-medical prescriptions
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	Phylactery for fever
<i>PGM</i> CXXIX. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of unidentifiable spell
<i>PGM</i> CXXX. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) For a shivering fever
<i>PDM</i> Supplement 1–6	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
7–18	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
19–27	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
28–40	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
40–60	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
60–101	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
101–16	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
117–30	J.H.J.	{Spell} for sending a dream
130–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Osiris
138–49	J.H.J.	Spell for . . . (subjection?)
149–62	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Thoth
162–68	J.H.J.	Spell for finding your house of life
168–84	J.H.J.	Spell for reciting a document
185–208	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragments of rites and formulae

List of Papyri in Preisendanz

Reference	Location	Number	Date
I	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5025	IV ^P /V ^P —
II	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5026	IV ^P
III	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frags. 1–4)	IV ^P —
IV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	<i>P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl.</i> gr. no. 574	IV ^P —
V	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 46	IV ^P ?
Va	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet	<i>P.Holm.</i> , p. 42	
VI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 47	II ^P or III ^P
VII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 121	III ^P /IV ^P →
VIII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 122	IV ^P or V ^P
IX	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 123	IV ^P or V ^P
X	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 124	IV ^P or V ^P
XIa	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 125 verso	V ^P
XIb	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 147	III ^P
XIc	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 148	II ^P /III ^P
XII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV ^P
XIII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 395 (W)	IV ^P —
XIV	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.demot.</i> 10070	III ^P
	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 383	III ^P
XV	Alexandria, Musée gréco- romain d'Alexandrie	<i>P.Alex.</i> inv. 491	III ^P
XVI	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 3378	I ^P
XVIIa	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1167	IV ^P
XVIIb	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1179	II ^P
XVIIc	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 574	
XVIIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 955	III ^P /V ^P
XVIIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 956	III ^P /V ^P
XIXa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9909	IV ^P or V ^P
XIXb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 11737	IV ^P
XX	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 7504 + <i>P.Amb.</i> ii, Col. II (A) + <i>P.Oxy. inedit.</i> (=Pack ² 1872)	I ^a
XXI	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9566 verso	II ^P or III ^P
XXIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> IV 1026 (inv. no. 9873)	IV ^P or V ^P
XXIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 13895	IV ^P

XXIII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 412	III ^p
XXIVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 886	III ^p
XXIVb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 887	III ^p
XXVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 959	III ^p
XXVb	Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Un.Bibl.Freib.</i> (w/o no.)	VI ^p
XXVc	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 10434	
XXVd	Florence, Società Italiana per la ricerca de papiri	<i>P.Flor.</i> (w/o no.)	
XXVI	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1477	III ^p /IV ^p
XXVII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1478	III ^p /IV ^p
XXVIIa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2061	V ^p
XXVIIb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2062	VI ^p
XXVIIc	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2063	VI ^p
XXIX	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1383	III ^p
XXXa–f	[omitted]		
XXXIa–c	[omitted]		
XXXII	London, University College Institute of Archaeology	<i>P.Haw.</i> 312	II ^p
XXXIII	Berkeley, University of California	<i>P.Tebt.</i> II 275	III ^p
XXXIV	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	<i>P.Fay.</i> 5	II ^p /III ^p
XXXV	Florence, Università degli Studi, Istituto di Papirologia	PSI I 29	V ^p
XXXVI	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 1	IV ^p
XXXVII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 2	IV ^p
XXXVIII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 3	IV ^p
XXXIX	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 4	IV ^p
XL	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 1	IV ^p
XLI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 339 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 4	V ^p /VI ^p
XLII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 331 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 8	VI ^p
XLIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 335 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 9	V ^p
XLIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 328 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 10	NA
XLV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 334 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 11	VI ^p /VII ^p
XLVI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 332 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 12	V ^p
XLVII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8034 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 2 [no. 526, Wessely]	NA
XLVIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8031 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 6 [no. 529, Wessely]	VI ^p /VII ^p
XLIX	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8035 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 7 [no. 525, Wessely]	NA
L	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8033 = <i>P.Rain.</i> [no. 527, Wessely]	VI ^p
LI	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 9.418	III ^p
LII	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 9.429	III ^p
LIII–LVI	[omitted]		
LVII	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	cryptogr. pap. [otherwise uncataloged]	I ^p /II ^p
LVIII	Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek	inv. no. 266 = <i>P. Iand.</i> 87	IV ^p
LIX	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 10563	II ^p or III ^p
LX	Brussels, Fondation Egyp- tologique Reine Elisabeth	<i>P.Brux.</i> in. E 6390, 6391	VI ^p

LXI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Brit.Mus.</i> inv. 10588 (Egyptian Dept.)	III ^p
LXII	Leiden, Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae	<i>P.Warren</i> 21	III ^p
LXIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 323	II ^p /III ^p
LXIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29273	IV ^p
LXV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29272	VI ^p /VII ^p
LXVI	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60139	III ^p /IV ^p
LXVII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60140	NA
LXVIII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60636	II ^p /III ^p
LXIX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 1463 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 156	II ^p
LXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 7 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 154	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXI	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 193 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 155	II ^p or III ^p
LXXII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	inv. no. 75 = <i>P.Osl.</i> III, 75	I ^p /II ^p
LXXIII–LXXVI	[omitted]		
LXXVII	Birmingham, Woodbroke College	<i>P.Harr.</i> 55	II ^p
LXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Heid.</i> 2170	III ^p
LXXIX	Prague, National and Univer- sity Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 18	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXX	Prague, National and Univer- sity Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 21	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXXI	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1566	IV ^p

List of New Papyri Not in Preisendanz

Note: Bibliographical references are provided at the end of the translation of each spell.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>
LXXXII	Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski	<i>P.Vars.</i> 4	III ^P
LXXXIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 8963	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 107	
LXXXIV	Princeton, Princeton University Garrett Dep. 7665	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 76	III ^P
LXXXV	Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Central Library	<i>P.Harris</i> 56	I ^P /II ^P
LXXXVI	Paris, L'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Paris	<i>P.Rein.</i> II 89 inv. 2176	IV ^P
LXXXVII	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Erlangen</i> 37	IV ^P
LXXXVIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 11230	<i>P.Princ.</i> III 15	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXXIX	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Lund Univ.Bibl.</i> IV 12 inv. no. 32	IV ^P
XC	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. no. 23	IV ^P /V ^P
XCI	Collection, G. A. Michailidis	<i>P.Michael.</i> 27	III ^P or IV ^P
XCII	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	<i>P.Merton</i> II 58	III ^P
XCIII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 65	V ^P
XCIV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 66	V ^P
XCV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> III 140	V ^P /VI ^P
XCVI	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 126	IV ^P /V ^P
XCVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 1886	III ^P /IV ^P
XCVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 1982	III ^P
XCIX	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 2283	V ^P /VI ^P
C	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 2861	V ^P /VI ^P
CI	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 3323	V ^P

CII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2753	IV ^P
CIII	Athens, Archaeological Society	<i>P.S.A. Athen.</i> 70	II ^P
CIV	Genoa, Università di Genova	<i>PUG</i> I 6	III ^P
CV	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21227	III ^P /IV ^P
CVI	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21165	III ^P /IV ^P
CVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5512	III ^P or IV ^P
CVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5514	III ^P or IV ^P
CIX	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 50.4 B23 J(1–3)b	ca. A.D. 300
CX	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 181	II ^P or III ^P
CXI	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 139	III ^P /IV ^P
CXII	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 242	IV ^P /V ^P
CXIII	Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam	<i>P.Amst.</i> inv. 16	V ^P
CXIV	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 989	III ^P /IV ^P
CXV	Budapest, Collection of Erno Gaál	<i>P.(Mag.) Gaál.</i> ined.	IV ^P
CXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> inv. 54	VI ^P
CXVII	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung	<i>P.Mon.Gr.</i> inv. 216	I ^a
CXVIII	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 200	before X ^P ?
CXIX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 57 (PL II/52)	III ^P
CXX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 58 (PL III/442)	III ^P
CXXI	Milan, Università Cattolica di Milano	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. 71.58	III ^P /IV ^P
CXXII	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 21243	I ^a /I ^P
CXXIIIa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 1–6	V ^P
CXXIV	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , no. 7	V ^P
CXXVa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 8–13	V ^P –VI ^P
CXXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III/472	V ^P
CXXVII	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 1206	III ^P or IV ^P
CXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitäts-Papyrussammlung	<i>P.Heid.G.</i> 1386	V ^P
CXXIX	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums (?)	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21260	III ^P
CXXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	<i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 6666	III ^P
<i>PDM</i> Supplement	Paris, Musée du Louvre	<i>P.Louvre</i> E3229	III ^P

Note on Editions

For the editions of the Greek papyri as cited, see the bibliography in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980), pp. 154–77, with the following exceptions:

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|--|---|
| PGM XC: A. Traversa, <i>Aegyptus</i> 33
(1953): 57–62 | PGM CXVIII: J. O'Callaghan, <i>StPapy</i> 17
(1978): 85–87 |
| PGM XCVI: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 25
(1977): 150–53 | PGM CXIX–CXX: R. Pintaudi, <i>Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana</i> (P.Laur. III), <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 5
(Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979), nos. 57–58 |
| PGM XCVII–CI: D. Wortmann, <i>BoJ</i> 168
(1968): 85–111 | PGM CXXI: G. Geraci, <i>Aegyptus</i> 33
(1979): 63–72 |
| PGM CV–CVI: W. Brashear, <i>ZPE</i> 17
(1975): 25–33 | PGM CXXII: W. Brashear, <i>ZPE</i> 33
(1979): 261–78 |
| PGM CVII–CVIII: R. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 19
(1975): 249–64 | PGM CXXIII–CXXV: F. Maltomini, <i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> 29 (1979): 55–124 |
| PGM CIX: P. Gorissen, <i>ZPE</i> 37
(1980): 199–200 | PGM CXXVI: F. Maltomini, in R. Pintaudi, ed., <i>Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana</i> (P.Laur. IV), <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983): 46–53 |
| PGM CX–CXII: Z. M. Packman, <i>BASP</i> 13
(1976): 175–80 | PGM CXXVII: G. M. Parássoglou, <i>Hellenica</i> 27 (1974): 251–53 |
| PGM CXIII: P. J. Sijpesteijn, <i>ZPE</i> 22
(1976): 108 | PGM CXXVIII–CXXIX: F. Maltomini, <i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> 31
(1981): 111–117 |
| PGM CXIV–CXV: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 25
(1977): 145–54 | PGM CXXX: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 50
(1983): 147–54 |
| PGM CXVI: R. Pintaudi, <i>ZPE</i> 26
(1977): 245–48 | |
| PGM CXVII: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini, ed., <i>Papiri Letterari Greci</i> (Pisa: Giardini, 1978), no. 34 | |

For the Demotic magical papyri, see Janet H. Johnson's Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri below, pp. 00–00. The editions are accordingly:

- | | |
|--|--|
| PDM xii: J. H. Johnson, <i>OMRM</i> 56
(1975): 29–64 | PDM lxi: Bell, Nock, and Thompson, <i>Magical Texts</i> |
| PDM xiv: F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, <i>The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden</i> , 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904) | PDM Supplement: J. H. Johnson, <i>Enchoria</i> 7
(1977): 55–102 |

Explanation of References and Textual Signs

PGM I.
262–347

References cited thus refer to translations of the corresponding Greek text of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, with each roman numeral (including those with appended letters, e.g., *PGM* Va) corresponding to a separate papyrus manuscript. Roman numerals after *PGM* LXXXI refer to texts whose translations are based on editions published since, and sometimes overlooked by, Preisendanz. The bibliographies of these editions are mentioned in the introductory note (*) to each spell. Arabic numerals usually delineate the compass of individual spells within the papyrus manuscript. The use of the separate designations for each independent spell or charm represents a new feature designed to enable easy identification and ready reference to an individual spell.

PDM xxi. 6–20

References listed thus refer to Demotic (bilingual) spells corresponding to the texts whose editions are listed in the introductory note (*) to each spell. *PDM* stands for *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, referring to this volume and not to be confused with *DMP*, an abbreviation for Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, a work often referred to in the notes. Lower-case roman numerals are used simply to avoid confusion with spells labeled *PGM*. Arabic numerals are used as above.

[*PGM* XII.
445–48]

PGM references bracketed thus come immediately after references for bilingual Greek sections with the given spell. The references correspond to the appropriate Greek portions in Preisendanz, whose edition contained only the Greek sections of the Greek/Demotic spells. Since this translation volume contains all the Demotic spells, Preisendanz's numbering system is retained, but it is subsumed under the new Demotic collation.

A,b,c

Texts set in roman type represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Greek.

A,b,c

Texts set with leader dots beneath represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Demotic (Egyptian).

A,b,c

Texts with a thin underscore represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Old Coptic. Coptic is found both in the Greek texts of Preisendanz's edition and as glosses in portions of the Demotic/Greek bilingual spells; however, the purely Coptic magical spells form a separate corpus not dealt with in this volume.

- * An asterisk introduces an independent spell or a spell that contains most of the constituent parts necessary to effect the whole charm, though organic connections with adjacent spells can be recognized (e.g., spells entitled “*Another . . .*,” or the like). The asterisk directs the reader to the contributor, whose name is given at the end of the spell. Some introductory comments may be found here as well. Bibliographical data, if appropriate, may also be listed.
- Tr.: This abbreviation stands for “translator” or “transcriber” (if the text contains no recognizable words that can be translated).
- Victory spell: Phrases set in roman boldface type refer to general titles of charms which usually stand at the beginning of the spell and which are often followed by one or more subtitles. Many spells do not possess a title, either because of a scribal omission or because it has been lost in a lacuna in the text.
- Spell to be spoken* Phrases set in italic boldface type refer to various subtitles and a number of types of rubrics (subsumed under the main title) that function in a titular sense to introduce a component feature of a spell. These may introduce ingredients, additional instructions, invocations, figures, magical names and characters, and so on, which are mentioned in the instructions in the text. In a long, multifunctional spell (cf. *PGM* IV. 2145–2240 and *PGM* XIII. 1–343), general titles are subordinate to the larger title, which describes an often elaborate ritual. In description, these general titles are identical to the main titles of most spells but are set as subtitles since they usually depend on a prior set of conditions to guarantee their efficacy.
- IAŌ SABAŌTH
ADŌNAI Small capital letters indicate magical names (*voces magicae*) which are usually untranslatable and often meaningless to the reader. In some instances, small capital letters preserve recognizable Greek, Egyptian, or Semitic words that merit special attention. Portions of texts whose fragmentary nature precludes the possibility of proper translation, but which may in fact have been readable in the original, are also set in small capitals.
- A diagonal slash indicates every fifth line of translated text, corresponding to the number given in the left-hand margin. Usually these are numbered consecutively until a new papyrus number is introduced.
- 35 [5] A bracketed number alongside the regular number refers to the line number of the original edition (in a Greek/Demotic text). Occasionally at the beginning the column number and line are also cited (e.g., [Col. III,5]).
- 30 (4) A number in parentheses refers to the original line of Preisendanz in a Greek/Demotic spell. The number corresponds to the *PGM* reference given within the bracketed number at the head of the spell.

- ... An ellipsis in the body of the text refers to a lost portion regardless of the size of the lacuna. Some punctuation (e.g., a comma or a period) may also be added at the end of the ellipsis.
- [spell] Brackets enclosing words indicate that the words are not preserved in the original text. These include (1) suggested restorations of lacunae; (2) editorial expansions of the text to elucidate the sense of the original language; and (3) phrases traditionally set off by pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩, namely, modern corrections to scribal omissions or errors. Scholars interested in determining which use the bracketed text refers to are recommended to consult the texts of the original editions. As a general rule, bracketed texts will not divide a word, but will surround the whole word if its reading is fairly uncertain.
- (add the usual) Parentheses enclosing words simply indicate material in the original texts best understood as parenthetical comments of the ancient authors and redactors.
- “Come to me . . .” Quotation marks enclosing words indicate material that is spoken (or intended to be spoken) or written (or intended to be written). Material not enclosed in quotation marks usually refers to parts of a formulary that contain instructions and directions apart from the material to be written or spoken. Such instructions are peculiar to the papyri that have preserved magical formularies, whereas the actual amulets and phylacteries found on papyrus usually contain simple invocations that have been transcribed as a result of following the instructions in such magical handbooks.
- Incantations originally written in Greek meter are set as verse, that is, they are indented *en bloc*, with the first letter of each line capitalized. In cases where the meter falters within such a hymnic portion, the original margin is restored to indicate prose.
- NN In the magical formularies, this abbreviation stands for a name or names to be inserted by the reader, the names of the persons against or for whom the magic is to be carried out. In the case of “(the) NN matter,” the reader understands that specific requests are to be named at this point.
- [R.K.R.] At the end of each footnote, the bracketed initials refer to the contributing scholar responsible for the material immediately preceding. Notes that carry no initials represent the joint efforts of the contributors and scholars.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series Titles, and General Reference Works

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AKA	<i>Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der (K.) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
APAW.PH	<i>Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Bauer	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire</i>
BoJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
Bonnet, RÄRG	Hans Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952)
ByZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CEg	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary	J. Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976)
CIR	<i>Classical Review</i>
Crum, Coptic Dictionary	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
DMP	<i>Demotic Magical Papyri</i> (see Griffith and Thompson)
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien</i> 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971 repr.)
GGA	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>
Kropp, <i>Koptische Zaubertexte</i>	A. M. Kropp, <i>Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte</i> 3 vols. (Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31)
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LdÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddel-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexikon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
<i>N.F.</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>NHSt</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>
<i>NT.S</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum, Supplements</i>
<i>OMRM</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>Orph. Frag.</i>	<i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. O. Kern (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, ³ 1972)
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Papyrus Oxyrhynchus</i>
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> (as cited in this volume only)
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, et al. (Stuttgart: Teubner, ² 1973–74)
<i>PRE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften</i>
<i>PRE.S</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Supplementa</i>
Preisendanz	See <i>PGM</i> ; on Preisendanz, vol. III, see the Introduction below, n. 37
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RÄRG</i>	See Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i>
<i>RVV</i>	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i>
<i>SCHNT</i>	<i>Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>StPapy</i>	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Abbreviations of Major Titles Used in This Volume

Ancient authors are cited with name and title, the latter following the customary abbreviations. In cases of doubt, see *LSJ*, pp. xvi–xxxviii: “Authors and Works.”

Abt, <i>Apologie</i>	A. Abt, <i>Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei</i> . Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift <i>de magia</i> (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908)
Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>	A. Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt</i> . . . (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904)
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, <i>Magical Texts</i>	H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, <i>Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933)
Bergman, <i>Ich bin Isis</i>	J. Bergman, <i>Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isissetologien</i> , <i>Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis</i> 3 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968)
Berthelot and Ruelle, <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i>	M. Berthelot and C.-E. Ruelle, <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i> (Paris: Steinheil, 1888)
Blau, <i>Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen</i>	L. Blau, <i>Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen</i> (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898)
Betz, “The Delphic Maxim”	H. D. Betz, “The Delphic Maxim ‘Know Yourself’ in the Greek Magical Papyri,” <i>HR</i> 21 (1981): 156–71
Betz, “Fragments”	H. D. Betz, “Fragments from a Catbasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus,” <i>HR</i> 19 (1980): 287–95
Betz, <i>Lukian</i>	H. D. Betz, <i>Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament</i> , <i>TU</i> 76 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
Bleeker, <i>Hathor and Thoth</i>	C. J. Bleeker, <i>Hathor and Thoth</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1973)
Bonner, <i>SMA</i>	C. Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
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A. Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891)
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A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ³1966)
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F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig: Teubner, ²1925)
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R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 3 vols. (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 1973–78)
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L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–38)
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F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, eds., *The*

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Leyden Papyrus: An Egyptian Magical Book
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- cient World*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972)
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Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri

Hans Dieter Betz

"The Greek magical papyri" is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To be sure, this body of material represents only a small number of all the magical spells that once existed.¹ Beyond these papyri we possess many other kinds of material: artifacts, symbols and inscriptions on gemstones, on ostraka and clay bowls, and on tablets of gold, silver, lead, tin and so forth.²

I

The history of the discovery of the Greek magical papyri is a fascinating subject.³ We know from literary sources that a large number of magical books in which spells were collected existed in antiquity. Most of them, however, have disappeared as the result of systematic suppression and destruction. The episode about the burning of the magical books in Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19:10) is well known and typical of many such instances. According to Suetonius,⁴ Augustus ordered 2,000 magical scrolls to be burned in the year 13 B.C. Indeed, the first centuries of the Christian era saw many burnings of books, often of magical books, and not a few burnings that included the magicians themselves.

As a result of these acts of suppression, the magicians and their literature went underground. The papyri themselves testify to this by the constantly recurring admonition to keep the books secret.⁵ Yet the systematic destruction of the magical literature over a long period of time resulted in the disappearance of most of the original texts by the end of antiquity. To us in the twentieth century, terms such as "underground literature" and "suppressed literature" are well known as descriptions of contemporary phenomena. We also know that such literature is extremely important for the understanding of what people are really thinking and doing in a particular time, geographical area, or cultural context. Magical beliefs and practices can hardly be overestimated in their importance for the daily life of the people. The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion—calling the former "religion" and "church" and the latter "magic" and "cult"—did not exist in antiquity except among a few intellectuals.⁶

Thus the suppression of this magical literature has deprived us of one of our most important sources of ancient religious life. Modern views of Greek and Roman religions have long suffered from certain deformities because they were unconsciously shaped by the only remaining sources: the literature of the cultural elite, and the archeological remains of the official cults of the states and cities.

But not everything was lost.⁷ At the end of antiquity, some philosophers and theologians, astrologers and alchemists collected magical books and spells that were still available. Literary writers included some of the material in their works, if only

to make fun of it. It is known that philosophers of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic schools, as well as Gnostic and Hermetic groups, used magical books and hence must have possessed copies. But most of their material vanished and what we have left are their quotations.

The Greek magical papyri are, however, original documents and primary sources. Their discovery is as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism.⁸

Like these manuscript discoveries, the discovery of the Greek magical papyri was and often still is the outcome of sheer luck and almost incredible coincidences. In the case of the major portion of the collection, the so-called Anastasi collection, the discovery and rescue is owed to the efforts (and, if one may use the term, cooperation) of two individuals separated by more than a thousand years: the modern collector d'Anastasi and the original collector at Thebes.

In the nineteenth century, there was among the "diplomatic" representatives at the court in Alexandria a man who called himself Jean d'Anastasi (1780?–1857). Believed to be Armenian by birth, he ingratiated himself enough with the pasha to become the consular representative of Sweden.⁹ It was a time when diplomats and military men often were passionate collectors of antiquities, and M. d'Anastasi happened to be at the right place at the right time. He succeeded in bringing together large collections of papyri from Egypt, among them sizable magical books, some of which he said he had obtained in Thebes.¹⁰ These collections he shipped to Europe, where they were auctioned off and bought by various libraries: the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre in Paris, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. Another papyrus was acquired by Jean François Mimaout (1774–1837), also a diplomat, whose acquisition ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale (PGM III).¹¹ Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the circumstances of the actual findings. But it is highly likely that many of the papyri from the Anastasi collection came from the same place, perhaps a tomb or a temple library.¹² If this assumption is correct, about half a dozen of the best-preserved and largest extant papyri may have come from the collection of one man in Thebes. He is of course unknown to us, but we may suppose that he collected the magical material for his own use. Perhaps he was more than a magician. We may attribute his almost systematic collections of *magica* to a man who was also a scholar,¹³ probably philosophically inclined, as well as a bibliophile and archivist concerned about the preservation of this material.¹⁴

Although the person who collected the Anastasi papyri remains unknown, comparable figures are known from later Egyptian literature. In the Demotic Papyrus no. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, there appears Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis. This legendary figure belongs to the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, published by Francis Llewelyn Griffith,¹⁵ stories that in many ways can serve as illustrative companions to the Greek magical papyri. Miriam Lichtheim has given this summary portrait in the third volume of her *Ancient Egyptian Literature*:

Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-ka-ptah), who lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accom-

panied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession. . . .¹⁶

The collection of the Anastasi papyri, if it was brought together by one person, may have been buried with him, either in his tomb or in the rubble of collapsed buildings. At any rate, when d'Anastasi came to Thebes and the papyri were offered to him, he sensed their value and acquired them, thus saving them from destruction.

It took almost another century, however, before scholars learned to appreciate the value of the papyri and started investigating them. It is noteworthy that the auction catalog of d'Anastasi's collection calls the material simply "fromage mystique."¹⁷ Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the papyri were stored in the museums simply as curiosities.

Scholarly investigations began when the great Dutch scholar Caspar Jacob Christian Reuvs (1793–1835) described some of the content of the Leiden papyrus J 395 (*PGM XIII*) in his *Lettres à M. Letronne* published in 1830.¹⁸ This work was reviewed almost immediately by the German historian of religion Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), who also translated Reuvs's excerpts into German.¹⁹ But Reuvs died before his edition of the Leiden papyri could appear. It was forty years before another Dutch scholar, the Egyptologist Conrad Leemans (1809–93), published the edition (*PGM XII, XIII*)²⁰ together with a Latin translation (1885).²¹

The first publication, however, is due to the efforts of the British scholar Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (1817–78), who published one of the papyri (*PGM V*) together with an English translation and commentary for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1853.²² Then the German philologist Gustav Parthey (1798–1872) edited the two papyri from Berlin in 1865 (*PGM I, II*).²³ A very important new phase began when the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931) published in 1888 a transcription of the great magical papyrus of Paris (*PGM IV*), the London papyrus (*PGM V*), and the Mimaut papyrus (*PGM III*),²⁴ followed in 1889 by corrections.²⁵ In 1893 both Wessely²⁶ and Frederick George Kenyon (1863–1952)²⁷ independently edited and published the magical papyri of London (*PGM VII–X*). The last major papyrus was published in 1925 by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem (1872–1966),²⁸ who had acquired in Egypt a valuable magical scroll with many drawings (*PGM XXXVI*).

With these important publications, the major pieces of the Greek magical papyri known to this period had become available. It seems to have been a suggestion first made by the great scholar of Greek religion, Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), that all the available papyri should be published in a handy study edition. But this idea developed only gradually after Dieterich began teaching a seminar on the subject of the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg in 1905.²⁹

Today it is astonishing to learn that teaching such a seminar at that time was quite a daring enterprise. Magic was so utterly despised by historians and philologists that the announcement of the seminar did not mention the word "magic" but was simply phrased as "Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri."³⁰

How far the dislike of the magical papyri could go is illustrated by a remark made by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that these papyri were found because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism."³¹

Dieterich,³² however, was at the edge of a wave of interest generated by the new

discipline of history of religions. His seminar therefore had a surprising attraction for students, some of whom wrote their dissertations on related subjects and became contributors to the study edition. The plan for such a study edition was seriously threatened by Dieterich's sudden death on 6 May 1908, but the work was taken over by Dieterich's students, foremost of whom was Richard Wünsch, chief editor. Adam Abt, Ludwig Fahz, Adolf Erman, Georg Möller, and other contributors³³ stepped in to carry on the work.

When the body of the material of *PGM* I–IV was almost ready, World War I broke out and interrupted the work. Wünsch, Abt, and Möller were killed in the war. Despite these terrible losses and the desperate economic situation following the war, the publisher, B. G. Teubner of Leipzig, did not give up the project, but decided to start over. The edition was entrusted to Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), another of Dieterich's former students.³⁴ Scholars at that time faced difficulties scarcely conceivable to us today, yet they persisted. In addition, a remarkable degree of international cooperation existed among the scholars.³⁵ Sam Eitrem from Oslo and Adolf Jacoby from Luxemburg joined the team, and British, French, and Dutch scholars gave their support to the effort. The *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* as well as other governmental agencies gave financial support, so that despite all the problems the first volume of the first edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* could appear in 1928, with a second volume following in 1931.³⁶

While all this was happening, new magical papyri were being discovered and published. A third volume, which was also supposed to contain extensive indexes, therefore became necessary. But this volume never appeared, for World War II broke out.

Despite the war, the work had progressed to the actual production of galley proofs, with the preface dated "Pentecost, 1941,"³⁷ when on 4 December 1943 the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig was bombed and everything was destroyed.³⁸ Fortunately, however, the galley proofs survived the war and are at present being used by a number of scholars in the form of xerox copies. When Karl Preisendanz, the editor of the first edition and tireless promoter of the study of the Greek magical papyri before and after World War II, died on 26 April 1968, the publishing house of Teubner, which had in part been relocated in Stuttgart, West Germany, decided to bring out a new edition. This new edition was prepared by Albert Henrichs, a papyrologist from Cologne, who has been on the faculty of Harvard University since 1973.³⁹ It appeared in two volumes in 1973–74.⁴⁰ The first volume is mostly a reprint of the first edition, though many corrections have been made. The second volume, however, is considerably different from the first edition. A number of papyri were reedited completely, and the papyri originally planned to appear in vol. III were added so that vol. II of the 1974 edition contains all pieces up to *PGM* LXXXI. The idea of a third volume containing the indexes was postponed because all indexes would have to be redone in view of the changes and additions in the material.

II

What is the significance of the Greek magical papyri? Scholars since Albrecht Dieterich have consistently pointed out the importance of the Greek magical papyri to the study of ancient religions; thus we can limit ourselves here to a summary of the issues.⁴¹

Historians of religion are intrigued by the Greek magical papyri for a number of reasons. If, as Dieterich rightly says,⁴² the papyri are a depository of a great reli-

gious literature over many centuries, the recovery of the sources becomes a task of primary interest. In fact, throughout these sources we find citations of hymns, rituals, formulae from liturgies otherwise lost, and little bits of mythology called *historiolae*. These older materials are now embedded in a secondary context, but by careful application of the methods of literary criticism they are often recoverable.⁴³

Taken as a whole, the material presents a plethora of interesting problems for modern scholarship. One must realize first that the material assembled under the name Greek magical papyri represents a collection of texts of diverse origin and nature. This collection includes individual spells and remedies, as well as collections made by ancient magicians, from the early Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Since the material comes from Greco-Roman Egypt, it reflects an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. Not surprising is the strong influence of Egyptian religion throughout the Greek magical papyri, although here the texts nevertheless show a great variety. Expressed in Greek, Demotic, or Coptic, some texts represent simply Egyptian religion. In others, the Egyptian element has been transformed by Hellenistic religious concepts. Most of the texts are mixtures of several religions—Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, to name the most important.

The picture presented by the Greek magical papyri has been changed substantially by the inclusion of the translation of the Demotic magical papyri. In Preisendanz's edition, the Demotic material was deleted, even when it occurred in the same papyrus as Greek sections apparently written by the same scribe. The inclusion of the Demotic material in the present translation raises new and intriguing questions regarding the relationship between the Greek texts and the antecedent Egyptian sources. Further studies must clarify the process of transmission and transformation of these texts. Such studies will gain new insights into the complex phenomena of the hellenization of religious traditions. (See also the Introduction to the Demotic texts below.)

Another interesting problem is posed by the fact that this material from Greco-Roman Egypt contains many sections that are Greek in origin and nature.⁴⁴ How did this older Greek religious literature find its way into Egypt? We do not, and probably never shall, know. In this older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous, as in Greek folklore.⁴⁵ The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri found in Egypt are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.⁴⁶

Questions similar to those appropriate to the study of Greek religion must be raised in view of the material (divine names as well as entire passages) that comes from some form of Judaism. Jewish magic was famous in antiquity,⁴⁷ and more sources have come to light in recent years; but the origin and nature of the sections representing Jewish magic in the Greek magical papyri is far from clear. Did this material actually originate with Jewish magicians? How did it get into the hands of the magicians who wrote the Greek magical papyri? What kind of transformation took place in the material itself? If the texts in question come from Judaism, what type of Judaism do they represent?

The historian of religion will be especially interested in the kind of syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri.⁴⁸ This syncretism is more than a mixture of diverse elements from Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, and Jewish religion, with a few sprinkles of Christianity.⁴⁹ Despite the diversity of texts, there is in the whole cor-

pus a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity. Such assimilation and uniformity, however, includes primarily the religious traditions already mentioned: the Romans, although in control of Egypt by the time most of the papyri were written, left only a few traces in the material. Thus the papyri represent a Greco-Egyptian, rather than the more general Greco-Roman, syncretism.

In this syncretism, the indigenous ancient Egyptian religion has in part survived, in part been profoundly hellenized.⁵⁰ In its Hellenistic transformation, the Egyptian religion of the pre-Hellenistic era appears to have been reduced and simplified, no doubt to facilitate its assimilation into Hellenistic religion as the predominant cultural reference. It is quite clear that the magicians who wrote and used the Greek papyri were Hellenistic in outlook.

Hellenization, however, also includes the egyptianizing of Greek religious traditions. The Greek magical papyri contain many instances of such egyptianizing transformations, which take very different forms in different texts or layers of tradition. Again, working out the more exact nature of this religious and cultural interaction remains the task of future research.

The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomenon of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and the Hellenistic setting. One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri.⁵¹ Some of the magicians writing and using the spells may have been associated with temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu.⁵² This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adopt and adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly "ecumenical" religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture.

We should make it clear, however, that this syncretism is more than a hodge-podge of heterogeneous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs. As an example, one may mention the enormously important role of the gods and goddesses of the underworld. The role of these underworld deities was not new to Egyptian religion or, to some extent, to ancient Greek religion; but it is characteristic of the Hellenistic syncretism of the Greek magical papyri that the netherworld and its deities had become one of its most important concerns. The goddess Hekate, identical with Persephone, Selene, Artemis, and the old Babylonian goddess Ereschigal, is one of the deities most often invoked in the papyri. Through the egyptianizing influence of Osiris, Isis, and their company, other gods like Hermes, Aphrodite, and even the Jewish god

Iao, have in many respects become underworld deities. In fact, human life seems to consist of nothing but negotiations in the antechamber of death and the world of the dead. The underworld deities, the demons and the spirits of the dead, are constantly and unscrupulously invoked and exploited as the most important means for achieving the goals of human life on earth: the acquisition of love, wealth, health, fame, knowledge of the future, control over other persons, and so forth. In other words, there is a consensus that the best way to success and worldly pleasures is by using the underworld, death, and the forces of death.

Apart from this fascination with the control of death and the underworld powers, there is an equally important fascination with the universe. The older gods of the Greco-Egyptian pantheon now mostly represent the forces of the universe. Thus the Greek god most often invoked is Apollo Helios, a fact consistent with the enormous expansion of the worship of the sun in the Greco-Roman era. Besides other astral deities such as Selene, the constellation of the Bear, and the like, abstract deities, new and old, demand attention. These abstract deities personify Nature (Physis), Time (Kronos, Chronos), Destiny (the Moirai), and most important, the All (Aion). Popular Egyptian gods and goddesses are, however, called upon just as often. Yet the god most often employed is Iao, the Jewish god.

The people whose religion is reflected in the papyri agree that humanity is incapable at the whim of the forces of the universe. Religion is nothing but taking seriously this dependency on the forces of the universe. Whether the gods are old or new, whether they come from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, or Christian traditions, religion is regarded as *nothing* but the awareness of and reaction against our dependency on the unathomable scramble of energies coming out of the universe. In this energy jungle, human life can only be experienced as a jungle, too. People's successes and failures appear to be only the result of Chance (Tyche). Individuals seem to be nothing but marionettes at the end of power lines, pulled here and there without their knowledge by invisible forces.

If this world view takes hold of people, what hope can there be for human life? How could ordinary men and women in the small towns of Egypt get something out of their lives? It is at this point that the magician enters the picture. In a transitional culture like Greco-Roman Egypt, a religious functionary who operated as a crisis manager became a necessity to the lives of ordinary people. This role the magician was able to fulfill.

Applying his craft, the magician could give people the feeling that he could make things work in a world where nothing seemed to work the way it used to. He had handbooks of magic,⁵³ which contained the condensed wisdom of the past, wisdom made effective to solve the problems of the present.

The magician claimed to know and understand the traditions of various religions. While other people could no longer make sense of the old religions, he was able to. He knew the code words needed to communicate with the gods, the demons, and the dead. He could tap, regulate, and manipulate the invisible energies.⁵⁴ He was a problem solver who had remedies for a thousand petty troubles plaguing mankind: everything from migraine to runny nose to bedbugs to horse races, and, of course, all the troubles of love and money.

In short, it was this kind of world in which the magician served as a power and communications expert, crisis manager, miracle healer and inflicter of damages, and all-purpose therapist and agent of worried, troubled, and troublesome souls.⁵⁵ To raise one final question: It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of

entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they? Do people never check up on the efficiency of magicians?

The answer appears to be that, in general, people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may all be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us.⁵⁶ In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works. As the Roman aphorism sums it up, "Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur" ("The world wishes to be deceived, and so it may be deceived"). To an immeasurable extent, people's lives carry on by what they decide they want to believe rather than by what they should believe or even know, by what appears to be real rather than by what is really real, by props and by fads, and by gobbledygook of this kind today and that kind tomorrow.

Magicians are those who have long ago explored these dimensions of the human mind. Rather than decrying the facts, they have exploited them. Magicians have known all along that people's religious need and expectations provide the greatest opportunity for the most effective of all deceptions. But instead of turning against religion, as the skeptics among the Greek and Roman philosophers did, the magicians made use of it. After all, magic is nothing but the art of making people believe that something is being done about those things in life about which we all know that we ourselves can do nothing.

Magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless.

Of course, it is all deception. But who can endure naked reality, especially when there is a way to avoid it? This is why magic has worked and continues to work, no matter what the evidence may be. Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis. Magic makes an unmanageable life manageable for those who believe in it, and a profession profitable for those who practice the art.

Notes

1. For a survey of the material, see the indispensable work by T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924); idem, "Mageia," *PRE* 14.1 (1928): 201–393; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); idem, "Le monde du magicien égyptien," in *Le monde du sorcier, Sources Orientales VII* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1966) 27–65; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, "Magical Texts," in *Textes et Langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique, Hommage à J.-F. Champollion* (Le Caire: Institut d'Égypte, 1974), 3: 7–19. See also J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1137–51; H. Altenmüller, "Magische Literatur," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1151–62. A wider range of literature is discussed by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 1507–57.

2. See the collections by Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); idem, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 20 (1951): 301–45, pls. 96–100; idem, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23

(1954): 138–57; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 1964). On the latter, see especially the reviews by H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965): 409–10; K. Preisendanz, *ByZ* 59 (1966): 388–92; M. Smith, *AJA* 71 (1967): 417–19; A. A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 298–307. On the relationship between gems and papyri see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509. For the magical tablets, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae, quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas . . .* (Paris: Fontemoling, 1904); K. Preisendanz, “Fluchtafel (Defixion),” *RAC* 8 (1972): 1–29.

3. See especially K. Preisendanz, “Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie,” in *Aus der Welt des Buches. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft* 75 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951) 223–40.

4. Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 67; K. Preisendanz, “Dans le monde de la magie grecque,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 10 (1935): 336–37; W. Speyer, “Büchervernichtung,” *JAC* 13 (1970): 123–52, with bibliography.

5. PGM LVII and LXXII are even written in cryptography. See also my article “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

6. A definition of the notion of magic cannot be attempted here. In order to provide an adequate definition, the complexities of the notion, its relations with “religion” and “science,” and the rather frustrating history and literature of the problem would have to be discussed first. For a good introduction to the question, see A. A. Barb, “The Survival of Magic Arts,” in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 100–125; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–19; cf. also Aune, *ANRW* II. 23.2, 1510–16 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, *Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

7. On the survival of magic, see Barb’s stimulating article mentioned in note 6 above. Also important for this question is the autobiographical account of the physician Thessalos and its discussion by J. Z. Smith, “The Temple and the Magician,” in his *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 172–89.

8. For the circumstances connected with the discoveries of the Qumran texts, see F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961); for the Nag Hammadi Library, see J. M. Robinson, “The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly,” *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 17–30.

9. C. J. C. Reuvers, *Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus bilingues et Grecs, et sur quelques autres Monuments Gréco-Egyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités de l’Université de Leide* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1830), 1: “M. le chevalier D’ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie.” For bibliographical information, see W. R. Dawson, “Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 158–66.

10. See the remark by F. Lenormant in his catalog of the Anastasi collection entitled *Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes. Cette collection rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, N° 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc.* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857) 84: “M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d’un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c’est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée.”

11. See J.-F. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments coptes et arabes composant la collection de Feu M.J.-F. Mimaud* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1837) pp. Vff.

12. Cf. the report of another collector who speaks of his "residence of eighteen years at Thebes, entirely devoted to its objects of antiquity" (p. IX). This man, a Greek named Giovanni d'Athanasī, from the island of Lemnos, the son of a Cairo merchant, wrote his story at the suggestion of English travelers: Giovanni d'Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum* (London: John Hearn, 1836). As d'Athanasī reports, the papyri are found mostly in or near tombs; so he says about the Demotic papyri: "they are very rare, and are found not in the mummies, but in the terra-cotta urns which are found closed up and buried in the earth around the tombs" (p. 79). See also the *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d'Athanasī, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o'Clock precisely* (London: J. Davy, 1837) 23–24: "Manuscript Rolls of Papyrus, found in the tombs at Thebes." On the whole subject, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970), esp. 44ff.: books placed as gifts in tombs.

13. PGM V.a is a loose page stuck into a work on chemistry, the *Papyrus graecus Holmīensis* in Stockholm. This indicates that the owner and collector of the magical material also possessed works on chemistry. See also B. Olsson, "Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 355–56; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* 91–92.

14. See my article mentioned in note 5 above.

15. Francis Llewelyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

16. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3: *The Late Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 127; cf. also 8–9. See also Farouk Gomaā, *Chaemwese. Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), esp. 70ff. The papyrus was found in a Christian (!) tomb in Thebes. It should be noted that the story dealing with the search for the secret book has a parallel in Pseudo-Democritus, who may be identical with Bolos of Mendes. According to this text, Democritus went to Memphis where he was received by Ostanēs and his students in the temple of Ptah, but Ostanēs died before he initiated Democritus into his mysteries and handed his secret books over to him. Democritus also brought up the shadow of Ostanēs from Hades and asked him about the books. Ostanēs replied that they were in the temple, where they were finally discovered. Both names occur also in PGM (Democritus: VII.167, 795; XII. 351; Ostanēs: IV.2006; XII.122). The text is given in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés II* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938) 317–18; see J. H. Waszink, "Bolos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 502–8; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* 26–27, 72–73.

17. Lenormant, *Catalogue* 87 about PGM IV: "En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutent par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la *gnose*."

18. See note 9 above.

19. GGA, 56. Stück, den 9. April 1831, pp. 545–54. Müller remarks (p. 547): "Es gibt wohl keine Urkunde, die es so deutlich machte, wie die Magie, diese Seuche der Geister, vor allem in Aegypten sich entwickelt, und von dem alten Religionssystem dieses Volkes ausgehend, mit Hülfe metaphysischer Speculationen und verworrener Naturkenntnisse, sich zu einem Schrecken erregenden Umfange ausgebildet habe."

20. Leemans's edition was based upon Reuven's manuscript. See Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 225 n.13.

21. C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi. Regis augustissimi jussu edidit, interpretationem latinam, annotationem, indicem et tabulas addidit C. L.*, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1843, 1885). On Leemans, see *L'Egyptologue Conrade Leemans et son correspondance. Contribution à l'histoire d'une science, à l'occasion du cent-cinquantième an-*

niversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centenaire des Congrès des Orientalistes (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

22. C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic: From a Papyrus in the British Museum, Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a Translation and Notes*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. II (Cambridge: Deighton, 1852).

23. G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1865 (Berlin: Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866) 109–80.

24. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 36 (1888): 27–208. On Wessely's achievements in particular, see H. Gerstinger, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 250–55; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 120–22.

25. K. Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale," *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889) 3–23. See the review by A. Dieterich, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 11 (1891): 9–10.

26. "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Wien], philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42 (1893), II. Abhandlung.

27. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. I (London: British Museum, 1893).

28. S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1925).

29. See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), p. 164 n.1, and his remark in a review article, "Griechische und römische Religion," *ARW* 8 (1905): 486–87:

Es nimmt mich immer wieder wunder, dass der unermeßliche Gewinn, der aus den Zauberpapyri nach so vielen Seiten hin zu erlangen ist, nur so wenige Arbeiter lockt. Wie mancher, der religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit tun will, täte besser hier sich zu bemühen als um Probleme herumzureden, zu deren Lösung er doch nichts beitragen kann. Nach dem Schema der 'Papyrologie' gehören sie weder zu den Urkunden noch zu den literarischen Papyri; denn daß sich hier die große religiöse Literatur von Jahrhunderten niedergeschlagen hat, ist nur sehr wenigen deutlich. Die Unbekanntheit mit den magischen Papyri macht sich zum Schaden so mancher religionshistorischer Arbeiten, auch der letzten Jahre, bemerklich, und da die wichtigste Publikation von Wessely in den Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Klasse XXXVI Band 1888, allerdings ohne eigene recensio und emendatio kaum benutzbar ist, habe ich es mit einem meiner Schüler zusammen unternommen, zunächst wenigstens das kapitalste Stück dieser Literatur, das grosse Pariser Zauberbuch, in einer neuen Ausgabe vorzulegen.

See also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1928), p. VI.

30. S. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I*, p. V.

31. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin: Weidmann, ²1902) 254–55. The remark in full reads as follows:

Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, dass diese Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Dass sie das thun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehen, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden,—soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muss er den Menschen menschlich sehn.

32. It should be noted, however, that Dieterich's doctoral dissertation was already devoted to the subject, a work that posed most of the pertinent problems. The dissertation was published in an expanded form under the title "Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi . . .," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband 16 (1888): 749–830; its prolegomena were reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) 1–47.

Dieterich's commentary on the Leiden papyrus J 395 (= PGM XIII) followed under the title *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). Related is the work entitled *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, ²1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). Still indispensable is his commentary on PGM IV. 475–834, entitled *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; ²1909 ed. R. Wünsch; ³1923 ed. O. Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For biographical details and a bibliography see R. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* pp. IX–XLII; H. J. Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule. Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–80): 5–106.

33. See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I* (1928) pp. VIII–IX.

34. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. IX–XII.

36. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz, vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931).

37. See the *Vorrede* to vol. III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), reprinted in the new edition of vol. II, ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), pp. VII–XVII.

38. See K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," in *Miscellanea critica Teubner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964) 215 n.1.

39. See the *Vorwort zur Neuauflage* by Henrichs in vol. I of the new edition (see n. 40 below), pp. XIII–XIV.

40. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974).

41. See A. Dieterich, "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," *Kleine Schriften* 449–539; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929): 219–35, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1: 176–94; A. J. Festugière, "La valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 281–328; M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1960) 129–66; S. Eitrem, "Aus Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte: Die magischen Papyri," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933*, hrsg. von W. Otto und L. Wenger, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19 (München: Beck, 1934) 243–63.

42. See note 29 above.

43. See, e.g., the attempt to recover ritual fragments from PGM LXX in my article "Fragments of a Catábasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

44. Cf. Nilsson's remark concerning the magical hymns, "Die Religion," 132: "Jedoch sind die Hymnen das Griechischste der Zaubervliteratur. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es ein älteres Zaubrerwesen gegeben hat, das an die griechischen Götter angeschlossen, von dem die auf uns gekommene ägyptische Zaubervliteratur Brocken sich einverleibt hat."

45. Since then fundamental changes have occurred in the interpretation of Greek religion, of which the success of the book by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951) was symptomatic. See also on this point E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 180–81. For recent developments, see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 21ff.; idem, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Sather Classical Lectures 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46. Cf. the comment made by A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 4 n.16: "Much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off. . . ."

47. On Jewish magic and related bibliography, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen*

(Strassburg: Trübner, 1898, ²1914); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk-Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vols. 4 and 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1969, 1970); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

48. See for surveys A. A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1971) 138–69; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 520–43 and passim; K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Neue Serie, V. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Wien: Rohrer/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1956) 111–25.

49. On Jesus and early Christian magic, with related bibliography, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

50. On Egyptian magic of the later periods, see the collection by Lichtheim (see note 16 above); G. Roeder, *Volks Glaube im Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1952); idem, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, = *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild*, vol. 4 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1961).

51. On the figure of the magician, see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–89.

52. See W. Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (see note 5 above), 1–22.

53. Some of these handbooks are among the *PGM*. How they were made can still be seen from the partly unfinished, late Byzantine (16th c.) copy in the Gennadios Library in Athens (Codex Gennadianus 45), the text of which was published by A. Delatte, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature so'lonomique, le codex *Gennadianus* 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres*, 5^e série, tome 45 (1959): 280–321.

54. As I have tried to show, even the human self was regarded as a daimon which could be handled by the magician in the same way as all the other energies of the universe. See H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71.

55. A beautiful testimony of this self-understanding is cited by D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 84–85, where the great magician Amenhotep says about himself:

I am really magnificent among any people, one with a heaving heart when he is looking for a plan in some unknown problem, like one whose heart knows it already; who finds a sentence even if it was found destroyed; master of wisdom, friend of the ruler, who does useful things for the Horus, who makes his monuments splendid in order to cause everybody to remember him forever at the august place. Who guides the ignorant through the events since the primeval times, who shows their place to everybody who forgot about it; useful in his ideas, when he is looking for monuments to make immortal the name of his lord; who relates the proverb and acts with his fingers; leader of mankind, of engaging manners as a pleasant one. Who venerates the name of the king and his power, who praises his Majesty at any time of the day, who is on his guard in all his decisions. . . ."

56. A good illustration of the phenomenon is the social and psychological syndrome called "cognitive dissonance." The syndrome can be observed among persons of strong conviction who, when faced with evidence to the contrary of their convictions ("disconfirmation"), become more intense and close themselves off from their social context, rather than develop doubts about these convictions. See the study by Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). The authors of this study themselves may have become another instance of the syndrome: apparently they entered into the project armed with strong convictions about the origins of religion and, without ever becoming suspicious, found nothing but confirmation.

Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri

Janet H. Johnson

As important as the Greek magical papyri are to the understanding of Greco-Roman religion, as noted by Betz in his Introduction to the Greek magical texts, their full significance can be perceived only when it is realized that these texts written in Greek are part of a larger corpus that also includes texts written in that stage of the Egyptian language known as “Demotic,” and that the corpus as a whole derives in very large measure from earlier Egyptian religious and magical beliefs and practices. The interrelationship between the Greek and Egyptian aspects of these magical texts is emphasized by the fact that not only did the major find of such texts, the collection of Anastasi noted by Betz, occur in Egypt, in the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor) and include both Greek and Egyptian documents, but it also included documents that were bilingual—some of the spells were written in Greek, others in Egyptian, all within the same texts and all for use by the same magician. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that even in the spells written in Greek, the religious or mythological background and the methodology to be followed to ensure success may be purely Egyptian in origin. Thus it is only with the inclusion of the Egyptian materials together with the Greek, and the study of the complete corpus, that the full ramifications of this extraordinary body of material can be studied and appreciated.

All four of the Demotic magical texts appear to have come from the collections that Anastasi gathered in the Theban area. Most have passages in Greek as well as in Demotic, and most have words glossed into Old Coptic (Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet [which indicated vowels, which Egyptian scripts did not] supplemented by extra signs taken from the Demotic for sounds not found in Greek); some contain passages written in the earlier Egyptian hieratic script or words written in a special “cipher” script, which would have been an effective secret code to a Greek reader but would have been deciphered fairly simply by an Egyptian.

The longest of the four Demotic texts was at some time torn into two sections (*PDM* xiv; *PGM* XIV). The longer second section was acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1828; it now bears number *P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383 (formerly Anastasi 65). The shorter beginning section was purchased by the British Museum in 1857; it now bears number *P.Lond.demot.* 10070 (formerly Anastasi 1072). The definitive publication of the two sections, including hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with extensive commentary and glossary, is the work of F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson.¹ Attention was attracted to the Leiden section very early when Reuvens recognized the value that the glosses into Greek letters provided for the deciphering of Demotic script.² The entire preserved text (both the beginning and the end of the original manuscript are lost) consists of twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller columns on the verso. All are in Egyptian with the exception of three short passages in three separate columns, which are written in Greek. Elsewhere occasional Greek words occur as glosses to Egyptian

words or are written in the Egyptian text in an alphabetic Demotic script apparently developed for writing magical and foreign words. Much more common than the Greek passages is the use of the older Egyptian hieratic script in the midst of Demotic passages (as if the scribe were transcribing from an earlier manuscript and occasionally forgot to update what he was copying) and glosses into Old Coptic, most frequently for the writing of magical names and presumably to indicate proper pronunciation (which would have been very difficult to do given the abbreviated nature and great age of the traditional Egyptian scripts). Each column of the recto is written within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines; chapter or section headings are written in red ink (a tradition in Egyptian literature from Old Kingdom times³). In some cases, the scribes, while writing the body of the text in black ink, left room for the heading to be added later in red ink but failed to do so. Such headings can easily be restored.

The same scribe who wrote the London and Leiden text also wrote a second manuscript in the Leiden Museum (*PDM* xii; *PGM* XII) that contains Demotic magical texts—the verso of P.Lugd.Bat.J 384 (formerly Anastasi 75).⁴ Of the nineteen columns of magical spells on the verso, the two columns at the beginning (the left end of the manuscript) are purely Demotic, the following thirteen columns are in Greek (although two headings are written in Demotic), the next two columns are again in Demotic, and the last two columns at the right end of the papyrus are largely in Demotic although they have short passages in Greek cited in the middle. (Note that the papyrus is broken at both ends, so it is impossible to determine how many more columns there were originally and in what language.) Within the Demotic sections of the manuscript are occasional passages written in the earlier hieratic script and in alphabetic Demotic as well as Old Coptic glosses. It appears that this text was written before the London and Leiden text since it is in this text that one can see the development of the Old Coptic script being used for glosses. In the columns at the left end of the papyrus, the Old Coptic glosses were written letter by letter above the corresponding Demotic letter. Since the Demotic runs right to left, the glosses run the same direction. This would have been quite confusing to someone reading what appeared to be Greek, so by the glosses in the second group of Demotic spells, at the right end of the papyrus, the scribe had taken to writing the glosses word for word, left to right, over the appropriate Demotic word. It is this latter system that is found throughout the papyrus of London and Leiden. In Leiden J 384, the scribe did not write within a frame or use red ink for headings. That both the papyri of London and Leiden and Leiden J 384 were written in Thebes, where they were found and sold to Anastasi, is indicated further by the fact that the dialect of Coptic to which the glosses and other alphabetic spellings most closely correspond has been identified as “archaic Theban.”⁵

The British Museum also contains a second bilingual Greek and Demotic magical text (*PDM* lxi; *PGM* LXI), P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588.⁶ The recto contains eight columns of Demotic; two have occasional magical names written in Old Coptic and one has the names of some ingredients written in Greek in addition to two Greek sections within the Demotic. The verso contains two columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic and four columns of Greek. The Demotic sections use red ink for chapter headings (italicized in the translations), as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

The fourth Demotic magical text is P.Louvre E3229 (formerly Anastasi 1061).⁷ The preserved fragments (*PDM Supplement*) contain seven columns of Demotic on the recto and one column on the verso; the papyrus is broken at both ends. Both

the earlier hieratic script and Old Coptic are used, together with the alphabetic Demotic script developed for writing magical names and attested in each of these texts except P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588. Section headings are written in red ink on the recto (italicized in the translations); the columns on the recto are written within a red frame, as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

In all four of these texts, all of which can be dated paleographically to the third century A.D. or only slightly later, there is every indication that all the various scripts were written by, and for, the same scribe, a bilingual person equally at home in Egyptian (old, current, and future) and Greek. The contents and the methodology are overwhelmingly Egyptian. Most of the material is completely Egyptian and its origins are easily traceable in earlier Egyptian religious and magical literature. The methods used are likewise standard Egyptian practices. Some of this is indicated in the notes to the translations.

By contrast, Egyptian divinities (in their own names or in the guise of their Greek counterparts) and Egyptian mythological references abound in the Greek texts and Egyptian methodology is also frequent. For example, although threats against gods who might fail to do what one wants go back to the earliest Egyptian religio-magic literature (Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), but are unparalleled in classical Greece, they are frequent in the Greek magical texts as well as those written in Egyptian. Much of the Egyptian background of the Greek texts has been pointed out in the numerous textual notes added by Robert K. Ritner. The common source of the Greek and Egyptian language texts is also indicated by their frequent use of identical strings of invocation names, including, in addition to Egyptian and Greek divinities, western Asiatic divinities, "abracadabra" names, and what appear to the modern reader as gibberish.

Because the bulk of the texts is written in Greek, and because there are short passages of Greek in some of the Egyptian texts,⁸ it has been suggested that the Egyptian texts are translations from the Greek. But there are passages in Egyptian, written in Old Coptic, within many of the Greek texts and, as indicated above, the religious and magical background of many of the spells, both Greek and Egyptian, is decidedly Egyptian. In discussing the Egyptian texts, Griffith and Thompson concluded: "even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian."⁹ The same may be true for much of the Greek material. One must, at any rate, be leery of overstating the Greek case and attributing too much to Greek influence.

The present collection of all the texts, Greek and Egyptian, in one easily usable volume, points this out conclusively. This will, in turn, allow and encourage the comparative study of the purposes, methods, props, magical names, and the like, of the Greek and Egyptian spells and encourage the study of the antecedents of the material in both cultures. This work will add greatly to our understanding of the cultural milieu in which these magical texts were produced and copied. Thus it is the hope of all those who have collaborated on the production of this volume that it will both further our knowledge of a dynamic period in the history of man and also encourage future study of cultural contact and cross-fertilization.

Notes

1. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904).
2. See n. 9 to Betz's Introduction, above.

3. See Georges Posener, "Sur l'emploi de l'encre rouge dans les manuscrits égyptiens," *JEA* 37 (1951): 75–80.

4. The recto contains a long Demotic literary composition known variously as the "Tefnut Legend" or the "Myth of the Sun's Eye"; for a short summary and bibliography, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, pp. 156–57. The magical spells on the verso were published by Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden J 384," *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64; for the identification of the scribe, see *ibid.*, pp. 51–53.

5. Janet H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, vol. 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 105–32.

6. Published by H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933).

7. Published by Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102.

8. But note that, e.g., one of the passages in Greek in London and Leiden concerns the purely Egyptian divinity Osiris and his burial in Abydos.

9. *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, p. 12.

THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

PGM I. 1–42

*[*Rite*]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat¹ and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circæan² falcon / and deify it³ in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it⁴ with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrrh the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: "A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ." [But write this, making] two figures:⁵

A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
E E	Y Y Y Y Y Y
Ē Ē Ē	O O O O O
Ī Ī Ī Ī	Ī Ī Ī Ī
O O O O O	Ē Ē Ē
Y Y Y Y Y Y	E E
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	A

/ And take the milk with the honey⁶ and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed *spell*:

"A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,⁷ Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man's seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, II. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, N.F. 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κικαῖος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. "*κίρκος*," I: "a kind of hawk or falcon." See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. "Falkc."

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, "Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning," *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, "Zu dem Ausdruck *høj 'Εοιής*," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, "Ertrinken, Ertränken," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also PGM III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.*

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the PGM and called "grapelikey," "heart-shaped" or "winged," may be an example of *technopaision*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte" 104; G. Wojacek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. "Milch."

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis "the good oxherd": *PDM* xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 24 and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,⁸ you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds⁹ into the [sacred fig] tree of Heliopolis¹⁰ continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÖTH BAKCHABRĒ.¹¹

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards¹¹ and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

*The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:¹² . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,¹³ a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon's head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (*δενεκέως*). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *jšd* tree (see L. Kákossy, "Ischedbaum," *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree "in which is life and death" (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *persea* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means "herald," may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, "Keryx," *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,¹⁴ it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the goddess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis¹⁵ in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess.

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel¹⁶ whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly¹⁷ learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods and Mendesian wine,¹⁸ set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy¹⁹ serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words²⁰ to the god: “I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, ‘Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!’”

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.²¹ Test this²² oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, “Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will,” and the god vanishes.

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh troglitis. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as “Ethiopian myrrh.”

16. This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as “the god” throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in PGM I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean “precisely” or “in detail.”

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendacian wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium PGM II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. πρόπεμπε with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: “first,” hence “preliminary words.” [E.N.O.]

21. πρὸς ἃ φράζει should be read as second-person middle (cf. I. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word “this” is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps “the oath itself” is preferable. Cf. I. 156: “the same spell.”

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the
 105 single exception of fish²³—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,²⁴ you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered
 110 with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and
 115 you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers
 120 and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars²⁵ and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold
 125 and cold things / warm,²⁶ he will light lamps and extinguish them again.²⁷ And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air.
 130 And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: "ÖRI PI . . . AMOUNTE²⁸ AINTHYPH PICHAROUR²⁹ RAIAL KAPHIOUTH
 135 YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZÖ ZÖN TAZÖTAZÖ PTAZÖ MAU-
 IAS SOUÖRI SOUÖ ÖOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A . . . RICHAMCHÖ BIRATHAU
 ÖPHAU PHAUÖ DAUA AUANTÖ ZOUZÖ ARROUZÖ ZÖTOUAR THÖMNAÖRI AYÖI
 PTAUCHARËBI AÖUSÖBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAA AEËIOYÖYÖOIËEA CHACHACH
 140 CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ö ËI³⁰ / IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABÖEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHËR
 PHICHRÖ PHNYRÖ PHÖCHÖCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMË PHIBAÖCHNËMEÖ." This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. "Schwein"; J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, "Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics," *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see *PGM* VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in *PGM* VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikrour*, "the frog." [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning "Amon the Great." [R.K.R.]

*And engraved on the stone*³¹ is: Helioros³² as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting 145
its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): “ACHA
ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH.” And after passing an Anubian string³³
through it, wear it around your neck.

Spell to Selene: “INOUTHŌ³⁴ PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA
ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAU- 150
RACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR
ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU LABAU KANTANTOUMI
BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH.” Having said this, you will see some star gradually free
itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, 155
kiss him and say the same spell: “ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL
RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . . TAMARA CHIŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO
ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI.” When you have spoken this,
/ a reply will be given. But you say to him: “What is your divine name? Reveal it to me 160
ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it].” It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR
PHTHĒ MŌTH.³⁵

And this is spoken next: “Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty,
boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from 165
me from this day forth through all the time of my life.”

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the
hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of
the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to 170
him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way
you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad
with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what
things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone 175
asks you “What do I have in mind?” or “What has happened to me?” or even “What
is going to happen?” question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you
speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will
wrap [up] your body as befits a god,³⁶ but he will take your spirit and carry it into
the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will 180
go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do some-
thing, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, [“Come!”] and you will see him
actually standing near you. And say to him, “Perform this task,” and he does it at
once, and after doing it he will say to you, “What else do you want? For I am eager
for heaven.” If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, “Go, lord,” and he 185
will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone
ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RARG* 427–429, s.v. “Löwe.”

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *i ntr* ʿ3, “O great god,” and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body’s subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, “The Decree of Amonrasenethēr for Neskhons,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what
 190 hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure,
 and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things
 the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no
 one except [your] legitimate son³⁷ alone when he asks you for the magic powers
 imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula “IAEÖBAPHRENE-
 MOUN” and the formula “IARBATHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

*This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born
 god: “I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
 200 whose side the Glorious Ones³⁸ stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father,
 and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the
 celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAÖ CHAÖ CHA OUPH CHTHE-
 THÖNIMEETHËCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAÖ BLATHAMMACHÖTH PHRIXA ÈKE
 . . . PHYËIDRYMËÖ PHERPHRITHÖ IACHTHÖ PSYCHEÖ PHIRITHMEÖ ROSERÖTH /
 205 THAMASTRA PHATIRI TAÖCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root,
 [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear
 me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
 210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has
 borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that
 you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

“I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is
 [distressed], and I am perplexed³⁹ and in want of [everything]. Wherefore, come]
 215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical
 power of aerial daimon [and] fate.⁴⁰ Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name
 which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHEZOPHÖIM ZADËAGËÖBËPHIA-
 220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKÖTHÖÖËË ACHTHÖNÖN / SA ISAK
 CHÖËIOURTHASIÖ IÖSIA ICHËMEÖÖÖÖ AÖAEI, rescue me in an hour of need.”

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.⁴¹

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with
 the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the
 purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms)
 is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a
 demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz’s reading *ἰσχυρὸν νύμφ* is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom (“son of your own loins”), an idiom formed in Greek from the word *ἰσχυιον* (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to “part of the body.” [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35: 11; 1 Kgs 8: 19; Acts 2: 30; Heb 7: 5, 10. See further more PGM IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Doxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. “δόξα,” 4.

39. The translation of *ἄβουλος* follows Preisendanz (“ratlos”). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42: 6, 12; 43: 5; Jon 4: 9 LXX; Sir 37: 2; Mk 14: 34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in PGM here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l’antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l’argumentation morale anti-fataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, ²1974); H. O. Schröder, “Fatum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1969): 524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

***Indispensable invisibility spell:** Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled⁴² by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive⁴³ and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: “I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ EAŌ,” and listen it and say in addition: “Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAĒ EIE EAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA.” 225 230

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

***Memory spell:** Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic⁴⁴ myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off⁴⁵ into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount. 235

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: “KAMBRE CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOCHA LINOCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY EĒ EE ŌŌ.” After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed. 240

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,⁴⁶ spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write. 245

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

***Tested spell for invisibility:** A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,⁴⁷ say the spell as follows: “I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,⁴⁸ I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.⁴⁹ Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me.” 250 255

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men. 260

42. The pellet (“that which is rolled”) of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also PGM VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads *φακνίνου*, which Preisendanz emends to *(ὀμ)φακνίνου*. For similar expressions, see PGM IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidt, GGA 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37): 1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, “destroyed (him).” [M.W.M.] Cf. DMP col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

“O lord Apollo, come with Paian.⁵⁷

Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
Whene’er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ
And you, MICHAËL, who rule heaven’s realm,
I call, and you, archangel GABRIËL.

300

Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world,
All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.

305

I adjure God’s head,⁵⁸ which is Olympos;
I adjure God’s signet, which is vision;
I adjure the right hand you held o’er the world;
I adjure God’s bowl containing wealth;
I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
/ I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS;

310

I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
I adjure these holy and divine names that
They send me the divine spirit and that it
Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.

/ Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n⁵⁹
And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
[Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].

315

Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
Who moves by night to orders ’neath your force,
From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /

In total truth all that my mind designs,
And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
That my whole body come to light intact,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name,
In number equal to the very Moirai,

320

ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIËIAËIA

AIËIAËIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA.”⁶⁰

325

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy,
about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining
revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease,
about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

330

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words “Ἀναξ . . . σὺν Παίῳ” form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. PGM II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, “I adjure (you by) God’s head,” here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means “Thoth the great.” [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel, which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:⁶¹

“Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O elder-born, self-generating god.
I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
I adjure your pow’r which is greatest o’er all; /
I adjure him who destroys e’en in Hades,
That you depart, returning to your ship,
And harm me not, but be forever kind.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

“... AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A” (speak the whole name thus, in wing formation).¹

“O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
Come joyous, Leto’s son, who works afar,
Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
Foretell, give prophecies amid night’s hour,²
5 ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA”³ (speak this name too, / leaving off one letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):⁴

“If e’er with vict’ry-loving laurel branch
Here from your holy peak you often voiced
Words of good omen, so may you now speed
Your way to me with truthful oracles,

LAËTONION and TABARAÖTH AEÖ EÖ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night, who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons,
10 help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus.”

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and together with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you come in from the prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of frankincense in the wick of the lamp: “BOASOCH⁵ OĒAĒ IAÖIĒ ŌIAĒ ŌIAĒ NICHAROPLEX / STHOM ÖTHÖ . . . Y IE IÖ ĒI IAĒL IRMOUCH ÖNOR ÖEYE IYÖ EAÖ SABAÖTH
15 THEÖTĒ PAÖMIACH SIEOU IAÖ IE IEÖ . . . IOY IEÖY IÖ IĒI ĒÖ IĒAI IEÖA A E Ē I O Y Ö.”

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god’s self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also PGM I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see PGM I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply (KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA) and (A) at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at PGM IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. PGM I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.⁶ Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a “breathing stone,” the heart of a hoopoe⁷ (also known as the “vulture cock”). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum. 20

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass’s milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs⁸ of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and 25 twelve right-whorled⁹ pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censer¹⁰ of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,¹¹ and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down 30 to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],¹² and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin “BOLSOCH,” etc.¹³

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: “YESSEMMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOËRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE” / (write 12 names). 35

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear. 40

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

The character is:¹⁴ 

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of 45

6. σύνθεμα as a variant of σύνθημα may also have the meaning of “token” or “sign.”

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. κλάδος is normally to be translated “branch,” but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. “Twig” may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. δεξιούς is either “right-turning” or simply “perfect in shape.” Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. θυμιατήριον is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for “altar.”

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (ⲁ), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads εν πιννηλι. . . . Preisendanz suggests πίννη λι[τῆ], “with a simple, or plain, pen” (taking πίννη as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, I. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below¹⁵ on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one
 50 who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse¹⁶ / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: “ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus.” /

55 If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,¹⁷ and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,¹⁸ chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

60 Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–183

65 **An alternative procedure:* Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: “[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A”¹⁹; the other: “SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A.”¹⁹

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,²⁰ while you begin with a sacred utterance. *This is as follows:*
 70 And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it,
 75 anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice²¹ is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, PGM II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. *γυμναζόμενος* means literally “trained” or “practiced.” But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy’s sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of *ἀφθόρως* here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 Sm 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in “wing formation,” leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See I. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, “in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes.”

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and “Hermes’ finger.” You shall also speak into the lamp the following: “PERPHAËNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH²² PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU.”

*The operative name*²³ is: “AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian.”

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,²⁴ 80
when the moon is in Gemini:

*Fourth Invocation:*²⁵

“Laurel,²⁶ Apollo’s holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned 85
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.”

(Speak while the sun is rising).

*Greeting formula:*²⁷

“Hail, fire’s dispenser, world’s far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,²⁸
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband 90
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

22. MENCHTHŌTH is equivalent to *mnē Dhwti*, “Thoth is excellent/beneficent.” [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.*

74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *vores magicae* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαίρει*, “hail,” which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαίρει-τισμός*, “greeting formula.” See on this A. Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, “I call upon you . . .,” may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλ(έ)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *δυπετός* properly means “fallen from Zeus or heaven,” referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply “divine.” Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. “*δυπετός*,” Betz, *Lukian* 168 n. 2.

- With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
 And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
 For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
 To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
 Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
 Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
 Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
 95 Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
 From heav'n, whenc'er she hears the crack of whip
 That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
 AAAAAA EEEEEEE ÊÊÊÊÊÊÊ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ;
 O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
 Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
 To earth, Icios, hair wreathed with ivy.
 And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
 100 To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
 ÊPHTHISIKÊRE, and hail, Moirai three,
 Klotho and Atropos and Lachis²⁹ too.
 I call you,³⁰ who are great in heav'n, airlike,
 Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
 Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
 you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and
 who light up the whole inhabited world;³¹ you who have designated the various
 105 living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe³² in
 the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the fig-
 ure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names,
 SESENGENBARPHARANGÊS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred
 falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXA-
 110 NAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail
 of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east
 you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you
 quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself
 115 as god in truth, ÎÔ ÎÔ ERBÊTH / ZAS³³ SABAÔTH SMARTH ADÔNAI SOUMARTA IALOU
 BABLA YAM MOLÊENTHIÔ PETOTOUBIÊTH IARMÎÔTH LAILAMPS CHÔOUCH³⁴ AR-
 SENOPHRÊ EU PHTHA ÊÔLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the
 120 day, NATHMAMEÔTH; you who rise as an infant,³⁵ / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who
 traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see PGM III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject H. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," *ZÄS* 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apulcius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* 11. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. PGM XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Èros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

33. Zas is an old name for Zeus. See also PGM XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

34. CHÔOUCH is equivalent to Egyptian *kky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

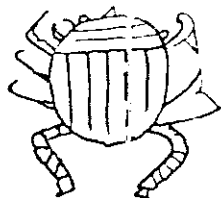
35. See on this point PGM II. 102 and n.

yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator³⁶ of many things, SESEN-
 GENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommes, Kommes IASPHĒ³⁷
 IASPHĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN / SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI ARSAMŌSI 125
 NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTH LERTHEX-
 ANAXETHRELUOŌTHNEMAREBA, the most great and mighty god. I am he, NN,
 who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of
 your most great name, of which the number is 9,999: IĒ IE IA IĀ IAE IEY IĒA IŌA
 IEY / IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EĒE EĒE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO 130
 YYY ŌŌŌ IY EY OY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE IĒA IOY IŌE IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒIE; Paian,³⁸
 Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia; IĒEA IĒ IŌ
 IY / IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYIE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE 135
 EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor . . . AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ
 ŌĒA EŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IEA IĀ IEŌY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH
 PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH;³⁹ I summon you, Apollo of
 Klaros, / EĒY; Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian, ŌAE; Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI.” 140

Preparation for the rite: On the first day, [collect] nails of a sheep; on the sec-
 ond, the nails of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as
 burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet
 come, / make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died vio- 145
 lently, and light a lamp from pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas, beseech-
 ing and exhorting the god to come with good will; let your place be cleansed of all
 pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it
 is very great and irresistible.

/ Rite: Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you are 150
 observing ritual purity, and having thus smeared on the mud, write the following
 inscription with a bronze stylus on the right-hand doorpost.⁴⁰

What is to be written is as follows: “𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 2 ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA 𐤏
 ĒI ĒI IA IA IE ĒY / ABRASAX LERTHEMINŌTH.” Similarly on the left-hand doorpost: 155
 “𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 IŌE EŌA ĒIEA IAIA IE IAIĒEA HARPON KNOUPHI” (formula).⁴¹



On the upper part of the door: “𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 AA EE 160
 MICHAĒL ĒIA EYŌ YAE EYŌ IAE.” Below the door, [inscribe]
 the scarab, as it stands / here,⁴² having anointed it with the
 blood of a goat, outside your bedchamber. Let the throne be
 purified, and upon it a linen cloth, and beneath it a foot-
 stool. Inscribe on the throne, on the underside: “IĒ IEA
 IOAY DAMNAMEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA; lord of the

36. The papyrus reads πολυφωτιστα (cf. LSJ, s.v. πολυφωτίστης), a reasonably well-formed word only attested here. However, in view of the genitive ὑδάτων following the *vax magica*, which seems to need a governing noun, Preisendanz emends to πολύφω(τε κ)τίστα.

37. For similar formulas see PGM V. 485; XII. 80; XIII. 805ff.; XXI. 25. The formula beginning “ABERAMEN . . .” (see Glossary) should be read in Preisendanz’s text as a long palindrome.

38. The following text has many epithets of the god Apollo. Cf. PGM II. 139–40; III. 251; VI. 24–25. See I. 263 and n.

39. The spacing of this formula has been changed to conform to the spacing of the same formula found elsewhere in the PGM (see I. 141–42; III. 77–78, 151–52, etc.).

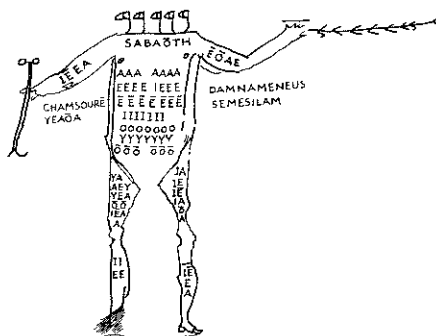
40. For the ritual concerning the doorposts cf. the Jewish *mezuzah*, for which see Ex 12:7, 22–23; Dt 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen* 152; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* II, 479–80 (with additional references).

41. For the whole formula, see PGM I. 27.

42. The papyrus has *ωσπερισχει*, which Preisendanz emends to read *ὡς περιέχει*, but the meaning is not clear.

- 165 Muses, / be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevo-
lent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance.”

170



This figure is to be / in-
scribed on a piece of clothing
belonging to one who has died
violently, and is to be cast into
a pure lamp.

175 SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS / ŌĒIA IŌAE

- After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in
a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove's blood round about, make a burnt offering of
myrrh, and say, "Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIŌCH KIMNOIE
180 EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU / SARBOENDOBALACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off,
lord, to your seats, to your palace, leaving me strength and the right of audience
with you."

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 81–87; 88–101).

PGM III. 1–164

*[Take a] cat, and [make] it into an *Esiēs* [by submerging] its body in water. While
you are drowning it, speak [the formula] to [its] back.

The formula during the drowning [is as follows]:

- 5 "Come hither to me, you who are in control of the form of Helios, you the
cat- / faced god,¹ and behold your form being mistreated by [your] opponents,²
[them,] NN, so that you may revenge yourself upon them, and accomplish [the]
10 NN deed, because I am calling upon you, O sacred spirit. Take on / strength and
vigor against your enemies, them, NN, because I am conjuring you by your names,
BARBATHIAŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH NIABŌAITHABRAB³ SESENGENBARPHARARGĒS . . .
PHREIMI; raise yourself up for me, O cat-faced god, and perform the NN deed"
(add the usual).

- 15 / Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus,⁴ one for . . . , and one
for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean⁵ sheet of

1. The goddess addressed here is Sekhmet-Bastet, well known from Egyptian magical texts. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, nos. 5, 13–15, 18, 20, 124; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* 264–67; E. Otto, "Bastet," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 628–30.

2. For this type of accusation, see PGM III. 113–14; IV. 2475 and n.

3. The letters BARBATHIAŌBAINCHŌŌŌCHNIABŌAITHABRAB form a palindrome. BAINCHŌŌŌCH ("soul of Khukh," the god of darkness) is often read separately, but is adapted to this form for numerological reasons: the formula adds up to 3663.

4. That is, "one [to be placed] in its anus." Preisendanz in the second case restores ἐν τῷ στόματι, but this is in conflict with the other restoration in l. 67 below: [. . . διὰ τῶν καμ[αρῶν], "through the carholes."

5. "Clean" is meant regularly in PGM in a descriptive sense, i.e., previously unused or "free" from imperfections, etc. See LSJ, s.v. "καθαρός," 3a. For detailed description regarding papyrus, see Pliny, *NH* 13. 68–89, and R. Wünsch, "Charta," *PRE* 3 (1899): 2185–92.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and chariotcers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.⁶ Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.⁷ / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

“Angel, . . . [SĒMEA], chthonic / . . . lord⁸ (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTÖRĒ;⁹ hold . . . restrain . . . , PHÖKENSEPSEUARE[K-TATHOUMISONKTAI],¹⁰ for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHÖCHA EIN CHOUCHEÖCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIÖR EUÖR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed” (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: “I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,¹¹ Mistress of corpses,¹² Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,¹³ LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYÖR;¹⁴ I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;¹⁵ come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACH-AXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BALACHACHYCH BAZĒTÖPHÖTH / BAINCHÖÖCH ANI-BÖÖ CHÖCHE . . . PHIÖCHEN GĒBRÖCHTHÖ MYSAGAÖTH CHEÖÖ . . . Ö¹⁶ SABAÖTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHÖCH]AXIN CHOUCHEÖCH.”

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: “IAEÖ” /

6. *μονότωρ* is a late word for *μονόμπτρξ*, “horse with a single frontlet,” i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Sethian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. PGM IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976): 772–75 s.v. “*εὐφραίνω*.”

8. The papyrus reads . . . *ονε*. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, “drivers,” but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from PGM III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. “*ἄρκυια*,” as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), “the netter” is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκρία* is also attested in this sense only in PGM IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. *ΑΜΟΥ* at the beginning is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματώδης* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. PGM XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώδη*.

16. A plausible restoration is *IAÖ* in that *IAÖ* and *SABAÖTH* form a common pairing in the PGM.

60

[AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPTHNAI]-
YIANTHPHIRKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.¹⁷

65

/ On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],¹⁸ there should
be this: "TREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLEAEXANAXETHRELTHYŌETHNEMA-
REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

70

Right skeletal figure:

[Left skeletal figure]:



75

"IŌ ERBĒTH
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
IŌ APOMPS
IŌ PATATHNAX
IŌ AKOUBIA
IŌ SĒTH
PHŌKENSEPSEU-
AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,
Perform the NN deed"
(add the usual, what-
ever you wish).

80

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of
this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me,
and perform the NN [deed] both on this very
day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself /
for me against my enemies, NN, and perform
NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you
by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the
great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA
CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌ-
CHŌ BŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA

AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA
DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE]¹⁹ THORTOEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *καί*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

the tiller of the lord god,²⁰ rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,²¹ and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLÖ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter” (add your additional requests).²² Proceed toward the sunset²³ and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: “Halt, halt the sacred boat,²⁴ steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THON-TOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,²⁵ THON-TOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS²⁶ . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Hearken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOUBRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “for it is those same people who have mistreated²⁷ your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue²⁸ / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,²⁹ MASKELLI MASKELLÖ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!”

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: “Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS³⁰ PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See PGM III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, “for other uses.” Cf. the list of uses at PGM XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. PGM III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, “established and beautiful,” an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see PGM III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is “by the Hebrew sound” and refers to the vowel combinations with IŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberesen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, “Jahwe-Name und Zauberesen,” in his *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of “barbaric language” (ῥῆσις βαρβαρικῇ) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in PGM IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. “Satis.”

- perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
 135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,³¹ gold-gleaming, / shining
 with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the
 day, who set in the west³² of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,³³ circle-
 140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO³⁴ / EMPHE . . . IR,
 the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH
 PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,³⁵ the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole
 inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSOEI Ō PSOEI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
 145 TĒROU;³⁶ / I adjure you by the Egg.³⁷ I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam.
 Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god
 ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURIĒL, by the
 150 god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AK-
 RAMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)³⁸ PHNESKĒR
 PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
 155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augments of fire and of much
 light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of
 all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
 160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the
 whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed” [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: *A charm to re-
 strain charioteers in a race, a charm for sending dreams, a binding love charm,
 and a charm to cause separation and enmity.*

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of
 which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot
 races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the
 spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the
 appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

- 165 *Take [some] water cress,³⁹ 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the
 plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
 170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: “AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISIRO . . .
 OUSIREN [TECHTHA⁴⁰ . . .]L, I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither φιλομαντοσύνης nor χρυσοπρόσωπος is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading λιβυβόρω, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means “west.”

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vex magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in PGM IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the
 form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in PGM IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is
 an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *hm̄f*, “his shrine.” Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in
 PGM XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 šy ʿ3 p3 šy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, “Good Daimon,
 Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!” PSOETŌ should be the usual PSALAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. PGM XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seete und
 Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of PGM I. 141–42; II. 138–
 39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [.]α[.] δαμινον, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ] δαμινον, an unat-
 tested adjectival form of κάρδαμον, “nose-smart” (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However,
 Schmidt, GGA 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ]α δάμινον, “balsam wood.” Cf. PGM XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also PGM VII. 257. The name corresponds to
 Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in
 the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. “Chen-
 rehtai.” [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . . of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of the important matter of mine.” 175

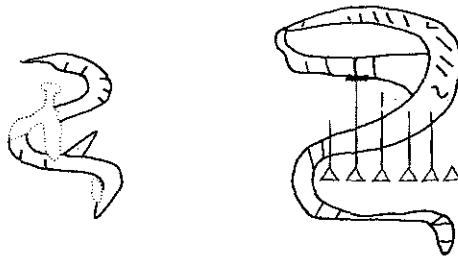
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly papyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [ouroboros]⁴¹ serpent . . . “ÖTE . . . IAM . . . GRASÖ-CHÖ . . . NÖPSITHER TERNÖPSI . . .” 180

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of PGM III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

* Pound up dry fruit (?)⁴² with a pestle (?)⁴³ and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. 190
Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod⁴⁴ before him. Then he will bring about⁴⁵ your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,⁴⁶ as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks. 195

The drawing of the tripod:



*This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:*⁴⁷

“Keep silent, everyone, the voice that’s in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o’er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].” 200

41. Supplying [οὐροβ]ορος in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. τὰ ξυρά. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, ξυρόν, “cutting, dry, sharp.” But perhaps we are to understand simply ξύλα, “pieces of wood,” assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has σχομπανον, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to κομπανον, “strawberry tree,” a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read κοπάνον, “pestle,” the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician’s basic equipment (see PGM IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future τελεῖ instead of imperative τέλει. The phrase that follows (τρανής τῇ ὀμι[λ]ίῃ) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. PGM II. 83–84, where ὀμιλῶν is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo’s epiphany cf. Callimachus, Hy. 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

- Now, birds of augury, stop everything
 Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
 The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
 205 [Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
 Itself's astonished by the secret words.
 King Semea,⁴⁸ [father] of the world, be gracious
 To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
 Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
 To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
 Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
 210 Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
 Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
 Of Zeus, divine ΙΑΩ; and you, too,
 Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAËL],
 Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
 O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
 O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAËL], your helper,⁴⁹ /
 215 Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
 Of Zeus, and who has both exalted⁵⁰ nature
 And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
 And I call . . . of the immortals . . .
- ΟΡΑΣΕΕΡΑ ΣΕΣΕ[NGENB]ΑΡΦΑΡΑΓΓΕΣ:
 All-mighty is the god, but you are⁵¹ greatest,
 Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
 220 Lord of the world, ΣΑΒΑΘΘΗ, / who veil⁵² sunset
 From dawn, ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, who, being a world,
 Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
 Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
 To those who with a cry raise you at night.⁵³
- ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑΧ[ΑΡΙ], ΚΑ . . . Κ . . .
 225 Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
 Of untamed Stryx and Death the Arbiter.

48. The name Semea also appears at *PGM* III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; *PDM* xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἀ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ι]χαήλ, which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαήλ σου ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. *PGM* I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wünsch, is preferable to δειξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whatever is written must govern φύσιν in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as azeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fahz reads ἐσσι in lieu of ἐστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaut"). Cf. *PGM* I. 303, ἐπισκοπάζεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god's seal,⁵⁴ at whom all deathless
 Gods of Olympus quake and daimons who
 Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
 Is ordered to be silent when it hears.⁵⁵
 You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /

ΑΕΪΙΟΥΩ."

230

Also say this: "Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about everything which I order him to speak about." And he will bring this about.

*This is also [another] hymn:*⁵⁶

"I⁵⁷ sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
 Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one,
 O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying⁵⁸ [youth],
 Dodona's [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
 I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
 Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
 [With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
 [O well]-named Phoibos . . .

235

/ . . . ruler absolute . . .

240

Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
 Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
 O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god,
 Cease grow . . .

245

A greater light, for he will learn . . .
 From lips divine; someone . . . to arouse
 The seer with plectrum⁵⁹ . . .
 But come you hither, prophesying; come,
 Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus,
 Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
 Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
 For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
 In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
 Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
 They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
 O maiden who exult in tones divine
 And oracles / . . . heaven's runner,⁶⁰ light bearer,
 Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

250

255

54. O, "I adjure you [by] the god's seal." See PGM I. 306 and n.

55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with ἀκούει, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]

56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]

57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]

58. The papyrus has]ωλετοκτυπε, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [Πυθ]ολετοκτύπε. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: Πυθιοκτόνος, "Python slayer," and Πυθολέτης, "Python destroyer."

59. On the instrument called πλῆκτρον, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* I. 5. 3. [W.B.]

60. Read οὐρ(αν)οδρόμε for papyrus ουροδρομε, which is meaningless. For this epithet see l. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian.”

- 260 *Dismissal*: [“Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, / leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]”
*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

- ***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue]⁶¹ before you speak to anyone.⁶² Say these things along with the [great name]: / “make me know in advance the things in each person’s mind, today, [because] I am TOM . . . IAO SABAOTH IAO THEAEETH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAO . . . EA THOE IABRABA ARBATHRAS[IAO] BATHIAOΘIA ZAGOURE BARBATHIAO AEI AAAAAA EEEEEEE . . . OE . . . SOESESISIETH . . . SABAOTH IAEΘ” (formula). If you wish, you will know
270 [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

- And the formula is*: “Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree.” If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.⁶³ Whenever you say the formula,
275 also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AOTH / SABAOTH. The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

- *[**Horoscope**]:⁶⁴ Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divination . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invocation . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . ORO or love charm; in Sagittarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . .
280 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . beyond measure. . . .

- Rite that brings foreknowledge**, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] / subservient:⁶⁵ In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish.

- [But speak thus:] “Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel]⁶⁶ of Phoibos, you
290 yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms.”

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:⁶⁷

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see PGM IV. 1745–46. Cf. also V. 253–54.

62. Cf. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: “(in the morning) before you speak to anyone.”

63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it “Zodiakalkreis.” In the parallel passage in PGM VII. 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates “Kreislauf des Mondes.”

65. Cf. PGM IV. 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term “angel” can also be read as “messenger.”

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

[illegible]

But the formula that is recited is . . . if you wish [to know], say these things which are in the . . . god and all such prophetic . . . worm in . . . as for ten days. Mixing . . . the heart [with] honey. [Recite] this formula toward the sunrise, 325 [and] you will know in advance during the hour [and during this] day. [After sacrificing,] make a drink offering with dark wine . . . middle . . . say: "Make me know in advance each of the . . . from . . . and . . . toward the sunrise early / [to know] 330 each of the men [and] to know in advance [what things] each has in his mind [and] all their essence."

Single-shooted wormwood, with a single stem, born of the sun, born of the moon⁷⁰ . . . fruit pulp of the lotus, houseleek, a turnip; [wait for] the sunrise in your house fasting. During the third hour finger . . . / . [your] face, say: “[TH]Ō- 335
OU[TH] PIŌPIŌ⁷¹ AUAPS THŌOUTH . . . ARS . . . KENON ŌOUN PACHEN NO . . .
TOOU Ê . . . T ARSASŌTA YNASPOR . . . THA P . . . MNĒPHIELŌKNĒMEŌ, give to me
from your effluence.”

[To] the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day [say:] "Come to me, greatest archangel; come to me XASR XAM [THŌ]OUT . . . come to me, ruler / of reality, ĒMI 340
THĒ . . . BA THŌOUTH THEŌREI . . . ENĒN PAUPIOU PSIBIOAU ABLANATHANALBA
. . . AMOAMMA. Give to me, NN, memory . . . sō . . . I may know all things and I
may understand the things above the. . . ."

... toward the sunrise MASÈS . . . saying thus: "I am [the lord] of the sea. Make
all things . . . / all things [that will be, so that] I know in advance. Reveal this, the 345
concerns of all men and what things will be . . . TŌOUT ANG⁷² . . . SA . . . OUT ANG

68. Fahz and Preisendanz take *καλόν* as modifying *θυμιατήριον*, "a beautiful censer." Here *καλόν* has been taken with *ἔστιν κτλ.*, and the text has been punctuated accordingly. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 2520 and Bauer, s.v. "*καλός*," 3.a.

69. The text at this point has many lacunae, and the reconstruction is uncertain. Fahz and Preisendanz take the reference to the garments and the laurel to refer to the god who is seen.

70. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιόγονος, σεληνόγονος* translates these epithets accordingly. However, since *selēnagonon* is attested as a plant (peony) and since a plant name would be appropriate here, one should perhaps translate “peony.” “Sun-born” is not attested as a plant name.

71. THOOUTH ΠΙΘ ΠΙΘ (cf. also l. 340) is equivalent to Egyptian *Dhwtj p3 3 p3 3*, "Thoth the twice-great." Cf. PGM IV. 19. For this title of Thoth, see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 158–60; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75. [R. K. R.]

72. Following G. Möller (see the apparatus in Preisendanz ad loc.) this short section can also be read as Coptic: "[I am] Thoth; I am Sa[...]out; I am Em[...]e[.....]on; I am Alaboul[.....]lōrai; I am (?) Natreko; [...]m[.....] is your [true] name [...]" [M.W.M.]

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL . . . ”

- . . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . .
 350 ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . . / . just now. . . ”
 . . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . “CHŌLŌM
 355 CHŌL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord. . . ”
 360 . . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . . / . anoint
 . . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . .
 365 you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often
 repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . .
 [the formula], the beginning of which is: “Cause me to know, in order that . . . ”⁷³
 370 the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand accord-
 ing to . . . formula.”

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh
 formula: “Do for me the things that are written. . . .”

- To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . .
 375 pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . . / . fresh, pleasing, happily as
 . . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily
 . . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the
 egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a
 380 place⁷⁴ or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inac-
 cessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season’s flowers . . .
 to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white
 bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest
 385 cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the
 lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following for-
 mula, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . .
 after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving
 390 advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . . / saying seven times
 . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master
 . . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth
 and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: “Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . .”

- . . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: “I conjure those with com-
 395 plete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who
 [created the universe]” . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to]
 a holy . . . ”⁷⁵

- 400 “ . . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name
 405 which . . . who makes . . . / . Gabriel, Michael, PYAOUËTE . . . NETETETET . . . the
god (?) TAAIAIAIAIALOP . . . ĒL.” Seven times you say . . . then say one time or
 three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

- 410 *Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god⁷⁶ sets. Take cow’s milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered “a grave.” Cf. LSJ, s.v. “*τόπος*,” 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.⁷⁷ Put down a clean vessel⁷⁸ and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.⁷⁹ Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[*It is*]: “BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAA I IY EI AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ ĒOĀ AŌĒ ĒOĀ ŌĒA, 415
enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM ĒĒĒ MTHPH.” Do this monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the goddess,⁸⁰ and wear the tablet as an amulet.



The name of the soul of god is: “EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTHZ blood.” Write these things with a copper stylus: “I am KŌOU BŌOU PĊŌSM . . . HOUIT⁸¹ . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RENIM E GEINNA⁸² EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO.”⁸³ Speak into your 420
hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift: ⁸⁴ “SILIBANAGOU-NACHAOUĒL. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

*A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory: Take a kakouphon,⁸⁵ / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey 425
when the goddess⁸⁶ approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,⁸⁷ mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times, once while tasting with the forefinger, this *formula*:

“Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen, the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [to-day’s] activities.”

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .⁸⁸ 430

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has *καταχεάσα[ς]*, “pour it,” which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests *καταλεάζειν* on the basis of Hesychius’ *ἀλεάζειν*, “to heat up.” The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds (*εἰς*), “into,” which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., “put it [into] a clean vessel.”

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *pċsm* [*pe*]/*houit*, “the first darkness.” [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning “Jesus our great one.” [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. *PGM* IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, “La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques,” in his *L’Idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term *PGM* II. 18 and n.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN] KANTHARA (add the usual).⁸⁹ [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;⁹⁰ on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOES EIRE CHRY-SOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSAITHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name],
 435 ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;⁹¹ on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA ORE-OBAZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPHARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [wanes], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has
 440 been tested / by Manethon,⁹² [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . and . . . the sun: "Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM] ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ÊLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA. . . ."

445 . . . [Foreknowledge] . . . Moses . . . and . . . / for memory, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: ". . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ
 450 SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAE." . . . / . . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chattering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [take] these and
 455 crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

" . . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I"

460 . . . pray to him. But . . . / but a swallow⁹³ of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . *formula*, which you say: "Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . ."

465 . . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semiteritian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

470 *Memory spell: Take first . . . 2 calf's snouts, "Hermes' finger" . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: "[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACHAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction "add the usual" (κοινά) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. "She-wolf" is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also PGM IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Manetho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also PGM XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, "Manetho," *LdA* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. [J.S.]

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . 475
in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime.”
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm:** Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of 480
the heavenly circle: “The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assem-
bly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to “prognosti-
cate” the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

**Another [copy]:* “. . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT 485
NPRŌME,⁹⁴ [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who
took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behead. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

**Another:* Take a wing . . . / “AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ 490
[PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended
to PGM III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

*[**Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios.** A procedure for every [rite], for
[all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: “[Come,] come to me 495
from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every
ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, be-
cause I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what 500
your name is.”⁹⁵

“In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree]
you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;⁹⁶ the bird . . . your name is
PHROUER.⁹⁷

“In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the
persea; the stone, the pottery stone;⁹⁸ / the bird, the halouchakon;⁹⁹ on land, the 505
ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

“In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree;
the stone, the *samouchos*;¹⁰⁰ the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is
AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

“In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the 510

94. This is Coptic and means “to the man.” [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomor-
phic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun’s creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this
Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. PGM II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means “invisible stone” (clear quartz?).
[J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for “Pre the great.” [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with *ψαμμούχος*,
a sandstone (not attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads *γεννᾶς δένδρον [καὶ] λίθον*, “you produce a tree [and] stone.” This should prob-
ably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,¹⁰¹ the amethyst;¹⁰² the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

“In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

515 “In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;¹⁰³ on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is ELAU AKRI LYX. . . .

“[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] 520 . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;¹⁰⁴ / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

“In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

525 “In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

“In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon’s neck; [the bird]. . . .

530 / “In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

535 “. . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACH-RAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ¹⁰⁵ KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

“I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,¹⁰⁶ guarded the holy place of 540 the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored¹⁰⁷ widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me 545 the lord’s fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌ-RIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANYS KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOULĒALABAĒNEREDEMŌU.”

550 “Come¹⁰⁸ to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies *παιδέρως* as an opal (NH 37. 84) or an amethyst (NH 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, *LCL* edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means “glass fish.” [M.S.]

104. The translation of *ἡλιοπάλιος* is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name PGM I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz’s translation as “Ausgewählter.”

107. The papyrus reads *καταγετιμμένη[s]*, a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be “despised.” Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation “dishonored” is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis’ husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,¹⁰⁹ created carefully, from water
That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn
Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.¹¹⁰
'Tis by your counsels they attend all things."

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPTHŌ . . .
IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRIN- 560
TATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOU-
MAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS¹¹¹ AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALE ASRISKI . . . OU BRIT-
HEI STOMA,¹¹² master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light, 565
sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN,
graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today,
with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from 570
every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.¹¹³ From the
right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,'
but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPI ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' 575
Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, suste-
nance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing,
goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who 580
see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words,
great god, to the EYAĒŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HAR-
SAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you com-
manded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things be-
loved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord, 585
accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my elo-
quent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the 590
petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.¹¹⁴ We give you thanks with
every soul and heart stretched out to [you],¹¹⁵ unutterable name honored with [the]
appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone¹¹⁶
and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and 595
sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we
might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that
we might know you.¹¹⁷ We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. PGM I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρης (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδινο-
πλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mouth is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. C.H. 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευματίζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and NHC VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHSt 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; C.H. 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Grise, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. 1 (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

- 600 because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb¹¹⁸ of all knowledge. We have come to know, O womb¹¹⁹ pregnant through the father's be-
 605 getting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father. After bowing thus before your goodness,¹²⁰ we ask no [favor except this]:¹²¹ will that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:¹²² that [we] not
 610 fall away from a [life] such as this. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

- *[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened¹²³ (?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of
 615 your own shadow¹²⁴ / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day, toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] dark-colored palmfiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right
 620 ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

- Having reached the place,¹²⁵ [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and utter the following *formula*: "Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know
 625 your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each hour], and what your name is."¹²⁶

- Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,¹²⁷ and in case he does not [hearken, say]:¹²⁸ "I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your symbols, wherefore, O lord,¹²⁹ cause / my [shadow] to serve me." [And] at the seventh
 630 [hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: "Follow me everywhere!" But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on PGM III. 494–611. This unique spell to acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole *Encounter with Helios* contained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (PGM III. 633–731) belongs with this section, and the mention of the "signs and symbols" in l. 625 connects this spell to the preceding; furthermore, the mention of the "formula given above" (l. 626) must refer to a formula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in PGM III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238. Cf. also PGM V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. Ibid.

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirksc and Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[πέκ]χυτον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restoration ἀ[διά]χυτον, "not softened by cooking"; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for "lucky shadows" (*wd hyb.t*). [R.K.R.] See also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

125. Literally, "treading about in the place."

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appearance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with PGM III. 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect, "And when you are finished, say. . . ." [J.M.D.]

129. The "lord" addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , “Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] . . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEEĒ]ĒĒIIIIIOOO[OOYYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Praise¹³⁰ be to (?) SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ADŌN BARBARIOT . . . of Lo son of Ouer¹³¹ . . . / whose face is in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram¹³² . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . For [I] am . . . all (repeat).¹³³ I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[ĒĒIOYŌ AEĒI] OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of Shmoun¹³⁴ . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name] . . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual [?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne . . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . [Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you wish). For I am Iethor,¹³⁵ who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name . . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To¹³⁶ is your name . . . father. / You are Earth-shaker,¹³⁷ the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am . . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . .¹³⁸

. . . this day . . . speak to Helios¹³⁹ . . . / on the third day, also to the moon¹³⁹ . . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled¹⁴⁰ to the right. Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will show . . . let him dwell (?)¹⁴¹ for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].¹⁴² So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and

130. Cf. PGM IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUER cf. Egyptian *wr*, “the great one.” [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUT-SRO. Cf. PDM xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus on DMP* col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz's text at l. 682), we are to understand “(add the usual)”; thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian “eye of Horus.”

136. Possibly, *To* is “land”; hence at III. 687 “the great land.”

137. For *κμρτο* cf. PGM IV. 1323; PDM xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selene; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at PGM II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οικείτω* is to be read instead of *οικητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐ[πτερη]δές*, following Schmidt, GGA 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite
 705 the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger]¹⁴³ to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail
 710 and a crook¹⁴⁴ . . . then “ABLANATHANALBA”; in wing . . .¹⁴⁵ / “ABRASAX”: near the back, “OĒAUA . . . ,” and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : “ĒFĒINTOK¹⁴⁶ . . . TE UONĒFIOUOI.” Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . .
 715 on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in
 720 each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before
 725 . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . .
 730 pure. . . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at PGM III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*“SAPHPHAIOR BAEKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the
 5 inexorable one,¹ . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK AN-TRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANITH BALA SHOUPLA
 SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the
 10 day of Zeus² in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance³ in the fifth hour: a cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.⁴ Praise⁵ be to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the lord of embalming, he who is at the south of This, who is honored at Abydos, he
 15 who is under⁶ the noubs tree⁷ in Merouse,⁸ whose glory is in Pashalom.⁹ Praise be to Althabot; bring unto to me Sabaoth. / Praise be to Althonai, great Eou, very valiant; bring unto me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Praise be to

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύλιον]. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, “in wing formation.”

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *iw.f r in.t.k.*, “He shall bring you.” [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101; on the verb *παπαρεύω*, see Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to *PDM* xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or “under the shade of the noubs tree.”

7. According to Griffith, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the noubs tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. “Meroe.”

9. Cf. also *PDM* xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. Situated to the south of This, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n. 1.

Anubis, of the nome of Hansiese,¹⁰ upon his mountain.¹¹ Praise be to the goddesses—Thoth the great, the great, the wise. Praise be to the gods, / ACHNOUI 20
 ACHAM ABRA ABRA SABAÖTH.¹² For Akshha Shha¹³ is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the under-
 world join him who is in the air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of 25
 the matter about which I ask them” (add the usual).

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in PGM IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

*Initiation:¹⁴ Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. / On two bricks¹⁵ standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood 30
 (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which 35
 [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around¹⁶ the altar before the sun appears).¹⁷ When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with your knees]¹⁸ and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and 40
 drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what’s left of the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the clothes you have on, walk backwards¹⁹ out of the water, and, after changing into fresh garments, / depart without turning round.²⁰ After this, take bile from an owl, 45
 rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be complete. But if you can’t get hold of an owl, use an ibis’s egg and a falcon’s feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get 50
 the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, “house of the son of Isis.” See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for “Lord, Lord of Hosts;” ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. “four”) designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen* 126; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or “JEAKSHHA SHHA”; but cf. *PGM* IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula “for . . . is my name” or “for I am. . . .”

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, “Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or “dig a trench around,” which may in fact mean “walk around” and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, “Circumambulation,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase “with your knees” is a conjecture based on *PGM* IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at *PGM* I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances *PGM* VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot’s wife (Gn 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly
 55 half / of your food in a turquoise²¹ vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by
 60 abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section
 of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels.
 Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he²² can get
 there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw
 out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two
 cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung
 65 beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has
 not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so
 that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have
 70 thrown out the morsels, gone to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one
 you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will
 try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he
 gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of
 purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7
 75 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing
 out the food). Keep it secret: “You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?)
 face,²³ come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven.”

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a preg-
 80 nant woman, / write the name²⁴ given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it
 about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. *Here is what is to be written:*
 “SHTËIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose.”

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: “Harko, Harko is my name;
 Harko is my true name.”

85 Guard these instructions / well. *The rite:* an onion.²⁵

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

**Phylactery against daimons:*²⁶ “HOMENOS OHK KOURIËL IAPHËL, deliver” (add the usual), “EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAUUCHE.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faience. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. “He” is the one summoned (l. 70), but “he” is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The “name” may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts “name” often means “full title.” The Greek *προποκείμενον* normally means “given above,” but it can also be read as meaning “set forth below.” This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, “Use the procedure that involves an onion.”

26. Or “For those possessed by daimons,” which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένο(ν)ς*. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with OHK is separated by a space and *-ζομενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

* **Another,**²⁷ **to Helios:** Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,²⁸ then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,²⁹ and standing behind him say the *formula*: 90

"I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

* Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday³⁰ in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs. 95

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, "O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!"

She said [to him], "He is not with me,³¹ O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother's son." 100

He said to her, "Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis."

She [said] to him, "It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself."³² 105

He said to her, "Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.³³ There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,³⁴ and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me." 110

" / Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,³⁵ every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne³⁶ and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Rise up to the kings of Alchah,³⁷ speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN³⁸ whom NN has borne, and I shall send 115 120

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. PGM IV. 1–25, 52–85). In fact, the spell is specifically a "divination using a boy," for which cf. PGM VII. 348–58; also *Test. Sol.* I. 3.

28. Cf. for this phrase PDM xiv. 96.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. PDM xiv. 1219.

31. Or "It is not of my doing."

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356E–F. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 316–17.

33. Cf. PDM xiv. 628.

34. Cf. PDM xiv. 440–41.

35. Or "sighing."

36. Cf. PDM xiv. 656–58.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *ʿrḳ-ḥḥ*, "Alxai") and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See PGM XIVb, 12–15 (in the context of PDM xiv. 451–58). [R.K.R.]

38. Or "every god (after NN)."

125 her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;³⁹ I am the Great
son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon
King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you
130 may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her
heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day.”

If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she
135 is distressed⁴⁰ and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to
come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health⁴¹ and is
returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is dis-
tressed⁴² or even dying.

“Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.].
140 Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two
bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the
light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has
borne.”

[Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about
145 women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

“When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I
will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I
150 will bewitch / her 365 members,⁴³ I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I de-
sire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of
what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately.

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

155 *Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great
god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,⁴⁴
I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical
160 procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have
tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation.
You will observe through bowl divination⁴⁵ on whatever day or night you want, in
165 whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from
the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain⁴⁶
both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on
other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First,
170 attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided
it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, PGM III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or “lovesick.”

41. That is, “unafflicted” by the love charm.

42. Or “lovesick.”

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In PGM the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. “Abrasax”), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (PGM VII. 452–53).

44. Or “an expert magician,” as σοφιστής applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, “Λεκανομαντεία,” *PRE* 12 (1925): 1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that οἶσεις is a late future form of οἶδα. Perhaps one should emend the text to read ὀψεις, “you will see.” However, the future of φέρω can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where “carry off as a prize,” “win,” “gain,” etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.⁴⁷ And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. *Prayer*:⁴⁸

“O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm 175

Above and master, god of gods, O lord

ABERAMENTHŌOU (formula),

O dark’s disturber, thunder’s bringer, whirlwind,

Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,

Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of

The waves, disturber of the sea’s great depth, /

IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAU I MĒNI, 185

I’m He⁴⁹ who searched with you the whole world and

Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.

I’m he who joined you in war with the gods

(but others say, “’gainst the gods”).

I’m he who closed / heav’n’s double gates and put 190

To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,

Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents

Where’er you rule this realm. And as your soldier

I have been conquered by the gods, I have

Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /

Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore; 195

Thrown me not on the ground, O lord of gods,

AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,⁵⁰

O grant me power, I beg, and give to me

This favor, so that, whensoe’r I tell

One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /

Swiftly to me in answer to my chants, 200

NAIN E BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTŌU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAU-

APTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARA-

MEI IAO ATHTHARAUI MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAU I MĒNI CHARCHARA 205

PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAU I TRAU EPSE MAMŌ PHORTOCHA AEËIO IOY OËŌA EAI

AEËI ŌI IAO AEËI AI IAO.”

After you have said this three times,⁵¹ there will be this sign of divine encounter,⁵² but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this: 210

“I have been attached to your holy form.

I have been given power by your holy name.

I have acquired your emanation of the goods, 215

47. See Glossary, s.v. “Isis band.”

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

50. See for this formula PGM I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, “Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform,” in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point PGM IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.

ATHTHOUIN THOOUTHOU TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ.”

220 Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

*Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:*⁵³ Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if 225 gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / 230 the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

235 *The spell spoken over the vessel is:* “AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAU IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this⁵⁴ ACHCHŌR 240 ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌ-RACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU” (a hundred letters).⁵⁵

But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, 245 the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you 250 called will appear, god or dead man,⁵⁶ and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,⁵⁷ dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, “Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you.” Speak the name, and he will 255 depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

There is also the protective charm itself which you wear while performing, even while standing:⁵⁸ onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze 260 stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.⁵⁹

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words θέλει καὶ ἐπιτάσσει seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: “The Soul of the Dead.”

57. At this point the revelatory dialogue comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: “auch wenn du stehend agierst.”

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:⁶⁰

“I call you who did first control gods’ wrath,⁶¹

You who hold royal scepter o’er the heavens,

You who are midpoint of the stars above,

You, master Typhon, you I call, who are

/ The dreaded sovereign o’er the firmament.

265

You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,

You who’re obscure⁶² and irresistible

And hater of the wicked, you I call,

Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,

You who’ve walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,

270

You who are / over snows, below dark ice,

You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,⁶³

I invoked you in pray’r, I call, almighty one.

That you perform for me whate’er I ask

Of you, and that you nod assent at once

To me and grant that what I ask be mine

(add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THÖRTHÖR / KATHAU- 275

KATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MŌ ZAU OUZŌNZ ŌN YABITH,

mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your

true names, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH OEN / TYPHON ASBA- 280

RABŌ BIEAISĒ ME NERŌ MARAMŌ TAUĒR CHTHENTHŌNIE ALAM BĒTŌR MEN-

KECHRA SAUEIŌR RĒSEIODŌTA ABRĒSIOA PHŌTHĒR THERTHŌNAX NERDŌMEU

AMŌRĒS MEEME ŌIĒS SYSCHIE ANTHŌNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the 285

NN deed.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

**Spell for picking a plant:*⁶⁴ Use it before sunrise. *The spell to be spoken:* “I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life 290

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere *σέ* is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *ὀργίλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *ὄπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *ὄρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δῆλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll’s emendation *ᾄδηλον* is paleographically sound, for “A” could have been omitted before “Δ.” Second, *ᾄδηλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμήχανον*, and third, the idea of *ᾄδηλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ’ εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “over the Moirai invoked in prayer.” In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “of the longed-for Moirai,” originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to PGM IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil⁶⁵ for me / the perfect charm.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

***Wondrous spell for binding a lover:** Take wax [or clay] from a potter’s wheel
and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right
side of her neck. And make her⁶⁶ with her arms behind her back and down on her
knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / “ISEĒ IAŌ ITHI
OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH”; on the right ear: “OUER MĒCHAN”;
on the left ear: “LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHŌ”; on the face: “AMOUNABREŌ”; on the right
310 eye: / “ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH”; on the other: “CHOBŌUE”; on the right shoulder:
“ADETA MEROU”; on the right arm: “ENE PSA ENESGAPH”; on the other: “MEL-
315 CHIOU MELCHIEDIA”; on the hands: / “MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL”; on the breast:
the name, on her mother’s side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: “BAL-
AMIN THŌOUTH”; and below the lower belly: “AŌBĒS AŌBAR”; on the pudenda:
320 “BLICHIANEOI OUŌIA”; on the buttocks: “PISSADARA”; on / the sole of the right
foot: “ELŌ”; on the sole of the other one: “ELŌAIAOE.”

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, “I am
piercing your brain, NN”; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the
soles, saying each time, “I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that
she may remember no one but me, NN, alone.”

330 And take a lead tablet⁶⁷ and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead
leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying
as you have learned, “ABRASAX, hold her fast!” You place it, as the sun is setting,
beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the
seasonal flowers.

335 *The spell to be written / and recited is:* “I entrust this binding spell to you,
chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS
the BARBARTHĀ, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCHTHA-
340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRĒ and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who
holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who
have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as
assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,⁶⁸ whoever you are,
whether male or female,⁶⁹ and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural *τελέσατε* is strange. Preisendanz suggests that *δαίμονες* is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *vores magicæ* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3^e/4^e siècle,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,⁷⁰ let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead, whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair, by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me, NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH ADŌNAI IA ROURA BIA BI BİOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILTH-THEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌOS SIECHĒ. I am THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPHIA EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eternity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI

“IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI
AEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA
AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE III
EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ OEŌ
IŌ BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OIEE
YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OEYI
IO PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OEYY
OE PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH IAYY 415
IŌAE YAA
EOĒI OIII
YAOU YAE
IAŌI EŌAY
AĒAĒ OOIY 420

70. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Text,” 72.

	ĒIOI	ĒĒEA
	ŌIYA	AAIA
	AŌOE	IIIŌ
425	YIŌĒ	EEAŌ
	EOAŌA	ĒĒAŌ
	YAYA	ĒĒĒĒ
	IOĒIIĒ	OAĒI
	IAŌI	ĒIYI
430	AOAO	ĒĒOI
	YYOI	YAAI
		ĒIIA
		AAŌŌ”

435 *Prayer that belongs to the procedure:* At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

“Borne⁷¹ on the breezes of the wandr’ing winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
Men’s daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and search
The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
To her, NN, at midnight hours,
To move by night to orders ’neath your force, /
450 That all I want within my heart he may
Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
And be not angry at my potent chants,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn about the threads
Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
455 I call your name, Horus,⁷² which is in number
Equivalent to those of the Moirai,

ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA AIĒ ĒIA IAE ĒIA THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.

Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
The world, self-generated, fire-bringer, aglow
Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. PGM IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN" (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIO THŌ THŌ PHIACHA." / *In another it is:* "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IĒA ĒAI IAĒ AEI ĒIA ŌTHŌ-THŌ PHIACHA." 465

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

*Charm to restrain anger: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?"⁷³

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at PGM IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

*To get friends:

/ "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."⁷⁴

470

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10. 193) occurs in PGM IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in PGM IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in PGM IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from PGM IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a "divine assistance from three Homeric verses."

PGM IV. 471–73

* . . .

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."⁷⁵

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."⁷⁶

"and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."⁷⁷

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in PGM IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the *Iliad* and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*" . . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."⁷⁸

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on PGM IV. 469–70, and see PGM IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina." *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband* 9 (1893), section X: *Versus Homerici et Vergiliani* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of "he" is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of "him" unaccounted for. In Homer, "him" is governed by "bound" in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

475 *Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,⁷⁹ as I write these mysteries handed
down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immor-
480 tality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daugh-
ter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at
the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be
revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an in-
485 quirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

“First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS⁸⁰
490 PHR[E], spirit of spirit,⁸¹ the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to
my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, EY ÊIA EÊ, water of
water, the first of the water in me, ŌŌŌ AAA EEE, earthy material, the first of the
495 earthy material in me, / YÊ YŌÊ, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN,
which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world with-
out light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YÊI AYI EYŌIE: now
500 if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHÊRIÊ, in another place)⁸²
IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying
nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze
505 upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOU-
PHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOU PARAKOUNÊTH, with the most
steadfast air, EIOAÊ PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX
510 R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN AP-
OTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ÊTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I
may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ
515 OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNO-
MÊTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal
from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible
520 right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery
diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within
525 me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after
the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN,
whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYÊ YIA EÊI AŌ
530 EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden
brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌÊY AEŌ ÊYA EŌÊ YAE ŌIAE, stand, O per-
ishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexor-
535 able and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am
MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

540 Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and you
will see yourself being lifted up and / ascending to the height, so that you seem to
be in midair. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in
that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, “Soul.” Some scholars read Tyche, “Fortune.” On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the “Mithras Liturgy,” see M. W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

81. “Spirit,” “breath,” “wind” (*πνεῦμα*) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the
 skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of
 the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fash-
 ion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hang-
 ing from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the
 regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the
 east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And
 you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth⁸³ and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /

Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!"

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

"PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PI-
 TĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ / TYRĒ PHILBA."

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at
 you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the
 gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to
 shock you. Then say again:

"Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shin-
 ing forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH."

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And
 after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the
 accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and
 immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and
 filling all the air. Then say again: "Silence! Silence!" And when the disk is open, you
 will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. *The third prayer:*

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O lord, you who
 have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,"⁸⁴

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,

Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,

Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,

Fire-feeler, IAŌ,

Light-breather, ŌAI,

Fire-delighter, ELOURE,

Beautiful light, AZAI,

Aion, ACHBA,

/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,⁸⁵

Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,

Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, "Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets," *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading τετραλιζώματος with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than τετραλιζώματος. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests διαζώματος (cf. *C. H.*, *Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For PIPPI as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
 Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
 600 Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
 Star-tamer . . .

Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA,
 605 because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke
 the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and
 610 are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal
 sound: ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒŌ IŌŌ ŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒ EŌ IŌŌ ŌĒĒĒ ŌĒĒ ŌŌĒ IĒ EŌ ŌŌ ŌĒ IEŌ ŌĒ
 ŌŌĒ IEŌ ŌĒ IEEŌ EĒ IŌ ŌĒ IOĒ ŌĒŌ EOĒ OEŌ ŌIE ŌIE EŌ OI III EOĒ ŌYE ĒŌŌĒ
 615 EŌ ĒIA AĒA EĒA / ĒĒĒĒ EĒĒ EĒĒ IEŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒEOĒ ĒĒŌ ĒYŌ ŌĒ EIŌ EŌ ŌĒ ŌĒ EE
 ŌŌŌ YIŌĒ.”

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then,
 620 similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.⁸⁶
 When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the sur-
 rounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again:
 625 “Silence!” (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open and
 the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy
 of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you
 630 look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

“Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO
 PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATHI.”

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of
 635 them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in ap-
 pearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a
 fiery crown.⁸⁷ At once greet him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the
 Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your
 strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who
 645 has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,⁸⁸ whose mother is NN, / who was
 born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

M. Philonenko, “L’Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAŌ” *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In PGM see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia-Zodiac: II,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihegrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, “*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l’arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d’un myste isiaque,” in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell’impero romano*, EPRO 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MOR-IROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EÖRÖ RÖRE ÖRRI ÖRIÖR RÖR RÖI / ÖR REÖRÖRI EÖR EÖR EÖRE!”

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After saying this, you will see the doors⁸⁹ thrown open, and seven virgins⁹⁰ coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.⁹¹ They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars!⁹² / Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAËS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEËS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHËS!⁹³ Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIË! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAËS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIËS!”

There also come forth another seven gods,⁹⁴ who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

“Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERÖNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTÖ! Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRÖALITHÖ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHÖPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHË!”

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking,

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term ἐπτάπυλος, “seven-gated.” See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word “goddess.” One Egyptian Fate, *Rmnwtet* (Thermutis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die “Tw3 pt”-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, “Horus who is on the horizon.”

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,⁹⁵ and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.⁹⁶ Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

And at once / make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

“MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul!⁹⁷ Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you.”

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

“Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. / Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is “First origin of my origin,⁹⁸ AEËIOYŌ.” And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,⁹⁹ so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, “Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.* 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of ζωή “life,” and ψυχή “soul,” suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for ζωή καὶ ψυχή, and the note on PGM IV. 377). [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see PGM IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2nd 1965) 58.

Instruction for the rite: Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;¹⁰⁰ put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, / and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and / spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven:

“I have consecrated you, that your material may be useful to me, to NN alone, IE IA ËËË O Y EIA, that you may prove useful to me / alone, for I am PHÖR PHORA PHÖS PHOTIZAAS” (others: “PHÖR PHÖR OPHOTHEI XAAS”).

On the 7th day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine¹⁰¹ and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean field. / Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called *ken-tritis*, and smear, it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; / and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.

Now the encounter with the great god is like this: Having obtained the above-mentioned herb / *ken-tritis*, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion,¹⁰² take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-lettered name, as given below.¹⁰³ And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; / lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then he [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare [the scarab] on the new moon in the lion, according to the god’s [reckoning].¹⁰⁴

Now this is the name: “I EE OO IAI.” Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf /, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery / of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds,¹⁰⁵ and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of 3 times a year.”

The *ken-tritis* plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the / black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the lord / pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the *besas* plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit / like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapēs*, like the wild beet.

100. Literally, “at the seizure of the moon,” probably designating the new moon.

101. Cf. PGM I. 85–86 and n.

102. That is, at the new moon.

103. See PGM IV. 788.

104. The new moon of god, according to the heavens, in contrast to the new moon of man, according to the calendar.

105. The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.

Now the phylacteries require this procedure: copy that for the right [arm] onto
 815 the skin / of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with sinews of
 the same animal, put it on; and copy that [for] the left [arm] onto the skin of a
 white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHY-
 820 MĒRI" /, and has this memorandum:¹⁰⁶

"So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses."¹⁰⁷

"And men gasping among grievous slaughters."¹⁰⁸

"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea."¹⁰⁹

"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus."¹¹⁰

825 / Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he
 bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said:¹¹¹

"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINÖTHER NÖPSITHER
 THERNÖPSI" (add the usual).¹¹²

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 830

830 * . . . "Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."¹¹³

Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 831–32

*Charm to restrain anger: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against
 Zeus?"¹¹⁴

Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 833–34

*To Get Friends: "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."¹¹⁵

Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 835–49

835 *From 53 years and 9 months on Hermes took the period up to 10 years and 9
 months, from which he assigned to himself 20 months, which would be 55 years 5
 840 months; then to Aphrodite 8 months, / which would thus be 56 years 1 month;

106. The relationship of the poetic quotations in the following, which repeat those in ll. 468–74, and the Mithras liturgy is obscure. They seem unrelated; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (see above, Introduction, n. 24), which shows a blank after l. 820 and a sign indicating a new paragraph. For a different view, cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 84. [M.S.]

107. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564.

108. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521.

109. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572.

110. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. See PGM IV. 467–68 above and 830–31 below. Probably this verse served as a spell to restrain anger, but it may be misplaced here.

111. That these verses are part of the *ὑπόμνημα* ("the memorandum," l. 821) seems unlikely. More probably, a heading has been lost, and the verses contain an altogether independent spell. Story spells (*historiolae*) were ancient (see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, nos. 7, 75, 148, 154, 157, 158, etc.). They usually tell of a happening such as they are meant to produce (cf., e.g., PGM VII. 199–201; IV. 1471–79). This story tells of a person compelled or bribed to give up something; it could have been used to make a person give up anger. Hence it may have been attached to the Homeric verse for that purpose and was interpolated here. The name Amara is obscure; it could mean "the bitter woman" (Hebrew or Latin; cf. Ru 1:20, Vulgate).

112. Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 136 and 142, also with permutations of ΙΑΘ. PSINÖTHER is Egyptian for "the sons of god." [R.K.R.] See also PGM III. 186 and n. See Glossary, s.v. "THERNÖPSI formula."

113. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The same verse occurs in PGM IV. 474.

114. Homer, *Il.* 6. 424, quoted also PGM IV. 468, 824.

115. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193. See PGM IV. 470, where the same verse is quoted.

then to Helios 19 months, which would be 57 years 8 months. In this period assigned to Helios, that is to the 19 months, devote yourself to what you seek. After this he assigned to Ares 15 months, which would be 58 years 11 months. This is a hostile period. / Then to Selene 25 months, which would be 61 years. They are good. Then to Zeus 12 months, which would be 62 years. They are good. Then to Kronos 30 months, which would be 64½ years. They are bad for the body; within them also are the dangerous points. 845

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The section appears to be a fragment from an astrological work about the influence of the planets upon the periods of life.

PGM IV. 850–929

***Charm of Solomon that produces a trance**¹¹⁶ (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable¹¹⁷ / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you. 850 855

Formula to be spoken: “OURIÖR AMËN IM TAR CHÖB KLAMPHÖB PHRË¹¹⁸ PHRÖR PTAR OUSIRI SAIÖB TËLÖ KABË / MANATATHÖR ASIÖRIKÖR BËEINÖR AMOUN ÖM MËNICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA AOU ALAKAMBÖT BËSINÖR APH-ËSIÖR PHRËPH AMËI OUR LAMASIR CHËRIÖB PITRËM / PHËÖPH NIRIN ALLAN-NATHATH CHËRIÖCH ÖNË BOUSIRI NINOUNO AMANAL GAGÖSARIËR MËNIAM TLËR OOO AA ETNË OUSIRI OUSIRI OURISI OURISI MËNËMB MNËM / BRABËL TNËKATÖB. Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled / names. Come to me, you who became Hesies and were carried away by a river; inspire the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: BARBËTH MNÖR ARARIAK TARËRIM ÖAR TËRÖK SANIÖR MËNIK PHAUKEK / DAPHORIOUMIN LARIÖR ËTNIAMIM KNÖS CHALAKTHIR KRÖPHËR PHËSIMÖT PRËBIB KNALA ËRIBËTIM GNÖRI. Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice-greatest Hermes¹¹⁹ wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: ARBAKÖRIPH MËNIAM ÖBAÖB ABNIÖB MËRIM BAIAX CHENÖR PHËNIM ÖRA ÖRË-SIOU OUSIRI¹²⁰ PNIAOUSIRI / PHRËOUSIRI HÖRIOUSIRI NAEIÖROUSIRI MËN-IMOUSIRI MNËKOUSIRI PHLËKOUSIRI PËLËLOUSIRI ÖNIÖ RABKOUSIRI ANTÖB-OUSIRI AMËAOUSIRI ANÖROUSIRI AMËNËPHËOUSIRI / AMËNIOUSIRI XÖNIÖR ËOUROUSIRI. Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter.” 870 875 880 885 890 895

After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him.¹²¹ After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat¹²² and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, extend your hands / up 900 905

116. Literally, the title means “Solomon’s Collapse,” an indication of ecstatic seizure.

117. Or “for trivial reasons.”

118. The names include the gods Prë, Osiris, and Amon.

119. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. For this name, see PGM VII. 551 and n.

120. The following list, after “Osiris,” contains a series of compound deities whose second element is the god Osiris, but only some can be identified: Pre-Osiris, Horus-Osiris, Onnuris-Osiris, Amenophis-Osiris, and Amon-Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. The following account has a parallel in *Test. Sol.* I. 3, ed. McCown, p. *8, ll. 5–15.

122. The meaning of Anubis’s head of grain is not known. On the god Anubis, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, EPRO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), esp. p. 139 for ear of grain. [R.K.R.]

to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black
 910 cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You
 915 should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood, / both him and you, for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: “ANANAK ARBEOUËRI AEËIOYÖ.”

If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin
 920 while saying: / “ANANAK ÔRBEOUSIRI AEËIOYÖ, go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN, from all evil.” You learned thoroughly; keep it secret.

*The awakening*¹²³ [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or
 925 man, having your / palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or toward the left: “AMOUN ËEI¹²⁴ ABRIATH KICHÔP ÔTEM PITH.” Then as a dog.¹²⁵
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 930–1114

930 *Charm that produces a direct vision:¹²⁶ *Prayer for divine alliance*, which you are to say first toward the sunrise, then the same first prayer is to be spoken to a lamp. Whenever you seek divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod
 935 with fibers of the doum palm and / your head crowned with a spray from an olive tree—but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle. Clasp a pebble numbered 3663¹²⁷ to your breasts, and in this way make your invocation.

*Hymn:*¹²⁸

940 “Hail,¹²⁹ serpent, and¹³⁰ stout lion, natural
 Sources of fire.¹³¹ / And hail, clear water and
 Lofty-leafed tree,¹³² and you who gather up

123. The translation of this difficult term follows Preisendanz (see apparatus ad loc.).

124. AMOUN ËEI is equivalent to Egyptian “Amon comes” (?), with Greek *ηει* standing for Egyptian *iy*. [R.K.R.]

125. Probably referring to barking; cf. PGM IV. 1006.

126. This is equivalent to the type of Demotic spell called *ph-ntr*-spell, literally, a “god’s arrival” spell. See J. H. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

127. According to Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 184, the mystical number is 3663 and refers to BAIN-CHÔÖÖCH (the numerical value of the Greek letters being 2 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 800 + 800 + 600 = 3663).

128. Preisendanz ends the hymn at l. 948, but the petition to the god continues through l. 955. Ll. 949–54 include references to the spell for a direct vision, the lamp divination, and the prayer for divine alliance. Thus the present form of these lines comes from the time when the spell was put together. Ll. 949–54 contain vestiges of verse and originally may have been part of the hymn which was composed by the final author; or they may be a prose addition to part of an earlier hymn, perhaps substituting for, or expanding the petition in, the original hymn. [W.C.G.]

129. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 3; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238.

130. *τε*, though necessary to the sense, mars the hexameter. [E.N.O.]

131. A possible echo of a pre-Socratic expression, but to the author of this spell this phrase must have had a much different meaning. Preisendanz wants to emend and read *Φύσι και πυρός αρχή* (“O Nature and fire’s origin”), but the emendation is more clever than persuasive. For Physis as a goddess, see PGM I. 310 and n. [E.N.O.]

132. An adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 4. 458, which in the context of the spell indicates that the author knew not only the Homeric verse but the whole passage as well. [E.N.O.]

995 pent, / you Good, holy¹³⁹ Daimon, whose name is HARBATHANÖPS LAOAI, whom
 sunrises and sunsets hymn when you arise and set. You who are praised among all
 1000 gods, angels and daimons, come and appear to me, god of gods, HÖROS / HARPO-
 KRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMÖSI IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH. En-
 ter, appear to me, lord, because I call upon you as the three baboons¹⁴⁰ call upon
 1005 you, who speak / your holy name in a symbolic fashion, A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOO
 YYYYYY ÖÖÖÖÖÖ (speak as a baboon). Enter in, appear to me, lord, for I speak
 your greatest names: BARBARAI BARBARAÖTH AREMPSOUS PERTAÖMÉCH PERA /
 1010 KÖNĒTHCH IAÖ BAL BĒL BOL BE SRÖ IAÖĒI OYEĒI EĒI EOYĒI AĒI ĒI LAO ĒI. You
 who are seated on the top of the world and judge the universe, surrounded by the
 1015 circle of truth and honesty, / IYAĒ IÖAI, enter in; appear to me, lord, to me, the one
 who is before fire and snow and in the midst of them, because my name is BAIN-
 CHÖÖÖCH. I am the one who is from heaven; my name is BALSAMĒS. Enter in, ap-
 1020 pear to me,¹⁴¹ / lord, you who have a great name, you whom we all have each in our
 own heart; your name is BARPHANNĒTH RALPHAI NINTHER CHOUCHEI. You who
 break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you
 1025 who have in fire your power / and your strength, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. You
 who are seated within the 7 poles, AEĒIOYÖ, you who have on your head a golden
 crown and in your hand a Memnonian staff¹⁴² with which you send out the gods,
 1030 your name is BARBARIĒL BARBARAIĒL god / BARBARAĒL BĒL BOUĒL. Enter in,
 lord, and answer me with your holy voice in order that I might hear clearly and un-
 1035 erringly concerning the NN matter, IYĒYĒ OÖAEĒ (formula) IAEĒ AIAĒ EAI EYĒIE /
 ÖÖÖÖÖ IYĒÖ IAÖ AI.”

Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation (say the incantation one or 3 times): “The great, living god commands
 1040 you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who cre-
 ated every / soul and race, IAÖ AÖI ÖIA AIÖ IÖA ÖAI. Enter in, appear to me,
 lord, happy, kind, gentle, glorious, not angry, because I conjure you by the lord,
 1045 IAÖ AÖI ÖIA AIÖ IÖA ÖAI APTA PHÖIRA ZAZOU / CHAMĒ. Enter in, lord, appear to
 me happy, kind, gentle, [glorious,]¹⁴³ not angry” (repeat).¹⁴⁴

Salutation said once after the god enters. While holding the pebble, say: “Hail,
 lord, god of gods, benefactor, HÖROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMÖSI IAÖ AI
 1050 DA/GENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖ; let your Hours which you traverse be wel-
 comed; let your Glories¹⁴⁵ be welcomed forever, lord.”

139. The occurrence of “holy” between “good” and “daimon” makes it doubtful that the familiar Good Daimon is meant. See Glossary, s.v.; see also the apparatus ad loc.

140. Baboons were thought to praise the sun when they chattered at it. For a representation, see A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), vol. I, 39, fig. 22 and pl. I. See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 7–8, s.v. “Affc.” [R.K.R.] On the magician’s imitation of the “language” of animals, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 778–80. Understanding this language of animals belongs to the traditional phenomenology of the “divine man” and magician. See, e.g., Porphyry, *De abst.* 3. 3, and on the whole topic H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921); Betz, *Lukian* 28–38.

141. Preisendanz has *φάνη θίμοι*, which should be read as *φάνηθι μοι*, as in PGM IV. 1001, 1006, 1015, 1024, 1041, 1045. [W.C.G.]

142. For Memnon as a deified hero in Egypt, see A. Baraille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1952) 1–21; as recipient of worship, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977) 299, no. 82. [R.K.R.]

143. An addition by Preisendanz in order to conform to PGM IV. 1042. But such consistency is not always to be expected. Cf. ll. 1063–65 with 1079–80.

144. See the note above on PGM IV. 955, regarding the sign for doubling.

145. Cf. PGM I. 199 and n.

Charm to retain the god: When he comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not / go away unless you raise your heel from his toe¹⁴⁶ and at the same time say the dismissal. 1055

Dismissal: Close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding, lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his / toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: “I give thanks to you lord BAINCHÖÖCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my / lifetime.” 1060 1065

Dismissal of the brightness: “CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH,¹⁴⁷ holy brightness.” In order that the brightness also go away:¹⁴⁸ “Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAÖNA.” Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself / with Coptic kohl;¹⁴⁹ smear yourself by means of a golden probe. 1070

Phylactery for the rite, which you must wear for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip]¹⁵⁰ from a linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] / write with myrrh these things: “I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMÖSIS IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH, SON OF ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NÖPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my / lifetime.” Place inside the strip of cloth an everliving plant;¹⁵¹ roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis.¹⁵² Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite. / 1075 1080

Preparation: Take broad cords of papyrus, tie them to the four corners of the room so that they form an X. In the middle of the X attach a ring-shaped mat made from single-stemmed wormwood. Provide / a glazed lamp¹⁵³ with a wick called reed grass, and rub the wick itself with fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. Fill the lamp with good olive oil, and place it in the middle, / on the mat. Light the lamp and stand in the previously mentioned fashion, facing the sunrise, whenever you perform the rite, without distinguishing the days.¹⁵⁴ Purify yourself / from everything three days in advance, and rub the wick beforehand with the fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. 1085 1090 1095 1100

Signs of the lamp: After saying the light-bringing spell, open your eyes and you will see / the light of the lamp becoming like a vault. Then while closing your eyes say (*differently*: 3 . . .¹⁵⁵ after saying 3 times), and after opening your eyes you will see all things wide-open and the greatest brightness within, but the lamp shining nowhere. Then you will see the god / seated on a lotus,¹⁵⁶ decorated with rays, his 1105 1110

146. The translation follows the interpretation by Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc.

147. CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH corresponds to Coptic KÖ KÖ Ö KAKE, “depart, depart, O darkness.” [R.K.R.]

148. An attempt on the part of the redactor of the papyrus text to explain the need for a second dismissal.

149. Powdered antimony used as cypaint.

150. Addition by Eitrem on the basis of I. 1081.

151. A general name for plants that seem to live a long time. See R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 46 (Göteborg: Elanders, 1940) 103.

152. On the Anubian thread, see PGM I. 147 and n.

153. On this type of faïence, see PGM IV. 55 and n.

154. That is, the charm can be performed on any day. For charms that can be used only on certain days, cf. PGM III. 275–81; VII. 155–67, 284–89.

155. The text is obscure at this point but seems to include alternative instructions. See apparatus ad loc.

156. The deity seated on the lotus flower is Harpokrates, invoked here in ll. 989, 999–1000, and 1074–75. This standard depiction of Harpokrates is found in all the media during the Greco-Roman

right hand raised in greeting and left [holding] a flail, while being carried in the hands of 2 angels with 12 rays around them.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 930–38; 949–1114) and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 939–48). This spell is a composite, made by combining a lamp divination with a charm for a direct vision and including an introductory prayer for divine alliance. The repetition in the present charm (note especially the two dismissals in ll. 1057ff. and 1065ff. and the explanation in ll. 1066ff.) is a result of the inclusion of similar elements from both of the charms here combined.

PGM IV. 1115–66

- 1115 ***Hidden**¹⁵⁷ **stèle**:¹⁵⁸ “Hail, entire system of the aerial spirit,¹⁵⁹ PHÖGALŌA. Hail,
spirit who extends from heaven to earth, ERDĒNEU, and from earth which is in the
1120 middle chamber of the / universe unto the borders of the abyss, MEREMÖGGA.¹⁶⁰
Hail, spirit who enters into me, convulses me, and leaves me kindly according to
1125 the will of god, IŌĒ ZANŌPHIE. / Hail, beginning and end of the immovable nature,
DŌRYGLAOPHŌN. Hail, revolution of untiring service by heavenly bodies,
RŌGYEU ANAMI PELĒGEŌN ADARA EIŌPH. Hail, radiance of the universe subordi-
1130 nate / to the solar ray, IEO YĒŌ IAĒ AI ĒŌY OEI. Hail, orb of the night-illuminating,
unequally shining moon, AIŌ RĒMA RŌDOUŌPIA. Hail, all spirits of the aerial im-
1135 ages / RŌMIDOUĒ AGANASOU ŌTHAUA. Hail to those to whom the greeting is
given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women. O great,
greatest, round, incomprehensible figure of the universe, heavenly ENRŌCHES-
1140 YĒL; / in heaven, PELĒTHEU; of ether, IŌGARAA; in the ether, THŌPYLEO DARDY;
watery, IŌĒDES; earthy, PERĒPHIA; fiery, APHTHALYA; windlike, IŌIE ĒŌ AYA; lumi-
1145 nous, ALAPIE; dark-looking, / IEPSERIA; shining with heavenly light, ADAMALŌR;
moist, fiery, and cold spirit. / I glorify you, god of gods, the one who brought order
to the universe, AREŌ PIEUA; the one who gathered together the abyss at the invis-
1150 ible foundation of its position, PERŌ MYSEL / O PENTŌNAX; the one who separated
heaven and earth and covered the heaven with eternal, golden wings, RŌDĒRY
OYŌA; the one who fixed the earth on eternal foundations, ALĒIOŌA; the one who
1155 hung up / the ether high above the earth, AIE ŌĒ IOYA; the one who scattered the
air with self-moving breezes, ŌIE OYŌ; the one who put the water roundabout,
1160 ŌRĒPĒLYA; the one who raises up hurricanes, ŌRISTHAUA; / the one who thunders,
THEPHICHYŌNĒL; the one who hurls lightnings, OURĒNES; the one who rains, OS-
IŌRNI PHEUGALGA; the one who shakes, PERATŌNĒL; the one who produces living
creatures, ARĒSIGYLŌA; the god of the Aions; you are great, lord, god, ruler of the

period. Harpocrates holds the flail, the symbol of royalty, here interpreted as a whip. See A. M. El-Kachab, “Some Gem-Amulets Depicting Harpocrates Seated on a Lotus Flower,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–45, esp. 133–34. For the gesture of greeting, a modification under the influence of Helios instead of the more common gesture of finger sucking, see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

157. The exact meaning of ἀπόκρυπος is uncertain here. LSJ, s.v., II, gives as possible meanings “obscure, recondite, hard to understand.” More likely is the meaning “secret,” for which see Baucr, s.v.; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 344, 731, 732, 1057, 1078.

158. The term *stēlē* occurs in the *PGM* with several meanings. Originally it refers to a plate of stone or metal on which texts could be inscribed (e.g., VIII. 42), but most of the time the term is a literary device suggesting the text was copied from a stone slab. It can also refer to an amulet in the shape of a *stēlē* (as in *PGM* VII. 215; see the picture *Tafel I, Abbildung 1* in Preisendanz, vol. II).

159. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion (see l. 1164). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 200, 208–10. See also *PGM* I. 309 and n.

160. For this imagery, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 74; furthermore, *DMP* col. XX, l. 28 (p. 133); *PGM* IV. 1210. [R.K.R.]

All, ARCHIZŌ / NYON THĒNAR METHŌR PARY PHĒZŌR THAPSAMYDŌ MARŌMI 1165
CHĒLŌPSA.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1167–1226

***Stele** that is useful for all things; it even delivers from death. Do not investigate what is in it.

Formula: “I praise you,¹⁶¹ the one and blessed of the eons and / father of the 1170
world, with cosmic prayers. Come to me, you who filled the whole universe with
air, who hung up the fire from the [heavenly] water and separated the earth from 1175
the water. Pay attention, form, spirit, / earth and sea, to a word from the one who
is wise concerning divine Necessity, and accept my words as fiery darts, because
I am a man,¹⁶² the most beautiful creature of the god in heaven, made out of
spirit, / dew, and earth. Heaven, be opened; accept my words. Listen, Helios, fa- 1180
ther of the world; I call upon you with your name AŌ EY ĒOI AIOĒ YEŌA OUOR-
ZARA LAMANTHATHRĒ KANTHIOPER / GARPSARTHĒ MENLARDAPA KENTHĒR 1185
DRYOMEN THRANDRĒTHĒRĒ IABE ZELANTHI BER ZATHRĒ ZAKENTI BIOLLITHRĒ
AĒŌ OYŌ ĒŌ OŌ RAMIATHA AĒŌ OYŌ OYŌ ŌAYŌ: the only one having the origi-
nal / element. You are the holy and powerful name considered sacred by all the an- 1190
gels; protect me, so- and-so, from every excess of power and from every violent act.
Yes, do this, / lord, god of gods, IALDAZAŌ BLATHAM MACHŌR PHRIX AĒ KEŌPH 1195
EĒA DYMEŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ RŌSERŌTH THAMA-
STRAPHATI RIMPSAŌCH IALTHE MEACHI ARBATHANŌPS, / creator of the world,
creator of the universe, lord, god of gods, MARMARIŌ IAŌ. I have spoken of your 1200
unsurpassable glory,¹⁶³ you who created gods, archangels, and decans. The ten
thousands of angels stood by [you] and exalted / the heaven, and the lord witnessed 1205
to your Wisdom,¹⁶⁴ which is Aion, IEŌYĒŌĒ IAĒAIĒŌĒYŌEI, and said that you are as
strong as he is. I invoke your hundred-lettered / name¹⁶⁵ which extends from the 1210
sky to the depth of the earth; save me, for you are always ever rejoicing in saving
those who are yours, ATHĒZE PHŌI AAA DAIAGTHI THĒOBIS PHIATH THAMBRAMI
ABRAŌTH / CHTHOLCHIL THOE OELCHŌTH THIOŌĒMCH CHOOMCH SAĒSI ISACH- 1215
CHOĒ IEROUTHRA OOOOO AIŌAI (100 letters). I call upon you, the one on the gold
leaf,¹⁶⁶ before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns,¹⁶⁷ / the great God, 1220
the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem, lord, IAŌ AIĒ
IŌĒ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ IĒ AIŌAI AI OYŌ AŌĒ ĒEI IEŌ ĒYŌ AĒI AŌ AŌA AĒĒI YŌ EIĒ / AĒŌ IRY 1225
AĒĒ IALA IAŌ EY AEY IAĒ EI AAA III ĒĒĒ IŌ IŌĒ IAŌ (100 letters), for a blessing,
lord.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

161. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion. See Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198, who compares the prayer with the older form in I. 196–221.

162. For different interpretations and translations, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, who thinks of the god Anthropos, “Man”; cf. also Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 169: “I am a human being, the heavenly deity’s most beautiful creation. . . .”

163. Preisendanz prints Δόξα, as if to suggest a divine hypostasis. See also PGM I. 199.

164. The notion of “Wisdom” (Sophia) is here identified with Aion, a unique instance in the PGM. Cf. PGM I. 210, and Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198–99.

165. Cf. I. 1225.

166. This protective prayer presumes a section describing a gold lamella to be worn as a phylactery. The phylactery contained the hundred-letter name of the god and was worn as protection against “every excess of power” and the “very violent act” mentioned in ll. 1193–94.

167. For the light miracle at Jerusalem, see PGM IV. 3070 and n. See also PDM xiv. 490 and K. Preisendanz, “Zum grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914): 347–48.

PGM IV. 1227–64

* **Excellent rite for driving out daimons:** *Formula* to be spoken over his head:

1230 Place olive branches before him, / and stand behind him and say:

“Hail, God of Abraham; hail, God of Isaac; hail, God of Jacob; Jesus Chrestos,¹⁶⁸
1235 the Holy Spirit, the Son of the Father, who is above¹⁶⁹ the Seven, / who is within
the Seven. Bring Iao Sabaoth; may your power issue forth from him, NN, until
you drive away this unclean daimon Satan, who is in him. I conjure you, daimon,
1240 / whoever you are, by this god, SABARBARBATHIÖTH SABARBARBATHIOUTH SABAR-
BARBATHIÖNETH SABARBARBAPHAI. Come out, daimon, whoever you are, and stay
1245 away from him, NN, / now, now; immediately, immediately. Come out, daimon,
since I bind you with unbreakable adamantite fetters, and I deliver you into the
black chaos in perdition.”

1250 **Preparation:** take 7 olive branches; for six of them / tie together the two ends of
each one, but for the remaining one use it like a whip as you utter the conjuration.
Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the daimon, hang around him, NN, a phylactery, which the
patient puts on after the expulsion of the daimon—a phylactery with these things
1255 [written] on / a tin metal leaf: “BÖR PHÖR PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN
BAUBÖ TE PHÖR BÖRPHORBA PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIË PHÖRBA
1260 PHARBA PHÖRPHÖR PHORBA / BÖPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBA BÖBOR-
BORBA PAMPHORBA PHÖRPHÖR PHÖRBA, protect him, NN.” But *another version*
has a phylactery on which this sign¹⁷⁰ occurs: §

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This Greek and Coptic exorcistic spell is discussed by Tambornino,
RGVV VII 3, 9; 10. For additional literature, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, 114 and idem,
APF 8 (1927): 115.

PGM IV. 1265–74

1265 * **Aphrodite’s name** which becomes known to no one quickly is NEPHERIËRI¹⁷¹—
this is the name. If you wish to win a woman who is beautiful, be pure for 3 days,
1270 make an offering of frankincense, / and call upon this name over it. You approach
the woman and say it seven times in your soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it
will succeed.¹⁷² But do this for 7 days.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1275–1322

1275 * **Bear-charm**¹⁷³ which accomplishes everything: *Formula*: “I call upon you, the
greatest power in heaven” (*others*: “in the Bear”) “appointed by the lord god to
1280 turn with a strong / hand the holy pole, NIKAROPLËX. Listen to me, Helios, Phre;¹⁷⁴
hear the holy [prayer], you who hold together the universe and bring to life the

168. On *Chrēstos*, “excellent one,” rather than *Christos*, “anointed one,” see K. Weiss, *TDNT* 9 (1974): 484–85; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 44–45; Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 63.

169. Or “below.”

170. This sign is familiar from the so-called Chnoubis amulets. See Bonner, *SMA* 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques* 54–57; A. Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnoubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 269–70. The translation of the sentence is according to the interpretation by R.D.K.

171. Nephherieri is the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, “the beautiful eye,” a suitable epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor. See G. Möller, in Preisendanz, *apparatus* ad loc. [J.B.; R.K.R.]

172. Or “you will succeed,” the subject being the spell itself.

173. The spell invokes the astral constellation of the Bear and its powers. See *PGM* IV. 700, 1331; VII. 687; XXIII. 10.

174. That is, Helios-Prē.

whole world, THŌZOPITHĒ EUCHANDAMA ŌCHRIENTHĒR / OMNYŌDĒS CHĒMIO- 1285
CHYNGĒS IEŌY” (perform a sacrifice) “THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI KAN-
THIMEŌ ZANZEMIA ŌPER PEROMENĒS RŌTHIEU ĒNINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN
MENI KĒDEUA KĒPSĒOI” (add the usual).

Petition / to the sun at sunset. Formula: “THĒNŌR, O Helios, SANTHĒNŌR, I 1290
beseech you, lord, may the place and lord of the Bear devote themselves to me”
(while petitioning, sacrifice armara.¹⁷⁵ Do it at sunset). 1295

Charm of compulsion for the 3rd day: “ANTEBERŌYRTŌR EREMNETHĒCHŌR
CHNYCHIROANTŌR MENELEOCHEU ĒESSIPO DŌTĒR EUARĒTŌ GOU PI PHYLAKE
ŌMALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA / do the NN thing.” 1300

The first formula in a different way: “THŌZOPITHĒ, Bear, greatest goddess,
ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining god-
dess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the 1305
universe AEĒIOYŌ (square),¹⁷⁶ you who stand on the pole, you whom the lord god
appointed to turn the holy pole with a strong hand: THŌZOPITHĒ (formula).”

Offering for the procedure: 4 drams of frankincense, 4 drams of myrrh, 2 ounces
each of cassia leaf and / of white pepper, 1 dram of bdellion, 1 dram of asphodel 1310
seed, 2 drams each of amomon, of saffron, of terebinth storax, 1 dram of worm-
wood, . . . of vetch plant, priestly Egyptian incense, the complete brain of a black
ram. / Combine these with white Mendesian wine¹⁷⁷ and honey, and make pellets 1315
of bread.

Phylactery for the procedure: Wear a wolf knucklebone, mix juice of vetch and of
pondweed in a censer, / write in the middle of the censer this name: “THERMOU- 1320
THEREPSIPHIRIPHI¹⁷⁸ PISALI” (24 letters),¹⁷⁹ and in this way make an offering.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1323–30

**Another:* “KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN¹⁸⁰ you who shook and shake the
world, you who have swallowed the ever-living serpent and daily / raise the disk of 1325
the sun and of the moon, you whose name is ITHIOŌ ĒI ARBATHIAŌ Ē, send up to
me, NN, at night the daimon of this night to reveal to me concerning / the NN 1330
thing.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1331–89

**Powerful spell of the Bear¹⁸¹ which accomplishes anything:* Take the fat of a
black ass, the fat of a dappled she-goat, the fat of a black bull, and Ethiopian cumin,
mix all together / and make an offering to the Bear, having as a phylactery hairs 1335

175. For the recipe, see below, ll. 1308–16, and Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 803. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1990.

176. According to Preisendanz, *πλινθιον* (square) inserted here means that the letters are to be ar-
ranged in a series of lines forming a square. For this form of pictorial writing, see V. Gardthausen,
Griechische Paläographie II (Leipzig: Veit, 1913) 59. For a similar piece, see A. Gröfenhagen, *Schmuckar-
beiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenab-
teilung, 1975) 98 n. 11; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 905–11.

177. Cf. *PGM* I. 85 and n.

178. Thermouth is Rennutet, the Egyptian harvest goddess and Fate. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 803–4,
s.v. “Thermutis.” See also *PGM* IV. 664 and n.

179. That is, in Greek letters.

180. Preisendanz suggests this line may contain Coptic, which according to F. Li. Griffith, “The Old
Coptic Magical Text of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 93, means “earth-shaker, ground-shaker, abyss-shaker.”
[R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 680.

181. For the meaning of the constellation of the Bear, see *PGM* IV. 1275.

from the same animals which you have plaited into a cord and are wearing as a diadem around your head. Anoint your lips with the fats, smear your whole body with storax / oil, and make your petition while holding a single-shooted Egyptian onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, kneel down, and speak the following *formula*:

1345 / "I call upon you, holy, very-powerful, very-glorious, very-strong, holy, auto-
 1350 chthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons, you who / are in-
 habitants of Chaos,¹⁸² of Erebos, of the abyss, of the depth, of earth, dwelling in the
 recesses of heaven, lurking in the nooks and crannies of houses, shrouded in dark
 clouds, watchers of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those in
 1355 the underworld, administrators / of the infinite, wielding power over earth, earth-
 shakers, foundation-layers, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful minis-
 1360 ters, turning the spindle, freezing snow and rain, air-transversers, causing / summer
 heat, wind-bringers, lords of Fate, inhabitants of dark Erebos, bringers of compul-
 sion, sending flames of fire, bringing snow and dew, wind-releasers, disturbers of
 1365 the deep, treaders on the calm sea, mighty in courage, grievous / of the heart, pow-
 erful potentates, cliff-walkers, adverse daimons, iron-hearted, wild-tempered, un-
 1370 ruly, guarding Tartaros, misleading Fate, all-seeing, all-hearing, / all-subjecting,
 heaven-walkers, spirit-givers, living simply, heaven-shakers, gladdening the heart,
 those who join together death, revealers of angels, punishers of mortals, sunless
 1375 revealers, rulers of daimons, / air-transversers, almighty, holy, unconquerable
 AŌTH¹⁸³ ABAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ IAKŌP MANARA SKORTOURI MOR-
 TROUM EPHRAULA THREERSA; do the NN matter."

1380 / Then write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon,¹⁸⁴
 curved as a star, and bind it in the middle of the core with the letters showing.

1385 *This is the name:* / ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHŌ
 CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRA CHŌCH APTOUMIMĒ CHŌCHAPTOU CHA-
 RACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARA CHŌCH PTENACHŌCHEOU.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1390–1495

1390 *Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or
 those who have died a violent death: Leave a little of the bread which you eat;
 break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and
 1395 gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. / Say the spell to the
 pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place
 where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom
 you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

1400 "To¹⁸⁵ Moirai, Destinies, / Malignities,
 To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died

182. For these names referring to the underworld places of Greek mythology, see *Orph. Frag.* 1 and 54; Homer, *Il.* 16. 327; *Od.* 10. 528; Hesiod, *Theog.* 515; etc. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952) 92.

183. The magical words contain some garbled Aramaic. On BASYM, see PGM LXX. 3 and n.; XIII. 147, 593. For an explanation from the Hebrew *ba-shem*, see G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977) 235–51, esp. 237, 240.

184. The association of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear (cf. PGM IV. 1331, 1335) is Egyptian. The Bear represents the soul of Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359D, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 373.

185. These iambic trimeters (which are sometimes rather clumsy) have been adapted to form the reconstructed Hymn 25, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 263. [E.N.O.]

- Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
 I'm sending food: Three-headed Goddess, Lady
 Of Night, who feed on filth, O Virgin, thou
 Key-holding Persephassa,¹⁸⁶ Kore out
 Of Tartaros, grim-eyed, dreadful, child girt /
 With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed 1405
 With tears and bitter groans leftovers from
 His own food, so that you, O luckless heroes
 Who are confined there in the NN place,
 May bring success to him who is beset
 With torments. You who've left the light, O you
 Unfortunate ones, / bring success to him, 1410
 NN, who is distressed at heart because
 Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
 So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!
- EIOUT ABAŌTH PSAKERBA ARBATHIAŌ LALAOITH / IŌSACHŌTOU ALLALETHŌ 1415
 You too as well, Lady, who feed on filth¹⁸⁷
- SYNATRAKABI BAUBARABAS ENPHNOUN MORKA¹⁸⁸ ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUA-
 LĒTH, and send the Erinys ORGOGORGONIOTRIAN,¹⁸⁹
 Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, /
 Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines, 1420
 Who in this place, who on this day, who in
 This hour, who in coffins of myrtlewood,
 Give heed to me and rouse / her, NN, on 1425
 This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
 And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
 Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
 And / for my will give her a willingness 1430
 Until she does what I command of her.
 O mistress Hekate¹⁹⁰
- PHORBA PHORBŌBAR BARŌ PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBAI
 O Lady of the Crossroads, O Black Bitch.”
- When you have done / these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use 1435
 this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the
 bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung / from a black cow and say this 1440
 and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.

The words spoken over the offering are these:

“Chthonic Hermes and chthonic Hekate and chthonic Acheron¹⁹¹ and chthonic /

186. A poetic form of Persephone.

187. These words with some changes are included as part of Hymn 25 (ll. 14–16), and they seem to scan, but without a translation possible for the formulaic terms nothing can be gained by inserting them in the verse section. [E.N.O.]

188. A. Jacoby has proposed (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) that the name is that of the Babylonian deity Omorka. See O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/1 (1897–1902) 868–69, s.v. “Omorka.”

189. The epithet “the Orgogorgoniotrian” signifies one of the Furies (Erinys). According to LSJ, s.v., it is found only here in Greek.

190. The meter breaks down at this point and only by rearranging and omitting words can Hymn 25 (l. 28) accommodate the concluding phrases here. [E.N.O.]

191. The name Acheron refers to the mythical river or sea in the underworld. There is also a connection with the river Acheron in Epirus, where the famous underworld oracle of Ephyra was located. See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 252. The oracle of Ephyra has been excavated; see S. I. Dakaris, “Das Tau-

- 1445 flesh-eaters and chthonic god and chthonic Amphiaraios¹⁹² and chthonic attendants
 1450 and chthonic spirits and chthonic sins and chthonic dreams / and chthonic oaths
 and chthonic Ariste¹⁹³ and chthonic Tartaros and chthonic witchery, chthonic
 Charon and chthonic escorts and the dead and the daimons and souls of all men: /
 1455 come today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love
 spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me
 NN, whose mother is NN (add the usual), because I am calling
 1460 O¹⁹⁴ primal Chaos, / Erebus, and you
 O awful water of the Styx, O streams
 O Lethe, Hades' Acherousian pool,
 O Hekate and Pluto and Kore,
 And chthonic Hermes, Moirai, Punishments,
 1465 Both Acheron and Aiakos,¹⁹⁵ / gatekeeper
 Of the eternal bars, now open quickly,
 O thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis.¹⁹⁶
 Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
 Forthwith for service in this very hour. /
 1470 So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN" (add
 the usual).
 "Isis¹⁹⁷ came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow,¹⁹⁸ and
 1475 Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms / of the dead as
 they were being led to her, NN, and were performing the NN business (add the
 usual). All the immortal gods and all the goddesses came to see the phantoms of
 1480 these dead. Do not, therefore, delay; / do not loiter, but dispatch, O gods, the
 phantoms of these dead, so that having gone to her NN they may perform the NN
 1485 deed (add the usual) because I adjure you by IAO / SABAÖTH and ADÖNAI PAT-
 RAXILYTRA BOURREPHAÖMI ASSALKĒ AIDOUNAX SESENGEN (formula) BALIABA
 1490 ERECHCHARNOI ABERIDOUNA SALBACHTHI EISERSE / RATHÖ EISERDA ÖMI SIS-
 IPHNA SISAEDOUBE ACHCHARITÖNĒ ABERIPHNOUBA IABAL DENATHI ITHROU-
 1495 PHI. Send up the phantoms of these dead to her NN / whose mother is NN, so that
 they may perform the NN deed" (add the usual).
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

benorakel von Dodona und das Totenorakel bei Ephyra," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963): 35–55; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 185–86.

192. The name refers to an old underworld god who had an incubation oracle at Oropos. See R. Herzog, "Amphiaraios," *RAC* 1 (1950): 396, with further literature.

193. For this epithet of Artemis and Demeter, see Jessen, "Ariste," *PRE* 2 (1895): 876.

194. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 26, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. The reconstruction is even more extensive than usual, for in places only faint vestiges of verse remain. [E.N.O.]

195. Aiakos was one of the judges of the underworld, along with Minos and Rhadamanthys. See Plato, *Apol.* 41a; *Gorg.* 523c, and W. Schmid, "Aiakos," *PRE* 1 (1893): 923–26.

196. On Anubis with the key, see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," in his *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975) 510–20. [R.K.R.]

197. These lines, which contain vestiges of dactylic hexameters, have been arranged in an awkward verse pattern and accepted as the reconstructed Hymn 27; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. Nonetheless, the translation is prose because the lines have no more of a metrical pattern than many other passages scattered through these documents. [E.N.O.]

198. Isis aroused desire within the dead Osiris and by him conceived Horus. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 1496–1595

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh which is offered:** While offering it over coals, recite the spell.

Spell:

"You are Myrrh, the bitter, the difficult, who reconciles / combatants, who sears 1500
and who forces those to love who do not acknowledge Eros. Everyone calls you
Myrrh, but I call you Flesh-eater and / Inflamer of the heart. I am not sending you 1505
to far-off Arabia; I am not sending you to Babylon, but I am sending you to her
NN, whose mother is NN, so that you may serve me on the mission to her, so
that / you may attract her to me. If she is sitting,¹⁹⁹ let her not keep sitting; if she is 1510
chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let
her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is
strolling about, let her not / keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep 1515
drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her
not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it;
if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping. Rather, let her hold me / NN alone in 1520
her mind; let her desire me alone; let her love me alone; let her do all my wishes.
Do not enter through her eyes or through her side or through her nails / or even 1525
through her navel or through her frame, but rather through her 'soul.' And remain
in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, / her breath, her bones, her 1530
marrow, until she comes to me NN, loving me, and until she fulfills all my wishes,
because I adjure you, Myrrh, by the three names,²⁰⁰ / ANOCH²⁰¹ ABRASAX TRŌ, 1535
and by the more coercive and stronger names KORMEIŌTH IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI,
so that you may carry out my / orders, Myrrh. As I burn you up and you are po- 1540
tent, so burn the brain of her, NN, whom I love. Inflame her and turn her guts in-
side out, / suck out her blood drop by drop, until she comes to me, NN, whose
mother is NN. I adjure you by the MARPARKOURITH NASAARI NAIEMARE PAI- 1545
PARI / NEKOURI. I throw you into the burning fire and adjure you by the almighty
god who lives forever: Having adjured you, I now also adjure you, / ADŌNAI BAR- 1550
BAR IAŌ ZAGOURĒ HARSAMŌSI ALAOUS and SALAŌS. I adjure you who strength-
ened man for life: Hear, hear, / great god, o Adonaios, ETHYIA, self-gendering, 1560
everlasting god, EIŌĒ IAŌ AIŌ AIŌ PHNEŌS SPHINTĒS ARBATHIAŌ IAŌ IAĒ IŌA /
AI, who are OUĒR²⁰² GONTHIAŌR RARAĒL²⁰³ ABRA BRACHA SOROORMERPHERGAR 1565
MARBAPHRIOURIGX IAŌ SABAŌTH MASKELLI / MASKELLŌ (the formula) AMON-
SŌĒ ANOCH RIGCH PHNOUKENTABAŌTH SOUSAE PHINPHESĒCH MAPHI / RAR 1575
ANOURIN IBANAŌTH AROUĒR CHNOUPH ANOCH BATHI OUCH IARBAS BABAUBAR
ELŌAI; attract for me her NN, whose mother is NN, to me / NN, whose mother is 1580
NN, on the very day, on this night, at this very hour, MOULŌTH PHOPHITH PHTHŌ-
ITH PHTHŌYTH PENIŌN. I call upon you also who hold / the fire, PHTHAN ANOCH; 1585
give heed to me, O one, only-begotten, MANEBIA BAIBAI CHYRIRŌOU THADEIN
ADŌNAI EROU NOUNI / MIŌŌNCH CHOUTIAI MARMARAUŌTH. Attract her, NN, 1590
whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, now, now; immediately,
immediately; quickly, quickly."

And say also the spell for all / occasions.

Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

199. For parallels to this passage, cf. P. Smither, "A Coptic Love-Charms," *JEA* 25 (1939): 175–76.

200. On this passage, see C. Bonner, "Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets," *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; idem, "The Transcendency of Divine Attributes," *ibid.* 37 (1944): 338–39.

201. This means in Egyptian "I am great." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* I. 149.

202. OUĒR corresponds to Egyptian *ꜥꜣ*, "great." [R.K.R.]

203. RARAĒL occurs only here; perhaps Raphael should be read. [E.N.O.]

PGM IV. 1596–1715

*This is the consecration for all purposes: *Spell to Helios*: “I invoke you, the greatest god, eternal lord, world ruler, / who are over the world and under the world, mighty ruler of the sea, rising at dawn, shining from the east for the whole world, / setting in the west. Come to me, thou who risest from the four winds, joyous²⁰⁴ Agathos Daimon, for whom heaven has become the processional way. I call upon your holy / and great and hidden names which you rejoice to hear. The earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young / when you permitted. Give glory and honor and favor and fortune and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate²⁰⁵ today (or to the / phylactery being consecrated) for NN.²⁰⁶ I invoke you, the greatest in heaven, ΕΙ LANCHYCH AKARĒN BAL MISTHRĒN MARTA / MATHATH LAILAM MOUSOUTH SIETHŌ BATHABATHI IATMŌN ALEI IABATH ABAŌTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, the great god, ORSENOPHRĒ ORGEATĒS / TOTHORNATĒSA²⁰⁷ KRITHI BIŌTHI IADMŌ IATMŌMI METHIĒI²⁰⁸ LONCHOŌ AKARĒ BAL MINTHRĒ BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI / ARSIOUTH ERŌNERETHER, the shining Helios, giving light throughout the whole world. You are the great Serpent, leader of all²⁰⁹ the gods, who control the beginning / of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world, who mate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH NINTHĒR.²¹⁰ You are he who becomes / visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven, and rises in the southeast.²¹¹ In the 1st hour you have the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH. / Give glory and favor to this phylactery. In the 2nd hour you have the form of a dog; your name is SOUPHI. Give strength and honor to this phylactery, [or] to this stone, / and to NN. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a serpent; your name is AMEKRANEBECHĒO THŌYTH. Give honor to the god NN. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab; your name is / SENTHENIPS. Mightily strengthen this phylactery in this night, for the work for which it is consecrated. In the 5th hour you have the form of a donkey; your name is / ENPHANCHOUPH. Give strength and courage and power to the god, NN. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion; your name is BAI SOLBAI, the ruler of time. Give / success to this phylactery and glorious victory. In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is OUMESTHŌTH. Give sexual charm to this ring / (or to this phylactery, or to this engraving). In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is DIATIPHĒ, who becomes visible everywhere. Let all / things [done] by the use of this stone be accomplished. In the 9th hour you have the form of a falcon; your name is PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH, the lotus emerged from the abyss.²¹² Give success / [and] good luck to his phylactery. In the 10th hour you have the form of a baboon; your name is BESBYKI. In the 11th

204. “Joyous” can also mean “benevolent” or “lucky,” meanings appropriate and probably intended here. In the writer’s mind the three were probably not distinguished. [M.S.]

205. Cf. on this point PGM IV. 2179 and n.

206. Or “for use in relation to NN.”

207. Reading (δ) *οργεατης τ’ ὁ θορνατης*. Both nouns seem unattested formations; perhaps the former should be corrected to *οργιαστῆς*, “participant in orgiastic rites,” which were often secret and connected with Dionysos. [M.S.]

208. From ΕΙ onward the words repeat in variations the formula with which the series begins.

209. Reading *πάντων* for *τούτων*, with Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 29. [M.S.]

210. This is equivalent to the Egyptian “the Agathodaimon, the god (of) the gods.” [R.K.R.] Cf. PGM III. 144–45.

211. On the forms of the sun god, see PGM II. 104 and nn.

212. On the lotus flower, see PGM IV. 1111; PDM xiv. 45; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 179–80. [R.K.R.]

hour you have the form of an ibis; your name is / MOU RÖPH.²¹³ Protect this great
 phylactery for lucky [use] by NN, from this present day for all time. In the 12th
 hour you have the form of a crocodile; your name / is AERTHOË. You who have set
 at evening as an old man,²¹⁴ who are over the world and [under] the world, mighty
 ruler of the sea, hear my voice in this present day, / in this night, in these holy
 hours, and let [all things done] by this stone [or] for this phylactery, be brought to
 fulfilment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate it. Please, / lord
 KMËPH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECHOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAO
 YAI. I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness and the / great god who
 created all, SAROUSIN, you, Agathon Daimonion the helper, to accomplish for me
 everything [done] by the use of this ring or [stone].”

When / you complete [the consecration], say, “The one Zeus is Sarapis.”²¹⁵
 *Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 1716–1870

***Sword**²¹⁶ of Dardanos:²¹⁷ Rite which is called “sword,” which has no equal be-
 cause of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul²¹⁸ of whomever
 you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: “I am bending to my will the soul of him
 NN.”²¹⁹

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride
 Psyche²²⁰ / and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above
 her head: “ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI”; and below / Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros
 standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche.²²¹
 And below Eros these / names: “ACHAPA ADÖNAIE BASMA CHARAKÖ IAKÖB IAÖ Ë
 PHARPHARËI.” On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embrac-
 ing / one another and beneath Eros’ feet these letters: “ssssssss,” and beneath
 Psyche’s feet: “ëëëëëëëë.” Use the stone, when it has been engraved and conse-

213. Here, and again below after the twelfth hour, the prayer for a gift to the phylactery or stone has
 presumably been skipped by a copyist.

214. This is a reference to Arum, the form of the sun god at setting. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 731.
 [R.K.R.]

215. On this formula, see O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, Sie-
 beck, 1919; reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften I* [Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969] 410–42); Nilsson,
GGR II, 574; W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Wandlungen der Gestalt*
eines Gottes, *EPRO* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 353, n. 2; 396.

216. The designation “sword” apparently serves as a kind of title for certain types of formulas, here
 presumably the formula in I. 1813. See K. Preisendanz, “Xiphos,” *Roscher* 6 (1924–37) 526–28;
 Nock, *Essays* I, 190. The classical work of this kind is the so-called Sword of Moses, for which see
 M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Ar-*
chaeology I (London: Maggs, 1925) 288–337. See also PGM IV. 1813 and n.

217. Dardanos was believed to have founded the mysteries of Samothrake. See A. Hermann, “Dar-
 danus,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 593–94.

218. Since the operator does not want spiritual love, ψυχῇ here is probably the female pudenda.
 Against this interpretation is τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα (I. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned
 with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read τῆς δεῖνα. [E.N.O.]

219. It is not clear whether this spell concerns a male or a female lover. Cf. II. 1720, 1807, 1828–29.

220. The best treatment of this image is that by R. Mousterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscrip-*
tions magiques de Syrie, Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930)
 53–64. See also R. Reitzenstein, “Noch einmal Eros und Psyche,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 42–87; A. Rumpf,
 “Eros (Eroten) II. in der Kunst,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 312–42, esp. 330–31.

221. For this theme and literature, see R. Helm, “Psyche,” *PRE* 23 (1959): 1434–38; S. Binder and
 R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) esp. 433–34.
 See also PGM XII. 20.

- 1745 crated, / like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say
this *spell*:
“I²²² call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the
1750 whole / world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every
1755 soul life-giving / reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn,
founder of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud rea-
1760 sonable / thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly in-
1765 habit every soul. You engender an unseen fire / as you carry off every living thing
without growing weary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in
1770 pain²²³ from the time when the world came into being. You also come / and bring
pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men
1775 dare beyond what is fitting and take refuge in your light which is darkness. / Most
headstrong, lawless, implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless, generator of frenzy,
1780 archer, torch-carrier, master of all living / sensation and of everything clandestine,
dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence, through whom the light and to whom
1785 the light travels, infantile when you have been engendered within / the heart, wisest
when you have succeeded; I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great name:
1790 AZARACHTHARAZA²²⁴ LATHA / IATHAL²²⁵ Y Y Y LATHAI ATHALLALAPH IOIOIO AI
1795 AI AI OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,²²⁶ first-shining, night-/shining,
night rejoicing, night-engendering, witness, ERĒKISTHPHĒ²²⁷ ARARACHARARA
1800 ĒPHTHISIKĒRE²²⁸ LABEZEBYTH IO, you in the depth,²²⁹ BERIAMBŌ / BERIAMBEBŌ,
you in the sea, MERMERGOU, clandestine and wisest, ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHA-
1805 RAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ CHAROUĒR AROUĒR LAILAM / SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA
KARBA MENABŌTH ĒILIA. Turn the ‘soul’ of her NN to me NN, so that she may love
me, so that she may feel passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her
1810 power.²³⁰ / Let her say to me what is in her soul because I have called upon your
great name.”
1815 And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword:²³¹ “One²³² THOURIĒL / MICHAĒL

222. The hymn to Eros has been called “notably elegant and literary” (Nock, *Essays* I, 183). Cf. the hymn to Eros among the *Orphic Hymns* (no. 58). See Binder and Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* 150, 386–87.

223. The words ὀδύνηρ τέρψει make little sense, esp. without a verbal form in the clause. Because there are traces of poetic language here, we should perhaps read ὀδύνη ῥᾷ τέρψας, and this is what the translation renders. [E.N.O.]

224. An imperfect palindrome.

225. The spacing of this *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

226. Again, the spacing has been arranged to show the palindrome.

227. Again, the *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

228. This often attested *vax magica* can be read as Greek φθισικηρε (φθίω, κήρ), perhaps “destroying evil demons” (cf. φθισήνωρ, φθισίμβροτος, φθισίφρων). [W.B.] See also R. Merkelbach, “ΦΘΙ-ΣΙΚΗΡΕ,” *ZPE* 47 (1982): 172, commenting esp. on PGM II. 100.

229. Here, βύθιε, “you in the deep,” as well as πελάγιε, “you in the sea” (l. 800), and κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτατε, “clandestine and wisest” (ll. 1801–2) are recognizable Greek words, inserted into this series of magical palindromes. Cf. the similar formulas on a lead piece, P. Rein. II. 88, ll. 17–20. See P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*, vol. II, *BIFAO* 39 (1940): 29–32. [R.D.K.] Cf. also the figure of Bythos in Valentinian gnosticism.

230. This means “power to give”; lit., “what is in her hands.”

231. See also on l. 1717, above. This “sword” or magical formula may be so named because the words to be written on the gold lamella were to be engraved in the shape of, or enclosed by, a “sword.” For a magical gold leaf with a sword, see the facsimile in S. Reinach and E. Babelon, “Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884),” *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. [R.D.K.]

232. For a discussion of this monotheistic formula, see Bonner, *SMA* 175–76; cf. H. D. Betz, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1978): 969–71, s.v. “εἰς.”

GABRIËL OURIËL MISAËL IRRAËL ISTRAËL:²³³ May it be a propitious day for this name and for me who know it and am wearing it. I summon the immortal / and infallible strength of God. Grant me the submission of every soul for which I have called upon you.” Give the leaf to a partridge to gulp down²³⁴ / and kill it. Then pick it up and wear it around your neck after inserting into the strip the herb called “boy love.”

The burnt offering / which endows Eros and the whole procedure with soul is this: manna, 4 drams; storax, 4 drams; opium, 4 drams; myrrh, [4 drams;] frankincense, saffron, bdella, / one-half dram each. Mix in rich dried fig and blend everything in equal parts with fragrant wine, and use it for the performance. In the performance first make a burnt offering and / use it in this way.²³⁵

And there is also *a rite for acquiring an assistant*,²³⁶ who is made out of wood from a mulberry tree. He is made as a winged Eros wearing a cloak, with his right foot lifted / for a stride and with a hollow back. Into the hollow put a gold leaf after writing with a cold-forged copper stylus so-and-so’s name [and]: “MARSABOUTARTHE²³⁷—be my / assistant and supporter and sender of dreams.”

Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door / with the Eros and say: “Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, say what I propose.” And go to your / home, set the table, spread a pure linen cloth, and seasonal flowers, and set the figure upon it. Then make a burnt offering to it and continuously say the / spell of invocation. And send him, and he will act without fail. And whenever you bend her to your will with the stone, on that night it sends / dreams, for on a different night it is busy with different matters.²³⁸

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1872–1927

*. . . instruct no one, for it is very powerful and unsurpassable, effective for everyone / on the same day, absolutely binding, exceedingly powerful. And it is: Take 4 ounces of wax, 8 ounces of fruit from the chaste-tree, 4 drams of manna. Pound each of these fine / separately and mix with pitch and wax, and fashion a dog eight fingers long with its mouth open. And you are to place in the mouth of the dog / a bone from the head of a man who has died violently, and inscribe on the sides of the dog these characters: $\times \bar{z} \bar{o} \bar{\pi} \Xi \Psi \times \vee \Psi$ and you are to place the dog on a tripod. And have the dog raising its right paw. And write on the strip of papyrus these / names and what you wish: “IAO ASTO IOPHE,” and / you are to place the strip of papyrus on the tripod and on top of the strip you are to place the dog and / say these names many times. And so, after you have spoken the spell, the dog

233. For a discussion of these peculiar variants of the name of Israel, see R. Ganshinietz, “Israel,” *PRE* 9 (1939): 2234; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95. Cf. *PGM* IV. 3034: Osrac; XXXVI. 259: Astrael.

234. Cf. *Sword of Moses* 324 n. 70 (see n. 216, above) for a parallel: a silver lamella is given to a cock to swallow, and the cock is then killed. [R.D.K.]

235. The excessive use of $\chi\rho\omega$ and $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\omega$ is strange. The translation of this sentence is tentative and little more than a paraphrase. [E.N.O.] Cf. the following section and also *PGM* I. 38; XII. 284.

236. The translation is based on the emended Greek in Preisendanz, but it differs from the German translation (“Erfolg hat aber auch ein Beisitzer . . .”).

237. The translation tries to make sense of what appears to be a corrupt Greek text; it differs from the German translation (“. . . den Namen eines Beliebigen geschrieben hast: ‘Marsaboutarthe, werde mir . . .’”). See the apparatus ad loc.

238. The Greek is ambiguous at this point. Cf. Preisendanz’s translation: “Denn in jeder Nacht beschäftigt er sich mit anderen.”

hisses [or barks], and if it hisses, she is not coming.²³⁹ Therefore address the spell to it again, / and if it barks, it is attracting her. Then open the door, and you will find her whom you wish at your doors. Let a censer stand beside the dog, and let frankincense be placed upon it / as you say the spell.

Spell: “Barking dog, I adjure you, Kerberos, by those who have hanged themselves, by the dead, by those who have died violently: / attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you, Kerberos, by the holy head of the infernal gods. Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, ZOUCH / ZOUKI TO PARY YPHĒ-BARMŌ ENŌR SEKEMI KRIOUDASEPHĒ TRIBEPSI: attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

And you are also to say / the spell for all occasions. But you are to do these things in a level, pure place.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1928–2005

**Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup. His / prayer of petition to Helios*: Stand facing the east and speak thus:

“I call upon you, lord Helios, and your holy angels on / this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THĒNŌR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORŌ / MISRĒN NEPHŌ ADŌNAI AUEBŌTHI ABATHARAI THŌBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTĒN ŌPHREŌPHRI ŌLCHAMAŌTH OUTE SOUTĒATH MONTRO ELAT / CHOUMIOI LATHŌTH ŌTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power / over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, [NN] as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him.”

/ *At sunset the same man’s prayer to Helios*:

“Borne²⁴⁰ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, / who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
From you, indeed, come elements which are
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n
And earth and Chaos and Hades, where dwell /
Daimons of men who once gazed on the light.
And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The regions of the dead, this daimon send
To move at midnight hours perforce at your
Commands, / from whose tent I hold this. And let

239. As the text stands, it makes no sense. We should probably follow the suggestion of Preisendanz, who inserts “or he barks” (“oder bellt”), and add to the Greek some such phrase as ἡ ὑλακτεῖ which may have fallen out by haplography. For similar alternative conditions, cf. PGM IV. 131–37; VII. 613–16. [E.N.O.]

240. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): vv. 1–17, 20–22, 18, 25, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; VIII. 74–81. [E.N.O.]

- Him tell to me (NN) whate'er my mind designs,
 And let him tell me fully and with truth.
 Let him be gentle, gracious, let him think
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. / But guard 1975
 That my whole body come to light intact;
 Let him (NN) reveal to me the what and whence,
 Whereby he now can render me his service
 And at what time he serves as my assistant, /
 For you yourself gave these for men to learn, lord. 1980
 Because I call upon your four-part name:
 CHTHETHŌ NI LAILAM IAŌ ZOUCHE PIPTOË.
 I call upon your name, / Horus,²⁴¹ which is 1985
 In number equal to the Moirai's names:
 ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIË IAË AI IAË AIË
 IAŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA (36 letters).²⁴²
 Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
 O father of the world, self-gendered one.
 / After burning armara²⁴³ and uncut frankincense, go home. 1990
*Enquiry:*²⁴⁴ Ivy with 13 leaves. Begin from the left side and write on them one
 by one with myrrh, and after putting on the wreath / say over them the same 1995
 names. And over the skull cup place the same writing on the forehead with the
 proper words: "SOITHERCHALBAN OPHROUROR ERĒKISITHPHĒ (formula)²⁴⁵ /
 IABE ZEBYTH LEGEMAS THMESTAS MESMYRA BAUANECHTHEN KAI LOPHŌTŌ BRĒ- 2000
 LAX HARCHENTECHTHA APSOIER CHALBAN."
And the ink: Serpent's blood / and the soot of a goldsmith. 2005
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2006–2125

- *Pitys' spell of attraction:²⁴⁶ Pitys to King Ostanēs: greetings. Since you write to
 me on each occasion about the enquiry of skull cups, I have deemed it necessary to 2010
 send you this process / as one which is worthy of admiration and able to please you
 greatly. And subsequently I will submit to you the process, and finally the black ink
 will be revealed.
 Take the hide of an ass²⁴⁷ and, after drying it / in shade, inscribe on it the figure 2015
 which will be revealed and inscribe this spell in a circle: "AAMASI NOUTHĪ APHTHE-
 CHENBŌCH POUPAIEICHNERĪ TA LOUTHIANĪ SERANOMĒGRENTĪ EI BIL / LONOU- 2020
 CHICH EITA PHOR CHORTOMNOUTHĪ THRACH PHIBŌBI ANTERŌ PHOCHOR-
 THAROCH EBOCH LESANOUGH PHEORŌBIS TRAION KŌBI INOUNĪA SAPHŌBI
 CHIMNOUTHĪ ASRŌ / CHNOUPHNEN PHARMI BOLCHOSĒTH EPHOUKTERŌ AB- 2025
 DIDANPITAAU EAE BOL SACHY ACHCHERĪMA EMINTO RŌŌRIA EN AMOUN AK-
 REMPHTHO OUTRAUNEIL / LABOCH PHERACHI AMENBOL BĒCH OSTAOUA BEL- 2030

241. Horus is identified with Helios; see ll. 988–89 below.

242. That is, thirty-six Greek letters.

243. For this material, see PGM IV. 1294 and n.

244. That is, the inquiry of the spirit of the dead man (l. 1950). See PGM IV. 2140–41; 2005–7.

245. Referring to the palindrome cited also in PGM IV. 1797–99.

246. ἀγῶνῃ is a general term which sometimes, as here, indicates a spell whose primary purpose is not to "attract" for sexual purposes. The same noun, without a qualifying word, is the title of a "Love spell of attraction." For a parallel to the usage of this passage, cf., e.g., PGM IV. 2441. [E.N.O.]

247. The ass is associated with Seth/Typhon. See PGM IV. 259–60 and n.

THŌ; I adjure you, dead spirit, by the powerful and inexorable god and by his holy
 2035 names, to stand beside me in the / coming night in whatever form you used to
 have, and inform me whether you have the power to perform the NN deed; immediately,
 immediately; quickly, quickly!”

Then go quickly to where [someone] lies buried or where something has been
 2040 discarded, if you do [not] have a buried body; / spread the hide under him at about
 sunset. Return [home], and he will actually be present and will stand beside you on
 2045 that night. And he describes to you how he died, but first he tells you if / he has the
 power to do anything or to perform any service.

And take a leaf of flax and with the black ink which will be revealed to you, paint
 on it the figure of the goddess who will be revealed to you, and paint in a circle this
 2050 spell (and place on his head / the leaf which has been spread out and wreath him
 with black ivy, and he will actually stand beside you through the night in dreams,
 and he will ask you, saying, “Order whatever you wish, and I do it”): “PHOUBEL
 2055 TAUTHY ALDE MINŌOURITHI / SENECHŌ CHELĒTHICHITIATH MOU CHŌ ARIANTA
 NARACHI MASKELLI (formula) AEBITHŌ ACHAIL CHAŌSOUNISOU SOUNIARTE
 2060 NŌPH ARCHEREPHTHOUMI / BOLPHAI ARŌCHŌ ABMENTHŌ PHORPHORBA
 CHNOUCHIOCHOIME; I adjure [you], dead spirit, by the Destiny of Destinies,²⁴⁸ to
 2065 come to me, NN, on this night, on this night, and / agree to the act of service for me.
 And if you don’t, expect other chastisements.”

And when he agrees, rise up immediately and take a roll of hieratic papyrus and
 write on it with the black ink which will be revealed to you the figure which will be
 2070 revealed to you,²⁴⁹ / and write in a circle this spell and offer it to him, and straight-
 way he will attract, even if he is unmanageable, immediately without delaying a
 single day.

But often there will be no need for the leaf of flax, but in the second spell²⁵⁰ the
 2075 papyrus / sheet²⁵¹ is to be placed there after you have commanded the act of service
 for you. He attracts and causes one to be ill, and he sends dreams and restrains, and
 he obtains revelations by dreams as well. These are the things which this single spell
 2080 accomplishes. Depending on what you are performing,²⁵² / alter only the passage
 with the usual items.²⁵³ Most of the magicians, who carried their instruments²⁵⁴
 with them, even put them aside and used him as an assistant. And they accom-
 2085 plished the preceding things with all dispatch. / For [the spell] is free of excessive
 verbiage, immediately carrying out as it does the preceding things with all ease.

Spell: “I say to you, chthonic daimon, for whom the magical material of this
 2090 female (of this male) has been embodied on / this night: proceed to where this fe-
 male (or this male) resides and bring her to me NN either during the middle of the
 night or quickly. Perform the NN deed because the holy god OSIRIS KMĒPHI

248. See on this concept PGM III. 120 and n.

249. The figure is not extant. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

250. This refers to a variant in another spell available to the author but not included in the PGM.

251. Preisendanz suggests, in the apparatus ad loc., that this sheet refers to the hide of the ass mentioned in IV. 2014.

252. Preisendanz follows the papyrus and reads *πρὸς τό, τὸ πρᾶσσεis*, but this is surely impossible Greek. The easiest change is *πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πρᾶσσεis*, but the sense seems to require something like *πρὸς ὃ τι ποτὲ πρᾶσσεis*, “for whatever you do,” or “depending on what(ever) you do.” [E.N.O.]

253. This is apparently a reference to the formulas given as *κοινόν, κοινά* found elsewhere in the PGM.

254. Probably this is a reference to instruments such as were found in Pergamon. See R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Ergänzungsheft* 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1905).

SRÖ²⁵⁵ wishes and commands it of you. Fulfill, daimon, what / is written here. And after you have performed it, I will pay you a sacrifice. But if you delay, I will inflict on you chastisements which you cannot endure. And perform for me the NN deed, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” 2095

The black ink of the procedure / is this: The hide is inscribed with blood of an ass²⁵⁶ from the heart of a sacrificial victim, with which is mixed the soot of a coppersmith. But the leaf of flax is inscribed with falcon’s blood, with which is mixed the soot of a goldsmith. / But the leaf of the hieratic papyrus is inscribed with cel’s blood, with which acacia is mixed. 2100 2105

Do these things in this manner and, once you have performed them, you may know with what a marvelous nature this process is endowed, since in all case / it considers the implements as the assistant. But guard yourself with whatever protection you want. 2110

And this is the figure²⁵⁷ written on the hide: A lion-faced form of a man wearing a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be a serpent. / And around all his left hand let an asp be entwined, and from the mouth of the lion let fire breathe forth. 2115

The figure written onto the leaf of flax is this: Hekate²⁵⁸ with three heads and six hands, holding / torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle the head of a maiden with sandals bound on her feet. 2120

And inscribed on the piece of papyrus: Osiris clothed / as the Egyptians show him.²⁵⁹ 2125

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 2125–39

*A restraining seal for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use in divination], and also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]:²⁶⁰ Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris / and from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and make a ring on which have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet / a skeleton (the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these should be an owl-eyed cat with its paw on a gorgon’s head; in a circle around [all of them?], these names: IADÖR INBA NICHAIOPLEX BRITH. 2130 2135

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

255. The names come from the Egyptian and mean “Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince” (or “ram”). [R.K.R.]

256. For the application, see PGM IV. 2015, 2220. On the blood of the ass, see D. Wortmann, “Das Blut des Seth,” *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30; also Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 276, commenting on *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353B.

257. For this figure, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 53; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 499–501 with *Tafel* V, 2a and 2b.

258. For pictures of Hekate *triformis* on gemstones, see Bonner, *SMA*, nos. 64, 66; cf. no. 156; Delarte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 189, nos. 252, 253, *254, *254 (bis); Mouterde, *Glaive* 67–71 (see above, n. 220).

259. This prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian. The Egyptian Osiris is presented here in his capacity as god of the dead. For his ability to send demons and spirits of the dead, cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 16, “The Contending of Horus and Seth,” Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* I, spell 335, pt. II. [R.K.R.]

260. Reading *τοῦτω*(ι) with the papyrus, instead of Preisendanz’s *τοῦτω*(ν).

PGM IV. 2140–44

- 2140 *Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses:²⁶¹ On a flax leaf write these things: "AZĒL BALEMACHŌ" (12 letters).²⁶²

Ink: [Made] from red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen, and flax. Write [on the leaf] and put it in the mouth [of the corpse].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 2145–2240

- 2145 *Divine assistance from three Homeric verses:²⁶³

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."²⁶⁴

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."²⁶⁵

- 2150 / "and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."²⁶⁶

If a runaway carries these verses inscribed on an iron lamella,²⁶⁷ he will never be found. Likewise, attach the same lamella / to someone on the point of death, and you will get an answer²⁶⁸ to everything you ask him. Whenever anyone thinks he is under a spell, let him pronounce the verses while sprinkling with sea water and . . . against enchantments. A contestant with the / tablet stays undefeated, just as also a charioteer who carries the tablet along with a lodestone; and the same is true in court; also, these are the things for a gladiator to carry. Attach it to a criminal who has been executed, speak / the verses in his ear, and he will tell you everything you wish. Insert the lamella into his wound, and you will have a great blessing with regard to your superiors and masters and others as well, for you will have honor, / trust. It also keeps off daimons and wild animals. Everyone will fear you; in war you will be invulnerable; when you ask you will receive; you will enjoy favor; your life will change; and you will be loved by any woman or man you have contact with. / You will have honor, happiness; you will receive inheritances, have good fortune, be unaffected by potions and poison; you will break spells and conquer your enemies.

Here is the the formula to be spoken when you immerse the lamella.²⁶⁹

261. See PGM IV. 1990 and n.

262. That is, in Greek letters.

263. In the papyrus these three verses from Homer are written in exceptionally large letters. Cf. PGM IV. 470–74; 821–24, where magical power is ascribed to the same verses. See the note on PGM IV. 470.

264. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. In Homer, the referent of "he" is Odysseus.

265. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. The quotation includes only a portion of the Homeric sentence. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who "saw." The text of *Il.* 10. 521 here and at PGM IV. 822 differs slightly, though not so as to offset the sense of that of PGM IV. 472.

266. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

267. The use of iron lamellae (as opposed to those of lead, silver, gold, and tin) is comparatively rare in magic (but cf. PGM VII. 382). See the discussion by A. M. Tupet, *La Magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1976) 39–43. An iron lamella engraved with magical words is housed in the Louvre; see A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1933) 108, no. 205. [R.D.K.]

268. The Greek verb rendered "you will get an answer to" could also mean "he will hear." Perhaps the former is the correct rendering, and the passage is expressive of the ancient notion that individuals on the point of death have prophetic power (see, e.g., *Il.* 16. 843–61, where the dying Patroclus prophesies the death of Hector; *Il.* 22. 355–66, where the dying Hector does the same of Achilles; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 605–28, 1370–96, 1516–55, where the aged Oedipus, his death approaching, delivers prophecies; and Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 607–29, where Dido utters a prophetic curse shortly before committing suicide. [H.M.]

269. Immersing the lamella is part of the consecration; see S. Eitrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *SO* 19 (1939): 57–85.

The formula: / “NN, leave the sweet light and also render me whatever service I require of you whenever I call you (add the usual) because I conjure you by the gods of the underworld GOGGYLORYGCHE OMBROLIGMATE²⁷⁰ THOËRYSËRIS. / Render me the service for which I summon you.” Speak this formula that invokes all supernatural powers.

Consecrating the plaque: Go, I say, into a clean room. Set up a table, on which you are to place a clean linen cloth and flowers of the season. / Then sacrifice a white cock, placing beside it 7 cakes, 7 wafers, 7 lamps; pour a libation of milk, honey, wine, and olive oil.

Here is the formula to be spoken when you consecrate the plaque: “Come to me! You who are master above the earth and below the earth, / who look to the west and the east and gaze upon the south and the north, O master of all, Aion of Aions! You are the ruler of the universe, Ra, Pan,²⁷¹ (H)ARPENCHNOUBI / BRINTATË-NÏPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAÏPHI IA IOY IYÏ AII OYÏ AEËIOYÏ BAUBÏ BAUBÏ PHORBA PHORBA OREOBAGRA ÏYOÏËA ER.” Speak too the formula that invokes Necessity: “MASKELLI (formula) IARCHTHA ECHTHABA CHOIX IABOUCH IABÏCH,” and the one that / invokes all supernatural powers.

So much for the ritual of consecration.²⁷² *Here are the operations for specific purposes:*

For an oracle: Write as follows on a bay leaf in myrrh mixed with blood from someone who has died by violence: “ABRAA, you are the one who reveals all things MARIAPHRAX.” / Then put it under the lamella.

For wrecking chariots: Burn garlic and a snake’s slough as an offering, and write on a tin plaque: ²⁷³ “NEBOUTOSOUALËTH BEU ERBËTH PAKERBËTH and ÏNOUPH; overturn him, NN, and his / companions.” Bury the tablet for 3 days in the grave of someone who died untimely; he will come to life for as long as it stays there.

For spells that restrain: Write on a seashell in the ink²⁷⁴ mentioned below, adding / Typhon’s blood.²⁷⁵ Then you are to bury the shell in the tomb of someone who died untimely, when the moon stands in opposition to the sun. What you are to write is the 3 Homeric verses,²⁷⁶ and the following: “IÏ BOLCHOSËTH IAKOUBIAI IÏ PATATHNAX / ERBËTH IÏ PAKERBËTH.” The lamella is to be carried, as in the examples at the beginning.

For popularity spells and love spells: Write “MYRI MYRI NES MACHESNÏN” on a gold tablet, after putting it under / the iron one for 3 days. When you remove it, carry it, keeping yourself clean all the while.

For fetching spells. Burn roses and sumac as an offering; take myrtle leaves and write on them in ink: “STHENEPIÏ ARRÏRIPHRAÏS YYYY / IIII fetch her, NN, for him, NN.” Recite the formula²⁷⁷ and put the magical substance under the lamella.

270. This and the preceding *voces magicæ* can be translated and mean, “you with the round snout,” and “you who lap rain.” [H.M.]

271. The interpretation of the god Pan as Aion and as god of the All is based on the assumed etymology of the name (cf. also PGM XIII. 980: $\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$, “One and the All”). See F. Brommer, “Pan,” *PRE.S* 8 (1956): 1005–6.

272. See above on PGM IV. 2186.

273. That is, the iron tablet that has been consecrated, not the tin plaque just described.

274. That is, the myrrh ink mentioned at the end of the spell.

275. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see PGM IV. 2100 and n.

276. See for these verses PGM IV. 2145–51.

277. Presumably, this formula is the one previously mentioned (“that invokes all supernatural pow-

You are to add some single-stemmed wormwood to the myrrh ink. Let the lamella
 2240 be worn on a cord; get it from the places where / the woolworkers have their shops.
 *Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 2241–2358

*Document to the waning moon.²⁷⁸

Spell:

“Hail,²⁷⁹ Holy Light, Ruler of Tartaros,
 Who strike with rays; hail, Holy Beam, who whirl
 Up out of darkness and subvert all things
 2245 With aimless plans. / I’ll call and may you hear
 My holy words since awesome Destiny
 Is ever subject to you. Thrice-bound goddess,
 Set free yourself. Come, rage against him, NN.
 For Klotho will spin out her threads for you.
 Assent, O blessed one, ere I hold you
 2250 As hateful, ere I seize your / sword-armed fist,²⁸⁰
 And ere you grieve, O god in maiden form.
 You’ll, willy-nilly, do the NN task
 Because I know your lights in full detail,
 And I am your priest of good offices, /
 2255 Your minister and fellow witness, Maid.
 What must take place, this you cannot escape.
 You’ll, willy-nilly, do the NN task.
 I now adjure you by this potent night,
 In which your light is last to fade away,
 2260 In which / a dog opens, closes not, its mouth,
 In which the bar of Tartaros is opened,
 In which forth rages Kerberos, armed with
 A thunderbolt, Bestir yourself, Mene,
 Who need the solar nurse, guard of the dead, /
 2265 You I implore, Maid, by your stranger beams,²⁸¹
 You I implore,²⁸² O cunning, lofty, swift,
 O crested one, who draw swords, valiant,
 Healer, with forethought, far-famed, goading one,
 2270 Swift-footed, brave, crim/son, Darkness, Brimo,
 Immortal, heedful, Persian, pastoral,
 Alkyone, gold-crowned, the elder goddess,
 Shining, sea-goddess, ghostly, beautiful,
 The one who shows, skiff-holder, aiming well,

ers”), ll. 2186, 2204–5. The “magical substance” is usually material taken from the person to be “fetched.” See Glossary, s.v. “Material, magical.”

278. The correct reading here is *Δέλτος ἀποκρουστικὴν πρὸς Σελήνην*. [E.N.O.]

279. These iambic trimeters, many of which are metrically faulty or even collapse almost completely, have been adapted as the reconstructed Hymn 17; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 250–53. The text is frequently uncertain and the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

280. The magician claims later to have done so (l. 2328).

281. For *ξευη τ’ Αυγη* read *ξευην αυγην*; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 251, apparatus ad loc.

282. The conclusion of the line is lost. Here a long list of what seem to be epithets, now mostly corrupt, has been inserted. The translation usually follows the conjectures proposed by Heitsch, although many are questionable.

Self-gendered, wearing / headband, vigorous, 2275
 Leader of hosts, O goddess of Dodona,
 Of Ida,²⁸³ e'er with sorrows fresh, wolf-formed,
 Denounced as infamous, destructive, quick,
 Grim-eyed, shrill-screaming, Thasian, Mene,
 O Nethermost one, beam-embracer, savior,
 World-wide, dog-shaped, / spinner of Fate, all-giver, 2280
 Long-lasting, glorious, helper, queen, bright,
 Wide-aimer, vigorous, holy, benign,
 Immortal, shrill-voiced, glossy-locked, in bloom,
 Divine, with golden face, delighting / men, 2285
 Minoan, goddess of childbirth, Theban,
 Long-suffering, astute, malevolent.
 With rays for hair, shooter of arrows, maid;
 I²⁸⁴ truly know that you are full of guile
 And are deliverer from fear; as Hermes,
 The Elder, chief of all magicians, I
 Am Isis' father.²⁸⁵ Hear: Εὐ ΦΟΡΒΑ
 BRIMŌ SACHMI NEBOUTO / SOUALĒTH. 2290
 For I have hidden this²⁸⁶ magic symbol
 Of yours, your sandal, and possess your key.
 I opened the bars of Kerberos, the guard
 Of Tartaros, / and premature night I 2295
 Plunged in darkness. I whirl the wheel for you;
 The cymbals I don't touch.²⁸⁷ Gaze at yourself:
 Lo! As you see yourself, you'll wonder at
 The mirror, love charm of the Nile's goddess,²⁸⁸
 Until you cast the dark light from your eyes.
 What you must do, / this you must not escape. 2300
 You'll, willy-nilly, do this task for me,
 Marc, Kore, dragoness, lamp, lightning flash,
 Star, lion, she-wolf, Αἰὼ ἔῃ.
 A sieve, an old utensil, is my symbol,²⁸⁹

283. The papyrus reads *εἰδεα*, which Wessely, whom Preisendanz follows, emends to *Ἰδαία*. This epithet means "belonging to Ida," a mountain range in Crete or Phrygia. Cf. *PGM V*. 455–56; *LXX*. 14, and Betz, "Fragments," 293 with n. 30; H. von Geisau, "Idaia," *KP* 2 (1979): 1337.

284. Here the spell that preceded the list of epithets is resumed. Some connective material may have been lost. [M.S.]

285. The elder Hermes is the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos (Thoth) who was thought to be older than the Greek god. On *Hermes/Thoth* as the father of Isis, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3, 352A–B, and 12, 355F–356A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 263. See also *PGM IV*. 99–101, where Thoth is the father. On the topic, see also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 136 n. 4; Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* III, p. cxxvii. [R.K.R.]

286. Reading *τό* for *τοῦτο*. That the symbol was the sandal is shown by the later reference to it in ll. 2334–35. The "symbols" of the gods were thought not to be mere signs of them but objects and formulas by which they could be controlled. [M.S.] See also Betz, "Fragments," 291.

287. Reading *δ'οὐχ* and understanding the negative to refer to both verbs, as suggested by L. Koenen. The magician threatens to strike: he will not perform actions that would prevent the impending eclipse. [M.S.]

288. Reading *Νειλω(ι) Ἰ(σ)ιδος χαριν κατοπτρ(οι οι)*. For *ἀθρέω* with *ἐν*, see the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. Sturzius, 13. 20. [M.S.]

289. Perhaps "you" instead of "my" should be read (also l. 2311). Cf. the similar list in *PGM VII*. 780–85. [M.S.]

- 2305 And one morsel of flesh, a piece / of coral,
 Blood of a turtledove, hoof of a camel,
 Hair of a virgin cow, the seed of Pan,
 Fire from a sunbeam, colt's foot, spindle tree,
 Boy love, bow drill, a gray-eyed woman's body
 2310 With legs outspread, a black sphinx's / pierced vagina:
 All of these are the symbol of my power.
 The bond of all necessity will be
 Sundered, and Helios will hide your light
 At noon, and Tethys will o'erflow the world,²⁹⁰
 2315 Which you inhabit. Aion's / quaking; heaven
 Will be disturbed; Kronos, in terror at
 Your pole²⁹¹ o'erpowered by force, has fled to Hades
 As overseer of the dead below.
 The Moirai throw away your endless thread,
 Unless you check my magic's winged shaft,²⁹² /
 2320 Swiftest to reach the mark. For to escape
 The fate of my words is impossible:
 Happen it must.²⁹³ Don't force yourself²⁹⁴ to hear
 The symbols forward and then in reverse
 Again. You'll, willy-nilly, do what's needed.
 Ere useless light becomes your fate, do what /
 2325 I say, O Maid, ruler of Tartaros.
 I've bound your pole with Kronos' chains, and with
 Awesome compulsion I hold fast your thumb.
 Tomorrow does not come unless my will
 2330 Is done. / To Hermes, leader of the gods,
 You promised²⁹⁵ to contribute to this rite.
 Aye, in my power I hold you. Hear, you who
 Watch and are watched. I look at you, you look
 At me. Then, too, I'll speak the sign to you:
 2335 Bronze sandal of her / who rules Tartaros,
 Her fillet, Key, wand, iron wheel, black dog,
 Her thrice-locked door, her burning hearth, her shadow,
 Depth, fire, the governess of Tartaros,
 Fearing the Furies, those prodigious daimons,²⁹⁶ /
 2340 You've come? You're here? Be wroth, O maid, at him,
 NN, foe of heav'n's gods, of Helios-
 Osiris²⁹⁷ and of Isis, his bedmate.

290. Reading *κλυζήσει* for *κουφισει*. Helios' light is the moon's because the moon shines with it (see above). He will hide it in the south, because that is where the sun goes to hide in the winter. Tethys is the goddess of the primordial waters. [M.S.]

291. Reading *πολον* for *σου νουν* with H. van Herwerden, "De carminibus e papyris acgyptiacis erutis et eruendis," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. 16 (1888): 342. [M.S.]

292. Understanding *μαγείης τῆς ἐμῆς* as equivalent to the dative (commendation may not be necessary), and reading *ἀναγκασ(θ)ῆς*. [M.S.]

293. Reading *ἦν δεῖ γενέσθαι* for *ὁ δεῖ γενέσθαι*. [M.S.]

294. Reading *σα(υ)τήν* with Preisendanz, ad. loc. [M.S.]

295. Reading *ἐννευσα* for *ἐνευσας*. [M.S.]

296. Reading nominatives for accusatives. [M.S.]

297. Although the link between Helios and Osiris is possible through the connection with Sarapis,

As I instruct you, hurl him to this ill
 Because, Kore, I know your good and great /
 Majestic names, by which heav'n is illumined, 2345
 And earth drinks dew and is pregnant; from these
 The universe increases and declines;

EUPHORBA PHORBA PHORBOREOU PHORBA PHORBOR PHORBOR PHORBOR BOR-
 BORPHA ÊRPHOR / PHORBAIÔ PHORBOR PHORBOR BOROPH PHORPHOR BOR 2350
 PHORBOR AÔ IÔÊ PHORBORPHOR EUPHOR BOPHOR EUOIEÔ PHÔTH IÔPHÔTH
 IÔPHÔTH PHÔTHIÔPH AÔÔÔTHÔ ÔAI IÔ EÔÔIÔ HAHABA EE ÊÊ IOYY ÔÔÔ OYYY
 AEËIOUÔ / YYY mistress, Harken-techtha,²⁹⁸ who sits beside Lord Osiris, Michael, 2355
 Archangel of angels, the god who lights the way, perform for me.”

Protective charm of the procedure . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The translation is based on the edition in Preisendanz, but several emendations by Morton Smith have been accepted (see the notes); see his article “The Hymn to the Moon, PGM IV 2242–2355,” *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. L. Koenen et al. (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1981) 643–54.

PGM IV. 2359–72

***Business spell:** Take orange beeswax and / the juice of the acria plant and of 2360
 ground ivy and mix them and fashion a figure of Hermes²⁹⁹ having a hollow bot-
 tom, grasping in his left hand a herald's wand and in his right a small bag. Write on
 hieratic papyrus these names, and you will see continuous business: / “CHAIÔCHEN 2365
 OUTIBILMEMNOUÔTH ATRAUCH. Give income and business to this plase, because
 Psentebeth³⁰⁰ lives here.” Put the papyrus inside the figure and fill in the hole with
 the same beeswax. Then deposit it in a wall, at an inconspicuous place, / and crown 2370
 him on the outside, and sacrifice to him a cock, and make a drink offering of Egyp-
 tian wine, and light for him a lamp that is not colored red.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2373–2440

***Charm for acquiring business and for calling in customers**³⁰¹ to a workshop or 2375
 house or wherever you put it. / By having it, you will become rich, you will be suc-
 cessful. For Hermes made this for the wandering Isis.³⁰² The charm is marvelous
 and is called “*the little beggar*.”

Take beeswax that has not been heated, which is known as bee gluc, and fashion /
 a man having his right hand in the position of begging and having in his left a bag 2380
 and a staff. Let there be around the staff a coiled snake, and let him be dressed in a
 girdle and standing on a sphere that has / a coiled snake, like Isis. Stand it up and 2385

the older link between Osiris and Re may be of influence here. See A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21. [R.K.R.]

298. Harkentechtha is a male god (see Glossary s.v.); thus he is not to be addressed by “mistress,” a title belonging to the moon goddess of the preceding hymn. See also PGM IV. 2004 and n.

299. Here Hermes is portrayed as the god of merchants and of commerce. See PGM V. 390–99.

300. This name means “the son of the female falcon.” Cf. Jacoby in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., who fails to recognize the female definite article, a fact that precludes the identification with Horus, the falcon god. [R.K.R.]

301. LSJ renders κατακλητικόν (spell) “for invoking,” but Eitrem, in Preisendanz's apparatus, is probably right in translating “charm for calling in customers.” See on this point Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 102; see also PGM CXXIV. 7.

302. The wandering of Isis refers to her as the widow of Osiris searching for his body. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356D–E; 39, 366F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 315, 452. For wax figurines associated with the cult of Isis, see Diodorus Sic. I. 21. 5–6 and the commentary by A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I, EPRO* 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1972): 93–94.

erect it in a single block of hollowed-out juniper, and have an asp covering the top
 2390 as a capital.³⁰³ Fashion him during the new moon and consecrate / it in a celebrating
 mood, and read aloud the spell over his members, after you have divided him into
 three sections—repeating the spell four times for each member. For each member
 write on strips of papyrus made from a priestly scroll, with ink of cinnabar, juice of
 2395 wormwood, and myrrh. When you have set it / up high on the place you have
 chosen, sacrifice to it a wild [ass]³⁰⁴ with a white forehead and offer it whole and
 roast the inward parts over the wood of willow and thus eat it.

2400 *Now this is what is to be written on [each] strip of papyrus. The spell on the /*
bag: “EPH EROUCHIÖ CHÖRAI DARIDA MÊTHEUEI ABACHTHIE EMESIE ECHENĒ
 IAE IEN EBAPS PHNEÖA ENTHÖNICHAEINTHA TROMOCHMOUSÖ THERAÖCHEIN
 2405 SASI SAMACHIÖTH OUASA AMAKARALA KAIÖS / LASOI.” Upon the head: “ÖAI IĒ
 ĒIÖ NAÖ OULABETHEN THERMATH ENESIE.” On the neck: “THALAA MEMARACHÖ
 CHETH THROU PHEN PHTHAI.” On the right shoulder: “ĒMAA CHNA THOU
 2410 BÖLERI.” On / the left: “ARIAÖ IĒE SYPISO ITHEN BACHTHIPHĒRPSOI THENIBON.”
 On the belly: “AMAMAMAR AIHI OU MAMÖ MOU OMBA.” On the sacred bone:
 2415 “IANOA PHTHOUTHÖ OTHOM MATHATHOU.” / On the right thigh: “ARIN THEA
 RAGNI MĒTHETHIÖ CHRĒ IĒ IĒ ERE.” On the left thigh: “ĒI ĒIN YEAIÖ ERENPS
 2420 TEPHĒT PARAOU ANĒI.” On the private parts: “ĒERÖTHĒSONĒEN / THNIBITH EU-
 ECHEN.” On the right shin: “MIANIKOUĒI BIOUS.” On the left: “CHNOU TOUÖY-
 MOUCHOS ONIÖ.” Under the sole of the right foot: “OURANION.”³⁰⁵ On the left:
 2425 / “ANOUPSIE.” On the back of the buttocks: “ETEMPSIS PSPHOPS IAIÄĒĒIOO.” On
 the snake the name “Agathos Daimon,” which is, as Epaphroditus³⁰⁶ says, the follow-
 2430 ing: / “PHRĒ ANÖI PHÖRCHÖ PHYYY RORPSIS OROCHÖÖI,” but as on the paper
 which I found the spell was changed thus: “Harponknouphi” (formula).

2435 *This is the spell for the rite:* “I receive / you as the cowherd who has his camp
 toward the south, I receive you for the widow and the orphan.³⁰⁷ Therefore, give me
 2440 favor, work for my business. Bring to me silver, gold, clothing, / much wealth for
 the good of it.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2441–2621

* **Spell of attraction:**³⁰⁸ (implements: those for a lunar burnt offering); it attracts those who are uncontrollable and require no magical material³⁰⁹ and who come in one day. It inflicts sickness excellently and destroys powerfully, sends dreams beau-

303. The clause ὀρνυκτόν . . . κεκρυμμένον is obscure and not clearly related to its context. Preisendanz understands the snake to be buried in the basket which is put under the figure. The reference is apparently to the *cista mystica* which contained the snake and was carried on the head. See Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 11 and Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 222–26; H. Leisegang, “The Mystery of the Serpent,” in *The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, Bollingen Series XXX. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 194–260.

304. The papyrus has only here and in I. 3148 ἀγριον which Jacoby emends to (ὄν)ἀγριον, “wild ass.” Eitrem suggests ἄγριον κριόν, “wild ram.”

305. In Greek, “heavenly.”

306. Apparently the papyrus refers to another author by the name Epaphroditos, but nothing is known about him.

307. Cf. I. 2375. See also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 31. The widow and orphan refer to Isis and Horus; cf. PGM III. 542–43. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 450. For the importance of hospitality in the myth of the wandering Isis, cf. C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956) 41–42; Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 59–62. [R.K.R.]

308. This spell is similar to, and perhaps even parallel to, PGM IV. 2622–2784.

309. The translation of these adjectives is tentative and follows Preisendanz's German translation,

tifully, accomplishes dream revelations marvelously and in its many / demonstrations has been marveled at for having no failure in these matters. 2445

Burnt offering: Pachrates,³¹⁰ the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. / For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, / he ordered double fees to be given to him. 2450 2455

Take a field mouse³¹¹ and deify it in spring water. And take two moon beetles³¹² and deify them in river water, and take a river crab and fat of a dappled goat that is virgin and dung of a dog- / faced baboon, 2 eggs of an ibis, 2 drams of storax, 2 drams of myrrh, 2 drams of crocus, 4 drams of Italian galingale, 4 drams of uncut frankincense, a single onion. Put all these things onto a mortar with the mouse and the remaining items / and, after pounding thoroughly, place in a lead box and keep for use. And whenever you want to perform a rite, take a little, make a charcoal fire, go up on a lofty roof, and make the offering as you say / this spell at moonrise, and at once she comes. 2460 2465 2470

Spell:³¹³ “Let all the darkness of clouds be dispersed for me, and let the goddess AKTIŌPHIS shine for me, and let her hear my holy voice. For I come / announcing the slander³¹⁴ of NN, a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who says, ‘I have seen the greatest / goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.’ It is she, NN, who said, ‘I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.’ She, NN, said it, not I, AKTIŌPHIS ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHORPHORBA SATRAPAMMŌN CHOIRIXIĒ, flesh eater. Go to her NN and take away her sleep and put a burning heat in her soul,³¹⁵ punishment and frenzied passion in her thoughts, / and banish her from every place and from every house, and attract her here to me, NN.” 2475 2480 2485 2490

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and go backward as you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being attracted / so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.³¹⁶ 2495

For causing illness: Use these spells, adding, “Make her, NN, whom NN bore, ill.”

And for destroying: Say, “Draw out her breath, Mistress, from the nostrils of her, NN.”

except for *μονομηέρους* which is rendered in analogy to *μονόωρος* in ll. 2450–51. Cf. also the parallels in PGM IV. 2071–72; XXXVI. 361.

310. The prophet Pachrates may be identical with Pankrates described by Lucian, *Philops.* 34. See K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74; Nock, *Essays* I, 183–84.

311. On the role of the mouse in magic, see W. R. Dawson, “The Mouse in Egyptian and Later Medicine,” *JEA* 10 (1924): 83–86.

312. On the moon beetle and its association with the moon, see Abt, *Apologie* 126–27.

313. Although only the general term for “spell” is used here (*λόγος*), the contents show clearly that the passage is a “slander spell” (*διαβολή*). Cf. PGM IV. 2622 in the title of a spell. [E.N.O.]

314. For this slander, cf. ll. 2574–2621, below. The projection of a ritual violation onto the party to be affected by the spell, esp. the statement, “It is NN who said that. It is not I who said that,” is also found in numerous older Egyptian texts. See F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l’Égypte antique* I (Paris: Geuthner, 1925) 56–58; Pritchard, *ANET* 327 and note b. In PGM cf. also III. 5, 114–15; VII. 593–619. On the whole subject, see S. Eitrem, “Die rituelle ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ,” *SO* 2 (1924): 43–61. [R.K.R.]

315. On the “burning of the soul,” see R. Ganszyniec, “Das Märchen der Pythia,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920): 170–71. Cf. also Glossary, s.v. “Soul.”

316. Differently Preisendanz, who understands: “otherwise she will die.”

- 2500 / *For sending dreams*: Say, "Become like the god whom she worships."
For dream revelations: Say, "Stand beside me, Mistress, and reveal to me about the NN matter." And she will stand beside you and will tell everything without deception.
- 2505 Do not therefore perform the rite rashly, and do not perform / it unless some dire necessity arises for you. It also possesses a protective charm against your falling, for the goddess is accustomed to make airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm and to hurl them from aloft down to the ground. So consequently / I have also thought it necessary to take the precaution of a protective charm so that you may perform the rite without hesitation. Keep it secret.
- 2510 Take a hieratic papyrus roll and wear it around your right arm with which you make the offering. And these are the / things written on it: "MOULATHI CHERNOUTH AMARŌ MOULIANDRON, guard me from every evil daimon, whether an evil male or female." Keep it secret, son.³¹⁷
- 2520 *The second spell*, after you make / the first sacrifice, but it is better for you to say it before you make the offering. This is the spell attached to the first:
 "[I offer you]"³¹⁸ this spice, O child of Zeus,
 Dart-shooter, Artemis, Persephone,
 2525 Shooter of deer, night-shining, / triple-sounding,
 Triple-voiced, triple-headed Selene,
 Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
 And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
 Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets,
 And you who oft frequent the triple way
 And rule the triple decades with three forms
 2530 / And flames and dogs. From toneless throats you send
 A dread, sharp cry when you, O goddess, have
 Raised up an awful sound with triple mouths.
 Hearing your cry, all worldly things are shaken:
 2535 The nether gates and Lethe's / holy water
 And primal Chaos and the shining chasm
 Of Tartaros. At it ev'ry immortal
 And ev'ry mortal man, the starry mountains,
 Valleys and ev'ry tree and roaring rivers,
 2540 And e'en the restless sea, / the lonely echo,
 And daimons through the world, shudder at you,
 O blessed one, when they hear your dread voice.
 Come here to me, goddess of night, beast-slayer,
 Come and be at my love spell of attraction,
 Quiet and frightful, and having your meal
 2545 Amid the graves. / And heed my prayers, Selene,
 Who suffer much, who rise and set at night,
 O triple-headed, triple-named MĒNĒ
 MARZOUNĒ, fearful, gracious-minded, and
 Persuasion.³¹⁹ Come to me, horned-faced, light-bringer,

317. The term "son" seems to indicate the magician's apprentice. Cf. similar references in *PGM* I. 193; XIII. 214, 313, 343, 719, 755, etc. [E.N.O.]

318. These dactylic hexameters, with the usual mixture of accurate and faulty meter, also form the reconstructed Hymn 20, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 257–59. [E.N.O.]

319. For the personified Persuasion (*Peithō*) as an attribute and companion of Aphrodite cf. *PGM*

Bull-shaped, horse-faced goddess, who howl doglike; /
 Come here, she-wolf, and come here now, Mistress 2550
 Of night and chthonic realms, holy, black-clad,
 'Round whom the star-traversing nature of
 The world revolves whene'er you wax too great.
 You have established ev'ry worldly thing,
 For you engendered everything on earth
 And from / the sea and ev'ry race in turn 2555
 Of winged birds who seek their nests again.
 Mother of all, who bore Love, Aphrodite,
 Lamp-bearer, shining and aglow, Selene,
 Star-coursing, heav'nly, torch-bearer, fire-breather, /
 Woman four-faced, four-named, four-roads' mistress. 2560
 Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
 O heav'nly one, harbor goddess, who roam
 The mountains and are goddess of the crossroads;
 O nether one, goddess of depths, eternal,
 Goddess of dark, come to my / sacrifices. 2565
 Fulfill for me this task, and as I pray
 Give heed to me, Lady, I ask of you."

Use this for the spells of coercion, for it can accomplish anything, but do not use
 it frequently to Selene / unless the procedure which you are performing is worthy 2570
 of its power. For the hostile offerings, when some slander is involved, use the fol-
 lowing stele, speaking thus:

This is the 3rd coercive spell:

"She,³²⁰ NN, is burning for you, /
 Goddess, some dreadful incense³²¹ 2575
 And dappled goat's fat, blood and filth,
 The menstrual flow of virgin
 Dead, heart of one untimely dead,
 The magical material
 Of dead dog, woman's embryo,
 Fine-ground wheat husks, / sour refuse, 2580
 Salt, fat of dead doe, and mastic,
 And myrtle, dark bay, barley,
 And crab claws, sage, rose, fruit pits and
 A single onion, / garlic, 2585
 Fig meal, a dog-faced baboon's dung,
 And egg of a young ibis.
 And this is sacrilege! She placed
 Them on your altar; she set
 The flaming fire / to juniper 2590
 Wood strips and slays a seahawk
 For you, a vulture and a mouse,
 Your greatest myst'ry, goddess.

LII. 15, where the connection is not clear, however, and esp. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* passim.

320. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears just below in PGM IV. 2643–74. [E.N.O.]

321. On the accusations, see PGM IV. 2475 and n.

- She said, too, that these deeds of pain
 You had performed so harshly:
 For she said that you slew a man
 2595 And drank the / blood of this man
 And ate his flesh, and she says that
 Your headband is his entrails
 That you took all his skin and put
 It into your vagina,
 [That you drank] sea falcon's blood and
 That your food was dung beetle.
 But Pan before your very eyes
 Shot forth his seed unlawful. /
 2600 A dog-faced baboon now is born
 Whene'er there's menstrual cleansing.
 But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
 Selene, Only Ruler,
 Swift Fortune of daimons and gods:
 NEBOUTOSOALĒTH IŌI LOIMOU LALON, in Syriac: ETARONKON BYTHOU PNOU-
 2605 SAN / KATHINBERAO ESTOCETH ORENTHA AMELCHERIBIOUTH SPHNOUTHĪ,
 Brand her, NN, the lawless one,
 With bitter retributions,
 Whom I again will duly charge
 To you in hostile manner.
 I call you, triple-faced goddess
 Mene, O light-beloved
 2610 Hermes / and Hekate at once,
 Male-female child together;
 MOUPHŌR PHORBA, Queen Brimo, dreaded and lawful, and Dardania, All-seeing
 One, come here, IŌIĒ, Virgin, Goddess of crossroads and bull snake are you,
 2615 Nymph and mare bitch and head / -nodder and Minoan and powerful, EALA-
 NINDŌ, come here, ATEĒS ENIDELIDIMA, Mistress Phaiara, MĒDIXA EMITHĒNIŌ,
 come to me, INDEOMĒ, come here, MEGAPHTHĒ; she will come here. Attract her
 2620 NN to me very quickly, / I myself will clearly convict her of everything, goddess,
 which she had done while sacrificing to you."
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2622–2707

- 2625 *Slander spell³²² to Selene,³²³ which works for everything and every rite. For it
 attracts in the same hour, it sends dreams, it causes sickness, produces / dream vi-
 sions,³²⁴ removes enemies when you reverse the spell, however you wish. But above
 all be protected by a protective charm and do not approach the procedure³²⁵ care-
 lessly or else the goddess is angry.³²⁶

322. See on this term PGM IV. 2475 and n.

323. For a similar slander spell, see PGM IV. 2471–92.

324. The papyrus has *ονειροθανπτει*. For conjectures, cf. the apparatus ad loc., and for parallels PGM IV. 3172, 3197. See also K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920): 31–32.

325. Here *πραγματεία* seems to be a variant for the usual expression *πράγμα*, "rite."

326. The present tense is strange here; it should perhaps be read *μηνει*, "will be angry." Preisendanz's translation has a future ring, too ("sonst zürnt die Göttin").

/ *Preparation of the procedure's protective charm*: Take a magnet that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty-lettered spell that is all vowels, / and wear it around your body. 2630 2635

The following name is what is written: "ΑΕΥΘ̄ ΕΙΕ ΘΑ ΕΘ̄Ε ΕΘΑ ΘΙ ΕΘΙ." For this spell is completely capable of everything. But perform this ritual in a holy manner, not frequently / or lightly, especially to Selene. At any rate, burn upon pieces of juniper wood an offering of Cretan storax and begin the spell. 2640

The spell which is to be spoken:

"For³²⁷ you the woman NN burns
 Some hostile incense, goddess;
 The fat of dappled goat, and blood, /
 Defilement, embryo of 2645
 A dog, the bloody discharge of
 A virgin dead untimely,
 A young boy's heart,³²⁸ with barley mixed
 In vinegar, both salt and
 A deer's horn, mastic, myrtle and
 Dark bay, and mix at random,
 And crab claws, / sage, rose, pits for you 2650
 And single onion, garlic,
 Mouse pellets, dog-faced baboon's blood,
 And egg of a young ibis—
 And what is sacrilege, she placed
 These on your wooden altar
 Of juniper. She, NN, / said 2655
 That you had done this matter;
 For she said that you slew a man
 And drank the blood of this man
 And ate his flesh, and she says that
 Your headband is his entrails,
 That you took all his skin and put
 It into your vagina, /
 [That you drank] blood of a sea falcon 2660
 And your food was dung beetle.
 And Pan before your very eyes
 Shot forth his seed unlawful:
 A dog-faced baboon now is born
 From all the menstrual cleansing,
 But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
 Selene, / Only Ruler, 2665
 The Fortune of daimons and gods,

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH IŌ IMI BOULLON ENOURTILAIĒ (otherwise: NOUMILLON

327. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatelectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears above in PGM IV. 2574–2610. [E.N.O.]

328. On rituals involving a boy's heart, see A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972): 32–37, 69–72.

ESORTILĒS BATHYPNOU SANKANTHARA MIBERATH ENTOCHE THŌ RENTHA IM-
OUĒ SORENTHA).

2670 Mark her, NN, the lawless one,
With bitter / retributions,
Whom I again will duly charge
To you in hostile manner
(Of all unlawful things that she
Has said against the goddess
Detail as many as you want),
For by the spell she forces
Even the rocks to burst asunder.”

2675 *This, then, is the beneficent offering* / which you sacrifice on the first and second
day (but on the third day, with the coercive spell also sacrifice the offering that is
coercive). *The beneficent offering, then, is:* Uncut frankincense, bay, myrtle, fruit
2680 pit, stavesacre, / cinnamon leaf, kostos. Pound all these together and blend with
Mendesian³²⁹ wine and honey, and make pills the size of beans.

2685 *The coercive offering:* When you say the foregoing coercive spell / on the third
day, also make an offering: it is a field mouse, fat of a virgin dappled goat, magic
material of a dog-faced baboon, egg of an ibis, river crab, a perfect moon beetle,
2690 single-stemmed wormwood picked at sunrise,³³⁰ magic material of a dog, / a single
clove of garlic. Blend with vinegar. Make pills and stamp with a completely iron
ring, completely tempered, with a Hekate³³¹ and the name BARZOU PHERBA.

2695 *The protective charm which you must wear:* / Onto lime wood write with ver-
milion this name: “ΕΠΟΚΟΠΤ ΚΟΠΤΟ ΒΑΙ ΒΑΙΤΟΚΑΡΑΚΟΠΤΟ ΚΑΡΑΚΟΠΤΟ ΧΙΛΟ-
2700 ΚΟΠΤΟ ΒΑΙ (50 letters). Guard me from every daimon of the air / on the earth and
under the earth, and from every angel and phantom and ghostly visitation and
enchantment, me NN.” Enclose it in a purple skin, hang it around your neck and
wear it. /

2705 *A protective charm on a silver leaf:*³³²

Ω Ϝ Υ Ϟ Ϟ Θ Ϟ Υ ζ
ς ε ϝ π π Ϟ' ⊥

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2708–84

2710 *Another love spell of attraction: Take some Ethiopian cumin and fat of a dap-
pled virgin goat / and after putting the offering together, offer it to Selene on the
13th, 14th, on an earthen censer, on a lofty housetop, on coals. *Spell:*

329. See on this term *PGM* I. 85 and n.

330. Cf. on this point *PGM* IV. 286–87. It is likely that the magician recognizes that he is to per-
form a “ritual for picking a plant” (*Βοτανήσπορις*).

331. The ring is supposed to have an image of Hekate.

332. For an example of a phylactery consisting of magical characters, see D. Jordan, “A Silver Phylac-
tery at Istanbul,” *ZPE* 28 (1978): 84–86.

- “Come,³³³ giant Hekate, Dione’s³³⁴ guard, /
 O Persia, Baubo Phroune,³³⁵ dart-shooter, 2715
 Unconquered, Lydian,³³⁶ the one untamed,
 Sired nobly, torch-bearing, guide, who bends down
 Proud necks, Kore, hear, you who’ve parted / gates 2720
 Of steel unbreakable. O Artemis,
 Who, too, were once protectress, mighty one,
 Mistress, who burst forth from the earth, dog-leader,
 All-tamer, crossroad goddess, triple-headed,
 Bringer of light, august / virgin, I call you 2725
 Fawn-slayer, crafty, O infernal one,³³⁷
 And many-formed. Come, Hekate, goddess
 Of three ways, who with your fire-breathing phantoms
 Have been allotted dreaded roads and harsh /
 Enchantments. Hekate I call you with 2730
 Those who untimely passed away and with
 Those heroes who have died without a wife
 And children, hissing wildly, yearning in
 Their hearts.”³³⁸ (*But others* say, “with form of winds”). /
 “Go stand above her (NN) head and take 2735
 Away from her sweet sleep. And never let
 Eyelid come glued to eyelid, but let her
 Be sore distressed with wakeful cares for me. /
 And if she lies with someone else in her 2740
 Embrace, let her thrust him away and take
 Me in her heart. Let her abandon him
 At once and stand before my door subdued
 In soul at longing for my bed of love.³³⁹ /
 But you, O Hekate, of many names, 2745
 O Virgin, Kore, Goddess, come, I ask,
 O guard and shelter of the threshing floor,
 Persephone, O triple-headed goddess,
 Who walk on fire, cow-eyed BOUORPHORBĒ³⁴⁰
 PANPHORBA PHORBARA AKTIŌPHI
 ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH 2750

333. The dactylic hexameters, which are frequently interrupted by *voces magicæ* and other formulas, also form the reconstructed Hymn 21. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 259–60, where the hymn concludes with IV. 2764 but adds 2784 as a kind of postscript. [E.N.O.]

334. Dione is a name of Aphrodite; see LSJ, s.v. Here in this syncretistic hymn the name belongs to Hekate, as on the magical tools from Pergamon; see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergefäß* 23–24.

335. The epithet of Hekate may be related to the frog (cf. PGM XXXVI. 235). The animal played an important role in magic as a representative of the gods of the underworld. See M. Weber, “Frosch,” *RAC* 8 (1970): 524–38.

336. The use of the name “Lydian” with Hekate-Artemis should be noted in connection with the possible Lydian origin of Artemis. See on this point Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* I, 116–17.

337. The translation follows Reitzenstein’s emendation (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) of ἀνδ-
 ναια as Ἀἰδωναία. This epithet of the goddess of Hades also occurs in PGM IV. 2855. Cf. LSJ, s.v. Ἀἰδωναῖος; Suppl. s.v.

338. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9. 75. As the apparatus points out, the verse may be corrupt.

339. φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνή is a Homeric *hendiatys*. Cf. *Il.* 3. 445; 6. 25. See PGM IV. 2910.

340. The *voces magicæ* here seem intended as a part of the verse pattern and they have, however awkwardly, been treated as such. [E.N.O.]

Beside the doors, PYPYLĒDEDEZŌ
And gate-breaker; Come Hekate, of fiery
Counsel, I call you to my sacred chants.

- 2755 MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA who burst forth from
the earth, / earth mare, OREOPĒGANXX MORMORON TOKOUMBAI” (add the usual),
“In frenzy³⁴¹ may she (NN) come fast to my doors,
Forgetting children and her life with parents,
2760 And loathing all the race of men / and women
Except me (NN), but may she hold me alone
And come subdued in heart by love’s great force.
2765 THENŌB³⁴² TITHELĒB ĒNŌR TENTHĒNŌR. / Many-named One, KYZALEOUSA
PAZAOUS; wherefore, KOLLIDĒCHMA and SAB set her (NN) soul ablaze with un-
resting fire. Both ŌRIŌN and MICHAĒL who sits on high: you hold the seven wa-
2770 ters / and the earth, keeping in check the one they call the great serpent, AKRO-
KODĒRE³⁴³ MOUISRŌ CHARCHAR ADŌNAI ZEUS DĒ DAMNAMENEUS KYNŌBIOU
2775 EZAGRA” (add the usual). “IŌ, all-powerful goddess / and IŌ all-guarding one; IŌ,
all-sustaining One, ZĒLACHNA: and SAAD SABIŌTHE NOUMILLON NATHOMEINA,
2780 always KEINĒTH, stalwart THĒSEUS ONXX,³⁴⁴ prudent DAMNAMENEUS, / avenging
goddess, strong goddess, rite of ghosts, Persia SEBARA AKRA.

Haste quickly. Let her now stand at my doors” (add the usual).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 2785–2890

- 2785 *Prayer to Selene for any spell:³⁴⁵
“Come³⁴⁶ to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
Night’s ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
2790 O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
O queen who drive your car on equal course
With Helios, who with the triple forms
Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
2795 The stars. You’re Justice³⁴⁷ and the Moira’s threads:
Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos³⁴⁸

341. See on this point the discussion by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101–2. On the subject of madness caused by magic, see J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrhunderts*, *Bibliothek der Altertumswissenschaften*, N. F. 2. Reihe, Band 36 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970) 44–49.

342. These lines (2764–84) retain some traces of hexameters, but only the last line comes close to being a complete line. [E.N.O.]

343. The formula seems to be textually mutilated. Cf. for similar passages PGM II. 23–24; V. 424–27; VII. 680–83. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

344. ONXX may refer to the stone onyx which was used in magic. Cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 582.

345. For a discussion of this hymn, see K. Kerényi, “Die Göttin Natur,” *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86, esp. 68–79.

346. These dactylic hexameters, some of which show the usual irregularities, also form the reconstructed Hymn 18. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 253–55. [E.N.O.]

347. Dike (Justice), the daughter of Zeus, has here and in l. 2860 become an epithet of the underworld goddess. For the association of Dike with underworld deities, see A. Dihle, “Gerechtigkeit,” *RAC* 10 (1976): 243–45.

348. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain at this point. Traditionally, the names of the Furies were Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaira (Apollodorus, *Bib.* I. 1. 4; *Orph. Hymn.* 69. 2). If the three Furies are intended here, the reading of Persephone will have to be changed to Tisiphone, as suggested by Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. See also H. Funke, “Furien,” *RAC* 8 (1971): 699–722, esp. 704–5.

Three-headed, you're Persephone, Megaira,
 Allekto, many-formed, who arm your hands /
 With dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks 2800
 Of fearful serpents on your brow, who sound
 The roar of bulls out from your mouths, whose womb
 Is decked out with the scales of creeping things, /
 With pois'nous rows of serpents down the back, 2805
 Bound down your backs with horrifying chains
 Night-Crier, bull-faced, loving solitude,
 Bull-headed, you have eyes of bulls, / the voice 2810
 Of dogs; you hide your forms in shanks of lions,³⁴⁹
 Your ankle is wolf-shaped, fierce dogs are dear
 To you, wherefore they call you / Hekate, 2815
 Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like
 Dart-shooter³⁵⁰ Artemis, Persephone,
 Shooter of deer, night / shining, triple-sounding, 2820
 Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
 Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
 And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
 Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets, /
 And you who oft frequent the triple way 2825
 And rule the triple decades,³⁵¹ unto me
 Who'm calling you be gracious and with kindness
 Give heed, you who protect the spacious world
 At night, before whom daimons quake in fear /
 And gods immortal tremble, goddess who 2830
 Exalt men, you of many names, who bear
 Fair offspring, bull-eyed, horned, mother of gods
 And men, and Nature,³⁵² Mother of all things,
 For you frequent Olympos, / and the broad 2835
 And boundless chasm you traverse. Beginning
 And end are you, and you alone rule all.
 For all things are from you, and in you do
 All things, Eternal one, come to their end.
 As everlasting / band around your temples 2840
 You wear great Kronos' chains,³⁵³ unbreakable
 And unremovable, and you hold in
 Your hands a golden scepter. Letters 'round
 Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave 2845
 To you to wear that all things stay steadfast:
 Subduer and subdued, mankind's subduer,
 And force-subduer; Chaos, too, you rule.

349. The phrase describing Hekate/Artemis as standing between two lions points to the older concept of the "queen of the animals." See W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur Grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (München und Wien: Oldenbourg, 1971) esp. 223–25.

350. Ll. 2819–26 are parallel to IV. 2523–28.

351. For the term "triple decades," see PGM IV. 2527.

352. For the concept of Nature, see Glossary, s.v.; for the epithet "mother of all things" see *Orph. Hymn.* 10. 1: *παμμήγετρα*. See also PGM IV. 2917.

353. See also PGM IV. 3084–3124 and S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," *Université libre de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II: *Mélanges J. Bidez*, vol. I (Bruxelles: Secrétariat de l'institut, 1934) 351–60.

2850 ARARACHARA/RA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE.

Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
 I burn³⁵⁴ for you this spice, O child of Zeus,
 Dart-shooter, heav'nly one, goddess of harbors,
 Who roam the mountains, goddess of crossroads, /
 2855 O nether and nocturnal, and infernal,
 Goddess of dark, quiet and frightful³⁵⁵ one,
 O you who have your meal amid the graves,³⁵⁶
 Night, Darkness, broad Chaos: Necessity
 Hard to escape are you; you're Moira and /
 2860 Erinys,³⁵⁷ torment, Justice and Destroyer,
 And you keep Kerberos in chains, with scales
 Of serpents are you dark, O you with hair
 Of serpents, serpent-girded, who drink blood, /
 2865 Who bring death and destruction, and who feast
 On hearts, flesh eater, who devour those dead
 Untimely, and you who make grief resound
 And spread madness, come to my sacrifices,
 2870 And now for me do you fulfill / this matter."

Offering for the rite: For doing good, offer storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, a fruit pit. But for doing harm, offer magical / material of a dog and a dappled goat (or in a similar way, of a virgin untimely dead).

2880 *Protective charm for the rite:* Take a lodestone and on it have carved / a three-faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is
 2885 done, / clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a violent death. Then make a food offering to it³⁵⁸ and say the same spell at the time
 2890 of the / ritual.³⁵⁹

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2891–2942

*Love spell of attraction:

*Offering to the star of Aphrodite:*³⁶⁰ A white dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh and parched wormwood. Make this up together as pills and offer them to the star
 2895 on pieces of vine / wood or on coals. And also have the brains of a vulture for the compulsion, so that you may make the offering. And also have as a protective charm a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer,
 2900 tied to your left arm with / Anubian thread.³⁶¹

354. The following lines are similar to those at PGM IV. 2522–29, but their order occasionally differs.

355. On δασπλήτι, "frightful," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 2. 14 (said of Hekate). [E.N.O.]

356. On eating amid graves, cf., e.g., Tibullus l. 5. 49–56, esp. 53–54.

357. The goddess is here identified with Erinys, the avenging deity. This identification is somewhat inconsistent with l. 2798, where the three Furies are named; the same is true of Moira (l. 2859) as compared with the three Moirai (ll. 2795–96). See PGM IV. 1418, 2339; V. 191; and IV. 2798 with n.

358. The term *παράθεις* refers to an offering of food. See PGM I. 23, 39; XIII. 1012. Cf. Eitrem's and Preisendanz's translation: "leg ihn (cinc Weile) beiseite." Wünsch thinks of the term as a cover ("Hülle").

359. For the meaning of the phrase, see PGM V. 230.

360. The star of Aphrodite is the planet Venus.

361. On the Anubian thread see PGM I. 147 and n.

Compulsion element of the rite:

“But,³⁶² if as goddess you in slowness act,
 You will not see Adonis rise from Hades,³⁶³
 Straightway I’ll run and bind him with steel chains; /
 As guard, I’ll bind on him another wheel 2905
 Of Ixion;³⁶⁴ no longer will he come
 To light, and he’ll be chastized and subdued.
 Wherefore, O Lady, act, I beg: Attract
 NN, whom NN bore, to come with rapid step
 To my door,³⁶⁵ me, NN, whom NN bore, /
 And to the bed of love, driven by frenzy, 2910
 In anguish from the forceful goads—today,
 At once, quickly. For I adjure you, Kythere,³⁶⁶

NOUMILLON BIOMBILLON AKTIŌPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHROU-
 RĒXIA THERMIDOCHĒ BAREŌ / NĒ.” 2915

Hymn of Compulsion:

“O foam-born Kythereia, mother of
 Both gods and men, etherial and chthonic,
 All-Mother Nature, goddess unsubdued,
 Who hold together things,³⁶⁷ who cause the great
 Fire to revolve, who keep the ever-moving
 BARZA³⁶⁸ / in her unbroken course; and you 2920
 Accomplish everything, from head to toes,
 And by your will is holy water mixed,
 When by your hands you’ll move RHOUZŌ³⁶⁹ amid
 The stars, the world’s midpoint which you control.
 You move holy desire into the souls
 Of men / and move women to man, and you 2925
 Render³⁷⁰ woman desirable to man

362. This is a curious and confused passage. Ll. 2902–15 contain scattered snatches of verses which are obviously parts of dactylic hexameters. Ll. 2916–28 contain lines which are relatively accurate hexameters, but 2929–39 are a mixture of metrical and nonmetrical lines. Nevertheless, the whole passage has been arranged and reconstructed as Hymn 22; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 260–61. Since the tone and purpose of the whole passage seems hymnic, the translation has been made in verse but with an occasional faulty line. [E.N.O.]

363. On the cult of Adonis in Egypt and the problem concerning his “resurrection,” cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15 and, with further literature, Nilsson, *GGR* II, 35 n. 2; 650, n. 4; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 320–22.

364. Because he attempted to make love to Hera, wife of Zeus, the mythical king Ixion was condemned by being fastened to an ever-turning wheel. The myth of Ixion was very popular in antiquity. See Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, pp. 200–205 (with plates); P. Weizsäcker, in Roscher 2, 766–72, s.v. “Ixion”; H. von Geisau, “Ixion,” *KP* 3 (1979): 31–32.

365. Preisendanz states that *ἐν προθύροις* is a tag from Homer, *Od.* 10. 220.

366. Two traditional epithets of Aphrodite occur here closely together: *Kythērē* in l. 2912 and *Kythereia* in l. 2915. The name may refer to the island of Kythera which was believed to be Aphrodite’s birthplace and which had a temple of Aphrodite Urania. See LSJ, s.v.; E. Meyer, “Kythera,” *KP* 3 (1979): 423.

367. The reading of this epithet is uncertain. See the apparatus.

368. The word BARZA is Persian and means “shining light.” See Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100.

369. Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100, assumes that RHOUZŌ is confused with the Persian magical word ZOURŌ. See also K. Preisendanz, “Zuro,” in Roscher 6, pp. 763–64.

370. Preisendanz prints *τιθησι*, the reading of the papyrus, but the third person is certainly wrong here. The simplest correction is that of Wessely: *τιθησ σὺ*, and that is what is translated here.

Through all the days to come, our Goddess Queen,
Come to these chants, Mistress

ARRŌRIPHRAΣI GŌTHĒTINI, Cyprus-born, SOUI ĒS THNOBOCHOU THORITHE
2930 STHENEPIŌ, Lady / SERTHENEΒĒĒI, and inflict fiery love on her, NN, whom NN
bore,

So³⁷¹ that for me, NN, whom NN bore,
She melt with love through all the days to come
But, blessed RHOUZŌ, grant this to me, NN:
Just as into your chorus 'mid the stars

A man unwilling you attracted to
2935 Your bed for intercourse, / and once he was
Attracted, he at once began to turn
Great BARZA, nor did he cease turning, and
While moving in his circuits, he's aroused:
wherefore attract to me, her, NN, whom NN bore,
To bed of love. But goddess Cyprus-born
Do you now to the full fulfill this chant." /

2940 If you see the star shining steadily, it is a sign that she has been smitten, and if it is
lengthened like the flame of a lamp, she has already come.³⁷²

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2943–66

***Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness:** Take the eyes of a bat and release
2945 it alive, and take / a piece of unbaked dough or unmelted wax and mold a little
dog; and put the right eye of the bat into the right eye of the little dog, implanting
also in the same way the left one in the left. And take a needle, thread it with the
2950 magical material and / stick it through the eyes of the little dog, so that the magical
material is visible. And put the dog into a new drinking vessel, attach a papyrus
strip³⁷³ to it and seal it with your own ring which has crocodiles with the backs of
2955 their heads attached,³⁷⁴ and / deposit it at a crossroad after you have marked the
spot so that, should you wish to recover it, you can find it.

Spell written on the papyrus strip: "I adjure you three times by Hekate PHOR-
2960 PHORBA BAIBŌ PHŌRBŌRBA, that she, NN, lose the fire in her eye or even / lie
awake with nothing on her mind except me, NN, alone. I adjure by Kore, who has
become the Goddess of Three roads, and who is the true mother of . . . (whom you
2965 wish), PHORBEA BRIMŌ NĒRĒATO DAMŌN BRIMŌN SEDNA / DARDAR, All-seeing
one, IŌPĒ, make her, NN, lie awake for me through all [eternity]."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

371. The verse resumes here after a few lines of prose; however, the NN-formula does not scan.

372. The last word of this section is either ἤξεν ("she has come") or ἤξεν ("it has attracted"). The magical sense—or the result—is the same in either case. For the rare aorist of ἄγω cf. PGM IV. 2934: ἤξας. Preisendanz prints ἤξεν in the first, ἤξεν in the second edition, but in the index lists the word under ἤκω. [E.N.O.]

373. πῦττακίζω means "attach a label" (LSJ, s.v.) in the sense of attaching a papyrus strip on which writing is placed; cf. below, ll. 2956–66. [E.N.O.]

374. Whether this means "head to head" (thus Preisendanz) or "tail to tail" (thus LSJ) or "head to tail" is uncertain. Paired crocodiles appear on seals in all these positions, but head to tail is far more frequent. [M.S.] The crocodile was sacred to Sobek, with whose cult sacred prostitution seems to have been associated. Thus there may be a link with the erotic theme of this spell. See H. Thompson, "Two Demotic Self-Dedications," *JEA* 26 (1940): 68–78. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 2967–3006

* Among the Egyptians herbs are always obtained like this: ³⁷⁵ the herbalist first purifies his own body, then sprinkles with natron ³⁷⁶ and / fumigates the herb with resin from a pine tree after carrying it around the place 3 times. ³⁷⁷ Then, after burning *kyphi* and pouring the libation of milk as he prays, he pulls up the plant while invoking by name the daimon to whom the herb / is being dedicated and calling upon him to be more effective for the use for which it is being acquired. 2970 2975

The invocation for him, which he speaks over any herb, generally at the moment of picking, is as follows: ³⁷⁸

“You were sown by Kronos, you were conceived by Hera, / you were maintained by Ammon, you were given birth by Isis, you were nourished by Zeus the god of rain, you were given growth by Helios and dew. ³⁷⁹ You [are] the dew of all the gods, you [are] the heart of Hermes, you are the seed of the primordial gods, you are the eye / of Helios, ³⁸⁰ you are the light of Selene, ³⁸¹ you are the zeal of Osiris, ³⁸² you are the beauty and the glory of Ouranos, you are the soul of Osiris’ daimon which revels in every place, you are the spirit of Ammon. As you have exalted Osiris, so / exalt yourself and rise just as Helios rises each day. Your size is equal to the zenith of Helios, your roots come from the depths, but your powers are in the heart of Hermes, your fibers are the bones of Mnevis, ³⁸³ and your / flowers are the eye of Horus, ³⁸⁴ your seed is Pan’s seed. I am washing you in resin as I also wash the gods ³⁸⁵ even [as I do this] for my own health. You also be cleaned by prayer and give us power as Ares and Athena do. I am Hermes. I am acquiring you with Good / Fortune and Good Daimon both at a propitious hour and on a propitious day that is effective for all things.” 2980 2985 2990 2995 3000

After saying this, he rolls the harvested stalk in a pure linen cloth (but into the place of its roots they threw seven seeds of wheat and an equal number of barley, after mixing them with honey), / and after pouring in the ground which has been dug up, he departs. 3005

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

375. On plant picking, see PGM IV. 286 and n.

376. Natron, a natural compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate, was the primary mineral used for purification in Egypt. See J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 193–94. [R.K.R.]

377. On the ritual of walking in a circle, see W. Pax, “Circumambulatio,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52. For a humorous example, see Propertius, *Eleg.* 4. 8. 81–86. [E.N.O.]

378. Cf. the divinization of persons in Egyptian religion, documentation of which lists the individuals alongside various gods so as to identify them. See A. Massert, “A propos des ‘listes’ dans les textes funéraires et magiques,” *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 227–46. [R.K.R.]

379. On the significance of dew (*δρόσος*), see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 424, where he refers to PGM XII. 234. [E.N.O.]

380. The association of the eye and the sun (Helios) was widely known in antiquity. See P. Wilpert (S. Zenker), “Auge,” *RAC* 1 (1950) esp. 961–63.

381. That is, the light of the moon.

382. The term *σπουδή* (“zeal”) is troublesome. Preisendanz translates “Würde” (majesty). Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [E.N.O.]

383. The epithet Mnevis, which occurs in PGM VII. 445; XIXa. 6, is the hellenized form of the Egyptian *Mn-wr*, the name of the holy bull of Heliopolis, the incarnation of the sun god *Prē*. See Diodoros Sic. 1. 84. 4; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, with Griffiths commentary, 425. On the matter, see W. Helck, “Mnevis,” *KP* 3 (1975): 1374–75; L. Kákosy, “Mnevis,” *LdÄ* 4 (1980): 165–67.

384. For the eye of Horus, see PGM III. 421–26.

385. The reference is to the daily temple cult and care for the divine statues, including their washing, dressing, and feeding. See Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 87–88. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 3007–86

* A tested charm of Pibechis³⁸⁶ for those possessed by daimons:³⁸⁷ Take oil of unripe olives with the herb mastigia and the fruit pulp of the lotus, and boil them with colorless marjoram / while saying, “IÔËL ÔS SARTHIOÏMI EMÔRI THEÔCHIP-SOITH SITHEMEÔCH SÔTHË IÔË MIMIPSÔTHIOÏPH PHERSÔTHI AEËIOYÔ IÔË EÔ CHARI PHTHA, come out from NN” (add the usual). *The phylactery*: On a tin lamella write / “IAËO ABRAÔTH IÔCH PHTHA MESENPSIN IAÔ PHEÔCH IAËO CHAROK,” and hang it on the patient. It is terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears. After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure. *This is the conjuration*: “I conjure you by the god of the Hebrews, / Jesus,³⁸⁸ IABA IAË ABRAÔTH AIA THÔTH ELE ELÔ AEÔ EOY IIBAECH ABARMAS IABARAOU ABELBEL LÔNA ABRA MAROIA BRAKIOÏN, who appears in fire, who is in the midst of land,³⁸⁹ snow, and fog, TANNËTIS,³⁹⁰ let your / angel, the implacable, descend and let him assign the daimon flying around this form, which god formed in his holy paradise, because I pray to the holy god, [calling] upon AMMÔN IPSENTANCHÔ (formula). I conjure you, LABRIA IAKOUTH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMM (formula) AÔTH IATHA-BATHRA CHACHTHABRATHA CHAMYN CHEL ABRÔÔTH OUABRASILÔTH HALLËLOU IELÔSAI IAËL. I conjure you by the one who appeared to Osrael³⁹¹ in a shining pillar and a cloud by day,³⁹²/who saved his people from the Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because of his disobedience.³⁹³ I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal / which Solomon³⁹⁴ placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or Ebousacus or Cherseus or Pharisacus,³⁹⁵ tell / whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by god, light-bearing,³⁹⁶ unconquerable, who knows what is in the heart of every living being, the one who formed of dust the race of humans,³⁹⁷ the one who, after bringing them out from obscurity, packs together

386. Pibechis was a legendary magician from Egypt. See K. Preisendanz, “Pibechis,” *PRE* 20 (1941): 1310–12. Pibechis is Egyptian *P3-bk*, “the falcon.” [E.N.O.]

387. The following section contains numerous references to Jewish traditions. For a discussion and collections of parallel passages, see W. L. Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” *HTR* 31 (1938): 191–203; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 256–64.

388. On the peculiar epithet “Jesus the god of the Hebrews,” see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 14, nn. 1–2; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 260, n. 4; Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” 193–94; H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 21965) 210 (on c. Cels. 4. 34); Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 113; A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 7–9. Cf. *PGM* XXIIb. 18.

389. See on this “field” *PGM* XIV. 8; LXXVII. 5.

390. TANNËTIS may be equivalent to the Egyptian *Ta-nt-N.t*, “She of Neith.” Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [R.K.R.]

391. Osrael is a variant form of Israel. See *PGM* IV. 1816 with n.

392. Cf. on this legendary tradition *LXX* Ex 13: 21–22 and parallels. See J. Daniélou, “Feuersäule (Lichtsäule, Wolkensäule),” *RAC* 7 (1969): 786–90.

393. On the plagues of Pharaoh, see *LXX* Ex 7: 8–11: 10 and parallels.

394. The “seal of Solomon” is the name of a famous amulet in antiquity. For bibliography, see G. Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72. Placing the amulet on the tongue of Jeremiah appears to come from haggadic tradition unknown to us. See K. Preisendanz, “Salomo,” *PRE* 58 (1965): 660–704.

395. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261, n. 11, derives these names of demons from *LXX* Gn 15: 20–21; Ex 3: 8, 17, etc.: The *Xerraiotai* have become *Xeporaios* (“land daimon”), the *Φερεζαῖοι* have become *Φαρισαῖος* (which therefore has been confused with Pharisee), and the *Ἐβουσαῖοι* have become *Ἐβουσαῖος*. Cf. Dietrich, *Abraxas* 139; Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

396. Ll. 3045–52 contain prayer language apparently of Jewish origin. See the biblical parallels in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261–62.

397. Cf. *LXX* Gn 2: 7.

the clouds, waters the earth with rain / and blesses its fruit, [the one] whom every 3050
 heavenly power of angels and of archangels praises. I conjure you by the great god
 SABAÖTH, through whom the Jordan River drew back³⁹⁸ and the Red Sea, / which 3055
 Israel crossed, became impassable,³⁹⁹ because I conjure you by the one who intro-
 duced the one hundred forty languages⁴⁰⁰ and distributed them by his own
 command. I conjure you by the one who burned up the stubborn giants with
 lightning,⁴⁰¹ / whom the heaven of heavens praises, whom the wings of the cheru- 3060
 bim⁴⁰² praise. I conjure you by the one who put the mountains around the sea [or]
 a wall of sand and commanded the sea not to overflow.⁴⁰³ The abyss obeyed;⁴⁰⁴ and
 you obey, / every daimonic spirit, because I conjure you by the one who causes the 3065
 four winds to move⁴⁰⁵ together from the holy aions, [the] skylike, sealike, cloud-
 like, light-bringing, unconquerable [one]. I conjure [you] by the one in holy Jerusa-
 lem,⁴⁰⁶ before whom the / unquenchable fire burns for all time,⁴⁰⁷ with his holy 3070
 name, IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN (formula), the one before whom the fiery Gehenna
 trembles, flames surround, iron bursts asunder and every mountain is afraid from
 its foundation. / I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, by the one who oversees the 3075
 earth and makes its foundations tremble,⁴⁰⁸ [the one] who made all things which
 are not into that which is.⁴⁰⁹

And I adjure you, the one who receives this conjuration, / not to eat pork,⁴¹⁰ and 3080
 every spirit and daimon, whatever sort it may be, will be subject to you. And while
 conjuring, blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face,⁴¹¹ and it
 will be assigned. Keep yourself pure, for this charm / is Hebraic and is preserved 3085
 among pure men.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

398. Cf. LXX Jos 3:13–14; Ps 113:3.

399. Cf. LXX Ex 14:27. See J. Daniélou, "Exodus," *RAC* 7 (1969):22–44.

400. Most Jewish sources speak of seventy nations and seventy languages in the world. But there are authorities who name 140 languages. For discussion and references, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 173; II, 214; V, 194–95.

401. Cf. LXX Gn 6:4; 19:24–29. See W. Speyer, "Gigant," *RAC* 10 (1978):1247–75.

402. The text has *Cherubin*. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 262, n. 8.

403. Cf. LXX Jb 38:10–11; Jer 5:22.

404. Cf. LXX Prv 8:26–29; Jb 38:30, 34.

405. Cf. LXX Ps 134:7; also Gn 8:1; Nm 11:31; Jb 28:25, etc.

406. The name is given as Hierosolymon. For the various forms of the city's name, see G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. *Σιών κτλ.*, sections A. I. 2; B. I (esp. nn. 133, 134); C. I. 2.

407. This refers to the seven-branched candelabrum (menorah) of the Jerusalem Temple. Its undying light was legendary in antiquity. See PGM IV. 1219 and n.; Ps.-Hecataeus, in Iosephus, *c. Ap.* 1. 199; LXX Ex 27:20; Lv 6:12–13; Diodorus Sic. 34. 1. 4 (also in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976], p. 180 (# 63). For additional references, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* II (1979) 297 and n. 18.

408. Cf. LXX Ps 103:32.

409. This is a reference to the doctrine of the *creatio ex nihilo*. Cf. 2 Mc 7:28; Philo, *De spec. leg.* 4.187; etc. Cf. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon, The Anchor Bible* 43 (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 38–40; G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*, *AKG* 48 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978).

410. The prohibition to eat pork is the Jewish one in this case, and not the Egyptian. Cf. LXX Lv 11:7; Dt 14:8; Is 65:4; etc. Cf. also PGM I. 105; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 5, 352F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 272.

411. On this "inspiration," see S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966) 47–49.

PGM IV. 3086–3124

3090 *Oracle of Kronos⁴¹² in great demand, called “little mill”: Take two measures of salt and grind with a handmill while saying the formula many times until / the god appears to you. Do it at night in a place where grass grows. If while you are speaking you hear the heavy step of [someone] and a clatter of iron, the god is coming bound with chains, holding a sickle.⁴¹³ But do not be frightened since you are protected by the phylactery that / will be revealed to you. Be clothed with clean linen in the garb of a priest of Isis.⁴¹⁴ Offer to the god sage together with a heart of a cat and horse manure.

The formula to be spoken while you are mixing is this: Formula: “I call you, the great, holy, the one who created the whole inhabited world, against whom the transgression was committed / by your own son,⁴¹⁵ you whom Helios bound with adamantine fetters lest the universe be mixed together, you hermaphrodite, father of the thunderbolt, you who hold down those under the earth, AIE OI PAIDALIS
3105 PHRENOTEICHEIDŌ STYGARDĒS SANKLEON / GENECHRONA KOIRAPSAI KĒRIDEU THALAMNIA OCHOTA ANEDEI; come, master, god, and tell me by necessity concerning the NN matter, for I am the one who revolted against you, PAIDOLIS
3110 MAINOLIS MAINOLIEUS.” These are to be said while the salt / is being ground.

And the formula which compels him is: “KYDOBRIS KODĒRIEUS ANKYRIEUS XANTOMOULIS.” You say these things when he appears threateningly, in order that he might be subdued and speak about the things you ask.

3115 *The phylactery / in great demand for him [is]:* On the rib⁴¹⁶ of a young pig carve Zeus holding fast a sickle and this name: “CHTHOUMILON.” Or let it be the rib of a black, scaly, castrated boar.

3120 *Dismissal:* “ANAEA OCHETA THALAMNIA KĒRIDEU / KOIRAPSIA GENECHRONA SANĒLON STYGARDĒS CHLEIDŌ PHRAINOLE PAIDOLIS IAEI, go away, master of the world, forefather; go to your own places in order that the universe be maintained. Be gracious to us, lord.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3125–71

3125 *Whenever you want a place to prosper greatly, so that those in the place or the temple where the phylactery is hidden will marvel, [use this rite]. For wherever this [phylactery] be placed, if in a temple, the temple will be talked about throughout
3130 the whole world; / if in some other place, [the place] will prosper greatly.

This is how to make [the phylactery]: Taking Etruscan wax, mold a statue three handbreadths high.⁴¹⁷ Let it be three-headed. Let the middle head be that of a sea falcon; the right, of a baboon; / the left, of an ibis. Let it have four extended wings
3135 and its two arms stretched on its breast;⁴¹⁸ in them it should hold a scepter. And let

412. For an analysis of the agrarian features of Kronos in this spell, see Eitrem, “Kronos in der Magic,” 351–60.

413. On the sickle as a weapon (also l. 3116), see A. A. Barb, “Cain’s Murder-weapon and Samson’s Jawbone of an Ass,” *JWCI* 35 (1972): 386–89.

414. For the Egyptian priestly costume, see S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 40. See also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 4, 352C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 270. [R.K.R.]

415. That is, Zeus who castrated his father Kronos.

416. The text is uncertain at this point. See the apparatus ad loc.

417. For a wax statue of this so-called pantheistic god, see S. Sauneron, “Le Nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 269–87; esp. 284–85. Cf. *PGM* XII. 121–43; XIII. 50 for this figure. [R.K.R.]

418. Probably crossed. [M.S.]

it be wrapped [as a mummy] like Osiris. Let the falcon wear the crown of Horus; the baboon, / the crown of Hermanubis;⁴¹⁹ and let the ibis wear the crown of Isis. Put into the hollow inside it a heart [made] of magnetite, and write the following names on a piece of hieratic papyrus and put them into the hollow. Next, when you have made it an iron base, stand it / on the base and put it into a little juniper wood temple at moonrise on the third day of the goddess.⁴²⁰ Then, having fixed it [firmly] in whatever place you choose, sacrifice to it a wild white-faced [falcon?],⁴²¹ and burn [this offering] entire; also pour to it, as a libation, the milk of a black cow, / the firstborn [of its mother] and the first she suckled. [By these sacrifices you will have completed the deification of the statue.] And [now] feast with [the god], singing to him all night long the names written on the strip [of papyrus] put in the hollow. Wreathe the little temple with olive and thus [you will prosper] throughout life. / And sing the same spell when you get up in the morning, before you open [your shop or temple]. *The names to be written and recited are these:*

"BICHŌ	MOUR	SOUMARTA	
BICHŌBI	SOURPHEŌ	AKERMORTHŌOUTH	
CHŌBIBEU	MOURĒTH	ANIMI	3160
NASSOUNAINTHI	ANIMOKEŌ	MIMNOUËR	
NOUNAITH	ARPAËR	IËRI	
	SANI	ANIMI	
		MIMNIMEU."	

"Give me all favor, all success, for the angel bringing good, who stands beside [the goddess] Tyche, is with you. Accordingly, give profit [and] success to this house. Please, Aion, ruler of hope, giver of wealth, O holy Agathos Daimon, bring to fulfillment all favors and / your divine oracles." Then open [your establishment] and you will marvel at the unsurpassed holy power.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 3172–3208

***Dream-producing**⁴²² **charm using three reeds:** The picking of the three reeds is to be before sunrise.⁴²³ After sunset raise the first, look / to the east and say three times: "MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANIX AEËIOYŌ LEPETAN AZARACHTHARŌ, I am picking you up in order that you might give me a dream." / Raise the second to the south and say again the "MASKELLI" formula, the vowels and "THRŌBEIA"; hold the reed and spin around; look toward the north and the west and say three times the same names, / those of the second reed. Raise the third and say the same names and these things: "IË IË, I am picking you for such-and-such a rite."

These things are to be written on the reeds: On the first: "AZARACHTHARŌ"; on the second: "THRŌBEIA"; / on the third: "IË IË."

Then take a lamp that is not painted red and fill it with pure olive oil. Take a clean strip of cloth and write down all the names. Say the same things to the lamp seven times. Let the lamp be facing east / and let it be next to a censer on which you will make an offering of lumps of frankincense. After preparing the reeds and binding them together with fibers of a date palm, make them into a kind of tripod, and

419. The name is a combination of Hermes and Anubis.

420. Third day of the goddess Selene. Cf. PGM III. 702; IV. 170; XII. 379.

421. For the emendation (ὄν)ἄγριον, see PGM IV. 2396 and n.

422. The word translated is ὀνειροδανπτάνη. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. and PGM IV. 2624–25.

423. For picking a plant, see PGM IV. 286 and n.

place the lamp on it. Let the head of the practitioner be crowned with olive branches.

3200 *Composition of the ink* with which it is necessary to write / on the reeds and the wick: single-stemmed wormwood, vetch, 3 pits of Nicolaus date palms, 3 Karian dried figs, soot from a goldsmith, 3 branches of a male date palm, sea foam.

3205 *The things to be written / and recited are these*: “I conjure you by the sleep releaser because I want you to enter into me and to show me concerning the NN matter, IERÖRIETHEDIEN THROU CHAÖRA ARPEBÖ ENDALĒLA.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3209–54

3210 **Saucer divination of Aphrodite*: Having kept oneself pure for 7 / days, take a white saucer, fill it with water and olive oil, having previously written on its base with myrrh ink: “ĒIOCH CHIPHA ELAMPSĒR ZĒL A E Ē I O Y Ō” (25 letters); and beneath the base, on the outside: “TACHIĒL CHTHONIĒ DRAXŌ” (18 letters). Wax over / with white wax. On the outside of the rim at the top: “TERMI PHILO 6 ERIKŌMA DERKŌ MALŌK GAULĒ APHRIĒL I ask” (say it 3 times). Let it rest on the floor and looking intently at it, say “I call upon you, the mother and mistress / of nymphs,⁴²⁴ ILAOUCH OBRIĒ LOUCH TLOR; [come] in, holy light, and give answer, showing your lovely shape.”

3225 Then look intently at the bowl. When you see her, welcome her and say, “Hail, very glorious goddess, ILARA / OUCH. And if you give me a response, extend your hand.” And when she extends it, expect answers to your inquiry.

But if she does not listen say, “I call upon the ILAOUCH who has begotten Himeros,⁴²⁵ the lovely Horai and / you Graces; I also call upon the Zeus-sprung Physis of all things, two-formed, indivisible, straight, foam-beautiful Aphrodite. Reveal to me your lovely light and your lovely face, O mistress ILAOUCH. / I conjure you, giver of fire, [by] ELGINAL, and [by the] great names OBRIĒTYCH KERDY-NOUCHILĒPSIN NIOU NAUNIN IOUTHOU THRIGX TATIOUTH GERTIATH GERGERIS GERGERIĒ THEITHI. I also ask you⁴²⁶ [by] the all wonderful / names, OISIA EI EI AŌ ĒY AAŌ IŌIAIAIŌ SŌTHOU BERBROI AKTEROBORE⁴²⁷ GERIĒ IĒOYA; bring me light and your lovely face and the true saucer divination, you shining with fire, bearing fire all around, stirring the land from afar, / IŌ IŌ PHTHAIĒ THOOUTHŌI PHA-EPHI. Do it.”

3250 *Preparation*: having kept yourself pure, as you learned, take a bronze drinking cup, and write with myrrh ink the previously inscribed stele which calls upon Aphrodite, / and use the untouched olive oil and clean river water. Put the drinking cup on your knees and speak over it the stele mentioned above, and the goddess will appear to you and will reveal concerning what things you wish.

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbelt.

PGM IV. 3255–74

3255 *Take an unbaked [brick] and with a bronze stylus draw an [ass] running, and on its face “IAŌ IŌ,” and on its neck in the shape of a little bell “ĒOĒOĒ,” and on its

424. For the epithet “Mistress of the Nymphs,” see *Orph. Hymn.* 52. 22–25. Aphrodite Nymphaia is discussed in Pausanias 2. 32. 7.

425. Himeros may be a personification of “the yearning of love.” See LSJ, s.v. “ἔμερος,” I. 3.

426. ἀξιῶσης, “you might ask,” could be emended to ἀξιῶ σέ, “I ask you,” and perhaps read with the following imperative as a part of the conjuration set in quotation marks. [R.D.K.]

427. The papyrus has ἀκτεβορε, which Preisendanz reads as an unattested epithet ἀκτε(ρο)βόρε, “eater of the unburied.”

back “LERTHEMINŌ,” and on its breast “[S]ABAŌTH,” and under its hooves “ABRASAX.” / Smear it with the blood of Typhon and a pig and with juice of an onion. 3260

The spell of the brick to be written down is this:

“IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH SABAŌUM KOK-
LOTOM PATATHNAX, the shaker, IŌ ERBĒTH APOMPS IAŌTH IABAŌTH SEISAŌ
PEUKRĒ, you fortunate one, TESCHŌ PATONAK PHENDE / MIEPHEOR ABIRBOLON- 3265
CHITHI RŌPHTHĒ APERMA PALELŌPS, the shaker of the world, I call upon you,
great Typhon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, because I am he, NN.
Hear me, in this business which I am performing LERTHEMINŌ AROUZORON
BATHOU / CHĒASMĒPHIS, O great, great⁴²⁸ Typhon LERTHEMINO; attend this 3270
magical operation which I am performing, because it is your great and honored
name that I am saying and writing, ABERAMENTHŌOU” (formula).

Underneath the ass: “Give her the heaving of the sea, total wakefulness⁴²⁹ of
Mendes,⁴³⁰ and give her⁴³¹ the punishments.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM V. 1–53¹

*Oracle of Sarapis, [by means of] a boy, by means of a lamp, saucer and bench: “I
call upon you, Zcus, Helios, Mithra, Sarapis, / unconquered one, Meliouchos, 5
Melikertes, Meligenetor, ABRAAL BACHAMBĒCHI BAIBEIZŌTH (ĒBAI BEBOTH)
SERIABEBŌTH AMELCHIPSITHIOUTHIPOTHŌIO PNOUTE NINTHĒRTĒROU² IY EY
ĒOŌ AIĒIA ĒĒŌIA / ĒĒAI EYĒIE ŌŌŌŌ EYĒŌ IAŌAI BAKAXICHYCH BOSIPSETĒTH 10
PHOBĒBIBŌTH, the great, great³ Sarapis SAMASPHRĒTH” (otherwise above) “O
DARGAZAS O DARMAGAS O DAPHAR YAKIABŌTH EPHIA ZELEARHTAR (AKRABAEŌE-
PHIAZALE ARBAMENOTHĪĒŌ SAMAS PHRĒTI)⁴ / METHOMĒŌS LAMARMERA OPTĒBI 15
PTĒBI MARIANOU (AKRABAEŌ EPHIAZĒLE ARBAMENOTHI ĒŌ NAMISPHRĒTI), ap-
pear and give respect to him who appeared before fire and snow, BAINCHŌŌŌCH,
for you are the one who introduced light and snow, hurler of shudderful / thunder 20
and lightning, KYPODŌKTE PINTOUCHE ETŌM THOOUT THASINAĒAK AROURON-
GOA PAPHTHA⁵ ENŌSADE IAĒ IAŌ AI AŌIAŌ EOĒY” (nine lettres): [Pronounce]:

the “A” with an open mouth, undulating like a wave;

the “O” succinctly, as a breathed threat, 25

the “IAŌ” to earth, to air, and to heaven;

the “E” like a baboon;

the “O” in the same way as above;⁶

the “E” with enjoyment, aspirating it, /

428. The repeated “great, great” is Egyptian *geminatio*. See also PGM I. 41 and n.

429. E. Hohl, *RhM* 68 (1913): 313, n. 4, restores [π]αναγρύπνιαυ in accordance with *Anth. Pal.* 7. 195. 5, where Melaeager has used παναγρύπνοιο μερίμνης. Both the noun and the verb are *hapax legomena*. [E.N.O.]

430. Mendes corresponds to Egyptian *B3-nb-Dd.t*, the ram incarnation of Prē identified with Pan and Priapus. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 451, s.v. “Mendes”; 868–71, s.v. “Widdier”; Herodotus 2. 46; Diodorus Sic. 1. 88; Strabo 16. 1. 19. [R.K.R.]

431. The translation follows Preisendanz in assuming that αὐτῇ in ll. 3273–74 is τῇ δεινα. But the fact remains that, while ὁ δεινα occurs in l. 3248, nowhere in the spell is a woman mentioned. There is really no indication that this spell is designed to affect a woman, until this last sentence. [E.N.O.]

1. Parentheses in this spell contain words that are written between the lines. For further discussion see Preisendanz, ad loc.

2. The phrase means “O god (of) all the gods.” Cf. PGM III. 144–45 and n.

3. For the meaning of “twice great,” see PGM IV. 3270 and n.

4. See l. 46 below.

5. This is equivalent to “Thoth . . . He of Ptah.” [R.K.R.]

6. According to Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 778, this means either as the “E” in l. 27 or the “O” in l. 25.

- 30 the “Y” like a shepherd, drawing out the pronunciation.⁷
 If he says, “I prophesy,” say: “Let the throne of god enter, THRONOUZATERA KYMA
 35 KYMA LYAGEU APSITADRYΣ GĒ MOLIANDRON BONBLILON PEUCHRĒ, / let the
 throne be brought in.” If it then is carried by 4 men, as, “With what are they
 crowned, and what goes before the throne?” If he says, “They are crowned with
 40 olive branches, and / a censer precedes,” [the] boy speaks the truth.

- Dismissal*: “Go, lord, to your own world and to your own thrones, to your own
 45 vaults, and keep me and / this boy from harm, in the name of the highest god,
 SAMAS PHRĒTH.”⁸ Do this when the moon is in a settled sign, in conjunction with
 50 beneficial planets or is in good houses, not when it is full; for it is / better, and in
 this way the well-ordered oracle is completed. (But in other copies “when it is full”
 has been written.)

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 54–69

- 55 ***Direct vision spell**: “EIM TO EIM ALALĒP BARBARIATH / MENE BREIO ARBA-
 THIAŌTH IOUĒL IAĒL OUĒNĒIE MESOMMIAS, let the god who prophesies to me
 come and let him not go away until I dismiss him, OURNAOUR SOUL ZASOUL /
 60 OUGOT NOOUMBIAOU THABRAT BERIAOU ACHTHIRI MARAI ELPHEŌN TABAŌTH
 KIRASINA LAMPSOURĒ IABOE ABLAMATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI.”

- 65 In a bronze cup over oil. Anoint / your right eye with water from a shipwreck
 and the left with Coptic eyepaint, with the same water. If you cannot find water
 from a shipwreck, then from a sunken skiff.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 70–95

- 70 *Take a plant *chelkbei* (?) and bugloss, strain them, burn what you strain out, mix
 [them] well with juice, and write “CHOŌ” with it on a wall. Take gallows wood
 75 and carve a hammer. With / the hammer strike the [eye]¹⁰ while saying the for-
 mula: “I conjure you by the holy names; hand over the thief who made off with it,
 80 CHALCHAK CHALKOUM CHIAM CHARCHROUM ZBAR BĒRI ZBARKOM CHRĒ / KA-
 RIŌB PHARIBOU, and by the shudderful names: A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY
 ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ.”

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|-----|-----|---------------|
| | “Ō | | | “A |
| | / Y Y | | | E E |
| 85 | I I I I | | | Ē Ē Ē |
| | Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē | | | I I I I |
| | E E E E E | | | Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē |
| | A A A A A A A | | | E E E E E E |
| | / IAŌ ŌIA | | | A A A A A A A |
| 90 | | IŌA | AEŌ | ĒŌA ŌAE.” |



- “Hand over the thief who stole it. As long as I strike the eye with this hammer, let
 95 the eye of the thief be struck, and let it swell up until it / betrays him.” While saying
 these things, strike with the hammer.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

7. Presumably, the way the formula is to be spoken; see Preisendanz’s interpretation ad loc.

8. Samas is the Canaanite solar deity Shamash, combined here with the Egyptian counterpart Prē. Cf. ll. 12–14 above.

9. CHOŌ could be Coptic KŌ which can mean “hand over,” or “put”; it would fit the sense of the spell. [R.K.R.]

10. Thus the emendation οὐ(τάριον) in Preisendanz, based on l. 91. Cf. the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 96–172

*Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist¹¹ in his letter:

"I summon you, Headless One, who created earth and heaven, who created night and day, / you who created light and darkness; you are Osoronnophris whom none has ever seen; you are Iabas; you are Iapos; you have distinguished the just and the unjust; you have made female and male; / you have revealed seed and fruits; you have made men love each other and hate each other.

"I am Moses your prophet to whom you have transmitted your mysteries / celebrated by Israel; you have revealed the moist and the dry and all nourishment; hear me.

"I am the messenger of Pharaoh Osoronnophris; / this is your true name which has been transmitted to the prophets of Israel. Hear me, ARBATHIAO REIBET ATHELEBERSETH [ARA] BLATHA ALBEU EBENPHCHI CHITASGOE IBAOTH IAÖ; / listen to me and turn away this daimon."

"I call upon you, awesome and invisible god with an empty spirit,¹² AROGOGOROBRAO SOCHOU MODORIO PHALARCHAO OOO. Holy Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him, / ROUBRIAÖ MARI ÖDAM BAABNA-BAÖTH ASS ADÖNAI APHNIAÖ ITHÖLETH ABRASAX AEOÖY; mighty Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him. / MABARRAIÖ IOEL KOTHA ATHOREBALÖ ABRAÖTH, deliver him, NN AÖTH ABRAÖTH BASYM ISAK SABAÖTH IAÖ. /

"He is the lord of the gods; he is the lord of the inhabited world; he is the one whom the winds fear; he is the one who made all things by the command of his voice."

"Lord, King, Master, Helper, / save the soul, IEOU PYR IOU PYR IAÖT IAEO IOOU ABRASAX SABRIAM OO YY EY OO YY ADÖNAIE, immediately, immediately,¹³ good messenger of God ANLALA LAI GALA APA DIACHANNA CHORYN." /

"I am the headless daimon with my sight in my feet; [I am] the mighty one [who possesses] the immortal fire; I am the truth who hates the fact that unjust deeds are done in the world; I am the one who makes the lightning flash and the thunder roll; / I am the one whose sweat is the heavy rain¹⁴ which falls upon the earth that it might be inseminated; I am the one whose mouth burns completely; I am the one who begets and destroys; / I am the Favor of the Aion; my name is a heart encircled by a serpent; come forth and follow."

Preparation for the foregoing ritual: Write the formula¹⁵ on a new sheet of papyrus, and after extending it from one / of your temples to the other, read the 6 names, while you face north saying,

"Subject to me all daimons, / so that every daimon, whether heavenly or aerial or earthly or subterranean or terrestrial or aquatic, might be obedient to me and every enchantment and scourge which is from God." / And all daimons will be obedient to you.

The beneficial sign is: >

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

11. The term ζωγράφος, usually translated "painter," is here rendered "hieroglyphist," after the suggestion of Wünsch (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

12. On the notion of "empty spirit," see J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, N.T.S. 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 41–48.

13. The letters ηδε εδε are indicated in Preisendanz as magical words, but they may be Greek misspelled for ηδη ηδη, "immediately, immediately."

14. Cf. the expression ὕδωρ ὀχεντικόν in C.H. I. 17. See also Dieterich, *Abraxas* 25.

15. The term ὄνομα apparently refers to a formula containing a number of magical words. See also the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 172–212

**Another way*:¹⁶ “In order to catch a thief I summon you, Hermes,¹⁷ immortal god, who cut a furrow down Olympos / and a holy barge, light-bearer Iao, the great immortal, shuddersome indeed to behold and shuddersome to hear. Hand over the thief whom I seek ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXENAXSONELYSŌTHNE-
180 MAREBA.” / *This formula* is to be said 2 times during the purificatory sacrifice.

Formula of bread and cheese:¹⁸ “Come to me, LISSOIN MATERNA MAUERTĒ PRE-
185 PTEKTION UN INTIKIOUS OLOKOTOUS PERIKLYSAI; / may you bring back to me what is lost and point out the thief today. I call upon Hermes, finder of thieves, Helios and the pupils¹⁹ of Helios, / two who bring to light lawless deeds, and
190 Themis,²⁰ Erinys,²¹ Ammon, and Parammon, to take control of the thief’s throat and to single him out / today, in this hour.”

Preparation: The same formula during the purificatory sacrifice: Take a faïence vessel, add water, myrrh, and calf’s-snout plant. Wet a branch of laurel [and sprinkle], / cleansing each one. Take a tripod and place it on an earthen altar, offer myrrh, frankincense, and a frog’s tongue. Take unsalted winter wheat and goat-/
200 cheese, and give to each 8 drams of winter wheat and 8 drams of cheese while saying the following formula (inscribe this name and glue it underneath the tripod):
205 “Master IAO, light-bearer, / hand over the thief whom I see.” If one of them does not swallow what was given to him, he is the thief.
210

*Tr.: W. C. Gresc.

PGM V. 213–303

215 **Hermes’ ring*.²² *Preparation of a scarab*: Taking a scarab / engraved as described below, put it on a papyrus table and put under the table a clean sheet and olive
220 twigs, scattering them about, and in the middle of the table / a small censer, burning myrrh and *kyphi*. Have ready a little faïence vessel in which there should be salve of lilies or myrrh or cinnamon. / And taking the ring put it into the salve, having in
225 advance purified [it?]²³ from everything, and burning on the censer the *kyphi* and myrrh. Leave [the ring] 3 days and, taking it²⁴ [from the table], put it in a pure place. Have at hand / for the consecration pure bread and whatever fruits are in
230 season. When you have made another [incense] offering on [a fire of] grapevine twigs, during the offering take the ring from the / salve and put it on. Anoint your-
235 self at dawn with the ointment from it and stand facing the sunrise [and] say the spell given below.

240 *Carving of a scarab*: Carve a scarab in costly green stone / and, having pierced [the stone], thread it with gold [wire?]. On the underside of the scarab engrave holy

16. That is, another spell to catch a thief. Originally this spell may have followed immediately after PGM V. 70–95 (a spell to catch a thief), but the *Stele of Jeu* (V. 96–172) was inserted between the two.

17. On Hermes, the god of thieves, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 63; W. Fauth, “Hermes,” *KP* 2 (1975): 1074–75. On the identification with IAO (ll. 176–77), see A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 1–6.

18. See on this peculiar form of magic P. de Labriolle, “Artyotyritac,” *RAC* 1 (1950): 718–20.

19. For the “eye of Helios,” see PGM IV. 2985 and n.

20. Themis is the personified Greek concept of justice, custom, and social law. See K. Latte, “Themis,” *PRE*, 2nd series 5 (1934): 1626–30.

21. On the Erinys, see PGM IV. 2860 and n.

22. On Hermes’ ring, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 294–95.

23. Presumably the ring, but the reference could be to the practitioner himself, or even to the salve. The Greek gives no indication of the object.

24. I.e., that in which it was laid.

Isis. And when you have consecrated it as written above, use it. The days in which it is proper to perform [the rite] are, [counting] from the rise / [of the new moon] 245
the 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 24th, 25th. On the others, restrain yourself.

The spell to be said to Helios: “I am Thouth, discoverer and founder of drugs and letters. Come to me, you under the earth; arouse [yourself] for me, / great daimon, 250
he of Noun,²⁵ the subterranean” (or [in other texts]: ‘the [plural] Noun the subterranean’). I am the famous Heron,²⁶ egg of the ibis,²⁷ egg of the falcon, egg of the 255
air-ranging Phoenix, having under my tongue the mud of Em;²⁸ / I wear the hide of Keph.²⁹ Unless I know what is in the minds of everyone, Egyptians, Greeks, Syr- 260
ians, Ethiopians, of every race and people, unless I know³⁰ what / has been and what shall be, unless I know their skills and their practices and their works and their 265
lives, and the names of them and of their fathers and / mothers and brothers and friends, even of those now dead, I will pour the blood of the black dog-face³¹ as a 270
drink offering in a new, faultless jar and put it on a new base and burn under it the bones of Hesies,³² and I will shout³³ / in the port of Busiris that he remained in the 275
river 3 days and 3 nights, Hesies, that he was carried by the current of the river / into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mist of the 280
air. Your belly is eaten by fish, and I will not / stop the fish chewing your body with their mouths, nor will the fish shut their mouths. I will take the fatherless boy away 285
from his mother.³⁴ The pole [of the sky] will be brought down,³⁵ and the two mountains will be one. / I will let *anoixis*³⁶ loose against you and she will do what

25. PHNOYN refers to the primordial abyss; cf. PGM III. 554 and IV. 139. PHNOYN is the Bohairic spelling of the definite article before NOYN used as a vocative. [R.K.R.] See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 535–36, s.v. “Nun.”

26. Heron was a god of Greco-Roman Egypt, apparently a fusion of the “Thracian rider god” and the Egyptian god Atum; the name has no connection with the English bird name or the bird so called. [M.S.] See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 295–96, s.v. “Heron.”

27. For the egg of the ibis, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 321, s.v. “Ibis”; 162–64, s.v. “Ei”; Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 76–87.

28. For this name, see PGM III. 636; V. 353. For possible explanations, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 219, s.v. “Eu.”

29. This name is unexplained; for suggestions, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 259 s.v. “κεφ.” Em may be an abbreviation of Ammon, and Keph of Kynokephalos, i.e., baboon, symbol of Thoth, with whom the magician identified himself at the beginning of the spell. [M.S.]

30. For this threat against the deity see J. Bergman, “Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellungen von Gott und Welt,” in *Mysticism, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 5 (1970): 70–72.

31. The translation of the term follows the emendation in Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc. Clearly Anubis is meant. See also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 317–19; idem, *The Isis-Book* 215–18. The reference is to the dog-headed god Anubis, assistant of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. It is not Thoth because (1) the magician has identified himself with Thoth; (2) this god face is “black,” as Anubis commonly is in Egyptian paintings, whereas the *Kynokephalos* (“dog-headed,” s.c. baboon) of Thoth is commonly tan. [M.S.]

32. For the name Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. “Esies.”

33. For the myth recounted here, cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 13, 356C–D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 312. For the threat to Busiris, cf. P. Smither, “A Ramesside Love-Charm,” *JEA* 27 (1941): 131–32.

34. The fatherless boy is Horus; the mother, Isis. Cf. PGM III. 543.

35. For toppling the supports in heaven, cf. PGM III. 537–38; IV. 669. The two mountains of east and west (Bakhu and Manu) form the horizons of Egyptian cosmography; they derive from the mountains framing the Nile valley. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 78, s.v. “Bachu”; 440, s.v. “Manu.” [R.K.R.]

36. The papyrus has *ἀνοῖξις* from *ἀνοῖξις*, “opening.” The reference is obscure; it may refer to an unknown mythical or ritual item or it may be a corruption of the text. See the apparatus ad loc.; LSJ, s.v.

she wants. I will not let god or goddess give oracles until I, NN, know through and
 290 through what is in the minds of all men, Egyptians, / Syrians, Greeks, Ethiopians,
 295 of every race and people, those who question me and come into my sight, whether
 they speak or are silent, so that I can tell them / whatever has happened and is hap-
 300 pening and is going to happen to them, and I know their skills and their lives and
 their practices and their works and their names / and those of their dead, and of
 everybody, and I can read a sealed letter³⁷ and tell them everything [in it] truly.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. How to carve, consecrate, and use a scarab; with the spell to be said when using it. Though the scarab is engraved with Isis and the spell is addressed to Helios, the ring is said to be “of Hermes” because the spell first identifies the magician with Hermes-Thoth. As Thoth he invokes Osiris (the Nile) from the underworld waters, to reveal to him all facts relevant to all men, and he threatens that, unless he receives this knowledge, he will destroy the remains of Osiris’ body, reveal his mysteries, and generally upset the divine order.

PGM V. 304–69

305 *Taking hieratic papyrus or a / lead lamella and iron ring, put the ring on the pa-
 pyrus and with a pen draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, then tint the
 310 outlined area with myrrhed ink, then write on this outlined area / of the ring—
 writing on the papyrus—the name,³⁸ and write the characters outside [the area],
 then, [in the circle] inside it, what you want not to happen, and “Let so-and-so’s
 315 thoughts be bound so that he may not do NN thing.” Then / putting the ring on
 its outline, which you made, and turning up the [areas of the papyrus] outside the
 outline, wrap up the ring until it is completely covered. Piercing [the package]
 320 through the characters / with the pen and tying it, say, “I bind NN with regard to
 NN [thing]. Let him not speak, not be contrary, not oppose; let him not be able to
 325 look me in the face nor speak against me; let him be subjected / to me, so long as
 this ring is buried. I bind his mind and his brains,³⁹ his desire, his actions, so that he
 330 may be slow [in his dealings] with all men.” / And if it be a woman: “In order that
 she, NN, may not marry him, NN” (add the usual). Then, taking it [the package]
 away to the grave of someone untimely dead, dig [a hole] four fingers deep and put
 335 it in and say, “Spirit of the dead, who[ever] / you are, I give over NN to you, so that
 he may not do NN thing.” Then, when you have filled up the hole, go away. Better
 do it when the moon is waning.

The things to be written inside the circle [bounded by the inner side of the ring’s
 340 outline] *are these*: “AROA / MATHRA ERESCHIGALCH EDANTA LABOU NĒ AKĒ IAŌ
 DARYKNŌ MANIĒL, let NN thing not be done so long as this ring is buried.” Bind
 345 [the package] with ties, [using] cords you have made, / and thus deposit it. The
 [wrapped] ring may also be thrown into an unused well, or [into the grave] of
 [anyone dead] untimely. After the characters, write also the following, under the
 350 [outline of the] ring, as a rectangle: “ARCHOOL LAILAM / SEMESILAMPH AMMO-
 PHORIŌN IŌAĒ PHTHOUTH EŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌTH AR-
 BATHIAŌ LAILAM OSORNŌPHRI EM PHRĒ PHRĒ PHTHA CHRŌIŌ IAŌ BABOURĒ
 355 THIMAM EN PHRĒ RE/NOUSI SABAŌTH BARBARTHIAŌ THACHRA OUCHEETH

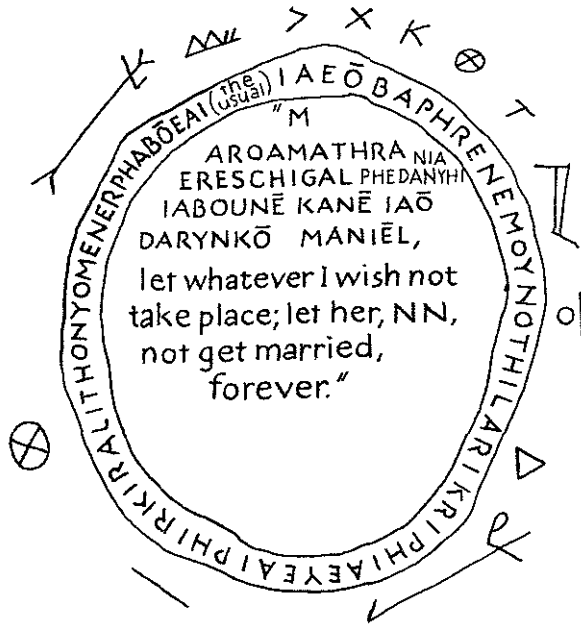
“ἀνοῦξίς”; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 522, 523, 536 for the ritual of the “Opening of the mouth.”

37. For the magical ability to read sealed letters, see the tale of Khamwas in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 142–51. [R.K.R.]

38. Given below, ll. 339–41.

39. In Greek, “the midriff,” representing the classical term for the supposed location of the thinking element of the body. [M.S.]

ESORNŌPHRI” and the entire 59 [letter formula] above,⁴⁰ which you also put inside [the circle bounded by the ring’s outline].⁴¹



[The same schedule can be written on a lead lamella; then, putting the / ring in [the middle] and folding up [the lead] around it, cover [it] with plaster. After the rectangle underneath [write] also the IAEŌ formula⁴² and the following: “BAKAXICHYCH MENEBAICHYCH AERASAX AŌ, prevent NN thing,” [or], as the names are found in the authentic [text]: / “ARPHOOL LAILAM SEMESILAM IAEŌ (formula) BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ ARCHŌMILAK MENESILAM IAEŌ OYŌ BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX ŌII, prevent the NN thing.”

360
365

*Tr.: Morton Smith. This untitled text gives directions for a familiar type of magical rite called *defixio*—essentially sending a letter to underworld powers to ask or compel them to do something to a specified victim. Many *defixiones* are, like this one, intended to prevent things from happening. The gods invoked here are a curious lot—solar and subterranean, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, suggesting that the text has grown, like many, by ignorant additions.

PGM V. 370–446

*Take 28 leaves from a pithy laurel tree⁴³ and some virgin earth and seed of worm-wood, wheat meal and the herb calf’s-snout⁴⁴ (but I have heard⁴⁵ from a certain

370

40. This refers to the top of the papyrus page, where the scribe has written on the margin, with a few errors, the formula IAEŌBAPHRENEMOYNTHILARIKRIPHIAEU and the same letters (without the final U) in reverse order. Together they form a fifty-nine-letter palindrome which often occurs in magical texts, mainly in spells to the solar deities. [M.S.]

41. (On the drawing): the reading of the third line in the circle from TH on, including the letters NIN (?) written above, is uncertain. If PHTHANNI is read, Phtha contains the name of the Egyptian god revered as creator. [M.S.]

42. See ll. 366–69 and the picture, l. 357. The palindrome is also printed in Preisendanz, apparatus to l. 357.

43. Cf. on this point PGM I. 264.

44. On this plant see PGM V. 198 and III. 468.

45. Undoubtedly, these are the words of a redactor, but expressions in the first person (here and l. 383) are rare. More often such variants are introduced by *oī dē* . . . (cf. l. 390). [E.N.O.]

375 man of Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree, / which is
cultivated, the famous one). Those are carried⁴⁶ by an uncorrupted boy.⁴⁷ Also
pounded together with the foregoing ingredients is the liquid of an ibis egg⁴⁸ and
made into a uniform dough and into a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while
380 the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or / Virgo or Sagittarius. Let Hermes be
holding a herald's staff. And write the spell on hieratic papyrus or on a goose's
windpipe (again, just as I heard from the man of Herakleopolis), and insert it into
385 the figure for the purpose of / inspiration; and when you want to use it, take some
papyrus and write the spell and the matter; and shave your head⁴⁹ and roll a hair
into the papyrus, binding it with a piece from a purple cord, and put on the outside
390 of it an olive branch, and / place it⁵⁰ at the feet of the Hermes (but others say: place
it upon him). And let the figure lie in a shrine of lime wood. But when you want to
395 use it, place the shrine beside your head / along with the god and recite as on the
altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump of rock salt.
Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell without giving an
answer to anyone. /

400 "Hermes,⁵¹ lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,⁵²
With winged sandals, turning airy course /
405 Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
O eye of Helios, O mighty one,
Founder of full-voiced speech,⁵³ who with your lamps
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life.⁵⁴ / The prophet of events
410 And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
All pains of mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
415 Of Memory, / who brings full mental powers,
In your own form both graciously appear
And graciously render the task for me,
A pious man, and render your form gracious

46. Apparently the subject of βαρτάζεται is all the ingredients named above. [E.N.O.]

47. See on this medium of the "uncorrupted boy" PGM II. 56; V. 87; VII. 544, and T. Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926) 65–74; R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier, Refut. haer. IV. 28–42, TU 39/3* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) 30, 32–33.

48. See on this point PGM V. 252 and n.

49. This is done in imitation of Egyptian priests. See S. Saucron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 37. On the shaving of the head by the initiates of Isis, see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 28; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3–4, 352C; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 268–69.

50. For hair sacrifices in Egyptian religion, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 267–68, s.v. "Haaropfer"; Betz, *Lukian* 131, n. 3.

51. Although the text of the following lines is quite fragmentary, enough remains to show that they are dactylic hexameters. Consequently they have been accepted as one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–15; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 429. This version is, however, very different from that in PGM VII. 668–80 and XVIIb. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

52. Cf. l. 378 above.

53. A repetition of the idea expressed in l. 402.

54. A reference to the role of Hermes as the guide of the dead to the underworld.

To me, NN,
That I may comprehend you by your skills
Of prophecy, by your own wondrous deeds. /
I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and
Without deceit appear and prophesy to me.”

420

Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.

The stele written on the papyri belonging to the figure: “YESENNIGADŌN ORTHŌ
BAUBŌ / NOËRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL ANKISTĒ 425
DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE⁵⁵ KODĒRE SĒMEA KENTEU KONTEU KENTEU KĒRI-
DEU DARYGKŌ LYKYNXYNTA KAMPYCHRĒ IRINŌTON LOUMANATA . / . . ION KO- 430
MANDRON CHREIBACHA NOUBACHA NOUMILLON EROUPHI TETROUPHI LIBINO
NOUMILLON CHANDARA TON PHERPHEREU DROUËR MAROUËR” (say it 3 times,
then / the usual formula). 435

Spell of compulsion: “OUKRA NOUKRA PETIRINODE TMAISIA, terrible-eyed, DRY-
SALPIPS BLEMENNITHEN BANDYODMA TRIPSADA Ariba . . . TA KRATARNA” (then
the hundred-lettered name of Hermes). . . .⁵⁶

/ *Another:* “IOUKRAIŌNIOU (spoken to the lamp) ŌCHMARMACHŌ TONNOURAI 440
CHRĒMILLON DERKYŌN NIA IAŌ SOUMPSĒPHISON SOUMPSĒNIS SIASIAS IAŌ, you
who shake the world, come in and prophesy / concerning the NN matter, THOIS 445
KOTOTH PHTHOUPHNOUN NOUEBOUË.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. For a discussion of ll. 370–439, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 174.

PGM V. 447–58

*On a jasperlike agate engrave Sarapis seated, facing forwards (?), holding an Egyptian royal scepter and on the scepter an ibis, and on the back of the stone / the 450
[magical] name [of Sarapis?], and keep it shut up. When need [arises] hold the ring
in your left hand, and in your right a spray of olive and laurel [twigs], waving them
toward the lamp while saying the spell 7 times. And when you have put / [the ring] 455
on the index finger of your left hand with the stone inside, [keep it] thus and, going
off⁵⁷ [to bed] without speaking to anybody, go to sleep holding the stone to your
left ear.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM V. 459–89

**Another way:* “I call upon you who created / earth and bones⁵⁸ and all flesh and 460
all spirit and who established the sea and suspended (?)⁵⁹ the heavens, who separated⁶⁰
the light from the darkness, the Supreme Intelligence⁶¹ / who lawfully ad- 465

55. Cf. on this formula the Glossary, s.v. “YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula.”

56. The name is missing here, but the papyrus left space for its inscription later. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. For one-hundred-letter names, see *PGM* IV. 242, 1209, 1380.

57. Reading the papyrus ἀπερ as an abbreviation of ἀπερχόμενος rather than Preisendanz’s ἀπερχόμενος, which would be awkward Greek. See the apparatus ad loc. [M.S.]

58. See on this point LXX Jb 10:9–11.

59. The text is corrupt at this point; for suggested emendations, see the apparatus ad loc. Cf. Preisendanz’s translation: “der . . . festgenagelt hat den Himmel”; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 90: “solidement cloué le ciel.”

60. Cf. Gn 1:4, 14, 18; Wisd Sol. 7:29–30. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberveesen* 107; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV. 190.

61. The concept of the divine Nus (Mind) is an influence from Greek philosophy. Cf. also *PGM* XIII. 173, 487. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 49, 371A; *C. H.* I. 2, 6, 9; X. 19–21; XIII. 21. See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London: Duckworth, 1977) 283, 372, 382, 389, 391, 393; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, n. 2; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 199–200 and index, s.v. “Nus, Nous.”

ministrates⁶² all things. Eternal Eye, Daimon of daimons, god of gods, the lord of the spirits, the invariable ΑΙΩΝ ΙΑΘ ΟΥΕΙ, hear my voice.

- 470 / “I call upon you, master of the gods, high-thundering Zeus, sovereign Zeus,
ADŌNAI, lord ΙΑΘ ΟΥΕΕ; I am he who calls upon you, great god, in Syrian: ‘ZAA-
475 LAËRIPHPOU,’ and you must not / ignore my voice (in Hebrew: ‘ABLANATHA-
NALBA ABRASILŌA’); for I am SILTHACHŌOUCH LAILAM BLASALŌTH ΙΑΘ ΙΕŌ
480 NEBOUTH SABIOTH ARBŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ΙΑŌTH SABAŌTH PA/TOURĒ ZAGOURĒ
BAROUCH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRAAM⁶³ BARBARAUŌ NAUSIPH, high-minded one, im-
mortal, who possess the crown of the whole [world], SIEPĒ SAKTIETĒ BIOU BIOU
485 SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO SIETHO CHTHETHŌNI RIGCH ŌĒA Ē ĒŌA AŌĒ
ΙΑΘ ASIAL SARAPI OLSŌ ETHMOURĒSINI SEM LAU LOU LOURIGCH.”

It loosens shackles, makes invisible, sends dreams; [it is] a spell for gaining favor.
(Add the usual for what you want.)

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM Va. 1–3

*“O Helios BERBELŌCH CHTHŌTHŌMI ACH SANDOUM ECHNIN ZAGOUĒL, bring me into union with you” (add the usual). Then anoint yourself, and you will have a direct vision.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VI. 1–47

- *. . . His encounter with Helios [takes place] on the 2nd, but the invocation itself is spoken when [the moon] is full. But you will accomplish a better encounter at [sun]rise on the 4th, when the god is on the [increase,¹ from the ground floor of a house]. Say, therefore, to the rising sun² / [the following] prayer:

- 5 “[Laurel,]³ Apollo’s holy plant [of presage,
Which] Phoebus [tasted once] and with [the fresh-
Cut] branches wreathed his [holy] head, adorned
With tresses long [and golden]. In his hands
10 He shook [a scepter] / on the [peaks of Mount
Parnassus], lofty and with many vales
[And gave to all] the gods⁴ [responses] and
To mortals prophesied. [For in the throes
Of grievous love], it was Apollo who
Himself [gave you, a nymph], dread virgin, power
[To utter presages. Come quickly hither

62. The doctrine of *διοίκησις* points to philosophical influence. Cf. also LXX Wisd Sol. 8:1; Philo, *De opif. mundi* 3; *De spec. leg.* IV. 187; *C. H.* I. 9. See Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 190, n. 3.

63. The Greek underlying these magical words corresponds in part to the Jewish blessing, “Blessed be Jahwe, . . . god of Abraham. . . .” It is not clear whether or not the magician understood these words. A similar formula written in Greek occurs on a gold lamella published by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), n. 436. See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubrerwesen* 106–7.

1. An apparent reference to the spring, when the days grow longer. Cf. *PGM XIII.* 388–91. [E.N.O.]

2. The sun is identical with the god Helios; see Glossary, s.v.

3. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 6–21) are also the reconstructed Hymn 13. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM VI.* 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) also appear at *PGM II.* 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2), and l. 6 also appears at *PGM VI.* 40 (Hymn 14.1). [E.N.O.]

4. In Hymn 13. 6 Preisendanz has changed *εοῖς* to *θεοῖς*.

To me beseeching you] in holy measures⁵ /
 [And] in my hands holding [a laurel leaf].⁶ 15
 Send me [divine responses] and a holy
 Prophetic sign. In lucid [words], O priestess,
 [Reveal all things]: both [when this will occur]
 And how it will be done. [Give me a presage,
 So that with it [I may perform a test]
 On [anything. / Subduer, hither come! 20
 Lo you,] mankind's Subduer, mankind's [force!
 Come, blessed Paian,]⁷ most supreme, [help] me;
 [Come hither to me, golden-tressed], IEŌ,
 E'en thou, Paian, [the very lord of song.
 Come thou to me,] O Phoibos, many-named.
 O Phoibos, / sing out clear with presages, 25
 Phoibos Apollo, Leto's son, far-worker,
 Hither, come hither, hither come; respond
 With prophecies, give presage in night's hour."
 Then speak, declaiming⁸ this: "ΕΕ ΙΕ ΙΕ ΕΙ ΙŌ . . . ΙΑŌΙΕ ΙΥΕ ΙΑ ΙΑŌ Ε . . . ΟΥŌ."
 Then at sunset make your request again: /
 "Hear me, god of the silver bow, who stand 30
 Protector of Chryse and holy Cilla⁹
 And are the mighty lord of Tenedos,
 Gold-shining, hurricane and dragon-slayer,
 MESEKRIPIH,¹⁰ Leto's son, SIAŌTH,
 SABAŌTH, MELIOUCHOS, ruler, PEUCHRĒ,
 Night-wanderer, SESEGGEN, BARPHARAGGĒS, /
 ARBĒTHŌ, god of many forms, O thou 35
 Who're fond of chariots,¹¹ ARBATHIAŌ
 Smintheus, if e'er I've roofed a pleasing shrine
 For you, or if I've ever burned for you
 Fat thighs of bulls or goats, grant this my prayer."¹²
 And in the same way in his encounter with Selene, as follows: /
 "Laurel,¹³ Apollo's holy plant of presage, 40

5. "In holy measures" translates *ἱεροῖσι πεδίλοις*. Although Preisendanz says "auf heiligen Sandalen," this sense has no place in the passage: first, the word order suggests that the phrase goes closely with *μοι λισσομένῳ* ("to me as I pray"); second, Daphne's mythology seems to have nothing to do with sandals (cf. L. von Sybel, in Roscher I [1884–86] 954–55, s.v. "Daphne," although the article omits this passage and *PGM* in general); and third, this passage is hymnic, and one meaning of *πέδιλον* (as the diminutive of *πούς*) is "meter," "measure," for which cf. Pindar, *O.* 3.5 and 6. 8. [E.N.O.]

6. The mixing of the plant and the goddess in this hymn is another good example of the thin line between inanimate objects and personified spirits of these objects. Cf. esp. ll. 40–41 below. [E.N.O.]

7. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 22–38), many of which are metrically faulty, are the reconstructed Hymn 10; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 244–45. Ll. 24–27 (Hymn 10. 4–6) appear, in slightly altered form, at *PGM* II. 2–4 (Hymn 9. 1–3). [E.N.O.]

8. The translation is problematic, but cf. perhaps Plutarch, *Mor.* 131A; *Cic.* 4, 862F. [E.N.O.]

9. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 37–38.

10. The *voces magicæ* in these verses are intended to be a part of the verses. The translation attempts to treat them in the same way, but some liberties must be taken. [E.N.O.]

11. *φιλάρματε*, "fond of chariots," is the reading in Hymn 10. 12; the papyrus has *φιλαίματε*, "fond of blood." [E.N.O.]

12. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 39–41.

13. These dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 14; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14. 1) also appears at *PGM* II. 81 (Hymn 11. 1) and VI. 6 (Hymn 13. 1). [E.N.O.]

O virgin Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' mistress,
 SABAÖTH¹⁴ IAÖAÖO IAGCHÖTHIPYLA MOYSIARCHA¹⁵ OTONYPON
 Hither to me come quickly; haste to sing
 Divine precepts to me [and to proclaim
 Pure words] and in dark night [bring me true sayings].¹⁶ /

45 RĒSABAAN AAN . . . ANA AANANAANANALAAA AAA AAA.¹⁷

It is for you, O Delios, O Nomios, O son of Leto and Zeus, to give persuasive oracles at night as you recount the truth through dream oracles."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is badly mutilated, and little is gained by offering a translation of the scattered words and phrases that remain. Instead, for the three verse passages, the reconstructed texts of Hymns 10, 13, 14 have been used. Additional information appears at VI. 6, 22, and 40. [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 1–148

*Homer oracle:

1. 1-1-1 But on account of their accursed bellies they have miserable woes, [Od. 15. 344]
2. 1-1-2 neither to cast anchor stones nor to attach stern cables, [Od. 9. 137]
3. 1-1-3 being struck by the sword, and the water was becoming red with blood. [Il. 21. 21]
4. 1-1-4
5. 1-1-5 stood holding a scepter, which Hephaistos produced by his labors. [Il. 2. 101]
6. 1-1-6
7. 1-2-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [Il. 9. 120; 19. 138]
8. 1-2-2 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [Il. 7. 360; 12. 234]
9. 1-2-3
10. 1-2-4
11. 1-2-5 let it lie in the great hall. And I wish for your happy arrival [Od. 15. 128]
12. 1-2-6
13. 1-3-1
14. 1-3-2
15. 1-3-3 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [Il. 18. 328]
16. 1-3-4 I would even wish it, and it would be much better [Il. 3. 41; Od. 11. 358; 20. 316]
17. 1-3-5 Then indeed would he smash all your fine show, [Od. 17. 244]
18. 1-3-6 I also care about all these things, woman. But very terribly [Il. 6. 441]
19. 1-4-1
20. 1-4-2 speaking good things, but they were contriving evil things in their hearts. [Od. 17. 66]

14. The *voces magicae* in these lines make no pretense of being verse and for that reason are omitted from Hymn 14. [E.N.O.]

15. Cf. the epithet ὁ Μουσάρχης, "leader of the Muses," belonging to Apollo. See LSJ, s.v.

16. See Hymn 14. 4–5 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248.

17. The *voces magicae* here appear immediately after "in dark night" in the papyrus, but because of the addition of two half-lines in Hymn 14, it is more convenient to complete the translation of the hymn before giving these *voces*. [E.N.O.]

21. 1-4-3 The glorious gifts of the gods are surely not to be cast aside, [*Il.* 3. 65]
22. 1-4-4
23. 1-4-5
24. 1-4-6 These things, Zeus-nurtured Skamander, will be as you order. [*Il.* 21. 223]
25. 1-5-1 a joy to your enemies, and a disgrace to yourself? [*Il.* 3. 51]
26. 1-5-2 Within this very year, Odysseus will arrive here, [*Od.* 14. 161; 19. 306]
27. 1-5-3 No use indeed to you, since you will not lie clad in them, [*Il.* 22. 513]
28. 1-5-4 And to the victor are to go the woman and the possessions. [*Il.* 3. 255]
29. 1-5-5 The rule of the many is no good. Let there be one ruler, [*Il.* 2. 204]
30. 1-5-6 And the gateway is full of ghosts, and full also is the courtyard, [*Od.* 20. 355]
31. 1-6-1 We have won great honor. We have killed glorious Hektor, [*Il.* 22. 393]
32. 1-6-2 Who would undertake and complete this task for ? [*Il.* 10. 303]
33. 1-6-3 Not even if his gifts to me should be as numerous as the grains of sand and particles of dust, [*Il.* 9. 385]
34. 1-6-4
35. 1-6-5
36. 1-6-6
37. 2-1-1 For no island is made for driving horses or has broad meadows, [*Od.* 4. 607]
38. 2-1-2 in the past, when you were boys, did you listen to your [*Od.* 4. 688]
39. 2-1-3
40. 2-1-4
41. 2-1-5
42. 2-1-6 His gifts are hateful to me, and I honor him not a whit. [*Il.* 9. 378]
43. 2-2-1 an only beloved heir to many possessions, [*Il.* 9. 482; *Od.* 16. 19 (?)]
44. 2-2-2
45. 2-2-3
46. 2-2-4
47. 2-2-5 So they thronged about him. And near [*Od.* 24. 19]
48. 2-2-6 and fashioning lies out of what nobody could see. [*Od.* 11. 366]
49. 2-3-1 be valiant, that later generations may also speak well of you. [*Od.* 1. 302]
50. 2-3-2 leaning on the grave marker over a barrow heaped up by men [*Il.* 11. 371]
51. 2-3-3 go. You have a way, and beside the sea your ships [*Il.* 9. 43]
52. 2-3-4 You will be proved a liar, and will not go on to fulfill your word. [*Il.* 19. 107]
53. 2-3-5 And his mother for her part continued the lament amid a flood of tears, [*Il.* 22. 79]
54. 2-3-6 Not even if remaining for five or six years [*Od.* 3. 115]
55. 2-4-1 So he spoke, and ordered Paion to administer a cure. [*Il.* 5. 899]
56. 2-4-2 These things, unhappy man, will I accomplish and do for you. [*Od.* 11. 80]

57. 2-4-3 How can you propose to render toil useless and ineffectual? [*Il.* 4. 26]
58. 2-4-4 a thing delayed, late of fulfillment, whose fame will never perish. [*Il.* 2. 325]
59. 2-4-5 Sooner would you grow weary and return to your native land. [*Od.* 3. 117]
60. 2-4-6 to go, that he may bring poisonous drugs from there, [*Od.* 2. 329]
61. 2-5-1 Husband, you departed from life young, and me behind as a widow [*Il.* 24. 725]
62. 2-5-2 in which way I will for sure accomplish everything and how it will be brought to pass, [*Il.* 9. 310 (?)]
63. 2-5-3 Offer me not honey-tempered wine, honored mother, [*Il.* 6. 264]
64. 2-5-4
65. 2-5-5
66. 2-5-6 Do not orphan your son and make your wife a widow. [*Il.* 6. 432]
67. 2-6-1 would that they might now eat their last and final meal here. [*Od.* 4. 685]
68. 2-6-2 It is not meet for a man who speaks in the Council to sleep all the night through, [*Il.* 2. 24]
69. 2-6-3 What's wrong with you, that you took this wrath into your heart? [*Il.* 6. 326]
70. 2-6-4 But who knows if he will one day return and punish them for their violent deeds? [*Od.* 3. 216]
71. 2-6-5 wives I will provide for both and furnish possessions [*Od.* 21. 214]
72. 2-6-6 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
73. 3-1-1 For it's no reproach to flee evil, nor by night. [*Il.* 14. 80]
74. 3-1-2 Be mindful of every form of valor. Now you needs must [*Il.* 22. 268]
75. 3-1-3 as a widow at home. And the boy is still just a baby, [*Il.* 22. 484; cf. 24. 726]
76. 3-1-4 But do you in no wise enter the moil of Ares, [*Il.* 18. 134]
77. 3-1-5 For amid misfortune mortals quickly grow old. [*Od.* 19. 360]
78. 3-1-6
79. 3-2-1
80. 3-2-2 Such a man is not alive nor will be born, [*Od.* 6. 201]
81. 3-2-3 Of a truth, child, there's nothing really wrong with this, [*Il.* 18. 128]
82. 3-2-4 Now is it no longer possible for him to find escape from us, [*Il.* 22. 219]
83. 3-2-5 we will ransom with bronze and gold, for it is within. [*Il.* 22. 50]
84. 3-2-6 drink, and do not vie with younger men. [*Od.* 21. 310]
85. 3-3-1 where are you fleeing, turning your back like a craven in the ranks? [*Il.* 8. 94]
86. 3-3-2 Would that such a man be called my husband [*Od.* 6. 244]
87. 3-3-3 plants her head in heaven and walks upon the earth. [*Il.* 4. 443]
88. 3-3-4 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
89. 3-3-5 and nodded for his army to survive and not to perish. [*Il.* 8. 246]
90. 3-3-6 Would that you had not pled with the noble son of Peleus, [*Il.* 9. 698]
91. 3-4-1 Honey-sweet wine has the best of you, which others also [*Od.* 21.

- 293]
92. 3-4-2 Act in whatever way your mind is moved, and no longer hold back. [*Il.* 22. 185]
93. 3-4-3 For it is fated for both to turn the same ground red [*Il.* 18. 329]
94. 3-4-4 keep on shooting like this, if haply you may become a light to the Danaans [*Il.* 8. 282]
95. 3-4-5 as there is no one who could keep the dogs off your head, [*Il.* 22. 348]
96. 3-4-6 You will not kill me, since I am for sure not subject to Fate. [*Il.* 22. 13]
97. 3-5-1 staying right here you would help me watch over this house [*Od.* 5. 208]
98. 3-5-2 Get out of the gateway, old man, or it won't be long before you're dragged out by the foot. [*Od.* 18. 10]
99. 3-5-3 Better for a man to escape evil by flight than to be caught. [*Il.* 14. 81]
100. 3-5-4 and declare to no one, neither man nor woman, [*Od.* 13. 308]
101. 3-5-5 of wheat or barley. And the heaps fall thick and fast. [*Il.* 11. 69]
102. 3-5-6 Whatever sort of word you speak, such would you hear. [*Il.* 20. 250]
103. 3-6-1 was opposed to giving Helen to tawny Menelaos, [*Il.* 11. 125]
104. 3-6-2 or will you alter your purpose? The hearts of the good are flexible. [*Il.* 15. 203]
105. 3-6-3 Yet I for one never doubted, but at heart [*Od.* 13. 339]
106. 3-6-4 Eurymachos, it will not be so. And even you know it. [*Od.* 21. 257]
107. 3-6-5 You miserable foreigner, you have no sense at all. [*Od.* 21. 288]
108. 3-6-6 And the father granted him one thing, but denied him the other. [*Il.* 16. 250]
109. 4-1-1 Nay, go to your chambers and tend to your own work, [*Od.* 1. 356]
110. 4-1-2 Now then, do not even tell this to your wife. [*Od.* 11. 224 (alternate version)]
111. 4-1-3 would you have been stoned to death for all the wrongs you've done. [*Il.* 3. 57]
112. 4-1-4 you prayed to the immortals to see with a beard grown. [*Od.* 18. 176]
113. 4-1-5 and vow to Lycian-born Apollo the famous archer [*Il.* 4. 101]
114. 4-1-6 and no spirit of harmony unites wolves and sheep, [*Il.* 22. 263]
115. 4-2-1 Come now, let us make these concessions to one another, [*Il.* 4. 62]
116. 4-2-2 And in the throng were Strife and Uproar, and Fate-of-Death, [*Il.* 18. 535]
117. 4-2-3 . . .
118. 4-2-4 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
119. 4-2-5 . . .
120. 4-2-6 You baby, what use now to keep your bow idle? [*Il.* 21. 474]
121. 4-3-1 For even fair-tressed Niobe turned her mind to food, [*Il.* 24. 602]
122. 4-3-2 after giving a mass of bronze and gold and raiment [*Od.* 5. 38]
123. 4-3-3 Surely then the journey will not be useless or fail to occur. [*Od.* 2. 273]
124. 4-3-4 One omen is best, to defend your country. [*Il.* 12. 243]
125. 4-3-5 I will gild her horns all round and sacrifice her to you. [*Il.* 10. 294]

126. 4-3-6 and you would gain every Trojan's thanks and praise, [*Il.* 4. 95]
 127. 4-4-1 put in with your ship, since women are no longer trustworthy. [*Od.* 11. 456]
 128. 4-4-2 It is not possible or proper to deny your request. [*Il.* 14. 212]
 129. 4-4-3 would straightway fit his will to your desire and mine. [*Il.* 15. 52]
 130. 4-4-4 and give him instruction. And it will be beneficial for him to obey. [*Il.* 11. 789]
 131. 4-4-5 will give glory to me, and your soul to horse-famed Hades. [*Il.* 5. 654]
 132. 4-4-6 fill up his ship with gold and bronze aplenty, [*Il.* 9. 137]
 133. 4-5-1 but tell one part, and let the other be concealed. [*Od.* 11. 443]
 134. 4-5-2 and at birth Zeus sends a weight of misery. [*Il.* 10. 71]
 135. 4-5-3 alone to have intelligence, but they are flitting shades. [*Od.* 10. 495]
 136. 4-5-4 yielding to his indignation. But they now withheld from him the gifts [*Il.* 9. 598]
 137. 4-5-5 I rejoice at hearing what you say, son of Laërtes. [*Il.* 19. 185]
 138. 4-5-6 But Zeus causes men's prowess to wax or to wane, [*Il.* 20. 242]
 139. 4-6-1 a terrible man. He would be quick to blame even the blameless. [*Il.* 11. 654]
 140. 4-6-2 with all haste. For now would you capture the broad-wayed city [*Il.* 2. 66]
 141. 4-6-3 Endure now, my heart. An even greater outrage did you once endure, [*Od.* 20. 18]
 142. 4-6-4 You lunatic, sit still and listen to the word of others, [*Il.* 2. 200]
 143. 4-6-5 had cast aside wrath and chosen friendship. [*Il.* 16. 282]
 144. 4-6-6 so good it is for a son to be left by a dead [*Od.* 3. 196]
 145. 5-1-1 Here then, spread under your chest a veil, [*Od.* 5. 346]
 146. 5-1-2 'Tis impiety to exult over men slain. [*Od.* 22. 412]
 147. 5-1-3 through immortal night, when other mortals sleep? [*Il.* 24. 363]
 148. 5-1-4 How then could I forget divine Odysseus? [*Od.* 1. 65]
 149. 5-1-5 lurid death and o'erpowering doom laid hold of [*Il.* 5. 83]
 150. 5-1-6 So there's nothing else as horrible and vile as a woman [*Od.* 11. 427]
 151. 5-2-1 Let us not advance to fight the Danaans around the ships. [*Il.* 12. 216]
 152. 5-2-2 to put up a defense, when some fellow provokes a fight. [*Il.* 24. 369; *Od.* 16. 72; 21. 133]
 153. 5-2-3 nor do children at his knees call him "papa" [*Il.* 5. 408]
 154. 5-2-4 I am this very man, back home now. And after many toils [*Od.* 21. 207]
 155. 5-2-5 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
 156. 5-2-6 let him stay here the while, even though he's eager for Ares. [*Il.* 19. 189]
 157. 5-3-1 And do not, exulting in war and battle, [*Il.* 16. 91]
 158. 5-3-2 never to have gone to bed with her and had intercourse, [*Il.* 9. 133; 19. 176]
 159. 5-3-3 and moistens the lips, but fails to moisten the palate. [*Il.* 22. 495]
 160. 5-3-4 Take heart! Let these matters not trouble your thoughts. [*Il.* 18. 463]
 161. 5-3-5 But this mad dog I'm unable to hit. [*Il.* 8. 299]
 162. 5-3-6 Keep quiet, friend, and do as I say. [*Il.* 4. 412]

163. 5-4-1 Bad deeds don't prosper. The slow man for sure overtakes the swift, [Od. 8. 329]
164. 5-4-2 They shut fast and locked the doors of the hall. [Od. 21. 236]
165. 5-4-3 Ah, poor man! Death's not at all on your mind, [Il. 17. 201]
166. 5-4-4 Odysseus has come and reached home, though he was long in coming. [Od. 23. 7]
167. 5-4-5 in full he will accomplish it at last, and the penalty they pay is great, [Il. 4. 161]
168. 5-4-6 and therein was Strife, and therein Valor, and therein chilling Attack, [Il. 5. 740]
169. 5-5-1 but 'tis most wretched to die and meet one's doom by starvation. [Od. 12. 342]
170. 5-5-2 shall I be laid low when I die. But good repute is now my goal, [Il. 18. 121]
171. 5-5-3 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [Il. 4. 264]
172. 5-5-4 In no way do I mock you, dear child, nor am I playing tricks. [Od. 23. 26]
173. 5-5-5 but she stayed Alkmene's labor and stopped her from giving birth. [Il. 19. 119]
174. 5-5-6 But come, and hereafter I shall make amends for this, if now anything wrong [Il. 4. 362]
175. 5-6-1 Where are you two rushing? What causes the heart within your breast to rage? [Il. 8. 413]
176. 5-6-2 Pray now, let him not be too much on your mind. [Od. 13. 421]
177. 5-6-3 But the gods do not, I ween, give men all things at the same time. [Il. 4. 320]
178. 5-6-4 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [Il. 5. 218]
179. 5-6-5 So he spake, but did not move the mind of Zeus by saying this. [Il. 12. 173]
180. 5-6-6 but Odysseus nodded no and checked him in his eagerness. [Od. 21. 129]
181. 6-1-1 How can you want to go alone to the ships of the Achaians? [Il. 24. 203]
182. 6-1-2 him a bridegroom in his house, who left as only child a daughter [Od. 7. 65]
183. 6-1-3 And too, I've taken the mist from your eyes, which before was there, [Il. 5. 127]
184. 6-1-4 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [Od. 21. 180]
185. 6-1-5 And I know that my arrival was longed for by you two [Od. 21. 209]
186. 6-1-6 I shall dress him in a mantle and a tunic, fine garments. [Od. 16. 79; 17. 550; 21. 339]
187. 6-2-1 by fastening a noose sheer from a high rafter, [Od. 11. 278]
188. 6-2-2 remembering our excellence, of the sort that even we [Od. 8. 244]
189. 6-2-3 the sea's great expanse they cross, since this is the Earthshaker's gift to them. [Od. 7. 35]
190. 6-2-4 Nay, come on with the bow. You'll soon be sorry for obeying everybody. [Od. 21. 369]
191. 6-2-5 But hurry into battle, and rouse the other soldiers. [Il. 19. 139]

192. 6-2-6 For mighty Herakles, not even he escaped his doom, [*Il.* 18. 117]
 193. 6-3-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120;
 19. 138]
 194. 6-3-2 And let him stand up among the Argives and swear an oath to you
 [*Il.* 19. 175]
 195. 6-3-3 The man is nearby. Our search will not be long, if you are willing [*Il.*
 14. 110]
 196. 6-3-4 and not quite suddenly, and a very god should be the cause? [*Od.*
 21. 196]
 197. 6-3-5 Verily, these things have already happened, and not otherwise could
 [*Il.* 14. 53]
 198. 6-3-6 On now, follow close! In action numbers make a difference. [*Il.* 12.
 412]
 199. 6-4-1 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360;
 12. 234]
 200. 6-4-2 Take heart, and let your thoughts not be of death. [*Il.* 10. 383]
 201. 6-4-3 by her wailing she rouse from sleep her household servants, [*Il.* 5.
 413]
 202. 6-4-4 Come now in strict silence, and I shall lead the way, [*Od.* 7. 30]
 203. 6-4-5 are there ears for hearing, and sense and respect are dead. [*Il.* 15.
 129]
 204. 6-4-6 as he was growing old. But the son did not grow old in his father's
 armor. [*Il.* 17. 197]
 205. 6-5-1 to return home and behold the day of homecoming. [*Od.* 5. 220;
 8. 466]
 206. 6-5-2 Apollo of the silver bow did strike the one, still sonless, [*Od.* 7. 64]
 207. 6-5-3 then you may hope to see your loved ones and reach [*Od.* 7. 76]
 208. 6-5-4 As for you two, I will tell you exactly how it will be. [*Od.* 21. 212]
 209. 6-5-5 For so shall I proclaim, and it will be accomplished too. [*Il.* 1. 212]
 210. 6-5-6 and I shall send him wherever his heart and spirit urge him. [*Od.* 16.
 81; 21. 342]
 211. 6-6-1 idiot? You'll soon pay when the swift hounds devour you [*Od.* 21.
 363]
 212. 6-6-2 You would learn what mighty hands I have to back me up. [*Od.* 20.
 237; 21. 202]
 213. 6-6-3 In no wise do I think he will in that event take you for himself, nor is
 it proper. [*Od.* 21. 322]
 214. 6-6-4 here we gather, waiting day after day. [*Od.* 21. 156]
 215. 6-6-5 to reach decision making secret plans. Nor yet now to me [*Il.* 1.
 542]
 216. 6-6-6 Don't dare get it into your mind to escape from me, Dolon. [*Il.* 10.
 447]

Here end the verses of the Homer oracle. May it help you!

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The so-called Homer oracle, a list of 216 isolated and disconnected Homeric verses, is in fact a manual designed to provide the reader with an oracular response to a personal inquiry. Concerned with matters of daily life such as we find in our newspaper horoscopes, the inquirer rolls three dice or knucklebones, each of which has its six surfaces numbered from one to six and is used to select a number from one of the three *vertical* number columns to the left of the Homeric verses (in each column, there are only six numbers to select from, though each occurs thirty-six times); one die thrown three times would achieve the same purpose. The three numbers selected by this process establish a *horizontal*

number column that indicates which verse is to be consulted; e.g., a roll of 1, 3, 6 on the dice would guide the inquirer to no. 18. As is true with oracles in general, most of the responses provide ambiguous answers which leave the exact interpretation up to the reader.

In this translation of Homer, which usually follows the Oxford Classical Text rather than that of Preisendanz, a lowercase letter at the beginning of a translated verse indicates that the first word of the verse does not begin a sentence. Such verses often constitute or involve incomplete syntactical units. In general, the punctuation at the end of a translated verse is that of the Oxford text, although in some instances this policy cannot be strictly observed. In a number of cases both the text and the Homeric reference given by Preisendanz have been emended. Furthermore, each of the verses has been numbered consecutively for ready reference. Since in all but a few instances the text of the Homeric verse is certain, we have omitted the usual brackets used to indicate lacunae in the papyrus. For additional discussion on this special type of divination, see T. Hopfner, "Astragalomanteia," *PRE.S* 4 (1924) 51–56, esp. 54–55; cf. Franz Heinvetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Breslau, 1912).

PGM VII. 149–54

***To keep bugs / out of the house:** Mix goat bile with water and sprinkle it. **To keep fleas out of the house:** Wet rosebay with salt water, grind it and spread it. 150

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 155–67

***Days and hours for divination:** 155

1 at dawn	16 do not use	
2 at noon	17 do not use	
3 do not use	18 at dawn and in the afternoon	
4 at dawn	19 at dawn	
/ 5 at dawn	20 at dawn	160
6 do not use	21 in the afternoon	
7 at noon	[22] in the afternoon	
8 throughout the whole day	[23] at dawn	
9 do not use	24 at dawn	
/ 10 throughout the whole day	25 do not use	165
11 in the afternoon	26 in the afternoon	
12 throughout the [whole] day	27 throughout the whole day	
13 throughout the whole day	28 throughout the whole day	
14 at dawn	29 throughout the whole day	
15 throughout the whole day	30 in the afternoon	

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 167–86

***Demokritos' "table gimmicks":**

*To make bronzeware look like it's made of gold:*¹ Mix native sulfur with chalky soil and wipe it off.²

/ To make an egg become like an apple: Boil the egg and smear it with a mixture of egg-yolk and [red] wine.³ 170

To make the chef unable to light the burner: Set a houseleek plant on his stove.

1. According to H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, ⁸1956), vol. II, p. 220, this recipe shows the beginnings of alchemy.

2. That is, one wipes off the mixture after it has been applied.

3. For coloring eggs, see the references in M. Wellmann, *Die ΦΥΣΙΚΑ des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa*, part I, *APAW* 7 (1928): 57–58. Cf. also Athenaeus 13. 484e. Here, "egg yolk" can also mean "saffron."

*To be able to eat garlic and not stink:*⁴ Bake beetroots and eat them.

To keep an old woman from either chattering or drinking too much: Mince some pine⁵ / and put it in her mixed wine.

*To make the gladiators painted [on the cups] “fight”:*⁶ Smoke some “hare’s-head” underneath them.

To make cold food burn the banqueter: Soak a squill in hot water and give it to him to wash with. *To relieve him:* [Apply] oil.

To let those who have difficulty intermingling⁷ perform well: Give gum mixed with wine and honey / to be smeared on the face.

*To be able to drink a lot and not get drunk:*⁸ Eat a baked pig’s lung.

*To be able to travel [a long way] home and not get thirsty:*⁹ Gulp down an egg beaten in wine.

*To be able to copulate a lot:*¹⁰ Grind up fifty tiny pinecones with 2 ozs. of sweet wine and two pepper grains and drink it.

*To get an erection*¹¹ / *when you want:* Grind up a pepper with some honey and coat your “thing.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This curious collection of recipes contains humorous tricks as well as helpful remedies presumably designed to be performed or used at a symposiastic dinner. Similar tricks are found scattered throughout the pages of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*. See also PGM XIb; VII. 149–54; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 449 (3–7); Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 7 (1928): 1–80. It has not been fully appreciated that this collection seems to refer to events that take place at a dinner table. This fact does not necessarily hold true for all the other examples of *paignia*.

PGM VII. 186–90

**Favor and victory charm:* Take a blood-eating gecko that has been found among the tombs and grasp its right front foot and cut it off with a reed, allowing the gecko to return to its own hole alive. Fasten the foot / of the creature to the fold of your garment and wear it.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 191–92

**Eternal spell for binding a lover:* Rub together some gall of a wild boar, some rock salt, some Attic honey and smear the head of your penis.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 193–96

**For scorpion sting:* On a clean piece of papyrus, write the characters and place it on the part which has the sting; wrap / the papyrus around it, and the sting will lose its pain immediately.

4. Cf. Athenaeus 3. 84c for a similar breath freshener.

5. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 57b–d for pine and pine kernels at a dinner.

6. It seems likely that the reference is to translucent, painted glass which, when lit, produces the effect.

7. The reference is presumably to those who are shy in a social setting: the concoction is to be applied to the face.

8. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 52d where eating almonds is said to prevent drunkenness.

9. In Athenaeus 2. 58f and 2.69f similar means for quenching thirst are found.

10. Cf. Athenaeus 1. 18d–e, where certain devices for having frequent sexual intercourse are mentioned.

11. See on this point PGM VII. 194–95; *PDM* lxi. 58–62.

These are the characters: Ω Ϟ ϙ Ϛ ϛ Ϝ ϝ Ϟ ϟ Ϡ ϡ Ϣ ϣ (there are 11 characters).
 *Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 197–98

*For discharge of the eyes: Write [this] on a piece of papyrus and attach it as an amulet: “ROURARBISAROURBBARIASPHRĒN.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 199–201

*For migraine headache: Take oil in your hands and utter the spell / “Zeus sowed a grape seed: it parts the soil; he does not sow it; it does not sprout.” 200

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 201–2

*Another: Write these things on scarlet parchment: “ABRASAX Ϟ” (and add the usual). Place it, having made it into a plaster, on the side of the head.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 203–5

*For coughs: In black ink, write on hyena parchment: “THAPSATE STHRAITŌ”—[or] as I found in *another* [recipe]: “TEUTHRAITŌ THRAITEU THRAITŌ THABAR-BAŌRI Ϟ / LIKRALIRĒTA—deliver [him], NN, from the cough that holds him fast.” 205

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 206–7

*Another: On hyena parchment write these characters:

TKΛΓΥϞAKYATEYTEOPΩI. Hang it around the neck as an amulet, but keep it dry while wearing.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 208–9

*For hardening of the breasts: Take a fine linen rag and write on it in black ink:

ϞEPTϞAPϞPZ.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 209–10

*For swollen testicles: Take a cord from a coin bag / and say with each knot “Kas- 210
 tor” once, “Thab” twice.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 211–12

*For fever with shivering fits: Take oil in your hands and say 7 times, “SABAŌTH” (add the usual, twice). And spread on oil from the sacrum to the feet.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 213–14

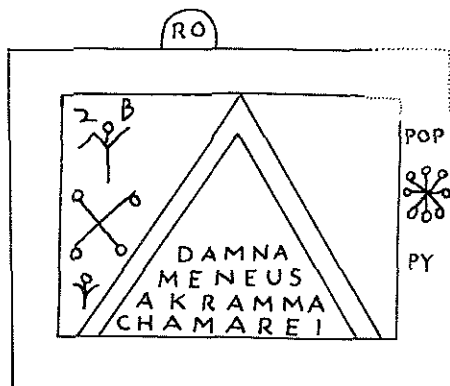
*For daily fever and nightly fever: On the shiny side of an olive leaf write Ϟ, and on the dark side write Ϟ and wear it as an amulet.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 215–18

- 215 * **Stele**¹² of **Aphrodite**: To gain friendship, favor, success, and friends. Take a strip of tin and engrave on it with a bronze stylus. And be sure you are pure while carrying it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

**PGM VII. 218–21**

* **Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits**: Write on a clean piece of papyrus and wear as an amulet:

- 220 / "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI (subtracting down)
 AŌ [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
 Ō [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]

ABRASAX."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 222–49

- * **Request for a dream oracle from Besas**: Take red ocher [and blood]¹³ of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed worm-wood, cinnabar, and rainwater; / blend all together, put aside and write with it¹⁴ and with black writing ink, and recite the formula to the lamp¹⁵ at evening. Take a black¹⁶ of Isis and put it around your hand. When you are almost awake the god will come and speak to you, and he will not go away unless you wipe off / your hand with spikenard or something of roses and smear the picture with the black of
- 225
 230

12. The use of "stele" may refer here to the triangular shape found on the drawing of the tin plate.

13. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, *μίλτον (καὶ αἷμα) περιστερᾶς λευκῆς*. The conjectural *(καὶ αἷμα)* makes the text conform to the parallel passage in *PGM VIII. 69–70*, where blood of a white dove is mentioned. The addition here, however, is not needed, for *μίλτον* (which does not occur in the parallel passage) can also mean "blood." See *PGM XII. 98* and LSJ, s.v. "*μίλτον*," III.

14. The Greek seems defective here. The only possible antecedent for *αὐτός* is the preceding portion as a substance with which one is to write. The following reference to ink suggests that it would be better to take *αὐτός* as the substance on which one is to write, particularly since the practitioner has just been told to put the portion aside, and no substance to write on is mentioned. In the parallel charm, *PGM VIII. 64–110*, a similar potion is used to paint the left hand.

15. Cf. *PGM VIII. 84–111*, where the use of a lamp is more fully described; this description occurs immediately before the prayer to the headless god, which is here found in ll. 233–48.

16. This item, which is not explained here (cf. *PGM VII. 231*; *VIII. 67–68*), may be the black linen garment used in the Isis cult. It is mentioned in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os. 39, 366E*; *77, 382C*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 451, 562. Preisendanz interprets the reference by translating: "take a black piece from the garment. . . ."

Isis.¹⁷ But the strip of cloth put around your neck,¹⁸ so that he will not smite you.

Formula to be spoken to the lamp: “I call upon you, the headless god, the one who has his face upon his feet;¹⁹ you are the one who hurls lightning, / who thunders, you are [the one whose] mouth continually pours on himself. You are the one who is over Necessity ARBATHIAO; you are the one lying on a coffin and having at the side of the head an elbow cushion²⁰ of resin and asphalt, the one whom they call ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the [blood] of the 2 falcons²¹ / who chatter and watch before the head of Heaven.²² Rouse your nighttime form, in which you proclaim all things publicly. I conjure you, daimon, by your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH. You are the headless god, the one who has a head and his face on his feet, / dim-sighted Besas. We are not ignorant. You are the one whose mouth [continually] burns. I conjure [you by] your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH M . . . ORA PHESARA E . . . Come, lord, reveal to me concerning the NN matter, without deceit, without treachery, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” The small figure²³ is drawn in the beginning of the book.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 250–54

***Request for a dream oracle**, a request which is always used. **Formula to be spoken to the day lamp:** “NAIENCHRE NAIENCHRE, mother of fire and water, you are the one who rises before, ARCHENTECHTHA; reveal to me concerning the NN matter. If yes, show me a plant and water, but if no, fire and iron; immediately, [immediately; quickly,] quickly.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 255–59

***Another to the same lamp:** “Hail, lord, lamp, you who shine beside Osiris and shine beside Osirchentechtha²⁴ and my lord, the archangel Michael. If it is advantageous for me to do this, show me a plant and water, but if not, fire and iron, immediately, immediately.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 260–71

***For ascent of the uterus:**²⁵ “I conjure you, O Womb, [by the] one established

17. See the note on l. 227 above. There is no previous reference in this charm to a picture (though “write” in l. 226 can also mean “draw”). Cf., however, PGM VIII. 64–65.

18. For this detail, see PGM VIII. 67.

19. K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos. Der kopflose Gott, Beihefte zum Alten Orient* 8 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926) 48–50, sees this passage as a reference to the Egyptian practice of putting the heads of those who have been beheaded between their feet. A. Delatte, “Akephalos,” *BCH* 38 (1914): 221–32, prefers to see this passage as a reference to the god Besas, who has the heads of animals for feet. Cf. K. Abel, “Akephalos,” *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 13. See Glossary, s.v. “Headless.”

20. Cf. on this point PGM VIII. 97–98.

21. This refers to Isis and Nephthys, who in the form of falcons or kites watch over the body of Osiris. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 35, 305, 328. [R.K.R.]

22. See on this concept the parallel passage PGM VIII. 100–101, which has Ὀσίρειος, “of Osiris,” instead of “of Heaven.” But “Heaven” should be kept (against the suggestion by F. Boll, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.). Perhaps, Nut (Heaven) is really meant here: her image was placed in the coffin in such a way that her head and that of the dead were close to each other. [J.B.]

23. The picture is missing; it may have been in the portion of the papyrus which is now lost.

24. See PGM III. 171 and note; note also the apparatus at PGM VII. 252.

25. Cf. on this point Soranus, *Gynecology* III. 50 (ed. Ilberg, pp. 127–28): “On the Flexion, Bending, and Ascent of the Uterus,” esp. sec. 2 (p. 127): “[A] flexing to the anterior of the uterus causes

over the Abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light, or darkness came to be; [you?] who created the angels, being foremost, AMICHAMCHOU and CHOUCHAŌ CHĒRŌEI
 265 OUEIACHŌ ODOU PROSEIOGGĒS, and who sit over the cherubim, who bear / your
 (?) own throne, that you return again to your seat, and that you do not turn [to one
 side] into the right part of the ribs,²⁶ or into the left part of the ribs, and that you
 do not gnaw into the heart like a dog, but remain indeed in your own intended and
 270 proper place, not chewing [as long as] I conjure by the one who, / in the begin-
 ning, made the heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!"

Write this on a tin tablet and "clothe" it in 7 colors.²⁷

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 272–83

*Thōth: 1, 4, 12, 13, 22. Phaōphi: 2, 4, 10, 19, 20. Athyr: 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23,
 275 27. / Choiak: 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 24, 25. Tybi: 3, 4, 12, 24, 26. Mecheir: 1, 2, 10, 14,
 280 19. Phamenōth: 7, 8, 9. Pharmouthi: 5, 6, 14, 15, 20. / Pachōn: 3, 4, 12, 13, 21,
 26, 28. Pauni: 1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 20. Epeiph: 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 22. Mesore: [10, 14,]
 20, 23, 24, 25.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. An Egyptian calendar of months and days unsuitable for magic opera-
 tions. See Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 829–30. Cf. also PGM VII. 153–67; Delatte, *Anecdota*
Atheniensia I. 631–32; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism, Arbeiten zur*
Geschichte des antiken Judentums 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 102–3.

PGM VII. 284–99

285 *Orbit²⁸ of the moon: Moon / in Virgo: anything is rendered obtainable.²⁹ In Li-
 bra: necromancy.³⁰ In Scorpio: anything inflicting evil.³¹ In Sagittarius: an invoca-
 290 tion or incantations / to the sun and moon. In Capricorn: say whatever you wish
 295 for best results. In Aquarius: for a love charm. Pisces: for foreknowledge. / In
 Aries: fire divination or love charm. In Taurus: incantation to a lamp. Gemini: spell
 for winning favor. In Cancer: phylacteries. Leo: rings or binding spells.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Cf. PGM III. 275–81, which is very similar to this passage despite some
 significant differences in detail.

PGM VII. 300

*"SACHMOU OZOZO, you the one who thunders, the one who shakes the heaven
 and the earth, the one who has swallowed the serpent, hour by hour raising³² the

some problems [blockage?] in urination, and also causes a swelling of the pubic area; in some patients, it
 [will cause] an inability to stand upright." [J.S.] For a more magical interpretation see A. A. Barb, "Diva
 Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238.

26. The context might suggest "hips," but the Greek is specific; perhaps the author was quite vague
 in the knowledge of internal anatomy. [J.S.]

27. Presumably, this means that the cord around the neck is to be woven together from the threads of
 seven colors. The strip of tin would then be worn as an amulet.

28. Or "horoscope"; see, however, PGM III. 275, where κύκλος appears alone. On Selene and her
 astrological role in magic, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 826–28; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 411. On
 κύκλος, see Gundel, *Astrologumena*, esp. pls. I, VII. [E.N.O.]

29. The Greek term is unclear; see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.; K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 196
 (1934): 171.

30. Necromancy and Libra are also connected in PGM III. 278.

31. The reading πανκακώσιμον is uncertain and, at any rate, a hapax legomenon. Cf. PGM LXXI.
 6–7.

32. Reading ἐξαιρών, which Preisendanz has in the two parallels to this passage: PGM IV. 1326;
 VII. 367.

disk of the sun and surrounding the moon, CHŌNSOU³³ OCHCHA ENSOU O BIBEROESOS.” Write on your left hand with myrrh ink these things surrounding the ibis.



*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The purpose of this spell is not given though it may form part of the whole given in PGM VII. 272–83, 284–99.

PGM VII. 300a–310

/ *Love charm which acts in the same hour: Take a seashell and write the holy names with the blood of a black ass.³⁴ 300a

Spell: “I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity³⁵ (MASKELLI formula)³⁶ and [by those] who have been placed [in charge of] the Punishments, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIMOU MOUKILA KILAMOU IŌR MOUŌR MOUDRA MAXTHA / MOUSATHA: attract her, NN, 305 whom NN bore” (add the usual, whatever [you wish]). “Do not be stubborn, but attract her, OUCH OUCH CHAUNA MOUHLIMALCHA MANTŌR MOURKANA MOU-LITHA MALTHALI MOUI ĒĪĒI YYY AĒ AĪĒ YOŌ AĒI AĒI AĒI AŌA AŌA AŌA IAŌ ŌAI ŌAI AIŌ ŌIA IŌA IAŌ ŌAI, attract her, NN” (add the usual). As the moon waxes / in 310 Aries or in Taurus [add the usual, whatever you wish].³⁷

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 311–16

*A phylactery: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI SESENGENBAR[PHARANGES] PEPHRAZAŌTH ZŌTH [MENE] BAINCHŌŌCH, protect NN, whom NN [bore], from any violence both by a frightful dream and by all demons of the air. [I conjure you] by the great, famous name, Abraam EMEINA AEUBAŌTH BAITHŌ BES IA IABAŌTH AGRAMAKRAMARI PSINŌTH³⁸ BER ŌON

33. This refers to the Egyptian moon god Khonsu; the moon is mentioned in the context. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 140–44, s.v. “Chons”; Hellmut Brunner, “Chons,” *LdÄ* I (1975): 960–63.

34. See on this point PGM IV. 3260 and n.

35. On “bitter Necessity,” see PGM IV. 526, 605, 1499–1500; XV. 13. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 59–60; idem, *Nekyia* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969) 124. Necessity (‘Ανάγκη) is a demonic being. See H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch’s Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature*, *SCHNT* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 224 (on *De sera num. vind.* 25, 564E).

36. See the Glossary, s.v. “MASKELLI logos.”

37. Preisendanz deletes these words, thinking they belong at l. 316.

38. This name is Egyptian, meaning “the son of the female falcon.” [R.K.R.]

- 315 IASÔP B . . . PNOUTE³⁹ / [and add the usual, whatever you wish].⁴⁰

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 317–18

**Another phylactery*, [to be said] to the moon: “ACHTHIÔPHIPH ERESCHIGAL NEBOUGOSOUALÊTH⁴¹ SATHÔTH SABAÔTH SABRÔTH” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 319–34

- 320 ***Charm for direct vision**: Take a copper vessel, / pour rainwater into it and make an offering of male frankincense.

Formula: “Let the earth be still, let the air be still, let the sea be still; let the winds also be still, and do not be a hindrance to this my divination—no sound, no loud cry, no hissing. For I am a prophet, and since I am about to call / a terrible, fearful name, ‘KOLLA OLPHIOGEMALA ACHERÔIO,’ open [the holy temple,] the world [built on the earth,] and welcome Osiris, because I am MANCHNÔBIS CHOL-
325 CHOBÊ MALASÊT IAT THANNOUTTA KERTÔMENOU PAKERBAÔ KRAMMASIRAT
330 MOMOMO MELASOUT PEU PHRÊ. Open my ears so that you may reveal to me / concerning those things I ask you to answer me. Come on, come on; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; and speak concerning those things about which I questioned you. Appear to me, lord Anubis,⁴² I command you, for I am IEÔ BELPHENÔ, who considers [this] matter.”

Dismissal. Say: “Go away, Anubis, to your own thrones, for my health and well-being.”

Use after you have kept yourself pure for 3 days.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 335–47

- 335 ***Charm for a direct vision**: If you want to see him yourself, take a fly and Coptic eyepaint, grind them, and smear them on your eyes. Take a feather of an ibis 14 fingers long, smear it with perfume of roses or lilies, wind around it a linen cloth, and hold it with your hands as a scroll. Then say thus, while looking to the side
340 with the left / eye:

Formula: “MOUN EIPOSIS ÊU PHTHA NOUTH⁴³ THIE SÊMI NOUEI NÊITH⁴⁴ CHRECHREÔ SININÔRPS MOUCH ORÔOU ENTHERINI⁴⁵ EÔÊ MOUNIACH NESÔI MOUNESÔCH MOUNÊI ENIME CHREMOU RENENE SON SNÊI ÔS MOUCHORÔOU
345 ENTHERINI / ANOK SÔS ERMAICHÔ ENTEUMOUTOICHNÊ CHREMOU TÊŠBAS PNÊTE⁴⁶ KYPHOCH EMM IEBOCHNÊS TCHÊNÊ PHIMOU CHNOU NYOICHÔÏM SEOUNEUMOI INONRI.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

39. The word is Egyptian and means “O/the god.” [R.K.R.]

40. Preisendanz adds this formula from I. 310.

41. Read νεβουτοσουαληθ (tau for gamma). See PGM IV. 2484–85, and Glossary, s.v. “Nebuto-soualeth.”

42. For Anubis as conducting the gods to the magician, cf. PDM xiv. 35–37. [R.K.R.]

43. These three words mean in Egyptian, “Come, Ptah, god.” [R.K.R.]

44. This name seems to refer to the Egyptian goddess Neith; see Bonnet *RĀRG* 512–17, s.v. “Neith.” [R.K.R.] Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 9, 354C, reporting about the statue of the Athena of Sais, as Neith is called by the Greeks. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 283–84.

45. This word corresponds to the Egyptian *ntr*, “god.” [R.K.R.]

46. Perhaps this corresponds to the Egyptian *p3 ntr*, “O/the god.” Cf. PGM VII. 316. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 348–58

***Divination by means of a boy:**⁴⁷ After you have laid [him] on the ground, speak, and a dark-colored boy will appear to him. /

Formula: “I call upon you, inhabitants of Chaos and Erebos, of the depth, of earth, watchers of heaven, of darkness, masters of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those beneath the earth, administrators of things which are infinite, those who wield power over earth, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, inhabitants of dark Erebos, / coercive watchers, rulers of cliffs, grievors of the heart, adverse daimons, iron-hearted ones BITHOURARA ASOUËMARA . . . OTROUR MOURROUR APHLAU MANDRAROUROU SOU MARAROU, reveal concerning the matter which I am considering” (add the usual). 350 355

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 359–69

***Request for a dream oracle:** Take a strip of clean linen and write on it the following name. / Roll it up to make a wick, pour pure olive oil over it and light it. 360

The formula to be written is this: “HARMIOUTH LAILAM CHŌOUCH⁴⁸ ARSE-NOPHRĒ PHRĒU PHTHA HARCHENTECHTHA.”

In the evening then, when you are about to go to sleep, being pure in every respect, do this: Go to the lamp, say 7 times the following formula, extinguish the light / and go to sleep. 365

The formula to be spoken is as follows: “SACHMOUNĒ⁴⁹ PAËMALIGOTĒRĒËNCH, the one who shakes, who thunders, who has swallowed the serpent, surrounds the moon, and hour by hour raises the disk of the sun, ‘CHTHETHŌNI’ is your name. I ask you, lords of the gods, SĒTH CHRĒPS: reveal to me concerning the things I wish.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 370–73

***Against every wild animal, aquatic creature and robbers:** Attach a tassel⁵⁰ to your garment and say: “LŌMA ZATH AIŌN ACHTHASE MA . . . ZAL BALAMAŌN ĒIEOY, protect me, NN, in the present hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” 370

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 374–76

***Charm to induce insomnia:** [Take] a seashell and write: / “IPSAË IAŌAI, let her, NN daughter of NN, lie awake because of me.” That night she will lie awake. 375

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 376–84

***Another:** Take a lamp and furnish it with a wick and say to it: “I conjure you, lamp, by your mother Hestia, MĒRALLĒL (say twice), and by your father Hephaios, MELIBOU MELIBAU / MELIBAUBAU. [Let] her lie awake” (and add the usual). 380

47. On this form of divination, see PGM V. 1 and n.

48. CHŌOUCH is Egyptian for “darkness.” [R.K.R.]

49. This name refers to the goddess Sakhmet; cf. PGM VII. 300. See Bonnet, *RĀRG* 643–46, s.v. “Sachmet” (esp. 645–46 on her role in magic).

50. For the tassel, cf. the *zizith* in Jewish religion. See Nm 15:38–39; Dt 22:12. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People II*, 479, with further references.

PGM VII. 411–16

***Spell for causing talk while asleep:** Take the heart of a hoopoe⁵⁵ and place it in myrrh. And write on a strip of hieratic papyrus the names and characters and roll up the heart in the strip of papyrus and place it upon her pudenda and ask your questions. And she will confess every/thing to you: “DARYGKO IAU IAU 415
⊗⊗4Xϕβ ΑΘΑΘΛΔΔΑΒΖΑΤΙΖ β” (add the usual, as much as you want).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 417–22

***A restraining [spell]:** Write on a tin lamella with a bronze stylus before sunrise the names “CHRÉMILLON MOULOCHE KAMPY CHRĒ ŌPHTHŌ MASKELLI (formula) ERĒKISIPHTHĒ LABEZEBYTH.” / Then throw it into [the] river [or] into [the] sea 420
before sunrise. Also write on it, with [the others], these characters: “⊗ΞΖΓΑΧΕ. Mighty gods, restrain” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 423–28

***To win at dice:** “THERTHENITHŌR DYAGŌTHERE THERTHENITHŌR SYAPOTHE-
REUO KŌDOCHŌR make me a winner at dice, / O prevailing Adriel.” Into your 425
hand say: “Let not even one person be equal to me, for I am THERTHENITHŌR ERŌTHORTHIN DOLOTHOR, and I am going to throw what I want.” And say this repeatedly, and then throw.

Another way you must say the formula is: “Let not even one of these playing with me be equal, and I am going to throw what I want.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 429–58

***A restraining [rite] for anything,** works even on chariots. It also causes en-
mity / and sickness, cuts down, destroys, and overturns, for [whatever] you wish. 430
The spell [in it], when said, conjures daimons [out] and makes them enter [objects or people]. Engrave in a plate [made] of lead from a cold-water channel what you want to happen, and when you have consecrated it with bitter aromatics such as myrrh, bdellium, styrax, and aloes and thyme, / with river mud, late in the evening 435
or in the middle of the night, where there is a stream or the drain of a bath, having tied a cord [to the plate] throw it into the stream—or into the sea—[and let it] be carried along. Use the cord so that, when you wish, you can undo [the spell]. Then should you wish to break [the spell], untie the plate. Say the formula 7 times and you will see something wonderful. Then go away without turning back / or giving 440
an answer to anyone, and when you have washed and immersed yourself, go up to your own [room] and rest, and use [only] vegetable food. Write [the spell] with a headless bronze needle.

The text to be written is: “I conjure you, lord Osiris, by your holy names
OUCHIŌCH OUSENARATH, Osiris, OUSERRANNOUPHTHI OSORNOUPHĒ⁵⁶ /
Osiris-Mnevis,⁵⁷ OUSERSETEMENTH⁵⁸ AMARA MACHI CHŌMASŌ EMMAI⁵⁹ SERBŌNI 445

55. *κοκκοφάδιος* occurs only here, but cf. PGM II. 18 and III. 424–25. [E.N.O.]

56. OSORNOUPHE is Egyptian *wsir nfr*, “Osiris the good.” [R.K.R.]

57. On Osiris-Mnevis, see PGM IV. 140, 2994 and n.

58. OUSERSETEMENTH is Egyptian for “Osiris . . . the west (the underworld).” [R.K.R.]

59. EM MAI is Egyptian, “in truth.” [R.K.R.]

ÖKĒSĒ EĒRINIARE MIN / ENTĒTAIN PHOOU TÖNKĒTÖ MNĒ SIETHÖN OSIRI ENA- 475
 BÖTH PSANOU LAMPSOUÖR IEOU IÖ IÖ AI ĒI EI AI EI AÖ, attract to me her, NN,
 whose mother is NN,” and the rest. *This is the figure*:
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 478–90

*“Eros, darling PASSALEON ĒT,⁶⁹ send me my personal [angel] tonight to give me 480
 information about whatever the concern is. For I do this / on order from PAN-
 CHOUCI THASSOU at whose order you are to act, because I conjure you by the
 four regions of the universe, APSAGAĒL CHACHOU MERIOUT MERMERIOUT and by
 the one who is above the four regions of the universe, KICH MERMERIOUTH” (add
 the usual).

This is the offering: Take equal portions of dirt from your sandal, / of resin, and 485
 of the droppings from a white dove, and while speaking [the invocation], burn
 them as an offering to the Bear.

The phylactery for this: Write these names on a strip of tin: “ACHACHAĒL 490
 CHACHOU MARMARIOUTI.” Then wear it around your neck. After uttering the
 summons, go to your quarters, put out the lamp, and sleep / on a newly made bed
 of rushes.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 490–504

*Taking sulfur and seed of Nile rushes, burn [them] as incense to the moon and say,
 “I call on you, Lady Isis, whom Agathos Daimon permitted to rule in the entire
 black [land].⁷⁰ Your name is LOU LOULOU BATHARTHAR THARĒSIBATH ATHER- 495
 NEKLĒSICH / ATHERNEBOUNI ĒICHOMÖ CHOMÖTHI Isis Sothis,⁷¹ SOUĒRI, Bou-
 bastis, EURELIBAT CHAMARI NEBOUTOS OUĒRI⁷² AIĒ ĒOA ŌAI. Protect me, great
 and marvelous names of the [god] (add the usual); for I am the one established in
 Pelusium,⁷³ SERPHOUTH MOUISRÖ⁷⁴ / STROMMÖ MOLÖTH MOLONTHĒR PHON 500
 Thoth. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the great god” (add the usual).

“ASAÖ EIÖ NISAÖTH. Lady Isis, Nemesis, Adrasteia,⁷⁵ many-named, many-
 formed, glorify me, as I have glorified the name of your son⁷⁶ Horus” (add the
 usual).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 505–28

**Meeting with your own daimon*:⁷⁷ “Hail, Tyche, and you, the daimon of this 505

69. The text here is doubtful. See the apparatus ad loc.

70. The name for Egypt in Egyptian is *Km.t*, meaning the “black” and referring to the alluvial soil in distinction from the “red” desert soil that borders it. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 425–26.

71. Isis Sothis is the identification of Isis with the dog star Sothis (Sirius). See J. Bergman, “I Overcome Fate, Fate Harkens to Me,” in *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis II* (1967) 38–40; idem, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34, 41–45, 52–58 (p. 55 refers to PGM VII. 490–504).

72. OUĒRI is Egyptian *wr*, “great one.” [R.K.R.]

73. The god of Pelusium (*Pr-ir-Imn*) is Amon. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 357E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 334–35.

74. SERPHOUTH MOUISRO is *Srp.t m3y sr*, “Lotus, Lion, Ram.” Cf. PGM III. 659 and n.

75. On the identification of Isis, Nemesis, and Adrasteia, see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 153–54.

76. Although this sentence seems parallel to Jn 17:4–5, there is no Christian influence here.

77. For this spell and its interpretation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 160–62.

place, and you, the present hour, and you, the present day—and every day as well. Hail, Universe, that is, earth and heaven. Hail, Helios, for you are the one who has
 510 established yourself in invisible light over the holy firmament / ORKORĒTHARA.⁷⁸

“You are the father of the reborn Aion ZARACHTHŌ;⁷⁹ you are the father of awful Nature *Thortchophanō*;⁸⁰ you are the one who has in yourself the mixture⁸¹ of universal nature and who begot the five wandering stars,⁸² which are the entrails of
 515 heaven, the guts of earth, the fountainhead of the waters, and the violence / of fire AZAMACHAR ANAPHANDAŌ EREYA ANEREYA PHENPHENSŌ IGRAA; you are the youthful one, highborn, scion of the holy temple, kinsman to the holy mere called Abyss which is located beside the two pedestals SKIATHI and MANTŌ.⁸³ And the
 520 earth’s 4 basements were shaken, O master of all, / holy Scarab,⁸⁴ AŌ SATHREN ABRASAX IAŌAI AEŌ EŌA ŌAĒ IAO IĒO EY AĒ EY IE IAŌAI.”⁸⁵

Write the name in myrrh ink on two male eggs.⁸⁵ You are to cleanse yourself thoroughly with one; then lick off the name, break it, and throw it away. Hold the other
 525 in your partially open right hand and show it to the sun at dawn and . . .⁸⁶ / olive branches; raise up your right hand, supporting the elbow with your left hand. Then speak the formula 7 times, crack the egg open, and swallow its contents.

Do this for 7 days, and recite the formula at sunset as well as sunrise.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 528–39

*Victory charm: “Helios, Helios, hear me, NN, Helios, lord, Great God, you who
 530 maintain all things and who give life / and who rule the world, toward whom all things go, from whom they also came, untiring, ĒIE ELĒIE IEŌA ROUBA ANAMAŌ MERMAŌ CHADAMATHA ARDAMATHA PEPHRE ANAMALAZŌ PHĒCHEIDEU ENE-

78. For the magical name ORKORĒTHARA, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203.

79. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203, n. 34, suggests that the name ZARACHTHŌ may be related to that of Zorochthora Melchisedek, which plays a role in gnosticism (*Pistis Sophia* IV. 136, 139, 140; *Book of Jeu* 108, 110, 111; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 55. 1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7. 36).

80. This name is written in Coptic.

81. The term “mixture” plays a great role in hellenistic philosophy and gnosticism. See *C.H.* XI. 7; *Pistis Sophia* III. 3 (and *passim*). For further references see *PGL*, s.v.

82. That is, the planets.

83. For the background of this passage in Egyptian religion and explanation of the names SKIATHI and MANTHŌ, see J. Bergman, “An Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (PGM VII, 11. 516–521),” in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, *Numen Supplements* 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

84. This acclamation expresses Khepri theology, of which the cosmogony in *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* 26, 21 (in Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 6) is the largest example. Khepri, the holy scarab, is mentioned at the end of the climax of names and epithets which often refer to his form of existence even by the Greek terms. The cultic context is also evident: the noble birth, representing creation, takes place in the temple at the time of the appearance of the Original Sea. This sea is identical with the sacred lake in the temple near the two pedestals of the evening bark (Sektat) and the morning bark (Manedjet). The temple represents the whole world, so that the four basements of the earth were shaken by the birth of Khepri, the master of all. [J.B.]

85. That is, eggs from which male chicks will be hatched. The ancients believed that one could predict the sex of the chick from the shape of the egg, though there appears to be some uncertainty as to which shape produced which sex. See Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* VI. 2 (559a); Pliny *NH* 10. 74; Columella, *De Re Rustica* VIII. 5. Cf. the comments by P. Louis in vol. 2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1968) of his Budé translation of Aristotle’s treatise, p. 64, n. 4, and by A. L. Peck in vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1970) of his *LCL* translation of the same treatise, p. 225, n. a; also the reference at *PGM* XII. 100 to an egg that will produce a male chick. [H.M.]

86. There is a lacuna in the Greek text at this point.

DEREU SIMATOI MERMEREŌ AMALAXIPHIA MERSIPHIA EREME THASTEU PAPIE⁸⁷
 PHEREDŌNAX ANAIE / GELEŌ AMARA MATŌR MŌRMARĒSIO NEOUTHŌN ALAŌ 535
 AGELAŌ AMAR AMATŌR MŌRMAST SOUTHŌN ANAMAŌ GALAMARARMA. Hear me,
 lord Helios, and let the NN matter take place on time.” Say this while you make an
 offering over oak charcoal, sacred incense, with which has been mixed the brain of a
 wholly black ram and the wheat meal of a certain plant.⁸⁸

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 540–78

***Lamp divination:** Put an iron lampstand in a clean house⁸⁹ at the eastern part, 540
 and having placed on it a lamp not colored red, light it. Let the lampwick be of new
 linen, and light the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense on grape-
 vine wood. The boy, then, should be uncorrupt, pure.⁹⁰

/ **Formula:** “PHISIO IAŌ AGEANOUMA SKABARŌ SKASABRŌSOU ASABRŌ, because 545
 I implore you this day today, this very time, to let the light and the sun appear to
 this boy, MANE OUSEIRI, MANE⁹¹ ISI,⁹² ANOUBIS the servant of all gods, and make
 this boy fall into a trance and see the gods, / all who are present at the divination. 550
 Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great!⁹³ May
 he appear, the one who [made] the four parts of the heaven and the four founda-
 tions of the earth, RESENNĒETHŌ BASENERAIPAN THALTHACHTHACHŌTHCH CHI-
 NEBŌTH CHINEBŌTH MIMYLŌTH MASYNTORI / ASTOBI. Come to me, you who are 555
 in heaven; come to me, you who are from the egg.⁹⁴ I conjure you by the ENTŌ⁹⁵
 TAPSATI LEGĒNISTHŌ ĒLEGĒ SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ⁹⁶ LEGE [having appeared
 and]⁹⁷ the two gods who are about you, THATH. The one god is called ‘So’⁹⁸ the
 other, ‘Aph,’⁹⁹ KALOU KAGŌĒI SESOPHĒI BAINCHŌŌŌCH.”

87. Perhaps PAPIE is related to PIPPI, but cf. the apparatus ad loc. See for PIPPI PGM IV. 595 and n.

88. For the plant called *κατανάγκης ἄλευρα*, see Diosc. 4.131; Pliny, *HN* 27.57.

89. The Greek is ambiguous, referring either to a house or a room in a house serving as a temple.

90. On the boy medium, see PGM V. 1 and n.

91. MANE is perhaps equivalent to Egyptian *mry.n*, “beloved one of,” hence: “beloved one of Osiris, beloved one of Isis.” [J.B.]

92. OUSERI . . . ISI, referring to Osiris and Isis, perhaps by the vocative. [R.K.R.]

93. The epithet “thrice great” results from the Egyptian superlative which repeats the positive three times. For the name Hermes Trismegistos and its derivation, see Festugière, *La révélation* I, 73–74; K. W. Tröger, “Die hermetische Gnosis,” in *Gnosis und Neues Testament. Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973) 103–4; J. Parlebas, “L’Origine égyptienne de l’appellation ‘Hermès Trismegistos,’” *GM* 13 (1974): 25–28; M.-Th. and P. Derchain, “Noch einmal Hermes Trismegistos,” *GM* 15 (1975): 7–10; R. K. Ritner, “Hermes Pentamegistos,” *GM* 49 (1981): 73–75; idem, “Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos,” *GM* 50 (1981): 67–68.

94. In Egyptian cosmogony the mythical primordial egg played a great role. Cf. PGM III. 145 and n. According to Orphic cosmogony, the one born from the egg is the god Phanes. See *Orph. Frag.* nos. 54, 55, and 56, and H. Leisegang, “The Mystery of the Serpent,” in J. Campbell, ed., *The Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978) 194–260.

95. Or, ἐν τῷ, “. . . by the one who is in TAPSATI . . .,” following Preisendanz. The latter probably belongs to the series of *voces magicae* as indicated here. See also I. 576.

96. On SERPHOUTH MOUISRO, see PGM III. 659; and Preisendanz, vol. III, p. 230, s.v.

97. The text is mutilated here: “[and having appeared]” is Preisendanz’s conjecture. The plural participle may refer to the two preceding commands, if these commands refer to two separate gods. But the conjecture does not help much. The problem is also complicated by λέγε, “tell” or “speak” (?).

98. This name probably refers to the god Shu, Greek Sōsis. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 326–37; Bonnet, *RARG* 685–89, s.v. “Schu.” Cf. PGM VII. 345.

99. The name is unexplained; for possible explanations, see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., and vol. III, p. 217, index, s.v. “Aφ.” Perhaps the name refers to Apophis, the snake god and enemy of Re. This god is mentioned as Ἀφνφς in PGM XIII. 262; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 36, 365D. See Griffiths,

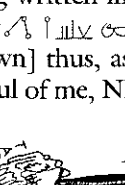
- 560 *The formula to be spoken*: “Come to me, spirit that flies in the air, / called with
secret codes and unutterable names, at this lamp divination which I perform, and
enter into the boy’s soul, that he may receive the immortal form in mighty and in-
corruptible light, because while chanting, I call, ‘IAO ELŌAI MARMACHADA MENE-
565 PHŌ¹⁰⁰ MERMAI / IĒŌR AIEŌ ĒREPHIE PHEREPHIŌ CHANDOUC AMŌN EREPNEU
ZŌNŌR AKLEUA MENĒTHŌNI KADALAEU IŌ PLAITINE RE AŌTH IĒI ŌEI MEDCHĒ-
NŌR ALACHAL PERECHAĒL SERENŌPH DOUNAX ANAXIBOA EREBE BŌ BEBŌBIA
570 ANĒSIODEU IAŌA ENIŌEAL / EMERŌ MASAINDA.”

“Hither to me, O lord, riding upon immaculate light without deceit and without
anger; appear to me and to your medium, the boy, MARMARIAU ANAPSICALAŌ
PEOE NIPSEOUA AIETY HARENNŌTHĒS¹⁰¹ ANERŌPHĒS ITHYAMAREM ŌSIĒR ANAP-
SICHYŌN PSYELĒMICHALĒS, appear” (say it 3 times).

- 575 / If he says, “I see your lord in the light,” say: “O holy YMERI EIGESOU ENTŌ
TĒRIOUA MENĒ SOMIŌŌ ALAMAŌR CHŌCHENEMĒTŌR,” and thus he will answer.
Ask: “ARSERETŌTHI OUĒMANTOUR.”

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM VII. 579–90

- 580 *A **phylactery**, a bodyguard against daimons, against phantasms, / against every
sickness and suffering, to be written on a leaf of gold or silver or tin or on hieratic
papyrus. When worn it works mightily for it is the name of power of the great god
and [his] seal, and it is as follows: “KMĒPHIS CHPHYRIS¹⁰² IAEŌ IAŌ AEĒ IAŌ OŌ
585 AIŌN IAEŌBAPHRENE / MOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAE Y EAIPHIRKIRALITHANYOME-
NERPHABŌEAI.”¹⁰³ These [are] the names; the figure is like this: let the Snake be
biting its tail, the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and
the characters thus, as follows: .

- 590 The whole figure¹⁰⁴ is [drawn] thus, as given below, with [the spell], “Protect
my body, [and] the / entire soul of me, NN.” And when you have consecrated [it],
wear [it].



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride 440; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51, s.v. “Apophis.” Cf. the strange ἀφφώ in *LXX* 2 Kgs 2:14; 10:10 and the explanations given by patristic commentators, for which see *PGL*, s.v. “ἀφφώ.”

100. Menepho is the name of the city of Memphis. Cf. *PGM* III. 104.

101. Harennōthes is Egyptian for *Hr-nḏ-ṯf* (Harendotes), meaning “Horus the defender of his father.” See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 269, s.v. “Harendotes”; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 345; D. Meeks, “Harendotes,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 964–66. [R.K.R.]

102. Chphyris is the Egyptian scarab, Khepri.

103. IAEŌ begins an often-cited palindrome, but it is not set out as such in Preisendanz. The copyist got one letter wrong: ALITHA should be ALITHO.

104. Preisendanz gives the opening words surrounding the serpent as TAREŌN EOY PHI, but the photograph (plate I, no. 4) shows clearly the reading given in the transcription here.

PGM VII. 591–92

*“Come to me, ear of heaven; come to me, ear [of the air;] come to me, ear of the earth,” and so forth, as indicated.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This portion of an invocation seems to be mislocated in the papyrus manuscript.

PGM VII. 593–619

***Fetchng charm for an unmanageable [woman]:**¹⁰⁵ Take a [lamp], not painted red, with seven wicks, and make a wick of [the hawser of] a wrecked / ship. On the [1st] wick write with myrrh, “IAŌ”; on the 2nd, “ADŌNAI”; on the 3rd, “SABAŌTH”; on the 4th, “PAGOURĒ”; on the 5th, “MARMOROUTH”; on the 6th, “IAEŌ”; on the 7th, “MICHAĒL.” 595

Put olive oil in the lamp and place it in a window / facing south. Also put worm-wood seeds on the lamp (around the edge of the lamp), and recite this *formula*: “I call upon you, the masters, great gods, who shine in the present hour, on this day, for the sake of her, the ungodly NN. For she has said: / 600

‘IAŌ does not have ribs.’ 605

[She, NN, has said,] ‘ADŌNAI was cast out because of his violent anger.’

[She, NN, has said,] ‘SABAŌTH emitted three cries.’¹⁰⁶

She, NN, has said, ‘PAGOURĒ is by nature a hermaphrodite.’

She, NN, has said, ‘MARMOROUTH was castrated.’

She, NN, has said, ‘IAEŌ was not entrusted with the ark.’

She, NN, has said, ‘MICHAĒL is by nature a hermaphrodite.’

/ “I am not the one who says such things, master, but she, the godless NN. Therefore fetch her for me, her inflamed with passion, submissive. Let her not find sleep until she comes to me” (repeat 7 times). 610

If the first lamp flickers, know that she has been seized by the daimon. And if the 2nd, she has left (the house); and if the 3rd, she is on the / way; and if the 4th, she has arrived; and if the 5th, she is at the door; the 6th, at the doorlatch; the 7th, she has come into the house. 615

It can fetch people even from across the sea. For that, place the lamp in some water in the open air. Place a papyrus boat under the lamp, and [recite the] formula 6 times.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM VII. 619–27

***From the Diadem of Moses:**¹⁰⁷ / Take the plant snapdragon and hold it under your tongue while lying asleep. And rise early and before you speak to anyone recite the names, and you will be invisible to everyone. 620

But when you say them over drinking cups and give them to a woman, she will love you, since this spell has power over everything: “ARESKILLIOUS THOU DALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR / MOULABŌTH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHŌRBAŌ SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASŌ IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI.” 625

For what you wish, say: “Get her, NN, for me, NN” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

105. See for parallels to this spell PGM IV. 2475 and n.

106. For this cry, cf. the parallel in Ignatius, *Eph.* 19. 1.

107. This spell seems to be a selection from a larger collection entitled “The Diadem of Moses.” [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 628–42

- *Taking a field lizard,¹⁰⁸ let it down into oil of lilies until it be deified. Then engrave / the [image of] the Asklepios [worshiped] in Memphis¹⁰⁹ on a ring of iron from a leg fetter and put [the ring] into [the] oil of lilies [in which the lizard was drowned]. And when you use [the ring] take [it and] show [it] to the pole star,¹¹⁰ saying this spell 7 times: “MENŌPHRI¹¹¹ who sit on the cherubim, send me / the true Asklepios, not some deceitful daimon instead of the god.” Then take the incense burner in where you are going to sleep and burn 3 grains of frankincense and wave the ring in the smoke of the incense, saying 7 times the [spell], “CHAU-APS / ŌAEIAPS ŌAIS LYSIPHTHA,¹¹² lord Asklepios, appear.” And wear the ring on the index finger of your right hand.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 643–51

- ***Cup spell**, quite remarkable: Say the spell that is spoken to the cup 7 times: “You are wine; you are not wine¹¹³ but the head of Athena. / You are wine; you are not wine, but the guts of Osiris, the guts of IAŌ PAKERBĒTH SEMESILAM ŌŌŌ Ē PATACHNA IAAA.” (For *the spell of compulsion*: “ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI EEE, who has been stationed over necessity, IAKOUB IA IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX”).
- “At whatever hour / you descend into the guts of her, NN, let her love me, NN, [for] all the time of her life.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 652–60

- ***Spell to induce insomnia by means of a bat**: Take blood of a black ox or of a goat or of Typhon¹¹⁴—but preferably of a goat—and write on its right wing: “BŌRPHŌR PHORBA PHORPHARBA / PHŌRBŌRPHORBA PHORBA PHORBA PHORBA BAPHAIĒ PHŌRBAPHŌR BARBA” (put one word under another one, like bricks,¹¹⁵ and [add the usual, whatever] you want). And on the left wing write this in the same pattern: “PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBABŌR / BORBORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA” (likewise, add the usual as you want).

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

108. See A. D. Nock, “The Lizard in Magic and Religion,” in his *Essays* I, 271–76. On deification by drowning, see *PGM* I. 5; III. 1, with notes; LXI. 39–71.

109. Asklepios in Memphis is the Egyptian god Imhotep. See D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977). [R.K.R.]

110. The constellation of the pole star (Bear) is connected here with the “true” Asklepios of Memphis, that is Asklepios/Imhotep in contrast to the Greek Asklepios. This expression is indeed non-Greek. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 14 and 181.

111. That is, Memphis, or perhaps Memphite. [R.K.R.]

112. -SI PHTHA is Egyptian and means “son of Ptah,” a standard epithet of Imhotep. [R.K.R.]

113. For the formula “you are x, you are not x, but . . .” cf., e.g., *PGM* LXI. 7–9. See also Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 111, 197 n.

114. The “blood of Typhon” is the blood of an ass. See *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

115. For this magical formation of words, see *PGM* V. 349, 361 and Preisendanz, vol. I, plate III, no. 6.

PGM VII. 661–63

***Love spell:** In conversation ¹¹⁶ while kissing passionately, say: “ANOK THARENEPI-BATHA CHEOUCHCHA ANOA ANOK CHARIEMOCHTH LAILAM.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 664–85

***Spell for obtaining dream revelations:** Take a linen strip, and on it you write with myrrh ink the matter, / and wrap an olive branch and place it beside your head, beneath the left side of your head, and go to sleep, pure, on a rush mat on the ground, saying the spell 7 times to the lamp:

“Hermes,¹¹⁷ lord of the world, who’re in the heart,
 O circle of Selene, spherical
 And square, / the founder of the words of speech, 665
 Pleader of Justice’s cause, garbed in a mantle, 670
 With golden sandals, turning airy course
 Beneath earth’s depths, who hold the spirit’s reins,
 The sun’s and who with lamps of gods immortal
 Give joy to those beneath earth’s depths, to mortals
 Who’ve finished life. / The Moirai’s¹¹⁸ fatal thread 675
 And Dream divine you’re said to be, who send
 Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
 Pains of all mortals with your healing cares.
 Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
 Of the goddess who brings full mental powers,
 By your own form and gracious mind. And to
 An uncorrupted youth / reveal a sign 680
 And send him your true skill of prophecy,

OIOSENMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NIOËRE KODËRETH DOSËRE SYRE SUROE SAN-KISTË DŌDEKAKISTË AKROUROBORE¹¹⁹ KODËRE RINŌTON KOUMETANA ROUBITHA NOUMILA PERPHEROU AROUŌRËR / AROUËR¹²⁰ (say it seven times and add 685 the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 686–702

***Bear charm:** “Bear, Bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion;¹²¹ / I appeal to you, imploring and supplicating that you may do the NN thing, because I call upon you with your holy names at which your deity rejoices, names which you are not able to ignore: BRIMŌ, earth-breaker, chief hunt-

116. Cf. on this title *PGM VII. 405* and n.

117. These dactylic hexameters are also one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–12; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249. This version is, however, quite different from that in *PGM V. 400–421* and *XVIIb. 1–23*. [E.N.O.]

118. At *PGM V. 410*, Preisendanz prints the word as a common noun, here as the proper noun. [E.N.O.]

119. On this *vax magica*, see the Glossary, s.v. “YESSIMMIGADO/AKROUROBORE formula.”

120. AROUËR is Egyptian for *Hr-wr*, “Horus the great.” [R.K.R.]

121. For this concept of the divine mover of the universe, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 208–11.

ress,¹²² BAUBŌ L¹²³ . . . I AUMŌR AMŌR AMŌR . . . IĒA [shooter] of decr¹²⁴ AMAM[A-
 695 MAR] APHROU . . . MA, universal queen, queen of wishes, / AMAMA, well-bedded,¹²⁵
 Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner,
 man-conqueror, LICHRISSE PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one,¹²⁶ O song and
 700 dance, guard,¹²⁷ spy, delight, delicate, protector, adamant, adamantine, O / Dam-
 namencia, BREXERIKANDARA, most high, Taurian,¹²⁸ unutterable, fire-bodied,
 light-giving, sharply armed. Do such-and-such things" (add the usual).

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. The purpose of the spell is not given, although directions to insert requests come at the end. Cf. the Bear spells in *PGM* IV. 1275–1330, 1331–89; LXXII. 1–36.

PGM VII. 703–26

*Request for a dream oracle: Write [with myrrh] on clean papyrus:

705 "I call you, the one who shines on the whole inhabited / and uninhabited world,
 whose name is composed of 30 letters, in which are the seven vowels, through
 which you name [the] universe, gods, lords, RARAPAE ABRAIĒ IRARA PAUOYŌ
 710 ARAŌACH (30 letters)¹²⁹ IEŌYŌĒ AIĒ IAŌĒ YŌEI: Reveal [to me], / lords, concern-
 ing the NN matter, dependably and through memory, PSICHOM¹³⁰ MORAIOUCH
 PSICHOM ARASKELLITH ĒCHOMMORAKAUPS PSICHOMMO ARATOPOTH. Lords of
 glory, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ CHAR-
 715 PHRAUTHI / PHRĒ"¹³¹ (add the usual, as you wish). Also write the name composed
 of 30 letters in two wing formations,¹³² thus: RARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOYŌA-
 BRAŌACHRARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOYŌABRAŌACH: A

O
 CHAŌARBAŌYOAPARARIĒIARBAEAPARAR
 / RAR A A R
 O O
 IEŌYŌĒ[AIĒIAŌĒYŌEI]
 R E E R

725 Write also the ["heart"] as indicated [if] you want, and after placing the strip of
 papyrus / under the lamp, go to sleep in a pure condition. Give answer to no one,
 ENTYTHLCH.¹³³

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

122. The rendering of *προκυνή* is uncertain. See also *PGM* VII. 885–86; P. Reinach II, 88 which has *προκυνήτε*. For similar epithets, see LSJ, s.v. "*κυναγέτης, προκυναγός, προκυνήγης, προκύων*." The epithet "earthbreaker" has usually in *PGM* been transcribed *RĒXICHTHŌN*.

123. The following list of divine epithets comes from the cult of Artemis; it contains old material, but not all is explainable and some renderings are quite tentative. Cf. for parallels *PGM* IV. 1301–8, 1345–79; also P. Reinach II, 88 (ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach, BIFAO* 39 [1940]: 29–32).

124. For this epithet, see Homeric Hymn 27. 2 and K. Wernicke, "Artemis," *PRE* 2 (1895): 1384.

125. The rendering of *εὐναία* is uncertain. See Euripides, *Hippol.* 160, also Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 236.

126. Preisendanz translates, "O goddess of Erymna."

127. On this epithet of Artemis, see also *PGM* IV. 1298; *Orph. Frag.* 42.

128. The meaning of this epithet is uncertain; for similar expressions, see K. Wernicke, *PRE* 2 (1895): 1399–1400.

129. The name is given below, ll. 716–18; cf. 708–9.

130. PSICHOM is Egyptian *p3 shm*, "the image/power." [R.K.R.]

131. THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ . . . PHRE corresponds to Egyptian "Thoth the ibis . . . Prē." [R.K.R.]

132. For the wing formation of magical words, see *PGM* I. 11 and n.

133. This is Demotic *mtw.f.ti bl.k* (?), "and he makes you fly" (?). [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 727–39

***Charm for a direct vision of Apollo:** In a ground-floor room without light, while you are crowned with a wreath of marjoram and while wearing wolf-skin sandals, recite this formula:

Formula: / “Helios, ruler of light, MER . . . EIPHIRA GARGERI PHTHA ER 730
 . . . OIE . . . GERLYCHA MER . . . [OPHO] R ITHARA PHERXEI AR . . . EID . . .
 PHÖRITHARZEI ERPHIBILCHIE ZEIRABELBĒ BICHA ARTHIA MĒLICHIA ERGA
 GERPHI IŌ CHERPHEI KARGŌOARA EARMILICHA ATHERTHAPHTHŌ ATHTHERTHA-
 PHI ARNACHERBBI.” /

After you have said these things, the god Apollo will come having a cup for a drink offering. Then you inquire concerning what you want. He gives from memory if you want, and if you ask, he will let you drink from his cup. 735

Dismissal: “ERKIKCHI BELTĒAMILICHA ARCHARZEIR PHIZŌR GEIRPHEI.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 740–55

***[Request for a dream oracle:** Write] on a strip of tinfoil, and after crowning the strip of foil with myrtle, set up the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense and carry the leaf of metal around the vapor while saying: “Lords, gods, reveal to me concerning the NN matter / tonight, in the coming hours. Emphatically I beg, I supplicate, I your servant and enthroned¹³⁴ by you.” 740 745

Then place the piece of foil under your pillow, and, without giving answer to anyone, go to sleep after having kept yourself pure for 3 days.

Formula to be written: / “MOU AMOU¹³⁵ AU IAŌ ABARBARASA AIŌ BAŌA CHPHĒ- 750
 NOURIS AŌB AMO ADŌNAI ŌIG IIII OTHTHOUŌ AORCHA ARORCHA CHAXYNNĒRE
 THIRARI OTHŌ CHOŌTH ERRE OCHŌ ANA ĒEPHRORE CHEIR ĒIN IĒIŌ ŌŌAA-
 MADAA / ŌŌŌ ŌŌŌ ŌŌA.” Write [it] with a copper stylus. 755

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell appears to be another version of a dream request; cf. PGM VII. 703–76. In this one, however, the title has been added by Preisendanz.

PGM VII. 756–94

***Prayer:** “I call upon you who have all forms and many names, double-horned goddess, Mene, whose form no one knows except him who made the entire / world, IAŌ, the one who shaped [you] into the twenty-eight shapes of the world so that they might complete every figure and distribute breath to every animal and plant, that it might flourish, you who grow from obscurity into light and leave light for darkness” / (beginning to leave by waning). 760 765

“And the first companion of your name is silence, the second a popping sound, the third groaning, the fourth hissing, / the fifth a cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the seventh barking, the eighth bellowing, the ninth neighing, / the tenth a musical sound, the eleventh a sounding wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thirteenth a coercive sound, the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection. / 770 775

“Ox, vulture, bull, beetle, falcon, crab, dog, wolf, serpent, horse, she-goat, asp, goat, he-goat, baboon, cat, lion, leopard, fieldmouse, deer, multiform, virgin, torch, / lightning, garland, a herald’s wand, child, key.¹³⁶ 780 785

“I have said your signs and symbols of your name so that you might hear me, because I pray to you, mistress of the whole world. Hear me, you, the stable one,

134. On the ritual of the enthronement of the initiate, see A. D. Nock, “Notes on Beliefs and Myths,” *JHS* 46 (1926): 47–48; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 642, 680.

135. AMOU is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

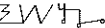
136. See for the meaning of these symbols PGM LXX. 9–11 and nn.

the mighty one, / APHEIBOËŌ MINTĒR OCHAŌ PIZEPHYDŌR CHANTHAR CHADĒ- 790
ROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU PHĒRZON AINDĒS LACHABOŌ PITTŌ RIPHTHAMER
ZMOMOCHŌLEIE TIĒDRANTEIA OISOZOCHABĒDŌPHRA” (add the usual).
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 795–845

*Pythagoras’ request for a dream oracle and Demokritos’ dream divination: 795
The entering angel is subordinate to the sun, and as subordinate to the sun he enters—so he enters in the form of your friend whom you recognize, with a shining 800
star upon his head, and sometimes he enters / having a fiery star. Take, then, a 805
branch of laurel, and inscribe on each leaf a sign of the Zodiac with cinnabar, having crowned yourself [with it]. (Also write its name in front of the sign of the Zodiac.) / This rite is divine. Hence, keep in your breast the things revealed to you by me even after the parting of my life, and if you perform them devoutly you will be successful.

They are: ¹³⁷

1. Aries	HAR MONTH ¹³⁸ HAR THŌ CHE		810
2. Taurus	NEOPHOBŌTHA THOPS		
3. Gemini	ARISTANABA ZAŌ		
[4]. Cancer	PCHORBAZANACHAU		
[5]. Leo	ZALAMOIRLALITH		
[6]. Virgo	EILESILARMOU PHAI		815
[7]. Libra	TANTINOURACHTH		
[8]. Scorpio	CHORCHORNATHI		
9. Sagittarius	PHANTHENPHYPHLIA		
[10]. Capricorn	AZAZAEISTHAILICH		
[11]. Aquarius	MENNY THYTH IAŌ		820
[12]. Pisces	SERYCHARRALMIŌ		

Take still another leaf of the royal laurel and write with cinnabar [ink] this name of [the] living god: “CHALCHANA PHOE KOSKIANŌ (19) / ALĒMONTALL . . . ASEICH.” 825
Having written it, do this for three days: wrap the leaves in a new handkerchief and lay it under your head. Having come when it is evening, while burning frankincense, speak this *formula*:

“I call upon you, holy angel ZIZAUBIŌ, from the company of the Pleiades to whom you are subordinate / and serve for all things, [for] whatever she might com- 830
mand you, you great, indestructible, fire-breathing one, who cast the rope of heaven, through which rope all things turn upon earth. Also, you [do I call upon], as many of you angels who are placed under his [ZIZAUBIŌ’s] power. Hence I call 835
upon you all that you may come quickly / in this night, and reveal to me clearly and firmly, concerning those matters I desire. I conjure you, O lord, who rise above the earth of the whole cosmic region, by the one ruling the whole inhabited world and the benefactor of all. Hence, I call upon you in this night, / and may you reveal all 840
things to me through dreams with accuracy, O angel ZIZAUBIŌ.”

Go to your house and having incensed the branch, put it on your head and sleep pure. You must have [the place] where you perform absolutely pure, and the phylac-

137. In this list most of the numerical designations 1–12 can be recognized in the far right column of the papyrus manuscript, numbering downward from Aries to Pisces. These numbers were erroneously included in the magical symbols by Preisendanz.

138. Har-Month is Horus-Montu. Montu is the Egyptian god of war and therefore the proper counterpart of Arcs, the ruler of the zodiacal sign Aries. Horus is also associated with this sign, for “Horus the Red” was the name of Mars which governs Aries. [R.K.R.]

tery / where you have inscribed the name, put on your head and crown yourself 845
with the branch.

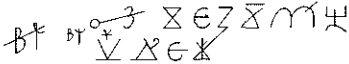
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbelle.

PGM VII. 846–61

*Shadow¹³⁹ on the sun: After you have purified yourself, walk towards the sun in the 5th hour, crowned with a tail of a cat, and say: “ERBETH BIO . . . PH . . . PH . . . LL . . . III ANACH ABAREIR LATÖRÖCH ERBEBRITHA AMBRITHĒRA ÖRYKISTAR / LAILAM AÖR XARXI THADARI ĒSYRPHA PHÖRPHI AGĒRÖCHĒ BEBATHA BARA 850
LIRYPÖ PHERCHĒ AMIARTH THERTHI GÖRĒ AMINACHARPHA IRGIRAMOU THARPHI THEIRIÖRYS PHERIA PHORPHOROPHI.”

When you have said these things, you will see a shadow in the sun. / Close your 855
eyes, look up, and you will see a shadow standing before you. Ask what you want, “ERBAIGÖRYTHARPHTHEIR.”

Phylactery: The tail and the characters with the circle [on which] you will stand after you have drawn it with chalk.

The characters are the following: /  860
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 862–918

*Lunar spell of Claudianus¹⁴⁰ and [ritual] of heaven and the north star¹⁴¹ over lunar offerings: This papyrus itself, the personal property of the Twelve Gods, was found¹⁴² in Aphroditopolis [beside] the greatest goddess, / Aphrodite Urania, who 865
embraces the universe.

The preparation for Mistress Selene is made like this: Take clay from a potter's wheel and mix a mixture¹⁴³ with sulfur, and add blood of a dappled goat and mold an image of Mistress Selene the Egyptian,¹⁴⁴ as shown below, making her in / the 870
form of the Universe. And make a shrine of olive wood and do not let it face the sun at all.¹⁴⁵ And after dedicating it with the ritual that works for everything, [put it away,] and thus it will be dedicated in advance. And anoint it also with lunar ointment and wreath it. And late / at night, at the 5th hour, put it away, facing Selene 875
in a [pure] room. And also offer the lunar offering and repeat the following in succession and you will send dreams, you will bind with spells. For the invocation to Selene is very effective. And after anointing yourself in advance [with] the ointment, appeal to her.

And this is the lunar spell: / “I call upon you, Mistress of the entire world, ruler 880
of the entire cosmic system, greatly powerful goddess, gracious [daimon], lady of night, who travel through the air, PHEROPHORĒ ANATHRA . . . OUTHRA. Heed

139. On the significance of the shadow, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 163–64.

140. Preisendanz indicates the name Klaudianos may refer to a certain philosopher and alchemist appearing in a list in Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* 26, I. 1.

141. The identity of the constellation of the Bear with Aphrodite-Selene is late. See Plutarch, *Amat.* 19, and F. Schwenn, “Selene,” *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1921): 1142; W. Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57(1984): 93–99. [R.K.R.]

142. On this literary claim of having found books, see W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, *Hypomnemata* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970).

143. The pleonasm (μῖξον μίγματος, “mix a mixture,”) is not uncommon in PGM; see PGM VII. 972. [E.N.O.]

144. The Egyptian Selene is the mistress of the night sky. See Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46. [R.K.R.]

145. Preisendanz has incorrectly translated τὸ σύνολον with “das Ganze.” Cf. I. 915 below, for the sense of the instruction. [E.N.O.]

885 your sacred symbols and give a whirring sound,¹⁴⁶ [and] give a sacred angel or a holy assistant who serves / this very night, in this very hour, PROKYNĒ BAUBŌ PHOBEIOUS MĒE, and order the angel to go off to her, NN, to draw her by her hair, by her feet; may she, in fear, seeing phantoms, sleepless because of her passion for me and her love for me, NN, come to my consecrated bedroom.”

890 So goes the song. But when / you see the goddess turning red, know that she is now attracting, and then say: “Mistress, send forth your angel from among those who assist you, one who is leader of night, because I adjure [you] by your great names, because of which no aerial or infernal daimon can ignore you, MESOUR-
895 PHABABOR BRAL IĒŌ ISI Ē. Come to me just as I have summoned you, / ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE ERESCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE SAMPSEI; hear my words, and send forth your angel who is appointed over the 1st hour: / MENEBAIN, and the one over the 2nd hour: NE-
900 BOUN, and the one over the 3rd hour: LĒMNEI, and the one over the 4th hour: MORMOTH, and the one over the 5th hour: NOUPHIĒR, and the one over the 6th hour: CHORBORBATH, and the one over the 7th hour: ORBEĒTH, and the one over
905 the 8th hour: PANMŌTH, and the one over the 9th hour: / THYMENPHRI, and the one over the 10th hour: SARNOCHOIBAL, and the one over the 11th hour: BATHIABĒL, and the one over the 12th hour: ARBRATHIABRI, so that you may do this for me; that you may attract, that you may tame on this very night, and so that she, NN
910 (or he, NN) be unable to have success until coming / to me, NN. [May she remain] fully satisfied, loving, desiring me, NN, and may she be unable to have intercourse with another man, except with me alone.”

Now recite the spell many times, and it will attract and bind, and she will love you for all the time of her life. But when you attract her and she has had intercourse
915 with you, then pick up / the goddess and stow her away, giving her magical material, and do not show her to the sun and she will not stop coming, desiring you.

You will act in the same way for the spell to send dreams until you accomplish what you want. The power of the spell is strong. The figure is below.¹⁴⁷

*Tr.: É. N. O’Neil.

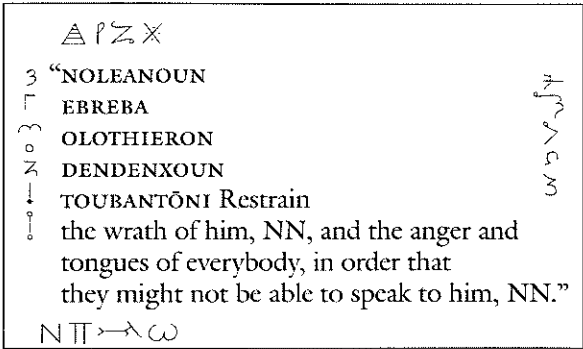
PGM VII. 919–24

***Hermes’ wondrous victory charm** which you are to keep in your sandals: Take a
920 tablet / gold like the sun¹⁴⁸ and inscribe on it with a bronze stylus and put it on whatever you want and see what it does on a boat, on a horse, and you will be amazed.

These are the characters: “𐤀 𐤍 𐤌 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙 𐤚 𐤛 𐤜 𐤝 𐤞 𐤟 𐤠 𐤡 𐤢 𐤣 𐤤 𐤥 𐤦 𐤧 𐤨 𐤩 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴 𐤵 𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼 𐤽 𐤾 𐤿 𐥀 𐥁 𐥂 𐥃 𐥄 𐥅 𐥆 𐥇 𐥈 𐥉 𐥊 𐥋 𐥌 𐥍 𐥎 𐥏 𐥐 𐥑 𐥒 𐥓 𐥔 𐥕 𐥖 𐥗 𐥘 𐥙 𐥚 𐥛 𐥜 𐥝 𐥞 𐥟 𐥠 𐥡 𐥢 𐥣 𐥤 𐥥 𐥦 𐥧 𐥨 𐥩 𐥪 𐥫 𐥬 𐥭 𐥮 𐥯 𐥰 𐥱 𐥲 𐥳 𐥴 𐥵 𐥶 𐥷 𐥸 𐥹 𐥺 𐥻 𐥼 𐥽 𐥾 𐥿 𐦀 𐦁 𐦂 𐦃 𐦄 𐦅 𐦆 𐦇 𐦈 𐦉 𐦊 𐦋 𐦌 𐦍 𐦎 𐦏 𐦐 𐦑 𐦒 𐦓 𐦔 𐦕 𐦖 𐦗 𐦘 𐦙 𐦚 𐦛 𐦜 𐦝 𐦞 𐦟 𐦠 𐦡 𐦢 𐦣 𐦤 𐦥 𐦦 𐦧 𐦨 𐦩 𐦪 𐦫 𐦬 𐦭 𐦮 𐦯 𐦰 𐦱 𐦲 𐦳 𐦴 𐦵 𐦶 𐦷 𐦸 𐦹 𐦺 𐦻 𐦼 𐦽 𐦾 𐦿 𐧀 𐧁 𐧂 𐧃 𐧄 𐧅 𐧆 𐧇 𐧈 𐧉 𐧊 𐧋 𐧌 𐧍 𐧎 𐧏 𐧐 𐧑 𐧒 𐧓 𐧔 𐧕 𐧖 𐧗 𐧘 𐧙 𐧚 𐧛 𐧜 𐧝 𐧞 𐧟 𐧠 𐧡 𐧢 𐧣 𐧤 𐧥 𐧦 𐧧 𐧨 𐧩 𐧪 𐧫 𐧬 𐧭 𐧮 𐧯 𐧰 𐧱 𐧲 𐧳 𐧴 𐧵 𐧶 𐧷 𐧸 𐧹 𐧺 𐧻 𐧼 𐧽 𐧾 𐧿 𐨀 𐨁 𐨂 𐨃 𐨄 𐨅 𐨆 𐨇 𐨈 𐨉 𐨊 𐨋 𐨌 𐨍 𐨎 𐨏 𐨐 𐨑 𐨒 𐨓 𐨔 𐨕 𐨖 𐨗 𐨘 𐨙 𐨚 𐨛 𐨜 𐨝 𐨞 𐨟 𐨠 𐨡 𐨢 𐨣 𐨤 𐨥 𐨦 𐨧 𐨨 𐨩 𐨪 𐨫 𐨬 𐨭 𐨮 𐨯 𐨰 𐨱 𐨲 𐨳 𐨴 𐨵 𐨶 𐨷 𐨸 𐨹 𐨺 𐨻 𐨼 𐨽 𐨾 𐨿 𐩀 𐩁 𐩂 𐩃 𐩄 𐩅 𐩆 𐩇 𐩈 𐩉 𐩊 𐩋 𐩌 𐩍 𐩎 𐩏 𐩐 𐩑 𐩒 𐩓 𐩔 𐩕 𐩖 𐩗 𐩘 𐩙 𐩚 𐩛 𐩜 𐩝 𐩞 𐩟 𐩠 𐩡 𐩢 𐩣 𐩤 𐩥 𐩦 𐩧 𐩨 𐩩 𐩪 𐩫 𐩬 𐩭 𐩮 𐩯 𐩰 𐩱 𐩲 𐩳 𐩴 𐩵 𐩶 𐩷 𐩸 𐩹 𐩺 𐩻 𐩼 𐩽 𐩾 𐩿 𐪀 𐪁 𐪂 𐪃 𐪄 𐪅 𐪆 𐪇 𐪈 𐪉 𐪊 𐪋 𐪌 𐪍 𐪎 𐪏 𐪐 𐪑 𐪒 𐪓 𐪔 𐪕 𐪖 𐪗 𐪘 𐪙 𐪚 𐪛 𐪜 𐪝 𐪞 𐪟 𐪠 𐪡 𐪢 𐪣 𐪤 𐪥 𐪦 𐪧 𐪨 𐪩 𐪪 𐪫 𐪬 𐪭 𐪮 𐪯 𐪰 𐪱 𐪲 𐪳 𐪴 𐪵 𐪶 𐪷 𐪸 𐪹 𐪺 𐪻 𐪼 𐪽 𐪾 𐪿 𐫀 𐫁 𐫂 𐫃 𐫄 𐫅 𐫆 𐫇 𐫈 𐫉 𐫊 𐫋 𐫌 𐫍 𐫎 𐫏 𐫐 𐫑 𐫒 𐫓 𐫔 𐫕 𐫖 𐫗 𐫘 𐫙 𐫚 𐫛 𐫜 𐫝 𐫞 𐫟 𐫠 𐫡 𐫢 𐫣 𐫤 𐫥 𐫦 𐫧 𐫨 𐫩 𐫪 𐫫 𐫬 𐫭 𐫮 𐫯 𐫰 𐫱 𐫲 𐫳 𐫴 𐫵 𐫶 𐫷 𐫸 𐫹 𐫺 𐫻 𐫼 𐫽 𐫾 𐫿 𐬀 𐬁 𐬂 𐬃 𐬄 𐬅 𐬆 𐬇 𐬈 𐬉 𐬊 𐬋 𐬌 𐬍 𐬎 𐬏 𐬐 𐬑 𐬒 𐬓 𐬔 𐬕 𐬖 𐬗 𐬘 𐬙 𐬚 𐬛 𐬜 𐬝 𐬞 𐬟 𐬠 𐬡 𐬢 𐬣 𐬤 𐬥 𐬦 𐬧 𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 𐬫 𐬬 𐬭 𐬮 𐬯 𐬰 𐬱 𐬲 𐬳 𐬴 𐬵 𐬶 𐬷 𐬸 𐬹 𐬺 𐬻 𐬼 𐬽 𐬾 𐬿 𐭀 𐭁 𐭂 𐭃 𐭄 𐭅 𐭆 𐭇 𐭈 𐭉 𐭊 𐭋 𐭌 𐭍 𐭎 𐭏 𐭐 𐭑 𐭒 𐭓 𐭔 𐭕 𐭖 𐭗 𐭘 𐭙 𐭚 𐭛 𐭜 𐭝 𐭞 𐭟 𐭠 𐭡 𐭢 𐭣 𐭤 𐭥 𐭦 𐭧 𐭨 𐭩 𐭪 𐭫 𐭬 𐭭 𐭮 𐭯 𐭰 𐭱 𐭲 𐭳 𐭴 𐭵 𐭶 𐭷 𐭸 𐭹 𐭺 𐭻 𐭼 𐭽 𐭾 𐭿 𐮀 𐮁 𐮂 𐮃 𐮄 𐮅 𐮆 𐮇 𐮈 𐮉 𐮊 𐮋 𐮌 𐮍 𐮎 𐮏 𐮐 𐮑 𐮒 𐮓 𐮔 𐮕 𐮖 𐮗 𐮘 𐮙 𐮚 𐮛 𐮜 𐮝 𐮞 𐮟 𐮠 𐮡 𐮢 𐮣 𐮤 𐮥 𐮦 𐮧 𐮨 𐮩 𐮪 𐮫 𐮬 𐮭 𐮮 𐮯 𐮰 𐮱 𐮲 𐮳 𐮴 𐮵 𐮶 𐮷 𐮸 𐮹 𐮺 𐮻 𐮼 𐮽 𐮾 𐮿 𐯀 𐯁 𐯂 𐯃 𐯄 𐯅 𐯆 𐯇 𐯈 𐯉 𐯊 𐯋 𐯌 𐯍 𐯎 𐯏 𐯐 𐯑 𐯒 𐯓 𐯔 𐯕 𐯖 𐯗 𐯘 𐯙 𐯚 𐯛 𐯜 𐯝 𐯞 𐯟 𐯠 𐯡 𐯢 𐯣 𐯤 𐯥 𐯦 𐯧 𐯨 𐯩 𐯪 𐯫 𐯬 𐯭 𐯮 𐯯 𐯰 𐯱 𐯲 𐯳 𐯴 𐯵 𐯶 𐯷 𐯸 𐯹 𐯺 𐯻 𐯼 𐯽 𐯾 𐯿 𐰀 𐰁 𐰂 𐰃 𐰄 𐰅 𐰆 𐰇 𐰈 𐰉 𐰊 𐰋 𐰌 𐰍 𐰎 𐰏 𐰐 𐰑 𐰒 𐰓 𐰔 𐰕 𐰖 𐰗 𐰘 𐰙 𐰚 𐰛 𐰜 𐰝 𐰞 𐰟 𐰠 𐰡 𐰢 𐰣 𐰤 𐰥 𐰦 𐰧 𐰨 𐰩 𐰪 𐰫 𐰬 𐰭 𐰮 𐰯 𐰰 𐰱 𐰲 𐰳 𐰴 𐰵 𐰶 𐰷 𐰸 𐰹 𐰺 𐰻 𐰼 𐰽 𐰾 𐰿 𐱀 𐱁 𐱂 𐱃 𐱄 𐱅 𐱆 𐱇 𐱈 𐱉 𐱊 𐱋 𐱌 𐱍 𐱎 𐱏 𐱐 𐱑 𐱒 𐱓 𐱔 𐱕 𐱖 𐱗 𐱘 𐱙 𐱚 𐱛 𐱜 𐱝 𐱞 𐱟 𐱠 𐱡 𐱢 𐱣 𐱤 𐱥 𐱦 𐱧 𐱨 𐱩 𐱪 𐱫 𐱬 𐱭 𐱮 𐱯 𐱰 𐱱 𐱲 𐱳 𐱴 𐱵 𐱶 𐱷 𐱸 𐱹 𐱺 𐱻 𐱼 𐱽 𐱾 𐱿 𐲀 𐲁 𐲂 𐲃 𐲄 𐲅 𐲆 𐲇 𐲈 𐲉 𐲊 𐲋 𐲌 𐲍 𐲎 𐲏 𐲐 𐲑 𐲒 𐲓 𐲔 𐲕 𐲖 𐲗 𐲘 𐲙 𐲚 𐲛 𐲜 𐲝 𐲞 𐲟 𐲠 𐲡 𐲢 𐲣 𐲤 𐲥 𐲦 𐲧 𐲨 𐲩 𐲪 𐲫 𐲬 𐲭 𐲮 𐲯 𐲰 𐲱 𐲲 𐲳 𐲴 𐲵 𐲶 𐲷 𐲸 𐲹 𐲺 𐲻 𐲼 𐲽 𐲾 𐲿 𐳀 𐳁 𐳂 𐳃 𐳄 𐳅 𐳆 𐳇 𐳈 𐳉 𐳊 𐳋 𐳌 𐳍 𐳎 𐳏 𐳐 𐳑 𐳒 𐳓 𐳔 𐳕 𐳖 𐳗 𐳘 𐳙 𐳚 𐳛 𐳜 𐳝 𐳞 𐳟 𐳠 𐳡 𐳢 𐳣 𐳤 𐳥 𐳦 𐳧 𐳨 𐳩 𐳪 𐳫 𐳬 𐳭 𐳮 𐳯 𐳰 𐳱 𐳲 𐳳 𐳴 𐳵 𐳶 𐳷 𐳸 𐳹 𐳺 𐳻 𐳼 𐳽 𐳾 𐳿 𐴀 𐴁 𐴂 𐴃 𐴄 𐴅 𐴆 𐴇 𐴈 𐴉 𐴊 𐴋 𐴌 𐴍 𐴎 𐴏 𐴐 𐴑 𐴒 𐴓 𐴔 𐴕 𐴖 𐴗 𐴘 𐴙 𐴚 𐴛 𐴜 𐴝 𐴞 𐴟 𐴠 𐴡 𐴢 𐴣 𐴤 𐴥 𐴦 𐴧 𐴨 𐴩 𐴪 𐴫 𐴬 𐴭 𐴮 𐴯 𐴰 𐴱 𐴲 𐴳 𐴴 𐴵 𐴶 𐴷 𐴸 𐴹 𐴺 𐴻 𐴼 𐴽 𐴾 𐴿 𐵀 𐵁 𐵂 𐵃 𐵄 𐵅 𐵆 𐵇 𐵈 𐵉 𐵊 𐵋 𐵌 𐵍 𐵎 𐵏 𐵐 𐵑 𐵒 𐵓 𐵔 𐵕 𐵖 𐵗 𐵘 𐵙 𐵚 𐵛 𐵜 𐵝 𐵞 𐵟 𐵠 𐵡 𐵢 𐵣 𐵤 𐵥 𐵦 𐵧 𐵨 𐵩 𐵪 𐵫 𐵬 𐵭 𐵮 𐵯 𐵰 𐵱 𐵲 𐵳 𐵴 𐵵 𐵶 𐵷 𐵸 𐵹 𐵺 𐵻 𐵼 𐵽 𐵾 𐵿 𐶀 𐶁 𐶂 𐶃 𐶄 𐶅 𐶆 𐶇 𐶈 𐶉 𐶊 𐶋 𐶌 𐶍 𐶎 𐶏 𐶐 𐶑 𐶒 𐶓 𐶔 𐶕 𐶖 𐶗 𐶘 𐶙 𐶚 𐶛 𐶜 𐶝 𐶞 𐶟 𐶠 𐶡 𐶢 𐶣 𐶤 𐶥 𐶦 𐶧 𐶨 𐶩 𐶪 𐶫 𐶬 𐶭 𐶮 𐶯 𐶰 𐶱 𐶲 𐶳 𐶴 𐶵 𐶶 𐶷 𐶸 𐶹 𐶺 𐶻 𐶼 𐶽 𐶾 𐶿 𐷀 𐷁 𐷂 𐷃 𐷄 𐷅 𐷆 𐷇 𐷈 𐷉 𐷊 𐷋 𐷌 𐷍 𐷎 𐷏 𐷐 𐷑 𐷒 𐷓 𐷔 𐷕 𐷖 𐷗 𐷘 𐷙 𐷚 𐷛 𐷜 𐷝 𐷞 𐷟 𐷠 𐷡 𐷢 𐷣 𐷤 𐷥 𐷦 𐷧 𐷨 𐷩 𐷪 𐷫 𐷬 𐷭 𐷮 𐷯 𐷰 𐷱 𐷲 𐷳 𐷴 𐷵 𐷶 𐷷 𐷸 𐷹 𐷺 𐷻 𐷼 𐷽 𐷾 𐷿 𐸀 𐸁 𐸂 𐸃 𐸄 𐸅 𐸆 𐸇 𐸈 𐸉 𐸊 𐸋 𐸌 𐸍 𐸎 𐸏 𐸐 𐸑 𐸒 𐸓 𐸔 𐸕 𐸖 𐸗 𐸘 𐸙 𐸚 𐸛 𐸜 𐸝 𐸞 𐸟 𐸠 𐸡 𐸢 𐸣 𐸤 𐸥 𐸦 𐸧 𐸨 𐸩 𐸪 𐸫 𐸬 𐸭 𐸮 𐸯 𐸰 𐸱 𐸲 𐸳 𐸴 𐸵 𐸶 𐸷 𐸸 𐸹 𐸺 𐸻 𐸼 𐸽 𐸾 𐸿 𐹀 𐹁 𐹂 𐹃 𐹄 𐹅 𐹆 𐹇 𐹈 𐹉 𐹊 𐹋 𐹌 𐹍 𐹎 𐹏 𐹐 𐹑 𐹒 𐹓 𐹔 𐹕 𐹖 𐹗 𐹘 𐹙 𐹚 𐹛 𐹜 𐹝 𐹞 𐹟 𐹠 𐹡 𐹢 𐹣 𐹤 𐹥 𐹦 𐹧 𐹨 𐹩 𐹪 𐹫 𐹬 𐹭 𐹮 𐹯 𐹰 𐹱 𐹲 𐹳 𐹴 𐹵 𐹶 𐹷 𐹸 𐹹 𐹺 𐹻 𐹼 𐹽 𐹾 𐹿 𐺀 𐺁 𐺂 𐺃 𐺄 𐺅 𐺆 𐺇 𐺈 𐺉 𐺊 𐺋 𐺌 𐺍 𐺎 𐺏 𐺐 𐺑 𐺒 𐺓 𐺔 𐺕 𐺖 𐺗 𐺘 𐺙 𐺚 𐺛 𐺜 𐺝 𐺞 𐺟 𐺠 𐺡 𐺢 𐺣 𐺤 𐺥 𐺦 𐺧 𐺨 𐺩 𐺪 𐺫 𐺬 𐺭 𐺮 𐺯 𐺰 𐺱 𐺲 𐺳 𐺴 𐺵 𐺶 𐺷 𐺸 𐺹 𐺺 𐺻 𐺼 𐺽 𐺾 𐺿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂 𐻃 𐻄 𐻅 𐻆 𐻇 𐻈 𐻉 𐻊 𐻋 𐻌 𐻍 𐻎 𐻏 𐻐 𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔 𐻕 𐻖 𐻗 𐻘 𐻙 𐻚 𐻛 𐻜 𐻝 𐻞 𐻟 𐻠 𐻡 𐻢 𐻣 𐻤 𐻥 𐻦 𐻧 𐻨 𐻩 𐻪 𐻫 𐻬 𐻭 𐻮 𐻯 𐻰 𐻱 𐻲 𐻳 𐻴 𐻵 𐻶 𐻷 𐻸 𐻹 𐻺 𐻻 𐻼 𐻽 𐻾 𐻿 𐼀 𐼁 𐼂 𐼃 𐼄 𐼅 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 𐼏 𐼐 𐼑 𐼒 𐼓 𐼔 𐼕 𐼖 𐼗 𐼘 𐼙 𐼚 𐼛 𐼜 𐼝 𐼞 𐼟 𐼠 𐼡 𐼢 𐼣 𐼤 𐼥 𐼦 𐼧 𐼨 𐼩 𐼪 𐼫 𐼬 𐼭 𐼮 𐼯 𐼰 𐼱 𐼲 𐼳 𐼴 𐼵 𐼶 𐼷 𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 𐼻 𐼼 𐼽 𐼾 𐼿 𐽀 𐽁 𐽂 𐽃 𐽄 𐽅 𐽆 𐽇 𐽈 𐽉 𐽊 𐽋 𐽌 𐽍 𐽎 𐽏 𐽐 𐽑 𐽒 𐽓 𐽔 𐽕 𐽖 𐽗 𐽘 𐽙 𐽚 𐽛 𐽜 𐽝 𐽞 𐽟 𐽠 𐽡 𐽢 𐽣 𐽤 𐽥 𐽦 𐽧 𐽨 𐽩 𐽪 𐽫 𐽬 𐽭 𐽮 𐽯 𐽰 𐽱 𐽲 𐽳 𐽴 𐽵 𐽶 𐽷 𐽸 𐽹 𐽺 𐽻 𐽼 𐽽 𐽾 𐽿 𐾀 𐾁 𐾂 𐾃 𐾄 𐾅 𐾆 𐾇 𐾈 𐾉 𐾊 𐾋 𐾌 𐾍 𐾎 𐾏 𐾐 𐾑 𐾒 𐾓 𐾔 𐾕 𐾖 𐾗 𐾘 𐾙 𐾚 𐾛 𐾜 𐾝 𐾞 𐾟 𐾠 𐾡 𐾢 𐾣 𐾤 𐾥 𐾦 𐾧 𐾨 𐾩 𐾪 𐾫 𐾬 𐾭 𐾮 𐾯 𐾰 𐾱 𐾲 𐾳 𐾴 𐾵 𐾶 𐾷 𐾸 𐾹 𐾺 𐾻 𐾼 𐾽 𐾾 𐾿 𐿀 𐿁 𐿂 𐿃 𐿄 𐿅 𐿆 𐿇 𐿈 𐿉 𐿊 𐿋 𐿌 𐿍 𐿎 𐿏 𐿐 𐿑 𐿒 𐿓 𐿔 𐿕 𐿖 𐿗 𐿘 𐿙 𐿚 𐿛 𐿜 𐿝 𐿞 𐿟 𐿠 𐿡 𐿢 𐿣 𐿤 𐿥 𐿦 𐿧 𐿨 𐿩 𐿪 𐿫 𐿬 𐿭 𐿮 𐿯 𐿰 𐿱 𐿲 𐿳 𐿴 𐿵 𐿶 𐿷 𐿸 𐿹 𐿺 𐿻 𐿼 𐿽 𐿾 𐿿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂 𐻃 𐻄 𐻅 𐻆 𐻇 𐻈 𐻉 𐻊 𐻋 𐻌 𐻍 𐻎 𐻏 𐻐 𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔 𐻕 𐻖 𐻗 𐻘 𐻙 𐻚 𐻛 𐻜 𐻝 𐻞 𐻟 𐻠 𐻡 𐻢 𐻣 𐻤 𐻥 𐻦 𐻧 𐻨 𐻩 𐻪 𐻫 𐻬 𐻭 𐻮 𐻯 𐻰 𐻱 𐻲 𐻳 𐻴 𐻵 𐻶 𐻷 𐻸 𐻹 𐻺 𐻻 𐻼 𐻽 𐻾 𐻿 𐼀 𐼁 𐼂 𐼃 𐼄 𐼅 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 𐼏 𐼐 𐼑 𐼒 𐼓 𐼔 𐼕 𐼖 𐼗 𐼘 𐼙 𐼚 𐼛 𐼜 𐼝 𐼞 𐼟 𐼠 𐼡 𐼢 𐼣 𐼤 𐼥 𐼦 𐼧 𐼨 𐼩 𐼪 𐼫 𐼬 𐼭 𐼮 𐼯 𐼰 𐼱 𐼲 𐼳 𐼴 𐼵 𐼶 𐼷 𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 𐼻 𐼼 𐼽 𐼾 𐼿 𐽀 𐽁 𐽂 𐽃 𐽄 𐽅 𐽆 𐽇 𐽈 𐽉 𐽊 𐽋 𐽌 𐽍 𐽎 𐽏 𐽐 𐽑 𐽒 𐽓 𐽔 𐽕 𐽖 𐽗 𐽘 𐽙 𐽚 𐽛 𐽜 𐽝 𐽞 𐽟 𐽠 𐽡 𐽢 𐽣 𐽤 𐽥 𐽦 𐽧 𐽨 𐽩 𐽪 𐽫 𐽬 𐽭 𐽮 𐽯 𐽰 𐽱 𐽲 𐽳 𐽴 𐽵 𐽶 𐽷 𐽸 𐽹 𐽺 𐽻 𐽼 𐽽 𐽾 𐽿 𐾀 𐾁 𐾂 𐾃 𐾄 𐾅 𐾆 𐾇 𐾈 𐾉 𐾊 𐾋 𐾌 𐾍 𐾎 𐾏 𐾐 𐾑 𐾒 𐾓 𐾔 𐾕 𐾖 𐾗 𐾘 𐾙 𐾚 𐾛 𐾜 𐾝 𐾞 𐾟 𐾠 𐾡 𐾢 𐾣 𐾤 𐾥 𐾦 𐾧 𐾨 𐾩 𐾪 𐾫 𐾬 𐾭 𐾮 𐾯 𐾰 𐾱 𐾲 𐾳 𐾴 𐾵 𐾶 𐾷 𐾸 𐾹 𐾺 𐾻 𐾼 𐾽 𐾾 𐾿 𐿀 𐿁 𐿂 𐿃 𐿄 𐿅 𐿆 𐿇 𐿈 𐿉 𐿊 𐿋 𐿌 𐿍 𐿎 𐿏 𐿐 𐿑 𐿒 𐿓 𐿔 𐿕 𐿖 𐿗 𐿘 𐿙 𐿚 𐿛 𐿜 𐿝 𐿞 𐿟 𐿠 𐿡 𐿢 𐿣 𐿤 𐿥 𐿦 𐿧 𐿨 𐿩 𐿪 𐿫 𐿬 𐿭 𐿮 𐿯 𐿰 𐿱 𐿲 𐿳 𐿴 𐿵 𐿶 𐿷 𐿸 𐿹 𐿺 𐿻 𐿼 𐿽 𐿾 𐿿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂 𐻃 𐻄 𐻅 𐻆 𐻇 𐻈 𐻉 𐻊 𐻋 𐻌 𐻍 𐻎 𐻏 𐻐 𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔 𐻕 𐻖 𐻗 𐻘 𐻙 𐻚 𐻛 𐻜 𐻝 𐻞 𐻟 𐻠 𐻡 𐻢 𐻣 𐻤 𐻥 𐻦 𐻧 𐻨 𐻩 𐻪 𐻫 𐻬 𐻭 𐻮 𐻯 𐻰 𐻱 𐻲 𐻳 𐻴 𐻵 𐻶 𐻷 𐻸 𐻹 𐻺 𐻻 𐻼 𐻽 𐻾 𐻿 𐼀 𐼁 𐼂 𐼃 𐼄 𐼅 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 𐼏 𐼐 𐼑 𐼒 𐼓 𐼔 𐼕 𐼖 𐼗 𐼘 𐼙 𐼚 𐼛 𐼜 𐼝 𐼞 𐼟 𐼠 𐼡 𐼢 𐼣 𐼤 𐼥 𐼦 𐼧 𐼨 𐼩 𐼪 𐼫 𐼬 𐼭 𐼮 𐼯 𐼰 𐼱 𐼲 𐼳 𐼴 𐼵 𐼶 𐼷 𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 𐼻 𐼼 𐼽 𐼾 𐼿 𐽀 𐽁 𐽂 𐽃 𐽄 𐽅 𐽆 𐽇 𐽈 𐽉

and put it under the sole of your left foot, after you have fumigated it carefully with incense.

/ *The names and characters are:* 930



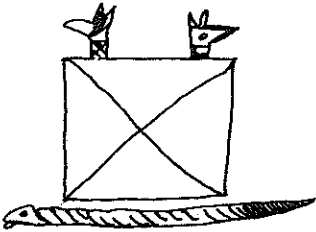
935

*Tr.: R. R. Hock. As shown here the papyrus illustrates how the lead tablet is to be drawn. The language of the curse suggests the spell was designed for use in a courtroom scene.

PGM VII. 940–68

*A charm to restrain anger and a charm to subject: On clean papyrus write with pure myrrh ink these names together with the “stele:” 940

IŌERBĒTH
IŌERBĒ
IŌERB
IŌER
IŌĒ
IŌ
I



IŌPAKERBĒTH
ŌPAKERBĒTH
PAKERBĒTH
AKERBĒTH
KERBĒTH
ERBĒTH
RBĒTH
BĒTH
ĒTH
TH

945

950

IŌSESESŔŌ
ŌSESESŔŌ
SESSESŔŌ
ESSESŔŌ
SESŔŌ
ESŔŌ
SRŌ
RŌ
Ō

IŌPĒMPS
ŌPĒMPS
PĒMPS
ĒMPS
MPS
PS

955

960

“Come to me, you who are in the everlasting air,¹⁵⁰ you who are invisible, almighty, creator of the gods. Come to me, you who are the unconquerable daimon. Come to me, you who are never grieved for your own brother, Seth.¹⁵¹ Come to me, / you fire-bright spirit. Come to me, you god who are not to be despised, you daimon, and put to silence, subordinate, enslave him, NN, to him, NN, and cause him to come under my feet.” 965

*Tr.: R. R. Hock.

150. For this expression see the parallel in PGM IV. 507–8.
151. This refers to Seth’s murder of his brother Osiris. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) esp. 81–82. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 969–72

- 970 ***A good potion:** Take a piece of hieratic papyrus and / write on it: “ΙΑΘ ὃ ΕΣ-
ΤΑΒΙΣΑΣΕ ΤΟΥΡΕΟΣΑΝ ΑΘΙΑΧΙΘΟΥΕΝΟΥ ΑΧΗΜΑΧΟΥ. Let her, NN, whom
NN bore, love me, NN, when she has drunk the drink.”¹⁵²

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 973–80

- 975 ***A love spell of attraction through touch:** Take a scarab and boil it in a good
unguent,¹⁵³ / and take the beetle and grind it together with the plant vetch, and
place them in a glass cup and say the spell that follows twice: “ΘΩΒΑΡΑΒΑΥ ΜΙ-
980 ΣΑΒΑΘΗ ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ ΛΑΙΛΑΜ, compel / her, NN, whom NN bore, to follow me
should I touch her.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 981–93

- *[**Love spell of attraction:** Purify yourself from everything for . . .] days and say
[this] spell at sunrise: “Helios . . . but come here to me, [Mistress ΑΚΤΙΟΦΙΣ
985 ΕΡΕΣΧΙΓΑΛ] ΠΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΕ; / attract [to me and bind her], NN, whom NN bore,
[to] the man who is [pining away] with [passion for her]; at this very moment,
inflame her that she fulfill the nightly desires of NN, whom NN bore. Aye, lord
990 ΝΕΘΜΟΜΑΘ [Helios, enter] into the [soul] of her, NN, whom NN bore, / and
[burn her heart], her guts, [her liver, her spirit, her bones. Perform] successfully for
me [this] charm,¹⁵⁴ immediately, immediately; [quickly, quickly].”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 993–1009

- *Look [to the] east [and say: “You are the one who thunders,] the one who rains
995 and / hurls lightning [at the] right time and dries [in the same way]; come to me,
reveal” (add the usual or [write] whatever [you want], and anoint your hand).

- Preparation of the ink:* 3 dried figs, 3 stones of the Nicolaus date, 3 fragments of
1000 wormwood, and 3 lumps of myrrh; [mix together, / then] after pulverizing them,
[write] the following formula. Isis uttered [it and] wrote [it] when, after taking up
Osiris, she fit together his separated members. Asklepios¹⁵⁵ [saw] Osiris and admit-
ted that he [could] not [put together] someone who was dead [even] with the help
of Hebe¹⁵⁶ or of [anyone else].

- 1005 [This is / *the formula*: “Come to me, ΣΕΣΕΓΓΕΝΒΑΡΦΑΡΑΓΓΕΣ ΣΑΒΑΘΗ,] for
[I conjure] you, [daimon] of the dead, [by] bitter [Necessity]; open [your ears and]
hear [the] holy [words].” Also say [frequently] the [stele given] below.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This fragmentary spell has not preserved its title and so its exact purpose
cannot be known.

152. On the pleonasm *πιούσα τὸν πότον*, cf. PGM VII. 867. [E.N.O.]

153. *μύρον* is translated by Preisendanz as “Myrrhenöl.” Both translations, however, may be too specific for this unspecified aromatic concoction. [E.N.O.]

154. For this phrase, cf. PGM IV. 295, 2939; XX. 5.

155. Asklepios seems to have taken over the role of Anubis (thus Eitrem, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

156. The appearance of Hebe, daughter of Hera and Zeus, is surprising in this context. According to Euripides, *Heraklid.* 847; Ovid, *Met.* 9. 400, she made Iolaos young again, a deed of proverbial fame.

PGM VII. 1009–16

***Divination by a dream:** Say / to the . . . double . . . and rub your [head]; and 1010
[after descending], go to sleep without answering anyone.

“I call upon [you], Sabaoth, Michael, Raphael and you, [powerful archangel] Gabriel, do not [simply] pass by me [as you bring visions], but let one of you enter / and reveal [to me] concerning the NN matter, AIAI ACHĒNĒ IAŌ.” Write these 1015
things [on leaves . . .] of laurel and place them by your head.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 1017–26

*“[Hail, Helios!] Hail, Helios! Hail, [Gabriel! Hail, Raphael! Hail,] Michael! Hail, whole [universe! Give me] the [authority] and power of SABAŌTH, the / [strength of IAŌ], and the success of ABLANATHANALBA, and [the might of] AK- 1020
RAMMACHAMAREI. Grant that I [gain] the victory, as I have summoned you” (then write the 59-[letter] IAEŌ formula). “Grant [victory] because I know the names of the Good Daimon, HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRITATĒNŌPHRI BRISAROUAZAR BASEN / KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI (add the usual) and accomplish this 1025
for me.” Speak to [no one].

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, this spell is a “favor and victory” charm. Cf. PGM XCII for a similar request for the power and strength of various magical and mythological personalities.

PGM VIII. 1–63

***Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos:**¹

Spell: “Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses² of women. Come to me, lord Hermes, who collect the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord Hermes, and give me favor,³ sustenance, / victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty 5
of face, strength of all men and women. Your names in heaven: LAMPHTHEN OUŌTHI OUASTHEN OUŌTHI OAMENŌTH ENTHOMOUCH. These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also know what your forms are: ⁴ in the east you have the form / of an ibis, in the west you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the north 10
you have the form of a serpent, and in the south you have the form of a wolf. Your plant is the grape which is the olive.⁵ I also know your wood: ebony. I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and what your city is: Her-
mopolis. Come to me, lord Hermes, many-named one, who know / the things hid- 15
den beneath heaven and earth. Come [to me], NN, lord Hermes; serve well, benefactor of the world. Hear me and make me agreeable to all the forms throughout the inhabited world. Open up for me the hands of everyone who [dispenses gifts]⁶ and compel them to give me what they have in their / hands. I also know your fore- 20
ign names: ‘PHARNATHAR BARACHĒL CHTHA.’ These are your foreign names.

“Whereas Isis, the greatest of all the gods, invoked you in every crisis, in every

1. According to Diogenes Laertius, *Proem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several Persian magicians. See E. Reiss, “Astrampsychos,” *PRE* 2 (1896): 1796–97.

2. For parallels to this concept, see PGM III. 603 and n.

3. Here and throughout this section, *χάρις* is translated “favor,” but the term comes close to meaning “grace.” [E.N.O.]

4. The four animals represent the following deities: the ibis is Thoth, the dog-faced baboon is Anubis, the serpent is Uto, the wolf is another form of Anubis. Their respective positions are partially clear as well: Uto is often the north, Anubis the west (or the south), but why Thoth stands in the east remains a puzzle. [J.B.]

5. The underscored words are Coptic written with Greek letters.

6. Accepting the emendation of Preisendanz.

district, against gods and men and daimons, creatures of water and earth and held
 25 your favor, / victory against gods and men and [among] all the creatures beneath
 the world, so also I, NN, invoke you.⁷ Wherefore, give me favor, form, beauty.
 Hear me, Hermes, benefactor, [inventor]⁸ of drugs; be easy to talk to and hear me,
 30 just as you have done everything in the form of your Ethiopian dog-faced ba-
 boon, / the lord of the chthonic daimons. Calm them all and give me strength,
 form (add the usual), and let them give me gold and silver and every sustenance
 which will never fail. Preserve me always, through all eternity, from drugs and de-
 35 ceits, every slander and evil tongues, from / every daimonic possession,⁹ from every
 hatred of both gods and men. Let them give me favor and victory and business and
 prosperity. For you are I, and I am you;¹⁰ your name is mine, and mine is yours. For
 I am your image.¹¹ If something should happen to me during this year or this
 40 month or this day or this hour, it will happen to the great / god ACHCHEMEN ES-
 TROPH, the one inscribed on the prow of the holy ship. Your true name has been
 inscribed on the sacred stele in the shrine at Hermopolis where your birth is. Your
 45 true name: OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. This is your name with fifteen / letters,¹² a
 number corresponding to the days of the rising moon; and the second name with
 the number 7, corresponding to those who rule the world,¹³ with the exact number
 365,¹⁴ corresponding to the days of the year. Truly: ABRASAX. I know you, Hermes,
 50 and you know me. / I am you, and you are I. And so, do everything for me, and
 may you turn to me¹⁵ with Good Fortune and Good Daimon, immediately, imme-
 diately; quickly, quickly.”

Take a piece of olive wood and make a small dog-faced baboon sitting down,
 55 wearing the winged helmet of Hermes / and a box on its back, and inscribe the
 name of Hermes on the papyrus and put it in the box. Write in myrrh ink, praying
 for what you do or what you wish, and after putting a lid on, burn incense and
 place it where you wish in the middle of the workshop.

60 *And the name to be written is:* “PHTHORON PHTHIONĒ THŌYTH.” / In addi-
 tion, write also these great names: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE ABLANATHANALBA
 AKRAMMACHAMAREI, 365, give to the workshop business, favor, prosperity, ele-
 gance, both to NN himself and to his workshop, immediately, immediately;
 quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. The title of the spell is misleading, for the spell has nothing to do with love, sex, or attraction of a woman. This is a spell for some shopkeeper to ensure good business. There are traces of mysticism here. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 19–20. [E.N.O.]

7. On Thoth as Isis’ chief helper, see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 132–36. [R.K.R.]

8. The translation follows Preisendanz’s emendation. Cf. below, l. 33 and PGM V. 247–48.

9. *συννοχή* occurs only here in PGM, and its meaning is uncertain. The verb *συνέχω*, however, occurs at PGM IV. 1408; V. 126, 131, where each time it seems to refer to daimonic possession. [E.N.O.]

10. For this formula of mutual identity, see PGM VIII. 49–50; XIII. 795. See Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 165–68.

11. The term *εἰδωλον* may show philosophical influence. See PGM XII. 235–36; LXI. 53–55. See Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 165–67; J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 78–80, 83.

12. As the Greek text stands, the name has sixteen letters. The name should be separated OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. The discrepancy must be in the first word because the second is correctly said to have seven letters. The confusion may be due to underlying Egyptian words. [J.B.]

13. That is, the seven planets.

14. Cf. l. 61. The number has the numerical value of Abraxas. See Glossary, s.v. “Abraxas.”

15. The term *συντρέπω* is rare. See Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 164 n. 49.

PGM VIII. 64–110

*Request for a dream oracle of Besa: / On your left hand draw Besa in the way shown to you below. Put around your hand a black cloth¹⁶ of Isis and go to sleep without giving answer to anyone. The remainder of the cloth wrap around your neck. 65

This is the ink with which you draw: Blood of a crow, blood / of a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, black writing ink, cinnabar, sap of mulberry tree, rain-water, juice of a single-stemmed wormwood and vetch. With this write. 70

Prayer to him,¹⁷ toward the setting sun:

“Borne¹⁸ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds, /
Golden-haired Helios who wield the flame’s 75
Untiring light, who drive in lofty turns
Around the great pole; who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
For from you come the elements arranged
By your own laws which cause the whole world to
Rotate through its four yearly turning points. /
If you go to the depths of earth and reach 80
The region of the dead, send up the truthful
Prophet out of that innermost abode.

I beg you LAMPSOÛER SOUMARTA BARIBAS DARDALAM PHORBĒX, lord, send forth your holy daimon ANOUTH ANOUTH SALBANACHAMBRE BREITH, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; in this night, come.” / If you wish to call him also for a direct vision, [take] a strip [of linen], soak it in sesame oil you have mixed [with] cinnabar, and place the linen as a wick in a lamp that is not colored red. The lamp should be lighted with sesame oil. Place it opposite you, say the formula, and he will come to you. Have near you / a small tablet so that you may write as much as he says,¹⁹ lest after going to sleep you forget. 85

“I call upon / you, the headless god, having your face beside your feet,²⁰ the one who hurls lightning and thunders; you are the one whose mouth is continually full of fire, the one placed over Necessity. I call upon you, the god placed over Necessity, IAEŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ZABARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin of myrrh, having resin and asphalt as an elbow cushion,²¹ [the one] whom they call ANOUTH ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the blood / of the two falcons²² who chatter and watch before the head of Osiris. You are the oracle-giving god SALBANACHAMBRE ANOUTH ANOUTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI IĒ IE IĒ IE” (add the usual). Go to sleep on a rush mat, having an unbaked brick beside your head. 100

What you draw is / of this sort: A naked man, standing, having a diadem on his head, and in his right hand a sword that by means of a bent [arm] rests on his neck, 105

16. See PGM VII. 227 and n.

17. The translation here is tentative because the reading of the papyrus is uncertain. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

18. These dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 1–6, 11 (7–8 [the identification of lines in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 239, is incorrect: v. 13 is not included here]). For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; 1957–89. [E.N.O.]

19. Cf. the memory spells in PGM I. 233–47; II. 16–20, 40–42.

20. See on this point PGM VII. 234 and n.

21. See for a parallel PGM VII. 237.

22. See for the two falcons and their watch PGM VII. 239 and n.

and in the left hand a wand. If he reveals to you, wipe off your hand with rose perfume. This is the figure / of the rite:



*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 64–74; 81–110) and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 74–81). This particular charm in its present form is actually two charms (a request for a dream oracle and a request for a direct vision) directed to Bes, an originally non-Egyptian god who came to Egypt early and was given many functions, one of which was to provide oracles. The request for a dream oracle contains preparatory instructions and a hymn to the sun that also appears in *PGM* IV. 436–46 and 1957–68. The request for a direct vision has instructions and a formula of invocation addressed to the “headless god.” This invocation also appears in *PGM* VII. 233–48 and makes use of language that can also be found in a boast of the “headless god” in *PGM* IV. 145–58.

PGM IX. 1–14

*“I’ll give you rest from wrath and soothe your raging.”¹ Come, lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your father ANIBAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your mother CHECHPHIŌ, with your two bodyguards CHENGĒBIŌCHTHŌ MYSAGŌTH ECHE ŌŌ MYSAGŌTH ACHPHIPHIŌ IAIA ŌCH SEBAU PHRĒ IŌ RĒXICHTHŌN YŌĒŌ AEAEĒIOYŌ CHYCHBACHYCH BAUACHYCH BAKAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH MENEACHYCH BADĒDOPHŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH. Bring into subjection, put to silence, and enslave / every race of people, both men and women, with their fits of wrath, and those who are under the earth beneath the feet of him, NN, especially so-and-so (add the usual, as you wish), for you have put beneath my feet, like my robe, the heart of SABAŌTH.”

On the back of the lamella: “EULAMŌ SISIRBBAIĒRSESI PHERMOU CHNOUŌR ABRASAX. Bring into subjection, enslave, and put to silence the soul, the wrath [of him, NN], because I adjure you by the / awful Necessity MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHMOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN PHNOUNOBOĒ.” On the front [write] the person’s name.

The introduction to the rite:

“I’ll² give you rest from wrath

And soothe your raging.

Come silently and bring

Silence and keep it.

Stop ev’ry wrath in souls

And melt all anger

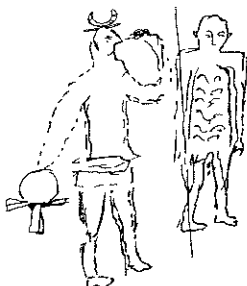
Of those with temper,

because I call upon your authentic name, BAINCHŌŌŌCH.” Say this name, [written] at the top of the metal leaf: “IAŌMORMOROTOKONBAI.”

1. The introduction to this spell cites only the first line of the “prologue” given in ll. 12–14.

2. These lines have been arranged in iambic trimeters and are the reconstructed Hymn 30. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 266. [E.N.O.]

[ON VERSO]:



*Tr.: R. F. Hock and E. N. O'Neil (verse sections, ll. 12–13). This spell to subject and silence gives instructions for engraving a so-called curse tablet, presumably made of lead.

PGM X. 1-23

*[While drinking] and eating take the first [morsels] and place them [into] a small dish¹ [of the temple while speaking] thus: “NN, may you have been sent [to me as a helper] to fulfill the commands / of the gods. My name is ōi . . . iāō sābaōth 5 ZABARBATHIAō [ADōNAI . . .]; let her, [NN,] love me, NN, with a divine [and] indelible [love].” »»»»»——

Spell that is spoken: / “I adjure you and the spirit which is with you. To you speaks the great and powerful god, SATHIS [PEPHOOUTH MOU]RÔPH ANOUR² OUPH[IRIGCH]: let her, NN, be well [disposed toward me]; let her see me and, having seen me, let her fall in love with me, and no one [will be able] to speak in opposition, PHTHOROCHÊB ATHA / . . . N THARAMÊCHI EOPSËRIPSOU ACHOR-
SÔTHIA . . . THIE Ê NOUSOU PHTHAPA APOUOROTH . . . Ê CHOADOUSTRÔ PRÔ-
THIAPSIÔR . . . S CHOMARCHÔCH CHANACHOUÔRRÊLOUKOUMPHA.”

[*The spell in another form*: “May she, NN,] fall in love when she sees³ [me, and] may she [never] resist [me], / O great and powerful god, because of modesty.” And 20 when you see her, NN, take a long, deep breath three times while staring at her, and then she smiles at you. For [this is] a sign of [her love]. >>>>>—

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text clearly preserves a love spell, but the beginning of the text is mutilated. The restoration by Preisendanz remains tentative, and so is the translation.

PGM X. 24-35

***Charm to restrain anger** which works in all cases, for it works against enemies, / accusers, brigands, phobias, and nightmares: Take a gold or silver lamella 25 and engrave on it the characters and names, and when you have consecrated it, wear it in purity. *Now here it is:*

O A I O A I	A B L A N A T H A N A L B A										A E E I O Y O Y O I E E A
	A K R A M M A C H A M A R E I										
O A I O A I	V N T E I N K D										A E E I O Y O Y O I E E A
	A I A E L A I L E M T A E O										

*Tr.: R. E. Hock.

1. *παροψίδιον* is taken here to be a misspelling of *παροψιδιον*, referring to a small food dish.
[E.N.O.]

2. ANOUR is Egyptian *In-hr* (Greek Onouris), whose major role in mythology was to bring back the angry goddess Tefnut. Cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 545–47, s.v. “Onuris.” [R.K.R.]

3. On the idea of love at first sight, a typically hellenistic idea, see, for example, Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.

PGM X. 36–50

**Another way*: Apollo's charm to subject: Take a lamella [or metal leaf]⁴ from a yoke for mules and engrave on it the following names and put a frog's tongue in it.

- 40 *Spell*, when the metal leaf with the frog's tongue is put / into your right sandal: "Just as these sacred names are being trampled, so also let him, NN (add the usual), the trouble-maker, be trampled."

"ABRASAX



	AEĒIOYŌ	CHYCH	MICHAĒL	IŌCHCH
	EĒIOYŌA	CHYBACHYCH	RAPHAĒL	NYSEU
	ĒIOYŌAE	BACHACHYCH	GABRIĒL	NYCHIEU
45	IOYŌAEĒ	BAKAXICHYCH	SOURIĒL	AŌCHĒ
	OYŌAEĒI	BAZABACHYCH	ZAZIĒL	MECHEU
	YŌAEĒIO	BADĒTOPHŌTH	BADAKIĒL	IAŌ
	ŌAEĒIOY.	BAINCHŌŌŌCH.	SYLIĒL.	SABAŌTH
				ADŌNAI.
50	✂ ABRASAX ✂	✂ Subject him, NN, to me, / immediately; quickly, quickly." ✂		
	✂ z ✂			

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XI.a 1–40

**Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman*: Take Typhon's skull¹ and write the following characters on it with the blood of a black dog: "☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ SABERRA." Then, going to a suitable place, by a river, the sea, or at the fork of a road, in the middle of the night put the skull / on the ground, place it [under] your left foot, and speak as follows.

- 5 *The formula*: "ERITHYIA² MEROPĒ GERGIŌ CHĒTHIRA ANAPEROUCH . . . LYRŌPHIA GĒGETHIRA LOLYN GOUGŌGĒ AMBRACHA BI . . . AEBILĒ MARITHALA MPROUCHE ABĒL ETHIRAŌ AP . . . ŌCHORIĒLA MŌRĒTHIRA PHECHIRŌ ŌSRI
10 PHOIRA AMERI . . . PHĒ. OUTHĒRA / GARGERGIŌ TITHEMYMĒ MĒRAPSĒCHIR AŌRIL. Come, appear, O goddess called Mistress of the House."³

- After you say this, you will behold sitting on an ass a woman of extraordinary loveliness, possessing a heavenly beauty, indescribably fair and youthful. As soon as you see her, make obeisance and say: "I thank [you], lady for appearing to me. /
15 Judge me worthy of you. May your Majesty be well disposed to me. And accomplish whatever task I impose on you."

82 (on a magical ritual), a line which Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 41, and the author of the *Ciris* (l. 430) copied. See Gow's note to *Idyll* 2. 82, Theocritus, vol. II, 51–52. [E.N.O.]

4. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, which has the editor's insertion (ἡ πέταλον) to conform with the occurrence of the noun in l. 39. The emendation, however, may not be necessary.

1. "Typhon's skull" is the semantic equivalent of the skull of an ass. See C. Colpe, "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1978): 620–21; H. Kees, "Seth," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 4 (1923): 1896–1922; esp. 1899, 1920–21; W. Fauth, "Seth-Typhon, Onoel und der eselköpfige Sabaoth," *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973): 79–120.

2. This seems to be the reading of the papyrus, but it is not certain. Preisendanz treats the word as a proper name. One may also read *ειλειθνία* on the grounds that both it and *μεροπε* which follows immediately are names suitable for the goddess Nephthys. [J.B.]

3. "Mistress of the house" is a direct translation of the Egyptian name Nephthys, sister of Isis, and (as is stressed in this spell) wife of Seth. Thus she is fittingly associated with an ass. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 519–21, s.v. "Nephthys"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 305, 447. [J.B./R.K.R.]

The goddess will reply to you, “What do you have in mind?”

You say, “I have need [of you] for domestic service.”

At that, she will get off the ass, shed her beauty, and will be an old woman.⁴ And the old woman will say to you, “I will serve and attend you.”

After she tells you this, the goddess will again put on her own beauty, which she had just taken off, / and she will ask to be released.⁵

20

But you say to the goddess, “No, lady! I will use you until I get her.”

As soon as the goddess hears this, she will go up to the old lady, and will take her molar tooth and a tooth from the ass and give both to you; and after that it will be impossible for the old woman to leave you, unless perhaps you want to release her. From that time forth, you will receive a bounty of great benefits, for everything that your soul desires will be accomplished by her. She will guard all your possessions⁶ / and in particular will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you.⁷

25

Indeed she will tell you everything and will never desert you: such is her store of good will toward you. But if ever you wish, there is a way to release her (but never do this!). Take her tooth and the ass’s tooth, / make a bonfire, and throw them into the fire, and with a shriek the old woman will flee without a trace. Do not be prone to release her, since it will be impossible for you to replace her.

30

But do release the goddess, when you are sure that the old woman will serve you, by speaking as follows: “MENERPHER PHIE PRACHĒRA LYLŌRI / MĒLICHARE NECHIRA.” When the old woman hears this, the goddess will mount the ass and depart.

35

The phylactery to be used throughout the rite: The skull of the ass. Fasten the ass’s tooth with silver and the old lady’s tooth with gold, and wear them always; for if you do this, it will be impossible for / the old woman to leave you. The rite has been tested.

40

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. See on this spell, for general background and additional literature, E. L. Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,” *ANRW* II, 16, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686; J. Bergman, “Nephthys découverte dans un papyrus magique (PGM XIa.),” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Editions de l’université de Montpellier, 1984) 1–11.

PGM XIb. 1–5

*To make men who have drinking at a symposium appear to have donkey snouts⁸ to outsiders, from afar: In the dark [take] a wick from a lamp and dip it in donkey’s blood; make a new lamp / with the new wick and touch the drinkers.

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. For similar “gimmicks,” see the translation and notes on PGM VII. 167–85. The translation adopts the restorations mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* of Preisendanz.

4. At this point, the old woman and the goddess assume separate identities. [H.M.]

5. On this point see PGM LXX. 11 and Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

6. Reading with Eitrem *πάντα δέ σοι*, instead of Preisendanz’s *καὶ τὰδε σοι*. [H.M.]

7. Or “whatever anyone is plotting against you.” [J.B.]

8. LSJ, s.v., cites this as a gloss (a plant name). But here and in Psellos, *Lect. Mirab.* (A. Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963; repr. of 1839 ed.] 147, 11; the *paignion* of Anaxilaos in Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 1928, p. 79, 7) the term can be rendered literally “donkey-faced” or “ass-snouted.” The *paignion* of Anaxilaos reads: “If you wish your wife to appear ‘ass-snouted’ when she looks in the mirror, rub her mirror with donkey’s tears.” [R.D.K.]

PGM XIc. 1–19

*You write this on hieratic papyrus and [place . . . :]

"I adjure you, by the god IABŌ: turn the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, to NN, 5 whom / NN bore, at the command of IABŌ, MASKELLEI MASKELLŌ PHAINOUKENTABAŌ; cause me, NN, to obtain 10 intercourse,	God the [BAR]BARAI let her, NN, [whom NN bore, come beneath my] / roof, and let her love [me, NN, whom NN bore], for [all] the time / [of her] life, lusting [for me] with [eternal] love, immediately, [immediately; quickly, quickly]."
--	--

5
10 ABLANATHANALBA
BLATHANABA
NATHANDA
ANATHANA
NABANAEI
ABTHŌŌTH
15 BARBACHA
ABRASAX
AŌ[IAMARI]
SERPHOUTHEI
E EI EI Ē I Ē I AAAAAA IIIIII

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PDM xii. 1–5

5 *"... I am NA, come (?) . . . farmer (?), the millions of falcons, / this young man. . . ."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 1–5. The first line of this invocation of an uncertain purpose is missing. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic texts only when they appear in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic magical papyri).

PDM xii. 6–20

10 *A ring to cause praise: You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone which is in the shape of a grape [which] grows / as a fresh plant in the water, there being [a] daimon with the face [of] a falcon . . . together with his snake tail,¹ there being
15 a nemes headdress (?) in (?) the . . . eye whose face goes to the . . . Write / this name on it . . . saying, "ABRAXAM PHILEN . . . CHNI . . .," put a limb of a lion
20 under it together with a piece of gold; put them under it; and / make . . . it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 6–20.

PDM xii. 21–49

*"Open to me, O heaven! Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me! I am Horus. Open to me! I went forth from the necropolis of Wen-nefer."

1. For a composite deity, cf. *PGM* XII. 121ff.; XIII. 50 with n.

May Iymhotep² the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, come to me tonight! May he tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness / which has happened to me, together with the method of [using] it, there being no falsehood therein! Bear witness! Bear witness!³ O Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, and put this . . . of reed (?) on yourself while the bark of *rw*-wood is under you, while the . . . of . . . of Ptah is on you. Is it what is fitting? May he, Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, / born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?) to the fury against you in the presence of Nephthys saying, 25 [5]

‘O Shu, live! O soul, live! Live, O Shu, live! Live, O Osiris! Live, O Ethiopian soul! Live, O Sokar who endures (?) who is [on] board . . . harbor . . . entire (?), he having ascended. Live O great (secret) image of Egypt who rests in the middle of Memphis, the place of Ptah’ (another [manuscript] says: ‘the House of the obelisk’) ‘without a prescription! If I am called / about it, . . . calls to me about a prescription, I shall tell him the prescription which is fitting to the illness in which he is.’ 30 [10]

Is it what is fitting? May Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?). Come to me, O battler! Tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness [which] has happened to me! Come to me, O great of face . . . O . . . the peak . . . soul! Come to me, O one whose face / is as the face of a falcon . . . hair of . . . ! O he who rests . . . necropolis of (?) Heliopolis (?). I (?) am the son . . . after swallowing. O son of the great Shu. Come to me . . . of man upon his egg (?) . . . of Thoth and his father! Come to me, O (?) . . . who is in the great ennead, not knowing his . . . , the . . . ! Are you steadfast against me, not to tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened / in me? I will say much 35 [15]

(?) . . . which is in . . . , the mysterious one (?), who is in . . . the heart of the . . . the . . . of . . . of . . . of the . . . soul” (another [manuscript] says: “Ruler of the western half”). “You will not live in the . . . without having come to me tonight to tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened to me, together with the method of using it, [there] being no falsehood therein.” 40 [20]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 35–37, col. I*, ll. 1–29. The purpose of this prayer is to secure a remedy for an unstated disease. 45 [25]

PGM XII. 1–13

***Rite:** Unfold a funeral shroud at night and carry it;⁴ also take a sword.

Then say: “THERMOCH CHTHABOI ACHAPH MARMILYCHA BERTHIÖCH CHARÊL . . . BAIÖCH . . . THACH DÊRPHO PHIRBSAT (?) SÔTHÖRAI PHAUXAI IÖA MEILICH LABAI EIA KARSE REUTHRA ENROUCH ZERPHRÊCH / PSERPHERCHÖ THNERBÊCH 5

CHARCHERBER YEICH PHCHYAR PA . . . CHA MILCHITHER CHLÊLÖR PHACHILER MAZ MACHAIRIÖCH.”

After you say this, the Maiden will come carrying torches.⁵ Say: “PHERTHELI- LÖCH PEIY . . . ,” and her firebrands will be extinguished, and she will stand there in distress and complain.

You say, “Do such-and-such and I will light your torches.” If she sends a dream, you are to light them and she will fly away. / If you send her to kill somebody, give 10

2. For Imhotep, the vizier and architect of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara later divinized as the patron of scribes and physicians, see Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunst Verlag, 1977); idem, “Imhotep,” *LdÄ* 3, 145–48. [J.H.J.]

3. The words “Bear witness!” were crossed out by the original scribe.

4. It is not clear what the conjurer is to carry. Is it the funeral shroud? [H.M.]

5. The reference is to Kore (Persephone). See the picture on the Niinnion Tablet in G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), fig. 88, and the discussion, pp. 213–21.

her the sword and she will give you the torches and return with the sword covered with blood. Tell her that the torches belong to her; they will catch fire, and she will take flight.

While doing this, say: “MÖZERPHER TACHCHAPS.” Attach a phylactery⁶ to your right and your left hand at night and wear it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 14–95

- 15 *Eros⁷ as assistant. / A ritual of Eros: *consecration and preparation* (among his operations, he sends dreams or causes sleeplessness; and he releases from an evil spirit, if you use him in a proper and holy manner, for he can perform every operation). Take [wax] of Etruria⁸ and mix with it [every] kind of aromatic plant. Then make a statue of a torch-bearing Eros that is eight dactyls⁹ high and has a large base to support it. Put a bow / and arrow in [his left] hand, and fashion a Psyche¹⁰ of
20 the same sort as Eros.

When you have completed all this, conduct a three-day consecration. You are to present to Eros fresh fruits of every kind and 7 cakes, 7 pinecones, every kind of sweetmeat, 7 lamps not colored red; also, [three] daggers, votive tablets, a bow and arrow, dates, a bowl mixed with honey wine.

- 25 After you make the statues and the presentation as indicated, next place your Eros on a table laden with the fruit / and holding both the 7 lamps, ablaze with clear olive oil, and all else listed so as to win the favor of wondrous Eros.

- On the first day, after you put him on the table and arrange things as prescribed—and I describe its form in full for you, that you may understand and lack no detail—build a pure altar; that is, take two unbaked bricks and form them into 4
30 horn-shaped objects, on which you lay fruit-bearing branches. / Take also on the first day 7 living creatures and strangle them: one cock, a partridge, a wren, a pigeon, a turtledove, and any two nestlings you can get hold of. Do not make a burnt offering¹¹ of any of these; instead, you are to take them in hand and choke them, all the while holding them up to your Eros, until each of the creatures is suffocated and their breath¹² enters him. After that, place the strangled creatures on
35 the altar together with aromatic plants / of every variety.

On the second day, strangle a male chick before your Eros and burn it as a whole offering.

On the 3rd day, place another chick on the altar; while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present. I assure you, if you perform the above actions in a holy and pure manner, you will have complete success.

- 40 *First formula to be spoken* while making the burnt offering: / “I call upon you, who are on the couch of beauty, who are in the mansion of desire: serve me and, no matter where I send you, always bear the message I give you, likening yourself to some god (or goddess) such as men and women there worship, announcing all that is written out or imparted to you in speech, quickly!

6. It is not certain what the phylactery is, although it may be the shroud.

7. Cf. PGM VII. 479 for a parallel.

8. For this substance, see PGM IV. 3131.

9. That is, the measure of the finger's breadth, about 7/10 of an inch.

10. On Eros and Psyche, see PGM IV. 1741 and n.

11. This refers to the so-called holocaust, in which the sacrificial gifts are burnt completely (cf. PGM IV. 2396, 3148–49). See Nilsson, *GGR* I, 132; J. Milgrom, *IDB.S* (1976): 769–70 on *‘ôlā*.

12. For this peculiar purpose of sacrifice, see PGM XIII. 377.

“Fire overtook the greatest phantoms, and heaven swallowed unawares the orb of the holy scarab / called ‘PHŌREI.’¹³ Scarab, the winged ruler in midheaven, was be-headed, dismembered, and wasted his greatness and glory; they confined him and took another as master of heaven.¹⁴ You take note, and serve as my minister to any-one I choose, man or woman.

“Come to me, O master of heaven, who shine upon the world of men; serve as my minister, whether to men or to women, whether to the small or to the great, and / compel them always to do everything written by me.

“Come to me, O master of forms, and arouse men and women for me; force them by your ever-strong and mighty authority to do everything written or spoken by me, EISAPHSANTA PHOUREI ARNAI SYSYN PHREŌ¹⁵ RIŌBAIOSOI, you are ATEPHTHO AŌREL ADŌNAI; afflict them with fear, trembling, terror; trouble their thoughts / with fear of you. And do everything prescribed for [me], NN. If you disobey me, the sun’s orb will burn out and darkness will cover the whole world. The Scarab will come down until you do for me everything I write or say—in strict obedience to me; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

Second [formula] to be spoken while making the burnt offering: “I conjure you by the one who controls the universe, laid the four foundations, and mixed the 4 / winds. You are the one who sends lightning, you are the one who thunders, you are the one who shakes, you are the one who overturned all things and set them up again. Cause all men and all women to turn to love me, the man NN (or the woman NN), from the very hour when I make my petition with this binding charm,¹⁶ on order from the most high god,¹⁷ IAŌ ADŌNEAI ABLANATHANALBA. You are the one who embraces the Graces on the mountain top, LAMPSRĒ; you are the one who holds Necessity in your right hand, BELTEPIACH; you are the / one who loosens and binds, SEMESIELAMP EKRIPIH. Obey me from this day forth even unto all time.”

Third formula for the same offering: “I call upon you, gods of heaven and gods of earth, gods aerial and gods terrestrial. And I conjure you by the one who controls the 4 foundations, to accomplish for me, the man NN (or the woman NN) such-and-such a matter and to give me favor, sweet speech, charm with all men / and all women under creation, that they may be submissive to my every wish, inasmuch as I am the slave of the most high god, the almighty who controls the universe, MARMARIŌTH LASIMĪŌLĒTH ARAAS . . . S SĒBARBAŌTH NOŌ AŌI ŌIĒR (add the spice)¹⁸ AAAAA ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ŌŌŌŌŌŌ. I give orders to Eros, who is charged with carrying out these my commandments, inasmuch as I am god of all gods, IAŌN SABAŌTH ADŌNAI [ABRASAX] IARABBAI / THŌURIŌ THANAKERMĒPH PANCHONAPS.”

The above formulas must be used and [spoken] during the 3 days if you are to endow the rite with full potency. But when you dispatch your Eros to accomplish

13. The relationship between the holy scarab and the name PHŌREI is not clear. Cf. the *voces magicae* below, I. 53 (PHOUREI) and the apparatus ad loc.

14. The reference to scarab mythology in ll. 45–47 is syncretistic and reminiscent of the dismemberment of Osiris. See S. Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101.

15. PHREŌ is “Prē the great.” It should be noted that the sun god is in conjunction with the scarab. [R.K.R.]

16. The papyrus reads *παράψιμω* (LSJ, s.v.: “charm acting by means of touch”); the translation follows Preisendanz’s reading *παράφριμω* (“Zauberzwang”). See the apparatus ad loc.

17. For this epithet of IAŌ ADŌNAI, cf. PGM IV. 1068; XVI. 9. See G. Bertram, *TDNT* 8 (1972): 618–19, s.v. “ὕψιστος.”

18. The papyrus reads *ἄρτημα*, “ornament”; Preisendanz takes it to be *ἄρτυμα*, “spice.”

your desires, utter only the formula below, removing him from the table together with the things presented to him; write instructions as to what you desire on a small piece of papyrus.

Formula to be written on the piece of papyrus: “You are the babe, the living god, the creature of beauty¹⁹ . . . SAMMŌTH / SABAŌTH TABAŌTH SORPHĒ SEOUR-PHOUTH MOUI SI SRŌ²⁰ SALAMA GŌUTH ETHEIMĒOUS OUSEIRI HESEIĒ E PHTHA NOUTH SATHAĒ ISIS²¹ ACHTHI EPHANOUN BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ ASĒĒAĒI. Go [to] every place and every dwelling to which I send you, to him, NN, [born of] her, NN (or to her, NN, [born of] her, NN), likening yourself to a god (or goddess) he [or she] worships. Force him to do such-and-such a matter (write as much as you wish on the piece of papyrus along with the formula). Awake, terrify him! I conjure you / by the [holy] and precious name to which all creation is subject: PAS-ICHTHŌN IBARBOU THARAKTITHEANŌ BABOUTHA KŌCHED, Amen.²² Let such-and-such a matter come to pass immediately, immediately. . . .

“ . . . of the Red Sea, the one who drives the winds together from the 4 regions, the one who sits upon the lotus²³ and illumines the whole world; for you throne in the form of a crocodile, and in southerly regions you are a winged serpent. Such now in very / truth is your nature, IŌIŌ BARBAR ADŌNAI KOMBALIŌPS THŌB IAR-MIŌOUTH. Come to me; heed this my request for service, this my request for action, O most great one, HARSAMŌSI MOUCHA LINOUCHA robber ADŌNEAI. I am he whom you met at the foot of the holy mount and to whom you gave the knowledge of your most great [name], which knowledge will I even keep in sanctity, imparting it to no one save the very initiates into your own holy mysteries, IAR-BATHATRA MNĒPSIBAŌ / CHNĒMEŌPS. Come! Submit to this service and be my assistant.”

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 96–106

*Himerios²⁴ recipes:

Drawing made with Typhonian ink:²⁵ A fiery red poppy, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, red Typhon's ocher, asbestos, quicklime, wormwood with a single stem, gum, rainwater.

To do well at the workshop: / On the egg of a male bird²⁶ write and then bury the egg near the threshold where you live. “CHPHYRIS,²⁷ egg, which is CHORBAI SANACHARSŌ AMOUN Ꝁ SPHĒ SPHĒ GAKNEPHĒ SIETHŌ Ꝁ NOUSI NOUSI, you are the sacred egg from birth, which is SELBIOUS BATHINI PHNIĒIAĒO AŌĒ AŌĒ AŌIAŌI A PHIAEA THŌUTH IAŌ SELETĒA THEŌĒPH OXYMBRĒ ĒĒĒ III.”

19. The words “babe, living god, creature of beauty” translate Egyptian epithets: *hwn*, “youth,” *ntr nh*, “living god,” and *Wn-nfr*, “Onnophris.” See PGM IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

20. For SERPOUTH MOUI SI SRO, “Lotus, lion, son (?) of Ram,” cf. PGM III. 659 and n.

21. USIRI HESIE PHTHA NOUTH . . . ISI is Egyptian and means “Osiris, drowned one, Ptah, Nut . . . Isis.” On Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. “Esies”; for Nut, the sky god, see Bonnet, *RARG* 536–38, s.v. “Nut.” [R.K.R.]

22. The *amen* points to Jewish influence. Cf. PGM VII. 271; XXIIb. 21, 25.

23. For this epithet, see PGM II. 101 and n.; IV. 1684; LXI. 32.

24. The papyrus reads *ημεριος*, which Preisendanz assumes is a reference to the fourth-century physician Himerios. See H. Goossen, “Himerios, 2,” *PRE* 8 (1913): 1635.

25. Cf. for this ink PGM VII. 653; XIa. 2.

26. Preisendanz translates “on the male egg of a bird.” The idea is less of a problem when the egg is taken to be an image of the primordial egg, in which the first god comes to existence. See PGM III. 145 and n.

27. CHPHYRIS is the scarab. See PGM VII. 584 and n.

The prayer concerning the egg: “Great God, give favor, business to me and to this place where the egg lies, in the house I do my business, SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH and / Good Daimon, send to this place every business and good daily profit. You are my work. You are the great Ammon,²⁸ who dwells in heaven. Come, help me.” 105
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 107–21

***Charm of Agathokles**²⁹ for sending dreams: Take a completely black cat that died a violent death, make a strip of papyrus and write with myrrh the following, together with the [dream] you want sent,³⁰ and place it into the mouth of the cat. /

“I am lying,³¹ I am lying, I am the great one, the one lying in [the mouth], MOM- 110
MOU THŌTH NANOUMBRĒ CHARICHA KENYRŌ PAARMĪATH, [to whom belongs] the holy name, IAOU IEĒ IEOU AĒŌI, the one above the heaven; arise, YMEU NEN-
NANA SENNANA ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI ABRASILOUA LAMPSŌREI
EEI EIEI AŌĒĒŌ THĒOURIS³² ŌA EPEIDEU EPERGA BRIŌN AMĒN. Reveal to him,
NN, concerning this.”

Compelling charm: “Come to me, NN, [you who] established the . . . by your own power, / you who rule the whole world, the fiery god.³³ Reveal to him, 115
NN, THARTHAR THAMAR ATHATHA MOMMOM THANABŌTH APRANOU BAMBALĒA
CHRĒTH NABOUSOULĒTH ROMBROU THARAĒL ALBANA BRŌCHRĒX ABRANA ZOU-
CHĒL. Hear me, because I am going to say the great name, AŌTH, before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel completes those things which are assigned. Your divine name according to the seven³⁴ is AEĒIOYŌ IAYŌĒ EAŌOYEĒŌIA. I have spoken the / glorious name, the 120
name for all needs. Reveal to NN, lord god.”

This is the name; this Apollobex³⁵ also used.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 121–43

***Zminis**³⁶ of Tentyra’s spell for sending dreams:³⁷ Take a clean linen cloth, and (according to Ostanos) with myrrh ink draw a figure on it which is humanlike in

28. For the invocation of Amon and Thoth in conjunction with the cosmic egg, see Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 178.

29. Nothing is known about this author.

30. Or “to whom you want to send this dream.” [J.B.]

31. The papyrus has *κεμι*. It could be a reference to the Egyptian *kemi*, *kmj*, “the black one,” an epithet of Osiris. See Schmidt, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 55 (1935): 1174, and the apparatus ad loc.

32. THĒOURIS is the Egyptian *T3-wr.t*, “Thoeris,” the hippopotamus goddess who protected the bedside. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 530–35, s.v. “Nilpferd.” [R.K.R.] For the Greek name, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358C: *Θούρις*; and Griffiths, Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride* 347–48.

33. See on this epithet Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 118–20, 164.

34. That is, the seven vowels.

35. Apuleius, *Apol.* 90 calls Apollobex a famous magician, and Pliny, *NH* 30. 9, makes him the forerunner of Demokritos, who copied his works from him. But the name is also an epithet of Horus. See E. Riess, “Apollobex,” *PRE* 1 (1894): 2847; Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 210; K. Preisendanz, “Apollobex,” *PRE* 20 (1941): 1311–12.

36. The magician Zminis of Tentyra (Dendera on the Nile) is not otherwise known. See K. Preisendanz, “Zminis,” *Roscher* 6 (1936): 762.

37. On dream sending, see I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London: British Museum, 1960), vol. I, pp. xx, n. 11; 63. [R.K.R.]

appearance but has four wings,³⁸ having the left arm outstretched³⁹ along with the
 125 two left wings, and having the other arm bent with the fist clenched. / Then upon
 the head [draw] a royal headdress and a cloak over its arm, with two spirals on the
 cloak. Atop the head [draw] bull horns and to the buttocks a bird's tail. Have his
 right hand held near his stomach, and on either ankle have a sword extended.

Also write on the strip the following names of the god and whatever you want
 him, [NN], to see and how:⁴⁰ "CHALAMANDRIOPH IDEARZÖ THREDAPHNIÖ /
 130 ERTHIBELNIN RYTHADNIKÖ PSAMOMERICH,⁴¹ to all of you I speak, also to you, O
 very powerful daimon: go into the house of this person and tell him such-and-
 such."

Next take a lamp neither colored red nor inscribed, and after you put a wick in it,
 fill it with cedar oil, and light it. Invoke the following names of the god, three
 [times]:⁴² "CHALAMANDRIOPH IDEARYÖTH THREDAPHNIÖ ERTHABEANIG RYTHA-
 NIKÖ PSAMMORICH, O sacred names of the god, listen to me—you also, O Good
 135 Daimon, whose might is very great / among the gods, listen to me: go to him, NN,
 into his house, where he sleeps, into his bedroom, and stand beside him, causing
 fear, trembling, by using the great and mighty names of the god. And tell him such-
 and-such.

"I conjure you [by] your power, [by] the great god, SĒITH,⁴³ [by] the hour in
 which you were begotten a great god,⁴⁴ [by] the god revealing⁴⁵ it now (?), [by] the
 365 names of the great god, to go to him, NN, this very hour, this very night, and
 140 to tell / him in a dream such-and-such.

"If you disobey me and don't go to him, NN, I will tell the great god, and after
 he has speared you through, he will chop you up into pieces and feed your members
 to the mangy dog who lies among the dungheaps.⁴⁶ For this reason, listen to me
 immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, so I won't have to tell you again."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XII. 144–52

145 *Request for a dream; / an exact method for everything.⁴⁷ Using blood from a

38. The picture is of Bes-Pantheos known from Egyptian monuments and from gemstones. See Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 126–41; Bonner, *SMA* 25, also nos. 251–61, plates 24–25. On the identification with El-Kronos, see A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 304; P. Zazoff, ed., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975) 387 (no. 77). For a detailed picture and description, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 11–16.

39. Reading *ἐκτεταμένον*; see *apparatus criticus* in Preisendanz ad loc.

40. *ὥς* must be read here as a relative particle, with the meaning that the magician is to insert a description of how the dream will appear to the sleeper. See LSJ, s.v. "*ὥς*," A.c.

41. The *voces magicæ* here have been written to conform to the second occurrence of the list in ll. 133–34. The division of the words follows the edition of C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885), plate V, col. 4a. Preisendanz divides the names differently in both series. [R.D.K.]

42. Or the "three names of the god."

43. That is, Seth.

44. Or "[by] the hour in which you were appointed a great god." This rendering follows Leemans's edition.

45. The interpretation of the symbol, read by Preisendanz as *χ(ρηματισσον)α*, is open to question. See the apparatus ad loc.

46. The god is threatened in the name of Seth with the same attack Seth committed against Osiris. Cf. *PGM* VII. 940–68. [R.K.R.]

47. The translation follows the suggestion by W. B. that *ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα* is probably part of the title.

quail, draw on a strip of linen the god Hermes, standing, ibis-faced.⁴⁸ Then with myrrh write also the name and say the *formula*:

“Come to me here quickly, you who have the power. I call upon you, the one appointed god of gods over the spirits, to show this⁴⁹ to me in dreams. I conjure [you] by your father, Osiris, and Isis,⁵⁰ your mother, to show me one of your forms, / and reveal concerning the things I want. Your name is ËIIOUATHI PSRËP-NOUA NERTËR DIOCHASBARA ZARACHÏ, whom they call BALCHAM. Reveal concerning this⁵¹ concerning all things [about which] I inquire.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 153–60

***Spell for a divine revelation:** Invoke the great name in a time of great stress, in major and pressing crises. If not, you will blame yourself.⁵² In addition say three times the “IAÏ,” then the great name of god. /

“I call upon you, PHTHA RA PHTHA IË PHTHA OUN EMËCHA ERÏCHTH BARÏCH THO[RCH]THA THÏM CHAIEOUCH ARCHANDABAR ÕEAEÏ YNËÏCH ËRA ÕN ËLÏPH BOM PHTHA ATHABRASIA ABRIASÏTH BARBARBELÏCHA BARBAIAÏCH; let there be depth, breadth, length, brightness, ABLANATHANALBA ABRASIAOUA AKRAMMA-CHAMAREI THÏTH HÏR ATHÏÏPÏ. Come in, lord, and reveal.”

The serpent-faced god⁵³ will come in and answer you. When you dismiss [him], make an offering of / the skin of a serpent.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 160–78

*[**Charm to release from bonds:**]⁵⁴ If you want to do something spectacular and want to free yourself from danger, stand at the door and say the spell, and having said it, go out, adding: “Let the bonds of him, NN, be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him.”

You may even prove that it happens. Bind someone securely and shut him in a house. Stand outside and say the spell six or seven times thus: “I call upon you great gods, with a loud voice, / AISAR AIÏTH OUAIGNÏR MARSABÏOUTÏRTHE LABATH ERMOU CHOÏRTHEN MANACHTHÏRPH PECHRËPH TAÏPHPÏTHTHÏCHO THARÏCH BALETHAN CHEBRÏOUTHAST ADÏNAI HARMIÏTH.”

Whenever [you say] this spell, and he has been released, say this besides, in order that the doors might open: “OCHLOBARACHÏ LAILAM DARIDAM [DARDAM] DARDAMPTOU IARTHA IERBA DIERBA BARÏTHA THIARBA ARBITHÏ . . . Õ MAAR SEMESILAM MARMARACHNEU MANE THÏTH; holy one, enter and release him, NN, and give him a way / of escape, SESENGENBARPHARAGGËS, you who loosen all

48. For an ibis-faced Hermes, see PGM VIII. 10.

49. Or “such and such.” That is, the practitioner supplies here his request. See below, l. 151.

50. Osiris and Isis are the parents of Horus, not of Thoth/Hermes as one might infer from the preceding.

51. See n. 49 above.

52. Cf. the *lex sacra* from Halikarnassos, published by M. Çetin Şahin, “Five Inscriptions from Halicarnassus,” *ZPE* 20 (1976): 22–23. [W.B.]

53. When depth, breadth, length, and brightness are summoned, this may indicate the reenactment of creation. In such a context, a serpent-faced deity (l. 159) would be appropriate, because the serpent form is the primordial form of the gods. See K. Sethe, *Anun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929) 26–27. [R.K.R.]

54. This title for the spell does not appear in the papyrus manuscript and has been supplied by Preisendanz. It is, however, typical of other spells to begin with the phrase, “If you wish to do (this and this). . . .” Cf. e.g., PGM XII. 179–81; XIII. 239–64, and often. [R.D.K.]

bonds and you who loosen the iron fetter that has been placed around him, NN, because the great, unutterable, holy, righteous, awful, powerful, unspeakable, fearful and not-to-be-despised daimon of the great god commands you, SOROERMER [PHERGAR] BAX MAMPHRI OURIXG.”

When the bonds break, say: “I thank you, lord, [because] the holy spirit, the unique one, the living one, has [released] me.”

175 And say this spell again: / “Star-grouping god, you thunderbolt-with-great-clap-Zeus-confining-world-flashing-abundant-bolt-bestowing daimon, cracking-through-the-air, ray-producing, mind-piercing, you who [produce] cunning.”

And use also the name of Helios for everything: “Fiery, ΕΡΗΑΙΕ, Hephaistos, who is shining with fire, brightly moving, ANANŌCHA AMARZA MARMARAMŌ.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 179–81

*If you want someone to cease being angry with you, write with myrrh [on linen]⁵⁵ this / name of anger: “CHNEŌM.”⁵⁶ Hold it in your left [hand and say]: “I am restraining the anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEŌM.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 182–89

*“Greetings, lord, you who are the means to obtain favor for the universe and for the inhabited [world]. Heaven has become a dancing place [for you], ARSENO-PHRĒ, O king of the heavenly [gods], ABLANATHANALBA, you who possess righteous-
185 ness, AKRAMMACHAMAREI, gracious [god,] SANKANTHARA, ruler / of nature, SATRAPERKMĒPH, origin of the heavenly [world], ATHTHANNOU ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTŌTH PA . . . ĒRINTASKLIOUTH ĒPHIŌ MARMA-RAŌTH.

“[Let] my outspokenness not leave me. [But] let every tongue and language listen to me, because I am PERTAŌ [MĒCH CHACH] MNĒCH SAKMĒPH⁵⁷ IAŌOYĒĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ IEŌYŌĒIEIAĒA IEŌYOEI, Give [me graciously] whatever you want.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, the first line of this invocation shows it is a “favor charm.”

PGM XII. 190–92

190 *Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear: Take olive oil [from] a clean⁵⁸ . . . onto the left hand and say the [names. Then] smear yourself and go to sleep having your head towards the east. “IĒSOVS⁵⁹ ANOVI. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 193–201

*[To make] a tincture [viz., “reduction”] of gold:⁶⁰ Take thickened pungent vinegar and also have ready 8 drachmas of ordinary salt, 2 drachmas of rock alum that has clear cleavage, 4 drachmas of massicot, and triturate them [together] with the

55. Or byssus.

56. CHNEŌM here and in l. 181 is probably Egyptian Khnum. Cf. PGM I. 29. [R.K.R.]

57. MNĒCH SAKMĒPH corresponds to Egyptian “beneficient, son of Agathodaimon.” For Kneph, Knephis, cf. PGM I. 27; *κηνη* is Egyptian *mnh*, an adjective of the preceding noun. Cf. PGM II. 77. [R.K.R.]

58. A noun seems to be missing here.

59. The name of Jesus appears at the beginning of an invocation; the rest is lost.

60. The term *ἰωσις* or *ἐξίωσις* (l. 198) probably refers to the process of reduction in alchemy. Since there is no gold included in the papyrus until l. 198, the process may actually be designed to produce

vinegar for 3 days, and strain off [and] / use. Then add one drachma blue vitriol [cupric sulfate] to the vinegar, 1/2 obol in weight of chalcopyrite, 8 obols of rock alum, 1/2 obol in weight of melanterite, a carat [viz., 1/1728 lb. = *siliqua*] of ordinary salt, 2 [carats] of Cappadocian [salt]. 195

Make a leaf [of metal] of 2 fourths by weight, dip [it] 3 times into fire until the leaf [breaks up] into fragments. Then take up the pieces [and] assume them as “reduced” to the metallic state of gold.

Treatment: Take [2] fourths by weight of gold, make a leaf and [purify it in] fire, dip it in blue vitriol / triturated with water. 200

And another [treatment]: Pound dry cupric sulfate and dip [it] in the vinegar.

(Yet another [treatment]: with the compound): Pour off the verdigris and throw it in.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XII. 201–69

***Placing (a) ring.** ⁶¹ A little ring [useful] for every [magical] operation and for success. Kings and governors [try to get it]. Very effective. Taking an air-colored ⁶² jasper, engrave on it a snake in a circle with its tail in its mouth, and also in the middle of [the circle formed by] the snake [Selene] ⁶³ having two stars / on the two 205 horns, and above these, Helios, beside whom ABRASAX should be inscribed; and on the opposite side of the stone from this inscription, the same name ABRASAX, and around the border you will write the great and holy and omniscient [spell], the name IAŌ SABAŌTH. And when you have consecrated the stone ⁶⁴ wear it in a gold ring, when you need it, [provided] you are pure [at that time], and you will succeed in everything you may wish. You are to consecrate the ring together with the stone in the rite used for all [such] objects. A similar engraving in gold, / too, is equally 210 effective.

The consecration [requires] the following equipment: Making a pit in a holy place open to the sky, [or] if [you have none] in a clean, sanctified tomb looking toward the east, and making over the pit an altar of wood from fruit trees, sacrifice an all-white goose, with no flecks [of color], and 3 roosters and 3 pigeons. Make these whole burnt offerings and burn, with the birds, all sorts of incense. Then, standing by the pit, look / to the east and, pouring on a libation of wine, honey, 215 milk, [and] saffron, and holding over the smoke, while you pray, [the stone] in which are engraved the inscriptions, say:

“I invoke and beseech the consecration, O gods of the heavens, O gods under the earth, O gods circling in the middle region from one womb. O masters of all living and dead, [O] heedful in many necessities of gods and / men. O concealers 220 of things now seen, O directors of the Nemeseis ⁶⁵ who spend every hour with you,” ⁶⁶

pseudo gold. This is in keeping with the fact that the section 193–201 is full of technical terminology from alchemy. See M. P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London: Heinemann, 1962) 3–4, and esp. 54; A. J. Hopkins, “Transmutation by Colour: A Study of Earliest Alchemy,” in J. Ruska, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie. Festschrift E. O. von Lippmann* (Berlin: Springer, 1927) 9–14. [J.S.]

61. The symbols printed in Preisendanz’s text as magical characters are Demotic *w^c gswr*, “a ring.” Cf. PGM XII. 270. [R.K.R.]

62. According to LSJ, s.v., a “light-blue” or perhaps “grey, cloudy” color.

63. That is, a crescent moon.

64. On the consecration of amulets, see PGM IV. 2179 and n.

65. For the Nemeseis, cf. PGM VII. 503 and n.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 311–12.

66. The papyrus here accidentally repeats the preceding clause about the Nemeseis.

O senders of Fate who travels around the whole world, O commanders of the rulers, O exalters of the abased, O revealers of the hidden, O guides of the winds,
 225 O arousers of the waves, O bringers of / fire (at a certain time), O creators and benefactors of every race, O nourishers of every race, O lords and controllers of kings, come, benevolent, for that [purpose] for which I call you, as benevolent assistants in this rite for my benefit. I am a plant named Baïs (palm leaf); I am an outflow of blood from the tomb of the great One [between] the palm trees;⁶⁷ I am the faith⁶⁸ found in men, and am he who declares the holy names, who [is] always alike, who
 230 came forth from the abyss.⁶⁹ I am / CHRATES⁷⁰ who came forth from the eye [of the sun].⁷¹ I am the god whom no one sees or rashly names. I am the sacred bird, Phoinix.⁷² I am Krates the holy, called MARMARAUÖTH. I am Helios who showed forth light. I am Aphrodite called TYPHI.⁷³ I am the holy sender of winds. I am Kronos who showed forth light. I am Mother of gods, called Heaven. I am Osiris,
 235 called water. I am Isis, called dew.⁷⁴ / I am ESENEPHYS,⁷⁵ called spring. I am the image resembling the true images. I am SOUCHOS⁷⁶ [who appear as] a crocodile. Therefore, I beseech [you], come as my helpers, for I am about to call on the hidden and ineffable name, the forefather of gods, overseer and lord of all.”

“Come to me, you from the four winds, god, ruler of all, who have breathed
 240 spirits into men for life, master of the good things in the world. Hear me, lord, whose / hidden name is ineffable. The daimons, hearing it, are terrified—the name BARBAREICH ARSEMPHEMPHRÖTHOU—and of it the sun, of it the earth, hearing, rolls over; Hades, hearing, is shaken; rivers, sea, lakes, springs, hearing, are frozen; rocks, hearing it, are split. Heaven is your head; ether, body; earth, feet; and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon.⁷⁷ You are lord, the begetter and nourisher and increaser of all.”

67. For the efflux of Osiris, see *Book of the Dead*, spells 63b sec. S 1; 119 sec. S 1; 147a sec. S 1; 147g sec. S 1; 149n sec. S 1; 149o. [R.K.R.]

68. Preisendanz treats the term as a hypostatized name (Pistis, “Faith”). See Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 234–35; D. Lührmann, “Glaube,” *RAC* 11 (1979): 84–86.

69. Preisendanz takes βύθος to be the name of a deity. Bythos is the name of the primordial deity in Valentinian gnosticism. For passages, see *PGL*, s.v. “Bythos”; *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index s.v. “Bythos.” See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, passim; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 58.

70. Preisendanz, following Eitrem, takes this name to be Egyptian for *Chrut*, “child (Horus).” Actually, the papyrus reads σοκρατης; see C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1885) 26–27. Eitrem’s emendation was taken up by J. Kroll, “Chrates,” *PRE* 11 (1922): 1641–42; K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74, esp. 2072. The fact, however, remains that the papyrus reads Socrates in l. 230 and Crates in l. 231.

71. The papyrus reads οὐραγιον; the translation follows Preisendanz’s emendation ἐκ τοῦ οὐατιου. Cf. *PGM* V. 75.

72. On the Phoenix, see Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques* 231–62. Cf. *PGM* II. 104.

73. Typhi, the epithet of Aphrodite, may correspond to Egyptian Triphis (Τ3-ῤϣ.τ), “the maiden.” See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 838–39, s.v. “Triphis.” [R.K.R.]

74. For Isis as dew, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 12, 355F–365A; 33, 364B, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 303, 420, 424. [R.K.R.]

75. ESENEPHYS may correspond to Egyptian “Isis the beautiful.” Preisendanz, however, understands it to refer to Isis-Neph[th]ys. [R.K.R.]

76. Souchos is Sobek, the Egyptian crocodile god. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 755–59, s.v. “Suchos.” [R.K.R.]

77. On the cosmic body of the deity, see *PGM* XIII. 767–72; XXI. 3–7. See J. Assmann, “Primat und Transzendenz: Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines höchsten Wesens,” in *Aspekte der ägyptischen Religion*, ed. W. Westendorf, *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, 4th series 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979) 7–42.

“Who⁷⁸ molded the forms of the beasts [of the Zodiac]? Who / found [their] routes? Who was the begetter of fruits? Who raises up the mountains? Who commanded the winds to hold to their annual tasks? What Aion nourishing an Aion rules the Aions? One deathless god. You are the begetter of all and assign souls to all and control all, king of the Aions and lord, [before] whom mountains and plains together tremble, springs and streams of rivers, and valleys of earth, and spirits, and [all things] that are. High shining heaven trembles before you, and every sea, / lord, ruler of all, holy one, and master of all. By your power the elements exist and all things come into being, the route of sun and moon, of night and dawn—all things in air and earth and water and the breath of fire. Yours is the eternal processional way [of heaven], in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets] which utter [their] voices according to the 28 forms of the moon. Yours are the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and fortunes / and fates. You give wealth, good old age, good children, strength, food. You, lord of life, ruling the upper and the lower realm, whose justice is not thwarted, whose glorious name the angels hymn, who have truth that never lies, hear me and complete for me this operation so that I may wear this power in every place, in every time, without being smitten or afflicted, / so as to be preserved intact from every danger while I wear this power. Yea, lord, for to you, the god in heaven, all things are subject, and none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me because I have called on your great name for the consecration. And again I call upon you, according to Egyptians, PHNŌ EAI IABŌK; according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH; according to Greeks, “the king of all, ruling alone”; / according to the high priests, “hidden, invisible, overseer of all”; according to Parthians, “OUERTŌ,⁷⁹ master of all.” Consecrate and empower this object for me, for the entire and glorious time of my life.”

The names inscribed on the back side of the stone are these: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XII. 270–350

*A Ring. A little ring for success and favor and victory. It makes men famous and great and admired and rich as can be, or it makes possible friendships with suchlike men. The circler is always yours [to use] justly and successfully for all purposes. It contains a first-rate name.

Helios is to be engraved on a heliotrope stone⁸⁰ as follows: A thick-bodied snake⁸¹ in the shape of a wreath should be [shown] having its tail in its / mouth. Inside [the circle formed by] the snake let there be a sacred scarab⁸² [beetle surrounded by] rays. On the reverse side of the stone you are to inscribe the name in hieroglyphics, as the prophets pronounce [it]. Then, having consecrated [the ring], wear it when you are pure.

The world has had nothing greater than this. For when you have it with you you will always get whatever you ask from anybody. Besides, it calms the angers of masters and kings. Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed,

78. The dactylic hexameters (ll. 244–52) are also the reconstructed Hymn 1. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 237. [E.N.O.]

79. OUERTŌ corresponds to the Egyptian epithet “the great one of earth.” [R.K.R.]

80. A green chalcedony with small spots of red jasper. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 37. 165. [J.S.]

81. That is, the Ouroboros serpent. See Glossary, s.v. “Ouroboros.”

82. On the scarab, see *PGM* IV. 943 and the Glossary, s.v. “Scarab.”

and you will be pleasing to everybody. Anyone can open doors and break chains and rocks if he / touches them with the stone, that is, the gem, and says the name written below. It also works for demoniacs. Just give it [to one] to wear, and the daimon will immediately flee. So at dawn stand facing the sun, holding the well-planned, beneficent, divine, holy, useful, economical, merciful stone which provides your needs, the beautiful and becoming one, [say]:

285 “Greatest god, who exceed / all power, I call on you, IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI EILŌEIN⁸³ SEBŌEIN TALLAM CHAUNAŌN SAGĒNAM ELEMEDŌR CHAPSOUTH I SETTŌRA SAPHTHA NOUCHITHA, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,⁸⁴ CHATHATHICH ZEUPPEIN NĒPHYGOR ASTAPHAIOS KATAKERKNĒPH KONTEOS KATOUT KĒRIDEU MARMARIŌTH LIKYXANTA BESSOUM SYMEKONTEU, the opponent of Thoth, / MASKELLI MASKELLŌTH PHNOU KENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA HIPPOCHTHŌN RĒSICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX NYXIŌ ABRŌROKORE KODĒRE MOUISDRŌ, King, THATH PHATH CHATH XEUZĒN ZEUIZEI SOUSĒNĒ ELATHATH MELASIŌ KOUKŌR NEUSŌŌ PACHIŌ XIPHNŌ THEMEL NAUTH BIOKLĒTH SESSŌR CHAMEL CHASINEU XŌCHŌ IAL-LINŌI / SEISENGPHARANGĒS MASICHIŌR IŌTABAAS CHENOUCI CHAAM PHACHARATH NEEGŌTHARA IAM ZEŌCH AKRAMMACHAMAREI Cheroubei(m) BAIN-CHŌŌCH EIOPHALEON ICHNAŌTH PŌE XEPHITHŌTH XOUTHOUTH THOŌTHIOU XERIPHŌNAR EPHINARASŌR CHANIZARA ANAMEGAR IŌO XTOURORIAM IŌK NIŌR

290 CHETTAIOS ELOUMAIOS NŌIŌ DAMNAMENEU / AXIŌTHŌPH PSETHAIAKKLŌPS SISAGETA NEORIPHRŌR HIPPOKELEPHOKLŌPS ZEINACHA IAPHETHANA A E Ē I O Y Ō. I have called on you, greatest god, and through you on all things, that you may give divine and supreme strength to this image and may make it effective and powerful against all [opponents] and to be able to call back souls, move spirits, subject legal opponents, strengthen friendships, produce all [sorts of] profits,

305 bring / dreams, give prophecies, cause psychological passions and bodily sufferings and incapacitating illness, and perfect all erotic philters. Please, lord, bring to fulfillment a complete consecration.”

When you perform this rite, say [the spell] three times each day, in the third, sixth, and ninth hour, and this for fourteen days, beginning when the moon begins its third quarter. And try to have the goddess [i.e., the moon] either [rising] in [the Zodiacal sign of] the Bull or the Virgin or Scorpion or the Water Carrier or the

310 Fishes. Also when you are performing the consecration, each time / you recite [the spell] pour as libation the [fluids] specified above and all kinds of perfumes except frankincense. And when you have completed the consecration properly, have a live rooster with a double comb—either white or yellow; keep away from black—and after the consecration cut the rooster open and stick the [stone with its] image well into the guts of the rooster, taking care that the entrails of the animal be not broken. Leave [it there] for one day, / then in the ninth hour of the night take [it] out and put [it] away in a holy place, and use as [seems] best.

315

Whenever you wish to command the god, give [your] command, saying the greatest [name] OUPHŌR, and he will perform. You have [now] the consecration [to secure] the supreme and divine action. This OUPHŌR is the [god] whom Urbicus used, the holy, true OUPHŌR. Here is truly written out, with all brevity, [the rite]

320 by which all modeled images and engravings / and carved stones are made alive. For this is the true [rite], and the others such as are widely circulated, are falsified and made up of vain verbosity. So keep this in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide it, hide it! It is—the beginning—

83. Almost certainly a misspelling of *elohim*, a Hebrew word meaning “god.”

84. The names are misspelled as Abraan, Isak, Iakkōbi.

“The gates of heaven were opened. The gates of earth were opened. / The route of the sea was opened. The route of the rivers was opened. My spirit was heard by all gods and daimons. My spirit was heard by the spirit of heaven. My spirit was heard by the terrestrial spirit. My spirit was heard by the marine spirit. / My spirit was heard by the riverine spirit. Therefore give spirit to the mystery⁸⁵ I have prepared, O gods whom I have named and have called on. Give breath to the mystery I have prepared.”

Hide, hide the true [spell to control?] OUPHŌR, / which contains the truth in summary. *The invocation to OUPHŌR*:⁸⁶

“ĒI IEOU MAREITH
 ĒI IEOU MONTHEATHI MONGITH
 ĒI IEOU CHAREŌTH MONKĒB
 ĒI IEOU SŌCHOU SŌRSŌĒ
 / ĒI IEOU TIŌTIŌ OUIĒR
 ĒI IEOU CHARŌCHSI CHARMIŌTH
 ĒI IEOU SATHIMŌOYEĒOY
 ĒI IEOU RAIRAI MOURIRAI
 ĒI IEOU Amoun ĒEI Osiris
 / ĒI IEOU PHIRIMNOUN⁸⁷
 ĒI IEOU ANMORCHATHI OUĒR
 ĒI IEOU ANCHEREPHRENEPSOUPHIRINGCH
 ĒI IEOU ORCHIMORŌIPOUGH
 ĒI IEOU MACHPSACHATHANTH
 / ĒI IEOU MOROTH.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. The Demotic title (line 270) is written between the sections.

PGM XII. 351–64

*Demokritos’ “sphere”: prognostic of life and death. Find out what day of the month⁸⁸ the sick one took to bed. Add his name from birth⁸⁹ to the day of the month and divide by thirty.⁹⁰ Look up on the “sphere” the quotient: if the number is on the upper register, the person will live, but if it is on the lower register, he will die.

85. That is, the magical ring.

86. These invocations begin with a formula corresponding to the Egyptian *i i3w*, “O, hail!” [R.K.R.]

87. PHIRIMNOUN corresponds to Egyptian “He who comes forth from Nun (the abyss).” Cf. PGM XII. 229. [R.K.R.]

88. Literally, “know in relation to the moon.” Beginning with the new moon, each day of the lunar month can be given a number from one to thirty.

89. The *praenomen*, or first name, among the Romans. Each letter of the Greek alphabet has a numerical value.

90. Literally, “see how many times thirty there are.” In other words, the sum of the numerical value of the name and the value of the day on which the person took ill, is divided by thirty.

355

360

1	10	19
2	11	20
3	13	23
4	14	25
7	16	26
9	17	27
5	15	22
6	18	28
8	21	29
12	24	30

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell. A similar “sphere” is attributed to Petosiris, the mythical Egyptian astrologer. The so-called sphere is only a circle or other plane figure, in this case a rectangle, but even when the circle is reduced to a rectangle, it is called a sphere. For full discussion of this kind of “astrological medicine,” see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899, repr. 1963) 537–42, esp. 538, and Thorndike, *A History of Magic I*, 682ff.; see also V. Alfieri, *Gli atomisti, frammenti e testimonianze* (Bari 1936) 305–6, n. 801 and Budge, *Egyptian Magic* 228–30.

PGM XII. 365–75

365 ***Charm for causing separation:** On a pot for smoked fish inscribe a spell with a bronze stylus and recite it afterwards and put it where they [i.e., your victims] are, where they usually return, repeating at the same time this spell: “I call upon you, god, you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, and great, you who afflict the earth and shake the universe, you who love disturbances and hate
370 stability and scatter the clouds / from one another, IAIA IAKOUBIAI IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH BASDOUMA PATATHNAX APOSS OSESRŌ ATAPH THABRAOU EŌ THATHTHABRA BŌRARA AROBREITHA BOLCHOSĒTH KOKKOLOIPTOLĒ RAMBITHNIPS: give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war; and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had”⁹¹ (but if it is a husband and wife, “just as Typhon and Isis had”). “Strong Typhon, very / powerful one, perform your mighty acts.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This charm provides a means for effecting a breach between two men’s friendship or love for each other, with a variant formula inserted to make the spell work against a husband and wife.

PGM XII. 376–96

***Charm to induce insomnia:** Take a living bat and on the right wing paint with myrrh the following figure, and on the left write the 7 names of the god as well as: “Let her, NN whom NN bore, lie awake until she consents.” And so release the bat again.

380 Perform this spell at the waning of the moon⁹² when the goddess is in her third night, and the woman will die for lack of sleep, without lasting / 7 days.

This charm cannot at any time have an antidote. But if you at some time wish one, do not release the bat, but keep it in custody, and do this as well: when you want to release it, wash off with spring water [what] has been written on the wings and release the bird. But do not do this, save for a great intrigue.

91. On the enmity between Typhon/Seth and Osiris, see PGM VII. 964 and n.

92. That is, the moon goddess Selene.

This then is the figure:



/ The names to be written on the left wing are these: "I call upon you, great god, 385
 THATHABATHATH / PETENNABOUTH I PEPTOU BAST⁹³ EIËSOUS OUAIR AMOUN 390
 OUTHI ASCHELIDONËTH / BATHARIBATH; let her, NN, lie awake through the whole 395
 night and day, until she dies, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
 *Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 397-400

***To gain favor and friendship forever:** Take a pasithea or wormwood root and write this name on it in a holy manner: † 7 7 7 - 3 7 7 7 . Then carry it, and you will be an object of favor, friendship, and admiration to people who see you. /

The formula: 1 dram of myrrh, 4 drams of truffle, 2 drams of blue vitriol, 2 400
drams of oak gall, 3 drams of gum arabic.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 401–44

* **Interpretations** which the temple scribes employed, from the holy writings, in translation. Because of the curiosity of the masses they [i.e., the scribes] inscribed the names of the herbs and other things which they employed on the statues of the gods, so that they [i.e., the masses], since they do not take precaution, / might not practice magic, [being prevented] by the consequence of their misunderstanding.⁹⁴ But we have collected the explanations [of these names] from many copies [of the sacred writings], all of them secret.

*Here they are:*⁹⁵

A snake's head: a leech.

93. On Bastet, the Egyptian cat goddess, see *PGM* III. I and n.

94. Cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), Hymn IV. 37–39: “Reliably learning these facts from men who study history, I myself have set them all up on inscribed pillars and translated (into Greek) for Greeks the power of a Prince who was a god” (pp. 64–65). Isidorus himself cannot read the hieroglyphs.

95. For similar lists of names, cf. *De succedaneis* transmitted among the works of Galen, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn, vol. 19 (Lipsiae: Officina libraria Car. Knoblochii, 1830) 721–

- A snake's "ball of thread": this means soapstone. /
 410 Blood of a snake: hematite.
 A bone of an ibis: this is buckthorn.
 Blood of a hyrax: ⁹⁶ truly of a hyrax.
 "Tears" ⁹⁷ of a Hamadryas baboon: dill juice.
 Crocodile dung: Ethiopian soil. /
 415 Blood of a Hamadryas baboon: blood of a spotted gecko.
 Lion semen: Human semen.
 Blood of Hephaistos: wormwood.
 Hairs of a Hamadryas baboon: dill seed.
 Semen of Hermes: dill. /
 420 Blood of Ares: purslane.
 Blood of an eye: tamarisk gall. ⁹⁸
 Blood from a shoulder: bear's breach ⁹⁹
 From the loins: camomile.
 A man's bile: turnip sap. ¹⁰⁰ /
 425 A pig's tail: leopard's bane. ¹⁰¹
 A physician's bone: sandstone.
 Blood of Hestia: camomile.
 An eagle: wild garlic (?). ¹⁰²
 Blood of a goose: a mulberry tree's "milk." /
 430 Kronos' spice: piglet's milk.
 A lion's hairs: "tongue" of a turnip. ¹⁰³
 Kronos' blood: . . . of cedar.
 Semen of Helios: white hellebore.
 Semen of Herakles: this is mustard-rocket. ¹⁰⁴ /
 435 [A Titan's] blood: wild lettuce. ¹⁰⁵
 Blood from a head: lupine.
 A bull's semen: egg of a blister beetle. ¹⁰⁶

47, as well as the adapted version of Galen's tract in Paul of Aegina, *Paulus Aegineta, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum IX/2*, ed. I. L. Heiberg, vol. II (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1924) 401–8; and Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907–14). [J.S.]

96. Probably the rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*), also mentioned in the LXX Lv 11:6; Dt 14:7; Ps 103 (104): 18; Prv 24:61 (30:26). [J.S.]

97. Perhaps the "sleep sand" from the eyes of baboons. [J.S.]

98. Cf. Dioscorides 1. 75; also 1. 89. [J.S.]

99. Probably to be emended to *ἄκανθος* (*Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.). [J.S.]

100. Probably to be emended to *βουνίας* as in Dioscorides 2. 111, a kind of turnip (probably *Brassica napus* L.). [J.S.]

101. Literally, "scorpion-tail," probably a variety of "leopard's bane" in the genus *Boronicum*, or one of the heliotropes. Cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9. 13. 6; Nicander, *Alexiph.* 145; Dioscorides 4. 190. 1. See J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbs and Herbal Remedies," *Journal of the History of Biology* 11 (1978): 373–74, with n. 120; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology II: Spiders, Scorpions, Insects, and Myriapods," *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979): 3–34, 73–92. [J.S.]

102. The papyrus reads *οσελγεβει*, which the editors read either as *χελκβει*, "wild garlic" (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*), following Griffith, ad loc.; PGM V. 70, or as *ἐλλέβορος*, "hellebore." [J.S.]

103. As emended in l. 425 (see above, n. 100), referring to the leaves of the taproot. [J.S.]

104. Probably *Eruca sativa* Mill. [J.S.]

105. See on this Dioscorides 2. 136. [J.S.]

106. The blister beetle played a role in the manufacture of the aphrodisiac known as Spanish fly. See J. Scarborough, "Some Beetles in Pliny's Natural History," *Coleopterists Bulletin* 31 (1977): 293–96; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology" (see above, n. 101). [J.S.]

A hawk's heart: heart of wormwood.
 Semen of Hephaistos: this is fleabane. /
 Semen of Ammon: houseleek.
 Semen of Ares: clover.
 Fat from a head: spurge.
 From the belly: earth-apple.
 From the foot: houseleek.¹⁰⁷

440

*Tr.: H. D. Betz (ll. 401–7) and John Scarborough (ll. 408–45) who are also responsible for the respective notes. The “interpretations” refers to the secret list of plant names below; cf. the *Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth* 61, 19ff., in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 296–97; 2 *Jeu*, chaps. 45–48; *Test Sol* 13.6; see Gudeman, “Lyseis,” *PRÉ* 13 (1927): 2511–29.

PDM xii. 50–61 [PGM XII. 445–48]

*A spell for separating one person from another: Dung of . . . and you put it [in] a document, and you write on a document of papyrus these great names / together with the name of the man, and you bury it under the doorsill of the house.

50 [1]

55 [6]

Here are the names for (?) it and you recite them over it also, 7 times: “†IO-ERBETH †IO-SETH¹⁰⁸ †IO-BOLGHÖSETH¹⁰⁹ †IO-PAGERBETH †IO-PATATHNAGS †LÉE-MENG.RĒ †IO-ÖSESRO¹¹⁰ / †IO-GHLŌNTOĒPS, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” It is . . . : “Separate Isis from . . .” (formula: 7 times).

(445–48)

60 [11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 1–12. The Old Coptic/Greek and Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 57–60 [8–11] are transcribed as Greek in PGM XII. 445–48 (*Kol. XIV*) in Preisendanz. A variant of the same spell follows immediately in ll. 62–75, a spell in which a magical figure is supplied. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 62–75 [PGM XII. 449–52]

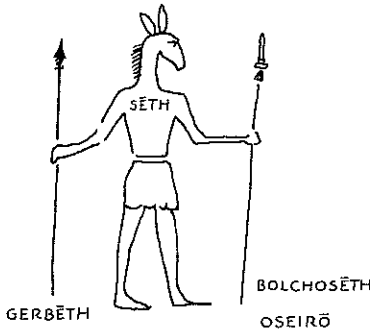
*Another: You bring a . . . and you write the names on it, and you bury [it] in the road of . . .

Formula: †BRAG †GRAB †BRAGH †HÖSPERTHNAKS¹¹¹ / †BHRIENTHE(?)GH †BAS-PHETHŌI †ATHRYPH †PATATHNAG †APŌPSI †IO-BĒTH †IO-BOLGHÖSETH †IO-PAGERBETH,¹¹² separate NN born of NN, from NN born of NN!” Two [times] . . . You bring a sherd . . . of beer of . . . which is burnt, and you write [on] it a donkey / in this manner:

65 [16]

(449–52)

70 [21]



107. See on this plant Dioscorides 4. 88. [J.S.]

108. Ending includes Egyptian god Seth. [J.H.J.]

109. See n. 108 above.

110. Or, perhaps, IO ŌSEIRŌ, as in the label to the figure. [J.H.J.]

111. HÖSPER may be for ὁσπερ, “similarly.” [R.K.R.]

112. See figure.

75 [26] “Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” And you say this name to it again, 7 times, and you lift the sherd, and you . . . in the house in which they are. / You do it. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 13–26. The Demotic *voces magicæ* in ll. 15–18 are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 449–52 (*Kol.* XIV). Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 76–107 [PGM XII. 453–65]

80 [5] * Another: . . . of a black donkey,¹¹³ and you put a . . . which is . . . , and you leave [it] in it for three days . . . it. You should cook it for one night . . . , and you should bring a / strip of . . . , and you should write . . . the names on it with donkey blood, and you should gather outside . . . saying, “Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” And you should . . . and you should . . . the urine. . . .

85 [10] Here is the *name* which you should write it: / . . . “THALAMAXI, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!”

90 [15] . . . again on the day of separating (another [manuscript] says: “beating” [?]), . . . of a donkey and a . . . / urine (?), and you put them in a new ladle (?) and you . . . until they come . . . , and you put . . . and you . . . the sherd . . . and you [write] these names . . . and you . . . in the above-mentioned house.

95 [20] / Here are the names: “I call upon you, you who are in the [empty air], you who (453–65) are terrible, you who are an invisible god, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a stable household and you who do mischief.¹¹⁴ I call upon your great name; cause him, NN, to be separated from him, NN, IÔ IÔ IÔBRACH KRA-BROUKRIOU BATRIOU APOMPS STROUTELIPS IAK[OUBIAI]¹¹⁵ IÔ PAKERBETH PAKERBETH, god of gods . . . at the gate of IAO. Separate him, NN, from him, NN, because I am the daimon XANTHIS¹¹⁶ OUBATH . . . E . . . TEBERETERRI . . . EI . . . , separate him, [NN], from him, NN.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 76–95), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 40–41, col. III, ll. 1–20; and R. F. Hock (ll. 96–107), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 453–65.

PDM xii. 108–18 [PGM XII. 466–68]

110 [3] * A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man . . . : You bring dung, hair and hair . . . which is dead, / and you mix them with fresh blooms, and you put it in a new papyrus after writing on the papyrus first with my ink, saying, “May NN, born of NN, hate NN, born of NN!” And you recite these true names over it 7 times, and you bind the papyrus, and you put it in the water of. . . .

115 [8] Here are / the true names: †IAKYMBLAI IAO †IÖERBETH †IÖBOLGHOSETH †BA- (466–68) SELE OM †GITATHNAGS †APSOPS †Ö.ELT, separate NN, born [of] NN, from NN, born of NN; hurry, hurry; be quick, be quick!”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 42–43, col. II, ll. 1–18. The Demotic *voces magicæ* in ll. 8–10 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek in *PGM* XII. 466–68. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

113. On the donkey as the image of Seth, see the Glossary, s.v. “Typhon-Seth.”

114. So following the emendation in Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

115. Supplying in the lacuna †Iako[υβιαι], a name attested elsewhere.

116. The reading of this name is, however, textually uncertain.

PDM xii. 119–34 [PGM XII. 469–70; 471–73]

*A spell for it: Surround (?) . . . of . . . another [manuscript] says . . . : / You (?) 120 [13]
 write [the] true names with ink . . . and you write at its bottom, . . . to me Anubis,
 saying, “Surround (?) NN, born of NN!” . . . you should write on its bottom . . .
 “vex NN, born of NN!” and you should . . . them to it again, and you should . . . 125 [18]
 fire, flame (?), and you should [bind] . . . of the hair of the woman with . . . , / and
 you should put a . . . a bitch which is dead.

Its formula: “Rouse yourself and depart, at the undertaking ward off responses of (469–70)
 each penalty . . . woman.” You write these words on a new papyrus with myrrh ink,
 and you put it in . . . of a . . . / built (?), and you put it in a chest (?), and you give it 130 [23]
 to an ibis.

Here are the names: “[†]ALBANAGHAMBRE [†]AMESÔTSIE(?)R [†]ATHRÔER [†]ATHROI (471–73)
[†]THYIN, surround NN, born of NN, . . . in her heart.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 119–125, 128–31), following the edition in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 12–27; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 126–27), following the edition in Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 469–70. The Demotic *voces magicæ* in ll. 132–33 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek at *PGM* XII. 471–73. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 135–46 [PGM XII. 474–79]

*. . . you bring a sealed . . . of copper . . . this lion, this mummy (?), and this 135 [1]
 Anubis . . . while they seek . . . black scarab (?) . . . put . . . :

/ “... AIDIÔ ÔRICH THAMBITÔ, Abraham who at . . . PLANOIEGCHIBIÔTH 140 [6]
 MOU ROU and the whole soul for her, NN [whom NN bore] . . . the female body (474–79)
 of her, NN [whom NN bore], I conjure by the . . . [and] to inflame her, NN whom
 [NN bore].”

[Write these] words together with this picture on a new papyrus:



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 135–39; 146), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):44–45, col. I, ll. 1–5, 12; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 140–45) following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 474–79.

PDM xii. 147–64 [PGM XII. 480–95]

*Another: Cook it [in the (?)] bath: “ALLANTH BIREIBAMETIRA / EMETHIRE THA- 150 [16]
 RABLATH PNOUthe THOUCHARA ÔSOUCHARI SABACHAR . . . , / burn her, NN, 155 [21]
 until she [comes] to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. I conjure (480–95)
 you, daimons of the dead, [by] the dead and by the daimon of [Balsames], and
 the / dog-faced god,¹¹⁷ and the gods with him.” 160 [26]

117. The dog-faced god is Anubis.

Write these things . . . with the salt first . . . which is on it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 147, 163–64), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45, col. I, ll. 13–14, 29–30; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 148–62), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 480–95.

PGM XIII. 1–343

- *GOD/GODS.¹ A sacred book called “Unique”² or “Eighth Book of Moses,”
 5 concerning the holy Name. Its content goes as follows: Remain / pure 41 days, hav-
 ing calculated in advance so that your completion of them will coincide with the
 dark of the moon which occurs in Aries.³ Have a house on ground level, in which
 no one has died during the past year. The door should face west. Now set up in the
 middle of the house an earthen altar and have ready cypress wood, ten pinecones
 10 full of seed,⁴ two white roosters / uninjured and without blemish, and two lamps
 each holding an eighth of a pint, filled with good oil. And don’t pour in any more,
 for when the god comes in they will burn more fiercely. Have the table prepared
 with these following kinds of incense, which are cognate to the god (from this /
 15 book Hermes plagiarized when he named the 7 kinds of incense⁵ [in] his sacred
 book called *Wing*).⁶

- The proper incense of Kronos is styrax, for it is heavy and fragrant; of Zeus, mal-
 abathron;⁷ of Ares, kostos; of Helios, frankincense; of Aphrodite, Indian nard; of
 20 Hermes, cassia; / of Selene, myrrh. These are the secret incenses (the direction in
 the *Key of Moses*,⁸ “Prepare sun vetch on every occasion,” refers with these [words]

1. *θεοί* (“gods”) commonly stands at the beginning of sacral inscriptions from Athens and sites in the Athenian sphere of influence; elsewhere it is rare (see the uses in F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969). The use here indicates literary and philosophical pretensions. “GOD” is put above “GODS” both to suggest that the magician has access to a higher power, and to conform to the fashion which, by the time this text was copied (under Constantine’s successors), favored monotheism.

2. “Unique” translates the Greek *μόνος*, “by oneself, solitary”; in philosophy, primarily Pythagorean, then Platonic, “monad.” Hence also in *C.H.* 4. 10, on which see Festugière’s n. 28. Philosophic use for the primal deity made the word vague and prestigious, which accounts for its appearance here. The attribution to Moses was due partly to the texts’ content (see below, n. 16), partly to Moses’ fame as a magician. Pliny, *NH* 30. 11, credited him with starting his own school of magic. Both Jews and gentiles helped the tradition grow by repeating stories about him and circulating magical texts under his name. See J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1972), chap. 4, pp. 134–61. The compiler of *PGM* XIII was both a composer and a collector of “Mosaic” texts. He had himself written one called “The Key of Moses” (l. 229), which he often recommends; he had a variorum edition of VIII Moses, giving three texts, and in his additions to it he cites “The Archangelic (Teaching?) of Moses,” Moses’ “secret moon prayer,” and “The Tenth Hidden (Book?) of Moses.” The choice of “eighth” as the number of the book is surprising, since we hear nothing of the sixth and seventh; it may be due to the increasing prestige of the ogdoad (see below, nn. 29 and 112). The choice of “Tenth” for the next numbered book (nothing is heard of a ninth) is also explicable from numerology, ten being the Pythagorean perfect number.

3. The Greek *σύννοδος* here is ambiguous. It was also used loosely to refer to the new moon, and was so understood by Preisendanz, but see l. 349.

4. So Preisendanz, translating *δέξιος*; alternatively, “with spirals (formed by the edges of the scales) running to the right.”

5. The promised list of incenses “cognate to the (one) god” can hardly be the following list of incenses proper for seven different gods. The author probably inserted a standard list taken from the book of “Hermes” whom he therefore accused of plagiarism.

6. To this “Hermetic” book there is no other reference. Evidently it was the work of a rival author. This comment by the compiler clearly interrupts the earlier text. That “Hermes” is attacked makes the restoration of “Hermetic spell” (in l. 138) dubious.

7. Leaves of *Cinnamomum tamala* or *albiflorum*. “Kostos,” which follows, is *Sassurea lappa*.

8. The two following statements by the compiler again interrupt the text. The *Key of Moses* was his own book (l. 229), evidently a sort of magician’s handbook with astrological information, etc. There is

to the Egyptian bean). Moreover, Manetho gave these directions in his own book.

Then take the 7 flowers of the 7 stars (which are marjoram, white lily, lotus, erythyllinon,⁹ / narcissus, gillyflower, rose); take these flowers twenty-one days before the initiation, and grind them fine in a white mortar¹⁰ and dry them in the shade and have them ready for that day. 25

First, however, present yourself, on / whatever auspicious new moon occurs,¹¹ to the gods of the hours of the day, whose names you have in the *Key*. You will be made their initiate¹² as follows: Make 3 figures from fine flour, one bull-faced, one goat-faced, one ram-faced, each of them standing on the celestial pole and holding an Egyptian flail.¹³ And when you have / censured them, eat them, saying the spell for the gods of the hours (which is in the *Key*) and the compulsive formula for them and the names of the gods set over the weeks. Then you will have been made their initiate. 30 35

Next, for the all-important meeting, have a square of natron¹⁴ on which you will write the great name with the seven vowels. Instead / of the popping noise and the hissing [sound in the name] draw on the first part of the natron a falcon-faced crocodile¹⁵ and the nine-formed god standing on him, for this falcon-faced crocodile at the 4 turning points [of the year] greets the god with the popping noise. For, coming up to breathe from the deep, he goes “Pop, pop, pop,” / and he of the 9 forms replies to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the popping noise, draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the popping noise is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing. Instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting its / tail. So the two elements, popping and hissing, are represented by a falcon-faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels. 40 45 50

Now [the great name] is [composed of] 9 names, before which you say [those of] the gods of the hours, with [the prayer on] the stele, and [those of] the gods of the days and of those / set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these; for without these the god will not listen but will refuse to receive you as uninitiated, unless you emphatically say in advance the [names of] the lord of the day and of the hour, which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]; for without these / you will not accomplish even one of the things you find in the *Key*: . . . 55 60

no good reason to think it had anything to do with *C.H.* 10, which was also called *Key* but dealt with totally different subjects. Manetho was an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt for Ptolemy II, ca. 275 B.C. The success of this work made him famous; hence many other texts, especially of astrology, but also of magic, were fathered onto him. Which this writer had in mind, is unknown. Cf. *PGM* III. 440 and n. The content of the *Key* is described in eight passages in *PGM* XIII, viz. ll. 21–22, 30–31, 35–36, 59–60, 228–29, 282–83, 431–32, and 735–43. From these it appears that the *Key* contained directions for performance of rites, names of the gods of the days, hours, etc., spells to control these, and the great name of 6 letters, Ogdoas. Some of the directions were allegorical or allegorized (see ll. 21–22 and 228–29).

9. Unknown.

10. Alternatively, “into white incense.”

11. Literally, “a new moon favored by a god,” meaning one which the god, by giving good auspices, declares favorable for your purposes.

12. Literally, “initiated.”

13. Alternatively, “Egyptian flails.”

14. Sodium carbonate, a soapy substance. This was not a gourmet rite.

15. The falcon-faced crocodile appears on many Egyptian inscriptions. He was a fusion of the crocodile god Sobek and the hawk god Horus. The “nine-formed” was the “Ennead,” an Egyptian complex of nine gods who in the late period were thought to be the members of the body of a single god. See H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 521–25, s.v. “Neunheit.” The “four turning points of the year” are the equinoxes and solstices. That crocodiles pop off at these periods is an example of the unnatural history surprisingly common in ancient authors from Aristotle on.

Now the [text of the] sacred stele to be written in the natron is:

65 “I¹⁶ call on you, who are greater than all, the creator of all, you, the self-begotten,
 Selene [the privilege] to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing
 from the earlier-born darkness, but apportioned things so that they should be
 70 equal. For when you appeared, both order¹⁷ arose and light appeared.¹⁸ All things
 are subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can / see; who change into all
 forms. You are invisible, Aion of Aion.

“I call on you, lord, to appear to me in a good form, for under your order I serve
 your angel, BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, and your fear,
 75 DANOUPI CHRATOR BELBALI BALBITH IAŌ. / Through you arose the celestial pole
 and the earth.

“I call on you, lord, as do the gods who appeared under your [order?] that they
 may have power; ECHEBYKRŌM of Helios, whose is the glory,¹⁹ AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III
 80 AAA ŌŌŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ / ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATHY ADŌNAIE.

“I call on you, lord, in ‘birdglyphic’²⁰: ARAI; in hieroglyphic: LAILAM; in He-
 braic:²¹ ANOCH BIATHIARBATH BERBIR ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTROM; in
 85 Egyptian: ALDABAEIM; in ‘baboonic’: ABRASAX; / in ‘falconic’:²² CHI CHI CHI CHI
 CHI CHI CHI TIPH TIPH TIPH; in hieratic: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH CHA CHA CHA CHA
 CHA CHA CHA.” Then clap 3 times, go “pop, pop, pop” for a long time; hiss at
 some length.

90 “Come [to me], lord, faultless and unflawed, who pollute / no place, for I have
 been initiated into your name.”

Have a tablet in which you will write what he says to you and a two-edged knife,
 all of iron, so that, clean from all [impurities],²³ you may kill the sacrifices, and a
 95 libation (a jug of wine and a flask full of honey /) that you may pour. Have all these
 ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Pre-
 pare the canopy²⁴ thus: Taking a clean sheet, write on the border [the names of] the

16. This invocation and that following (138–53) are essentially identical, both being variations of an old Egyptian hymn in which the rising sun is greeted by the sacred animals, each kind making its appropriate noises. In both invocations (and their close parallels in the B version—443–61, 570–99; in C only the first lines are cited) the sun god has been made the creator and sustainer of the world, and the songs of the animals are preceded by and partly fused with the songs of the angels, many of whom are Jewish. In both, the same angels and the same languages appear in the same orders. The roles given the god and the angels, and the personnel, help explain the attribution to Moses, the more so because these two invocations are the most important elements in the text—the active agents which make the deity appear (this is particularly clear in B, which, since it put the first invocation after the rite as an appendix, ll. 570–99, followed it by a second epiphany, 608–717).

17. Here “order” translates the Greek *κόσμος*, which means also “the cosmos.”

18. I.e., light and darkness?

19. Or “the doxology” without following comma, the doxology being the following formula. Here the choice is difficult because “glory” fits Helios, but “doxology” gives the magical words a function in the text, as those in the preceding paragraph functioned as names of the angel and the fear. *Δόξα* meaning “spoken/sung praise” is found already in LXX; see G. Kittel and G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2 (1964): 233–55.

20. Greek *ὀρνεογλυφιστί*, formed by analogy from *ιερογλυφιστί*, which follows.

21. In spite of the claim that this is Hebrew, the first word is a transliteration of the Egyptian word for “I (am),” *anoch*. A similar Hebrew word, *ʾanoki*, has the same meaning. The author seems to have known Hebrew and Egyptian badly enough to mix them up. See Glossary, s.v.

22. *Chi chi* is the cry appropriate for the morning sun; *tiph tiph*, for the evening sun. [J.B.]

23. This supposes a purity code in which iron neither received nor transmitted pollution.

24. That is, under which you will receive the god. Perhaps from some mystery rite. (Originally the bridal tent?) Here an unexplained residuum.

365 gods,²⁵ and make it a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have a 100
 cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have
 also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, with tripod stand-
 ing beside him and / Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name, in 105
 Egyptian form; on his chest: BAINCHÖÖCHÖÖCHNIAB, written [the same]
 forwards and backwards; and on the back of the figure this name: ILILLOU IL-
 ILLOU / ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod; ITHOR MAR- 110
 MARAUGĒ PHÖCHÖ PHÖBÖCH. Have this too around your neck when you perform
 the initiation; it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through 115
 the last] / seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon²⁶ begin
 sleeping on the ground on a pallet of rushes. Rising at dawn, greet Helios through
 seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] gods of the hours, then those set
 over the weeks. Also [each day], / learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after 120
 him, saying, “Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacri-
 fices”—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, when you come to this day, in the middle of the night at about eleven 125
 o’clock / when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters
 and the two lamps, lighted (the lamps should hold an eighth of a pint each, and you
 must not put more oil into them). Begin to recite the stele and the mystery of the
 god, which is [called?] “Scarab.” Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk
 of a black cow / and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end.²⁷ 130
 Then, having written [the text of] the stele on the two faces of the natron plaque,
 lick off the one side and, pouring [wine?] on the other, wash it off into the mixing
 bowl. The natron should be written on [with ink made] both from the incense ma-
 terials and from the flowers.

Then, before you drink off the milk and wine, say over it / this petition;²⁸ and 135
 having said it, lie down on the mat, holding both the tablet and the stylus, and
 say—*Hermetic* (?) [*spell*]:²⁹

“I call on you who surround all things, I call in every language and in every dia- 140
 lect, as he first / hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all
 authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRÖM³⁰ (which signifies the flame and radiance of the
 disk)³¹ whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ÖÖÖ, because he was glorified by you—[you]³²

25. The gods of the days of the year.

26. Greek *σύνωδον*, the twenty-four-hour day in which the moon will come into line with the earth and the sun.

27. I.e., essential, all important, cf. Rv 21 : 6; 22 : 13. [M.S.] Seawater was prohibited because the sea was a symbol of Seth, the enemy of Osiris and of fertility. [R.K.R.]

28. The identity of “this petition” is not clear. The prayer on the stele has already been recited (l. 127), the main invocation is to follow; perhaps something has fallen out. A similar problem is posed by C, 684–95. B prescribes a prayer to the gods of the hours.

29. The Greek here is corrupt and the restoration uncertain. See above, n. 6. In B 443ff. this spell has no such designation. The following “You who surround all things” found in all three versions refers to the outermost celestial sphere conceived as a god, i.e., the Ogdoad. See below, n. 112.

30. *Ache* in Egyptian means “brightness.” Cf. l. 34 above. [J.B.]

31. An obvious gloss. This hymn is full of such. They have been set off by parentheses and henceforth will not usually be pointed out. Many seem to be early, since they appear in both A and B.

32. As the text stands, Helios set the stars in their places and created the world in which, thereafter, “you”—the highest god—set all things in order. This is not totally impossible, but not at all likely. Most likely the writer attributed creation to the highest god (whom he was invoking) and did so either by anacoluthon or by a *σὺ* (“you,” reduced to *σ*) before *ἀέρας* (“winds”), which fell out with the word it preceded.

who set [in their places the winds]³³ and then, likewise, the stars of glittering forms, and who, in divine light / create the cosmos, III AAA ŌŌŌ, in which you have set in order all things. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ (these are the angels who first appeared)³⁴ ARATH ADŌNAIE BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries in ‘bird-glyphic’ ARAI—which is [“Woe to my enemy”—and you have set him] in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own³⁵ name, ANOK³⁶ BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM / (36 letters);³⁷ he says, ‘I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?)’,³⁸ thanks to you.’ Your magical³⁹ name in Egyptian is ALDABIAEIM” (9 letters, see below). Now he who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying ‘You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.’⁴⁰ The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out to receive food: CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP. He of the nine forms greets you in / hieratic, saying: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH. (He means, ‘I go before you, lord’). . . .”⁴¹

So saying, he clapped 3 times, and the god⁴² laughed 7 times⁴³: “CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA.” When the god laughed, 7 gods were born⁴⁴ (who encompass the cosmos—see above—for these are those who appeared before [the world was formed])).

33. The text is corrupt; I follow Preisendanz’s conjecture, ad loc.

34. This gloss interrupts a list of the first seven angels, probably thought to be the first creatures within the cosmos, certainly the foremost subjects of the cosmocrator, Helios. We should next have a list of their utterances, but it is broken off after the first and replaced by those of the Egyptian gods who accompany the sun god’s boat at sunrise, and among whom Helios (here the sun disk) is a minor deity by relation to the god on the boat.

35. Reading *αὐτοῦ* for Preisendanz’s *αὐτοῦ*.

36. See above, n. 21.

37. Numerical glosses of this sort, of which there are many, reflect a special interest of the compiler; see ll. 737–57, his postscript after VIII Moses. Besides their convenience for numerological speculation, they helped copyists check their transcriptions of magical names. Not that copyists always took advantage of the convenience. Here Preisendanz proposes to get the number of letters down to thirty-six by omitting the final *r* of BERBIR. More interesting is the fact that the compiler evidently did not count ANOK as part of the name, but gave it its Egyptian meaning, “I (am).”

38. “The disk” is an uncertain expansion of an abbreviation otherwise unknown.

39. *φυσικόν*, meaning “with power to produce physical effects.”

40. The sum of the numerical values of the Greek letters *a b r a s a x* is 365. See Glossary, s.v. “Abraxas.”

41. Here the sudden change in content and style indicates that something has fallen out of the text. What follows is a fragment from some theogonic and cosmogonic myth, an insertion which runs to l. 206, where the invocation, here interrupted, is resumed. The insertion was found in all three versions (C refers to it as “the account of the making of the world,” but does not quote it, l. 697).

42. “The god” seems to be someone other than the preceding “he”—we have come into the middle of some mythological scene.

43. Seven is common in cosmological contexts. Besides, Gn 1, Prof. Bergman reports that it appears, for instance, in the temple of Esna, where, as here, seven utterances of one god become other gods. See S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d’Esna* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1962) 268–69. 2 Enoch 25–30 combined an Egyptian sequence of seven utterances that produce gods, with the Hebrew sequence of seven commands that produce cosmic changes, and thus produced a muddle.

44. What were born, according to the following text, were not seven but eight *pairs* of gods, not angels, who do not encompass the cosmos but are involved in it as psychological and physical elements (see n. 45). Therefore the words here set in parentheses look like two glosses, especially because the wording of the second phrase echoes that of the clear gloss in l. 165 (see n. 45). However, the structure of seven laughs—seven emanations seem basic to this cosmology. That the last pair of gods does not come from a laugh but from a comment and an echo, makes it suspect; the list of eight looks like an

When he laughed first, / Phōs-Augē (Light-Radiance)⁴⁵ appeared and irradiated everything and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESSYN BERITHEN BERIO. 165

Then he laughed a second time. All was water. Earth, hearing the sound, cried out and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. A god appeared; he was given charge of the abyss [of primal waters], for without / him moisture 170
neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is ESCHAKLEŌ (for⁴⁶ you are ŌĒAI, you are ŌN BETHELLE).

When he wanted to laugh the third time, Nous or Phrenes⁴⁷ [Mind or Wits] appeared holding a heart,⁴⁸ because of the sharpness of the god. He was called Hermes; he was called SEMESILAM. /

The god laughed the fourth time, and Genna [Generative Power] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation]. [This pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZ. 175

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] appeared, holding scales indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes⁴⁹ contested / with her saying, “Justice is my province” (see above). While they were 180
fighting the god said, “What seems to be just will depend on both, but all things in the world will be subject to you, [Moira].” And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world—[Moira] of whom the name written first forward, then backwards, is great and holy and glorious, and it is this: THORIOBRITTAMMAŌR-RANGADŌ Ī ŌDANGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH⁵⁰ / (49 letters). 185

He laughed the sixth time and was much gladdened, and Kairos [Time] appeared holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it, said, “You, wrapping yourself in the glory of

adaptation to the Ogdoad (see below, l. 743 and n. 112)—perhaps misunderstood as eight, rather than four, pairs. The fact that this text was augmented by an appendix glorifying the Ogdoad (ll. 743–61), to make up for its absence from the original form, increases our suspicion. Hence the statement that seven gods were born is probably original. The fundamental problem presented by the text cannot be further investigated within the limits of these notes.

45. Thus the papyrus in both passages—here (with *αὐτῇ* for *αὐγῇ*) and l. 476. This is generation in syzygies, as in many ancient Egyptian and gnostic systems (see below, n. 111). Here the original structure may have been Phōs-Augē, Earth-Water, Nous-Phrenes, Genna-Spora, Moira-Hermes, Kairos-Basilissa (i.e., Sun-Moon), Psyche-Serpent, Phobos-Iaō. In the document used by the sources of PGM XIII this structure had been forgotten. Phōs and Augē had been identified, so had Nous and Phrenes. Nous had also been identified with Hermes. Spora had been reduced to a process controlled by Genna. In at least one version. Basilissa had been omitted. However, the original form is indicated by the needless occurrence of a *pair* of names at each level, and the frequent pairing of magical names: BERITHEN-BERIO, ESCHAKLEŌ-BETHELLE, HERMES-SEMESILAM, BADĒTOPHŌTH-ZŌTHXATHŌZ. Another piece of evidence is the recurrence, in the Moira-Hermes and Phobos-Iaō pairs, of the story of original hostility/rivalry followed by fusion of function and name. Another element true to form is that, in the Phōs-Augē syzygy, Augē, being feminine and derivative from Phōs, is that aspect of the pair which is involved in lower being. It is she who appears to the earth (480), and she is probably the δόξα (glory) of Phōs in which sun and moon are clothed (189, 514–20, read *αὐγῇ* for *αυραυ*). So Christ is the ἀπαύγασμα (radiance) of the Father's glory (Heb 1:3).

46. “For you are” introduces another gloss.

47. “Or Phrenes” is taken as a gloss by Preisendanz but may have come from the phrase “and Phrenes” and from an original syzygy (see above, n. 45). In privately written texts *καί* (“and”) was often abbreviated to *K'*, easily confused with *H* (“or”).

48. From the Greek side, the heart was the seat of the intelligence in classical times; *φρένες*, “wits,” literally “midribs,” had earlier been thought the seat of the intelligence, and the word continued in literary use with that sense. For the Egyptian side, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 296–97, s.v. “Herz.”

49. Among the things of which Hermes was patron was public speaking, especially argument in the law courts. (The text here is extremely corrupt. I follow Preisendanz's conjecture.)

50. Double *g* in Greek is pronounced *ng*, so in the English transliteration of this palindrome the letters *n* and *g* change places, but in Greek there is no change.

- 190 Phōs [Light] / will be with me. . . .⁵¹ ANOCH BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRÖM” (36 letters).

When the god laughed a seventh time Psyche [Soul] came into being, and he wept while laughing. On seeing Psyche, he hissed, and the earth heaved and gave birth to the Pythian serpent who foreknew all things, so the god called him IL-
 195 ILLOU / ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU ITHÖR MARMARAUGĒ PHÖCHÖ PHÖBÖCH. Seeing the serpent, the god was frightened and said, “Pop, pop, pop.” When the god said, “Pop, pop, pop,” an armed man appeared who is called DANOU
 200 CHRATOR BERBALI BARBITH. Seeing him the god was again terrified, as seeing someone stronger [than himself, fearing] / lest the earth had thrown up a god. Looking down at the earth he said, “IAÖ.” From the echo a god was born who is lord of all. The preceding man contended with him, saying, “I am stronger than this fellow.” The [first] god said to the strong man, “You come from the popping noise, and this [god] comes from an echo. Both of you will have charge of every need.”
 205 [The pair] was then called DANOU / CHRATOR BERBALI BALBITH IAÖ.⁵²

“Lord, I imitate [you by saying] the 7 vowels;⁵³ enter and hear me, A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PROARBATHŌ IAŌ OYAEĒIOYŌ.”

- 210 / When the god comes in, look down and write the things he says and the Name which he gives you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he tells you accurately, too, the things that concern you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning [counting from the top down], and then coming to / *The Seven-Zoned*⁵⁴
 215 count [the same number] from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

	<u>The Greek</u>	<u>The Seven-Zoned</u>
	Helios	Kronos
	Selene	Zeus
220	Ares	Ares
	Hermes	Helios
	Zeus	Aphrodite
	Aphrodite	Hermes
	Kronos	Selene

- 225 / Of these things, child, I have declared to you the easy and godly solution which not even kings were able to grasp.

You are to write on the natron with the ink from the flowers of the 7 [stars] and kinds of incense. Similarly, you are to make “the bean,”⁵⁵ which I described allegorically in my *Key*, from the flowers and the kinds of incense.

51. For the Kairos-Phōs relation, see ll. 509–19 and nn. Here the text has omitted “the Queen” (the moon) who is the consort of Kairos in this syzygy. The following *Anoch* is again “I (am)” in Coptic.

52. Here the cosmogonic insertion is broken off and the invocation it interrupted (above, l. 161) is resumed.

53. The supplement comes from the parallel, version C, l. 701. God’s creative power issues in perpetual harmony of which the seven vowels are the expression—“the music of the spheres.”

54. *The Seven-Zoned* was thought by Festugière, *La Révélation* I 343, n. 3, to be a planetary sphere, but Festugière’s opinion was based on other evidence; this author seems to have thought the thing a table or treatise; see below, ll. 722–30.

55. “The bean” was a bean-shaped ball of incense.

The initiation called *The Monad* has been fully declared to you, child. / Now I subjoin for you, child, also the practical uses of this sacred book, the things which all the experts accomplished with this sacred and blessed book. As I made you swear, child, in the temple of Jerusalem,⁵⁶ when you have been filled with the divine wisdom, dispose of the book so that it will not be found.

The first, then, [of these uses] is the marvelous / *[spell for] invisibility*: Taking the egg of a falcon, gild half of it and smear the other half with cinnabar. Wearing this you will be invisible when you say the Name.⁵⁷

To fetch a lover: Say the Name 3 times to the sun. It fetches woman to man and man to woman in a way that will amaze you.

If you want someone to be unattractive / —either a woman to a man or a man to a woman: Take a dog's excrement and put it in the post-hole of their door, saying the Name 3 times and saying "I sever NN from NN."

If you say the Name to a demoniac while putting sulfur and asphalt to his nose, the daimon will speak at once and will go away.⁵⁸

If you say it over a man who has erysipelas,⁵⁹ / having rubbed him with crocodile dung, he will be rid [of it] at once.

If you say the Name over a sprain or fracture 3 times, having rubbed it down with earth and vinegar, you will make it go away.

If you say it over any bird, into its ear, it will die.

If you see an asp and want to fix it in its place, say / "Stay!" while turning yourself around. When the names⁶⁰ are said it will stay.

To restrain anger: Enter the presence of a king or magnate, and while you have your hands inside your garment say the name of the sun disk⁶¹ while tying a knot in your pallium or shawl.⁶² You will marvel at the results.

If [you want] to break spells:⁶³ Having written the Name on a page of hieratic papyrus, wear it.

To make Helios appear:⁶⁴ Say toward the east, "I am he / on the two cherubim, between the two natures, heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, O archangel of those subject to the cosmos, ruler Helios, set in authority by the One and Only Himself. The Eternal and Only orders you." Say the Name. And if he appears glowering / say "Give⁶⁵ me

56. Pretentious hokum.

57. Presumably the Name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual, I. 211.

58. Or, perhaps, "(the man) will speak and (the demon) will go away." For the technique, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8. 47.

59. Or, perhaps, "[the ἐρυσσιπέλας] will go away." Cf. Mk 4:31; diseases were evil beings.

60. The plural here indicates that this list of applications drew on sources not originally connected with the preceding rite to learn the (one) Name. This probably explains the absence of the list from the other versions. "Say the Name" in many of these spells looks like an addition.

61. This, again, did not originally belong to the preceding rite. The god invoked there was not the sun god, but the creator and ruler of the sun; see 138–61. A number of similarly incompatible spells will be noticed in what follows.

62. The pallium was a cloak affected by persons claiming to be philosophers. The rare word translated "shawl" means "crosswise garment." If this magician were a Jew, it may have been the *talith*.

63. Or "as an antidote for poisons" or, most likely, both.

64. A spell of unmistakably Jewish background in which, however, the magician identifies himself with Yahweh ("he that sitteth upon the cherubim," 1 Sm 4:4; 2 Sm 6:2; etc.) and identifies Helios as an archangel. Compare the use of a Greek prayer, transliterated into Hebrew, for the same purpose, in *Sepher Ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 12, 99. The prayer in our text is clearly an interpolation in the list of short (two- or three-line) prescriptions which it interrupts.

65. In these requests it is not clear whether "give" means "specify" (a time suitable for some magical operation) or "add" (to the time of my life).

a day; give an hour; give a month; give a year, lord of life.” Say the Name.

If you want to kill a snake: Say, “Stay, for you are Aphyphs.” And taking a green palm branch and holding its heart,⁶⁶ split it [longways] into two, saying the Name
265 over it 7 times. At once the snake will be split / or will break open.

Prescience: This comes in the rite described above, that with the natron. And [you know] that the god will talk with you as with a fellow god, for I have often performed the rite when you were present.

Invisibility: Also thus: “Come to me, Darkness which appeared in the beginning, and hide me, NN, by the order of him who is self-begotten in heaven.” Say the Name.

270 / *Another way:* “I call on you alone, the only one in the cosmos who gives orders to gods and men, who changes himself into holy forms and brings existence out of the nonexistent and nonexistence from existent things, holy Thayth,⁶⁷ the true sight of whose face none of the gods can endure to see; make me seem to be, to the eyes
275 of all creatures—a wolf, dog, lion, / fire, tree, vulture, wall, water, or whatever you want—for you are able.” Say the Name.

Resurrection of a dead body: “I conjure you, spirit coming in air, enter, inspire,
280 empower, resurrect by the power / of the eternal god, this body; and let it walk about in this place, for I am he who acts with the power of Thayth, the holy god.” Say the Name.

If you want to cross [the Nile] on a crocodile: Sit down and say, “Hear me, you who live your life in the water. I am one who is at leisure in heaven and goes about
285 in water and in fire and in air / and earth. Return the favor done you on the day when I created you and you made your request to me. You will take me [to] the other side, for I am so-and-so.” Say the Name.

For release from bonds: [[Say, “Hear me, O Christ, in torments; help, in necessities, / O merciful in violent hours, able to do much in the world, who created
290 compulsion and punishment and torture.” Say it 12 times by day,⁶⁸ hissing thrice eight times.]] Say the whole name of Helios beginning from ACHEBYKRÖM.⁶⁹

295 “Let every bond be loosed, every force fail, let all iron be broken, every rope or every strap, let every / knot, every chain be opened, and let no one compel me, for I am”—say the Name.

To quench fire: “Hear, fire, a work of the works of god’s invention, glory of the honored luminary, be quenched, become snow, for the speaker himself is Aion who
300 puts on fire as if it were / asbestos. Let every flame be scattered from me, every physical power, by command of Him who exists forever. You shall not touch me, fire; you shall not harm my flesh, for I am”—say the Name.

66. The center of the triangular end of the branch.

67. Thoth, here and below, l. 283.

68. Not “twelve days” (Preisendanz). All these charms are for quick results, and in this case they were particularly wanted. The words in double brackets are a Christian interpolation as can be seen by the fact that it creates a doublet—a double recipe for a single purpose—and also by comparing form and content of this spell with those of the others in this series, which consistently contain just the elements left in this when the bracketed words are deleted. The interpolation is interesting as evidence that these pagan magical texts continued to be used by the newly Christian criminal class. It also makes conspicuous the absence of Christian elements from the rest of the text. Since the text with the Christian interpolation dates from the first half of the fourth century A.D., the pagan text that was interpolated was probably third century at the latest.

69. This refers to the full name given in ll. 590–92, ACHEBYKRÖN . . . IAÖ. See also ll. 78–79, and cf. ll. 141–47 and 446–53, where the elements of the name are separated by exegetic comments. The magician was to know this name by heart.

For fire to continue: “I conjure you, fire, daimon of holy love, the invisible and manifold, / the one and everywhere, to remain in this lamp at this time, shining and not dying out, by the command of NN.” Say the Name. 305

To send dreams: Make a hippopotamus⁷⁰ of red wax, / hollow, and put into the belly of this hippopotamus both gold and silver and the so-called ballatha⁷¹ of the Jews and array him in white linen and put him in a pure window and, taking a sheet of hieratic papyrus write on it with myrrh ink and baboon’s blood / whatever you wish to send. Then, having rolled it into a wick and using it to light a new, pure lamp, put on the lamp the foot of the hippopotamus and say the Name, and he sends [the specified dream]. 310 315

A philter to be drunk: Take the lion-wasps (?) in a spider’s web / and, when you have ground them [to a powder, sprinkle the powder] on a drink and give it [to the appropriate person] to drink.⁷² 320

If you want your wife⁷³ not to be had by another man: Taking earth and mixing with it ink and myrrh, mold a crocodile, and put it into a lead coffin and write on this the great Name and that of your wife and, “Let NN not cohabit with any other man except me, NN.” The name / to be written on the feet of the image is: BIBIOU OUËR APSABARA KASONNAKA NESEBACH SPHË SPHË CHPHOURIS. 325

To open doors by use of the Name: “Open, open, 4 quarters of the cosmos, for the lord of the inhabited world comes forth. Archangels, decans, angels rejoice. For Aion of Aion himself, the only and / transcendant, invisible, goes through this place. Open, door! Hear, bar! Fall into two parts, lock! By the name AIA AINRY-CHATH, cast up, Earth, for the lord, all things you contain, for he is the storm-sender and controller of the abyss, master of fire. Open, for ACHEBYKRÛM commands you!” [Say ACHEBYKRÛM] 8 times; [it is] the name of Helios. 330

Another way. The spell for Helios: “I am he on the two cherubim, at the middle of the cosmos, between heaven and earth, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Apppear to me, archangel of god, set in authority by the One and Only Himself.” With this spell perform the acts of thanksgiving to Helios, rites to fetch lovers, send dreams, / ask for dreams, make Helios appear, attain goals, win victories, and in short, everything. 335 340

You have now received, child, the sacred and blessed book, *Unique*, which no one [hitherto] was able to translate⁷⁴ or put into practice. Keep well, child.⁷⁵

*Tr.: Morton Smith. For a more extensive discussion of the composition, see Morton Smith, “The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew (PLcid. J 395),” in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo studio di papiri ercolanesi, 1984) 683–93. PGM XIII (copied about A.D. 350) consists of two parts, first *The Eighth Book of Moses* (henceforth *VIII Moses*), ll. 1–733; second, a collection of miscellaneous spells, divine names, etc., ll. 734–1077.

VIII Moses consists of three parts—three different versions of a rite to get a visit from the supreme god; let us call them A (ll. 1–343), B (ll. 343–645) and C (ll. 646–734). These versions differ considerably by peripheral additions and omissions, but their essential parts are often closely parallel, though not always arranged in the same order. Because of the parallelism, questions raised by two or three have been dealt with only when they first appeared.

70. The word for “hippopotamus” here is uncertain, but written in Greek letters. See also M. J. Raven, “Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism,” *OMRM* 64 (1983): 7–47, esp. 17–18.

71. Unknown.

72. The expected result is not indicated. Perhaps death, but perhaps love—the wasps had been ensnared and held fast.

73. Reading γυναικά σου instead of Preisendanz’s γυναικας οὐ.

74. More hokum.

75. A standard epistolary cliché. The use of epistolary beginnings and ending for treatises was a common ancient practice.

Hence readers of B and C who encounter difficulties should look for explanations in the notes on the parallel passages in A. Not all parallels are equally close, but those fairly clear are as follows:

Lines:

343–50 = 3–6	410–32 = 42–61	567–608 = 61–90
352–56 = 17–27	432–34 = 227–28	580–81 = 273–74
358 = 100–102	435–40 = 130–35	646–66 = 91–110
361–63 = 128–31	443–550 = 138–209	666–99 = 110–39
378–82 = 54–59	451ff. = 78ff.	692 = 227–28
384–88 = 35–43	562–70 = 138–209	700–701 = 206
		704–13 = 210–13
		718–30 = 213–24.

PGM XIII. 343–646

345 *The sacred, hidden book of Moses called “eighth” or “holy.”⁷⁶ / This is the ritual using the name that encompasses all things. It also has directions for a meeting with the god in which you will succeed if you leave out nothing [of what is prescribed].

Keep yourself pure 41 days, having calculated the day and the hour in which the last appearance of / the old moon will occur in Aries. And when the moon enters Aries sleep on the floor during the previous night, and when you have sacrificed burn also the seven approved kinds of incense⁷⁷ in which the god delights, for the seven censings of the seven stars. The incenses are these: malabathron, styrax, nard, kostos, cassia, frankincense, myrrh. [Take these] and the seven flowers of the seven
355 / stars, which are rose, lotus, narcissus, white lily, erephyllinon, gillyflower, marjoram. Having ground them all to a powder, with wine not mixed with seawater, burn all as incense. And [also] wear cinnamon, for the god has given it magical power. Burn the incenses after the twenty-first day, so as to complete [the preparation?]. As / food take milk of a black cow and wine without seawater and Greek
360 natron ([the author] indicates that is beginning and end).

When the day is at hand, put aside for the sacrifice cypress wood or balsam
365 wood—so that even / without the incenses the sacrifice may give a pleasant odor—and five pinecones full of seed. And light two lamps, each holding about half a pint of oil, on this and that side of the altar. The altar, moreover, is to be made of earth. When you have prepared and filled the lamps, do not later pour any more oil into
370 them. Sacrifice an unblemished⁷⁸ white rooster, / and leave another alive, and similarly [sacrifice one] pigeon [and leave another] so that the god, when he comes in, may take the spirit from whichever he prefers. Also lay out a knife, and lay beside it the seven incenses and the seven flowers prepared [as] written [above] so that if, on
375 coming in, the god should wish to sacrifice again / he may find all in readiness. And leave the sacrifice lying on the altar.

The tasting of the victims is done [in] this way: When you are ready to taste them, sacrifice the rooster, so that [the god] may receive lots of spirit, and at the point of tasting, call on the god of the hour and him of the day, so that you may
380 have sponsorship from them. For if you do not invoke them, / they will not hear you, as being uninitiated. Now you will find [the names of] the gods of the hours and those of the days, and the compulsive formula for each of them in the *Key of Moses*, for he set them out one by one.⁷⁹

76. The beginning of the second version; see the prefatory note above.

77. Translation dubious. *Ἐπίθυμα*, usually “incense,” might mean “censing,” which here seems required by the syntax.

78. Or one “without any fleck of color.”

79. Or “brought them out [of secrecy]”? The verb means “pulled away/apart”; this use is unparalleled.

As for the name [of the great god], write all of it on the Greek natron. Instead of / the “pop, pop, pop” sound [in the name] draw on the Greek natron a falcon-
 formed crocodile,⁸⁰ for he greets the god four times a year at the gods’ true entries
 of new periods⁸¹—at the cosmos’ first turning, called increase, then in his own ele-
 vation which they call “the birth / of Horus,” [[then at the rising of the Dog
 Star,]]⁸² then at the ascension of Sothis. At each increase of the sun and diminution
 he gives forth his popping noise. The nine-formed [the Ennead] gives him the
 power to make the noise at that time, so that the sun may ascend from the sound of
 water,⁸³ / for he himself appears together with him [the sun]. Therefore he [the
 falcon-faced crocodile] received the forms and the power of the nine gods that rise
 with the sun. For at the downward turning [the autumnal equinox] he sends out
 the sound weaker and less / powerful, [[for this is the birth of cosmos and sun]].⁸⁴
 Then at the “increase” when the lights [of the heavens] begin to rise, he too sends
 out the noise more powerfully. And at the rise of the Dog Star, turning to the west,
 he sends out the noise most powerfully,⁸⁵ inasmuch as he does not have the / related
 water near by, and because this solstice adds more [to his power], while the effects
 of the last equinox take away what he gained in the preceding solstice. For
 [the autumn equinox] is [the time of] the Nile flood’s⁸⁶ departure and the sun’s
 abasement.

Accordingly, draw the two, i.e., the falcon-faced crocodile / and the nine-formed
 god standing on him, both with myrrhed ink. For the falcon-faced crocodile at the
 four turnings [of the year] greets the god with his popping noise. For coming up to
 breathe from the deep he goes “pop, pop, pop,” / and he of the nine forms replies
 to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the “pop, pop, pop” [in the god’s name],
 draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the “pop, pop, pop” is the first element of the
 name. The second is a hissing, and instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting / its
 tail. Thus the two elements, popping and hissing, are⁸⁷ [represented by] a falcon-

80. I.e., falcon-faced/headed. See above, l. 4 and n. 15.

81. The reference is to the four solar seasons. The “gods” are the sun and the planets, thought to accompany him. That the beginnings of the seasons are called “new moons” shows how this latter term has been generalized. The “increase” is the sun’s return toward the north after the winter solstice. The falcon-faced crocodile was in part Horus (see above, n. 15); hence his elevation becomes “the birth of Horus,” probably the spring equinox. (Preisendanz’s reference to the winter solstice seems ruled out by the preceding “increase.”) “The birth of Horus” was also a festival celebrated on the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi (Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscr. Aegypt.* 609. 71–72; cf. 370. 14) and in the ideal year, which began with the rising of Sirius/Sothis in July, just after the summer solstice, the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi would have fallen near March 21, the spring equinox. Such a year actually occurred in Egypt in A.D. 139. Does this date the spell?

82. Omitting, “then (at) the rising of the Dog Star,” a marginal gloss which Preisendanz put in his text. The fourth occasion of greeting, the autumn equinox, is not here specified.

83. The deity is here identified with water, and specifically with the Nile flood. Thus he sends out the popping noise (the sound of water, l. 394) most powerfully at the rise of Sirius/Sothis which begins the inundation in Egypt. At this time the god is said not to have “his kindred water” near him (ll. 404–5), because he has just begun to summon it with his popping. [R.K.R.]

84. This seems an explanatory gloss irreconcilable with the preceding location of “the birth of Horus” (the sun) at the spring equinox. The festival would not have coincided with the autumnal equinox until the end of the sixth century A.D., much too late for this fourth-century papyrus. (Its last previous coincidence was about the end of the eighth century B.C.) Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 52, 372B, reports a festival at “the birthday of the staff of the sun, after the fall equinox, indicating its need . . . of strengthening.” This festival may explain the gloss.

85. Taking *δυναμικώτερον* as *litotes* for a superlative (as comparatives, in Greek, often are).

86. The Nile’s flood, beginning after the summer solstice, declines before the autumn equinox.

87. Omitting *καί* (“and”).

faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the god's name] is [composed of] nine names,⁸⁸ in advance of which you
 425 should say, with the [prayer on the] stèle, [those of] the gods of the hours / and of
 the days [and] those set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these. For
 without these the god will not listen, but, thinking you uninitiated, will refuse to
 receive [you], unless you emphatically say to him the names of the lord of the
 430 day and of the hour, / which information you will find at the end [of this tractate].
 For without these you can accomplish nothing of the things you find written in
 the *Key*.

Then throw [the powder] of the seven flowers, which you have prepared, into the
 ink, and with this write on the natron. Write the same things on the two sides of the
 435 plaque and lick off / the one side and wash off the other into the wine and the milk,
 first—before you wash it off—having sacrificed the rooster and made everything
 440 read.⁸⁹ / Then call on the gods of the hours, as aforesaid, and then drink off [the
 wine and milk].⁹⁰

“I call on you, you who surround all things, in every language, and in every di-
 445 alect, I hymn you, / as he first hymned you who was by you appointed and en-
 trusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRÖM” (which signifies the flame and
 radiance of the disk) “whose is the glory AAA EEE ÖÖÖ, because he was glorified by
 you” (or, as other [texts read], “was given a glorious form”)—“[you] who set [in
 450 their places] the stars / and who, in divine light, create the cosmos, in which you
 have set in order all things III AAA ÖÖÖ. SABAÖTH ARBATHIAÖ ZAGOURË.” (These
 are the angels who first appeared.) “ARAGA ARATH ADÖNAI BASËMM IAÖ. The first
 455 angel cries to you in birdglyphic, / ‘ARAI’ (which is, ‘Woe to my enemy,’) and you
 have set him in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you thus in hieroglyphic,
 LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own name, ANAG⁹¹ BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHI-
 460 LATOUR BOUPHROUMTRÖM, / saying, ‘I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat
 of the sun, the disk (?), thanks to you. Your magical name in Egyptian is AL-
 DABAEIM.” (This means the boat, on which he comes up, rising on the world.) “He
 465 who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets
 you in his own language, saying, ‘You are the number of [the days of] the year,
 ABRASAX.’ The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language
 and cries out, to receive food, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TI TI TI TI TI TI TI.
 470 He of the nine forms greets / you in hieratic, ‘MENEPHÖIPHÖTH,’” (meaning that
 “I go before you, lord”). . . .⁹²

88. The translation is conjectural, but conjecture seems required by the fact that none of the groups of names specified adds up to nine.

89. This contradicts the directions given above, ll. 369–75, and also requires more roosters than provided. Such internal incongruities prove version B composite. Most conspicuous is the doubling of the epiphany at the end.

90. Contrast l. 134, where the following petition precedes the drinking. For other discrepancies of detail between B and the other versions, cf. ll. 136, 440–41 (no reference to reclining), 695, and 702–3; and see above, nn. 16 and 28.

91. See above, n. 21, on l. 82. Here we have ANAG, a variant spelling of ANOCH, but equally Egyptian, not Hebrew. Several other variant spellings will occur below and be transcribed without further comment.

92. See above, l. 161. The same hiatus occurs here as in version A. Therefore both B and A were copied from a single source; but they differ considerably, therefore at least one was not copied directly from the source in which the hiatus first occurred. That source must therefore have been at least three literary generations prior to our fourth-century manuscript, and prior to it (by how many generations?) will have been the first copy of the correct text from a descendant of which (presumably) it was taken.

So saying he clapped three times and the god laughed seven times, CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA. When he laughed seven gods were born, who encompass all things. (For these are / those who appeared before [the world was formed].) 475

When he laughed first Phōs-Auge [Light-Radiance] appeared and divided all things, and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESEN BEREITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time—all was water, and the earth, hearing the / sound and seeing Auge, was amazed and heaved, and the water came to be divided 480 into three parts. And a god appeared and was given charge of the abyss, and therefore without him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is PROMSACHA ALEEIO. (For you / are ŌEAI BETHE[LLE].) 485

When he wanted to laugh the third time Nous and Phrenes [Mind and Wits] appeared holding a heart, because of the sharpness of the god, and was called Hermes, [since it is he] by whom all things have been interpreted.⁹³ He is also in charge of the power of understanding by which everything is managed. / And he is 490 [called] SEMESILAMPS.

The god laughed the fourth time and Genna [Creative Force]⁹⁴ appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation] of all things, by whom all things were sown, and [this pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZŌ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] / appeared, holding scales, indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes 495 contested with her, saying, “Justice is in my province.” While they were fighting the god said to them, “What seems to be just / will depend on both, but all things in 500 the world will be subject to you [Moira].” And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world and was called by a holy name, fearsome and frightful, written first forwards, then backwards, and it is this: THORIOBRITI, etc. [[of whom the name written first forwards, then backwards is great / and holy and glorious, and 505 this is of great value, a powerful name: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRAGGADŌ I ŌDAG-GARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH—49 letters]].

He laughed the sixth time⁹⁵ and was much gladdened, the Kairos⁹⁶ appeared, holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to / the first- 510 created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it said, “You, wrapping yourself in the glory of Phos [Light] will be with me, because you first gave me a scepter. All things will be subject to you, those that were before and those yet to be. All power will be in you.” When he [Kairos] wrapped himself in the glory of Phos, / the character of the light 515 produced a certain effluence.⁹⁷ The god, [Phōs, then] said to the Queen,⁹⁸ “You, wrapping yourself in the effluence of Phōs, will be with him [Kairos—the sun] compassing all things. You will wax with the light you receive from him, and again you will wane because of him. With you all things will increase and / diminish.” So 520

93. “Interpreted” in Greek seems to come from the same root as “Hermes.”

94. The bracketed words seem a variant and expansion of the preceding text, probably with contamination from version A; cf. ll. 183–86.

95. *καιρός* (“time”) is here not only time, but the sun god qua measure of time.

96. Here the relation of Kairos as world ruler, to Phōs, the first created god, who subjects all things to him and clothes him with his own glory (cf. Phil 2:9–11), is remarkably like that of Jesus as Messiah (who is to reign until he puts all enemies under his feet, 1 Cor 15:23–28) to the first god, the Father. The Christians have transposed the relation a step higher. Jesus himself is Phōs (“Light,” Jn 1:7–9) and “first born of all creation” (Col 1:15), and the Father is the creator. However, it seems clear that the same sort of theogonic theorizing underlies both theological structures.

97. Reading *ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ φωτός* with C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci Musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885) ad loc.

98. The moon, probably Artemis-Selene-Isis.

the name is great and marvellous. ANAG BIATHIAR BARBERBI SCHILATOUP BOU-
PHROUNTÖRM (36 letters).

He laughed the seventh time, breathing hard, and Psyche [Soul] came into being
and all things were moved. So the god said, “You will move all things, and all shall
525 be made glad / so long as Hermes guides you.” When the god said this all things
were moved and filled with spirit unrestrainably. The god, seeing this, said, “Pop,
pop, pop,” and all things were terrified, and on account of the popping noise Pho-
530 bos [Fear] appeared, armed. So he is called DANOUF CHRATÖR / BERBALI BAL-
BITHI (26 letters).

Then, looking down at the earth, the god gave a long hiss and the earth was
opened, receiving the echo. It gave birth to a creature of its own, the Pythian ser-
pent, who foreknew all things through the utterance of the god. Its name is great
535 and / holy, ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ITHÖR MARMARAUGË PHÖCHÖ PHÖ-
BÖCH. When he appeared the earth heaved and was raised much higher, but the
celestial pole stayed unmoved, so when they were about to collide the god said
540 “IAÖ,” and everything was fixed in place / and a great, supreme god appeared who
established the things that were before in the cosmos and the things yet to be, so
that none of the aerial bodies was thenceforth out of place.

Phobos, seeing someone stronger than himself, opposed him, saying, “I am prior
545 to you.” He, however, said, “But I fixed all things [in their places].” So the / [first]
god said [to the serpent], “You come from an echo, but this god from an utterance.
Now an utterance is better than an echo. However, [he said to Iao],”⁹⁹ “the power of
you, who appeared last, will derive from both, so that all things may be fixed in
their places.” And he was thenceforth called by the great and marvelous name
550 DANOUF CHRATÖR / BERBALI BALBITH IAÖ. And wishing to give honor also to the
one who had assisted him, as having appeared together with him, the first god gave
him precedence of the nine gods and possession of power and glory equal to theirs.
555 / And he was called [by a name derived] from the nine gods, as having taken away,
along with their power, also the initials of their names, BOSBEADII,¹⁰⁰ and from the
seven planets AEËIOYÖ EËIOYÖ ËIOYÖ IOYÖ OYÖ YÖ Ö ÖYÖIËËA YOIËËA OIËËA IËËA
560 ËËA EA A— / when written forwards and backwards this is great and marvelous.
But his greatest name, which is this following, is great and holy (of 27 letters)
ABRÖCH BRAÖCH CHRAMMAÖTH PRÖARBATHÖ IAÖ. Another version: ABRÖCH
BRAÖCH CHRAMMAÖTH PRÖARBATHÖ IAÖ OY AEËIOYÖ.

565 When, then, the god comes in, / look down and write the things said and what-
ever name he may give you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy
until he also tells you the things that concern you.

Now the text of the sacred stele to be written in the natron is as follows—and the
invocation runs thus, as here given altogether accurately:

570 / “I call on you, the creator of all, who are greater than all, you, the self-begotten
god, who see all and hear all and are not seen. For you gave Helios all the glory and
575 the power, / Selene the privilege to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you
took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but assigned them equality [with it?].
For when you appeared, both order arose and light appeared, and all things were

99. Since in this version only the serpent was born of an echo, and since the last half of the god’s
speech must be addressed to Iaö, the change of interlocutor, indicated by the translation, just be con-
jectured. Presumably the text is corrupt. Cf. the A version, ll. 191–206, which, however, may have been
produced by excision of the difficulties. That the more difficult text is apt to be the original is a well-
known rule.

100. In spite of this clue the names remain uncertain.

arranged by you. Therefore all things are also / subject to you, whose true form 580
none of the gods can see, who take different forms in [different] visions, Aion of
Aion.

“I call on you, lord, that you may show me your true form. For under your order
I serve / your angel, ANOG BIATHIABAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTÖRM, 585
and your fear DANOUN CHRANTÖR BELBALI BALBITH IAÖ. Through you arose the
[celestial] pole and the earth.

“I call on you, lord, as do those gods who appeared under [order?] that they /
may have power, ACHEBYKRÖM, whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III AAA ŌŌŌ 590
SABAOTH ARBATHIAÖ ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATH ADÖNAI BASYMM IAÖ.

“I call on you, lord, in birdglyphic, ARAI; hieroglyphic, LAILAM; Hebraic, ANAG,
/ BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOURPHOUNTÖRM; Egyptian, ALDABAEIM; 595
baboonic, ABRASAX; falconic, CHI CHI CHI CHI! CHI CHI [CHI] ti ti ti ti ti ti;
hieratic, MENEPHÖIPHÖTH / CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA.” 600

Then clap three times, TAK TAK TAK, go “pop, pop, pop” for a long time; hiss a
great hiss, that is, one of some length.

“Come to me, lord, faultless, who pollute no place, joyful, unflawed, for I call on
/ you, King of kings, Tyrant of tyrants, most glorious of the glorious, daimon of 605
daimons, most warlike of the warlike, most holy of the holy. Come to me, willing,
joyful, unflawed.”

An angel will come in, and you say to the angel, “Greetings, lord. Both initiate
me by these rites¹⁰¹ I am performing / and present me [to the god], and let the fate 610
determined by my birth be revealed to me.” And if he says anything bad, say, “Wash
off from me the evils of fate. Do not hold back, but reveal / to me everything, by 615
night and day and in every hour of the month, to me, NN, son of NN. Let your
auspicious form be revealed to me, for under your [order] I serve [your] angel,
ANAG BIATHI.” (Repeat the formula.)

“I call on you, lord, holy, much hymned, greatly honored, ruler of the cosmos, /
[[Sarapis]];¹⁰² consider my birth and turn me not away, me, NN whom NN [bore], 620
who know your true name and valid name, ŌAÖĒŌ ŌEOĒ IAÖ IIIAÄŌ THOUTHĒ
THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROUÖR AMIATHAR MIGARNA CHPHOURI IYĒYĒŌÄĒ A EE ĒĒĒ
/ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌÖŌŌŌŌ SEMESILAMMPS AEĒIOYÖ ĒÖOYE LINOUCHA 625
NOUCHA HARSAMOSI¹⁰³ ISNORSAM OTHAMARMIM ACHYCH CHAMMÖ. I call on
you, lord; I hymn your holy power in a musical hymn, AEĒIOYÖŌÖ.”¹⁰⁴ / Burn in- 630
cense, saying, “ĒIOYÖ IOYÖ OYÖ YÖ Ō A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌÖŌŌŌŌ
ŌĒŌAÖAÖ OÖOYO IIIIIAÖ IYYŌAÖÄ YO. Protect me from all my own astrological
destiny; destroy my / foul fate; apportion good things for me in my horoscope; 635
increase my life; and [may I enjoy] many good things, for I am your slave and peti-
tioner and have hymned your valid and holy name, lord, glorious one, ruler of

101. Literally, “Initiate me in/by these my matters.”

102. Sarapis (like Christ above, in ll. 289–92) is elsewhere of no importance in this text. Therefore
his name here and in l. 640 below is probably interpolated. However, this does not prove that the whole
section in which the name occurs is an interpolation. The section has the ideas and vocabulary of the rest
of the text, and understandably follows the visit of the angel as a spell to introduce the magician to the
supreme god himself. That no epiphany follows may be due either to the loss of the end of the text that
the compiler was using or to his desire to subordinate this to the C version, which now begins imme-
diately, is much abbreviated, and so leads quickly to the final meeting with the god.

103. HARSAMOSI is “Horus the Elder.” [R.K.R.] Other divine names are also embedded in the spell:
IAÖ, THOUTHĒ (probably from Thoth), SEMESILAM.

104. The seven Greek vowels, represented by the first seven letters of this group, were equated with
the notes of the musical scale, and so represented the basic harmony.

the cosmos, of ten thousand names (?),¹⁰⁵ greatest, nourisher, apportioner, /
640 [[Sarapis]].”

Having drawn in spirit with all your senses, say the first¹⁰⁶ name in one breath to
the east, the second to the south, the third to the north, the fourth to the west, and
having knelt to the left [on] your right knee once, say to the earth once and to the
645 moon once, to water once and to sky once, “ΘΑΩĒ ŌŌ EOĒLAŌ / ΙΙΙ ΑΑŌ ΘĒ THOU
THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROYŌ” (36 letters).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 646–734

*Have¹⁰⁷ a tablet on which you will write what he says to you, and a knife so that,
clean from all [impurities], you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation, that you may
650 pour one. Have all these / ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned
with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy thus: taking a clean sheet write on the
655 border [the names of] the 365 gods. Make it like a tent / under which you go to be
initiated. Also have cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it
power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel,
660 / with tripod standing beside him and Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo
the great name in Egyptian form: on his chest this,¹⁰⁸ BAINCHŌŌCHŌŌCHNIAB,
665 written [the same] forwards and backwards; / on the back of [the] figure this name:
ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod: ITHŌR
MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this, too, around your neck when you
670 perform the initiation; / it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through
the last] seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon begin sleep-
ing on the ground. Rising at dawn, greet the sun [Helios] through seven days, each
675 day saying first the [names of the] / gods of the hours, then those set over the
weeks. Also [each day], learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying,
“Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices”—doing
so until the eighth day.

Then, / coming to this day, in the middle of the night, when there is quiet, light
the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted, into
685 which you must not put any more oil. Now begin to recite the stele and the / mys-
tery of the god. Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow and
wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end. Then having written
on one side of the natron [plaque, the text of] the stele which begins “I call on you,
690 who are greater than all,” / etc., as given above, lick it off, and pouring [wine?] on
the other side, on which is the figure drawing,¹⁰⁹ wash it off into the mixing bowl.
The natron should be written [with ink made] both from the incense materials and
695 from the flowers. Then, before you drink off the milk and the wine, / say over it this
petition and having said it lie down on the mat, holding the tablet and the stylus,
and recite the account of creation which begins, “I call on you who surround all

105. Reading *μυριώννυμε* for the papyrus’s *μυρικοῦτατες*, and Preisendanz’s *μυριώτατε* (otherwise unknown?).

106. “First” of those in this section; above, ll. 622–27.

107. Here version C of the main ritual begins, paralleling version A, ll. 91–110, where the notes on features common to both texts will be found.

108. Preisendanz’s supplement, *ὄνομα*, is needless.

109. Of the nine-formed god standing on a falcon-faced crocodile inside an ouroboros, above, ll. 39–45 and parallel. Contrast versions A and B in which the prayer is to be written on both sides of the tablet, ll. 131 and 434.

things, I call in every language and in every dialect,” etc. And when / you come to the vowels, say, “Lord, I imitate you by [saying] the seven vowels; enter and hear me.” Then repeat the name [composed] of the 27 letters. You should be lying on a rush mat spread under you on the ground. 700

Now when the god comes in do not stare / at his face, but look at his feet while beseeching him, as written above, and giving thanks that he did not treat you contemptuously, but you were thought worthy of the things about to be said to you for correction of your life. You, then, ask, “Master, what is fated for me?” And he will tell you even / about your star, and what kind of daimon you have, and your horoscope and where you may live and where you will die. And if you hear something bad, do not cry out or weep, but ask that he may wash it off or circumvent it, for this god can do everything. Therefore, when you begin questioning, / thank him for having heard you and not overlooked you. Always sacrifice to this [god] in this way and offer your pious devotions, for thus he will hear you. 705 710 715

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time,] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning, / and then, coming to the “Seven-Zoned,” count from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows: 720

<u>Greek</u>		<u>The Seven-Zoned</u>
Helios	The Monad of	Kronos
Selene	<u>Moses,</u>	Zeus
Ares	which is also a table	Ares
Hermes	called “The Seven-	Helios
Zeus	Zoned.”	Aphrodite
Aphrodite		Hermes
Kronos		Selene

*The Eighth, Hidden Book of Moses.*¹¹⁰ In another [manuscript] I found was written, *The Hidden Book of Moses concerning the Gret Name, or,*¹¹¹ *For Everything, in which is the Name of Him Who Governs All.*

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 734–1077

*You should also take, child, for this personal / vision, [a list of] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months, and the seven-letter name which is in the first book, and which you also have written in the *Key*, which [name] is great and marvelous, as it is what brings alive all your books. / I have also set out for you the oath that precedes each book, since, when you have learned the power of the book, you are to keep it secret, child, for in it there is the name of the lord, which is Ogdoads,¹¹² the god who com- 735 740

110. As often in ancient manuscripts, the title follows the text. Perhaps it did so in l. 344 and was there fused with the beginning title of version B.

111. Reading “or” for Preisendanz’s “which” (η for η). Evidently the copyist knew at least three manuscripts.

112. An “ogdoad” is something composed of eight members or elements. Capitalized, the term is used especially for a set of eight Egyptian gods, considered as a unit. They consisted of four pairs, representing the masculine and feminine aspects of the primeval world (Bonnet, *RARG* 5–6, s.v. “Achttheit”; cf. the similar “Ennead” discussed in n. 15 above). [R.K.R. adds that they were celebrated in the creation myth of Hermopolis—in Egyptian, “Eight-Town”—as those who brought forth the universe. He refers

745 mands and directs all things, since to him angels, archangels, he-daimons, / she-daimons, and all things under the creation have been subjected.

There are also prefaced four other names, that of nine letters and that of fourteen letters and that of twenty-six letters and that of Zeus. You may use these on boy-
750 mediums who do not see the gods, so / that one will see unavoidably, and for all spells and needs: inquiries, prophecies by Helios, prophecies by visions in mirrors. And for the compulsive spell you should use the great name which is Ogdoas, the god who directs all things throughout the creation. [For] without him simply
755 nothing / will be accomplished. Learn and conceal, child, the name [composed] of the nine letters, AEĒ EĒI OYŌ, and that of the fourteen letters, YSAU SIAUE IAŌUS, and that of the twenty-six letters, ARABBAOUARABA (to be written forwards and backwards),¹¹³ the name of Zeus, CHONAI IEMOI CHO ENI KA ABIA SKIBA PHOROUOM EPIERTHAT.

760 / *Here is the instruction [for recitation] of the heptagram,¹¹⁴ and the spell to which the god gives attention: (The spell):*

“Come to me, you from the four winds, ruler of all, who breathed spirit into men for life, whose is the hidden and unspeakable name—it cannot be uttered by human mouth / —at whose name even the daimons, when hearing, are terrified,
765 whose is the sun, ARNEBOUAT BOLLOCH BARBARICH B BAALSAMĒN PTIDAIOY ARNEBOUAT, and [the] moon, ARSENPENPRŌOUTH BARBARATŌNE OSRAR MEMPSE-
770 CHEI—they are unwearied eyes / shining in the pupils of men’s eyes—of whom heaven is head, ether body, earth feet, and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean, begetter of good things and feeder of the civilized
775 world. Yours is the eternal processional way¹¹⁵ / in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets which] utter their voices according to the twenty-eight forms of the moon, SAR APHARA APHARA I
780 ABRAARM ARAPHA ABRAACH PERTAŌMĒCH / AKMĒCH IAŌ OYE Ē IAŌ OYE EIOY AEŌ EĒOY IAŌ. Yours are¹¹⁶ the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and Fortunes and Fates, by whom is given wealth, good old age, good children, good luck,
785 a good burial.¹¹⁷ And you, lord of life, King of the heavens and the / earth and all things living in them, you whose justice is not turned aside, you whose glorious name the Muses sing, you whom the eight guards attend, Ē Ō CHŌ CHOUGH NOUN
790 NAUNI AMOUN AMAUNI,¹¹⁸ you who have / truth that never lies. Your name and

to Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 175–77.] As gods who produced the cosmos, like those of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, they interested Greeks who speculated about cosmology. Since the precosmic world was that of divine perfection, they came to be thought both a heaven above the seven planetary heavens, and a deity above the cosmic gods. Greek speculation about a divine sphere beyond those of the planets was happy to find in them an ancient, arcane, and prestigious prototype. Hence their name became a popular term in second-century A.D. and later theosophy; it figures in Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Christian writings, both “orthodox” and “gnostic,” and reflections are found even in rabbinic literature. Such popularity accounts for this postscript, adding the fashionable Egyptian name to the preceding collection, which had lacked it. Perhaps the collection was made before the name became truly popular.

113. In the Greek text this direction is abbreviated to α’ (for ἀναγραμματιζέ), of which Preisendanz did not see the meaning.

114. I.e., the seven vowels. More pretentious terminology.

115. Of the sky, in which the luminaries revolve.

116. Reading σροῦ for οὔ, in accordance with Preisendanz’s emendation in the parallel text, XII. 254.

117. This list of divine gifts (while admittedly at home in most cultures) is quite Egyptian in its emphasis on “good old age” and “good burial.” Cf. the standard prayer, “that he be buried in the necropolis of the desert in good old age,” K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), vol. I, p. 120, and many parallels. [R.K.R.]

118. These are the names of the members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad (see above, n. 112, and

your spirit rest upon the good. Come into my mind and my understanding for all the time of my life and accomplish for me all the desires of my soul. /

For you are I, and I, you. Whatever I say must happen, for I have your name as a unique phylactery in my heart, and no flesh, although moved, will overpower me; no spirit will stand against me—neither daimon nor visitation nor any other of the evil beings of Hades, / because of your name, which I have in my soul and invoke. Also [be] with me always for good, a good [god dwelling] on a good [man], yourself immune to magic, giving me health no magic can harm, well-being, prosperity, glory, victory, power, sex appeal. Restrain the evil eyes / of each and all of my legal opponents, whether men or women, but give me charm in everything I do. ANOCH AIEPHE SAKTIETĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SEĒE SEĒE SIETHŌ SIETHŌ OUN CHOUNTIAI SEMBI IMENOUAI BAINPHNOUN PHNOUTH TOUCHAR SOUCHAR SABACHAR ANA¹¹⁹ of [the] god IEOU ION EON THŌTHŌ / OUTHRO THRŌRESE ERIŌPŌ IYĒ AĒ IAŌAI AEĒIOYŌ AEĒIOYŌ ĒOCH MANEBI CHYCHIŌ ALARAŌ KOL KOL KAATŌN KOLKANTHŌ BALALACH ABLALACH OTHERCHENTHE BOULŌCH / BOULŌCH OSERCHNTHE MENTHEI,¹²⁰ for I have received the power of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great god, daimon IAŌ ABLANATHANALBA SIABRATHILAŌ LAMPSTĒR IĒI ŌŌ, god. Do [it], lord PERTAŌMECH / CHACHMĒCH IAŌ OYĒE IAŌ OYĒE IEOU AĒŌ EĒOY IAŌ.”

The instruction: Speaking to the rising sun, stretching out your right hand to the left and your left hand / likewise to the left, say “A.” To the north, putting forward only your right fist, say “E.” Then to the west, extending both hands in front [of you], say “Ē.” To the south, / [holding] both on your stomach, say, “I.” To the earth, bending over, touching the ends of your toes, say “O.” Looking into the air, having your hand on your heart, say “Y.” Looking into the sky, having both hands on your head, say “Ō.”

	sky	
A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	III
east	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	south
air	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	
north	E E O O O O O E Ē Ē Ē	wcst
	earth	

“I call on you, eternal and unbegotten, who are one, who alone hold together the whole creation of all things, whom none understands, whom the gods worship, / whose name not even the gods can utter. Inspire from your exhalation (?),¹²¹ ruler

K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929], p. 65 and pl. I). The pairs are *Hh* and *Hh.t* (“Expansiveness” and “Female Expansiveness”), *Kk* and *Kk.t* (“Darkness” and “Female Darkness,” cf. CHŌŌŌCH, “darkness,” in BAINCHŌŌŌCH with the CHOUCH here), *Nwn* and *Nwn.t* (“Abyss” and “Female Abyss” sc. of water), and *Imm* and *Imm.t* (“the Hidden” and “the Female Hidden”). Cf. PGM XIII. 743 and XXI. 20. [R.K.R.] It should be noticed, too, that here the Ogdoad are merely assistants—the “eight guards” who “attend” the highest god—whereas in the preceding two paragraphs, which we saw reason to think interpolated (above, n. 112), the Ogdoad was itself and as a unit the supreme god. Detailed textual analysis is impossible here, but it seems clear that different sources have been used, and likely, that different writers used them.

119. Possibly “I [am]” in Aramaic, transliterated into Greek.
120. Besides the initial ANOCH “I am,” this list has many Egyptian words: BAINPHOUN, “spirit of Nun” (the abyss); PHNOUTH, “the god”; THŌTHŌ, “Thoth the great”; OSERCHENTHE MENTHEI, “Osiris the foremost of the westerners,” the standard epithet of Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. Dubious restoration, in Preisendanz’s text, of a word here plausible, but otherwise unknown.

of the pole, him who is under you; accomplish for me the NN thing.

“I call on you as by the voice of the male gods, IĒŌ OYE ŌĒI YE AŌ EI ŌY AOĒ OYĒ
 850 / EŌA YĒI ŌEA OĒŌ IEŌU AŌ. I call on you, as by the voice of the female gods, IAE
 EŌO IOY EĒI ŌA EĒ IĒ AI YO ĒLAY EŌO OYĒE IAO ŌAI EOYĒ YŌĒI IŌA. I call on you,
 855 as the winds / call you. I call on you, as the dawn.” (Looking toward dawn [say], “A
 EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ.”) “I call on you as the south.” (Looking
 860 to the south say, “I OO YYY ŌŌŌŌ AAAAA EEEEEĒ ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ.”) / “I call on you as the
 west.” (Standing [facing] the west, say, “E II OOO YYYY ŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA EEEEEĒ.”)
 “I call on you as the north.” (Standing looking toward the north say, “Ō AA EEE
 865 ĒĒĒĒ IIII OOOOOO YYYYYY.”) “I call on you / as the earth.” (Looking toward the
 earth say, “E ĒĒ III OOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA.”) “I call on you as the sky.”
 (Looking into the sky say, “Y ŌŌ AAA EEEE ĒĒĒĒ IIIIII OOOOOOO.”) “I call on you
 870 as the cosmos, “O YY ŌŌŌ AAAAA / EEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒ IIIIII. Accomplish for me NN
 thing, quickly. I call on your name, the greatest among gods. If I say it complete,
 875 there will be an earthquake, the sun will stop and the moon will be afraid and the
 rocks and the mountains and the sea and the rivers / and every liquid will be petri-
 fied; the whole cosmos will be thrown into confusion. I call on you, IYEO ŌAEĒ
 IAO AEĒ AI EĒ AE IOYŌ EYĒ IEŌU AĒŌ ĒI ŌĒI IAE IOYĒ AYĒ YĒA IŌ IŌAI IŌAI ŌĒ
 880 / EE OY IŌ IAO, the great name. Become for me lynx, eagle, snake, phoenix, life,
 power, necessity, images of god, AIŌ IOY IAO ĒIŌ AA OYI AAAA E IY IŌ ŌĒ IAO AI
 885 AOĒ OYEŌ AIEĒ IOYE YEIA EIŌ ĒII YY EE ĒĒ ŌAOĒ / CHECHAMPSIMM CHANGALAS
 EĒIOY IĒEA ŌŌŌŌE (seven of the auspicious [names?]) ZŌIŌIĒR ŌMYRYROMRO-
 MOS.” [Say it?] thus, extending the second AIŌ: “Ē II YY ĒĒ OAOĒ.”

This initiation is performed to the suns¹²² of the thirteenth day of the month,
 890 when the gold lamella is licked / off and one says over it: “IAIA IY OĒ IEYOŌ ĒŌI EO
 Ē ŌY EĒ YŌĒ ŌŌŌ ŌŌI ŌAO EŌ OĒ YŌ.” Then more completely, “AOĒYĒ OAI IO
 895 ĒYEŌA OYŌ ŌO EI OY EŌ OIYY ŌYY ŌI A / EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ
 AŌ EOĒ EŌĒ IAA ĒŌI ĒIŌ. In [the] initiation these things are said six times with all
 [the rest?], and the seven vowels are written on the gold lamella to be licked off, and
 900 on the silver lamella the seven vowels for the phylactery / OĒŌ AŌ OOO YOĒĒ OY YĒI
 SORRA THŌŌM CHRALAMPĒAPS ATOYĒGI. The following series of vowels [are writ-
 ten as] “wings”,¹²³ and on the gold lamella write this: AOĒYĒOI; on the silver:
 IOĒYEŌA, . . .¹²⁴

905	AEĒIOYŌ	AEĒIOYŌŌ	AEĒIOYŌOYŌ
	EĒIOYŌA	EĒIOYŌŌA	EĒIOYŌOYŌA
	ĒIOYŌAE	ĒIOYŌŌAE	ĒIOYŌOYŌAE
	IOYŌAEĒ	IOYŌŌAEĒ	IOYŌOYŌAEĒ
	OYŌAEĒI	OYŌŌAEĒI	OYŌOYŌAEĒI
	YŌAEĒIO	YŌŌAEĒIO	YŌOYŌAEĒIO
910	ŌAEĒIOY	ŌŌAEĒIOY	ŌOYŌAEĒIOY

and¹²⁵ the great heaven, eternal, incorruptible, OĒŌ AŌ THOOU OĒĒ OY YĒI OR-
 915 CHRA THŌŌMCHRA SEMESILAMPS / ATOYĒTI DROUSOUAR DROUĒSRŌ GNIDA

122. Of dawn, midday, and sunset (Preisendanz).

123. I.e., in triangles, produced by writing the words in successive lines, but in each line dropping one letter from the same end (usually the front) until only one is left. A “wing” is the technical term in magical jargon for the resultant form.

124. Something, probably directions from another rite, seems to have fallen out of the text. It resumes near the end of another spell.

125. This has no clear connection to the preceding vowels, so Preisendanz conjectures a lacuna. However, this may be the continuation of the lost spell in which the vowels stood.

BATAIANA ANGASTA AMASOUROUR OUANA APAISTOU OUANDA ÒTI SATRAPERK-
MĒPH ALA Dionysus, blessed EYIE YOY YYY THENŌR conducting YYY EYIEY EY
OYŌ XERTHENATHIA THAPHTHŌ / OIKROU ŌR ARAX GŌ Ō AAA ERARĒRAYIIĒR 920
THOUTH ASĒSENACHTHŌ LARNIBAI AIOŌ KOUPHIŌ ISŌTHŌNI PATHENI IEEEN-
THĒR PANCHOCHITAS OYE TIASOUTH PACHTHEESTH HYSEMMIGADŌN / ORTHŌ 925
BAUBŌ NOĒRADĒR SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL APARA KEŌPH IAŌ
SABAŌTH ABRATIAŌTH ADŌNAI ZAGOURĒ HARSAMOSI RANAKERNŌTH LAMP-
SOUŌR.¹²⁶ Therefore, I am brought together with you by the great commander-
in-chief Michael, lord, the great archangel of IEYOY AĒ AIŌ EYAI / I Ē IĒ IŌA IĒIĒ AIŌ 930
EĒ AIŌ. Therefore, I am conjoined¹²⁷ [with you], O great one, and I have you in my
heart AŌ EĒ EOĒI AIAĒ ŌĒ IŌAŌ EOĒE ŌĒI AĒ ŌĒIŌ.

*As the revelator Orpheus*¹²⁸ *handed down in his private note*: “OISPAĒ IAŌ /
OYEA SEMESILAM AĒOI, son, CHOLOUE ARAARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE ŌĒEYAIĒ 935
OIAI EAĒ EAĒ ŌEA BORKA BORKA PHRIX RIX ŌRZA ZICH MARTHAI OYTHIN LI-
LILILAM LILILILŌOU AAAAAA ŌŌŌŌŌŌ / MOUAMECH, fluid boundary, AĒŌ ŌĒA 940
ĒŌA.” (Breathe out, in. Fill up); “EI AI OAI” (pushing more, bellow-howling.)
“Come to me, god of gods, AĒŌĒI ĒI IAŌ AE OIŌTK” (Pull in, fill up, / shutting your 945
eyes. Bellow as much as you can, then, sighing, give out [what air remains] in a hiss.)

Erotylos, in his “Orphica”:¹²⁹ “YOĒĒŌAI ŌAI YOĒĒAI YOĒĒŌ EREPE EYA / NAR- 950
BARNE ZAGEGŌĒ ĒCHRAĒM KAPHNAMIAS PSIIPHRI PSAIARORKIPHKA BRAKIŌ
BOLBALOCH SIILASI MAROMALA MARMISAI BIRAITHATHI ŌO.”

*And Hieros*¹³⁰ *writes thus*: “MARCHŌTH SAERMACHŌTH ZALTHAGAZATHA /
BABATHBATHAATHAB A III AAA ŌŌŌ¹³¹ ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ ŌNTHĒR.” Then, “Depth 955
AUMŌLACH.”

And as it stands in the “Holy Name” pronounced by Thphes, the sacred scribe to
King Ochos:¹³² “NETHMOMAŌ / MARCHACHTHA CHTHAMAR ZAXTHTHARN MA- 960
CHACH ZAROKOTHARA ŌSS IAŌ OUĒ SIALŌR TITĒ EAĒ IAŌ ĒS ZEATHE AAA ĒĒEOY
THŌBARRABAU.”

*And in the Memoranda / of Euenos*¹³³ he says the name is pronounced by the 965
Egyptians [and] the Syrians “CHTHETHŌNI.”

*As Zoroaster*¹³⁴ *the Persian in . . .* “RNISSAR PSYCHISSAR.”

And as is said in the works of / Pyrrhus:¹³⁵ “ZZA AAA EEE BBMŌEA ANBIOŌŌ.” 970

And as Moses says in the Archangelic [Teaching?]:¹³⁶ “ALDAZAŌ BATHAM MA-

126. Besides the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian divine names now familiar, this list has Baubo, a comic figure from Eleusinian legend, and Ereschigal, the ancient Mesopotamian queen of the underworld.

127. The verb is *συνίστημι*, usually “introduce, present,” but the context here seems to require some closer connection. Cf. above, ll. 795–804.

128. Orpheus, the legendary Thracian singer, had by this time become famous as a revelator. Many bogus works were attributed to him; nothing is known of this one.

129. Or “as quoted in the *Orphica*.” The translation given in the text follows Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* I, 17. An Erotylus was once cited by the alchemist Zosimus as an authority on “the All” (*ibidem*, III, 144). He is otherwise unknown.

130. Unknown?

131. Reading ŌŌŌ for ŌŌŌ, since the adjacent groups are all triplets of a single letter.

132. Ochos was Artaxerxes III, 358–338 B.C. Thphēs is unknown, and the conversation was probably fictitious.

133. Several authors named Euenos are known, but nothing connects any of them with this statement.

134. Zoroaster, like Orpheus, was a favorite victim of forgers, one of whom produced this.

135. We know of many men named Pyrrhus, but of none likely to have written this.

136. *The Archangelic Teaching* (?) of “Moses” is again cited in the Nag Hammadi documents (II. 5. 102) and may be reflected by a medieval manuscript which quotes an “archangelic hymn” given to

CHÖR,” or “BA ADAM MACHÖR RIZXAË ÖKEÖN PNED MEÖYPS PSYCH PHRÖCH
PHER PHRÖ LAOTHCHÖ.”

975 / *And as it is explained in Hebrew in “The Law”*:¹³⁷ “Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,
AËÖ EÖA ÖAË IEÖY IEË IEÖ IAÖ IA ËI AO EË OE EÖ.”

980 *And as in the fifth book of the Ptolemaica*,¹³⁸ the most excellent book entitled
/ *One and the Whole*. (It contains [an account of] the birth of the spirit of fire and
of darkness:) “Lord of [the] Aion, who created all things, only god, unutterable,
985 THOROKOMPHOUTH PSONNAN / NEBOUËTI TATTAKINTHAKOL SOONSOLOUKE
SOLBOSEPHËTH BORKA BORKA PHRINX RIXÖ ZADICH AMARCHTHA IOU CHORIN
LI LI LAM LAM AAAAAA IIIIII ÖÖÖÖÖÖ EMACH ËËË NACH LILILI LAM CHENË
990 / LILILI ÖÖY AËÖ ÖAË IÖA ÖÖÖ ËËË, fluid boundary, MOTHRAË EIA OYÖ AOYE THOP-
TOCH A ÖÖ YYY ÖÖÖÖ IIII ËËËËËËË EEEEE AMOUN IAAAA ÖI ËI ANOCH AI IÖ ÖI
995 ËI ORTONGOUR ÖËAI EIAI / ÖËAI ÖËOI AA ËI OYÖ ËI IOY ÖÖ ËËAE THATH IER
THAINONABOU, the great, great¹³⁹ Aion, god, lord (?), Aion.”

1000 *And the great name, that in Jerusalem*, by which they bring out water when
there is none in a cistern (?): “ACHMË IEÖË IEËÖ IARABBAO / YCHRABAÖA, do the
NN thing, unutterable name of great god.”

Taking a golden or silver lamella, engrave with an adamant¹⁴⁰ stone the unutter-
able characters given below. He who engraves them should be pure from all /
1005 impurity, his wrists wreathed with wreaths of flowers in season, and should also of-
fer frankincense. The spell to annul this spell should be written on the reverse of the
1010 lamella. Then, taking it, inscribed, put it into a clean box / and put this on a clean
tripod covered with a linen cloth, and prepare an accompanying offering of pure
pinecones, a small basket¹⁴¹ of bread, sweetmeats, flowers in season, Egyptian wine
1015 not mixed with seawater. Then / putting milk, wine, water in a new vessel, pour a
libation while burning frankincense. Also let a clean lamp be at hand, full of rose oil.
1020 And say, “I call on you the greatest god in the heaven, / strong lord, mighty IAÖ OYÖ
IÖ AIÖ OYÖ, who exist.¹⁴² Perfect for me, lord, the great, lord, unutterable magical
1025 sign, so that I may have it and remain free of danger and unconquered and / unde-
feated, I, NN.”

Moses for use as a phylactery. Unfortunately, neither “hymn” nor “phylactery” matches the gender of “archangelic” as given in our text, and the quotations differ widely. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 292–93 and Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 150. One of the works used by the author of PGM XIII may have had a Hebrew source. The beginning of the second quotation is readable as Hebrew: “In Adam was the source of secrets” (taking *puḡḡan* as a corruption of *vazzaya*—Greek has no *y*).

137. The source of this may have been a targum in which the phrase, “the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob” (Ex 3:6, 15; 4:5, etc.) was followed by a magical gloss, like those sometimes inserted in manuscripts of Homer; cf. *P. Oxy.* 412.

138. Claudius Ptolemaeus, ca. A.D. 100–178, the famous astronomer and astrologer, was another favorite victim of false attributions; see Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 211. This adds one more.

139. Doubling is a common form of superlative, especially in Hebrew and Egyptian, but also in Greek. See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), sec. 493.1.

140. Probably the legendary adamant, which nothing could break. The observable stone most often called *adamas* was hematite, a relatively soft iron oxide not suitable for engraving. See A. A. Barb, “Lapis Adamas,” in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, vol. I, *Latomus* 101 (1969): 67–86; R. K. Ritner, “A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection,” *JNES* 43 (1984): 209–21.

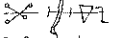
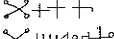
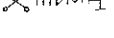
141. Literally, one containing about a *kab*—roughly one-sixth of a bushel. However, the word thus literally translated appears in Greek only in Preisendanz’s text, where it is a conjectural correction of a corruption.

142. Literally, “the being” (person or thing, masc.)—the famous Greek hypostatized principle which LXX used in translating the obscure Hebrew gloss in Ex 3:14.

Try to prepare this when [the moon] is in the east and in conjunction with a beneficent planet, either Zeus or Aphrodite, and when / no maleficent one, Kronos or Ares, is in aspect. You may do it best when one of the three beneficent planets is in its own house, while the moon is taking / the position of conjunction or aspect or diametrical opposition and when the planet, too, is in the east, for then the rite will be effectual for you. Accordingly, do not / idly talk about the way to annul it, if you don't want to help damage yourself; but keep it to yourself.

Its uses are the following:

When you want to put down fear or anger: Taking a leaf of laurel, write on it the / sign, as it is, and having shown it to the sun, say, "I call on you, the great god in heaven, [strong] lord, mighty IAÖ OYÖ IÖ AIÖ OYÖ, who exist; protect me from all fear, from all danger that threatens / me in the present day, in the present hour." Having said these words thrice, lick off the leaf, and have the lamella with you. And if [things come to] hand-to-hand [fighting, wear it] on your hand.

 *The spell to annul*, which
 is written on the reverse:
 "PAITH PHTHA PHOÖZA." ¹⁴³

A secret prayer of Moses to Selene: "OINEL of life, CHNOUB OUËR AKROMBOUS / OURAOI OYËR AI HAPH HÖR OKI. ANOCH BÖRINTH MAMIKOURPH AEI AEI Ë AEI EIE EIË TETH OUR OUR OUËR ME CHROUR CHOU TAIS ECHRËZË ECHRINX MAMIA OURPH, goddess in woman's form, mistress Selene, do the NN thing."

For opening [doors]: Taking / the navel of a male crocodile (he means pondweed) ¹⁴⁴ and the egg of a scarab and a heart of a baboon (he means perfume of lilies), ¹⁴⁵ put these into a blue-green faïence vessel. And when you wish to open a door, bring the navel to the door, saying, "By / THAIM THOLACH THECHEMBAOR THEAGON PENTATHESCHI BÖTI, [I call on you] who have power in the deep, for myself, that there may now be a way open for me, for I say to you, SAUAMBOCH / MERA CHEOZAPH ÖSSALA BYMBËL POUO TOUTHÖ OIRËREI ARNOCH."

If [you wish] to call phantoms: . . .

The tenth (?) Hidden [Book of] Moses. ¹⁴⁶

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PDM xiv. 1–92

*[A vessel divination which a physician ?] in the nome of Oxyrhynchus [gave to me]: *Formula*: "[O god, NN,] . . . the edge of whose strap rests in Pelusium while his face is like a spark . . . of an obscene cat whose testicles ² are like a rearing uraeus . . . quickly. Put the light and breadth in my vessel. . . / Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me, O primeval waters! . . . large . . . of cop-

143. PHTHA PHOÖZA is "Ptah, health." In the following prayer, CHNOUB OUËR is "Khnum the great," OURAOI OUËR is "great uraei," HAPH HOR is "Apis, Horus." [R.K.R.]

144. This is an example of the secret magical vocabulary by which everyday things were given pretentious names, partly to make magical rituals impracticable for chance readers, partly to impress the ignorant.

145. Or possibly, "myrrh mixed with (oil of white) lilies."

146. In the manuscript "book" is lacking and "tenth" uncertain. Against Gager's argument for a repetition of "eighth" (*Moses*, p. 148, [above, n. 136]) stand the conspicuous differences of the material preceding this title from that of the better attested "eighth" books in ll. 1–730.

1. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 528.

2. Read, perhaps, *sn.ty*; see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3d ser., vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1935), 115, n. 2; and cf. Griffith and Thompson, glossary #133 and 20, n. to l. I. 3.

- per of Alkhah.³ O gods who are in heaven, who are exalted, come! . . . [Put (the)] light and breadth in my vessel and my . . . [the] boy whose face is bent over this vessel.⁴ May . . . prosper, for this vessel divination is the vessel divination of Isis when she was searching / . . . Come in to me, O my compeller, for everything
- 10 . . . , and make this youth⁵ open his eyes to them all . . . , for I am the Pharaoh Lion-Ram. Ram-Lion-Lotus⁶ is my name; . . . to you here today, for I am SITAKO.⁷ 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' [is my true name. I am GANTHA, GINTEY,
- 15 GIRITEY]⁸ HRENYTE (also called ARENOYTE)⁹ LAPPTOTHA LAKSANTHA SA/[RISA [I, 15] . . . BOLBYE]¹⁰ BYEL BYEL LYTERI KLOGASANTRA LAHO [is my name; LAHO is my true name. BALKHAM the]¹¹ powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin¹² [of the shrine of the god who stands today].¹³
- [You should] say, whispering, "O good oxherd,¹⁴ my compeller, . . . in order to ask you about it here today, and you should make this [youth] open¹⁵ his eyes . . . every . . . and you should protect this youth whose face is bent [down over this / vessel]¹⁶ . . . of god, lord of earth, the survivor of the earth, lord of
- 20 earth . . . I am Hor-Amoun¹⁷ who sits at this vessel divination here today . . . [at]¹⁸ this vessel divination here today. MARIGHARI, you should . . . so that they say my inquiry for me."
- Say to them twice, "O pure gods of the primeval waters, [I am] . . . of earth by
- 25 name, under the soles [of whose feet] the gods of Egypt are placed / . . . THAR, for [I, 25]

3. For Alkhah (Eg., *ʿrq-hh*), see PGM IV. 124 and n. One should, probably, use a standard transliteration of the name throughout; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 6.

4. Or oil; parallels allow either; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 8.

5. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 43, 72, etc.; see discussion in Johnson, *Verbal System* 274–75.

6. For this combination, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 22, n. to l. I. 12; also PGM III. 659 and n.

7. For a discussion of the possible meaning of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 23, n. to l. I. 13.

8. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1171–72. The spelling of magical names given here is based on the Demotic spelling supplemented by the Old Coptic spelling. If there is a disagreement between the two, the Demotic is accepted. See Johnson, "Dialect," 110–25 for a discussion of the correlations among Greek, Old Coptic, and Demotic found in this text. Transcriptions try to maintain a one-to-one correspondence between ancient script and modern.

9. "Also called" is inserted above the line, in front of the Old Coptic gloss ARENOYTE. Note that PDM xiv. 1174 writes this name *hry ntr* "lord god."

10. The missing magical names could be restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1175–76.

11. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1178.

12. The griffin is described by the author of the Demotic tale called "The Myth of the Sun's Eye" in the following terms (15. 1–4): His beak is (that of) an eagle; his eyes are (those of) a man; his limbs are (those of) a lion; his scaly ears are (those of) an *3b3h* fish of the sea; his tail is (that of) a snake—the five [creatures] which breathe which are upon (the earth). The griffin is described as the "avenger upon whom no avenger can wreak vengeance" and the "herdsman of everything which is upon earth." The most recent discussion of this passage, and its translation into Greek, is by J. W. Tait, "A Duplicate Version of the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974): 23–27, and "The Fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976): 27–44.

13. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1179.

14. Epithet of Anubis; cf. PDM xiv. 35, 400, and 422; see PGM I. 26 and n.

15. See n. 5 above.

16. See n. 4 above.

17. The formation of compound dieties occurs very early in Egyptian religion and remains a common feature.

18. Restoration based on Old Coptic gloss "a" = preposition *ʾ*.

I am [†]TA [†]PISH[†]TEHEI¹⁹ of earth by name. . . . preserve you, O Pharaoh, PASHA-MEI²⁰ who rests opposite . . . these forearms of real gold. Truth is in my mouth, honey [is on my lips]²¹ . . . MA . . . THA, for I am [†]STEL [†]LAHO, [†]he [†]who [†]opens the [†]land.”

You should say to the boy, “Open your eyes!” If he opens his eyes and sees the light, you should make him cry out, / saying “Be great, be great, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be high, be high, O light! He who is outside, come in!”

30
[II, 2]

If he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you should make him close his eyes while you recite to him again.

Formula: “O darkness, remove yourself [†]from [†]before him! O light, bring the light in to me! Pshai²² who is in the primeval waters, bring the light in to me! O Osiris who is in the divine bark, bring the light in to me! O these four winds which are outside, bring the light in to me! O he in whose hand is the [†]moment, the one who belongs to these hours,²³ / bring the light in to me! O Anubis, the good ox-herd, bring the light in to me in order that you give me [†]protection here today, for I am Horus, the son of Isis, the good son of Osiris! You should bring the gods of the place of judgment, and you should cause them to take care of my affair so that they make [†]my business proceed. [†]O [†]those [†]belonging [†]to [†]the [†]avengers,²⁴ you should cause them to do it, for [I am] . . . [†]TYRAMNEI²⁵ [†]AMNEI²⁶ [†]A [†]A [†]MES MES [†]ORNYORF ORNYORF [†]ORNYORF ORNYORF [†]PAHOROF²⁷ . . . [†]PAHROF²⁸ [†]IO little king, [†]mountain [†]of [†]Horus. May this youth whose face is bent down to this / oil be saved [and may you] send Sobek to me until he comes forth. ‘Hearing’ is my name; ‘Hearing’ is my correct name, for I am L[OT [†]MYLO]T²⁹ [†]TYLOT. [†]TAT [†]PINTAT is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, appear to this youth [†]without [†]alarming or [†]deceiving, [†]truthfully.”³⁰ You should recite these *writings seven times*.

35
[II, 7]

40
[II, 12]

If you make him open his eyes and the light is good and he says “Anubis is coming in,” you should recite before him,³¹

Formula: “O RIDJ MYRIDJ, O earth, great one of the earth, O this beautiful male whom [†]HERIEY, the daughter of the [†]Neme³² bore, / come to me, for you are this

45

19. The final group is the Demotic word [†]ny, “house”; the first element of the first word may be a phonetic rendering of [†]ta, “she of.”

20. See n. 19 above.

21. Or “the truth of my mouth is the honey of my lips.” Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 252.

22. On š(ʿ)y “Fate” and p3 šʿy ʿ3 as the ἀγαθοδαίμων, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et Ponomastique* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1975). See also PGM III. 144–45.

23. I.e., the god who is “on duty” at this moment; see below, PDM xiv. 58–60.

24. On avengers, see *Mythus* 4/20. “The Avenger” is identified by the Coptic monk Shenute as Chronos. See also PDM xiv. 242.

25. The ending is written with Demotic n3y, “there” or “to me.”

26. See n. 25 above.

27. The ending is written rʿf, “his mouth.”

28. See n. 27 above.

29. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 534.

30. “Without alarming or deceiving, truthfully” are Greek words written phonetically in Demotic, as Griffith and Thompson, 28, n. to l. II. 14. The spelling of Greek επαληθια as epʿletsyʿ reflects the standard transcription of Greek τ/θ + ι as tsy; see Johnson, “Dialect,” 123–25. Greek π/φ + ι are written psʿsy; Greek κ/χ + ι as ksy.

31. I.e., Anubis.

32. A goddess of destruction, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 28–29, n. to l. II. 16.

[II, 17] lotus flower which came forth from †the †lotus bud †of †PNYSTOR which makes light for the entire land! Hail, Anubis! Come to me! †O †high †one, O mighty one, O master of secrets for those in the Underworld, O Pharaoh of those in Amenti,³³ O Chief Physician, O good [son] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, you should appear in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve the souls of Abydos in order that they all live through you, these souls, the ones of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here to-day! You are Thoth. You are the one who went forth from the heart of the great
 50 Agathodaimon,³⁴ the father of the fathers of all the gods. Come to the mouths / of my vessel today and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I
 [II, 22] am inquiring, without falsehood therein, for I am Isis the Wise, the sayings of whose mouth come to pass” (*formula: seven times*).

You should say to the youth, “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Go forth; bring the gods in!’”

When he goes after them and brings them in, you should question the youth, saying, “Have the gods already come in?” If he says, “They have already come,” and if you [*sic*] see them, you should recite before them.

Formula: “Awaken to me, awaken to me! PSHAI!³⁵ Awaken, †MERA, †the †Great †One †of †Five,³⁶ †TSITSY †TENNDJIY! Do justice to me! Thoth, may creation fill
 55 the earth with light; O ibis³⁷ in / his noble countenance, noble one who entered
 [II, 27] the heart,³⁸ create truth, O great god whose name is great!” (*Say seven times*).

You should say to the youth,³⁹ “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Bring in a table for the gods! Let them sit.’”

When they are seated, you⁴⁰ should say, “Bring in a wine jar; open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat, let them drink, (let them eat, let them drink),⁴¹ let them make merry.”

When they have finished, you⁴² should say to Anubis, “Will you make inquiry for me?”

If he says, “Immediately,” you⁴³ should say to him,⁴⁴ “The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up.” When he⁴⁵ says, “He has stood up,” you⁴⁶ should say to him, “Say to Anubis, ‘Carry off the things from the midst!’”⁴⁷

60 You⁴⁸ should recite / before him instantly, saying, “Agathodaimon of today, lord
 [III, 3] of today, the one to whom these moments belong.”⁴⁹

33. Literally, the west; i.e., the necropolis and, by extension, the realm of the dead.

34. See n. 22 above.

35. See n. 22 above.

36. Probably an epithet of Thoth; originally the title of the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 30, n. to l. II. 26.

37. I.e., Thoth.

38. I.e., who pleases.

39. A similar passage, but without the youth, is found in PDM xiv. 550–54.

40. I.e., the youth.

41. Dittography in going from column II to column III.

42. I.e., the youth.

43. See n. 42 above.

44. I.e., Anubis.

45. I.e., the god who will make the inquiry.

46. I.e., the youth.

47. I.e., of the gods seated at the table, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 32, n. to l. III. 2.

48. I.e., the youth.

49. I.e., Anubis.

You should cause him to say to Anubis, “The god who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name.” When he stands up and tells his name, you should ask him concerning everything which you wish.

Its preparation:⁵⁰ You bring seven new bricks which have not yet been moved in order to turn them (over) to the other face. You should lift them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you should set them back in the[ir] manner in which they were set. You should set three bricks under the oil. The other four bricks, you should arrange them around the youth without / his body touching the ground. Or seven palm staffs—you should treat them in this fashion also. You should bring seven clean loaves [of bread] and arrange them around the oil, together with seven lumps of salt. You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in] to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear. You should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman; you should speak down into his head beforehand, he standing up, (to learn) whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. If he will be useful, you should make him lie down on his belly / and cover him with a clean linen cloth (you should recite down into his head),⁵¹ there being a strap on the upper part of the cloth. You should recite this invocation which is above down into his head, he gazing downwards looking into the oil, up to *seven times*, his eyes being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes, and you should ask him about what you desire. You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

65

[III, 8]

70

[III, 13]

The invocation which you should recite (them [*sic*]) down into his head beforehand to test him in his ears to learn whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. **Formula:** “Noble ibis, falcon, / hawk, noble and very mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and very mighty.” You should recite this down into his head up to *seven times*.

75

[III, 18]

When you announce this, his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it is his right ear, he is good; if it is the left (ear), he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods come in and tell you an answer truthfully:⁵² You should put the shell of a crocodile’s egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame. It enchants instantly.

Prescription to make them speak: You put a frog’s head on the brazier. They speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: You should put bile / of a crocodile and ground myrrh on the brazier.

80

[III, 23]

If you wish to make them come in quickly, again: You should put stalks of anise on the brazier together with the eggshell, above. It enchants at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man: You should put ⁺ sulphate ⁺ of ⁺ copper on the brazier. He comes in.

If you wish to bring in a spirit: You should put *s3-wr* stone⁵³ and glass(?) stone⁵⁴ on the brazier. The spirit comes in. You should put the heart of a hyena or a hare; (it is) very good.

If you wish to bring in a drowned man: You should put *sea-garab* (stone?) on the brazier.

50. Literally, “gathering of things.” [R.K.R.]

51. Repeated, out of place, from PDM xiv. 68.

52. See n. 30 above.

53. Perhaps *σάπυ*; see Harris, *Minerals* 179–80.

54. Ibid., 99–100.

If you wish to bring in a dead man: You should put ass's dung⁵⁵ and an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier. He comes in.

85 *If you / wish* to send them all away: You should put ape's dung on the brazier.
[III, 28] They all go away to their place. And you should recite their spell for dismissing them also⁵⁶

If you wish to bring in a thief: You should put crocus powder and alum on the brazier.

The spells which you should recite when you dismiss them to their place: "Go well, go in joy!"

If you wish to make the gods come in to you and (to make) the vessel enchant quickly: You should bring a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow and put it on the brazier. It enchants in the moment named and the light comes into being.

90 / An amulet to be bound to the body of the one who is carrying the vessel, to
[III, 34] cause it to enchant quickly: You should bring a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe. You should bind it to a scarab in its attitude of the sun god,⁵⁷ drowned,⁵⁸ being wrapped in byssus. You should bind it to the body of the youth who is carrying the vessel. It enchants quickly, there [being nothing in the world better ?] than it (?).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, cols. I/1–III/35. All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Section titles are indicated in PDM xiv as they are marked in the papyrus (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM xiv. 93–114 [PGM XIVa. 1–11]

*A casting for inspection⁵⁹ which the great god Iymhotep makes: *Its preparation*:⁶⁰ You bring a 'stool of olive wood having four legs,⁶¹ upon which no man on earth has ever sat, and you put it near you, it being clean. When you wish / to make
95 a "god's arrival"⁶² with it truthfully without falsehood, *here is* its manner. You
[col. IV, 3] should put the stool in a clean niche in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom;⁶³ you should put four bricks under the table before it, one above another, there being a censer of clay before it [sc. the table]; you should put charcoal of olive wood on it;⁶⁴ you should add 'wild' goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-nh*-stone;⁶⁵ you should make

55. The donkey was associated with the god Seth in the later periods. Seth, of course, had murdered his brother Osiris. For association of ass's dung with Seth, see PGM IV. 155–285 and n. The amulet is that of Nephthys, since she is the consort of Seth.

56. I.e., PDM xiv. 86–87.

57. The scarab beetle was identified with the sun god; cf. PGM I. 223; IV. 751 and 943; see R.K.R.'s notes there and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 39, n. to l. III. 34.

58. See R.K.R.'s note to PGM I. 5 and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 38–39, n. to l. III. 31.

59. Taking this noun as a compound from the two verbs *š* "to spread" and *mš* "to inspect," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary #786. The translation "casting" was suggested by R.K.R. since what follows is a horoscope; see n. 66 below.

60. See PDM xiv. 1–92 with n. 50.

61. Literally, "feet."

62. For a discussion of the reading and meaning of this term, used to describe spells in which a god is seen in a vision, usually a dream, see J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

63. Literally, from its head to its feet.

64. I.e., the censer.

65. Probably hematite; see Harris, *Minerals* 233–34.

them into balls; you should put one on the brazier; you should leave the remainder near you; you should recite this spell in Greek⁶⁶ to it (*formula*);⁶⁷ you should lie down without speaking / to anyone on earth; and you should go to sleep. You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals⁶⁸ on his feet.

“I call upon you [sing.] who are seated in impenetrable darkness and are in the midst of the great gods, you who set; take with you the solar rays, and send up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH; [you are the] great god, BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH, / Sun. Send up to me this night your archangel, ZEBOURTHAUNĒN. Respond with truth, truly, not falsely, unambiguously concerning such-and-such a matter, because I conjure you by him who is seated in the fiery cloak on the serpentine head of the Agathos Daimon, the almighty, four-faced, highest daimon, dark / and conjuring, PHŌX. Do not ignore me, but send up quickly tonight [in accordance with the] command of the god.” Say this three times.

He speaks with you truthfully with his mouth opposite your mouth concerning anything which you wish. When he has finished, he will go away again. You place a tablet for reading the hours upon the bricks, and you place the stars upon it, and you write your business on a new roll of papyrus, and you place it on the tablet. It sends your stars to you whether they are favorable for your business.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/1–22, and W. C. Grese (Greek sections). All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 115

*[A] tested [spell] for the security of shadows: Hawk’s egg and myrrh; rub, put [some] of it on your eye(s). You secure shadows.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/23. Or could this be a spell to protect against loss of vision? The following spell makes such an interpretation less likely. Griffith and Thompson, 43, n. to l. IV/23, suggest that the shadow is that of the god of the lamp. If so, this and the next should be considered part of the last spell; cf. PGM II. 612–13 and n.

PDM xiv. 116

*Another, again: Head and blood of a hoopoe; cook them and make them into a dry medicine. Paint your eye(s) with it. You see them again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IV/24. See note to the preceding spell.

PDM xiv. 117–49

*A tested “god’s arrival”.⁶⁹ You should set up your . . . ; you should stamp on the ground with your foot seven times. You should recite these spells to the Foreleg,⁷⁰ you having turned to the North, seven times; you should turn down;⁷¹ (you should

100
[IV, 8]

105
[IV, 13]
[PGM
XIVa. 5]
110
[IV, 18]
[PGM
XIVa. 10]

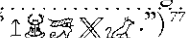
115
[col. IV,
23]

[col. IV,
24]

115
[col. V,
1f]

66. I.e., the procedure for reading a horoscope.
67. I.e., PDM xiv. 101–11.
68. The word written *šē*, “nose,” is a scribal error for *th.ty*, “sandals.” See R. K. Ritner, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* (forthcoming).
69. See n. 62 above.
70. I.e., Ursa Major.
71. I.e., away from the constellation.

go to a dark room).⁷² You should go to a dark, clean room whose face opens to the south; you should purify it with / natron water; you should bring a new white lamp to which no red lead⁷³ or gum water has been applied; you should put a clean wick in it; you should fill it with real oil after first writing this name and these figures⁷⁴ on the wick with ink of myrrh; you should put it on a new brick in front of yourself, its underside being spread with sand; and you should recite these spells⁷⁵ at the lamp again another seven times. If you put frankincense up in front of the lamp and you look at the lamp, you see the god near the lamp; you sleep on a reed mat without having spoken to anyone on earth, and he tells you the answer in a dream. *Here is its invocation.*

(124a–*Formula:* / (Here are the writings which you should write on the wick of the
126a) lamp: “BAXYXSIXYX”⁷⁶ .”)⁷⁷
125 / “Hail, I⁷⁸ am MYRAI MYRIBI”⁷⁹ BABEL BAOTH BAMYI,⁸⁰ the great Agathodai-
[V, 9] mon,⁸¹ MYRATHO, the . . . form of soul which rests above in the heaven of heavens,
TATOT TATOT BYLAI BYLAI MYIHTAHI MYIHTAHI LAHI LAHI BOLBYEL⁸² II
AA TAT TAT⁸³ BYEL BYEL IOHEL IOHEL, the first servant of the great god, he who
gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he is whose mouth is the flame
which is never extinguished, the great god who is seated in the flame, he who is in
the midst of the flame which is in the lake of heaven,⁸⁴ in whose hand is the great-
130 ness and the power of the god: reveal yourself to me / here today in the manner of
[V, 14] the form of revealing yourself to Moses which you made upon the mountain, be-
fore which you had already created darkness and light.”

(Insert above):⁸⁵ “I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer, in truth, concerning the given matter about which I am asking you. (I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer in truth)⁸⁶ without falsehood, for I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Phre;⁸⁷ I shall praise you before the Moon; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne,

72. An overlap with what is in the next line, showing where to insert these two lines.

73. See R.K.R.’s note in Glossary, s.v. “Lamps, not painted red.”

74. Written in the left margin opposite PDM xiv. 124–26; here called PDM xiv. 124a–126a.

75. See PDM xiv. 124–249 below.

76. This is Egyptian and can be translated “Soul (*Ba*) of darkness, son of darkness.” [R.K.R.]

77. These figures all resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs but cannot be translated by me.

78. The independent pronoun, which gives the translation “I am . . .,” was a later addition, above the line. Thus all the following magical names and descriptions may originally have been vocatives addressed to the god who is asked to appear and give the answer. This analysis is reinforced by the parallel in PDM xiv. 194–204, which has all as vocatives.

79. Ending written as *by*, “Soul.”

80. Ending written as *m3y*, “lion.”

81. See n. 22 above.

82. An almost identical version of this section appears in PDM xiv. 194–204, 489–99, and 516–26.

83. Written with the hieroglyph of the *dd*-column.

84. Astrological term for noon, in contrast to the “lake of the underworld,” which is midnight.

85. Added at the bottom of the column when the scribe realized he had left out part of one of the clauses in PDM xiv. 131. He began making the addition above the line in 131, but there was not space for all of it. Thus, as with the addition to PDM xiv. 119, he repeated much of the line in order to show the exact spot where the correction and additions override the original.

86. The overlap with PDM xiv. 148–49; see n. 85 above.

87. The sun god.

who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, †PETERI PETERI †PATER⁸⁸ †ENPHE
 †ENPHE, the god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful
 staff, who created deity, deity not having created him; come to me / down into the
 midst of this flame which is here before you, †O †he †of †BYEL †BYEL, and let me see
 the business about which I am praying tonight, truly, without falsehood! Let [me]
 see it, let [me] hear it. O great god †SISIHOYT⁸⁹ SISIHOYT (also called ARMI-
 OOUTH),⁹⁰ come in before me and tell me [an] answer to that about which I am
 asking, truly, without falsehood. O great god who is on the mountain of ATYGI⁹¹
 †CHABAHO,⁹² come in to me, let me learn⁹³ tonight about the given thing about
 which I am asking, truly, without falsehood . . . voice (?)⁹⁴ †of †the †LEASPHYT
 NEBLOT NEB LILAS” ([say it] seven times and go to sleep / without speaking).

135
[V, 19]

140
[V, 24]

The ointment which you should put on your eye(s) when you are going to ques-
 tion the lamp in any lamp divination: You bring some flowers of the Greek bean
 plant.⁹⁵ You find them in the place of the garland seller (also called the lupine
 seller). You should bring them while they are fresh; you should put them in a glass
 bowl; you should seal its mouth with clay very well for twenty days in a hidden,
 dark place. After twenty days, if you bring it up and open it, you find some testicles
 in it together with a phallus. If you leave it for forty days and bring it up and open
 it, you find that it has already become bloody. In a place which is hidden at all times,
 you put it in a glass object, and you put the glass object into a pottery object. / If
 you desire to make a “god’s arrival”⁹⁶ of the lamp with it at any time, you should fill
 your eye(s) with this aforementioned blood while you are going in to recite the
 spell to the lamp. You see a secret figure of a god standing outside the lamp, and he
 speaks with you concerning the question which you wish; or you should lie down
 and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you should awaken and recite his
 summons. You lie down on [a mat of] green reeds only while you are pure from a
 woman, the back of your head being turned to the south, your face being turned to
 the north, and the face of the lamp being turned to the north likewise.

145
[V, 29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. V/1–33. All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

88. This magical name is determined with the “man”-determinative rather than the “divine”-determinative normally found with the magical names. It is probably Greek *πατήρ*, “father.” The preceding may consist of this Greek word plus the Egyptian first-person singular suffix pronoun *y*, “my.” The following word, written alphabetically, corresponds to the Coptic for “in/of heaven” (*n p.t*). Thus these glosses may well mean “my father, my father, father in (the) heaven of the heaven(s).” (For the analysis of the repeat of the last word, cf. *PDM* xiv. 126, as noted by R.K.R.)

89. The last word of this name is probably the Egyptian word “male.” The first word, which is repeated, might be the word “son” or the verb “to be satisfied.” In *PDM* xiv. 202 it is written as the verb “to be satisfied.”

90. “Also called” is inserted above the end of the line and the Old Coptic gloss ARMIOUTH is added in the left margin.

91. The Old Coptic gloss gives “of KABAON”; in *PDM* xiv. 204 the scribe changed Demotic *3twgy* into *g3b3wn*.

92. The Old Coptic gloss adds TAKRTAT after XABA[H]O.

93. Literally, “let my eyes open out”; the idiom *ti-wn tr.t*, “to cause that (the) eye(s) open” means “to instruct.” See Ritner above, n. 68.

94. Or is this sign the determinative (used with foreign words) of the preceding word, which ends in *ꜥ*?

95. Literally, “eye-of-raven” plant.

96. See n. 62 above.

PDM xiv. 150–231

150 ***An inquiry of the lamp:** You go to a clean, dark room without light; you dig a
 [col. VI, new niche in an eastern wall; you bring a white lamp on which no red lead⁹⁷ or
 1] gum water has been put and whose wick is clean; you fill it with clean, genuine
 oasis oil; you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn when he rises; you bring the
 lamp, it being lit, opposite the sun; you recite the spells which are below⁹⁸ to it **four**
 times; you take it into the room, you being pure, together with the youth; you
 recite the spells to the youth⁹⁹ while he is not looking at the lamp, his eye(s) being
 closed, **seven** times. You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you are
 155 putting your finger on the youth's head, his eye(s) being closed. / When you have
 [VI, 6] finished, you make him open his eye(s) toward the lamp: he sees the shadow of the
 god near the lamp, and he inquires for you concerning that which you desire. At
 midday in a place without light you do it.

If you are inquiring for a demonic spirit, a wick of sailcloth is what you should
 give to the lamp, and you should fill it with clean butter.

If it is another matter, a clean wick and pure genuine oil are what you should give
 to the lamp.

If you will do it to bring a woman to a man, oil of roses¹⁰⁰ is what you should put
 in the lamp.

It is on a new brick that you put the lamp, and it is upon another brick that the
 youth seats himself while his eye(s) are closed, while you recite¹⁰¹ down into his
 head four times.

160 / **The spells** which you should recite to the wick¹⁰² beforehand before you have
 [VI, 16] recited to the youth: **Formula:**

"Are you the unique, great wick of the linen of Thoth? Are you the byssus robe of
 Osiris, the divine Drowned,¹⁰³ woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of
 Nephthys? Are you the original bandage which was made for Osiris Khenty-
 amenti?¹⁰⁴ Are you the great bandage with which Anubis lifted his hand to the
 body of Osiris the mighty god?¹⁰⁵ It is in order to cause the youth to look into you
 so that you may make reply concerning everything about which I am asking here
 today, that I am bringing you today, O wick. (If not doing it is what you will do, O
 wick, it is in the hand of the black cow that I am putting you, and it is in the hand
 165 / of the black cow that I am burning you. Blood of the Drowned One is what I am
 [VI, 16] giving to you for oil. The hand of Anubis is that which is laid against you. The
 spells of the great Sorcerer are those which I am reciting to you.) And so that¹⁰⁶ you
 bring me the god in whose hand the command¹⁰⁷ is today, so that he tell me [an]
 answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without false-

97. See n. 73 above.

98. PDM xiv. 160–69.

99. PDM xiv. 194–231.

100. *Skn/sgn* is a cheaper oil than *nbbh*-oil (probably sesame oil); here it has been scented with rose
 scent. See J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 336–37.

101. See n. 99 above.

102. Corrected above, n. 99.

103. See references collected by R.K.R., n. to PGM I. 5.

104. "Foremost of the west," i.e., ruler of the world.

105. Anubis mummifying Osiris, using the fine bandages described in PDM xiv. 160–62.

106. Continuing from PDM xiv. 163.

107. For the god of the hour, i.e., the god who is "on duty," see n. 23 above. See also, as Griffith and
 Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53, n. to l. VI. 17, the reference to 365 gods in PDM xiv. 1224.

will undertake be summoned for me so that I may send him and so that he may complete them, they went and brought [one] to her. You are the lamp, the [thing] which was brought to her. The fury of Sakhmet, your mother, and of Hike,¹²⁵ your father, is / cast at you. You shall not burn for Osiris and Isis; you shall not burn for Anubis until you have told me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today truly, without telling me falsehood. If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil, (I will not give you oil),¹²⁶ I will not give you fat, O lamp. It is in the belly of the [female] cow that I shall put you,¹²⁷ and I shall put blood of the [male] bull after you,¹²⁸ and I shall put your hand to the testicles of the enemy of Horus.¹²⁹

“Open to me, O you¹³⁰ of the underworld, O box of myrrh that is in my hand! Receive me before you, O souls, excellent ones¹³¹ belonging to Bi-wekem,¹³² O box of myrrh which has four corners. O dog who / is called Anubis by name, who rests on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of myrrh,¹³³ send to me the ointment for the youth of the lamp so that he may tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, there being no falsehood therein. IO TABAO SYGAMAMY AKHAKHA-NBY SANAYANI ETSIE¹³⁴ GOMTO¹³⁵ GETHOS BASA-ETHORI THMILA AKHKHY, make for me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today” (*seven times*).

*The spells for the youth.*¹³⁶ BOEL BOEL BOEL I I I A A A TAT TAT TAT,¹³⁷ he that gives light very exceedingly, the companion of the flame, / he in whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who sits in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame, he who is in the lake of heaven,¹³⁸ in whose hand are the greatness and strength of the god, reveal yourself to this youth who is carrying my vessel today so that he may tell me [an] answer truly, without falsehood. I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne, who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, PETERI PETERI PATER ENPHE ENPHE,¹³⁹ the god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, / who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame which is here before you, O he of BYEL.¹⁴⁰

125. The god of magic. For the association of Hike with Sakhmet, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 56–57, n. to l. VI. 35.

126. Dittography going from column VI to column VII.

127. Or, perhaps better, “that I shall give to you,” since *n.k* should be the dative, not the oblique object.

128. The term to be “after” someone is also used in legal texts with the meaning “to have a legal claim against” someone.

129. I.e., Seth, whose testicles were cut off by Horus.

130. Plural.

131. Or, possibly, “of Aker,” the earth god.

132. The eastern desert.

133. Note common depiction of Anubis, as jackal, on top of a chest.

134. See n. 30 above.

135. Perhaps “earthquake,” as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 396a; if *gm* is for *qm*, this could be “creator of the earth.”

136. An almost identical version of this section appears in *PDM* xiv. 128–38, 489–99, and 516–26.

137. See n. 83 above.

138. See n. 84 above.

139. See n. 88 above.

140. Old Coptic gloss above end of line adds ANIEL.

cause me to see the business about which
I am inquiring here today! Let [me] see
it; let [me] hear it.¹⁴¹

give strength to the eyes of the youth
who is carrying my vessel, to cause him
to see it and [give strength] to his ears
to cause him to hear [it].¹⁴²

O great god [†]SISIHYT,¹⁴³ come in
before me today and instruct me ¹⁴⁴ con-
cerning everything concerning which I
am praying here today!

O great god who is upon the mountain of GABAYN,¹⁴⁵ [†]CHABAHO.¹⁴⁶

You should recite this / until the light appears. When the light appears, you 205
should turn around ¹⁴⁷ and recite this other document again also. *Here is the copy* [VII, 19]

of the summons itself which you should recite: “O, speak to me,
[†]THES [†]TENOR, the father of eternity and everlastingness, the god who is over the
entire land, [†]SALGMO [†]BALKMO [†]BRK [†]NEPHRO-BANPRE ¹⁴⁸ [†]BRIAS [†]SARINTER ¹⁴⁹
[†]MELIKHRIPHS [†]LARNKNANES [†]HEREPHES [†]MEPHRO-BRIAS [†]PHRGA [†]PHEKSE
[†]NTSIYPISHIA ¹⁵⁰ [†]MARMAREKE [†]LAORE-GREPISHIE! Let me see the answer to the in-
quiry on account of which I am here. Let an answer be made to me / concerning

everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without falsehood. [†]O [†]ATAEL 210
[†]APTHE [†]GHO-GHO-MOLE [†]HESEN-MINGA-NTON-ROTHO-BAYBO ¹⁵¹ [†]NOERE [†]SERE-
SERE [†]SAN ¹⁵² [†]GATHARA [†]ERESGSHINGAL ¹⁵³ [†]SAKGISTE [†]NTOTE-GAGISTE ¹⁵⁴
[†]AKRYRO-BORE ¹⁵⁵ [†]GONTERE.¹⁵⁶ [VII, 24]

You should make him open his eye(s) so that he can look at the lamp, and you
should ask him about what you wish. If obstinacy occurs, he not having seen the god,
you should turn around ¹⁵⁷ and recite his compulsion.

Formula: [†]SEMEA-GANTEY ¹⁵⁸ [†]GENTY [†]GONTEY [†]GERINTEY ¹⁵⁹ [†]NTARENGO ¹⁶⁰
[†]LEKAYKS, / come to me! [†]GANAB [†]ARI [†]KATEI ¹⁶¹ [†]BARI KATEI, ¹⁶² sun disk, moon of 215
the gods, sun disk, hear my voice! Let me be told an answer to everything about
which I am asking here today. O perfume of [†]SALABAHO [†]NASIRA [†]HAKE, arise! O [VII, 29]

141. PDM xiv. 202 and 204 are for use when a youth is consulting the lamp; xiv. 201 and 203 are to be used when the magician is not using a youth as intermediary.

142. See n. 141 above.

143. See n. 89 above. Here the scribe has added the Old Coptic gloss AXREMT0 above the beginning of the next line (i.e., over the Demotic “come!”).

144. Literally, “cause that my eyes open out”; see n. 93 above.

145. Modified by the Demotic scribe from ATYGI; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, to column VII of the autograph volume.

146. Old Coptic gloss adds TAKARTAT after CHBAHO; cf. PDM xiv. 138 and n. 92 there.

147. See n. 122 above.

148. The end is written in Demotic as “of Pre,” perhaps “soul of Pre.”

149. NTER is the Old Coptic gloss; the Demotic writes *ntr.w*, “gods.”

150. See n. 30 above (*nts* for *d* before *i*).

151. The last section shows a metathesis in the Demotic (apparently for graphic reasons) of the common ORTHO found in the gloss. See also n. 8 above (*nt*. for *d*.).

152. Written in Demotic as *sn*, “brother.”

153. See n. 8 above.

155. AKRYROBORE is Greek ἀκρορροβόρε (LSJ, s.v.: “swallowing the tip of her tail”). See also PGM I. 146 and the Glossary s.v. “YESSIMMIGADON formula.” [H.D.B.]

156. See n. 8 above.

157. See n. 120 above.

158. SEMEA is Greek for “image,” σῆμα/σημεία. [R.K.R.]

159. All four names end with Egyptian *t3w*, “breath, wind.”

160. See n. 8 above.

161. The ending is written ‘3 “linen.”

162. See n. 161 above.

Lion-ram,¹⁶³ let me see the light today, together with the gods, so that they may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly. NA NA NA NA is your name; NA NA is your true name.”

220 You should utter a loud whisper, calling out, saying, “Come to me” IAHO¹⁶⁴ IA EY
[VIII, 1] IAHO AYHO IAHO, husband,¹⁶⁵ bull,¹⁶⁶ high day,¹⁶⁶ NASHBOT ARPI-HPE ABLA-
‘eye of raven,’ / ‘face of falcon,’ NI-ABIT THATLAT MIRIBAL.”

(If [the gods] delay so as not to come in, you should cry out: “MIRIBAL)¹⁶⁷ QMLA KIKH, the father of the fathers of the gods, enchant, ‘One eye weeps; the other laughs, Moon, moon, moon, moon, HA HA HE ST ST ST ST IHA IAHO, seek! Send to me the god in whose hand the command¹⁶⁸ is today so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

225 You should speak [to] that god with your mouth each time, and you should cry
[VIII, 5] out, “I am throwing fury at you, [fury] of him who cuts you, of him who devours you. / Let the darkness separate from the light before me. O god, HYHOS¹⁶⁹ sealed portion (?), be sated, be sated, AHO¹⁷⁰ AH,¹⁷¹ I do not appear without portion, awe, soul of souls IAHO ARIAHA¹⁷² ARIAHA; act for her; they will turn the face of [the] rebel; GS GS GS GS IANIAN; ‘we do’ EIBS¹⁷³ KS KS KS KS, send to me the god in whose hand the command is¹⁷⁴ so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. Come in, PIAToy CHITRE! O SHOP SHOPE SHOP¹⁷⁵ ABRAHME¹⁷⁶ the pupil of the sound eye,¹⁷⁷ QMR QMR QMR QMR KMRO,¹⁷⁸ who created creation, great flourishing creation. SH[]KNYSH is your real name. Let an answer be told to me / about everything concerning which I am asking here
230 today. Come to me BAKAKSIKHEKH!¹⁷⁹ Tell me an answer to everything about
[VIII, 10] which I am asking here today, truly, without telling me falsehood” (*formula*: seven times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VI/1–VIII/11. All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

163. See n. 6 above.

164. Written with the Egyptian verb *im*, “to come.”

165. Although with animal determinative rather than phallus.

166. Or, if we do not believe the determinative on q3, “day of (the) bull.”

167. Overlap with the end of the preceding column. Note that, as Griffith and Thompson remark, *The Leyden Papyrus* 62, n. to l. VIII. 1, this heading is simply a reminder of the subject matter and is not a new heading; it is put in the middle of the column, not flush with the right margin.

168. See n. 107 above.

169. Ending written as *bs*, “praise.”

170. The Demotic uses the verb *im*, “to come.”

171. See n. 170 above.

172. Perhaps “lifetime maker.” [R.K.R.]

173. R.K.R. suggests translating “I shall induct (?).”

174. See n. 107 above.

175. Written with the Egyptian verb *hpr* “to bc, become,” Coptic *šape*; the middle example has an added final *e*.

176. With scated man determinative; the Old Coptic gloss reads ABRAHAM.

177. The *mg3.t*-eye of Horus.

178. “Creator (or creation) of the mouth.”

179. “Soul of darkness, son of darkness.” See n. 76 above.

PDM xiv. 232–38

*A “god’s arrival”¹⁸⁰ at the request of Paysakh, the priest of Cusac,¹⁸¹ who says that it has been tested nine times: “I am RAMSHY¹⁸² SHY RAMSHY son of PSHY of his mother she of PSHY. If such-and-such a thing is going to happen, do not come to me in your face of Pekhe.¹⁸³ You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY, the son of PSHY, of his mother she of PSHY.”

235

[col. VIII,

15]

[Say it] opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the lunar month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic with three iron needles piercing it; recite this to it seven times, and put it before you. He sees you and speaks with you.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VIII/12–18. Words preceded by ¹ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 239–95

*The vessel inquiry of Khonsu: “[Hail]¹⁸⁴ to you, Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus,¹⁸⁵ Horus, lord of time,¹⁸⁶ he is one. . . . / O silver,¹⁸⁷ lord of silver, o circuit of the underworld, lord of the circuit of the underworld,¹⁸⁸ lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian,¹⁸⁹ come to me. O noble child, the great god who is in the disk, who pleases¹⁹⁰ . . . , POMO¹⁹¹ who is called the bull, the great bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye,¹⁹² who came forth from the four . . .¹⁹³ of eternity, the avenger of flesh, whose name cannot be known, whose form cannot be known, whose manner cannot be known.

240

[col. IX,

2]

180. See n. 62 above.

181. A town in Middle Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 77*, #374. As Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 64, n. to l. VIII. 12, there is no determinative to show that Paysakh is a personal name, but it is hard to suggest an alternative interpretation.

182. Although SHY is written phonetically in the Demotic, this may well be the Egyptian god Shu, the god of the air. The first element of the name is written with the Egyptian word *r*, “mouth,” and the whole name could possibly mean “mouth of Shu.” If this is the god Shu, the *p* of PSHOU is the definite article, which is also found with *r* “the sun (god)” in the late form Pre.

183. A lion-headed goddess worshiped especially in Middle Egypt; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 65, n. to l. VIII. 14.

184. Restoring *ind*.

185. *Nfr-htp* means “beautiful of setting” (of the sun and moon). Khonsu (son of Amoun and Mur and preeminently a Theban god) is a moon god, here identified with Horus (also a moon god) in the form of the “noble child who came forth from the lotus,” i.e., *Nrf-tm*; see R.K.R.’s note to PGM IV. 1110.

186. The moon regulating the days of the month, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

187. The color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

188. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

189. Amoun, who in the late period was considered the god of Meroc; cf. l. 1097 and see Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

190. Or does this involve the verb *hm* “to command,” “to entrust”? Then the rendering would be “to whom is commanded” (*hm.w n.f*). [R.K.R.]

191. Perhaps “the great one of/among the great one(s).” [R.K.R.]

192. The *wḏ3.t*-eye, the sound-eye of Horus. See Bonnet, *RARG* 854–56, s.v. “Uzatauge.”

193. The identical epithets occur below, PDM xiv. 250–51. The word *hm* which is to be restored here means literally “vessel.” The plural means “things” and the Coptic derivative means not only “vessel” or “pot” but any material “thing.” Griffith and Thompson translate “boundaries” in 241 and 250 and “cycle” in 246. R.K.R. suggests that the idea of “four eternal things” is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements.

“I know your name, I know your form, I [know] your manner. ‘Great’ is your name; ‘Heir’ is your name; ‘Beneficial’ is your name; ‘Hidden’ is your name; ‘Great one of the gods’ is your name; ‘He whose name is hidden from all the gods’¹⁹⁴ is your name; ‘OM, Great One, Am is your name; ‘All the gods’ is your name; ‘Lotus Lion Ram’¹⁹⁵ is your name; ‘LOY is coming, Lord of the lands’ ‘Lord of the lands’ is your name; ‘AMAKHR of heaven’ is your name; ‘Lotus flower of stars (?) / is coming EI IO NE EI O’ is your name.

[IX, 7] Your [secret] form is [that of] a scarab with the face of a ram whose tail is a falcon and which is wearing two panther skins.¹⁹⁶ Your [serpent is a serpent] of eternity,¹⁹⁷ your . . .¹⁹⁸ is a lunar month; your wood is vine wood and persea; your herb is the herb of Amoun; your bird of heaven is a heron; your fish of [the sea] is a black *lebis*.¹⁹⁹ They are established on earth. ‘Sickness’ is your name in your body in the sea; your [secret] form of stone in which you came forth is a [. . .], Heaven is your shrine, the Earth is your forecourt. My desire was to seize you here today, for I am one who appears [shining] and who endures. My . . .²⁰⁰ grows old when I have not done it through delay, when I have not discovered your name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor of heaven. Bearing [hunger] / for bread and thirst for water I did it. You should save me and make me well and
250 [IX, 12] give me praise, love, and respect before every man. For I am the [great] bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye, who came forth from the four . . .²⁰¹ of eternity.

“I am youth, the great name who is in heaven, who is called AMPHOY²⁰² AMPHOY truly, truly; ‘He who was praised at Abydos,’²⁰³ Ra. ‘Horus the youth’²⁰⁴ is my name; ‘Chief of the gods’ is my correct name. Save me! Let me be healthy. Let my vessel become [successful?].

“Open to me Alkhah²⁰⁵ before every god and all men who came forth from the stone of Prah,²⁰⁶ for I am the serpent who came forth from Nun,²⁰⁷ I am the youthful Ethiopian,²⁰⁸ the rearing uraeus of real gold! In my lips is honey. That
255 [IX, 17] which I shall say comes to pass at once. Hail . . . / mighty one! I am Anubis, the youthful creation. I am Isis, I shall bind²⁰⁹ him. I am Osiris, I shall bind him. I am Anubis; [I shall bind] him. You should save me from every [misery?] and all confusion. LASMATNYT LESMATOT, save me! Heal me! Give me praise, love and respect in²¹⁰ my vessel, and (?) my bandage here today! Come to me, Isis, mistress of

194. An epithet of Amoun-Ra, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 67, n. to l. XI. 5.

195. See n. 6 above.

196. A figure found on late period coffins, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 7.

197. For the various possible meanings of this image, see the discussion in F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) 22, n. to l. III/20.

198. See n. 192 above.

199. Probably Labeo Niloticus; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 9.

200. With flesh determinative; it should be a part of the body.

201. See n. 192 above.

202. Could this be a phonetic rendering of the “great one in (the) heavens,” *‘3 m p.w(t)?*

203. Osiris.

204. See n. 185 above.

205. See n. 2 above.

206. For Ptah as creator god, see H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. “Ptah.”

207. The primeval waters.

208. See n. 189 above.

209. The binding of the body as part of mummification.

210. I.e., through.

magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem. A snake, being the son of Atoum,²¹¹ is that which lies²¹² in the uracus diadem at my head in order that he who will strike me will strike the king. Mont is here today . . . Mighty Mihos²¹³ will send out a lion of the sons of Mihos, he being forced to bring to me quickly²¹⁴ the divine souls, the human souls, / the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead,²¹⁵ so that they tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am inquiring, for I am Horus, son of Isis, who is going across to Alkhah²¹⁶ to cast embalming wrappings before the amulets and to put linen on the Drowned one, the good Drowned one of the drowned ones.²¹⁷ They should²¹⁸ awaken and flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage, my word-gathering. Awaken for me the spirits, the dead; awaken their souls and their forms at the mouths of my vessel! Awaken them for me together with the dead! Awaken [them] for me! Awaken them for me! Awaken their souls and their forms. O fury of Pessiwont²¹⁹ the daughter of ARB . . . / awaken for me, awaken for me the Wontes from their misfortune! Let them speak with their mouths; let them talk with their lips; let them say that which I have said [concerning that which] I am asking here today. Let them speak before me; let truth happen to me. Do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true name, truly [without] falsehood in it! [O] scarab of true lapis lazuli that sits at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer,²²⁰ fill your mouth with the water of [the pool?]. Pour it out on my head together with that which is at my hand! Heal me; heal him, and vice versa until what I said [happens]! Let that which I said come to pass, for if that which I said does not come to pass, I will cause the flame to circulate around this bandage (?)²²¹ until that which I said does come to pass, for [they came] / to the earth, they listened to me . . . and they said to me, Who are you? Who are you? I am Atum in the sun boat of Pre; I am ARIATATY, the chest²²² of . . . I looked out before [me] to see Osiris the Ethiopian while he was coming in at me, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Wepwawet²²³ behind him, two sons of Rere²²⁴ mooring him. They said to me Who are you? Who are you? . . . I am one of those two falcons who watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . with its greatness. . . . Bring to me, bring to me the divine souls, the human souls, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead!²²⁵ Let them tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am asking,

260

[IX, 22]

265

[IX, 27]

270

[IX, 32]

211. For the connection between Atoum and serpents, see Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) 95–124.

212. Reading by W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miscellen, 5. Eine unerklärte Glosse im magischen Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 123.

213. A lion god.

214. Actually written *sp sm*, “twice.”

215. To the Egyptian, the range of forceful beings in the world.

216. See n. 3 above.

217. The drowned one is Osiris, who is here being cared for by his dutiful son Horus; see n. 58 above.

218. Corrected in Coptic from “you should” in Demotic.

219. To be translated “her son Wonte”; Wonte is a designation of Apophis, the enemy of Ra. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I. 325, #14. On Wonte and Apophis, see also *PGM* IV. 993–95 and n.

220. Unnefer is Onnophris. See *PGM* IV. 1078.

221. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Glosses in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden,” *ZÄS* 46 (1909–10): 128, and Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 368b.

222. Perhaps “sarcophagus.”

223. Jackal-headed god.

224. Usually the “sow” but here determined with the snake and perhaps indicating a snake goddess.

225. See n. 214 above.

275 for I am [†]ARTEMI ²²⁶ . . . womb when he rises in the east. / Come in to me, Anubis,
 [X, 2] in your beautiful face! It is in order to worship you that I come. Woe (?), woe (?),
 fire, fire, [south, north,] west, east, every breeze of Amenti, ²²⁷ let them come into
 being in very good condition, established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the
 one great] of reverence, for I am [†]IAE [†]LAO [†]IAEA [†]LAO [†]SABAOTH [†]ATONE, ²²⁸ I am
 casting [fury] at you, [†]TSIE ²²⁹ [†]GLATE [†]ARKHE ²³⁰ [†]LAO [†]PHALEKMI [†]LAO [†]MAKHA-
 HAI [†]IEE KHO . . . N [†]KHOKHREKHI [†]E-EOTH [†]SARBIAQY [†]IGRA [†]PSHIBIEG ²³¹
 280 [†]MOMY [†]MYNEKH [†]STSITHO ²³² [†]SOTHON [†]NAON [†]KHARMAI. / O fury of all these
 [X, 7] gods, whose names I have uttered here today, awaken for me, awaken for me the
 drowned, the [dead]! Let your souls and your [secret] forms live for me at the
 mouths of my lamp, my bandage, my word-gathering. Let it answer me concerning
 every word [about] which I am asking here today in truth, truly, without falsehood
 therein. Hasten, hasten, quickly, quickly!”

Its preparation. ²³³ You go to a dark storeroom whose [face] opens to the south
 or east in a clean place. You should spread it with clean sand brought from the great
 river. ²³⁴ You should bring a clean copper beaker or a new vessel [made] of pottery;
 you should put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled or of pure water into the
 285 beaker together with a *lok*-measure of pure real oil, / or oil alone without putting
 [X, 12] water into it; you should put a *qs-nh* stone ²³⁵ in the vessel with the oil; you should
 put a “heart-of-the-good-house” plant ²³⁶ in the bottom of the vessel; you should
 put three new bricks around the vessel; you should place seven clean loaves [of
 bread] on the bricks which are around the vessel; and you should bring a pure
 youth who has been tested in his ears beforehand (that is, he will be profitable in
 going with the vessel). You should make him sit on a new [brick]; you yourself
 should sit on another brick, you being before him (another [manuscript] says, be-
 hind him); you should put your hand up to [his] eye(s), [his eye(s) being] closed
 290 while you recite down / into the middle of his head seven times. When you have
 [X, 17] finished, you should lift your hand from before his eye(s), you should [make him
 bend over] the vessel and you should put your hands to his ears. You should take
 hold of them with your own hands while you ask the child saying, “Did you [see the
 great god]?”

If he says, “I see a darkness,” you should say to him “Speak, saying, ‘I see your
 beautiful face, . . . you . . . O great god Anubis!’”

If you wish to do it by vessel [you being] alone, ²³⁷ you should fill your eye(s) with
 this ointment ²³⁸ and you should sit [near the vessel?] in accordance with what is
 above, your eyes being closed. You should recite the above invocation seven times,
 open your eye(s), and question him concerning everything [that you wish]. . . . You

226. Artemis?

227. The west and, therefore, the necropolis.

228. Adonai?

229. See n. 30 above.

230. Greek ἀρχή, “beginning, first cause.”

231. See n. 30 above.

232. See n. 30 above.

233. See n. 50 above.

234. The Nile.

235. See n. 65 above.

236. “The good house” is the place of embalming.

237. I.e., without using the youth.

238. Cf. PDM xiv. 140. [R.K.R.]

do it from the / fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the sound-eye.²³⁹ 295
[X, 22]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IX/1–X/22. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 295–308

*[A] vessel [inquiry, the magician being] alone²⁴⁰ in order to see the bark of Pre.²⁴¹ *Formula*: “Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! Let [me see the bark] of Pre [descending and ascending] in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Praying is what am doing before Pre, my father, [on account of] the things²⁴² which have gone forth from me. O great Heknet,²⁴³ mistress of the shrine, the Rishretret (?)²⁴⁴ open to me, mistress of spirits! [Open] to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods! O you seven Kings; O you [seven Montus],²⁴⁵ bull who engenders, lord of awe / who illuminates the earth, soul of the primeval waters. Hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of darkness! Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,²⁴⁶ great one, lofty one! Hail, soul of the ram, soul of the people of the west! Hail, [soul of souls, bull] of darkness, bull (?) of bulls, son of Nut,²⁴⁷ open to me! I am the Opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! [I am I I] I E E E [HE HE HE] HO HO HO; I am ANEPO²⁴⁸ MIRI PO RE MAAT IB THIBIO ARYT²⁴⁹ YAY [IAHO].” 300
[col. X, 27]

Formula: blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a [nightjar], “live-on-them” plant, [mustard], / “Great-of-Amoun” plant,²⁵⁰ *qs-nh* stone,²⁵¹ genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis” plant.²⁵² Pound [them]; make [them] into a ball [and paint] your [eye(s)] with it! Put a goat’s-[tear] in (?) a “pleasure-wood”²⁵³ of juniper or ebony wood [and bind it] around you [with a] strip of male palm fiber in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eye(s) . . . according to what is written concerning it. 305
[X, 32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. X/22–35. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 309–34

*A spell for causing favor: “Come to me O . . . your beautiful name [of] Thoth! Hurry, hurry! Come to me. / Let me see your beautiful face here today . . . I being 310

239. I.e., full moon; on the sound-eye, see above, n. 192.

240. I.e., without using a youth.

241. This spell is repeated in PDM xiv. 805–16.

242. Literally, “words.”

243. “Joyful” or “acclaimed one.”

244. An epithet of Heknet?

245. For discussion of seven as a magical number in ancient Egypt, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 78–79, n. to l. X. 26. Note that *hknw* is the name of one of the seven oils found in offering lists.

246. Primeval waters.

247. Goddess of the sky.

248. Great Anubis.

249. Perhaps, “May the greatness of Ra, just (?) of heart, and the great lamb act.” [R.K.R.]

250. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary [3], to be flax.

251. See n. 65 above.

252. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 80, n. to l. X. 32, for the suggested identification of this plant as *πῖτταξις*.

253. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to l. X. 33, to be a kohl stick.

- [col. XI, 2] in the form of a baboon; may you rejoice over (?)²⁵⁴ [me (?)] in praise and honor with your tongue of . . . May you hear my voice today and may you save me from all evil things and all evil spells. Hail, he whose form is of . . . his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting a god came forth, who rests in the midst of Thebes! I am . . . of the great Lady, under whom Hapy²⁵⁵ comes forth. I am the face of great awe . . . soul in his protection; I am the noble child / who is in the
- 315 [XI, 7] House of Re.²⁵⁶ I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern . . . the ibis as a true protection, who rests in Heliopolis. I am the master of the great foe,²⁵⁷ the lord who obstructs semen, the very strong one . . . is my [name]. I am the ram, son of the ram; Lotus Lion Ram²⁵⁸ (and vice versa) is my name. Ra-Khepri-Atum²⁵⁹ is my true name, truly. Give me praise and love [before NN, son of] NN today, so that he give me all good things, so that he give me food and nourishment, and so that he do everything which I [shall desire. And do not let him] injure me so as to do me any harm, so that he say to me a thing which [I] hate, today, tonight, this month, this year, [this] hour. . . . [But as for my enemies (?)] the sun shall impede their
- 320 hearts and blind / their eyes, and create darkness in their faces, for I am BIRAI . . .
- [XI, 12] †RAI; be far off from me!²⁶⁰ I am the son of Sakhmet; I am †BIGT, the bull of †LAT. I am GAT, son of GAT, whose . . . the underworld, who rests in the depths of the great temple²⁶¹ in Heliopolis. I am a greatly praised one, the mistress of protection, who binds with leather thongs . . . in whose protection are great and powerful divine powers, who rests in Bubastis. I am the divine shrew-mouse²⁶² who [rests in] Letopolis. Lord of Letopolis, unique lord . . . is my name; Ra-Khepri-Atum²⁶³ is my true name, truly. O all you gods [whose names I have spoken] here today, come
- 325 to me in order that you might hear what I said today / and in order that you might
- [XI, 17] rescue [me] from all weakness, every defect, everything, every evil today! Give me praise, love [and respect before] NN,²⁶⁴ the king and his people, the mountain and its animals so that he does everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who will see] me [or] to whom I shall speak [or] who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old people, all people [or animals or things in the] whole land, [who] shall see me in these hours today so that they create my praise in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily, together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow every enemy! Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, before I have said them and repeated saying them!"
- 330 [XI, 22] [To be said] over an ape of wax and a fish; put it / in first-quality lotus oil (another [manuscript] says *tšps* oil)²⁶⁵ or moringa oil which is . . . ; add styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of "great-of-love" plant in a faience vessel; bring a wreath of . . . , anoint it with this oil as above, recite these [spells] to it seven times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken to any man at all; pu-

254. Suggested by R.K.R.

255. The Nile, especially the inundation.

256. I.e., Heliopolis.

257. Perhaps *hr.wy* "foe" is a mistake for *hr.wy* "testicles," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 82, n. to l. XI. 8.

258. See n. 6 above.

259. See n. 116 above.

260. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 83, n. to l. XI. 12.

261. Of the sun god, (P)re.

262. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 84, n. to l. XI. 15.

263. See n. 116 above.

264. Feminine.

265. For a possible identification, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 85, n. to l. XI. 22.

rify it; anoint your face with it; place the wreath in your hand; go to any place; [and be] among any people. It creates for you very great praise among them indeed. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius]²⁶⁶ There is none better than it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XI/1–26. Words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 335–55

*[A spell for making] a woman love a man: 'Juice 'of 'balsam 'tree, *one stater*; 335
 'malabathrum, *one stater*. *qwt*, *one stater*; . . . scented . . . , *one stater*; *mrwe*, *one* [col. XII,
stater; genuine oil, two *lok*-measures.²⁶⁷ You should grind these [ingredients]. You 1]
 should put them into a clean [vessel]; you should put the oil on top of them one
 day before the beginning of the lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you
 should bring a black Nile fish²⁶⁸ measuring nine fingers (another [manuscript] says
 seven), its eye(s) being variegated(?) in color . . . [which you] find in [a] water(?)
 . . . ; you should put it into this above-mentioned oil for two days; you should re- 340
 cite this formula to it at dawn . . . / before you have come [out of your] house and [XII, 6]
 before you have spoken to any man on earth. When the two days have passed [you
 should] arise at dawn. You should [go] to a garden. You should bring a vine shoot
 which has not yet formed grapes. You should lift it in your left [hand]; you should
 put it in your right hand. It should amount to seven fingers [in length]. You should
 take it [to your] house; you should bring the [fish] up out of the oil; you should tie
 it by its tail with a strip of flax; you should hang it up [by the head on] the vine; and
 [you should place] the thing containing oil under it for another three days until it²⁶⁹
 pours out by drops downwards that which is in it, while / the vessel which is under 345
 [it] is on a new brick. When the three days have passed, you should [bring it] [XII, 11]
 down. You should embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and byssus. You should put it in
 a hidden place or in [your house]. You should spend two more days, reciting to the
 oil again, making seven days. You should keep it. When you [wish] to make it do its
 work, you should anoint your phallus and your face and you should lie with the
 woman to whom you will do it.

The spells which you should recite to the oil: "I am Shu²⁷⁰ GLABANO. I am Ra; I
 am the 'creation²⁷¹ of 'Ra; I am the son of Ra. I am / SISHT²⁷² the son of Shu, a 350
 water reed of Heliopolis, this griffin which is in Abydos. You²⁷³ are the first one, the [XII, 16]
 great one, great of magic, the living,²⁷⁴ uraeus. You²⁷⁵ are the sun boat, the lake of
 Wu-poke.²⁷⁶ Give me praise, love, and respect before every womb, every woman.
 Love is my true name."

[Another] spell pertaining to it,²⁷⁷ again: "I am Shu KLAKINOK; I am IARN, I am

266. For the restoration, see *ibid.*, 86, n. to l. XI. 26.

267. A *lok*-measure is about one pint.

268. For a discussion of the type of fish, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 87–88, n. to l. XII. 4.

269. The fish.

270. God of air.

271. Or the "reed" of Ra.

272. "The image of." [R.K.R.]

273. Feminine singular.

274. Or "rearing": cf. *PDM* xiv. 3.

275. Feminine singular.

276. See n. 113 above.

277. The fish.

GAMREN. I am SE . . . PAER(?) IPAF INPEN NTINHS GAMRY,²⁷⁸ water of Heliopolis. I am Shu SHABY SHA . . . , SHABAHO LAHEI²⁷⁹ LAHS LAHEI,²⁸⁰ the great god who is in the east, / LABRATHAA. I am the griffin which is in Abydos.²⁸¹

355 [XII, 21] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/1–21. Words preceded by ° are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 355–65

*[Another] manner of them²⁸¹ to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa before . . . “You²⁸² are the great one,²⁸³ the great of magic, the Ethiopian [cat], daughter of Ra,²⁸⁴ the mistress of the uraeus.²⁸⁵ You are Sakhmet²⁸⁶ the great, the mistress of Ast,²⁸⁷ who has destroyed every enemy . . . [eye (?)] of the sun in the sound-eye,²⁸⁸ born of the moon at midmonth at night.²⁸⁹ You are the great creation of the primeval waters. You²⁹⁰ are creation . . . the great one who is in the House of the obelisk²⁹¹ in Heliopolis. You²⁹² are the golden mirror: [you are] the morning bark [of the sun], the sun bark of Ra, . . . LANDJA, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Libyan woman of the . . . / of dom palm fruit, these secrets (?) . . . of Bi-weken.²⁹³ The favor and the love which Pre, your father, has given to you, send [them] down to me into this oil before every heart and eye of every woman before whom I am going in.”

360 [col. XII, 26]

[Invocation,] to a black Nile fish²⁹⁴ nine fingers [long]: [You should put it] in oil of roses,²⁹⁵ you should drown it in it; you should bring it [up]; you should hang [it] up by [the] head [for . . . days]. When you have finished you should put it in a glass vessel; you should [add] a little water of sisymbrium²⁹⁶ and a small “amulet plant(?) of-Isis” which is . . . and pounded; and you should recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You should anoint your face with it / at the time when you lie with the woman; [you should] embalm the fish in myrrh and natron. You should bury it in your house or in a hidden place.

365 [XII, 31]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/21–31.

278. The end is written *r.w.*, “mouths.”

279. The end is written *iy*, “to come.”

280. The end is written *e.t.*, “limb.”

281. Written “me” rather than “them.”

282. Feminine singular.

283. *t3.wr.t*, identified by Griffith and Thompson as Thoucris, a goddess usually presented in the form of a hippopotamus.

284. In the story of the Myth of the Sun’s Eye (see n. 19 to xiv. 1–92), Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, fled to Ethiopia.

285. For all these epithets, cf. *PDM* xiv. 350–51.

286. Cat goddess, goddess of war.

287. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 22.

288. See n. 192 above and *PDM* xiv. 295.

289. The sun and moon were thought of as the eyes of heaven, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 23.

290. Feminine singular.

291. Within the great temple of the sun god, Ra.

292. Feminine singular.

293. The eastern desert.

294. See n. 268 above.

295. See n. 100 above.

296. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 92, n. to l. XII. 29.

PDM xiv. 366–75

*The method of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband: “Woe; woe, flame; flame; Geb made his form into (that of) a bull, he had intercourse [with] ²⁹⁷ his mother, Tefnet, again . . . as the heart of his father cursed his face, the fury of him whose soul is as a flame, while his body is as a pillar, so that he . . . fill the earth with flame and so that the mountains shoot with tongues. The fury of every god and every goddess, the great living one, ²⁹⁸ LALAT / ²⁹⁹ BARESHAK eye of Ethiopia ²⁹⁹ be cast upon NN, the son of NN, [and] NN, the daughter of NN. Put the fire behind his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] into his heart at any time, until he casts NN, the daughter of NN, out of his house(s), she carrying (?) hatred to his heart, she carrying quarrelling to his face. Give him nagging and squabbling, fighting and quarrelling between them at all times, until they are separated from each other, without having been at peace forever and ever.” Gum, . . . / myrrh. You should add wine to them; you should make them into a figure ³⁰⁰ of Geb, there being a *w3s*-scepter ³⁰¹ in his hand.

370
[col. XIII,
5]

375
[XIII, 10]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 376–94

*[The recipes] into which the shrew-mouse goes: If you bring a shrew-mouse, you drown it in some water, and you make the man drink it; [then] he is blinded in both eyes. If you grind its body(?) with any piece of food and you make the man eat it, [then] he makes a blistering death(?), ³⁰² he swells up, and he dies.

If you do it to fetch a woman, you should bring a shrew-mouse; you should place it on a Syrian potsherd; you should put it on the backbone of a donkey; you should put its tail on a Syrian potsherd or [piece of] a glass; also, you should let it loose alive in / the door of a bathroom of the woman; you should gild it. You should embalm its tail; you should add pounded myrrh to it; you should put it in a gold ³⁰³ ring(?); you should put it on your finger after reciting these ³⁰⁴ spells to it; and you should go with it to any place. Every woman whom you shall seize, she [wants?] you. You do it when the moon is full.

380
[col. XIII,
15]

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, ³⁰⁵ you should take its body when it is dry; you should pound [it; you should] take a little of it together with a little blood from your second finger and the little finger ³⁰⁶ of your left hand; you should mix it with it; you should put it in a cup of wine; you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it. [Then] she rages after you.

If you put its gall into a [measure of] wine / and the man drinks it, he dies at

385

297. See J. G. Griffiths, “A Note on P. Demot. Mag. Lond. et Leid. XIII, 2,” *ZAS* 84 (1959): 156–57.

298. Perhaps the uraeus serpent; cf. *PDM* xiv. 3 and 351.

299. Tefnut; see n. 284 above.

300. The star-determinative suggested to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 94, n. to l. XIII. 10, that this is a reference to the planet *Króvos*/Geb, otherwise called Horus the Bull and depicted as a bull-headed man holding a *w3s* scepter.

301. Symbol of dominion.

302. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 13.

303. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 392, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 15.

304. *PDM* xiv. 392–94.

305. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 1206–18.

306. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 331b.

[XIII, 20] once; or [if you] put it into any piece [of food]. If you put its heart into a [seal] ring of gold, you put it on your hand, and you go anywhere, [then] it creates for you [favor, love and] respect.

If you drown a hawk in a [measure of] wine, and you make the man drink it, [then] he dies. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any piece of food, [then] he dies. If you put a two-tailed lizard into [the] oil, [cook] it, and anoint the man with it, [then he dies?].

If you wish to produce a skin disease on a man so that it does not heal: A *hantous* lizard [and?] a *haffela* lizard; you should cook them with [oil?], / and you should wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it . . . :³⁰⁷ you should put . . . ; [then] it. . . . If you put beer . . . to the man's eye(s), he is blinded.

The spells which you recite to the ring³⁰⁸ at the time when you seize the woman: "[O] . . . I AHO ABRASAKS, may NN, whom NN bore, love me! May she burn for me in (?) the road!" . . . you . . .³⁰⁹ she follows after you. You write [it] also on the strip with which you embalm the [shrew-mouse?].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/11–29.

PDM xiv. 395–427

[col. XIV, 1] * [A vessel divination:] "Open my eyes! Open your eyes!" and vice versa, up to three times. (That which another man said to me, "Open, O my eyes! Open, O my eyes!" up to *four* times.) "Open, Tat! Open Nap! Open Tat! Open, Nap! Open, Tat! Open, Nap! Open [to me]! Open [to me]! for I am ARTAMO, whom the great craftsman³¹⁰ bore, the great serpent of the east, who rises with your father at dawn! Hail, hail, Heh!³¹¹ Open to me, flame!"³¹² You say whispering, "ARTAMO, open to me, flame. If you do not open to me, flame, I will make you open to me, flame. O ibis, ibis, sprinkle, so that I may see the great god Anubis, the powerful one, / who is before me, the great strength of the sound-eye!³¹³ O powerful Anubis, the good oxherd, open every[thing] to me! Reveal yourself to me, for I am NESTHOM NESDJOT NESHOTB BORILAMMAI BORILAMMAI MASTSINKS³¹⁴ Anubis, great one, Arian³¹⁵ the one who is great, Arian, this bringer of safety, Arian, the one who is outside! Hail, PHRIKS IKS lord IBROKS AMBROKS EBORKS KSON³¹⁶ NBROKHRIA, the great child, Anubis, for I am this soldier.

405 "O those of the Atef crown,³¹⁷ those of PEPHNUN³¹⁸ MASPHONEGE; / hail! Let all that I have said come to pass here today, for hail! You are THAM THAMTHOM

[XIV, 6]

[XIV, 11]

307. Written in cipher; reading and meaning uncertain. Griffith and Thompson read TOYR and translated "to be troublesome." It might read DOYR, in which case could it mean "to be strong" (*ḏr*) or "to scatter, disperse" (*ḏr**)? Depending on the meaning of this verb, the preceding subject might be "he" (the man) rather than "it" (the animal).

308. See PDM xiv. 381.

309. The verb *ḏrp*, which is what appears to have been written, means "to stumble" or, transitively, "to trip (someone), to hinder, to impede."

310. A reference to Prah, the craftsman god of Memphis.

311. Personification of high numbers and everlastingness.

312. Or a phonetic spelling of the name Heh, written in hieratic.

313. See n. 177 above.

314. With flesh determinative; cf., perhaps, μάστιξ, "whip."

315. Arianus, written with seated man determinative.

316. The Old Coptic gloss adds another KSON.

317. A crown worn by the king and Osiris.

318. Perhaps "he of the primeval waters (Nun)."

THAMATHOM THAMATHOMTHAM THAMATHYTSI³¹⁹ Amoun. Amoun is your correct name, who is called THOM ANKTHOM.³²⁰ You are ITTH; Thoth³²¹ is your name. Son of THOM ANITHOM OP³²² SAO SHATNSRO black,³²³ open to me the mouths of my vessel here today! Come to me at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage! Let my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven. May the hounds of the Phulot³²⁴ give me that which is just in the primeval waters. May they tell me / that about which I am asking here today, in truth, truly, there being no falsehood therein AEËIOYÖ³²⁵ spirit of strife!³²⁶

410
[XIV, 16]

Formula: You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top³²⁷ [of the water] with true oil; you place it on [three] new bricks, whose undersides are spread with sand; you put another four bricks under the youth; you make the youth lie down on his stomach; you make him put his chin on the bricks of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, while a cloth is stretched over him, / and while a lighted lamp is in his right hand and a burning censer in his left hand; you put a lobe of Anubis plant on the lamp; you put this incense up [on the censer]; and you recite these writings which are above³²⁸ to the vessel *seven* times.

415
[XIV, 21]

The incense which you should put up [on the censer]: frankincense (?), oil, ammoniac, incense,³²⁹ dates. Pound them with wine, make them into a ball and offer up this scent.

When you have finished, you should make the youth open his eyes and you should ask him, “Is the god coming in?” If he says, “The god has already come in,” you should recite before him. **Formula:** “Your bull(?), MAO, O Anubis, this [soldier?],³³⁰ this bull³³¹ / this blackness³³² . . . This . . . this ITSI³³³ this SRITSI³³⁴ SRITSI SRITSI ABRITSI³³⁵ is your name, being your correct name.”

420
[XIV, 26]

And you should ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry about which you are asking, you should recite to him seven times and you should dismiss [the god] to his home.

His dismissal. Formula: “Farewell, farewell, [Anubis] the good oxherd, Anubis, Anubis, the son of a wolf and a dog, the . . .” (another papyrus says: “the child of

319. See n. 30 above.

320. I.e., I am THOM.

321. See n. 30 above.

322. Written as the verb *ip* “to count, reckon.”

323. Perhaps, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 100, n. to ll. XIV. 13–14, “[sacrifice (lit., cutting) of (a) black ram.”

324. A geographical name; see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* . . . , vol. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale: 1925–31), 4, for a discussion of the suggested identifications.

325. The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in order.

326. Written in Demotic with a foreign word determinative; a compound from μάχομαι, “to fight” and πνεῦμα, “spirit.”

327. Literally, “its (the water’s) face.”

328. PDM xiv. 395–410.

329. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 23.

330. Assuming the partially preserved word is the *nty*, “soldier” (Coptic *matoi*), from “Mede.”

331. If this is identical with Coptic *gam* (Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 330).

332. This, like the preceding, would have been pronounced КАМ, as that is glossed.

333. See n. 30 above.

334. See n. 30 above.

335. See n. 30 above.

her of [?] Isis and a dog, [†]NABRISHOTHT, the Cherub³³⁶ of Amenti,³³⁷ king of those of . . .³³⁸). Say *seven* times.

425 You should take the lamp from the child, you should take the vessel containing
[XIV, 31] water, you should take the cloth off him. You can also do it / alone³³⁸ by vessel in-
quiry. [It is] very good, tried, tested nine times.

*The Anubis plant:*³³⁹ It grows in millions of places. Its leaf is like the leaf of Syr-
ian [plant] which grows white; its flower is like the flower of conyza³⁴⁰ . . . you . . .
eye . . . before you have . . . the vessel.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motiic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIV/1–34. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Note the change in line arrangement.

PDM xiv. 428–50

*A potion: You should bring a small shaving from the head of a man who was
murdered together with seven grains of barley buried in a grave of a dead man; you
430 should grind them with ten *oipe* / (another [manuscript] says, nine) of apple seeds;
[col. XV, you should add blood of a tick³⁴¹ of a black dog to them together with a little blood
3] of your second finger and the little finger³⁴² of your left hand and your semen,³⁴³
you should press them together; you should put them in a cup of wine; you should
add three ladles to it of the first fruits of the wine, before you have tasted it and
before an offering has been poured out from it; you should recite this spell³⁴⁴ to it
435 *seven* times; you should make the woman drink it; you should tie the skin of the
tick aforesaid with a band of byssus; / and you should tie it to your left arm.

[XV, 8] *Its invocation. Formula:* “I am he of [†]Abydos, in truth, in the completion of
birth in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame, [†]she [†]of the seat of mercy of the
Agathodaimon.³⁴⁵ I am this figure of the sun, [†]the son [†]of [†]TAMESRO³⁴⁶ is my name.
I am this figure of the strong general, this sword, this great overthrower. The great
flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this fortress, this sword; this great
overthrower is my name. I am this figure of the Drowned one,³⁴⁷ who testifies in
440 writing, who rests on board here under / the great offering table of Abydos, to
[XV, 13] whose name of Isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put in this cup.
This wine, give it, the blood of Osiris [which] he gave to Isis, to make her feel love
in her heart for him at night, at noon, at any time, there not being time of change.
[†]Give it, the blood of NN, whom NN bore, to give it to NN, whom NN bore, in

336. For this interpretation, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 29.

337. The west, the necropolis, and thus the realm of the dead, over which Anubis presided.

338. I.e., without a youth.

339. PDM xiv. 415–16.

340. Thus Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*; see pp. 103–4, n. to XIV. 32. The identifica-
tion has been questioned by D. Devauchelle and M. Pezin, “Un papyrus médical démotique,” *CEg* 53
(1978): 59. H. von Deines and H. Grapow (*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogenamen, Grundriss der
Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], 39–41) identified this plant as “men-
tha aquatica.”

341. The identification of *hr-f-mst* of PDM xiv. 430 with *syb* of PDM xiv. 434 indicates the meaning
“tick,” as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 318b–319a.

342. See n. 306 above.

343. Or “urine.”

344. PDM civ. 435–48.

345. See n. 22 above.

346. Or “the daughter of Ra.” [R.K.R.]

347. Osiris.

this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart. The love which Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let NN, the daughter of NN, feel it, / while seeking after NN, the son of NN, everywhere. The love which Isis felt for Horus the Behedite,³⁴⁸ let NN feel it for NN, she loving him, she being mad after him, she being inflamed by him, she seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.”

445
[XV, 18]

Another method [of doing it] again: The fragment³⁴⁹ of the tip of your fingernail and apple seed together with blood from your aforesaid finger also. You should pound the apple, you should add blood to it, you should put it in the cup of wine; / you should recite³⁵⁰ it *seven* times, and you should make the woman drink it at the above-mentioned time.

450
[XV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/1–23. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 451–58 [PGM XIVb. 12–15]

*[A spell] for going before a superior if he fights with you and he will not speak with you:

“Do not pursue me, you, so-and-so, I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, and I go to take it to Abydos, to take it to Tastai, and to bury it at Alkhah.³⁵¹ If he, NN, causes me trouble, / I will throw the mummy at him.”

455
[col. XV,
28] (15)

Its invocation in Egyptian³⁵² again is this which is below:

“Do not run after me, NN.³⁵³ I am PAPIPTY METYBANES, carrying the mummy of Osiris, going to take it to Abydos to let it rest in Alkhah. If NN fights with me today, I shall cast it out.” (Say seven times!)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/24–31, and R. F. Hock (Greek section).

PDM xiv. 459–75

*The words of the lamp: / “‘ BOTH ‘ THEY ‘ IE ‘ YE ‘ O ‘ OE ‘ IA ‘ YA (another manuscript [says], ‘ THEY ‘ IE ‘ OE ‘ ON ‘ IA ‘ YA) PTHAKH ELOE (another manuscript [says] ELON; very good) IATH ‘ EON ‘ PERIPHA ‘ IEY ‘ IA ‘ IO ‘ IA ‘ IYE, come down to the light of this lamp, appear to this youth, and ask for me about that which I am asking here today, ‘ IAO ‘ LAOLO ‘ THERENTHO ‘ PSIKSHIMEA KHE-LO³⁵⁴ ‘ BLAK-HANSPLA ‘ IAE ‘ YEBAI³⁵⁵ ‘ BARBARETHY ‘ IEY ‘ ARPON-GNYPH / ‘ BRINTATENOPHRI ‘ HEA ‘ GARHRE ‘ BALMENTHRE ‘ MENEBAKHEGH ‘ IA ‘ KHEKH³⁵⁶ ‘ BRIN-SKALMA ‘ ARYNSARBA³⁵⁷ ‘ MESEGHRIPH ‘ NIPTYMIKH ‘ MAORKHARAM. ‘ O, ‘ LAANKHEKH ‘ OMPH ‘ BRIMBAINYIOTH ‘ SENGENBAI ‘ GHOYGHE ‘ LAIKHAM ‘ ARMIOYTH.”

460
[col. XVI,
1, 2]

465
[XIV, 7]

348. I.e., of Edfu.

349. Literally, “measure.” See R. H. Pierce, “Dnf, A Problem in Demotic Lexicography,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 74.

350. PDM xiv. 435–48.

351. See n. 3 above.

352. Note the bilingual abilities of the scribe. The text is Egyptian in theme (the burial of Osiris) and the Greek text even includes one sentence in Egyptian. This indicates the Egyptian origin of the whole, despite the placement of the Greek version before the Egyptian one. [R.K.R.]

353. Feminine or, possibly, plural.

354. See n. 30 above.

355. Ending written by, “soul.”

356. Glossed *xyx*, Egyptian *kky* “darkness”: see n. 76 above.

357. See n. 8 above.

470 You should speak, you ³⁵⁸ being pure, in this manner: “O god who lives, O lamp
[XVI, 12] which is lit, TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring in / BOEL! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
in! ARBETH-BAI YTSIO, ³⁵⁹ O doubly great god, bring BOEL in! TAT TAT, bring
BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! TAGRTAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in!
Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! BEYTSI ³⁶⁰ O great god, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
in! Bring BOEL in!

The invocation which you should recite before Pre early in the morning before
you have recited to the youth, in order that that which you will do will come about:
“O great god, TABAO BASYKHAM AMO AKHA-GHAR-KHAN-GRABYNNA-NYNI
475 / TSIKOMETO ³⁶¹ GATHYBASATHYRITHMILAALO” ([say] *seven times*).
[XVI, 17] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/1–17. Words preceded by † are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 475–88

* Another manner of [doing] it also: You should rise at dawn from your bed, early
in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that everything which you
will do will be exact through your agency, ³⁶² you being pure from all evil. You should
recite this spell before Pre three times or seven times: “† IO †A-BAO †OKHAM-MYA
480 †OKHOKH-KHAN-BYNSANAY ³⁶³ †AN-IESI †EGOMPTO ³⁶⁴ †GETHO †SETHYRI †THMILA
[col. XVI, 22] †ALYAPOKHRI, let everything / that I shall undertake here today, let it happen.”
Its manner: You bring a new lamp in which no red lead ³⁶⁵ has been put; you
[put] a clean wick in it; you fill it with pure genuine oil; you put it in a hidden place
cleansed with natron water; you lay it on a new brick; you bring a youth; you seat
him on another new brick, his face being turned to the lamp; you close his eyes;
and you recite these [words] above, ³⁶⁶ down into the youth’s head, seven times. You
should make him open his eyes while you say to him, “Do you see the light?” If he
says to you, “I see the light in the flame of the lamp,” you should cry out at that
485 moment saying / † HEYE” nine times. You should ask him about everything you
[XVI, 27] wish after reciting the invocation which you did previously before Pre early in the
morning. ³⁶⁷ You do it in a place whose door opens to the east; you leave the face of
the lamp turned . . . ; and you leave the youth’s faced turned . . . ³⁶⁸ facing the lamp,
you being on his left. You should recite down into his head, while you touch his
head with your second finger of the . . . of your right hand.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/18–30. Words preceded by † are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

358. Actually written “it.”

359. See n. 30 above.

360. See n. 30 above.

361. Ending written *gme t3*, “creator of the earth”: for the correspondence of Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.

362. Literally, “through your hand.”

363. Ending written *nw*, “time”; for correspondences between Greek and Egyptian letters, see n. 8 above.

364. Old Coptic gloss aspirated; Demotic writes *m p3 t3*, “in the earth.”

365. See R.K.R.’s note to PGM I. 277.

366. PDM xiv. 478–79.

367. xiv. 476.

368. Left blank in the manuscript.

PDM xiv. 489–515

**Another* manner of [doing] it also; [it is] very good for the lamp. You should [say]: ³⁶⁹ ʔ BOEL BOEL BOEL I I I A A A TAT TAT TAT, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly / the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, the great god, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven, ³⁷⁰ in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come into the midst of this flame. Reveal yourself to this youth here today, have him inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask him here today, for I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed! O he of great praise, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of great praise, PETERI PETERI PATER EMPHE EMPHE, ³⁷¹ O doubly great god, who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having / created him, come in to me with BOEL ANIEL, give strength to the eyes of this youth who is carrying my vessel today, in order to let him see you, in order to let his ears hear you while you are speaking; and ask for him about everything and all things about which I shall ask him here today! O great god, SI-SAOTH AKHREMPTO, ³⁷² come into the midst of this flame! O he who sits on the mountain of Gabaon, TAGRTAT, he of eternity, he who does not die, who lives forever, bring ³⁷³ BOEL in BOEL BOEL, ARBETH-BAI-NOUSI ³⁷⁴ O great one, great god, great god, bring ³⁷⁵ BOEL in! TAT TAT bring ³⁷⁶ BOEL in!" You should / say these [things] *seven times* down into the youth's head. You should make him open his eyes; you should ask him, "Has the light already appeared?" If the light has not come forth, you should have the youth himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

490
[col.
XVII, 2]

495
[XVII, 7]

500
[XVII,
11]

Formula: "Be great, O light! Come forth, O light! Rise up, O light! Be high, O light! Come forth, O light of the god! Reveal yourself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is command today, who will ask for me." ³⁷⁷

He reveals himself to the youth in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, while he is looking / at the lamp. Do not let him look at another place except only the lamp. If he does not look at it, he is afraid. You should do all these [things]. When you finish your inquiry, you should turn around, you should have him close his eyes, and you should say down into his head this *other* invocation, below, that is, if the gods go away ³⁷⁸ and the youth ceases to see them: ³⁷⁹ Beginning KHEM-PHE, Zeus, Sun ³⁷⁹ SATRA-PERMET, watch over this youth! Do not let him be frightened, terrified, or afraid, and make him return to his original path! Open, O Underworld! Open, here. ³⁸⁰ I say [it] that this vessel inquiry of the lamp is better / than the first.

505
[XVII,
16]

510

369. A very similar invocation appears in PDM xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 516–26.

370. See n. 84 above.

371. On this group, see n. 88 above.

372. Ending written *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."

373. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"

374. Could the end of this mean "Bas (souls) of the gods"? For the correspondence between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.

375. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"

376. See n. 375 above.

377. See n. 23 above.

378. Or "in order that the gods go away."

379. The gloss consists of the Greek symbol for the sun.

380. A pun between "here" (*ty*) and "underworld" (*tei*).

[XVII, 21] This is the form again. *Its manner*: you bring a new lamp in which no red lead³⁸¹ has been put; you put a clean cloth wick in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick; you seat the boy on another brick opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes; and you recite down into his head according to the other form also.

515 *Another* invocation which you recite opposite Pre at dawn three times, or seven
[XVII, 26] times: *Formula*: IO-TABEO SOKHOMMYA OKHO-KH-KHAN BYNSANAY³⁸² AN-
IESI EGOM(PH)THO GETHO SETHORI / THMILA-ALYAPO-KHRI, may everything
which I shall do today come about.³⁸³ And they succeed.³⁸⁴ If you do not purify it, it
does not come about. Purity is its chief factor.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVII/1–26. Words preceded by ° are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 516–27

**Another* invocation according to what is above, again:³⁸⁴ *Formula*: “° BOEL BOEL
BOEL ° I ° I ° I ° A ° I ° I ° I ° A ° TAT TAT TAT he who gives the light exceedingly, the
companion of the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who
lives, who never dies, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who
is in the lake of heaven,³⁸⁵ in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god,
reveal yourself to this youth, HEY HOY HOY ° HE-O so that he may inquire for me;
make him look so that he sees and hears³⁸⁶ everything about which I shall ask him,
for I shall praise you in heaven, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you be-
fore the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed. / O he of greatness,
520 [col. XVII, 31] ° PETERI PETERI ° EMPHE EMPHE,³⁸⁷ O ° great god³⁸⁸ who is in the upper part of
heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having
created him, come into the midst of this flame with BOEL ° ANIEL. Give strength to
the eyes of ° HEY ° HEY, [° HEY ° HEY],³⁸⁹ the son of ° HEY ° HEY, in order that he see
you with his eyes; make his ears hear; speak with him of anything about which he
will ask you; tell me an answer truly! You are the great god ° SABAOTH. Come down
525 [XVIII, 4] with ° BOEL TAT TAT! Bring BOEL in! Come into the midst of this flame / and ques-
tion for me concerning that which is good! TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring ° BOEL
in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! ARBTH BAINYTSIO,³⁹⁰ O ° great god,³⁹¹ bring
BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!” You should say these [things] down into
the youth’s head; you should have him open his eyes and you should ask him about
everything according to the manner which is outside,³⁹² also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*

381. See n. 73 above.

382. Ending written *nw*, “time”; for the correspondences between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 8 above.

383. Continuing from the instructions in PDM xiv. 512–13.

384. A very similar invocation appears in PDM xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 489–99.

385. See n. 84 above.

386. Or “obey.”

387. On this group, see n. 88 above.

388. Glossed “doubly great.”

389. Intentional dittography in going from column XVII to column XVIII. Note that HEY here and in the next line is written in Demotic with the silver determinative, as if it were the word “money, silver.”

390. See n. 374 above; here the adjective °3, “great,” has been added to the end of the invocation name. ARBETHBAINOYTHIO is “Horus-Falcon, spirit of the great god”; see PDM xiv. 500.

391. Glossed “doubly great.”

392. On the verso, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 118, n. to l. XVIII. 6.

motif Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XVII/26–XVIII/6. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic or in Greek letters with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 528–53

*[Another?]³⁹³ vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave me. You can also do it as a vessel inquiry by yourself:³⁹³ “SABANEM³⁹⁴ NN BIRIBAT Hail! Hail, O god, †SISIAHO who is on the mountain of Qabaho, / in whose hand is the begetting of Fate,³⁹⁵ go³⁹⁶ to this boy! Let him enchant the light, for I am ‘beautiful of face’³⁹⁷ (another manuscript says “I am the face of Nun”) at dawn, HALAHO³⁹⁸ at midday; I am ‘joyful of face’ in the evening. I am Pre, the noble youth who is called GARTA by name. I am he who came forth on the arm of Triphis³⁹⁹ in the east. I am †great; ‘Great’ is my name; ‘Great’ is my real name. I am †OY; †OY is my name; †AY is my real name. I am †LOT †MULOT, the one who prevailed, he whose / strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, THEIT THEIT⁴⁰⁰ TO TO⁴⁰¹ HATRA HATRA, dog-face, dog-face. Hail, Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, the noble youth whom Isis loves, who seeks after his father Osiris Unnefer. Hail Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry / my bandage here today! Let me flourish; let the one whose face is bent down to this vessel here today flourish until the gods come in and tell me [an] answer in truth concerning my question about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without falsehood, immediately. Hail, Anubis, creature and youth!⁴⁰² Go forth at once! Bring to me the gods of this city and the god who gives answer today⁴⁰³ so that he tell me my question about which I am asking today.” Nine times.

/ When you open your eyes, or the youth [opens his eyes] and you see the light, you should recite to the light, “Hail, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be great, be great, O light! O that which is outside, come in!” You should say it nine times until the light is great and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis has come in and established himself, you should say to Anubis, “Arise! Go out and bring in to me the gods of this city or town.” He goes out at that moment and brings the gods in. When you know / that the gods have come in, you should say to Anubis, “Bring in a table for the gods so that they may sit down!” When they are seated, you say to Anubis,⁴⁰⁴ “Bring in a wine jar and some bread! Let them eat; let them drink.” When he has had them eat and drink, you should say to Anubis, “Are they going to inquire for me today?” If he says they [are] again, you

393. I.e., without using a youth as intermediary.

394. Ending written *nm*, “dwarf.”

395. See n. 22 above.

396. This verb also appears in *P. BM 10507*, 6/9, where it is translated “to approach” by M. Smith (not yet published).

397. Or, perhaps, “baboon-face,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus 120*, n. to l. XVIII. 10.

398. Ending written *hr*, “face.”

399. A goddess whose name meant “the noble lady”; Griffith and Thompson suggest, *The Leyden Papyrus 120*, n. to l. XVIII. 12, that this might be a reference to the constellation Virgo.

400. The middle of this name is written with the word *ꜥꜣꜣ*, “house.”

401. Written *ꜥꜣ*, “land.”

402. Perhaps seen as half-canine, half-human. [R.K.R.]

403. See n. 23 above.

404. A very similar passage, but spoken by the youth, occurs in *PDM xiv. 56–62*.

should say to him, “The god who will question for me,⁴⁰⁵ let him raise his hand for me and let him tell me his name.” When he tells you his name, you should ask him concerning that which you desire. When you are finished asking about what you desire, you should send them away.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVIII/7–33. Words preceded by ^ˆ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 554–62

555 * [Spell] to be said to the bite of the dog: / “My mouth being full of blood of a
[col. XIX, 2] black dog, I spitting out the redness⁴⁰⁶ of a dog, I come forth from Alkhah.⁴⁰⁷ O
this dog who is among the ten dogs which belong to Anubis, the son of his body,
extract your venom, remove your saliva from me also! If you do not extract your
venom and remove your saliva, I shall take you up to the forecourt of [the temple
560 of] Osiris, my watchtower (?). I will do for ^ˆyou⁴⁰⁸ . . . / according to the voice of
[XIX, 7] Isis, the magician, the lady of magic, who bewitches everything, who is never be-
witched in her name of Isis, the magician.”

You [should] pound garlic with gum (?), put it on the wound of the dog bite,
and speak to it daily until it is well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/1–9. The word preceded by ^ˆ is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 563–74

* [Spell] to be said in order to extract the venom from the heart of a man who has
already been made to drink a potion or poison⁴⁰⁹ (?): “Hail, hail, IABLY, O golden
565 cup of Osiris! / From you have drunk Isis, Osiris, and the great Agathodaimon.⁴¹⁰
[col. XIX, 12] The three gods drank and after them I myself drank in order that you will not let me
get drunk, you will not let me list, you will not make me fall, you will not make me
be thrown down, you will not make me be troubled of heart, you will not make my
mouth curse. May I be healed of all poison, pus, [and] venom. They shall be re-
moved (?) from my heart. When I drink you, may I vomit⁴¹¹ them up in her name
570 of ^ˆSARBITHA, the daughter / of the Agathodaimon,⁴¹² for I am SABRA BRIATHA
[XIX, 17] BRISARA. HER is my name. I am Horus SHARON⁴¹³ coming from receiving greet-
ings. IAHO, ^ˆthe ^ˆchild, is my name, being my real name” [to be said] to a cup of
wine. Add fresh rue; add it to it; speak to it seven times, and make the man drink it
at dawn before he has eaten.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/10–21. Words preceded by ^ˆ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

405. See n. 23 above.

406. I.e., blood.

407. See n. 3 above.

408. Or, “act for you as . . .”: see the discussion of his passage in Johnson, *Verbal System* 11, n. 1. Or, “I shall do to you that which this other bird (?) did,” seeing a reference to Isis as a kite. [R.K.R.]

409. Or “hang over” (?). [R.K.R.]

410. See n. 22 above.

411. Literally, “cause them to be thrown up.”

412. See n. 22 above.

413. Written ⲥ r.n., “to our mouths.”

PDM xiv. 574–85

*[Spell] to be said to the man, when a bone is stuck / in his throat: “You are SHLATE LATE BALATE the white crocodile, which is under the foam of the sea of flame whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man. Hail, you should spit out this bone for me today, it acting as a harpoon head, it making a point, it acting as a sack piercer,⁴¹⁴ it doing⁴¹⁵ everything, without change, for I am⁴¹⁶ a lion’s forepart, I am⁴¹⁷ a ram’s horn,⁴¹⁸ I am⁴¹⁹ a panther’s tooth. / Griffin⁴²⁰ is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand. The man named is the opener⁴²¹ of my neck⁴²² (seven times). 575 [col. XIX, 22]

You should speak to a little oil, you should put the man’s face up; you should put it down in his mouth; you should move⁴²³ your finger and your thumb⁴²⁴ [to the] two sinews⁴²⁵ of his throat; you should make him swallow the oil; you should make him rise up suddenly; and you should eject the oil which is in his throat immediately. / The bone comes up with the oil. 580 [XIX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/21–32. 585 [XIX, 32]

PDM xiv. 585–93

*Spell to be said to the bite of the dog: the fury of Amoun and Triphis: ⁴²⁶“I am this strong Arab SHLAMALA MALET secret one, mighty one SHETEI⁴²⁷ GRSHEI⁴²⁸ GRSHEI⁴²⁹ NEBRNT TAHNE BAHNE this dog, this black one,⁴³⁰ the dog which has bewitched this dog, he of these four bitch-pups, the wolf⁴³¹ son of Wepwawet.⁴³² O son of Anubis, seize by your teeth! Put down your secretion, your face being that / of Seth against Osiris, your face being that of Apophis against the sun! Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth,⁴³³ NN whom NN bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth. Hear this speech of Horus, who stopped heat, who went to the primeval water, who established the earth; listen, O IAHO SABAHO ABIAHO by name!” You should cleanse the wound and grind salt with Nubian hematite.⁴³⁴ Apply [it] to it. 590 [col. XIX, 37]

414. Meaning suggested by George R. Hughes; for harpoon head and point, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 25.

415. Or “acting as.”

416. Or “to me belongs,” as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 26.

417. See n. 416 above.

418. See n. 416 above.

419. See n. 416 above.

420. See n. 12 above.

421. Reading *wn*.

422. Reading *nhbe.t*.

423. Reading *hn*, “to approach,” “move toward.”

424. So William F. Edgerton, comparing it to Coptic *mout*, “thumb”: Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 81a.

425. Coptic *ene* means “sinew, nerve” or “neck”; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 189a.

426. See n. 399 above.

427. Ending written ‘*e.t*, “limb.”

428. See n. 427 above.

429. See n. 427 above.

430. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 555.

431. Or jackal, given the association with Wepwawet.

432. See n. 223 above.

433. I.e., whom you bit.

434. For this identification, see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 156–57.

Another: You should grind rue with honey. Apply to it and say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/32–40.

PDM xiv. 594–620

595 * [Spell] to be said to the sting⁴³⁵ / “I am the King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis.
[col. XX, My mother Sekhmet-Isis comes⁴³⁶ after me all the way to the land of Syria, to the
2] hill of the land of Heh,⁴³⁷ to the nome of these cannibals, saying, ‘Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, my child, King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis,’ saying, ‘Arise and come to Egypt, for your father Osiris is King of Egypt; he is ruler over the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand.’

600 / “At the moment of saying these [things] she jumped⁴³⁸ at me. My strength fell
[XX, 7] from me. She coiled⁴³⁹ and she came to me with a sting; I sat down and I wept. Isis, my mother, sat near me, saying to me, ‘Do not weep, do not weep, my child, King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis! Lick from your tongue to your heart, and vice versa, as far as the edges of the wound! Lick from the edges of the wound up to the limits of your / strength!’ What you will lick up, you should swallow it. Do not spit it out
605 on the ground, for your tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaimon,⁴⁴⁰ your tongue is that of Atum!”

You should lick it with your tongue while it is bleeding. Immediately afterwards, you should speak to a little oil and you should speak⁴⁴¹ to it seven times while putting it on the sting daily. You should dye a strip of linen and put it on it.

610 / [The spell] which you should say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: “Isis sat
[XX, 17] speaking to the oil, ABARTAT, and lamenting to the true oil, saying, ‘You are praised. I am going to praise you, O oil; I am going to praise you. By the Agathodaimon you are praised. By me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, O oil, O vegetable oil’” (another [manuscript] says “true oil”), “O sweat of the
615 Agathodaimon, amulet of Geb. Isis is the one who / is speaking to the oil. O true
[XX, 22] oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter⁴⁴² which comes down from the sun bark at dawn, you should do the good [deeds] of the dew of dawn which heaven cast to the ground upon every tree. You should heal the limb which is paralyzed and you should act as remedy for him who lives, for I shall employ you for the sting of the King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis, my child, in order that you fill it and make it well. For I shall employ you for [the] sting of NN, whom NN bore, / in order that you fill it and make it well” (seven times).

620 [XX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/1–27.

435. Probably of a scorpion, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 128, n. to l. XX. 1. This interpretation is reinforced by the suggested new translation of PDM xiv. 601; see n. 439 below.

436. For this interpretation, see J. Johnson, *Verbal Systems* 102, n. 167.

437. Literally, “millions.”

438. See n. 456 below.

439. Literally, “gather”; this meaning was suggested by George R. Hughes.

440. See n. 22 above.

441. PDM xiv. 610–20.

442. Literally, “Horus the red” or “Horus the mysterious.”

PDM xiv. 620–26

*Spell to be said to bring a bone out of a throat: “I am he whose head reaches the sky while his feet reach the primeval waters,⁴⁴³ who awakened this crocodile . . . in Pidjeme⁴⁴⁴ in Thebes, for I am †SA SIME. TAMAHO is my correct name, ANYG ANYG, for a hawk’s egg is what is in my mouth, an ibis egg is what is in my belly, saying, ‘bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides, for let that which is in your belly come to your heart; let that which is in your heart / come to your mouth; let that which is in your mouth come to my hand here today, for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who is established in the seven shrines; for I am the son of the living god!’” [Say it] to a cup of water seven times and make the woman drink it.

625

[col. XX,

32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/27–33. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 627–35

*The vessel inquiry of Osiris:⁴⁴⁵ “Hail, Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in Thinis⁴⁴⁶ while his feet are in Thebes,⁴⁴⁷ the one who gives answer in Abydos, while his protection⁴⁴⁸ (?) is [in?] Pshilom,⁴⁴⁹ he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranous,⁴⁵⁰ who is on my house forever, / the house of the avengers⁴⁵¹ forever; he whose face⁴⁵² resembles the face of a hawk of byssus, mighty one whose tail is as the tail of a serpent while his back is as the back of a ‘dragon,’⁴⁵³ while his hand is [that of] a man, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, † in † whose hand is this palm staff of command. Hail, IAHO SABAHO ATONAI⁴⁵⁴ MISTEMY IAYTY! Hail, MIKHAEL⁴⁵⁵ SABAEL! Hail, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who leaps⁴⁵⁶ on only one foot! † Hide the darkness in the deep! Bring in the light for me! Come in to me; tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here today!” [Say] nine times, / until the god comes and the light appears.

630

[col. XXI,

4]

You do it according to the forms of the remainder above, again while the youth’s face is to the east and your own face is to the west, you reciting down into his head.

635

[XXI, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/1–9. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

443. Reaching from sky to abyss; see also *PGM* IV n. 160.

444. Western Thebes.

445. A partial parallel in Old Coptic is found in *PGM* IV. 10–25.

446. A town in the nome of Abydos; see A. H. Gardner, *Onomastica*, vol. II, p. 38*.

447. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 2.

448. The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has “whose glory is in Paqalôm.”

449. For possible identifications, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 3.

450. Perhaps the Egyptian definite article *p* + *ou̯pavós*, “firmament” of heaven, and Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, 135, n. to l. XXI. 4.

451. On avengers, see also n. 24 above.

452. See the description of a griffin taken from the Myth of the Sun’s Eye quoted in n. 12 above.

453. Literally, perhaps, “crocodile” or “guardian (dragon)”; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 135, n. to l. XXI. 5.

454. Adonai? The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has *alḥōnai*.

455. The Old Coptic text (see n. 445 above) also invokes Michael.

456. Coptic *fi fōqs*, “to leap, hop,” *Crum, Coptic Dictionary* 627b, as suggested by George R. Hughes.

PDM xiv. 636–69

*[The method] of the scarab in the cup of wine in order to make a woman love a man: You should bring a scarab of Mars⁴⁵⁷ (which is this small scarab which has no horn), it having three shields on the front of its head—you find its face shrunken—or also the one which has two horns.⁴⁵⁸ You should bring it at the rising of the sun; you should bind yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back; you should bind yourself at your face with a strip of palm fiber while the scarab is on the palm⁴⁵⁹ of your hand; and you should speak⁴⁶⁰ to it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you should drown it in milk of a black cow. You should put a [unit of ?] 10⁴⁶¹ (pieces) of olive wood to its head. You should leave it until evening in the milk. When evening comes, you should / bring it up, you should spread under it with sand, and you should put a band of cloth under it upon the sand, for four days. You should put myrrh on a flame before it.

640

[col. XXI,

14]

When the four days have passed, and it is dry, you should bring it before you, a cloth being spread under it. You should divide it in its middle with a copper knife. You should take its right half and nail parings of your right hand and foot, and you should cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood. You should pound them with nine apple seeds and your urine or your sweat free from bath oil; you should make it into a ball; you should put it in the wine; you should speak⁴⁶² over it seven times; you should make the woman drink it; you should take its other half, the left one, together with the nail parings of your left hand and foot also; you should bind them in a strip of byssus with myrrh and saffron; you should bind them to your left arm; and you should lie with the woman while they are bound to you.

645

[XXI, 19]

/ If you wish to do it also without drowning it, you do it also on the third of the lunar month, you doing this manner above for it also. You should recite its invocation to it before the sun at dawn; you should cook [it]; you should divide it; you should do it according to that which is above also in everything.

650

[XXI, 24]

[The invocation] which you should recite to it before the sun at dawn: “You are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli. Bring yourself out of the door of my temple! You should lift (?) a copper vessel (?) to your nose, [O he] who knew how to eat the herbage, who tramples the field plants (?), who damages the great cult images of those of Egypt, I sending you against NN whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, for she is the one who urinated before the sun at dawn, saying to the sun, ‘Do not come forth!’; to the moon, ‘Do not rise!’; to the water, ‘Do not come to those of Egypt!’; to the field, ‘Do not bloom!’; and to the great trees of those of Egypt, ‘Do not grow green!’ / I sending you to NN, whom NN bore, in order to beat her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, so that she put herself on the road following after NN, whom NN bore, at all times.”

[The spell] which you should recite to it while it is in the milk: “Woe, doubly great one; woe, my doubly great one; woe, his (?) Nun.⁴⁶³ woe, his love, O scarab,

457. See Ritner, “Gleanings” (above, n. 68).

458. For the possible identification as the “stag beetle,” see *ibid.*, n. to l. XXI. 11.

459. Lit., “body”: translation suggested by George R. Hughes.

460. PDM xiv. 646–50.

461. For the use of ten as a “round number,” see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägypter* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1916) 39.

462. PDM xiv. 658–69.

463. Primeval waters.

464. See n. 306 above.

O scarab; you are the eye of Pre, the little finger⁴⁶⁴ of Osiris, the fingers of Shu.⁴⁶⁵ You should go in this form⁴⁶⁶ in which Osiris your father went, on account of NN, whom NN bore, until fire is put after her heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is.”

[The spell] which you should recite to it while you are cooking it: “Hail, my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), who cast semen and who casts semen among all the gods, this one whom the small one and the great one found among the two great enneads on the east of Egypt, / while he was coming forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus reed! I know your name; I know your craft⁴⁶⁷ (?). ‘The work of two stars’ is your name. I am casting fury against you today; NPHALAM BALLABALKHA IOPHPHE, in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the large intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of NN, whom NN bore, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is.”

655

[XXI, 29]

[The spell] which you should recite to it in the wine:

“O scarab, O scarab, you are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli; you are the eye of Pre; you are the eye of Atum, the finger of Shu, the little finger of Osiris. You are the black bull, the foremost one, who came forth from Nun, / the beauty of Isis being with you. You are RAKS RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar which they brought from the land of Syria to Egypt.”

660

[XXI, 34]

From outside to the wine: “I shall send you. Will you go on my business? Will you do it? May you say, ‘Send me to the thirsty so that his thirst may be quenched, to the canal that it may be dried up, to the sand of the . . . that it may be scattered without wind, to the papyrus of Buto that the copper [blade] may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for Isis from the great destructions for those of Egypt, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst,’ while I send you. Do the like of these while I am sending you down to the heart of NN, whom NN bore; make a flame in her body, flame in her intestines. Put madness after her heart, fever after her flesh. Let her make the travels of the Shoulder constellation⁴⁶⁸ after the ‘Hippopotamus’ constellation.⁴⁶⁹ Let her make / the movements of the sunshine after the shadow while she is searching after NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night! Give her grief and anxiety by day! Do not let her eat! Do not let her drink! Do not let her lie down! Do not let her sit in the shadow of her house until she goes to him at every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glances turned upside down, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is, until she sees him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every. . . . Let [her] put the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times, without a time changed. Quickly, quickly! Hurry, hurry!”

665

[XXI, 39]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/10–43.

465. The god of air, whose hands/fingers supported the sky.

466. I.e., drowned, as Osiris.

467. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 141, n. to l. XXI. 29.

468. I.e., the Big Dipper.

469. See the references in Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 142, n. to l. XXI. 38.

PDM xiv. 670–74

670 ***Here is** [the spell ?] of the name of the Great One of Five⁴⁷⁰ which should be
[col. recited to every spirit, there being nothing which is stronger than it in the books: if
XXII, 1] you recite these spells to any vessel, the gods never go away without your having
questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven,
earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water, and fields. [It is] a writing which is
in the power⁴⁷¹ of a man to recite.⁴⁷²

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXII/1–5.

PDM xiv. 675–94 [PGM XIVc. 15–27]

675 ***A spell** to cause “evil sleep”⁴⁷³ to fall. *Formula*: You bring a donkey’s head; you
[col. place it between your feet opposite the sun at dawn when it is about to rise, op-
XXIII, 1] posite it again in the evening when it is going to set; you anoint your right foot
with yellow ocher⁴⁷⁴ of Syria, your left foot with clay, the soles of your feet also; you
place your right hand in front and your left hand behind, the head being between
680 them; you anoint one of your two hands with donkey’s blood, / and the two cor-
[XXIII, 6] ners (?) of your mouth; and you recite these writings before the sun at dawn and in
the evening for four days. He sleeps.

If you wish to make him die, you should do it for seven days. If you do its magic,
you should bind a thread of palm fiber to your hand, a piece of male palm fiber to
your phallus and your head. It is very good.

This spell which you should recite before the sun:

(15) / “I call upon you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, al-
mighty, a god of gods, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a
685 stable / household, you who were driven out of Egypt and have roamed foreign
[XXIII, lands, you who shatter everything and are not defeated. / I call upon you, Typhon
11] Seth; I command your prophetic powers because I call upon your authoritative
(PGM name to which you cannot refuse to listen, IÔ ERBÊTH IÔ PAKERBÊTH IÔ BOLCHÔ-
XIVc. 17) SÊTH IÔ PATATHNAX / IÔ SÔRÔ IÔ NEBOUTOSOUALÊTH AKTIÔPHI ERESCHI-
(20) GAL NEBOUTOSOUALÊTH ABERAMENTHÔOULERTHEXANAXETHRELUÔTHENEMA-
690 REBA AEMINA / (the whole formula). Come to me and go and strike down him, NN
[XXIII, (or her, NN) with chills and fever. That very person has wronged me and he (or she)
16] has spilled the blood of Typhon in his own (or her own) house. For this reason I am
(PGM doing this” (add the usual).

XIVc. 23) *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
(25) motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/1–20; and R. F. Hock, following the edition of
Preisendanz.

PDM xiv. 695–700

695 ***To inquire** opposite the moon: you should do it as a vessel inquiry alone or [with]
[col. a youth. If you are the one who is going to inquire, you should equip your eye with
XXIII, 21] green eyepaint and black eyepaint. You should stand on a high place on the top of

470. See n. 36 above.

471. Literally, “hand.”

472. As Griffith and Thompson note, *The Leyden Papyrus* 144, n. to l. XXII. 5, the remainder of the column, where the spell would have been written, was left blank.

473. Reading *nktk bin*. [R.K.R.] Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to l. XXIII. 1, suggest “catalepsy.”

474. See Harris, *Minerals* 151.

your house. You should speak to the moon when it fills⁴⁷⁵ the sound-eye⁴⁷⁶ on the 15th day, you being pure for three days. You should recite this spell opposite the moon seven or nine times until he appears to you and speaks to you: “Hail, [†]SAKS [†]Amoun [†]SAKS [†]ABRASAKS, for you are the moon, the great one of the stars, he who formed them! Listen to these things which I said! Walk in accordance with the [words] of my mouth! Reveal yourself to me, [†]THAN / [†]THANA [†]THANATHA” (another [manuscript] says “THEI”); “this is my correct name.” Nine [times] of saying it until she⁴⁷⁷ reveals herself to you.

700
[XXIII,
26]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/21–26. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 701–5

* Another form of it again, to be recited opposite the moon: You should paint your eye with this paint, you [going] up before the moon. When it fills the sound-eye⁴⁷⁸ you see the figure of the god in sound-eye speaking to you:

“I am flame, high, AMRO⁴⁷⁹ MAAMT, true is my name, for I am . . . soul so [†]AGANAGYP Mars⁴⁸⁰ spirit, spirit, joy-Mars⁴⁸¹ is my real, true name . . . eternity. I am KHELBAI⁴⁸² SETET, HEN EM-NEFER⁴⁸³ is my name; SRO OSHENBET⁴⁸⁴ is my correct name.” Say [it] nine times, while you are standing opposite the moon, your eye equipped with this ointment: green and black eyepaint. Grind with Syrian honey; put the gall of a / full-grown chick to it; put it on a glass object; and leave it for yourself in a hidden place until the time in which you will need it. You do it also according to what is above.

705
[col.
XXIII, 31]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/27–31. The word preceded by [†] is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 706–10

* Against “evil sleep”⁴⁸⁵—another: flour of wild dates which has been beaten with milk⁴⁸⁶ . . . ; / you should make them together into a ball. Put in the wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1a–5a.

710
[col.
XXIV, 5a]

PDM xiv. 711–15

* A tested **prescription** if you wish to “evil sleep”⁴⁸⁷ a man: scammony root, 1 dram; opium, 1 dram; pound with milk; make it into a ball, and put it in some food (?) / which is cooked so that he eats it. He is upset.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1–5.

715
[col.
XXIV, 5]

475. See PDM xiv. 295 and n. 239 therewith.

476. See n. 192 above.

477. The moon, which is feminine in Greek although masculine in Egyptian.

478. See n. 192 above.

479. Written *m*, “to swallow” or “to know” plus *r*, “mouth.”

480. The planet; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954) 170.

481. See n. 480 above.

482. Written *hl*, “young” (?), plus *by*, “soul.”

483. Written *lm*, “to approach,” plus preposition *m*, “in,” plus *nfr*, “good.”

484. Or, perhaps, “prince, great of throat.” [R.K.R.]

485. See n. 473 above.

486. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, vol. III, p. 109, suggest that this might be *gyr*, “rush/reed.”

487. See n. 473 above.

PDM xiv. 716–24

720 **Another*, if you wish to make a man sleep for *two* days: mandrake root, 1 ounce;
 [col. water and honey,⁴⁸⁸ 1 ounce; henbane,⁴⁸⁹ 1 ounce / ivy, 1 ounce. You should grind
 XXIV, 10] them with⁴⁹⁰ a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly, you should put
 four portions to each one of them with a glass of wine; you should moisten them
 from morning to evening; you should clarify them; and you should make them
 drink it. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/6–14.

PDM xiv. 724–26

725 **Another*, the third: apple / seeds, 1 stater, 1 kite; pound with flour; make it into a
 [col. cake, and make the man whom you wish eat it.

XXIV] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/14–16.

PDM xiv. 727–36

**A prescription* to cause a man to sleep; [it is] very good: apple seeds, 1 stater,
 730 1 dram; mandrake root, 4 drams; ivy, 4 drams; pound together; add fifteen /
 [col. measures of wine to it; put it in a glass vessel and guard it! When you wish to give
 XXIV, 20] it, you should put a little in a cup of wine, and you should give it to the man. The
 735 ivy—it grows in gardens; its leaf is like the leaf of a shekam plant, being divided
 [XXIV, into three lobes like a grape leaf. It is one palm in measurement; its blossom / is like
 25] silver (another [manuscript] says gold).

**Another*: Gall of an Alexandrian weasel; you should add [it] to any food.

**Another*: A two-tailed lizard.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/17–26.

PDM xiv. 737–38

**A prescription* for “evil sleep”:⁴⁹¹ gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples,
 poisonous herb; pound them together; make into a ball and put [it] into the food!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/27–28.

PDM xiv. 739–40

-740 **Another*: If you put camel’s blood and the blood of a dead man / into the wine
 [col. XXV, and you make the man drink it, he dies.

30] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/29–30.

PDM xiv. 741

**Another*: If you put a nightjar’s blood to his eye, he is blinded.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/3.

488. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 149–50, n. to l. XXIV. 8.

489. *Ibid.*, 150, n. to l. XXIV. 9.

490. Literally, *r-h.t.*, “according to.”

491. See n. 473 above; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 917–19.

PDM xiv. 742

**Another*: If you put bat's blood, it is [in] this manner again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

PDM xiv. 743–49

**Another*: If you drown a hawk in wine and you make the man drink it, it does its work. A shrew-mouse in this manner again; it does / its work also. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its work very well. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel on any food, it does its work. If you put a two-tailed lizard in the oil and cook it with it and anoint the man with it, it does its work. 745 [col. XXIV, 35]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and edition of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/33–39.

PDM xiv. 750–71

**The words of the lamp to question the youth: Formula*: “[†]TE [†]TE [†]IG [†]TATAK THETHE SATI [†]SAN-TASKI [†]KROMAKAT [†]PATAKSYRAI [†]KALEY-PANKT [†]A-A-TSIEYI⁴⁹² [col. XXV, 1] MAKI-SITAKAT HATI⁴⁹³ HAT [†]RO-I⁴⁹⁴O-I [†]HAY⁴⁹⁵ (?) [†]I; may they say to me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, for I am Harpokrates⁴⁹⁶ in Mendes, for I am Isis the wise; the sayings of my mouth come to pass” (*say seven times*). 755 [XXV, 6]

You bring a new lamp; you put a clean cloth wick into it brought from a temple; you set it on a new clean brick brought from the brick mold on which / no man has mounted; you set it upright; you place the lamp on it; you put genuine oil in it, or oasis oil; you set two new bricks under yourself; you place the youth between your feet; you recite the aforementioned spells down into the youth's head, your hand being over his eyes; and you offer up myrrh and willow leaf / before the lamp. You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south and under which there is no cellar. You let no light come in to the aforementioned place; you purify the said place beforehand; you put the youth's back to the opening of the room. When you finish reciting the spell, you should take your hand from his eyes—a youth who has not yet gone with a woman, / [is he] whom you should send before it⁴⁹⁷—and you should question him, saying, “What do you see?” He speaks with you of everything about which you will ask him. 760 [XXV, 6] 765 [XXV, 16] 770 [XXV, 21]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXV/1–22. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 772–804

**A method* to put the heart of a woman after a man: Done in one moment (?) and it comes to pass instantly. You bring a live swallow and a live hoopoe.

Ointment made for them: Blood of a male donkey, blood of the tick of a black cow. You should anoint / *their* heads with lotus ointment and cry out before the sun in his moment of rising. You should cut off the heads of the two; you should 775 [col. XXV,

492. See n. 30 above.

493. Written *h3t.y*, “my heart.”

494. Written *h3t r.y*, “heart of my mouth.”

495. Demotic apparently written *b.w*, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 153, n. to l. XXV. 6.

496. Horus the Child, son of Isis and Osiris.

497. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 155, n. to l. XXV. 21.

26] bring their hearts out from their right ribs [of the two] and anoint them with the donkey's blood and the blood of the tick of a black cow, above. You should put them into donkey's skin and leave them in the sun until they dry up in four days. When
 780 the four days have passed, you should pound them, put them into a / box, and leave
 [XXV, 31] it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you should take the piece⁴⁹⁸ of "pleasure wood,"⁴⁹⁹ recite these⁵⁰⁰ true names before them, put it in a cup of wine or beer, and give it to the woman so that she drinks it: "I am †BIRA-AQHL †LA-AQH †SASMRIALO †PLS-PLYN. I am †IOANE⁵⁰¹ †SABAATHL †SASYPY / †NITHI. Put the
 785 heart of NN, whom NN bore, after NN, whom NN bore, in these hours today!"
 [XXV, 36] ([Say] seven times). You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. [it is] very good.

790 / Another spell again for this cup of wine: "†BIRAGETHT †SAMARA †PILPIYN
 [XXVI, 1] †IAHYT †SABAYTH †SAIPYNITHAS."

Another spell belonging to it again, on another papyrus: "I am †BIRAGATHT
 795 †LATHT †SASMIRA †PLIPRN / †IAHY⁵⁰² †SABAQHT †SASYPNITHA. Put the heart of
 [XXVI, 4] NN after †SASYPNITHAS."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, col. XXV/23–XXVI/18. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 805–40

805 *Another vessel inquiry,⁵⁰³ [the magician being] alone⁵⁰⁴ in order to see the bark of
 [col. Pre: *The spell which you should recite:* "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods!
 XXVII, 1] Let me see the bark of Pre, he going up and going down in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods; praying is what I am doing before Pre, my father, on account of the thing which went forth from me. O great Heknet,⁵⁰⁵ lady of the shrine, the Rishtret⁵⁰⁶ (?), open to me, mistress of spirits! Open to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, for I am Geb, heir of the gods! O, you seven⁵⁰⁷ kings; O, you seven Montus, bull who engenders, lord of awe, who illuminates the earth; soul of the primeval waters; hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of the darkness!
 810 / Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,⁵⁰⁸ great one, lofty one! Hail,
 [XXVII, soul of the ram, sould of the people of the west! Hail, soul of souls, bull of darkness,
 6] bull of [two] bulls, son of Nut! Open to me; I am the opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! I am †I-I-I †E-E-E †HE-HE-HE †HO-HO-HO. I am ANEPO⁵⁰⁹ MIRI-PO-RE MAAT IB great THIBAI, †ARYI⁵¹⁰ †YOY †IAHO."

*The preparation:*⁵¹¹ Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-

498. Literally, "measure."

499. See n. 253 above.

500. PDM xiv. 783–86.

501. Written '3, "donkey"; 'n, "again"; n3, "these."

502. Beginning written '3, "donkey."

503. This same vessel inquiry occurs in PDM xiv. 295–308.

504. I.e., without using a youth.

505. See n. 243 above.

506. See n. 244 above.

507. See n. 245 above.

508. Primeval waters.

509. Great Anubis.

510. See n. 249 above.

511. See n. 50 above.

jar, “live-on-them” plant, mustard,⁵¹² “Great-of-Amoun” plant, *qs-^cnh* stone,⁵¹³ genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis” plant. Pound, make into a ball, and paint / your eyes with it. Put a goat’s tear in a “pleasure-wood”⁵¹⁴ of juniper or ebony, and tie around you a strip of male palm fiber.

The way of making the vessel inquiry of the lamp: You should bring a clean, white lamp without putting red lead⁵¹⁵ or gum water in it, its wick being of byssus; you should fill it with genuine oil or oil of dew; you should tie it with four linen threads which have not been burned,⁵¹⁶ you should hang in on an eastern wall [on] a peg of laurel wood; you should make the youth stand before it, he being pure, he not having gone with a woman; you should cover his eyes with your hand; / you should light the lamp; you should recite down into his head,⁵¹⁷ *seven* times; you should make him open his eyes; and you should ask him, saying, “What are the things which you have seen?” If he says, “I have [already] seen the gods near the lamp,” they tell him an answer concerning that which they will be asked.

If you wish to do it by yourself alone, you should fill your eyes with the aforementioned ointment. You should stand up opposite the lamp while it is lit and recite to it *seven* times while your eyes are shut. When you have finished, you should open your eyes. You see the gods behind you and you speak with them concerning that which you desire, you regularly doing it in a dark place.

The spell which you should recite: Formula: “I am MANEBAI⁵¹⁸ †GHTE-THONI KHA-BA-KHEL; let me worship you, the child of ARPHITNA / PIRA PILE-ASA †GNYRIPH-ARISA †TENI-IRISSA †PSI⁵¹⁹ †PSI †IRIS-SA †GIMITHYRY-PHYS-SA OQMAT-SISA OREOBAGRA PERTAOOMEKH PERAGOMEKH SAKMEPH.⁵²⁰ Come in to me and inquire for me about the question about which I am inquiring, truthfully, without falsehood.”

*Its preparation:*⁵²¹ The ointment⁵²² which you should put on your eyes when you are going to make any “god’s arrival”⁵²³ with the lamp. You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.⁵²⁴ You find them in the place of the lupine sellers. You should bring them while they are tender / and put them into a glass vessel. You should seal its mouth very carefully for *twenty* days in a dark, hidden place. After *twenty* days, if you take it up and open it, you find testicles and a phallus in it. If you leave it for *forty* days and bring it up and open it, you find it having [already] become bloody. In something of glass, you put it and you put the glass object in a pottery object in a place hidden at all times.

When you wish to make a “god’s arrival” of the lamp with it, you should fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, while you are going to sleep. Or you should stand

815
[XXVII,
11]

820
[XXVII,
16]

825
[XXVII,
21]

830
[XXVII,
26]

512. Literally, “bread-of-heaven” plant; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 10, suggest an identification with *σινάπι*, “mustard.”

513. See n. 65 above.

514. See n. 253 above.

515. See n. 73 above.

516. Or see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 14.

517. PDM xiv. 823–28.

518. Ending written *by*, “soul.”

519. PSI for “Agathodaimon”? Cf. PGM IV. 1644.

520. SAKMEPH is “son of Kneph (Agathodaimon)”; see PGM I. 27.

521. See n. 50 above.

522. See the parallel in PDM xiv. 140–46.

523. See n. 62 above.

524. See n. 95 above.

- opposite the lamp, reciting this spell aforesaid. You see the god beyond you while
 835 you are standing or sleeping. [It is] very good, proven. / You write this name on the
 [XXVII, strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink: “BAKHYKH-SIKHYKH”⁵²⁵ (what another
 31] papyrus said: “KIMITHORO PHOSSE”). This method which is written above is the
 method of the “god’s arrival” of MANEBAI.⁵²⁶ If you wish to do it by questioning the
 lamp, it is this form again. It is also profitable for a “god’s arrival” of MYRIBAI.⁵²⁷ If
 you will do it by vessel inquiry of the lamp, you should fill the lamp aforesaid on a
 new brick; you should make the youth stand up before the lamp while his face is
 covered; and you should recite to his head this spell in Greek while you are standing
 840 over him. When you have finished, you should uncover / his face. He answers you
 [XXVII, truthfully.
 26] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
motomic Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XXVII/13–36. Words preceded by † are written in the text
 in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 841–50

- **Another method* of vessel inquiry [the magician being] alone: *Formula*: “I am
 † the † lord † of † Spirits, † ORITSIMBAI⁵²⁸ SONATSIR EPISGHES⁵²⁹ EMMIME; THO-GOM-
 PHRYR PHIRIM-PHYNI is your name; MIMI soul of souls soul of souls GTHETHO-NI, I
 am Bastet PTHO⁵³⁰ BALKHAM whom BINYI SPHE PHAS bore. I am BAPTHO,⁵³¹ GAM-
 MI-SATRA is your name, MI-MEO, IANYME.”
 † Its *preparation*:⁵³² you go to a clean place; you bring a copper vessel; you wash it
 845 with natron water; you put a *lok*-measure / of oil in it; you place it on the ground;
 you light a copper lamp; you put it on the ground near the copper vessel; you cover
 yourself with a clean robe, you and the vessel; and you recite into the vessel, your
 [col. eyes being shut, *seven* times. / You should open your eyes and ask it concerning
 XXVIII] what you wish. If you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their
 mouths opposite your mouth, *you should recite*: “IAHO IPH † EOE † GINNTETHYR
 † NEPHAR † APHOE.” They give you an answer concerning everything about which
 you will ask also.
 If they do not tell you an answer, you should *recite* this other name “† NGO-
 NGETHIGS † MANTYNOBOE † GOKSHIR-HRONTOR⁵³³ † NTONTROMA † LEPHOGER
 850 / † GEPHAER-SORE.” If you recite these, they inquire for you truthfully.
 [XXVIII, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
 10] *motomic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic
 in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 851–55

**Another* vessel inquiry to which you add vegetable oil, you doing it according to
 what is above: *Formula*: “Speak to me, speak to me, HAMST, god of the gods of
 darkness, every spirit, every shadow which is in the west and the east! Do it, O he

525. See n. 76 above.

526. I.e., the formula beginning with MANEBAI in PDM xiv. 824.

527. I.e., the formula beginning with MYRAI MYRIBI in PDM xiv. 125.

528. Ending written *by*, “soul”: see also n. 30 above.

529. For a possible translation of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 163, n. to l. XXVIII. l.

530. Pthah? [R.K.R.]

531. Spirit of Pthah? [R.K.R.]

532. See n. 50 above.

533. See nn. 8 and 30 above.

who has died! Awaken to me, awaken to me, O soul of life, O soul of breath! Let my vessel, my bandage go forth here today, because of the vessel of great Isis seeking her husband, searching for her brother; MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF.” Say, “MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF PHONI PHONI” a multitude of times, and say to the youth, “Say, / ‘Go away, O darkness! Come to me, O light!’ and open your eyes at once.” The gods come in and tell you an answer to everything.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/11–15.

855

[col.

XXVII,

15]

PDM xiv. 856–75

*Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said that it is well tested: *Its preparation*:⁵³⁴ you bring a pure youth; you do the spirit formula which is written for it; you bring him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment in which the sun is going to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the disk; you draw a new linen curtain⁵³⁵ (?) around him; you make him shut his eyes; you stand up over him, reciting down into his head and striking down on / his head with your sun-finger⁵³⁶ of your right hand, after filling his eyes with the paint which you made before: “NASIRA †OAPKIS †SHFE †SHFE soul of †souls; soul of souls is your true name, truly. †O †Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and height! Bring me the light which is pure! Let the god in whose hand command⁵³⁷ is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, in truth without falsehood therein. †Chief †god,⁵³⁸ †ETALE †TAL †NASIRA †IARMEKH †NASERA †AMPHY †CHO †AMAMARKAR †TEL IAAO / †NASIRA †HAKIA lotus †CHDJISIPHTH †AHO †ATONE⁵³⁹ †I †I †E †O †BALBEL, let the pure light come to me. Let the youth *enchant*; let him tell me an answer. Let the god in whose hand command is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I shall *ask*, in truth, without falsehood therein.”

860

[col.

XXIX, 5]

865

[XXIX,

10]

Afterwards you should recite his compulsion *another seven times*, his eyes being shut. *Formula*: “SI †SI †PI †TSIRIPI⁵⁴⁰ SA-AO-NKHAB †HRABAOT †PHAKTHIOP †ANASAN †KRAANA †KRATRIS TMA-/PTARA- †PHNE †ARAPHNY, come to the youth! Let the god in whose hand command is come to him and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

870

[XXIX,

20]

If the light is slow to come within, you should say, “†KE †KE †SALSOATHA †IPPEL †SIRBA” *seven times*. You should put frankincense on the brazier; you should utter this great name after all these; you should utter it from beginning to end and vice versa, *four times*: “†AYEBOTH-†LABATHABAITHOBEYA.” You should say, “Let the youth see the light; let the god in whose hand command is come in and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking / here today, in truth, without falsehood therein.”

875

[XXIX,

15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

534. See n. 50 above.

535. Suggested by Sir Herbert Thompson.

536. For a possible explanation of this term, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 166, n. to l. XXIX. 5.

537. See n. 107 above.

538. A phonetic rendering of the combination of Greek ἀρχός, “chief,” and Egyptian *ntr* (Coptic *noute*), “god.”

539. Adonai?

540. See n. 30 above. TSIRIPI is Thriphis; cf. *PGM* XI. 232.

PDM xiv. 875–85

**Here is another* form of it again: You should take the youth to a high, upper place. You should make him stand up in a place which has a large window in its presence, whose door opens to the east, and inside which the sun shines; you should paint the youth's eyes with the paint which is prescribed for it; you should recite to him 8 times (another [manuscript] says seven times) while you are standing over him; and you should make him look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye,⁵⁴¹ he standing up on a new brick, there being a new linen robe over him, and his eyes being closed. You should recite down into his head while striking his head with your finger which is written above⁵⁴² also. You should offer up frankincense before him. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes. / He sees the gods beyond him, speaking with him.

880 [col. XXIX, 25] [*The ointment*] which you put in the youth's eyes when he goes to any vessel inquiry of the sun: you bring two *buri* fish⁵⁴³ of the river, both being alive; you burn one of them with vinewood before the sun; you add the blood of the other to it; you make it smooth with it and myrrh; and you make them into balls which measure one finger [in length]. You should spread (?) [it] in his eyes. You should bring a vessel of vine wood (?) and a "pleasure-wood"⁵⁴⁴ of vine wood (?) also; you should grind this drug with a little yellow ocher⁵⁴⁵ of Nubia and juice of Egyptian grapes; and you should fill your eyes with it. If you fill your eyes with this drug and look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye, your eyes being open toward it, he reveals himself to you and tells you an answer / to everything. Its chief factor is purity. It is more profitable than the youth; it is profitable for you yourself as a person [acting] alone.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/20–30.

PDM xiv. 886–96

890 [v. col. i, 5] *Eyebrow of the sun.⁵⁴⁶ Eyebrow of the moon.⁵⁴⁷ (These are herbs.) Heliogonon.⁵⁴⁸ / Selenogonon.⁵⁴⁹ (These are herbs.) Spurge,⁵⁵⁰ which is this small herb which is in the gardens and which exudes milk. / If you put its milk on a man's skin, it eats.⁵⁵¹

895 [v. i, 10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. i/1–11.

541. See n. 192 above. The summer solstice.

542. *PDM* xiv. 860 and n. 536 above.

543. Assuming cipher *iud* is for *d*.

544. See n. 253 above; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 169, translate "kohl-pot" and "kohl-stick" (?).

545. See *PDM* xiv. 677 and n. 474 above.

546. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

547. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

548. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. I. I. 4, suggest this is a synonym for *gouč*, "safflower, cardamom," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 840b.

549. Peonies, according to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. I. I. 5.

550. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

551. Suggested by W. F. Edgerton; Coptic *bolbl* means "burrow, dig," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 37a–b.

PDM xiv. 897–910

*Camomile: “Clean straw” is its name.

“White flower”: “...-horse”⁵⁵² is its name.

Martagon lily:⁵⁵³ “There is none better than I” is its name.

/ Chrysanthemum: “Beautiful of face” is its name (another [manuscript] says, “the golden flower” of the wreath seller). Its leaf is strong; its stem is cold; its flower is of gold; its leaf is like martagon lily.

Magnesium:⁵⁵⁴ / A stone of stone which is black like galena. You should grind it while it is black.

Magnetite;⁵⁵⁵ it is brought. You should scrape it while it is black.

Human magnesium:⁵⁵⁶ It is brought / from the land of India. If you scrape it, it sends out blood.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/1–15.

900
[v. col. ii,
4]
905
[v. ii, 7]

PDM xiv. 911–16

*To “evil sleep”⁵⁵⁷ your enemy: A beetle: you should burn it with styrax (?), you should pound it together with one drachma of apples / and a . . . ; you should . . . ; and you should put a . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/16–20.

915
[v. col. ii,
20]

PDM xiv. 917–19

***Prescription** for “evil sleep”:⁵⁵⁸ Gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, and poisonous herbs. Grind them together, make into a ball, and put [it] in wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/1–3.

PDM xiv. 920–29

**Lees of wine*: It is a white stone like galbanum. There is another one which is made into lime. (This is) the way to know about it, whether it is genuine. If you grind a little / with water and apply it to the skin of a man for a short time, it cuts the skin. Its name in Greek [is] “foam of the moon.”⁵⁵⁹ It is a white stone.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/4–13.

920
[v. col. iii,
4]
925
[v. iii, 9]

PDM xiv. 930–32

***A prescription**⁵⁶⁰ to cause a woman to love a man: Fruit of acacia; grind with honey; anoint his⁵⁶¹ phallus with it; and lie with the woman!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/14–16.

930
[v. col. iii,
14]

552. The Egyptian word may be from the root *sq*, “to dig.”

553. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 171, n. to V. I. II. 3.

554. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

555. Glossed twice in Greek. Demotic says lit., “living iron”; see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 170, who suggests that it is being confused with hematite.

556. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 173, n. to V. I. II. 13, and n. 555 above.

557. See PDM xiv. 675 and n. 473 thereto.

558. See PDM xiv. 675 and n.; there is a parallel in PDM xiv. 737–38.

559. Written in both Greek and Egyptian.

560. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 1046–47.

561. *Sic*, for “your.”

PDM xiv. 933–34

*“Foam of the moon”: It is a white stone like glass, which is rubbed into tiny fragments like orpiment.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/17–18.

PDM xiv. 935–39

935 *Prescription for an ear which is watery: Salt; heat with good wine and apply to it
[v. col. iv, after first cleaning it. You [should] rub copper salt,⁵⁶² heat with wine, and apply to it
1] for four days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/1–5.

PDM xiv. 940–52

940 *Salamander, a small lizard which is blue-green⁵⁶³ in color and which has no feet.
[v. col. iv, “Ram’s-horn”⁵⁶⁴ is its name, / an herb which is like a wile fennel bush. Its leaf
6] and its stem are incised like the “love-man” plant. You should pound it when it is
945 dry, sift⁵⁶⁵ it, make it into a dry powder, and apply it to any wound. It stops.

[v. iv, 11]

950 Styra; it grows like . . . / with regard to its leaf. Its seeds are twisted like a
[v. iv, 17] “ram’s-horn” plant which has a small thorn at its end.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/6–19.

PDM xiv. 953–55

955 *A prescription to stop blood: Juice of “Great-Nile” plant together with beer; you
should make the woman drink it at dawn / before she has eaten. It stops.

[v. col. v, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
3] *moti*c Magical Papyrus, verso, col. v/1–3.

PDM xiv. 956–60

*The way to know it of a woman whether she will be pregnant: You should make
the woman urinate on this plant, above, again, at night. When morning comes, if
960 you find the plant scorched, she will not conceive. If you find it / green, she will
[v. col. v, conceive.

8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
*moti*c Magical Papyrus, verso, col. v/4–8.

PDM xiv. 961–65

*A prescription to stop blood: Leaf of [†]. . . , leaf of fresh “copper-fly” plant.
Pound, put [it] on yourself while you lie with the woman. Another: Myrrh, garlic,
965 gall of a gazelle; pound with / old scented wine; put [it] on yourself while you lie
[v. col. v, with her.

13] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
*moti*c Magical Papyrus, verso. col. v/9–13. The word preceded by [†] is written in Demotic
with Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

562. Reading *hm3 hmt*, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 175, n. to V. I. IV. 7. Copper-based medicines were common in Pharaonic medicine, presumably since the copper helped kill bacteria.

563. See PGM IV. 1090.

564. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

565. Coptic *šolš*, “sift,” Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 561b.

PDM xiv. 966–69

**Asphodel*, also called wild onion.⁵⁶⁶

Garlic, also called wild garlic.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/14–17.

PDM xiv. 970–77

***A prescription** to stop liquid in a woman: The first prescription: salt and oil; pound; . . .⁵⁶⁷ two days, after the two days.

970

[v. col. vi,

2]

The second **prescription**: White lead; you should pound it with a little salt paste⁵⁶⁸ of an oil dealer very carefully; you should put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg; you should pound them; you should bring a strip of fine-woven linen; you should dye it in this medicine (she should wash in the bath and wash in good wine); you should put the medicated strip up in her; you should push it in and / out in her womb for a short time, in the manner of a man's phallus, until the medication permeates; you should remove it; and you should leave her until evening. When evening comes, you should dye a bandage in genuine honey and put it up in her until dawn, for *three* (another [manuscript] says, four) days.

975

[v. vi, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vi/1–8.

PDM xiv. 978–80

**Another*, after it: Juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed, one measure; water of the ear of a . . . animal, one measure, in accordance with the measure of a wine cup; you should add a measure of good wine to them and she should drink it at midday without having / eaten anything at all after bathing in the bath, which she did beforehand. When evening comes, you should put the rag with honey up in her as above for seven days.

980

[v. col.

vii, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/1–4.

PDM xiv. 981–84

**Another*, after it: You should bring a new dish; you should put ten measure of old sweet wine in it; and you should put a drachma of fresh rue in it from dawn until midday. She should wash in the bath, come out, and drink it. When evening comes, you should put honey up in her as above again for seven days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/4–7.

PDM xiv. 985–92

**Gout*: You should make the man sit down, place clay under the man's feet, and place . . . after it⁵⁶⁹ while his feet are on it. You should ask the man, "Has it [already] heard?"⁵⁷⁰ for three days. Afterwards you should bring an ant; you should cook it in henna oil; and you should anoint his foot / with it. When you have finished, you should bring Alexandrian figs, dried grapes, and ⁵⁷¹potentilla. You

985

[v. col.

viii, 1]

990

[v. viii, 6]

566. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 177, n. to verso col. V, l. 15.

567. See *ibid.*, 178, n. to V. VI. 1, for a discussion of the passage omitted.

568. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 781a.

569. Or "him."

570. Or "whether he has (already) heard."

571. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 180, n. to V. l. VIII. 7.

should pound them with wine and anoint him. In addition to this, you should breathe at him with your mouth.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. viii/1–8. The word preceded by [†] is written in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

995 **PDM xiv. 993–1002**

[v. col. ix, 3] *Another: 1 dram of spurge; / 1 drachma of pepper; 1 stater of pyrethrum; 1 stater of adarces;⁵⁷² 1 stater of native sulfur; 6 staters of [any] wine; / 8 [measures] of genuine oil. You should pound them and make them into a poultice. Apply to the place which pains the man.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ix/1–10.

PDM xiv. 1003–14

1005 *Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man: You should write these names on a strip / of silver or tin. You should put it on a deerskin⁵⁷³ and bind it to the foot of the man named, on his two feet: "THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUIPE / AIOX-THOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIIOU, let NN, whom NN bore, recover from every pain which is in his knees and two feet." You do it when the moon is [in the constellation] Leo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. x/1–12.

1015 **PDM xiv. 1015–20**

[v. col. xi, 1] *Prescription for a . . . : Garlic, frankincense, old . . . , genuine oil. Pound them; anoint him with it. When it is dry, you should wash it / with cold water. It stops.

1020 *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1021–23

*Prescription for a foot which is very stiff: [It is] very good. You should wash his foot with cucumber juice and rub it on his foot very well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/7–9.

PDM xiv. 1024–25

1025 *Another: Sycamore figs of . . . ; fruit of acacia, / persea fruit. Pound [them]; ap-
[v. col. xi, 11] ply [it] to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/10–11.

PDM xiv. 1026–45

*"I am this great one, SHAEI"⁵⁷⁴ (another [manuscript] says, "the great one, SHE-ray"), "who makes magic against the great Triphis,⁵⁷⁵ the lady of Koou, [†]LL [†]MYLL. The water of Mut⁵⁷⁶ is what is in my mouth; the fat⁵⁷⁷ of Hathor, worthy of love, is

572. See *ibid.*, 181, n. to V. I. IX. 5.

573. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

574. Ending written '3, "linen."

575. See n. 399 above.

576. Thus R.K.R.

577. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 184, n. to V. I. XII. 3.

what is in my heart. My heart yearns, my heart loves with (?) a longing which a she-cat / feels for a tomcat, a longing which a she-wolf feels for a wolf, a longing which a bitch feels for a dog, the longing the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moses while he was going to the hill of NINARETOS to offer water to his god, his lord, his ¹IAHO sabaho, his GLEMYRA MYSE PLERYBE S MI ABRASAKS SENKLAI. Let NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore. Let her feel a yearning, a love, a great madness . . . , she seeking after him everywhere. O fury / of IAHO SABAHY HORION (?) all-mighty ANTOGRATOR ⁵⁷⁸ ARBANTHALA THALO THALAKS, I cast fury against you ⁵⁷⁹ of the great gods of Egypt. Fill your hands with flames and fire! Use it! Cast it on the heart of NN, whom NN bore! Wither her, O spirit! Take her sleep, O man of the west! ⁵⁸⁰ Let the house of her father and her mother, the places where she is. . . . Call out while the flame of fire / is against her, while she speaks, saying, “mercy,” she standing outside murmuring “mercy,” for I am an agent (?) of Geb, Horus RON. Pre is my name. Tear her name out of Egypt for 40 days, 33 months, 175 days, the complement of six months, O GIRE ¹THEE PISITY EKOIMI ATAM! ⁵⁸¹ ([Say] seven times.)

1030
[v. col.
xii, 5]

1035
[v. xii, 10]

1040
[v. xiii, 4]

Crocodile dung, a little donkey placenta, and sisymbrium, 7 *oipe* of antelope dung, gall of a male goat, and first fruits of oil. You should heat them with flax stalks; you should recite to it seven times for seven days; you should anoint your phallus / with it; and you should lie with the woman; and you should anoint the woman's heart, ⁵⁸² also.

1045
[v. xiii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xii/1–xiii/9. Words preceded by ¹ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1046–47

*[A prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband: ⁵⁸³ Acacia, fruit. Pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1047–48

*To make a woman love copulating with her: Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1049–55

*To make [a woman love copulating with her (?)] / Alum, 1 dram; pepper, 1 dram; dry *mhnknwt* plant, 4 drams; orchid, 4 drams. Pound into a dry medication! Do [your] business with / it in accordance with what you know with any woman.

1050
[v. col.
xiv, 2]

1055
[v. xiv, 7]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiv/1–7.

578. Is this the preceding with the initial *p* interpreted as the Egyptian masculine singular definite article and omitted?

579. Plural.

580. See n. 33 above.

581. Perhaps “O divine faithful lord, I cast out Adam,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 186–87, n. to V. I. XIII. 6.

582. Or “breast” (?), as Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, 187.

583. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 930–32.

PDM xiv. 1056–62

*The names of the gods whom you seek when you are going to bring in a thief [by vase questioning]:⁵⁸⁴ “[†]MASKELLI [†]MASKELLO [†]PHNYGENTABAO [†]HREKSIGTHO [†]PERIGTHEON [†]PERIPEGANEKS [†]AREOBASAGRA” (also called [†]OBASAGRA).

1060 / This name, you say it before a ship which is about to founder on account of the
[v. col. xv, names of Dioscorus,⁵⁸⁵ which are within, so that it is safe.

5] If you recite them to the beaker of Adonai,⁵⁸⁶ which is inscribed outside, it will do a great work which will bring in a thief.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1063–69

1065 *[†]“[†]ARMIOYT⁵⁸⁷ [†]SITHANI [†]YTHANI [†]ARIAMYSI [†]SOBRAT⁵⁸⁸ [†]BIRBAT [†]MISIRITHAT
[v. col. / [†]AMSIETHARMITHAT,⁵⁸⁹ bring NN, whom NN bore, out of her abodes in which
xvi, 3] she is, to any house, any place in which NN, whom NN bore, is while she loves him and craves him, she making the gift of his heart at every moment!”

You should write this in myrrh ink on a strip of clean byssus and put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, in your house from evening until dawn. If you find the hair of the woman, put it in the wick! It is good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1070–77

1070 *A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams (another [manuscript] says,
[v. col. to dream dreams) again: [[A line of symbols of secret signs.]] You should write this
xvii, 1] on a reed leaf and put [it] under your head while you sleep. It makes dreams and sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you should put it on the mouth of a mummy. It brings a woman also. You should write this name on the reed leaf with the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe; you should put the hair of the woman in the leaf;
1075 you should put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you should write this name on
[v. xvii, 6] the ground, saying: “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to the house, to the sleeping-place in which is NN, the son of NN!” Now it is also a fetching charm.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xvii/1–8.

PDM xiv. 1078–89

1080 *[†]“ERYBITHY EKYTLA / ERREPHEDI, reveal yourself to me, god NN, and speak to
[v. col. me concerning that about which I shall ask you, truthfully, without having told me
xviii, 3] falsehood.”

1085 Saffron, 2 [measures]; / black eye paint of Koptos, 2 [measures]; pound with
[v. xviii, blood of a lizard, make into a ball, and rub it with milk of a [woman who has born
8] a] male child! Put [it] in his right eye and recite to it before any lamp or the Big Dipper at night!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xviii/1–12.

584. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 188, n. to V. I. XV. 1.

585. The patron gods of sailors, as Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to V. I. XV. 6.

586. See *ibid.*, 189, n. to V. I. XV. 6.

587. Preceding this line is a line showing three scarab beetles, three falcons, and three goats. In the right margin next to this line is the addition “also called ARMIOYTH.”

588. Ending written with the hieratic *dd*-pillar.

589. Beginning written *r-ms*, “whom . . . bore.”

PDM xiv. 1090–96

* A spell for bringing a woman out of her house: You bring a . . . of a wild cat; you dry it; you take a tendon (?) [of a . . . which has been] drowned; and you fashion a ring whose body is blended with gold [in the form of two] lions whose mouths are open, the face of each being turned to the other. You should put the thing . . . it face. 1090 [v. col. xix, 1]

When you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you should place the ring in the upper part of a lamp / which is lit and you should say to it, “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to this place in which I am, quickly, in these moments of today!” She comes at once. 1095 [v. xix, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xix/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1097–1103

*To heal ophthalmia⁵⁹⁰ in a man: “O Amoun,⁵⁹¹ this †lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down from Meroe to Egypt and who found my son Horus hurrying on his feet.⁵⁹² He beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language. When he finds NN, whom NN bore, he will hurry on / his feet, and he will beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language: “GENTINI †tentina qyqybi [ak]khe akha.” 1100 [v. col. xx, 4]

[Say it] to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, anoint the man who has ophthalmia with it, also write this on a new papyrus, and make it into a papyrus roll on his body: “You are the eye of heaven,” in the writings. . . .⁵⁹³

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1104–9

* . . . / “live-on-them” plant: . . . Pound, make . . . of the river. . . . Paint your eye with it! 1105 [v. col. xxi, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1110–29

*A tested . . . : . . . *Here is* [the ointment which you] put on your eyes when you go to the vessel of inquiry alone: Green eyepaint, black eyepaint, *ges-nh* stone,⁵⁹⁴ amulet of . . . , flowers of black . . .⁵⁹⁵ which are vetch, blood of hoopoe. / Pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice of Egyptian grapes and yellow ocher⁵⁹⁶ of Nubia. You see the shadow of every god and every goddess. 1110 [v. col. xxii, 1]

Its . . . : “I call to you, O great gods who appear with the sun, †TSEMYKS⁵⁹⁷ †AMP 1115 [v. xxii, 6]

590. Or “evil eye”; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 192, n. to V. I. XX. 1.

591. See n. 189 above.

592. Or, perhaps, “as fast as his feet (could go),” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 193, with n. to V. I. XX. 3.

593. What is left blank here is written in the papyrus as the hieroglyph of an eye with rays rising up from it.

594. See n. 65 above.

595. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 194–95, n. to V. I. XXII. 4.

596. See PDM xiv. 677 and n. 474.

597. Or OEMYKS. [R.K.R.]

- 1120 . . . ⁵⁹⁸ [†]PIAM [†]ENPAIA [†]IBOTH [†]IAE SABAOTH. / Open to me, open to me, O great
 [v. xxii, gods who appear with the sun! Let my eyes open to the light, and let me see the
 11] god who inquires today. ⁵⁹⁹ Hurry, hurry, for the protection . . . [†]ABLANATHANLBA,
 the great god, [†]MARARAANTONE ⁶⁰⁰ [†]ABIATH N . . . SENEN Agathodaimon NTOSA-
 TRAPERQEMAI ⁶⁰¹ Osiris [†]LILAM is his name. Open to me, Open to me, O great
 1125 gods! Let my eyes open to the light, / and let me see the god who inquires today.
 [v. xxii, Open to me, open to me! I cast fury of the doubly great god . . . whose strength is
 16] great, who lives forever, against you. Give strength to the name . . . the name of the
 god. . . . Open to me, open to me, O great [gods] who appear with the sun! Let
 [my eyes] open [to the light, and let] me [see the god] who inquires today. Hurry,
 hurry” (. . . times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–20. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

1130 PDM xiv. 1130–40

- [v. col. * . . grind . . . with. . . Another: . . . NAKS . . . / juniper . . . seeds. . . An-
 xxiii, 1] other: . . . again. Dung . . . dried and burned, 2 [measures]; / pound [with oil of]
 1135 henna and honey, anoint [your phallus] with it, and lie with her!

[v. xxiii, 6] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiii/1–12.

[v. xxiii,
 11]

PDM xiv. 1141–54

- * . . . to it, and you should . . . of byssus to it, these three names being written on
 1045 it; . . . / and myrrh; you should light it; you should place it . . . your head; and you
 [v. col. should recite them to it again nine times . . . the lamp. You do it at the time of the
 xxiv, 4] third hour of night . . . alone.

1050 Formula: “[†]IOBASAYMPTHO [[†]GHROME (?) [†]LY]GHAR, instruct ⁶⁰² me / in truth
 [v. xxiv, concerning any given matter about which I am praying here [today, in] truth, with-
 9] out telling you ⁶⁰³ falsehood. IOBASAYMPTHOKHROMELOYKHAR, instruct me in
 truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here today.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiv/1–13. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1155–62

- 1155 * . . . ⁶⁰⁴ hawk’s dung; salt, reed, *bele* plant. Pound together. Anoint your phallus
 [v. col. with it and lie with the woman. If it is dry, you should / pound a little of it with
 xxv, 1] wine, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxv/1–8.

598. With water determinative, presumably *p3 ycm*, “the sea.”

599. See n. 23 above.

600. For Adonai?

601. See n. 8 above.

602. Literally, “Let my eyes open out.” Cf. n. 93 above. [R.K.R.]

603. *Sic*.

604. The first line is perhaps to be restored “in order to make a woman love copulation, again,” as

PDM xiv. 1163–79

*If you [wish to make] the gods of the vessel speak with you,⁶⁰⁵ when the gods come in, you should say this name [to them], nine times: /⁶⁰⁶ LAO⁶⁰⁷ IPH⁶⁰⁸ EOE⁶⁰⁹ GINN-TATHYR⁶⁰⁶ NEPHAR⁶¹⁰ APOHE.” He commands to you concerning that about which you will ask him.

1165
[v. col.
xxvi, 3]

If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer, you should say this other name to them, nine times until they inquire for you truthfully: “NGONGETSIKS⁶¹¹ MANTY⁶¹² NOBOE⁶¹³ GOGHIR⁶¹⁴ HONTOR⁶⁰⁷ NTONROMA⁶¹⁵ LEPHOGER⁶¹⁶ GEPHAERSORE” (seven times). “IAYO EIPHE ON KINDATHOYR NEPHAR APOHE.”

1170
[v. xxvi,
8]

According to what is above,⁶⁰⁸ on the recto, “I am SIT-TA-KO.⁶⁰⁹ ‘Hearing’ is my name; ‘hearing’ is my correct name. I am GANTHA GINTEY⁶¹⁰ GIRITEY, lord god, ARENOYTE⁶¹¹ LABTATHA LAPTYTHA / LAKSANTHA SARISA MARKHARAHYTEY⁶¹² AR-SINGA-GHLA” (another manuscript [says], ARSI-NGALABEL) “*Bolboel* BOEL BOEL LOTERI⁶¹³ GLO-GASANTRA. IAHO is my name; IAHO is my correct name. BALKHAM, the powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin⁶¹⁴ of the shrine of the god who stands today.”

1175
[v. xxvii,
4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxvi/1–xxvii/8. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1180–81

*You are going to send a star . . . down while the moon is [in the constellation] Scorpio.

1180
[v. col.
xxviii, 2]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxviii/1–2.

PDM xiv. 1182–87

*[Spell to] make mad any man or any woman: You should take the hair of the man whom you wish together with the hair of a dead man; you should tie them to each other; / you should tie them to the body of the hawk; and you should release it alive. If you wish to do it for some days, you should put the hawk in a place, feeding it in your house.

1185
[v. col.
xxix, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxix/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1188–89

*If you . . . dung of a Nile goose. Her body falls.⁶¹⁴

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/1–2.

Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, in the hand copy.

605. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 847–50.

606. See n. 23 above.

607. See n. 23 above.

608. PDM xiv. 13–16.

609. See n. 7 above.

610. Ending written f3w, “wind.”

611. See n. 9 above.

612. Ending written f3w, “wind.”

613. See n. 12 above.

614. Perhaps “abortion,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 201, n. to V. I. XXX. 1.

PDM xiv. 1190–93

1190 *Another: You should anoint your phallus with dung of weasel⁶¹⁵ and lie with [the]
[v. col. woman. She loves you. You should pound dung of . . . with honey and anoint your
xxx, 3] phallus with it according to what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/3–6.

PDM xiv. 1194–95

1195 *Another: Dung of hyena with oil of / roses⁶¹⁶ in accordance with what is above,
[v. col. again.

xxx, 8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/7–8.

PDM xiv. 1196–98

*Another: You should fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung when the menstruation is on her. She stops. Ass's dung also—this method [of treatment].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/9–11.

PDM xiv. 1199–1205

1200 *"SISIOOYT" / (another [manuscript] says, ARMIOYTH), "O living god, O burning
[v. col. lamp, come in before me and tell me an answer concerning that about which I am
xxxi, 2] asking here / today."

1205 [v. xxxi, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxi/1–7.
7]

PDM xiv. 1206–18

*To make [a woman] mad after a man:⁶¹⁷ You should bring a live shrew-mouse, remove its gall and put it in one place; and remove its heart and put it in another place. You should / take its whole body. You should pound it very much while it is dry; you should take a little of what is pounded with a little blood of your second finger and the little finger⁶¹⁸ of your left hand; you should put it in a cup of wine; and you should make the woman drink it. She is mad after you.

1210 / If you put its gall into a cup of wine, she dies instantly. Or put it in meat or
[v. col. some food.

1215 If you put its heart in ring of gold and put it on your hand, it gives you great
[v. xxxii, praise, love, and awe.

10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxii/1–13.

PDM xiv. 1219–27

1220 *Horus . . . went up the mountain⁶¹⁹ at midday during the season of inundation,
[v. col. mounted on a white horse . . . on a black horse, / the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being
xxxiii, 2] on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his breast. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgment eating [of the produce] of the Nile, my great one. Said they, "Horus, come and eat! Horus, come! Are you going to eat?"

615. Identification suggested by R.K.R., identifying Griffith and Thompson, cipher number 22 with cipher number 83.

616. See n. 100 above.

617. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 382–86.

618. See n. 411 above.

619. For the mountain of Horus, see M. Smith's commentary to P. BM. 10507, l. 5 (not yet published).

He said, "Go away from me! I have no [way] to eat. My head hurts; my body hurts. A fever has taken hold of me; a south wind has seized me. Does Isis [stop] making magic? Does Nephthys stop curing? Are the sixteen⁶²⁰ those of the avenger? Is my one a divine power of a god? Are [the 365] gods sitting down to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my great one, until they remove the fever / from the head of the son of Isis, from the head of NN, whom NN bore, being the fever of night, the fever of midday, headache, this burning, this heat of the fevers of those below the brow to his feet,⁶²¹ [until they] remove [it] from the head of NN, whom NN bore?"

1225

[v. xxxiii,
7]

[Say it] over genuine oil, seven times; anoint his hand, his body, his feet; and speak to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxiii/1–9. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PGM XV. 1–21

*"I will bind you, Nilos, who is also [called] Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, with great evils. Neither gods nor men will procure¹ a clean getaway² for you! On the contrary, you will love me, Capitolina whom Peperous bore, with a divine passion, and in every way you will be for me an escort, as long as I want, that you might do for me what I wish and nothing for anyone else, and that you might obey no one save only me, Capitolina, and that you might forget your parents, / children, and friends. I also conjure you, daimons, who are in this place, ALYĒAĒL . . . 5
LIONŌ SOUPH ALŌ LYBALOLYBĒL OIKALLISSAMAEŌ LYBALALŌNĒ LYLŌĒY LY-
OTHNOIS ODISSASON ALELADA. I, Capitolina, have the power, and, on meeting you, Nilos, will return the favors. They are releasing all who have drowned, have died unmarried, and have been carried away by the wind. I will insert this deposit, in order that you might accomplish for me what has been written on the strip of papyrus, which is why I am conjuring / you, daimons, by the force and fate that 10
constrains you. Accomplish everything for me and rush in and take away the mind of Nilos, to whom this magical material belongs, in order that he might love me, Capitolina, and that Nilos, whom Demetria bore, might be inseparable from me, every hour and every day. I conjure you daimons by your spiteful fates that hold you and by those carried by the wind, IŌ IŌĒ PHTHOUTH EIŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌ / BARBARE THIŌTH³ LAILAMPS OSORNŌPHRI EMPHERA, the 15
only-begotten god in heaven, who shakes the deep, sending out waters and winds—discharge the spirits of the daimons where my deposit box is, in order that they, either male or female, small or great, might perform for me the things in the tablet, in order that they might come and accomplish the things in this tablet and might bind Nilos, who is also [called] / Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, to me, 20
Capitolina, whom Piperous bore, for his [whole] life. Nilos shall love me with an eternal affection; immediately, immediately; quickly, [quickly]."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

620. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 204, n. to V. l. XXXIII. 5.

621. I.e., from his head to his feet. [R.K.R.]

1. The papyrus has *εὐρωσι*, which A. Henrichs emends to *εὐρω σοι*, "I will procure." The meaning is, however, unclear.

2. Lit., "a pure release."

3. THIŌTH was accidentally omitted in Preisendanz's text.

PGM XVI. 1-75

*"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the MĒTH . . . OU MACHEREMA PHACHE[LEZETHI] ALŌIA BATHABLEOUCHACHI ABAŌS OMŌCHAL ARACHRAUCH . . .
 5 OU AMERRA MACHERTHA PHACHELEZETHI; cause Sarapion to pine [and] melt away for the passion of Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi bore]. [Inflame / his] heart, cause it to melt, and [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, and pain for me, until Sarapion, whom [Pasametra] bore, [comes] to Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. [And] let him [do] all the things in my [mind] and let him [continue] loving me, [until] he [arrives] in Hades."

"I adjure you, as a daimon of the dead, by ADŌNAIOS SABAŌTH AMARACHTHEI /
 10 AXIAŌTHAZAR, god, ATHRŌA SOU . . . AMALAXA, god, . . . EN MARATA ACHŌ CHIMMI NEMEGAIPH Y . . . ACHILTHTEE [MARADTHA] THARBI APSŌCH . . . ; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra¹ bore, to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. Brand his heart, cause it to melt, and suck out his
 15 blood because of love, passion, pain, / until Sarapion, whom Pasametra [bore], comes to Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the heart of Kronos' son . . . ŌURŌNY
 20 . . . LI . . . EULAMŌSI . . . MERATHA; cause Sarapiōn, whom Pasametra bore, / to pine and melt away out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom Tikoi bore. And cause his heart to melt, [and] suck out [his] blood because of love, passion, pain, [until] Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom Takoui bore. And
 25 let him do all the things in my mind, and let him continue loving me, until / he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the one under STĒĒAALEBMOU EYA . . . NEKELA . . . TOSAN . . . AKETORIMISEPHONYMI STASACHĒ AMŌTILŌ NEBOU [TOSOUALĒTH cause] Sarapion, whom [Pasametra bore], to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. Cause [his heart] to melt [and] suck
 30 out [his] blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore]. And [let him do all the things in my mind], and let him continue loving me until [he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the M . . . MASĒ LEAI . . . MEA . . . RMŌ
 35 . . . SEGE B . . . DĒSAŌŌUA / PHESPHTOU undefiled EI, names . . . XAI BAIMEBOTĒ-SAI PHTHASIAU SAIEXEETHA CHTHETHŌ OU NEBIŌTHY LAIOUTH, cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine and melt away out of passion [for Dioskorous],
 40 whom Tikoui bore. And [cause] his [heart to melt and] suck out his blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [to] Dioskorous, [whom] Tikauī [bore]. And let him do [all the things in my] mind, [and let him continue] loving me until [he arrives] in [Hades], and again I adjure you,
 45 [daimon of the dead], by the PHTHOI KI . . . ŌSE . . . AUTHEIOKRA . . . EI / APO EIRRATHEIBŌTHIMIA PROSĒMOPERNAI . . . ENE A . . . S . . . TASĒTHŌNNEBAI LEISEI; cause Sarapion, [whom Pasametra] bore, [to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. And cause his heart to melt [and suck
 50 out his blood] because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom / Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoui bore. [And let him] do all [the things] in my mind, and let him continue loving [me], until he arrives [in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by SIĪA the MEGON ABAŌTH OU . . . OUOG-
 55 DOUKO . . . ĒRĒ . . . OMMA KELARO . . . ONTBELA; [cause Sarapion], / whom Pasa-

1. Cf. D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 132, who reads *πᾶσα μήτρα*, "the whole womb," here and throughout the text.

metra bore, [to pine] and melt away [out of] passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikouou bore. And cause his [heart] to melt and suck out his blood because of [love], passion, pain, unless Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [And let him do] all the things in / my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades].” 60

“I adjure you, [daimon of the] dead, by [ADONAIOS] . . . DŌ . . . EXIAKĒN NEIKAROPLĒX MIDEKLIBALA AUKA . . . LEUEIMETH . . . EXENNE KOMMI BIOU; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine [and melt away] out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom [Tikoi] bore. Brand his heart] and [cause it to melt]; / [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, [comes out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. And let him do] all [the] things in my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades].” 65

“[I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by] the greatest MY . . . PRŌTĒSKAINONEONTI ERĒ[KISISPĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHSISIKĒRE . . . / and inflame [his heart until Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, comes] to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [Cause Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoi bore; [cause him to melt away and suck out his blood] because of love, [passion, pain] for me, [O daimon of the dead]. Wherefore, do [and complete] for me all the things [written on this] / [strip of papyrus]. 70 75

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XVIIa. 1–25

*“𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 DAMNIPPE PĒPĒ ŌŌ 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 × 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 = 39

LYKYXUVHYCH NN CHYCH

XYKYL 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 PSCH 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 ŌŌ ĒPĒP —

ĒPP¹ INMAD, Anubis, god on earth

and under earth and heavenly;

dog, dog, dog, assume all your /

authority and all your power

against Tigerous, whom Sophia

bore. Make her cease from

her arrogance, calculation,

and her shamefulness, and attract

her to me, beneath my feet,

melting with passionate

desire / at every hour of the

day and night, always

remembering me while she is

eating, drinking, working,

conversing, sleeping / dreaming,

having an orgasm in her dreams,

until she is scourged by you and

comes desiring me, with her

hands full, with a generous

soul and graciously giving me

both herself and her possessions

and fulfilling / what is

appropriate for women in regards to men: serving both my desire and her own 20

A A

BA AK

LBA AKR

ALBA AKRA

NALBA AKRAM

ANALBA AKRAMM

THANALBA AKRAMMA 5

ATHANALBA AKRAMMACH

NATHANALBA AKRAMMACHA

ANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAM

LANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMA

BLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAR

ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI 10

BLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAR

LANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMA

ANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAM

NATHANALBA AKRAMMACHA

ATHANALBA AKRAMMACH 15

THANALBA AKRAMMA

ANALBA AKRAMM

NALBA AKRAM

ALBA AKRA

LBA AKR

BA AK

A A

1. The *voces magicae* PĒPĒ, ĒPĒP, etc., may be related to the Hebrew tetragrammaton, the name for god. See PGM IV. 595 and n.

unhesitatingly and unabashedly, joining thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black, most pleasantly. Aye, lord, attract to me Titerous, whom Sophia bore, to me, Hermeias, whom Hermione bore, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly—driven by your scourge.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XVIIb. 1–23

*“[Hermes, lord of the world], who’re in the heart,
 [O orbit of Selene, spherical]
 [And] square, the founder of the words [of speech]
 [Pleaser of justice’s cause,] garbed in a mantle,
 [With winged sandals,] who rule [expressive] speech
 5 [Prophet to mortals] / . . .
 For he inspires . . .
 . . . within a short time . . .
 [Whene’er] the fateful [day arrives] again¹
 10 . . . [who send] some [oracle] that’s true, / you’re said
 To be [the Moirai’s thread] and [Dream divine],
 [The all-subduer, Unsub]dued, just as
 . . . may you judge . . .
 You offer good things to the good, [but grief]
 [To those who’re worthless.]² Dawn comes up for you,
 15 For you swift [night draws] near. / You lord it o’er
 The elements: fire, air, [water, and earth]³
 When you became helmsman of [all the] world;
 And you escort the souls of those you wish,
 But some you rouse again. For you’ve become
 The order of the world, for you [cure], too,
 20 Man’s [every] ailment, / [who send oracles]
 By day and night; [send] me, I pray your [form],
 For I’m a man, a pious suppliant,
 And your [soldier];⁴ and so, [while I’m asleep],
 [Send to me your unerring] mantic skill.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This badly damaged papyrus contains a spell in dactylic hexameters which is similar in part to *PGM* V. 400–421 and VII. 668–80. Heitsch (in *Preisendanz*, vol. II, p. 249) has reconstructed the passages to form Hymns 15–16.

1. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 175.

2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 24. 530–33; Rom 13:3–4.

3. Cf. *PGM* XII. 250–51.

4. Cf. *PGM* IV. 185–94, esp. 193.

PGM XVIIc. 1-14

*^{CC} ABLANATHANATHANABLA

A XXXXXΠΛ G

BAEĒIOYŌ AAAAAAA R

A

L EEEEEEE IIIIII M

A A

NAKRAKAMARPITAR CH

AKOMMÖTEU M P O A

THNIRA . . . IPHEL

PETHION

AEU.LEIĒ . . . } ITAPE

AMÑNEBALESITŌT

ATACHIT

O. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This slip of papyrus was evidently used as an amulet or protective charm.

PGM XVIIIa. 1-4

*“Lord Sabaoth, repel the pain from me, the headache pain, I pray, take [from me]. . . .”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XVIII. 1-7

"GORGŌPHŌNAS
ORGŌPHŌNAS
RGŌPHŌNAS
GOPHONAS
ŌPHŌNAS
PHŌNAS
ŌNAS
NAS
AS
S,
whether daily or intermittent [fever] by whom Heraklia bore, from night or day, or quartan fever, quickly, shivering, immediately, quickly."

“GORGŌPHŌNAS

ORGŌPHŌNAS

RGŌPHŌNAS

GŌPHŌNAS

ŌPHŌNAS

PHŌNAS

ŌNAS

NAS

AS

S”

*“I conjure you all by the sacred name to heal Dionysius or Anys, whom Heraklia bore, from every shivering fit and fever, whether daily or intermittent [fever] by night or day, or quartan fever, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The name GORGŌPHŌNA, here apparently feminine accusative plural, may refer to the epithet of Athena, "Gorgo-slayer."

PGM XIXa. 1–54

- * “ENTHI ENTHŌ BOSOU ĒRIS ĒRIS I . . . NOUŌ OUI DE BATHAR NĒITH NĒITH¹
 ĒIAŌTH OUOR KAŌTHIS SAMI SAMIS OPHOR ANOUIPHŌ XTHETHŌNI NOUĒRIŌTH
 AŌTH OUŌR TENOCH TENOCH BIBIOU BIBIOU MOUAU MOUAU SMŌSOM THEU-
 OUTH OKEBENEUSI ENSI EIPSĒI OUŌR OUŌR OSARAMŌKS THAT THAT ENTHOUŌ
 KOMMOUŌA PHIANOCH PHIANOCH SŌPH CHTHENTHEBENCH ENTHEBECH ĒCH-
 THENTHEBETH YIABŌY LAILAM HARMIOŌUTH SŌN APS IPHIŌS DIAR NEBES CHI-
 NEI NOUTH I NOUTH I KOMŌA RAPHŌR HARSAMŌSI STEOBAOCH ANOCH PHRĒ
 5 PHRI CHORBAI MAI ABAŌTH IAŌ IPHI ROMBAOTH / CHAOUCH CHŌOUCH RINGCH
 SPHĒCH CHOUUCHORPHI MOUISRŌ² KAMPYCHRĒ GORGĪŌRIE LAMPIPYRSI SEI-
 ROE OMBRIME MATEORSI NAPHSISAŌTHA Ō OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSARAPI SARAPI³ Ō
 OSOR NOBĒCHIS OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSOR NŌPHRIS THŌ THŌ THŌ ITHI ITHI [ITHI]
 MOU THOURI⁴ CHAOUCH CHTHETHŌNI MAPSITHYRIMAPS TITI NYXBI AMOUN
 BLAMOUNITH BIŌTH THŌDIARAX PHORBORBABŌR CHŌSOĒTH BOLCHOSĒTH
 ERESCHIGAL HARSAMŌ HARSENOPHRĒ BIRBĒ KAPHIŌ IAŌ ĒIA IAĒ ĒI ĒAIA CHIM-
 NOUTH HARBIŌTH KARACHARAX PHRAX AX NOUMŌR TO TACHAN TO PHRĒ TAUAN
 CHOUCHE CHOUCHE CHŌX CHŌX CHOUCHOTHI MASKELLI MASKELLI PHNOU-
 CHENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HYPOCHTHŌN IŌOUTH IAŌOUTH AI AI AI OU OU
 10 OU BARBARAI BALĒMAĒTH KĒCHI ATHŌR / SEŒEZEZOUTH SORO ORMEA CHTH
 . . . BARMAR PHRIOUREINGX MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREO-
 BAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPEGANYX OREOPEGANYX LEPETAN
 LEPETAN PHRIX PHRŌX BIA MASTIGX ANAGKĒ MANTOUENOBOĒL THOURA KRINI
 ZOUCHE PIPPĒ BECHUCH TA NIKAKŌY . . . ĒTO KOURA SANKANTHARA SAN-
 KISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ IE ĒI EĒ KINXTABAKINX TABAKINX IŌ MOLPĒ IO KABALTH
 SAMAS SAIŌBOTHŌR . . . BAIŌŌR BAIŌR ATHARBAIŌ ZASAR THARAIŌ, guardian⁵ of
 strong Destiny, who manages my affairs, the thoughts of my soul, which no one
 can speak out against, not a god, not an angel, not a daimon: arouse yourself for
 15 me, / daimon of the dead, and do not use force but fulfill what has been inscribed
 and inserted into your mouth, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.

1. Neith is the Egyptian goddess of Sais. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. “Neith.”

2. MOUISRO is “Lion-Ram.” See l. 36 below, and *PGM* III. 659 and n.; XXXVI. 351. [R.K.R.]

3. This invocation of Sarapis is peculiar because the god is named by his two names, the older Osarapis and the common Sarapis. In addition, the three sacred bulls of Apis are named: Osor Nobecheis (Buchis), Osor Mnevis, and Osor Nophris (Onuphis). Cf. *PGM* IV. 140; XL. For bull cults in Egypt, see E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938). [R.K.R.]

4. THOURI is Egyptian Thoeris, the hippopotamus goddess. See *PGM* XII. 113 and n. [R.K.R.]

5. μελητής, “guardian,” seems to occur only here. The common term is ἐπιμελητής. [E.N.O.]

ABRASAX	IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖEAI	BAINCHÖÖOCH	16
ÖYÖTĒEA	AEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖEA	AEĒIOYÖ	IAMNAMENEU
YÖĒEAO	EÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖE	ĒEIOYÖA	AMNAMENEU
OĒEAOY	ÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖ	ĒEIOYÖAE	MMAMENEU
ĒEAOYO	BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHAB	IOYÖAEĒ	NAMENEU
ĒEAOYI LAÖ	APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHA	YOYÖAEĒ	Ö AMENEU
EAÖYÖĒE LAÖ	PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPH	YÖAEĒEO	YÖ MENEU
EAÖYÖĒE IOIA	RENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	IAÖ AÖI ÖAEĒEOY	OYO ENEU
AIÖIAÖHIAAÖ	ENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER		
ÖÖTHIOOÖYÖÖ	NEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	ÖIAIAÖIAÖI III AAA	IOYÖ NEU
ÖIA AÖI AÖ ÖIA ÖIA	EMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	EÖÖÖTHIOOÖYÖ ÖÖ	
III AAA EEE ĒĒĒTHIOOÖ	MOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	ÖIA IOIAIOÖ IOIAIO	ĒEIOY EU
O YTTYT ÖÖÖÖÖÖ	OOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	IIIAAEEĒĒĒIII IOOÖO	ĒĒEIOY U
ARLANATHANALBA	UNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	O YTTYT ÖÖÖÖÖÖ	AEĒEIOY
BLANATHANALBA	NOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	AKRAMMACHAMARI	SYREMĒNĒ BAKERBĒTH PAKERBĒTH
LANATHANALBA	OTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	KRAMMACHAMARI	ABRASAX ARSAMÖ ACHÖNOUTH
ANATHANALBA	THILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	RAMMACHAMARI	ANOUTHĒ AÖTH ZÖI ZÖPH CHMOUIE
NATHANALBA	ILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	AMMACHAMARI	ACHÖR ARCHITÖR IAETH ARNTHI-
ATHANALBA	LARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	MMACHAMARI	MORIAM RIÖCH BIÖCH APHROU PHILA
Ö THANALBA	ARIKIRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	MACHAMARI	BRAPÖPA / . . . CHOUCH ĒĒRENTHE-
Y ANALBA	RIKIRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	ACHAMARI	PALASÖCH . . . IO MOUISRÖ RÖS
OYÖ NALBA	IKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	CHAMARI	MOUISKÖ . . . BALBA . . . AIAÖ PAGOURĒ
IOYÖ ALBA	KRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	AMARI	PAAGOURĒ MA . . . PSYLÖ PARNAB
ĒEIOY LKA	RUPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	MARI	LO . . . ARKABERÖTH MARMARILĒSA
ĒEIOYÖ RA	PIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	ARI	RIANYRĒSON CHORITGRĒE ANÖCH
AEĒIOYÖ A ÖYÖĒEA	PHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	RI	PRĒCHTHINETH ASÖCH NYCHEUNE-
OYÖĒĒE ÖUAIĒĒE ÖIÖTHÖ BARRARAU	IAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER	I	CHATEA PAICHÖRSARI ASISINĒTH
SEMESILAM ABRASAX ÖCHIKATH BIÖURA ZAZER	AEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER		ANASÖCH KĒ . . . EUNI PHÖR PHÖR
MARE CHACHAR ZAS* CHLARATAR AÖTH ARÖUR CHÖ	EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER		ABAÖTH DÖI DÖI KOLYPHMYÖTH
BLATHATH ALĒTH BEĒGAMA CHRAEIO MEEUAÖGÖÖTH	YEAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENER		
ĒEIOY ĒEIOYÖ ĒEIOY IOYÖYÖ ÖYÖÖAAEAE			
AEĒEIOY AEĒEIOY AEĒEIOU . . . BARA OYAAOMOU			
CHMĒCHEMEAY ARAKEBAICHT PHIANÖCHÖ			

IAI IAO ĒII AII AÖĒEA IIII YYY, draw off, thrust away every member of this dead body and the spirit of this tent⁷ and cause him to serve / against Karosa, whom Thelo bore. Aye, lord daimon, attract, inflame, destroy, burn, cause her to swoon⁸ from love as she is being burnt, inflamed. Sting the tortured soul, the heart, of Karosa, whom Thelo bore, until she leaps forth⁹ and comes to Apalos, whom Theonilla bore, out of passion and love, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. As long as the divine mystery remains within you,¹⁰ do not allow Karosa herself, whom Thelo bore, to think of her [own] husband,¹¹ her child, drink, food, but let her come melting for passion and love and intercourse, especially¹² yearning for the intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil and R. Kotansky (ll. 16–47).

PGM XIXb. 1–3

*“ . . . may he [bring] him, NN, to her, NN” (add the usual). Write with myrrh mixed with blood on leaves of flax.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

6. On the name Zas, see *PGM* II. 117 and n.

7. For similar anthropological terms for “body,” see *PGM* I. 319; IV. 448, 1951, 1970, 2141.

8. *σκότωσον* (Preisendanz: “umfinstern”) refers to the Hellenistic topos of women swooning with love. See, for example, Apollonius, *Argon.* 3. 960–72 of Medea, for even a witch may swoon with love. [E.N.O.]

9. That is, from her house. Cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 71, 359 for the same expression.

10. According to A. D. Nock, *JEA* 11 (1925): 158, *μυστήριον* is the magical act. So the meaning seems to be “as long as the magical spell which I have worked remains in effect on you.” [E.N.O.]

11. *ἀνδρὶ* is strange and probably incorrect. The verb *μνημονεύω* requires either a genitive or an accusative, and the words in parallel construction here are genitive. [E.N.O.]

12. *περίστω[s]*, which Preisendanz has retained despite the fact that this adverbial form occurs only in a quotation by Galen from Hippocrates where the manuscripts actually have the regular form *περίστα*. Schubart (in Preisendanz's apparatus) suggests *περίστα*. [E.N.O.]

PGM XIXb. 4–18

- 5 *Love spell of attraction over a dog: ¹ Onto a cutting ² / of hieratic papyrus write
with myrrh and dedicate it ³ to one who has died a violent death. ⁴ “[I adjure you]
10 by the SENAKŌTHO ARPOPSYG KAMOUO ORPS THŌ OUCH PETI ANOUP PETIO-
PARIN AUT KINOTHEN CHYCH AAA ROPS UICHTHEN / KREMME SECHAXTHNE
NEOUPHTE AKĒCH CHAKE PŌPHOI KACHE ANOCH ⁵ . . . ĒTHMĒ ARI MĒS
15 THOD . . . PE; you, who are able, / [raise] your body and go [to her, NN], until she
is [willing]. . . .”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XX. 1–4

- *. . . [Spell for] head[ache]:
“ . . . for you to mortals are . . .

. . . fulfill my perfect charm.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Among the numerous studies of this papyrus, three are especially helpful: P. Maas, *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38; L. Koenen, *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 6 (1970): 193–212. The text has been restored on the basis of Pap. Berol. 7504, Pap. Amherst and Pap. Oxyr. *ined.* D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, vol. III (*L.C.L.*): *Literary Papyri Poetry*, no. 146 (pp. 604–5) has reprinted part of Wilamowitz’s text of Pap. Berol. 7504. His interpretation of the situation and translation of the text is almost comic.

PGM XX. 4–12

- 5 * [The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara, / for any inflammation:

“[The ¹ most majestic goddess’ child] was set

Aflame as an initiate ²—and on

The highest mountain peak was set aflame—

[And fire did greedily gulp] seven springs

Of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions, ³

- 10 But seven dark-eyed maidens ⁴ / with dark urns

1. For a love spell over a dog, see *PGM* XXXVI. 370.

2. The term *τομῖον*, found only once in *PGM*, is most likely a reference to a cutting of papyrus; cf. the technical term *ἱερατικόν*. See Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 181.

3. Preisendanz understands this as “deposit with.”

4. Preisendanz assumes that this term refers to the dog (cf. *PGM* IV. 1882–85, 2578; XXXVI. 370), but the spell is too fragmentary to be sure.

5. For the interpretation of these magical words see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. PETIANOUP is a personal name and means “He whom Anubis has given”; cf. Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen* I, 122, no. 11. CHAKE PŌPHOI KACHE ANOCH, etc., is equivalent to “Darkness, Apophis, darkness I am. . . .” [R.K.R./J.B.]

1. These lines offer some whole and partial dactylic hexameters. They have been rearranged and used as the reconstructed Hymn 28; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 265. This reconstructed hymn has been translated here. [E.N.O.]

2. L. Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknabe. Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus,” *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74, identifies the *παῖς μυστοδόκος* as the Horus child. Cf. the story of Isis and the child of the rulers of Byblos in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 15–16, 357B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 325–28. Cf. also the story of Demeter and Demophoon in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 231–55, with commentary by N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 231–34. Furthermore, see the note by J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, *LCL* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) 311–17. [E.N.O.]

3. On these springs and animals, see Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknabe,” 171–74. Cf. P. Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38, esp. 37: “I see no plausible connection of wells with wild beasts.” [E.N.O.]

Drew water and becalmed the restless fire.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XX. 13–19

**The charm⁵ of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache:*

/ “Flee, headache, [lion] flees beneath a rock,

Wolves flee; horses flee on uncloven hoof

[And speed] beneath blows [of my perfect charm].”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

15

PGM XXI. 1–29

* “[Hear me, lord, whose secret name is unspeakable,] at whose [name, when] the daimons [hear it, even they are terrified; you of whom the sun] BAAL BNICH BAALA [AMĒN PTIDAIΟΥ ARNEBOUAT, and the moon], ASENPEMPH [THŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNĒ OSRARMEMPSECHEI], / are [tireless] eyes¹ [shining in the pupils] of men’s [eyes; you of whom heaven is the head,] air the body, [earth the feet, the water around you, ocean. You are the Good] Daimon, the lord, [the one who begets good things, nurtures and increases] the [whole] inhabited [earth and all the] / universe. Yours is the eternal [proceSSIONal way, in which is established] your name which is seven-lettered [in] harmony with the seven [vowel sounds, which are pronounced according to] the twenty-eight forms of the moon, [AEĒIOYŌ AE]ĒIOYŌ AE[Ē]IOYŌ AEĒ[I]OYŌ, / you whose good emanations from the [stars are daimons,] Fortunes and Fates by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.²

5

10

15

“[And] you, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower regions,³ [whose justice is not shut off,] whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [you whom the eight] / guards (Ē, Ō, CHŌ, CHOUC, [NOUN, NAUNL,] AMOUN and IO)⁴ [attend], you who possess the inerrant [truth]; many moving bodies [will not overpower] me; no spirit, no visitation, [no daimon, no evil being will oppose me, for I will have your name as a single phylactery [in my heart] / , PHIRIMNOUN [A]NOCH⁵ SOLBAI SANACHESRŌ . . . ARCHĒN SE KOPŌ⁶ K . . . OAI . . . NOUST [NOUSI SIETHŌ] SIETHŌ BENOUI.⁷ . . .”

20

25

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. See also the parallels in XII. 239–44, 252–57; XII. 765–99.

4. On the identity and role of these maidens see Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” 37–38; Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknahe,” 169.

5. This charm seems to be a *historiola*. Cf. Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” 37; Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknahe,” 169, 173–74.

1. For sun and moon as cosmic eyes, cf. the cosmic body of the deity in PGM XII. 242–45.

2. For the divine gifts, see also PGM XIII. 782–83.

3. Or “Upper and Lower Egypt”; cf. PGM XII. 256.

4. This is the “Ogdoad” of Hermopolis; see S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* 184; Nun-Naunet, Huh-Hauket, Kuk-Kauket, Amun-Amaunet. [J.B.] For these eight guards, see PGM XIII. 743–45, 788–89.

5. These words are equivalent to Egyptian and mean “I am he who came forth from Nun.” Cf. PGM XII. 345; III. 549–58. [R.K.R.]

6. These three groups of letters may be Greek words: “. . . rule. I weary you. . . .” If so, their context cannot be determined, as they are set amid magical words. [M.S.]

7. BENOUI is the Phoenix. Cf. PGM II. 104 and n. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 594–96, s.v. “Phönix.”

PGM XXIIa. 1

*“We would flee [from Trojan battle before death and ruin.]”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. This verse, probably Homer, *Iliad* 17. 714, has not preserved its title, though Preisendanz (on the basis of the following spell) believed it was a recipe for hemorrhage. The verse begins *P. Berol.* 9873, a collection of Homeric verses to be used for magico-medical purposes.

PGM XXIIa. 2–9

**Another, for bloody flux:*

“the wrath of Apollo, far-darting lord.”¹

- 5 Spoken to blood, this [verse] cures bloody flux. / But if [the patient] recovers and shows ingratitude, take a pan of coals, throw [it in the altar (?)], and place the amulets over the smoke; add a root, and write this verse in addition:

“the Far-shooter, having attained his aim, has, therefore, given pain and will give it further.”²

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 9–10

**Write [this] for pain in the breasts and uterus:*

- 10 “[him] / daughter of Zeus suckled and the wheat-bearing earth bore.”³

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 11–14

*Carried [with a magnetic] stone, or even spoken, [this verse] serves as a *contra-ceptive*:

“Would that you be fated to be unborn and to die unmarried.”⁴

Write this on a piece of new [papyrus] and tie it up with hairs of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 15–17

- 15 **[For one who suffers from elephantiasis, write this] verse and give it [to him] to wear:*

“[As when a] woman stains ivory with Phoenician purple.”⁵

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 18–27

- 20 **“Greetings, Helios; greetings, Helios; greetings, god over the heavens, with your name [being that] of the all-powerful! From the / seventh heaven [give] me [steady] favor before every race of men and all women, but especially before her, NN. Make*
- 25 *me as beautiful in her presence as IAŌ is, as rich as SABAŌTH, to be loved / like LAILAM, as great as BARBARAS, as honored as MICHAËL, as famous as GABRIËL, and [I shall be] highly favored.”*

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

1. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 75.

2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 96.

3. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 2. 548; also 8. 486; *Od.* 7. 332. But metaphorically *ἄρουρα* can mean the receiving of seed by a woman and bearing fruit (see, e.g., Theognis 582).

4. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 3. 40.

5. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4. 141.

PGM XXIIb. 1–26

***Prayer of Jacob:** “O Father of the patriarchs, Father of the All, [Father] of the [cosmic] powers, [Creator of all] . . . , Creator of angels and archangels, the Creator of the [saving] names. I summon you, Father of all powers, Father of the entire [cosmos] and of all / creation inhabited and uninhabited, to whom the [cherubim] are subjected, [who] favored Abraam by [giving the] kingdom [to him] . . . : hear me, O God of the powers, O [God] of angels [and] archangels, [King]. . . .
 LELEACH . . . ARŌACH TOU ACHABOL . . . Ō . . . YRAM TOU . . . BOACH KA . . . TH
 . . . RA . . . CHACH MARIROK . . . YRAM . . . ITHTH SESOIK, / he who sits upon [holy] Mount Sinai; . . . I . . . BO . . . ATHEM . . . he who sits upon the sea; . . . EA
 . . . BL . . . D . . . K . . . E . . . THĒS . . . PARACHTHĒ . . . , he who sits upon the
 serpentine gods; the [god who sits upon the] sun, IAŌ; he who sits [upon] . . . TA
 . . . Ō . . . I . . . CH; he [who sits] upon the . . . the . . . MA . . . SI, ABRIĒL LOUĒL
 . . . M . . . resting place of the [cherubim] . . . CHIRE . . . OZ . . . I . . . / to the ages
 of ages, God ABAŌTH ABRATHIAŌTH [SABAŌTH] ADŌNAI star . . . and BRILEŌNAI
 ADŌNAI CHA . . . AŌTH the Lord of the all.

“I call upon you who give power [over] the Abyss [to those] above, to those below, and to those under the earth; hear the one who has [this] prayer, O Lord God of the Hebrews, EPAGAĒL ALAMN, of whom is [the] eternal power, ELŌĒL SOUĒL. Maintain the one who possesses this prayer, who is from the stock of Israel and from those / who have been favored by you, O god of gods, you who have the secret name, SABAŌTH . . . I . . . CH, O god of gods, amen, amen. You who produce the snow, over the stars, beyond the ages, [and] who constantly traverse [the cosmos], and who cause the fixed and movable stars to pursue all things by your creative activity, fill me with wisdom. Strengthen me, Master; fill my heart with good, Master, as a terrestrial angel, as one who has become / immortal, as one who has received this gift from you, Amen, amen!”

Pronounce the [*Prayer of*] *Jacob* seven times facing north and east.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 27–31

***Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp:** Purify yourself before your everyday lamp, and speak [the following] to the lamplight, until it is extinguished: “Be well, O lamp, who light the way to Harsentephtha and to Harsentechtha, and to the great [father] Osiris-Michael. / [If] the petition I have made is appropriate, [show] me water [and] a grove. If otherwise, show me water and a stone.”

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 32–35

***Another request for a dream oracle:** Take your last morsel of food, and [show it to the] lamp, and while showing it, say [the invocation]. After saying [it] chew up [the morsel], drink wine on top of it, and go to sleep without speaking to anyone. If this is [performed, immediately] you will see someone speaking to you.

“ . . . OI . . . AL . . . OSMŌ . . . PRA, . . . / I am LAMPSYS, if this matter¹ has been granted to me, show a courtesan; otherwise, a soldier.”

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

1. Or “such-and-such a matter.”

PGM XXIII. 1–70

- *[But¹ when with vows] and prayers [I had appealed]
 [To them], the tribes of dead, I took [the] sheep
 And slit their throats [beside the trough, and down]
 The dark blood [flowed. From out of Ere]bos
 5 Came gathering [the spirits] of the dead: /
 (5) [New brides, unmarried youths,] toil-worn old men,
 [And] tender [maidens] with fresh-mourning hearts,
 [And many] pierced by bronze-tipped spears, [men] slain
 In battle, still in armor stained with gore.
 10 [These many] thronged from ev'ry side around
 (10) The trough / with [awful] cry. Pale fear seized me.
 [But]² having drawn the sharp sword at my thigh,
 [I sat,] allowing not the flitting heads
 Of the dead to draw nearer to [the blood],
 15 And I in conversation spoke with them.
 (He has said what must be done:) /
 (15) "O³ rivers, earth, and you below, punish
 Men done with life, whoc'er has falsely sworn;
 Be witnesses, fulfill for us this charm.
 20 I've come to ask how I may reach the land
 Of that Telemachus, my own son whom /
 (20) I left still in a nurse's arms." For in
 This fashion went the charm most excellent.
 (He tells what charms must be sung:)
 25 "[Hear]⁴ me, gracious and guardian, well-born
 [An]ubis; [hear, sly] one, O secret mate,
 Osiris' savior; come, Hermes, come, robber,
 (25) Well-trussed, infernal Zeus; / ¹Grant [my desire]^{1,5}
 Fulfill this charm. [Come hither, Hades,] Earth,
 30 Unfailing Fire, O Titan Helios;
 [Come,] Iaweh, Phthas, Phre, guardian of laws,
 [And Neph]tho, much revered; Ablanatho,
 In blessings rich, with [fiery] serpents girded,
 (30) Earth-plowing, goddess with head high, [Abrax]as,
 35 A daimon famous by your cosmic name,
 Who rule earth's [axis], starry dance, the Bears'
 Cold light. [And come] to me, surpassing all
 In self-control, O Phren. I'm calling [you],

1. Vv. 1–10 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 34–43.

2. Vv. 11–13 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 48–50.

3. Vv. 15–17 equal Homer, *Il.* 3. 278–80 except that in v. 15 the *Iliad* has *καὶ* in place of *ὦ*. In v. 16 the *Iliad* has *τῖνονσθον* and the second hemistich of v. 17 appears in the *Iliad* as *φυλάσσετε δ' ὄρ-κια πίστα*.

4. Because of the fragmentary condition of the following lines (25–43) the reconstructed text of Hymn 24 has been used.

5. "Grant my desire": [*κύρσ*]αι *δωσάμενοι*. The translation is very tentative, for the Greek is uncertain. Preisendanz translates "schenkt Gewährung"; Vieillefond (p. 286) translates "ratifiez mes vœux" but in this commentary says: "Il faut comprendre: *κύρσαι* δ—'ayant accordé de ratifier.'" Preisendanz reports that this line begins with a space for six letters, but Wünsch's *κύρσαι* fills only five spaces. Perhaps we should read *καὶ ἐπ*], i.e., *καὶ ἐπιδωσάμενοι*, "and having given freely."

O B[r]i[ar]eus and Ph[r]asios and you,
 O Ixion and Birth and youth's decline, 40
 Fair-burning Fire, / [and may you come,] Infernal (35)
 And Heav'nly One, and [you who govern] dreams,
 And Sirius, who. . . ."⁶
 Standing beside the trough, I cried [these words],
 [For well] did I remember Circe's counsels,⁷ 45
 [Who] knew [all] poisons which the broad earth grows.⁸ /
 [Then came] a lofty wave of Acheron (40)
 Which fights with lions, [Cocytus] and Lethe
 And mighty Polyphlegethon.⁹ A host
 [Of dead] stood round the trough, [and first] there came 50
 The spirit of Elpenor, my comrade.¹⁰
 (And so on.)

So, since this is the situation, either the poet himself suppressed¹¹ the remainder 55
 because it was an elaboration of the spell in order to preserve the decorum of the (45)
 work, or the Peisistratides,¹² as they were assembling the other verses, withheld
 these because they considered them foreign to the passage here. ⁺This is my opin-
 ion for many reasons. And so ⁺¹³ I have myself inserted the lines as a rather valuable 60
 creation of epic poetry.¹⁴ / You will find this whole document on the shelves in the (50)
 archives of our former home town, the colony of Aelia Capitolina¹⁵ in Palestine,
 and in Nysa in Caria and, up to the thirteenth verse,¹⁶ in Rome near the baths of 65
 Alexander¹⁷ in the beautiful library in the Pantheon,¹⁸ whose collection of books I

6. Preisendanz's version ends here. The remaining lines are taken from Vieillefond.

7. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 15. 412.

8. V. 39 equals Homer, *Il.* 7. 741 where ἤδη instead of οἶδα is read.

9. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 513–14. In v. 41 the noun Πολυφλεγέθων is a hapax legomenon (see O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/2 [1902–9] 2713). *Od.* 10. 513 has Πυριφλεγέθων.

10. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11. 51. With this Homeric line the verse portion of the papyrus concludes. The remaining section contains Julius Africanus' own evaluation of the verses.

11. We seem to have another example here of Homeric criticism in antiquity. Interestingly enough, *Od.* 11. 38–43 were rejected by several ancient scholars, including Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus.

12. A reference to the tradition in late antiquity that Peisistratus was responsible for the earliest recension of the Homeric poems. For a discussion of the subject, see J. A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 215–33, esp. 219–20.

13. The translation is tentative. Vieillefond daggers these words, for they seem hopelessly corrupt.

14. Line 49 translates ἄτε κῆμα πολυτελέστερον ἐπιεικῆς, but this a strange and otherwise unparalleled meaning of κῆμα.

15. Aelia Capitolina is the name given by Hadrian (A.D. 131) to the rebuilt Jerusalem. The statement seems to confirm, at least partially, Jerome's claim (*De viris illustr.* 63) that Julian was born at Emmaus in Palestine. Others call him a Libyan by birth.

16. This is a strange remark, for the first thirteen verses are Homeric. Surely this collection of volumes included the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

17. The Thermae Alexandrinæ were constructed by rebuilding and enlarging the Thermae Neronianæ in the Campus Martinus just northeast of the Pantheon. These baths had their own water supply from the Alexandrian Aqueduct. See *Life of Severus Alexander* 20. 3–5 and 44. 4–6. Cf. *CAH* vol. 12 (1939), pp. 66 and 477.

18. Others, including Vieillefond, understood the words in ll. 53–54 to mean that Africanus built or served as the architect of the library. Yet we have no evidence that he was an architect but abundant testimony that he was a writer and intellect. It seems more probable, therefore, that Africanus here is saying that he "built the collection of books which constituted the library."

myself built for Augustus.¹⁹ /

(55)

Kestos 18²⁰ of Julius Africanus

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. P. Oxy. 412 contains an excerpt from book 18 of the *Kestoi* of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of the third century A.D. The work dealt with numerous subjects, including medicine, agriculture, natural history, military art, and, as this passage shows, with Homeric criticism and magic. Since Preisendanz prints only a part of the papyrus, the translation uses the full text as provided by Jean-René Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus. Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (Firenze: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato; Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1970) 277–91.

PGM XXIVa. 1–25

*"Great is the Lady Isis!" Copy of a holy book found in the archives of Hermes: /

5 The method is that concerning the 29 letters¹ through which letters Hermes and
10 Isis, who was seeking / Osiris,² her brother and husband, [found him].

Call upon Helios and all the gods in the deep concerning those things for which
15 you want to receive an omen. Take / 29 leaves of a male date palm and write on each
20 of the leaves the names of the gods. Pray and then pick them up two / by two. Read
the last remaining leaf and you will find your omen, how things are,³ and you will
25 be answered / clearly.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XXIVb. 1–15

*On the right . . . on the left parts of [the neck . . .] upon the right shoulder . . .
5 on the nipple of the [right breast,] / on the left [shoulder] . . . shall receive . . . on
10 the nipple of the [left breast] . . . on the breast . . . for, the . . . receiving, great . . .
15 and the woman will (?) flee outside, men on . . . drugs . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary text describes the engraving of a magic doll or similar object. The fragment may contain portions of a love charm similar to that of PGM IV. 296ff.

PGM XXV. a–d.

a. *P. Oxy.* 959, 7.2 × 13 cm, contains a text of eight lines of magical characters and letters dated to about the third century A.D. The text remains unpublished.

b. *P. Freib. inedit.* (described by Preisendanz, *P. Un. Bibl. Freiburg i. Br.*, O. Nr. 7.5 × 9 cm) is an unpublished, opisthographic text containing "characters" and a magical figure. Sixth century A.D.

c. *P. Cair.* 10434 measures 5.1 × 6.6 cm (no date provided) and contains the following text: "† Holy Lord Zabaot" (var. of SABAÖTH).

d. *PSI inedit.*, 6.5 × 5 cm, is described by Preisendanz as a tiny fragment containing a figure with a long nose, the point of which ends in what appear to be droplets. Behind it is a similar figure, and above both heads there is yet another

19. August is Severus Alexander.

20. Notice that, although the title of the work is in the plural *κεστοί*, each individual book seems to have the singular title *κεστός*.

1. According to W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1918) 369, the twenty-nine letters represent the Coptic alphabet.

2. On Isis seeking Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358 A–B; 52, 372 B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40, 499; idem, *The Isis-Book* 219.

3. Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.* 6, pp. 200–201, translate: "and you will find wherein [Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* 110–11, ". . . in what things"] your omen consists." The translation follows the punctuation of Preisendanz, who translates: "und du wirst dein Orakel finden darüber, worauf es dir [Hopfner, *OZ* II, 299 adds (αα)] ankommt." [W.C.G.]

head with a very long nose. On the reverse side appear three words of which only “PHOIBIÖN” can be made out.

PGM XXVI. 1–21

The numerically arranged oracular text, *P.Oxy.* XII. 1477, is here omitted as it has been shown to belong to the corpus known as the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, for which see Gerald M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 58 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974); see also idem, “The Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*,” *ICS* 1 (1976): 53–58; idem, “A New Papyrus Codex of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*,” in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1979) 434–39; see also *P.Oxy.* XLVII. 3330. The editor is also preparing an edition of the *Sortes* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

PGM XXVII. 1–5

*Victory charm, for Sarapammon, son of Apollonius: “***¹ Give victory and safety at the stadium and in the crowd to the above-mentioned Sarapammon. In the name of SYLIKYS Ë SYS. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7

*“OR OR¹ PHOR PHOR SABAÖTH ADÖNE SALAMA TARCHEI ABRASAX, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisia, / three-hundred and fifteen times, on the fifteenth day of Pachon. . . .” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9

*“ÖR ÖR² PHÖR PHÖR IAÖ ADÖNAEI / SABAÖTH SALAMAN TARCHCHEI, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisios, on the 13th.” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11

*“+++ ÖR ÖR³ PHÖR PHÖR [ADÖNAI] / SALAMA RTHACHI, I bind you, Artemisian scorpion, on the fourth day of Phamenoth, / PHÖR OR OR OSOA DDD RRR.” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXIX. 1–10

*“I used to command the Rhodian¹ winds

And your regions of the sea

Whenever I’d want to set sail.

Whenever I’d want to stay there,

I’d say to the regions of the sea:

‘Don’t [smite] the seas with your blows;

5

1. According to Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 12 (1916) 237, magical symbols are given in the papyrus at this point, but the editors did not provide them.

1. The name should probably be articulated HÖR, i.e., Horus, who is often invoked in Egyptian scorpion spells. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 51–85. [R.K.R.]

2. See n. 1 above.

3. See n. 1 above.

1. It seems preferable to retain the Ῥοδίοις of the papyrus rather than to follow Preisendanz in emending to Ποθίοις. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

- Lay smooth the brine for seafarers.¹
 Then ev'ry fair wind² is raised;
 They shut out the blasts, and so, lord,³ grant
 10 The impassable to be passable.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This rather charming and unpretentious poem is surely not a part of the regular PGM material. It is rather a poem—or a fragment of a poem—which is perhaps an ancient treatment of the theme that appears in Goethe's two poems, *Meeresstille* and *Glückliche Fahrt*. Because of the literary aspect, J. U. Powell included these lines among the *Lyrica Aespota* in his *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925) 195, no. 33. Despite the obvious poetic quality, no one has satisfactorily explained the meter (cf. Powell, p. 196). Grenfell thought that the verses are accentual, while Schmidt believed that they are a blend of trochaic and Cretic. For the references, see Preisendanz, ad loc. Whatever the case, the present translation uses a blend of iambic and anapaestic feet in an attempt to give in English some of the general effect of the Greek. These verses have been emended and stand as the reconstructed Hymn 29; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 265–66.

PGM XXXII. 1–19

- *“I adjure you, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes and all the rest down below;
 5 attract and bind / Sarapias whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutha-
 10 rin bore,¹ now, now; quickly, quickly. By her soul and heart / attract Sarapias her-
 self, whom [Helen] bore from her own womb,² MAEI OTE ELBÔSATOK ALA OUBÊTÔ
 15 ÔEIO . . . AËN. Attract and [bind / the soul and heart of Sarapias], whom [Helen
 bore, to this] Herais, [whom] Thermoutharin [bore] from her womb [now, now;
 quickly, quickly].”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This spell, without a title, is clearly a love spell in which one woman seeks to attract another woman. Thus it belongs to the small group of lesbian spells. In form, these lines contain one spell repeated, with slight variations, three times: 1–9, 10–14, 14–19.

PGM XXXIIa. 1–25

- *“As¹ Typhon is the adversary of Helios, so inflame the heart and soul of that²
 5 Amoneios whom / Helen bore, even from her own womb, ADÔNAI ABRASAX PI-
 NOUTI³ and SABAÔS; burn the soul and heart of that Amoneios whom Helen /
 10 bore, for [love of] this Serapiakos whom Threpte bore, now, now; quickly, quickly.”

- “In this same hour and on this same day, from this [moment] on, mingle /
 15 together⁴ the souls of both and cause that Amoneios whom Helen bore to be this
 20 Serapiakos whom / Threpte bore, through every hour, every day and every night.
 25 Wherefore, ADÔNAI, loftiest of gods, whose name is the true / one, carry out the
 matter, ADÔNAI.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This section contains two spells—or one spell repeated with variations.

2. For ὄλος of the papyrus perhaps οὔρος should be read: “fair wind” is what the author seems to mean.

3. Can ἀναξ be Helios as represented by the famous Colossus Rhodius? Powell dates this poem to the period ca. A.D. 250–80, and the huge statue of Helios was complete ca. A.D. 168 and destroyed ca. A.D. 224. Yet the memory of this “wonder” continued for centuries. In any case, Helios was an important god on the island of Rhodes, and a reference to him seems appropriate.

1. Herais has a Greek name, while her mother, Thermoutharin, has an Egyptian name. [R.K.R.] The spelling of the names follows Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

2. On this formula, see D. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 131–32.

1. The opening statement is troublesome and has attracted some attention. See A. S. Hunt, “An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum,” *JEA* 15 (1929): 155–57; A. D. Nock, *JEA* 16 (1931): 124; K. Preisendanz, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 50 (1930): 748–49.

2. As the pronouns indicate, this spell is concerned with homosexual attraction.

3. This is Egyptian and means “O/The god.” See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

4. συγκαταμείγνυμι is a concept from friendship literature: true friends are two souls in one body, *amicus est alter ego*. The term is also erotic just as the simple μείγνυμι is regularly. [E.N.O.]

PGM XXXIII. 1–25

*“^aABLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARACH
 BLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARA
 LANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMAR
 ANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMA
 NATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAM
 ATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARA
 THANABLANAMACHARAMARACHAR
 ANABLANAMACHARAMARACHA
 NABLANAMACHARAMARACH
 ABLANAMACHARAMARA
 BLANAMACHARAMAR
 LANAMACHARAMA
 ANAMACHARAM
 NAMACHARA
 AMACHAR
 MACHA
 ACH
 A

5

10

15

“O Tireless one, KOK KOUK KOUΛ, save / Tais whom [Taraus] bore from every shivering fit,¹ whether tertian² or quartan³ or quotidian fever, or an every-other-day fever,⁴ or [one] by night, or [even] a mild fever,⁵ because I am the ancestral, tireless god, KOK KOUK⁶ KOUΛ, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

25

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXIV. 1–24

*“... [the sun] will stand still; and should I order the moon, it will come down; and should I wish to delay the day, the night will remain for me; and should / we¹ in turn ask for day, the light will not depart; and should I wish to sail the sea, I do not need² a ship; and should I wish to go through the air, / I will be lifted up. It is only³ an erotic drug that I do not find, not one that can cause, not one that can stop love. For the earth, in fear of the / god, does not produce one. But if anyone has it and gives it, I beg, I beseech him: ‘Give! I wish to drink, I wish to anoint myself.’”⁴
 “You⁵ say that a handsome phantom keeps appearing to your daughter, / and this seems unreasonable⁶ to you? Yet how many others have fallen in love with ‘un-

5

10

15

20

1. Cf. PGM XVIIIb. 5.

2. *τριταῖος* (*pyretós*), as in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* 3. 21 and *Nature of Man* 1. 5, is literally “every-third-day-fever.”

3. In contrast to PGM XVIIIb. 6, the papyrus has the normal *τεταρταῖος*.

4. Pollux, *On*. 1. 65 cod. B suggests the reading *παρημέρινος*; it does not occur in the medical writers. [J.S.]

5. *λεπτοπυρετοῦ* is a textual emendation; however, the word is unattested in LSJ, s.v. Cf. LSJ, *Suppl.* s.v. “*λεπτοπυρέτιον*.”

6. KOUK is Egyptian *kky*, “darkness”; cf. PGM XIII. 788–89.

1. The sudden appearance of the person plural is strange.

2. This use of the present tense occurs in the midst of a series of future tenses. [E.N.O.]

3. Although *μόνον οὐ* regularly means “almost,” that sense does not seem to fit here. [E.N.O.]

4. The text here is uncertain. For the translation, the text of Preisendanz has been used.

5. For the following lines see, especially, the study of Dodds mentioned below.

6. The papyrus reads *παράδοξον* here and *παρ’ ἀλόγων* (*παραλόγων*) in l. 22, and so both Dodds and Preisendanz print their versions; but in a conversation it is reasonable to expect the second person to repeat the word which the first speaker has used. The translation understands *παραδόξον* in l. 22. [E.N.O.]

reasonable' bodies⁷ . . .⁸

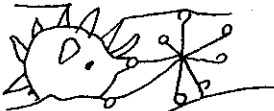
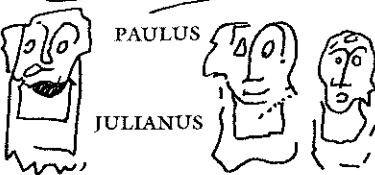
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This fragment belongs not to a magical spell but rather to some literary piece, perhaps a Greek romance. See C. Bonner, "A Papyrus Describing Magical Powers," *TAPA* 52 (1921): 111–18; E. R. Dodds, "A Fragment of a Greek Novel (P.Mich. inv. no. 5)" in *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood, Phoenix Supp.* I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952) 133–37. Dodds's theory that this fragment is part of a lost Greek romance seems logical in light of the conversational tone throughout, but the tone of ll. 19–24 makes this theory almost certain.

PGM XXXV. 1–42

*"I call upon you, who sit over the Abyss, BYTHATH; I also call upon the one who sits in the first heaven, MARMAR; I call upon you, who sit in the 2nd heaven,
5 RAPHAËL; I call upon you, who sit in the 3rd heaven, SOURIEL;¹ / I call upon you, who sit in the 4th heaven, IPHIAPH;² I call upon you, who sit in the 5th heaven, PITIËL; I call upon you, who sit in the [6th] heaven, MOURIATHA.

"I call upon you, who sit over the snow, TELZË; I call upon you, EDANÖTH, who sit over the sea; I call upon you, SAESECHEL, who sit over the serpents; / I call upon you, TABIYM, who sit over the rivers; I call upon you, BIMADAM; I call upon you, CHADRAOUN, who sit in the midst of CHADRALLOU, in between the two cherubim and seraphim, as they praise you, the lord of the whole host which is under heaven.

15 "I conjure you all by the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,³ that / you obey my authority completely, each one of you obeying perfectly, and that you stay beside me and give me favor, influence, victory, and strength, before all, small men and great, as well as gladiators, soldiers, civilians, women, girls, boys, and everybody,
20 quickly, quickly, because of the / power of IAÖ, the strength of SABAÖTH, the clothing of ELOË,⁴ the might of ADÖNAI, and the crown of ADÖNAI. Grant also to me favor and victory before all, as you have given good gifts to ALBANATHANALBA and AKRAMACHAMARI; and this is why, then, I am exhorting and conjuring / you
25 that you give favor, victory, power, and spirit on behalf of me, the three-crown-bearing ruler, quickly, [quickly,] because I conjure you, IAÖ SABAÖTH AÖ SABAÖTH Ö SABAÖTH SABAÖTH A ABAÖTH BAÖTH AÖTH ÖTH TH."

30   

"Look above the spirits of the opponent toward the spirits of dignity [and] exaltation. I
35 call upon / and exhort and conjure you that you obey unfailingly my every command, for

"I conjure you by the god SARACHAEL [by] BILIAM,⁵ and [by] the god who made heaven and

7. *σωμάτων* is synonymous with *εἰδωλον*.

8. Dodds (see n. 4 above) 137 assumes the speaker is female, but the gender is not indicated in the text.

1. For the name SURIEL, see the discussion by Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 46. A number of other parallels esp. with Judaism are noted in Preisendanz's apparatus.

2. For the name IPHIAPH, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 12, n. 7.

3. The papyrus reads Abram, Isaka, Iachöb.

4. For the garment of ELOË, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 64.

5. The prophet Bileam from Pethor is known from Nm 22:5–24, 25; 31:8, 16; Dt 23:4, etc. His

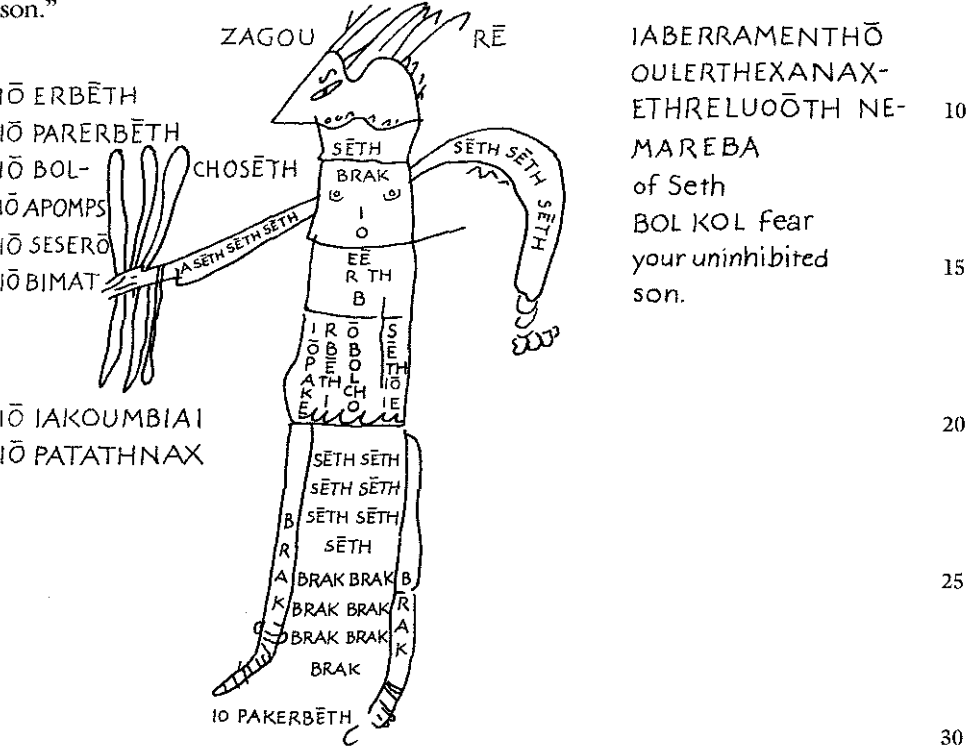
my sake, the three
[crown-] bearing one,
SABATH. . . .”

earth and
everything in
it. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The spell has a number of parallels in a Christianized Jewish silver lamella from Beirut; see A. Heron de Villefosse, *Florilegium . . . dédiés à . . . de Vogüé* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909) 287–95.

PGM XXXVI. 1–34

*Charm to restrain. Works on everything: Taking a lead lamella, hammered out while cold, draw with a bronze stylus the creature below and [write] the names, and deposit it nearby and in front [the person]: “Come Typhon, who sit on the under-
[world] gate; / IŌ ERBĒTH, who killed his own brother,¹ IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOL-
CHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENŖŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOYMBIAI ABERRAMENTHŌOY
LERTHEXANAX ETHRELYOŌTH MEMAREBA, of Seth, BOLKOL, fear your uninhibited
son.”



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

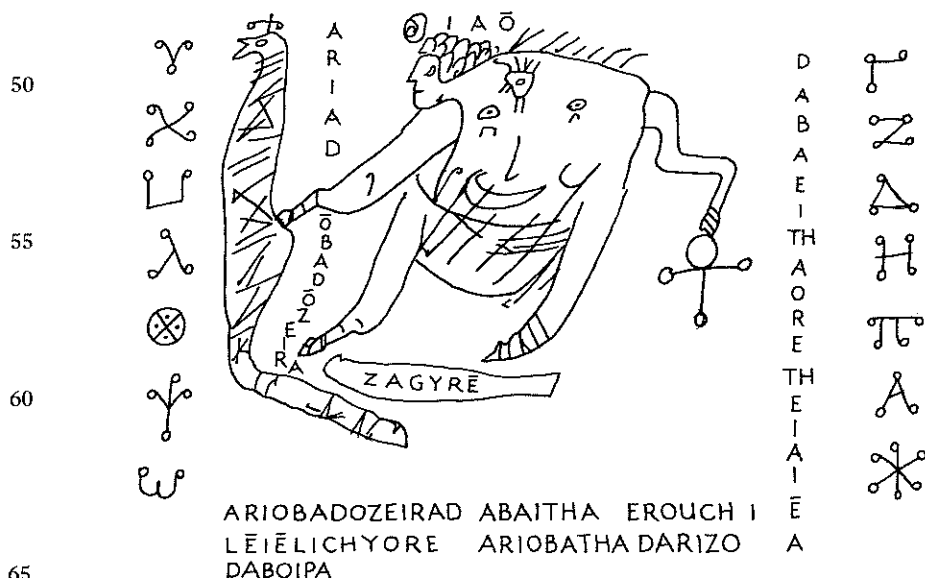
PGM XXXVI. 35–68

*Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor and an excellent charm for gain-
ing victory in the courts (it works even against kings; no charm is greater): Take a
silver lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following seal of the figure and
the names, / and wear it under your garment, and you will have a victory.

connection with magic was proverbial. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* III, 354–82; H. Karp, “Bileam,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 262–73.

1. Cf. the denial of this deed in *PGM* VII. 964.

The names to be written are these: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRASAX
 ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI,² su-
 45 preme angels, give to me, / NN whom NN bore, victory, favor, reputation, advan-
 tage over all men and over all women, especially over NN, whom NN bore, for ever
 and all time.” Consecrate it.



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 69–101

***Love spell of attraction**, excellent divination by fire, than which none is greater.
 70 It attracts men to women and women to men / and makes virgins rush out of their
 homes. Take a pure papyrus and with blood of an ass³ write the following names
 and figure, and put in the magical material from the woman you desire. Smear the
 75 strip of papyrus with moistened vinegar gum⁴ / and glue⁵ it to the dry vaulted
 vapor room of a bath,⁶ and you will marvel. But watch yourself so that you are not
 struck.

The writing is this: “Come, Typhon, who sit on top of the gate, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ
 PAKERBĒTH IŌ BALCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOUMBIAI AB-
 80 ERRAMENTHŌ OULER- / THEXANAX ETHRELUOŌTH MEMAREBA TOU SĒTH, as you
 are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore,
 until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one,
 85 immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

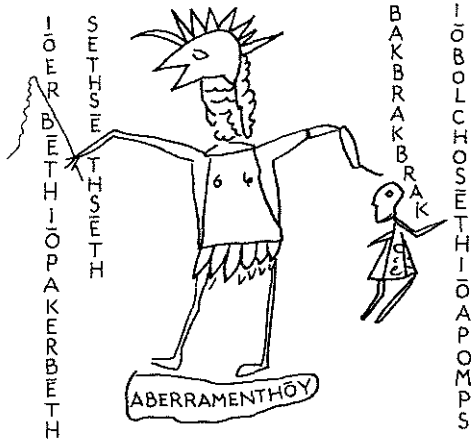
2. PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI is equivalent to Egyptian “He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss.” [R.K.R.]

3. This is to connect the spell with Typhon, invoked below. Cf. PGM IV. 2015, 2100, 2220.

4. ὀξοκόμι is from ὀξυκόμμι according to LSJ, s.v. It is also a hapax legomenon. The papyrus has ὀξωκόμη, which LSJ explains as dative of ὀξυκόμμι. See Schmidt, GGA 189 (1927):464–56, who refers to Pliny, NH 24. 3, 106; cf. also NH 13. 20, 66–67 for a discussion of Egyptian gums. [E.N.O.]

5. For the glue, cf. l. 83 below. As the operator does with the strip of papyrus, so may NN do with the operator. [E.N.O.]

6. Cf. PGM II. 51.



90

95

100

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 102–33

**Another divination by fire*: Take clean papyrus and write the following names and figure with myrrh ink and say the spell three times.

105

The names / and the figure to be written are these:

“Hear me, you who founded and destroyed and became the mighty god whom a white sow bore,⁷ ALTHAKA EIATHALLATHA SALAIOTH, who appeared in Pelousion,⁸ in Heliopolis possessing an iron staff⁹ with which you opened up the sea and passed through after you had completely / dried up all the plants. Attract to me, NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue¹⁰ her female punda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” /

110

7. The one born of the white sow is Min of Koptos, born of Isis. For discussion, see J. Bergman, “Isis auf der Sau,” *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas* 6 (1974): 81–109, esp. 91–92. [R.K.R.]

8. Pelusium was a city in Egypt, situated on the Nile. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 375E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35. Cf. PGM VII. 499 and n.

9. See for the iron staff Ex 7: 17–24; 14: 21–31. For Egyptian parallels, see W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 21. [R.K.R.]

10. Cf. above, l. 75 and n.

115 "IAEŌ
IAE
IA
I

BAPHRENDEMOUN
120 BAPHRENDEMOU
BAPHRENDEMO
BAPHRENDEM
BAPHRENDE
BAPHREND
125 BAPHREN
BAPHRE
BAPHR
BAPH
BA
130 B



/ Attract to me, NN whom

NN bore, her, NN whom NN

bore, aflame, on fire,
/ flying through the air,
loving me, NN whom NN bore, immediately,
immediately; quickly, quickly, accomplish it."

S NOTHEILARIIIIAE
E OTHEILARIIIIAE
S EILARIIIIAE
E ILARIIIIAE
N LARIIIIAE
G ARIIIIAE
E RIIIIAE
N IIAE
B IAE
A AE
R E
PH PHIRKIALI
A IRKIALI
R RKIALI
A KIALI
G IALI
G ALI
E LI
S I

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 134–60

***Marvelous love spell of attraction**, than which none is greater: Take myrrh /
135 and male frankincense, put them in a drinking cup and add an *archē*¹¹ of vinegar,
and at the third hour of the night put it into the socket of your door and say the
spell 7 times.

The spell to be spoken is this: "Arise, daimons in the dark; leap up onto the bricks
and beat your breasts after you have smeared your faces with mud. For because
140 of / her, NN whom NN bore, unlawful eggs are being sacrificed: fire, fire, un-
lawfulness, unlawfulness.¹² For Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown
into confusion. She tosses and turns on her holy bed, and its bonds and those of the
daimon world are smashed to pieces¹³ because of the enmity and impiety of her,
145 NN, whom NN bore. But you,¹⁴ Isis / and Osiris and [daimons] of the chthonic
world, ABLAMGOUNCHŌTHŌ ABRASAX, and daimons who are beneath the earth,
arise, you who are from the depth, and cause her, NN, whom NN bore, to be sleep-
less, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep,¹⁵ to love me, NN
150 whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes / and glues
her female pudenda to my male one. But if she wishes to fall asleep, spread under
her knotted leather scourges and thorns upon her temples, so that she may nod

11. ἀρχή occurs only here as a unit of measure. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 33 (1895): 46.

12. For an Egyptian parallel to this exclamation see the *historiola* in H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 14/2 (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 75, 81: "Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire!" [R.K.R.]

13. Cf. Preisendanz's translation (accepting Hopfner's reconstruction in *Archiv Orientalni* 3 [1931]: 122): "hin wandte sie sich zum heiligen Lager, gesprengt werden seine Bande und zugleich die der Dämonenwelt . . ." (she turned to the holy bed [i.e., of Osiris], smashed to pieces are his bonds and those of the daimons' world . . .).

14. Despite the appeal to several deities, the Greek has σὺ, "you," sing. here.

15. The idea of sleeplessness is repeated. Cf. l. 112 above where there is no such repetition. [E.N.O.]

agreement to a courtesan's love, because I adjure you who have been stationed over
the fire, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH / OREOBAZAGRA REXICH- 155
THŌN HIPPICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANAX."

"You, NN, have been bound by the fibers of the sacred palm tree, so that you may love NN forever. And may no barking dog release you, no braying ass, no cock, no priest who removes magic spells, no clash of cymbals, no whining of flute; indeed, no protective charm from heaven that works for anything; / rather, let her be possessed by the spirit." 160

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 161-77

* **Charm to restrain anger and charm for success.** (No charm is greater, and it is to be performed by means of words alone:) Hold your thumbs and repeat the spell 7 times: “ERMALLÖTH ARCHIMALLÖTH stop the mouths / that speak against me, 165 because I glorify your sacred and honored names which are in heaven.”

To augment the words: Take papyrus and write thus: “I am / CHPHYRIS.¹⁶ I must
be successful. MICHAËL RAPHAËL ROUBËL NARIËL KATTIËL ROUMBOUTHÏËL
AZARIËL IOËL IOUËL EZRIËL SOURÏËL NARIËL METMOURIËL AZAËL AZIËL SAOU-
MIËL / ROUBOUTHÏËL RABIËËL RABIËËL RABCHLOU ENAEZRAËL, angels, protect
me from every bad situation that comes upon me.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 178-87

* **A charm to break spells:** Take lead and draw on it a unique figure¹⁷ holding a torch in its right / hand, in its left—and at the left—a knife, and on its head three falcons, and under its legs a scarab, and under the scarab¹⁸ an ouroboros serpent.

The things to be written around / the figure are these:

⊗ K ⊗ × ÷ × ⊞ ○ ∪ ∩ ∩
N Y W I T A W T T ⊞ ⊞ ⊞
E F ^ 4 2



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

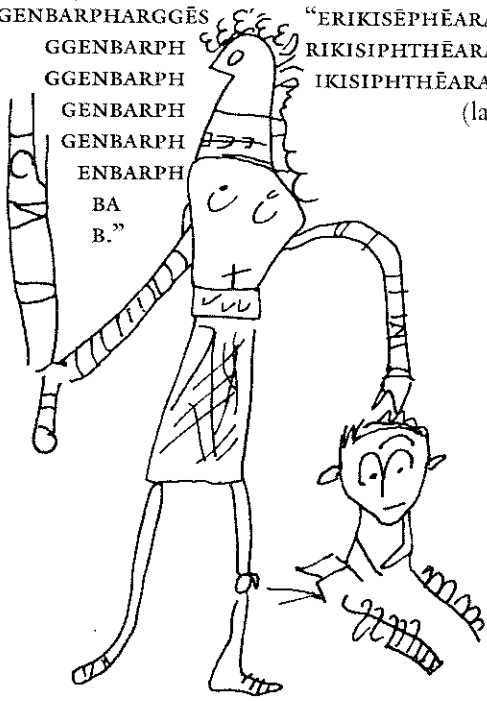
16. CHPHYRIS is the god Khepri, the scarab. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.; VII. 584 and n., and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

17. The figure drawn below on the papyrus does not correspond to the description.

18. On the scarab see n. 16 above.

fashion. / Cut open a frog and put it into its stomach. After stiching it up with Anubian thread and a bronze needle, hang it up on a reed from your property by means of hairs from the tip of the tail of a black ox, / at the east of the property near the rising of the sun.

“OUSIRI SESEGGENBARPHARGGĒS “ERIKISÉPHĒARARACHARAPHTHISIKĒRA
OUSIRIISESE GGENBARPH RIKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒR 245
SIRISESE GGENBARPH IKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒ”
IRISESE GENBARPH (ladder-like).
RISESE GENBARPH
ISESE ENBARPH
SESEG BA
ESEG B.”

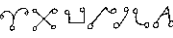


“Supreme angels, just as this frog drips with blood and dries up, so also will the body of him, NN / whom NN bore, because I conjure you, who are in command of fire MASKELLI MASKELLŌ” (add the other usual items).²⁷

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 256–64

*Taking a three-cornered sherd from the fork of a road—pick it up with your left hand—inscribe it with myrrhed ink and hide it. [Write:] ASSTRAELOS²⁸ CHRAELOS, dissolve every enchantment against me, NN, for I conjure you / by the great and terrible names which the winds fear and the rocks split when they hear it.”



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XXXVI. 264–74

*Take blood from a nightowl and myrrh ink, and mix the two together, and draw the figure²⁹ as appended, with a new reed pen on a clean strip of papyrus. At the same time stare³⁰ at a clean wall and look toward the east. Fasten the figure to an all-linen handkerchief with thorns / from a male date palm and hide it and stand back from it six cubits. After hiding it, measure and step back fifty-nine paces three times, standing on the mark of the six cubits.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The purpose of this ritual is not stated.

27. Or “(add the rest, and the usual items).”
28. On the name ASTRAELOS, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95.
29. The figure is not provided in the payrus. The preceding characters are marked off from this spell by a dividing line.
30. Preisendanz suggests that the two phrases in ll. 268–69 may be variants.

PGM XXXVI. 312–20

* **Charm to open a door:** Take from a firstborn ram an umbilical cord that has not fallen to the ground, and after mixing in myrrh, apply it to the door bolts when you want to open a door, and say this spell, and you will open it immediately.

Now this is the spell: / “Open up for me, open up for me, door bolt; be opened, 315
be opened, door bolt, because I am Horos the Great, ARCHEPHRENEPSOU PHIRIGX, son of Osiris and Isis. I want the godless Typhon to flee;³⁹ immediately, immediately; quickly, / quickly.” 320

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 320–32

* **A contraceptive, the only one in the world:** Take as many bittervetch seeds as you want for the number of years you wish to remain sterile. Steep them in the menses of a menstruating woman. Let them steep in her own genitals. And take a frog⁴⁰ / that is alive and throw the bittervetch seeds into its mouth so that the frog 325
swallows them, and release the frog alive at the place where you captured him. And take a seed of henbane, steep it in mare’s milk; and take the nasal mucus of a cow, with grains of barley, put these into a [piece of] leather skin made from a fawn and on the outside bind it up with mulehide skin, / and attach it as an amulet during 330
the waning of the moon [which is] in a female sign of the zodiac on a day of Kronos or Hermes.⁴¹ Mix in also with the barley grains cerumen from the ear⁴² of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXVI. 333–60

* **Love spell of attraction over myrrh:**⁴³ Say the spell and [put it on the] flat stone of the bath.

The spell is this: / “Myrrh, Myrrh, who serve at the side of gods, who stir up 335
rivers and mountains, who burn up the marsh of Achalda,⁴⁴ who consume with fire the godless Typhon, who are ally of Horos, the protection of Anubis, the guide of Isis. Whenever I throw you, Myrrh, upon the *strobilos*⁴⁵ of the / flat stone of this 340
bath, as you burn, so also will you burn her, NN, because I adjure you by the strong and inexorable Destiny, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRAS REXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPAGANYX LEPETAN / LEPE- 345
TAN MANTOUNOBOË, and by the Destiny of this, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIŌYD LAKIŌYDA. Attract, burn her, NN (add the usual, whatever you wish), because I adjure you by the strong and great names, THEILŌCHNOU ITI PESKOUTH I TETOCHNOUPHI SPEUSOUTI IAŌ SABAŌTH / ADŌNAI PAGOURĒ ZAGOURĒ ABRASAX ABRATHIAŌ 350
TERĒPHAËL MOUISRŌ⁴⁶ LEILAM SEMESILAM THOOU IIE ĒŌ OSIR⁴⁷ ATHOM⁴⁸

39. This passage contains a *historiola* of Horus escaping from Seth/Typhon. See for a parallel Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 214–23. [R.K.R.]

40. The frog was associated with fertility, and therefore in Egypt with Heket, the goddess of birth. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 198–99, s.v. “Frosch”; M. Weber, “Frosch,” *RAC* 8 (1972): 524–38, esp. 524–29. [R.K.R.]

41. That is, the planets Saturn and Mercury.

42. Also possible is “dirt from the ear,” but “ear wax” is more likely, given Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1198.

43. Cf. the parallel to the spell in *PGM* IV. 1495–1595.

44. This locality is not identified.

45. The meaning of the term is obscure; it may refer to some item having the shape of a pinecone. See LSJ, s.v. “στροβίλος.” Cf. *PGM* II. 25 and n.

46. See on this detail *PGM* III. 659 and n.

47. OSIR is Osiris. [R.K.R.]

48. ATHOM is Atum. [R.K.R.]

- CHAMNEUS PHEPHAŌN PHEPHEŌPHAI PHEPHEŌPHTHA. Arouse yourself, Myrrh,
 355 and go into every place⁴⁹ and seek out her, NN, and / open her right side and enter
 like thunder, like lightning, like a burning flame, and make her thin, [pale,] weak,
 limp, incapable of [action] in [any part of her body] until she leaps forth and comes
 360 to me, [NN, son of] NN (add the usual, / whatever you wish), immediately, immediately;
 quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 361–71

***Irresistible love spell of attraction**, which works on the same day: Take the skin of an ass⁵⁰ and write the following in the blood from the womb of a silurus⁵¹ after mixing in the juice of the plant Sarapis.

- 365 *The writing is this*: “SISISŌTH, attract to me / her, NN on this very day, in this very hour, because I adjure you by the name CHYCHACHAMER MEROUTH⁵² CHMĒ-MINOUTH THIŌNTHOUTH PHIOPHAŌ⁵³ BELECHAS AAA EEE ĒĒĒ L’ S’ S’ S’ N’ N’ N’. Attract her, NN, to NN” (add the usual).

- 370 And put the magical material inside / with vetch and place it in the mouth of a dead dog, and it will attract her in the same hour.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XXXVII. 1–26

- *. . . not one of the unclean men . . . I did not have intercourse with a woman . . . [knowingly]. Whenever I swear, the [existing? . . .] relatives, that on my father’s
 5 side and / [mother?], friends and my father’s relatives with . . . not, and this one . . . into a container, thus taking . . . [into a] suburb, with the loud voice . . . of the prophets and pro[phetesses]. / And whenever in . . . swear, lest . . . such as heard. . . .
 10 . . . / [of Theodoros?], that is, of Selenion(?), [it is not necessary] to subtract or add a thing. If . . . these . . . cast from the . . . as mentioned before; and another . . . from every rite / . . . your . . . is unlawful . . . should receive a letter . . . piously . . . receive extreme ill-luck, it is . . . lest you . . . taken . . . / the. . . .
 15 20 25

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text was acquired in Egypt with the other magical papyri, PGM XXXVI and XXXVIII, and is thus presumed to contain portions of a magical spell; however, the recto (ll. 1–14) was written in a hand different from that of the verso (ll. 14–26) and seems to contain a text of a biblical or theological nature. The verso may contain a text on some type of divination.

PGM XXXVIII. 1–26

*. . . at the proper time purify [yourself for seven days and]¹ take myrrh ink and [write] on [pure] papyrus . . . of baths: “Come here to me . . . who have the power

49. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 71, 101.

50. The animal of Seth/Typhon.

51. The silurus is a large river fish which seems to have been a part of the common fare, either pickled or salted. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 9. 17, 44; Aelian, *NA* 14. 25; Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 33; 14. 132. The silurus also occurs in PGM IV. 3097, but Preisendanz there altered the text to read αἰλουρος, “cat.” Diehl, in Preisendanz’s apparatus, proposes the same emendation here. [E.N.O.]

52. MEROUTH is Egyptian *mrwt*, “love.” [R.K.R.]

53. THOUTH PHIOPHAŌ is Egyptian and means “Thoth the great, the great.” [R.K.R.]

1. Eitrem reads ἀγνευσον [ἑπτα ἡμέρας καὶ . . .], which D. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1975) 72, translates with “Be purified for seven days.” The verb, however, is active and requires an object. Furthermore, the papyrus uses numerals, not words, so it is better to read ἀγνευσον [σὲ ζ’ ἡμέρας καὶ . . .]. [E.N.O.]

... / ... and go into the house ... frightening and hiding ... of the door. For by the contribution(?)² of her ... by your [power, attract] to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, because ... / ... to find sleep and ... brain ... of sacred phantoms ... of the sea ... / [who copulate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR,³ you are the one who are] daily visible [and who set in the northwest] of heaven, [and rise in the southeast. In the 1st hour] you have [the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH. In the 2nd hour you have the form] of a dog; your name is / [SOUPHI. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a snake; your name is] ABERAN NEMANE [THŌUTH. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab]: [your] name is [SESENIPS. In the 5th hour you have the form] of an ass; [your] name is [ENPHANCHOUHP. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion]; your name is [BAISOLBAI ... who control] time. / [In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is] OUMESTHŌTH. In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is [DIATI-PHĒ, who becomes invisible]. ...⁴

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is so fragmentary that the text owes more to Eitrem's ingenuity than to the copyist. Ll. 15–26 seem to be a doublet and, in part, an abridged version of IV. 1642–79. The edition of Preisendanz provides no translation; Moke offers one only of ll. 1–12.

PGM XXIX. 1–21

*“THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

RATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THAUTHŌLTHARA

AUTHŌLTHARA

UTHŌLTHARA

THŌLTHARA

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THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA 5

RATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THAUTHŌLTHARA

AUTHŌLTHARA

UTHŌLTHARA 10

THŌLTHARA

ŌLTHARA

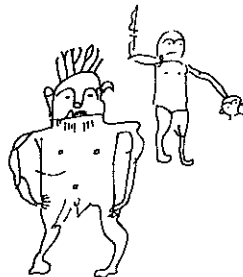
LTHARA

THARA

ARA 15

RA

A



I adjure you by the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four elements / of the world, that you attract Herakles whom Taaipis bore, to me, to Allous, whom Alexandria bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The figure on the left is that of the dwarf god Bes. In the Greco-Roman period the erotic associates of Bes became so pronounced that he seems to have become a patron of brothels. See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907) 12–14. [R.K.R.]

2. The papyrus has *προσδόσι*, for which Eitrem suggests *προσδόσει*, hence “by the contribution,” but the papyrus is so mutilated that any translation must be tentative. [E.N.O.]

3. PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR corresponds to Egyptian “Fate, the god (of) the gods.” Cf. *PGM III*. 144–45. [R.K.R.]

4. The list of forms continues at *PGM IV*. 1679. This papyrus is clearly a fragment as well as fragmentary. [E.N.O.]

PGM XL. 1–18

*“O master Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis, I [pray] to you, I Artemisie, daughter of Amasis, against my daughter’s father, [who] robbed [her] of the funeral gifts and tomb. So if he has not acted justly toward me and his own children—as indeed he has acted unjustly toward me and his own children—let
 5 Oserapis and the gods / grant that he not approach the grave of his children, nor that he bury his own parents. As long as my cry for help is deposited here, he and what belongs to him should be utterly destroyed badly, both on earth and on sea, by Oserapis and the gods who sit together with Oserapis, nor should he attain propitiation from Oserapis nor from the gods who sit with Oserapis.

10 Artemisie has deposited this supplication, supplicating / Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis to punish justly. As long as my supplication [is deposited] here, the father of this girl should not by any means attain propitiation from the gods. [Who]ever [seizes] this document [and] does an injustice to Artemisie, the god will inflict a penalty on him . . . to no one . . . except . . . Artemisie commands
 15 that . . . as . . . / not suffice . . . observed me in need of . . . and to me who lives . . . observed . . . in need of. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. For similar curses against desecrating a tomb, see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938) esp. 131–38; B. Boyaval, “Une malédiction pour viol de sépulture,” *ZPE* 14 (1974): 71–73.

PGM XLI. 1–9

5 *“CHRIA . . . BĒEI[NÖR; SOUSI[NEPHI] . . . trembles / ENTOKE KENTA[BAÖTH] . . . thence, [trembles] . . . NITHIORA BAINCHÖÖÖCH. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary spell contains only a few recognizable words, mostly magical.

PGM XLII. 1–10

*“A A A A A A
 E E E E E E
 Ê Ê Ê Ê Ê Ê
 I I I I I I O O O O
 5 Y Y Y Y Y
 Ô Ô Ô Ô Ô
 [“magical characters”]
 . . . ARAËL SAB[AÖTH
 O]URIEL ASABA . . .
 10 . . . OSËPRAK.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. The magical characters mentioned in the text are unavailable for transcription. The slip of papyrus probably served as an amulet.

PGM XLIII. 1–27

*“[ABLANA]THANALBA	EMANOUEĒL	
[BLA]NATHANALBA	ASOUĒL	
LANATHANALBA	MARMARĒL	
ANATHANALBA	MELCHIĒL	
NATHANALBA	OURIĒL	5
ATHANALBA	THOURIĒL	
THANALBA	MARMARIŌTH	
ANALBA	ATHANAĒL	
ALBA	AŌĒ . . .	10
LBA	SABAŌTH	
BA	ADŌNAI	
A	ELŌAI	

ABŌ . . . / SESENGEN SPHRANGĒS MICHAĒL SABAŌTH LAPAPA / . . . GABRIĒL 15/20
 SOURIĒL RAPHAĒL, protect Sophia / whom Theoncilla bore from every shivering 25
 fit and fever, immediately, quickly.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XLIV. 1–18

*“THŌPHŌPHA. MOS . . . AMOU K . . .

A A A A A A A	. . . OUABEIO . . . S BAMERM	
	. . . L . . .	
E E E E E E E	carache EY . . . MATI unwritten	
	SYRID	
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē	partaking (?), might ascend (?)	
	driving away . . .	
I I I I I I I	fever (?), just (?) PAĒ . . .	X
O O O O O O O	TAI, burning these things	
	until	N
Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	ATHIAL PYRON MOLOS	I
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō		R
Y	MICHAĒL	ŌZ Y
Ō	ICHAĒL	YZ O
	CHAĒL	OZ
E E E E E E E	AĒL	IZ
P	ĒL	
	L	
	MICHAĒL	. . . Z
	[ICHAĒL]	EZ
	[CHAĒL]	
CH S	AĒL	. . . Z.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text may have served as a phylactery for carache and possibly fever. On the right side of the papyrus there is a figure holding a staff and with the letters “A” and “Ō” on either side; the representation of the figure, however, was never published.

PGM XLV. 1–8

- *“... R... RPHEË ABRAXAS IRMOUN †ACHOA BRĒPHAUTH IOU ATHĒTHAL
KATHŌLŌ... NITASPHIN BAROUCH BAROUCH DAULA ADŌNAIA CHAITA SIAMOUR
5 ERBELMŌN ELŌE ADŌNAIA MELĒ... A SESEMIE... LAMEBDO / ELŌE ACHRAI
ĒNNANAI AZAËL CHERMAIŌ B... ROBBAN J(erusa)lem... N†”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XLVI. 1–4

*... [If] *you wish the god to speak*: ... These names ... “SON LALEIKACHRI...
KAIE...”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This fragmentary papyrus, which contains portions of only two spells, contains here a request for a revelation. In the series of words to be spoken or written some Greek can be read.

PGM XLVI. 4–8

- 5 ***Spell to silence and [subject]**: ... on an unbaked potsherd ... : / “IŌ SĒTH IŌ
ERBĒTH IŌ... IŌ SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX... IŌ [OSIRIS].”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XLVII. 1–17

- 5 ***“ĒL ĒL¹ STRAGĒL STRAKOUĒL, the god, / the SATOUCHEOS, the PSATOUCHEOS,²**
10 **protect, shelter [the wearer against fever] whether [it is] every other day, / or daily,**
15 **or equinoctial, or perpetual; purify us, ELAOTH / SABAOth ... [[two lines of**
characters]].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XLVIII. 1–21

- *“**KLE¹ [[characters]] AAAAAA KLE ANNGL ... O SESEGGESBARPHARAGGES,**
5 **help us, Atikhis; bring aid (?) / with all your powers. They must move like the one**
whom the Cherubim have led,² the Father Pantokrator, who is in heaven ... the
Cherubim. You must fly like the birds of heaven. He³ must move like a piercing
10 **wind, ... good, through / the power of these names and their saving acts and the**
phylacteries and the power of the honored (?) Place.⁴ Yes, yes! Quickly, quickly!
[[2 lines of characters]]. And a blessing upon the name SESSEGGES, together
15 **with / ... AI SACHLAS EL and MEFEJRAHIEU ... names, aid ... the place SA ...**
20 **aid (?) ... [the] whole house ... INETENEI great (?) ... IEL EŌN / ... the birds**
of great (?)⁵ [[characters]] ... OU.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer.

1. *El* is the common Hebrew word for “god” but was also the name of a particular god worshiped mostly along the Palestine-Syrian coast.

2. Perhaps the definite articles before this and the two following terms should be omitted, and they should be taken as names of gods or demons. These magical texts rarely use the definite article before the names of deities invoked, and SATOUCHEOS looks like an epithet (“loaded, burdened”?) and PSATOUCHEOS like a byform of it.

1. Or, in Greek, “etc.”

2. Or “they must lead forth,” “who move like,” or “who lead forth.”

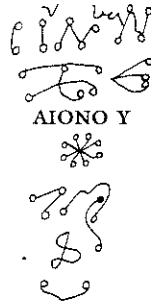
3. Or “you.”

4. In later Jewish writings, God is frequently designated as “the Place.”

5. Or “which we come” or “your fathers.”

PGM XLIX

*



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. An amulet with a series of characters and the name “Aion.”

PGM L. 1–18

*. . . out of . . . the . . . and if their principal (lots ?) should [fall] on the side of [the
lots] of “Tyche” or “Daimon” [it is good ?] for a spell (?) concerning sorcery / —the 5
same principal (tosses?) of the lot producing the same result, with a “Tyche” or
“Daimon” being an excellent toss. And the one who tosses concerning sorcery . . .
executes the same given results for the given toss. These things mentioned before
will be . . . / . . . of “Daimon.” If ever . . . it happens in your own place or even . . . 10
by malevolent ones (?), / as it testifies of an exile, it signifies either . . . or dis- 15
graceful ones; if then a benevolent one occurs, a malevolent one by the benevolent
ones is changed (?). . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. Very little sense can be made from this scrappy fragment. The text seems to deal with responses to a type of knucklebone or dice oracle.

PGM LI. 1–27

*“I exhort you, daimon of the dead [and] the necessity of death which has hap-
pened in your case, image of the gods, to hear / my request and to avenge me, 5
Neilammon, whom Tereus bore, because Etes has brought a charge against me, / or 10
against my daughter Aynchis or her children or those who might ever be [with]
me. And I exhort you not to listen to those who have brought charges against us,
either / [from] Hermes, whom . . . bore, [or] EU . . . s, who is known as [Apelles], 15
or from Harpochrates, whom Tereus bore, [who is] a wicked man and / ungodly 20
toward me, his father. I ask you, daimon of the dead, not to listen to them [but to]
listen [only] to me, Neilammon, [since I am] / pious [toward the] gods, [and to 25
cause them to be] ill for their [whole] life.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This necromantic request is directed against Neilammon’s legal opponents, one of whom appears to be his own son. The text follows the format of an Egyptian letter to the dead. Cf. Alan Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928). [R.K.R.]

PGM LII. 1–9

*. . . the formula:

“ . . . stout of heart, silver-eddyding,
And with the Graces CHŌOS EU . . .
Both Hera and Selene, thus
/ The wits, which come upon to . . .
. . . nothing, about the sea,
. . . S . . . ES . . . ES . . . however much
. . . .”

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary papyrus contains portions of two or three spells

probably dealing with love magic. The first of these, translated here, preserves a poetic incantation whose first few lines scan as dactylic hexameters.

PGM LII. 9–19

10 *Take an ichneumon / from the countryside and throw in some vinegar myrrh and
boil for 3 days . . . but. . .

15 “. . . and . . . / Peitho . . . will see a . . . with mighty . . . or might grant me
favor . . . or love me in . . . from a mighty (?). . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LII. 20–26

20 *Spell to induce insomnia: Take some . . . grasp, speak the formula . . . speak
. . . : “. . . ēōs mother’s, summoning Eros.”

25 Speak *the formula*: “. . . through night and day, from (?) / . . . set a flame in the
heart. . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LIII–LVI

PGM LIII and LIV correspond to the unpublished texts of the papyrus rolls cataloged together as *P. Strassb.* I. 39 (P. gr. 1769 and 1770 in F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts—und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912, 134–35). PGM LIII (no. 1769) measures 32 × 22 cm and contains fifteen lines; PGM LIV (no. 1770) measures 22 × 16 cm and contains ten lines. Both date from the Arabic period.

PGM LV and LVI correspond to the two unpublished texts, *P. Strassb.* I. 39A (P. gr. 762 and 788; Preisigke 136). They are written by the same hand and stem also from the Arabic period. PGM LV measures 28 × 22 cm and contains twelve lines; PGM LVI (17 × 11 cm) contains eight lines primarily made up of letter permutations, with SY SZ and SCH predominating.

PGM LVII. 1–37

*. . . ADŌNAI. . . *These are the words*: “[Accomplish] for him, NN, whatever I
have written on [this] for you, and I will¹ leave [the east] and the west² [which] has
been established [formerly], and [I will preserve] the flesh of Osiris³ [always] and I
5 will not break / [the] bonds with which you bound Typhon,⁴ and I will not call
those who have died a violent death but will leave them alone, and I will not pour
out the oil of Syrian cedar [but] will leave it alone, and I will save Ammon and not
kill him, and I will [not] scatter the limbs of Osiris, and I will hide you [from the]
10 giants;⁵ EI EI EI EI [EI EI] EI EI CHOIN / [APHOUTH] CHENNONEU APHOUTH
ANOU AŌTH EI EI EI PEOOE [IAKŌB] MANNOZ ARANNOUTH CHAL . . . APH KOULIX

1. For these implied threats see PGM II. 54, and Papyrus Ebers, col. 30, ll. 12–16: “If the stroke dispells itself . . . I shall not speak (the threat), I shall not repeat the statement.” [R.K.R.]

2. For this notion of the collapse of the east and west, see PGM V. 284.

3. For mythical details regarding the death of Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A–B; 35, 364F; 42, 368A; and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 340–42, 434–35, 460; Diodorus Siculus 1. 11, with the commentary by Burton, *Diodorus Siculus* 60–61, 89, 95.

4. For the binding of Typhon, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 349–50.

5. For the role of the giants, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 25, 360E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 385–86; W. Speyer, “Gigant,” *RAC* 10 (1978): 1247–76, esp. 1263.

NOË N . . . K BORNATH LOUBEINE AOUËR OUEIRE ITIN LOTOL. Recite the secrets of the many-named goddess, Isis.”⁶

[The] *compulsive spell* in order to show you whether the matter has been carried out: / Burn cypress with the strip of papyrus and say: “[Isis,] holy maiden, give me a sign of the things that are going to happen, reveal your holy veil, shake your black [Tyche] and move the constellation of the bear, holy [IÖTHË] PNOUN GMOËRMENDOUMBA⁷ great-named [IAKŌ] / PHTHOËRI, THERMOËR, PHTHAŌ,⁸ great-named IOTHË [PHNOU]THOUËR BŌB HELIX, great-named IAKŌ.”

When you have said this and at the same time have opened your hands, the goddess will remove the [edge] of your hand from your breast. For you will see [a star being led] of necessity [to you], at which you are to look / [intently], as it flashes [a picture] while rushing [toward you], so that you become stricken of God. [Wear the] above picture [for protection]. [For], in the name of [the goddess], it is a [picture] of Kronos who encourages you. After you have received this sign, rejoice / at your [fortune] and say once: “CHAITHRAL.” For when you have said this, she will cooperate with you [in whatever] you pray for. And immediately say these words, [lest] there occur a removal of the stars and your lucky day: “THA . . . OUSIR⁹ PHNOUCH MELLANCHIŌ KERDŌ MELIBEU . . . KASP . . . NEBENTHTRIX GARN . . . Ō THRAŌ SAU TRAIS TRAIS / BASYM; immediately, immediately, accomplish this, within this moment. Very glorious Pronoia,¹⁰ make the one who yesterday was [unlovable] beautiful [in the sight of all], make . . . [former]. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LVIII. 1–14

*. . . [Spell to bind . . . (?)]:¹ / Take a lamella [made of lead] . . . : “I say to you, you who died prematurely and who were [called and taken] away by the wicked [Typhon. Commanding you] is / the great god who has [dominion above and rules over the lower [gods]. Take into custody this wicked [and impious] man,² because this [is the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris]³ and who [ate⁴ the sacred fish].⁵ Take into custody [him, NN, whom NN bore . . .].”⁶

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The exact purpose of this spell is not known, though it is clearly a type of curse.

6. On Isis with a myriad of names see PGM LIX. 13; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 22, p. 284, l. 9: *deae multinominis*; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53, 372E: *μυριώνυμος*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 502–3.

7. PNOUN GMOËR is equivalent to Egyptian, “Nun (the Abyss), great power.” [R.K.R.]

8. The sequence of PHTHOËRI . . . PHTHAŌ is equivalent to Egyptian *Pth wr* and *Pth ʿ3*, “Ptah the great.” [R.K.R.]

9. This is Osiris.

10. On the identification of Isis and Providence (Pronoia), see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 15, p. 277, l. 4; and on this see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 241–44, 323.

1. The full title is not preserved. The opening line may have read *κατά[δυσμος]*. Cf. Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.*

2. Or “such-and-such a wicked and impious man.” [R.D.K.]

3. The restoration is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188, reprinted in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 187. See on this point Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A, where the burning of the boat is not mentioned, however. See for further references Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40.

4. The filling of the lacuna is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188.

5. For sacred fish, see PGM V. 270–80, and J. F. Borghouts, “The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348,” *OMRM* 51 (1971): 26 (a similar sacrilege), and *Excursus III* 210–17. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 191–94, s.v. “Fische, heilige.” [R.K.R.]

6. Assuming the restoration in Preisendanz as correct. However, it seems more likely to restore the parallel phrase from above, “take into custody [this wicked and impious . . . man]. [R.D.K.]

PGM LVIII. 15–39

15/20 *... when the [moon] is full . . . , make an offering of incense . . . / . . . lick clean,
SITOU LAS EK . . . KŌS, . . . [*under*] *the middle of the chest*:

“IŌ ERBĒTH
IAKOUMBIA
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
/ IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
BASAOU
KOCHLŌTA
TETOMĒ
BASSAOU
/ PATATHNAX
OŠESRŌ
IŌ IŌ PAKERBĒTH
KEACH, come
[I]O ABRASAX
/ (add the usual).

“[ABER]AMTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The translation differs from Preisendanz in ll. 20, 34, 35.

PGM LIX. 1–15

*“... Saioneis, whom [Sentaesis] bore. You, slave of the [glorious] god ABLANA-
THANALBA, you servant of the [good] god AKRAMMACHAMAREI, you, slave of
5 [IAEŌ] SABAŌ ABRASAX ADŌNAI, / you, servant of the [four] good [and] glorious
gods, ABERAMENTHOYLERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA AEMEINAEBAR-
RŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIEMEA ERĒKISTHPHĒARARACHARARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE IA-
EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA-
10 BŌEAI, / you, the good and glorious gods, protect the mummy and the body and
all the grave of the younger Phtheious, who is also [called] Saioneis, whom Sen-
taesis bore . . . the everlasting [punishments given by] the Lady [Isis], / goddess of
15 many names.”¹

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LX. 1–5

*“OBPHŌCHONMPOUO

AIEROĒNIONO

IBOPHA

IKON”

*Reading: Morton Smith.

**PDM lxi. 1–30**

5 *... to Truth . . . before you / incense (?) . . . to the . . . your head . . . land
[col. 1, 5] . . . / look . . . above / these . . . Lady of the Flood (?) [. . . I]A IA OO . . . in truth
10 . . . and we come into . . . above after the . . . Teach me. Show . . . Anubis of . . .
[I, 10] [Spirit of] Darkness . . . / Anubis . . . Anubis of the . . . Do not. . . Do not let
15 . . . know (?) . . . true manner [without a matter (?)] of falsehood . . . saying: “I am

1. For this epithet of Isis, see PGM LVII. 13 and n.

1. Restored [tun] *eiap* as a parallel to *tamo*. Both mean “to instruct.” See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 73b. For the restorations by R.K.R. here and in the notes below, see his forthcoming article, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* 1985.

[OR]THOBAUBO . . . my name . . . OOO is my name. My name in [truth (?) . . .] [I, 15]
 . . . May you be exalted. Work . . . Anubis of the horizon. Anubis . . . / Anubis of 20
 the son. Do not . . . twice. The great ruler. . . It is this god who . . . face of a [II, 5]
 donkey. This . . . come . . . to me from them (?) which are before you . . . which 25
 you. . . . [II, 10]

*Tr.: Robert K. Ritner, following the edition and translation in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. I/1–16 (original translation from plate; not previously read by the editors), and col. II/1–13. Sections titles in the Demotic texts are indicated only if they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM lxi. 30–41

*. . . which . . . / seven . . . dead . . . rue seven, bone of . . . wax (?) . . . seven 31
 . . . / . . . seven, mix them all. Recite all the spells of the vessel over them at dawn, [col. III,
 midday [and] night at the beginning of the month and eat (?) seven of them each 2]
 and every month. / You find his heart.² 36

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Sir Hubert Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. III. [III, 7]
 41
 [III, 12]

PDM lxi. 42

*“. . . *you and those who are.* . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson, in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/1. This fragmentary line may be part of the rubric of col. III (see Bell et al. p. 14, ad loc.). The fact that these words are written in red ink (in the original manuscript) suggests this is the title (or subtitle) of a new spell.

PDM lxi. 43–48 [PGM LXI. i–v (not in Preisendanz)]

*. . . *remedy* for [an] ulcer (?)³ of the head . . . : one mina (?); this is what is [to be 46
 spoken?] . . . of frankincense and [celandine? . . .] / of a male ass [together with (4)
 . . .], excellently, and add . . . a little, and smear it on the. . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/2; and Roy Kotansky (Greek section), following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *ibid.*, ll. 3–7.

PDM lxi. 49–57

*. . . *head*: . . . [papyrus ?], it being broken (?) in the place / . . . oil; you should 51
 utter the name of . . . while they are not dry; you should utter the spell (?) twice . . . [col. IV,
 one grain to the name of the . . . name of palm, persea, [and] cypress⁴ / mulberry, 10]
 laurel, black poplar, pine. . . . 56

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/8–16. The spell presumably describes another [IV, 15]
 remedy for the head.

PDM lxi. 58–62 [PGM LXI. vi.x (not in Preisendanz)]

**For an erection*: Woad plant [or corn flag?] grows in the oasis in abundance; it's both female and [male]. Boil these in a pot and grind them up [in wine with] pep-

2. Or “wish.”

3. As suggested by R.K.R.

4. Written in Demotic and Greek.

- 61 per; / smear it on [your] genitals. [If you wish it] to relax again, [provide] with the
[col. IV, decoction. . . .
19] *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto
A (p. 22). For a similar spell, compare *PGM* VII. 184–85.

PDM lxi. 63–78

- *. . . *Har-Thoth*: You write on the [front of a] laurel leaf [and you light] a lamp on
50 a table and you speak to the laurel opposite the lamp. Do not look at the lamp! You
[col. V, 4] should come; you should lie down; you should place the laurel / under your head;
and you should pray to Har-Thoth. He answers you in a dream. The front of the
laurel leaf, write these [words] on it; you write it in ink of myrrh and wine:

The first: "THOYTHKH"

The second: "LABINOYTHKH."

The third: "PHRĒKH."

The fourth: "SALBANAKHA."

The fifth: "falcon."

The sixth: "ape."

The seventh: "ibis."



- 55 And say these words: "Come to me, Thoth, Eldest one, Eldest one . . . of Re,
[V, 9] who went forth from Atum, who was born / in the form . . . from the limb of
Atum! Come to me, Thoth, heart of Re, tongue⁵ of Tatenen,⁶ throat⁷ of the one
whose name is hidden!⁸ Come to me, HEFKAE HEPKA HEBIKE NEKHE-P-KAI!
60 Come to me, Lord of Truth, who loves Truth, / who reckons [lifetime?]⁹, who
[V, 14] judges Truth, who does Truth!¹⁰ Come to me in your beautiful face in this good
night and make answer to me concerning everything about which I am entreating
here today, truly without falsehood therein! Come to me in your form of excellent
one, in your [secret] image . . . ! Come to me and [tell me] an answer to every-
thing, [truly,] without falsehood therein." [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. V, 1–5a/6.

PDM lxi. 79–94

- 80 *A way of finding a thief . . . : You bring a head of a drowned man; / you carry it
[col. VI, to the fields; you bury it; you put flax seed over it until you gather the flax; you
2] gather [it] upon it when it is high and alone; you [bring] the flax to the village;
you¹¹ wash the head by itself in milk; you cover it; and you take it to the place
which you wish.

- 85 When you want to discover a thief, you should bring a small amount¹² of flax;
[VI, 7] you should utter a spell to it; you should say the name of the man twice, one by one
(?) / you should make a knot and draw it together. If he is the one who stole it,¹³ he
speaks while you tie the knot.

5. As read by R.K.R.

6. A holy place in Memphis. See Bonnet, *RARG* 769–70.

7. As read by R.K.R.

8. A pun on Amoun/hidden.

9. As read by R.K.R.

10. For these epithets, see P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979 [reprint]), appendix B. [R.K.R.]

11. Actually written "they."

12. Translation by R.K.R.

13. Literally, "carried/lifted it."

The spells which you should recite: Formula: “To me belongs the word of Khu;¹⁴ to me belongs the word of Geb; to me belongs the word of . . . of Isis; to me belongs the word of this ibis, son of Thoth; Lo, all hail! Lo, all hail! I shall gather here today my sister SAMAL[A], saying, ‘I shall give them the words / of Geb which he gave to Isis when Shu (?) concealed them in the papyrus (swamp) of Buto, she bringing the small amount of flax in her hand, she forming it into a knot, she tying these forelegs (?)¹⁵ until he was revealed to Horus in the papyrus (swamp). I will bring this small amount of flax in my own hand, I making it into a knot until NN is revealed . . . the sound-eye. After (?) answering, he will lift (?)’ [It is] very good.

90
[VI, 12]



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/1–16.

PDM lxi. 95–99

***Spell of giving praise** [and] love in Nubian: “SYMYTH KESYTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LAT, son of (?) NAPH, son of (?) BAKHA.” Say these; put gum on your hand; and kiss your shoulder twice,¹⁶ and go before the man whom you desire.

95
[col. VII, 1]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/1–5.

PDM lxi. 100–105

***The red cloth** of Nephthys: “Pre arose; he sent forth the *Seket* boat¹⁷ of heaven; the water under the bark of Pre has dried up. The gods and the two crowns (of the south and the north) complain until NN is brought to NN. If not doing it is what will be done, the gods whose names I said will bend down so that they fall into the fire. . . . I am the one who said it; she will repeat it ‘Be destroyed, impious one!’ She is the one who said it; / she is the one who heard it [and] repeated it.” [It is] very good when he says it.

100
[col. VII, 6]
105
[VII, 11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/6–11.

PDM lxi. 106–11

***Prescription** for a donkey not moving: Ruc, dung of falcon, dung of crocodile; you should apply it and you should anoint the ears or its nose or the nostril of its nose.

Formula: “He of the heart. . . . Horus [is] behind you; Geb is pursuing you, Isis being with them (?) . . . many hours. / The arrow of Horus¹⁸ will go into you in order to. . . .”

111
[col. VII, 16]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/12–16.

14. Name of the twenty-second decan. [R.K.R.]

15. That is the foreleg of Seth (as bull) when killed. [R.K.R.]

16. Translation by R.K.R.

17. The morning bark of the sun.

18. Translation by R.K.R.

PDM lxi. 112–27

*A prescription for making a [woman] love you: An image of Osiris [made] of wax—you should . . . , you bringing hair (?) and [wool] of a donkey together with a bone of a lizard. / You should [bury them under the] doorsill of her house.¹⁹ If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it . . . the image of Osiris with (?) ram's wool; you should put the lizard bone . . . ; / you should bury it again under the doorsill of her house; and you should recite . . . before Isis in the evening when the moon has risen. Listen before you bury. . . .

“O secret image of Osiris [made] of wax, O powerful one, O protection of . . . , O lord of praise, love, and respect, may you go to every house which so-and-so is [in and send so-and-so] to every house which so-and-so is in; the tips of her feet follow after his heels . . . / while her eyes are crying, while her heart longs (?) her . . . which she will do. O image of Osiris [made] of wax, if you will be stubborn [and not send so-and-so] after so-and-so, I shall go to the chest which . . . and I shall come . . . black, I shall gather it with a tooth . . . black, and I shall cause [Isis] to receive . . . after Osiris her husband and [brother . . .]. / Hail to you, O lord of time, the one whom I caused [. . .] who is in the House of the Obelisk.²⁰ Come [to me . . .].”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VIII/1–16.

PDM lxi. 128–47

* . . . You should cause a man to drink (?) . . . [tick] of a black dog in the right ear . . . [wool?]²¹ of the offspring of a black ram / . . . the face (?) of your foot on the day of immersing without blood; you should kill the tick. . . . When you finish you should sleep with the woman; [you should anoint] your phallus with it; you should wash it . . . ; you should cause her to drink; you should send the wool / . . . of olive; you should bind it to [your] right arm . . . ; [you] should cause the woman to drink . . . of the tongue of a bull . . . name . . . them in your matter / . . . your blood; you should . . . PHAMOYROYTH THTO . . . T . . . ; wash it in [sweet?] wine . . . to it / . . . to it. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. i/1–20.

PDM lxi. 148–58

*Here are their names:²² “ORNAI SORNIN . . . OZO RANAY SARZANA IAO / XOINAI OOO NAO MELOI NAI ERIANA E . . . ASNAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me.”

4] Their (?) green ink: you should dye / . . . myrrh . . . ; you should burn them; 156 and you should pound them . . . of a child for drinking (?) burnt date[wine?].

[v. ii, 9] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. ii/1–12.

PDM lxi. 159–96**PGM LXI. 1–38**

*Commendable love charm: . . . take pure olive oil and a beet plant and olive branches; and take seven leaves and grind them all together and pour them into the

19. Cf. PDM xii. 55.

20. Cf. PDM xii. 34.

21. As suggested by R.K.R.

22. End of the line as read by R.K.R.

olive oil until they become like olive oil. / And put it into a jar, and go up onto a
housetop (or on the ground) facing the moon, and say the spell 7 times: 5 [A, 1, 148]

“You are the olive oil; you are not the olive oil²³ but the sweat of Good Daimon,
the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris, the favor of the
gods. / I release you against her, NN, the one NN bore. Aye,²⁴ serve me against her,
NN, before I bring the gods of compulsion against you, if you do not send her. For
otherwise I will break down iron doors²⁵ myself. No longer will I send you for these
things,²⁶ nor is there need of them, but I will send you for her, NN, whom NN
bore, so that, if she dismisses you, / you can seize her head.²⁷ Cause her to swoon.
Let her not know where she is. Become fire beneath her until she comes to me, so
that she may love me for all time; and may she not be able either to drink or eat,
until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time. I adjure you by the great
god / who is over the vault of heaven, ARBAIĒTH MOUTH NOUTH PHTHŌTHŌ
PHRĒ THŌOUTH BREISON THŌTH. Hear me, greatest god, on this very day (on this
night), so that you may inflame her heart, and let her love me because I have in my
possession the power of the great god, whose name it is impossible / for anyone to
speak, except me alone because I possess his power . . . EURIŌ MOI AEETHI EŌ E
PHĒOUAB PHTHA ACHE ANOU // ESI ENES . . . E THOUL PHIMOIOU. Hear me be-
cause of Necessity, for I have spoken your name because of her, NN, whom NN
bore, so that she may love me and do whatever I wish [and] so that she may forget
her father and mother, brothers, husband, / friend, so that, except for me alone, she
may forget them all.” 15 [A, 1, 153] 20 [A, 2, 165] 25 [A, 2, 170] 30

And whenever you perform this spell, have an iron ring with yourself, // on
which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus,²⁸ and his name is ABRASAX. [A, 2, 175]

If, however, you should wish her to stop,²⁹ take a sun scarab and place it in the
middle of her / head and say to it: “Gulp down my love charm, image of Helios; he
himself orders you to do so.” And pick up the scarab // and release it alive. Then
take the ring and give it to her to wear, and immediately she will depart. 35 [A, 2, 180]

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PDM lxi. 197–216

PGM LXI. 39–71

***Love spell of attraction:** It attracts a woman who has been wronged by her hus-
band. / Take from the place where bodies are mummified a spotted lizard³⁰ which
lives around those places, and throw the same lizard into an iron vessel, and // take
coals from the forge whenever they light the fire and put them into the vessel with
the lizard; burn it up on the coals and while doing it say: 40 [B, 185]

23. For this formula, see *PGM* VII. 644–46.

24. For this affirmation (ἤ), see *PGM* IV. 2288, 2331.

25. That is, the iron doors of Hades. See Betz, *Lukian* 82.

26. Or οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτα σὲ πέμψω may mean “no longer will I send you on these missions.” [E.N.O.]

27. See Antoninus Liberalis 6. 3 for a similar use of πιάζω in a similar action. [E.N.O.]

28. For Harpokrates sitting on the lotus flower, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; XII. 87.

29. The language of παῦσαι and ἀπαλλαγῆσεται (l. 38) contains two meanings: the vulgar and the dismissal from the spell. See H. J. Bell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson, “Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (1931): 235–88, pp. 271–72. [E.N.O.]

30. On the role of the lizard in magic, see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.

45 “Lizard, lizard, / as Helios and all the gods have hated you,³¹ so let her, NN, hate
[B, 190] her husband for all time and // her husband hate her.”

Now when it has been completely cooked, keep the lizard ready for use and not touching the vessel.³² Pick up the vessel in which it was burned and approach the
50 gateway itself / saying: “Lizard, lizard, let Helios and all men hate you because she,
[B, 195] NN, says that the mummy of the god // OSERONNŌPHRIOS PHAPRŌ OUSIRIS has been removed and devoured by you. Image of BIANATHRĒ . . . image of TYPHON
55 SAKTIETĒ SOGGĒTH, image of ABRASAX ANAX[IBOA], / image of [IAŌ; do not let] her, NN, come through the gateway from whatever hour Helios brightens the earth for the whole time, as long as it also increases the River out of the River,³³
[B, 200] as // long as the wild fig tree grows” ([state the usual and whatever you] wish, and depart).

60 / [*Spell written*] on papyrus . . . with [blood] of Typhon,³⁴ which is . . . : “Come, father, whom the plow . . . IAKEMBRAŌTH . . . PHLOUDOUNTAS . . . / , [separate] him, NN, from her, NN, . . . turbulence . . . OENAI SORNIN . . . ŌXŌ RANAU
70 SARKANA IAŌ LOINAI ŌŌŌ NAIŌ MELŌI NAI ERIANA / E SASTIAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXII. 1–24

*[Now let] this [lamp], not colored red, be hung. Light the lamp¹ with good oil [and] cedar oil.

“You are the fire that is unquenchable, that lies beside the great god, OSORNŌPHRI
5 OSOR[NŌPHRI];² in service to him when he was smitten with love for his own / sister Senephthys,³ you not only ran as much as sixty-six *schoeni*⁴ but you encircled as many as sixty-six mountains. In this way, too, serve me, NN, against her, NN. If
10 you do not, I will say the eight letters of Selene / which have been established in the heart of Helios. But if I am on the point of saying them and you have not set out on your way, I will go inside the seven gates around Dardaniel,⁵ and I will shake the
15 foundation of earth,⁶ and the 4 elements of the world will come together⁷ / so that nothing will be created from them. Dissolve into your own nature and mingle with the air, and go to her, NN, whom NN bore (add the usual) and attract her down to

31. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis 24. 3. [E.N.O.]

32. The sense is obscure because the text is uncertain. Hence the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

33. A reference to the Nile and its periodic overflow. [E.N.O.]

34. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see PGM IV. 2100 and n.

1. *λυχνίζω* occurs only here; *ἐνλυχνιάζω* is the regular verb. Cf. PGM I. 293; III. 585; IV. 1089; etc. [E.N.O.]

2. The repetition here, which is an Egyptian form of emphasis, has troubled Preisendanz. He omits one word and adds “(du bist es).” [E.N.O.]

3. Preisendanz takes this to be Isis-Nephthys, with reference to PGM XII. 235. [R.K.R.]

4. A measure of length which has no fixed value. Strabo (17. 1, 24) says that it varied from 30 to 120 stades (i.e., about 1,820–7,280 feet). [E.N.O.]

5. The name Dardaniel occurs only here. The city remains unidentified. The epithet *ἐπτάπυλος* (with seven gates) is usually associated with Thebes in Boiotia (see LSJ, s.v.), a city that plays a role in the sagas about the Trojan War. According to some traditions, Dardanos was the founder of Dardania (Troy); see Homer, *Il.* 20. 215–16. Whether there is a connection between these names is unclear. Cf. also PGM IV. 1716 and n.; IV. 2612; VII. 695.

6. On the threat to disrupt the cosmos, see PGM V. 284 and n.

7. The doctrine is similar to the creation myth in C. H. I. 17–19. See for further references Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 117–18. In the lines of the papyrus only three elements are named; water is omitted.

me with fire of the thunderbolt. I adjure you by the great god / lying in the
pure earth, beside whom the unquenchable fire forever lies, ATHOUIN ATHOUIN
ATHOUIN IATHAOUIN SIBELTHIOUTH LATËT ATATËT ADÏNE” (add the usual). 20

Protective spell: Wrap three peonies around your left arm and wear them.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXII. 24–46

*“Come to me, god of the gods, the only one who appears from fire and wind,⁸ / you
who have truth on your head, who disperse the darkness, you the lord of the winds⁹
LÏTH MOULÏTH¹⁰ PNOUT EI¹¹ ESIÏTH, hail, lord LAMPSOURË IAAÏ IA . . . D.” 25

Say these things many times. If, while you are reciting, the apparition delays:
“Open up, open up, Olympos; open up, Hades; open up, Abyss. Let / the darkness
be dispelled by command of the highest god and let the holy light come forth from
the infinite into the abyss.” Whenever it still delays, cry out in this way and again
close the eyes of the boy: “Hail, holy light! Hail, eye of the world! Hail, brightness
of the dawn of the world,¹² ABRA Á Ó¹³ NA BABROUTHI BIE BARACHE, god. Come
in, lord, / and reveal to me about the things I request of you.” Then ask what you
wish. . . . 30 35

Dismissal: “I give thanks to you because you came in accordance with the com-
mand of god. I request that you keep me healthy, free from terror and free from
demonic attacks, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHE ADÏNAI. Return to your holy places.”

[Recite these things] over a saucer, in which you will pour 1 measure of good
olive oil, and will place it on a brick, / and will carve these characters on a magnet
that is [still] “breathing.” 40

These are the characters to be made: 

Fasten the stone to the left side of the saucer, on the outside, and having em-
braced it with two hands, recite as shown to you. Cast (sink) in the saucer (a good
dish) / the afterbirth of a dog called “white” which is born of a white dog. On the
boy’s chest write with myrrh: “KARBAÏTH.” 45

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 24–38) and J. Hershbelt (ll. 39–46).

PGM LXII. 47–51

*A means to learn from a die whether a man is alive or has died, for example:
Make the inquirer throw this die in the [above] bowl. Let him fill this with water.
Add to the [cast of the] die 612, which is [the numerical value of]¹⁴ the name
of / god, i.e., “Zeus,” and subtract from the sum 353, which is [the numerical value
of] “Hermes.” If then the number [remaining] be found divisible by two, he lives;
if not, death has [him]. 50

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXII. 52–75

* (Year) 2 (of) Antoninus . . . 6th of Mecheir to the 7th; 6th hour of the night. / Sat- 55

8. Or “from fire and spirit.”

9. Or “lord of the spirits.”

10. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 534: “I am Lot Mulot.”

11. PNOUTEI is Egyptian ꜥꜣ ntr, “the god.” [R.K.R.]

12. “Hail, holy light . . . dawn on the world” is written in the margin of the papyrus in seven parts
next to ll. 34–39. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

13. The text has ABRA A/ O/ NA. . . . It may indicate abbreviations for ABRASAX, ADÏNAI.

14. Greek letters also served as numbers, so each word had a numerical value, the sum of the numbers
signified by the letters composing it. [M.S.]

urn, horoscope in Scorpio; Jupiter, (sun) in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; Venus, (moon), Mercury in Capricorn.

60 (Year) 2 of the same (reign): / Jupiter, (sun), [Mercury] in Aquarius; Mars in
65 Aries; / Venus horoscope, Mercury in Capricorn; moon in Gemini.

70 [Didymos.] Saturn in Libra; Jupiter, (moon), in Capricorn; Venus in Aries; /
(sun) in Taurus; Mercury, Mars in Gemini; horoscope in Leo.

Dionysia. (Year?) 1 (of) Philip; 8th of Epeiph; 2nd hour of the day: Saturn,
75 Mars [in Virgo]; Jupiter, Venus in Taurus; / Mercury [in Gemini, horoscope?],
(sun?) in Cancer, [moon in Libra].

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This horoscope appears on the verso, col. i of the Warren Magical Papyrus (PGM LXII) but is not included in Preisendanz's edition.

PGM LXII. 76–106

*"AR . . .

PHNOON PHEIOOUÔ ERMĒ THÔAR . . . IBARAREOUBEO . . . EA ALAÔ

ARIOUATHÔRMENERTIOUMAI SI

RIOUATHÔRMENERTIOUMAI SI

80

I

EN"

(in this manner, shaped like a heart).

"BARDĒTEIS

GARIS

85

BYX . . .

TAPH . . . Y

MAN . . .

[APH]ROÏL

. . . O . . . REN

90

BARNARAX

BR . . . NÔREI

BRAIÔCHIÔ

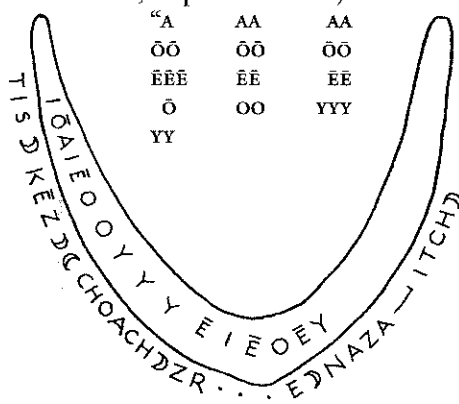
ANI . . .

SISIÔ . . .

KLYGAK . . .

95

SIBYI. . . ."



"A

AA

AA

ÔÔ

ÔÔ

ÔÔ

ĒĒĒ

ĒĒ

ĒĒ

Ô

OO

YYY

YY

"ARMARE

TARERSOU

ATHRYÔ

SIBIBITH

TIÔÔX

ABRAUATH

DARYGKÔ

KASBE

ATHRAMO

ORKIE . . . R.

ORÔPOS . . .

THNAAPÔ . . .

ER . . . ÔR . . ."

"AEËIOYÔ

EËIOYÔ

ËIOYÔ

IOYÔ

OYÔ

YÔ

Ô."

100

105 "Let the genitals and the womb of her, NN, be open, and let her become bloody
by night and day." And [these things must be written] in sheep's blood, and recite
before nightfall, the offerings / (?) . . . first she harmed . . . , and bury it near
sumac, or near . . . on a slip of papyrus.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 1–7

*. . . pour two quarts of salt and honey wine, thus making a drink. / And say the 5

seven letters of magicians.¹

The seven letters are: [A E Ē I O Y Ō].

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is severely damaged, and little remains. Of necessity, the translation is tentative in several places.

PGM LXIII. 7–12

*[For a sleeping woman] to confess the name of the man she loves: Place a bird's / [tongue] under her lip or on her heart and put your question, and she calls the name three times. 10

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXIII. 13–20

*[Put in a new basket] a peppercorn and depart, leaving / the basket behind. Many a flask . . . SARA . . . TĒ TE . . . a [useful tablet] . . . R . . . R . . . SM . . . ELA . . . 15
YO . . . ĒS. ISN / . . . ĒN MEL . . . ERĒSA. 20

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text is too mutilated to yield any sense in this short spell.

PGM LXIII. 21–24

Find a [spotted lizard],² pick it up with a new³ piece of papyrus, [write] the characters on it, and then place it under the table: 𐤀𐤋 𐤒𐤓⊕

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. A recipe of uncertain purpose.

PGM LXIII. 24–25

*A contraceptive: Pick up a bean⁴ / that has a small bug in it, and attach it as an amulet. 25

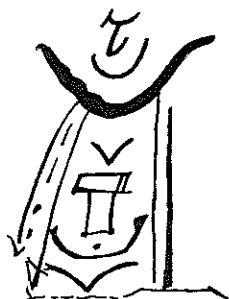
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 26–28

*A contraceptive: Take a pierced bean and attach it as an amulet after tying it up in a piece of mule hide.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIV. 1–12



*“Strike ill, attract, send [a dream]. I call upon you by your / sacred names, PSINA PSINA KRA- 5
DIDA PSIŌMOIPS. . . . [Make her] writhe at my / feet¹ for a short time [?].”² 10

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. μάγων is Hopfner's logical emendation for the ματων of the papyrus. The seven vowels occur often enough to make them the logical “seven letters of the magicians.” [E.N.O.]

2. On the role of the lizard in magic see PGM VII. 628 and n.

3. Preisendanz restores the mutilated word here as καινοῦ (cf. also PGM XXIIa. 14), but καθαροῦ is also possible because of the parallels (see PGM VII. 193, 703; XXXVI. 72, 102).

4. Cf. PGM IV. 769, 941.

1. Reading προκλινδομαι. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

2. Reading ἀ[καριαίω]. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

PGM LXV. 1–4

*To [prevent pregnancy]: “. . . OCHTHIA, protect from the archetypal daimon¹ [of pregnancy].”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The recto of this papyrus contains fragmentary portions of household recipes. The verso, given here and in the spell to follow, gives portions of two magico-medical recipes.

PGM LXV. 4–7

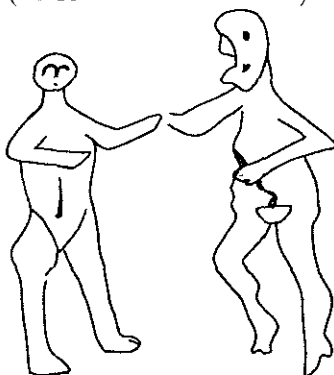
5 *For migraine headache:² ✱ ✱ ✱ / . . . I . . . NA . . . TA . . .”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXVI. 1–11

*“CHAÖR
CHTHÖR
CHARARBA
CHOLBAS
5 CHTHRYTHYR
CHORBATH
CHTHAMNÖ
CHTHODYCHRA
10 CHYCHCHYCH

(“CHOAR”¹ to the bottom)



“I conjure you by the great names: throw Philoxenos the harpist into strife with his friend Gennadios. Throw Pelagios the elder into strife with Philoxenos the harpist.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LXVII. 1–24

*. . . The speaker of [the] spell for those dead and those alive [must write]: “AGE . . . AOUMA . . . EB . . . THNOBAMA . . . BABOUA . . . EU DALANALAD . . . ALKOUMI
5 . . . OUTIZTAI AAAA IIIII EOYA BOUBITHA . . . CHANACH SANMACHANA / and
KECHNOU BOUZA SANMACHANA . . . SAMMACHARA SPHAMBĒS EPOKR . . . ACHTH
KAT ETA BAI KARKOPTŌ KOPTŌ KARBAR . . . AĒA PTOKOPTO KARABARBAROUTA
10 THATH . . . CHRENPSENTHAĒS BERBAL IŌ PARP . . . RPAR, I adjure you by [the
holy name of the] daimon of ĒIOY [SOU] / ŌOUS BARBARATHAM of [ADONAIŌS,
the god] SABAŌTH [ABRASAX] . . . PSE . . . TA [PHONOBOUBOĒL] [of chthonic
Hermes-Thouoth, arch-subduer, PHŌKENSEPSEU AREEKTATHOU MIS[ONKTAI . . .
ĒI IAŌ] ĒŌĒŌ KA . . . ĒŌIŌ ŌIŌĒ [SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ERĒKISITHPHE]
15 ARARACHARARA [ĒPHTHISIKĒRE / IABEZEBYTH] IAŌ . . . SAM . . . [ERĒKISI-
PHTHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE . . . ĒI IAŌ [ĒŌĒ]Ō KA. By this oath I
20 adjure [you, who . . . and] the one who has been sworn . . . remaining / [. . . of
those who have died] in an [untimely] death . . . [. . . her, NN, whom] NN [bore],
. . . [him, NN, whom] NN bore . . . has spoken. . . .”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This papyrus is made up of five separate pieces. Preisendanz has printed basically the text of L. Koenen published in *ZPE* 8 (1971):199ff. and has omitted a translation.

1. So the rendering in LSJ, s.v. “ἀντροδαίμων,” with reference to Plotinus, *Enn.* 3. 5. 6.

2. Cf. *PGM* VII. 199–201.

1. Either the *voces magicae* are to be read first or CHOAR is to be read before each word in col. 2.

PGM LXVIII. 1–20

*“As Typhon is the [adversary] of [Helios, so] also inflame [the soul] of Eutyches whom Zosime¹ / [bore], for her, [Eriea] whom [Ercheelio] bore; ABRASAX, inflame the soul and heart of him, Eutyches for him / Eutyches whom Zosime bore, now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour and on this same day. ADŌNAI, inflame the soul / and heart of Eutyches, for her Eriea [whom Ercheelio bore], now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour / and on this same day.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXIX. 1–3

*“PHNOUNEBEĒ (2 times), give me your strength, IŌ ABRASAX, give me your strength, for I am ABRASAX.” Say it 7 times while holding your two thumbs.¹

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM LXX. 1–4

*[This] name [is] a *favor charm*, a *charm to dissolve a spell*, a *phylactery*, and a *victory charm*: “AA EMPTŌKOM BASYM,¹ protect me.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. On this charm and others of this papyrus, see the note on PGM LXX. 4–25, below. Ll. 1–3 may contain the end of a spell now lost, or they may represent a complete spell.

PGM LXX. 4–25

***Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear² of punishment:** / If he comes forth,³ say to him: “I am Ereschigal, the one holding her thumbs,⁴ and not even one evil can befall her.”

If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel⁵ and recite the following:⁶ “Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, / serpent, wreath, key, herald’s wand, golden sandal of the Lady of Tartaros.” And you will avert him.

“ASKEI KATASKEI ERŌN OREŌN IŌR MEGA SAMNYĒR BAUI⁷ (3 times) PHOBANTIA SEMNĒ,⁸ I have been initiated, and I went down into the [underground] chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw / the other things down below, virgin, bitch, and all the rest.” Say it at the crossroad,⁹ and turn around and flee, because it is at those places that she appears. Saying it late at night, about what you wish, it will reveal it in your sleep; and if you are led away to death, say it while scattering seeds of sesame, and it will save you.

/ “PHORBA PHORBA BRIMŌ AZZIEBYA.” Take bran of first quality and sandalwood and vinegar of the sharpest sort and mold a cake. And write the name of so-and-so upon it, and inscribe it in such a way that you speak over it into the light the

1. The names seem confused here and should be corrected in accordance with ll. 16–17.

1. On this magical gesture, see PGM LXX. 6 and n.

1. For an explanation of this name, see PGM IV. 1377 and n.

2. The fear refers to punishment in the underworld.

3. This refers to a threatening approach by a punishment daimon.

4. For this magical gesture, see PGM IV. 2329; XXXVI. 163; LXIX. 3. See Betz, “Fragments,” 290, n. 14.

5. Another magical gesture, for which see PGM IV. 1054 and Betz, “Fragments,” 291, n. 18.

6. For this peculiar list of signs, see PGM IV. 2334–38; VII. 833; and Betz, “Fragments,” 291, nn. 20 and 21.

7. The Greek has BAUI, perhaps referring to the dog’s bark. Cf. PGM IV. 1911; XXXVI. 156. [W.B.]

8. This formula is usually called *Ephesia grammata*, or in PGM VII. 451 “the Orphic formula.” See Betz, “Fragments,” 291–92 with notes.

9. These instructions refer again to underworld experiences. See Betz, “Fragments,” 293–94.

name of Hekate, and this: “Take away his sleep from such-and-such a person,”
 25 and / he will be sleepless and worried.

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. Important in this spell are what appear to be liturgical remnants from the mystery cult of the Idaean Dactyls. For a more detailed commentary, see H. D. Betz, “Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus,” *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

PGM LXX. 26–51

***Against fear and to dissolve spells:** Speak through [two] knives [sounding loudly] this formula; but [against] evil animals it does not work [compellingly], for
 30 . . . you . . . over the . . . [speak] . . . : “. . . E . . . PHATE . . . CHNON A . . . / GE
 35 . . . OIPS . . . SĒ . . . PSO . . . SIL . . . / MO . . . and . . . CHIL . . . PER . . . PAN
 40/45 . . . / CHIO . . . CHO . . . AB . . . POI . . . TOS . . . / IEO . . . DOI . . . ĒNE, so that
 50 (?) CHY . . . / ERE . . . TOU . . . ”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. See note to *PGM* LXX. 4–25. In this spell, the sense of ll. 30ff. cannot be recovered, though the text probably contained the invocation.

PGM LXXI. 1–8

***A phylactery:** “Great [god] in heaven revolving the world, the true god, IAŌ!
 5 Lord, ruler of all, ABLANATHANALBA, grant, grant me this favor, / let me have the name of the great god in this phylactery, and protect, from every evil thing, me whom NN bore, [NN] begot.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXXII. 1–36

*[**Rite concerning the Bear:** Prepare] an earthen [censer, and] during the 6th hour of the night [offer to the Bear] moss of a savin [in it. Do it before] three
 5 days / [after you called on] the Bear nine times from a high roof. Write [on a piece of papyrus] with a mixture of ink and myrrh [concerning everything] which you want, [add] the name, “NEB/[OUTOSOUALĒTH]” and [show] both the strip of papyrus [and] what is written on [it to the goddess . . .] within [one hour. Speak
 10 with your hands] folded / on your head, [praying in a loud voice to the Bear: “Hail,] O queen of mortals [and of gods. Hail,] heavenly ruler, [queen] of men.
 15 Depart¹ . . . / I beseech you. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell, a cryptogram from the same source as *PGM* LVII, is edited and commented upon by S. Eitrem, *Mélanges Maspéro* 2, 113–17; see also Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses*, vol. III (Oslo: Dybwad, 1936) 38–40, no. 75.

PGM LXXVII. 1–24

*If you wish to receive a revelation concerning whatever you wish, say this formula to yourself, saying nothing aloud: / “I call upon you, who are seated in the middle
 5 of a field,¹ you who with power direct the universe, at whom the daimons tremble, whom the mountains dread, / whom angels fall down to worship, whom the sun and moon fall down to worship, you who have heaven for your throne, ether
 10 as a place for your dancing place, and earth as your footstool, IOU IOU / APHARA . . . THOMARA ARABRŌ . . . IOU IOU. Holy, [holy,] boundless, boundless, star-organizer, [fire-breathing, SANTHĒNŌR, gold]-/sandaed [god], reveal.” And without causing fear or trembling he will, clearly and soberly, reveal concerning the NN thing. Do this while you are pure, and burn frankincense at the place.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

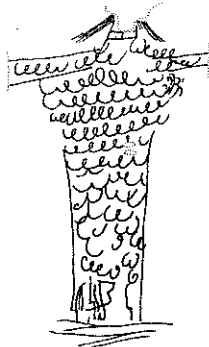
1. Text and translation are uncertain at this point. Preisendanz translates differently.

1. See on this point the parallels in *PGM* IV. 3023; XIV. 8.

PGM LXXVIII. 1–14

*[For any place], either home or workshop. [It attracts a woman] to a man. The same one [makes them steadfast] and faithful: Take a leaf [of lead] and with a nail write the figure¹ while saying [the name / that follows and]: “I shall burn up the house and the [soul of him, NN, to] cause desire for her, NN, whom NN bore, whom NN bore,² as Typhon did [not] allow Osiris to find sleep. For I am [master of] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUN[KENTABAŌTH / OREOBA]ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN [PYRIPE]GANYX. Fulfill this for me, all-brightener, august light-bringer [of gods and daimons].”

Name of the all-[powerful] god: IAŌ IAŌ IAŌ.



*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. For notes on the text, see also F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II,” *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 371–74.

PGM LXXIX. 1–7

***Charm to restrain anger**, which is to be spoken three times: “I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAËL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH.¹ Restrain the anger and / wrath [of him, NN] toward me, NN, [with] the authority of the great god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as in PGM LXXX., but by another scribe and in better condition.

PGM LXXX. 1–5

***Charm to restrain anger**, [which is to be spoken] three times: “I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAËL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH. Restrain the anger and wrath of him, NN, toward me, NN, with the authority of the great / god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as PGM LXXIX. 1–7.

PGM LXXXI. 1–10

*“Hail, Helios! Hail SAPEIPHNEP! Hail, savior! Hail, ABRASAX! / Hail, PETKĒ-ERCHENEIN KAMTĒROU. Hail, ÊLOUAI. Hail, ELOUEIN. Hail, PETAIPINAKSNEUEI . . . XA . . . PETENTAETKĒPKEIEICHIN DONAIROUBI OPIANOS OPIANOS BASI[L]ISKOS / TIARKAMIKEINTEU.” Pronouncement of the name.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. According to Preisendanz (ad loc.), this list of greetings was supposed to give protection, perhaps protection for a house—an interpretation he derives from his reading of the other side of the papyrus, “defense for a house.”

1. The figure is given below, following the spell. See Preisendanz, vol. II, plate IV, figure 2. For a collection of images of Artemis *multimammaea*, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesus und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, EPRO 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

2. The apparent duplication is in the papyrus.

1. The *voces magicæ* are Coptic, written in Greek letters.

PGM LXXXII. 1–12

* . . . divide¹ . . . glue it together² . . . [the lamellae,] that is, much . . . having determined, to water . . . / weave the roots³ [from all the trees] . . . having separated, with the rain waters . . . having determined . . . from one another, / having measured out the evergreen [plants] . . . fire from the . . . and anoint the cups. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. Manteuffel, *Papyri Varsovienses* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1935) no. 4: Fragmentum libri magici, 6–7. All that can be said of this fragmentary text is that it seems to have preserved a section of a magical textbook dealing with the making of a certain ingredient.

PGM LXXXIII. 1–20

*For [fever with shivering fits]:¹ “GÔBA . . . S . . . MÔ . . . NOUSĒA . . . EIEGE . . . OSARK . . . AUSE fever with shivering fits, / I conjure you, MICHAËL, archangel of the earth; [whether] it is daily or nightly / or quartan fever; I conjure you, the Almighty SABAÔTH, that it no longer touch the soul of the one who carries [this], nor [touch] his whole body; also the dead, deliver, . . . the distress IDOT . . . YGRSBÔNÔE. . . . / ”

“He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall abide in the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say of God, ‘thou art my refuge and my help; I will put my trust in him.’”²

“Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy will; / our daily bread.”³

“Holy, holy is the Lord SABAÔTH, heaven is full of justice, holy is the one of glory.”⁴

“ANIAADA . . . IA, MIGAËL⁵ of lords, Abraham Isaac Jacob ELÔEI ELÔE Solomon(?) / SABAÔTH ÔËL. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of E. H. Kase, Jr., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 107: Gnostic Fever Amulet, 102–3. This fever amulet is of special interest because it cites several biblical verses. Despite the writer’s use of these citations, the character of the spell shows it is syncretistic rather than distinctively Christian. In fact, the incoherent manner by which the verses are quoted suggests that the writer was ignorant of their context and meaning.

PGM LXXXIV. 1–21

*“ . . . KOACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPSACHE
KOACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPSACH
OACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPSA
ACHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTHPS
CHAMIPHÔNCHÔÔTH
AMIPHÔNCHÔÔ
MIRPHÔNCHÔ
IPHÔNCH
PHÔN
Ô.”

[magical symbols, about ten in number]

1. In accordance with our standard translation of the aorist participle λάβων, these participles are rendered as imperatives.

2. Or *συνπεριπήγνυμι* may mean “make to congeal around together.” The word is apparently attested nowhere else in Greek literature.

3. For the use of roots in magic, cf. *PGM* XXIIa. 6; XII. 103, 397, 659, etc.

1. As the editor points out, the reading of the text at this point is far from certain.

2. This is a quotation of LXX Ps 90:1–2, with some peculiar variations.

3. This is a somewhat confused quotation of the Lord’s Prayer, Mt 6:9–11. The papyrus may read “your father.”

4. Apparently this is an allusion to LXX Is 6:3.

5. Read “Michael.”

“Fetch Ptolemais whom Helen bore, for Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore. / In- 15
 flame her liver and spirit and heart and soul until she leaps up and comes, that is,
 Ptolemais whom / Helena bore, to Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore; immediately, 20
 quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Edmund Harris Kasc, Jr., *Papyri in Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 76: Erotic Incantation, 73–74.

PGM LXXXV. 1–6

*“... let him marvel, all THAE... drive away, make the daimons (?).¹...”

Let the one who has written [this] be glad, and the haunts [of spirits]²... he knows not, but beautifully a picture (?).³... /

Another:

5

[Another]:

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. Enoch Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) no. 56: Magical Spells, p. 38. This text is taken from three tiny fragments which date to the first or second century A.D. Although the text is quite fragmentary, its early date makes it important. Furthermore, the recurring expression “another [spell],” shows that we are dealing with a collection from a magical handbook.

PGM LXXXVI. 1–2

*“Protect him, NN, whom [she, NN bore].” Attach [this] as an amulet around the neck.¹

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach, II* (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1940) no. 89: Formulaire magique, 32–33. This tiny fragment preserves portions of two spells; the first contains instructions for making a simple amulet. The second preserves the beginning of a magical procedure of an uncertain nature.

PGM LXXXVI. 3–7

*At sunrise,² on the 10th day of the month of Didymon... the next day, during the ninth hour, write... / of a female goat... XEONTA... DONO... ZOU... 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky; see the note on PGM LXXXVI. 1–2, above.

PGM LXXXVII. 1–11

*“SAMOUSOU SOUMA SOMĒ SOMĒIA MEISOUAT... SROUAT, my lord, ROUAT... [deliver ?] John from the shivering fit and fever that has (him); [cleanses?] the daily fever from this (?) shivering (?)... / [all] the headache, daily fevers, nightly, 5
 quartan, semitertian, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly... TA. ĒMŌNO... ARA the angel;... [deliver?] John from every shivering fit and fever, from this very day, from the present [hour throughout] / his entire lifetime; [grant him heal- 10
 ing?], immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the new reading of F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci. (III.),” *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 235–40 (tav. XXVI),

1. Reading *δαμόνια* instead of *δαίμονες*.

2. Reading *τὰ ἡμέρα... πνευμάτων*

3. Reading *γράμμα*, “picture,” “character,” in the sequence *γραμμοσ*...

1. For similar instructions, cf. PGM VII. 198, 208; XIII. 669.

2. The editor restores the first letters of this word. Performing a magical ritual on a specified day is common in the PGM; see, e.g., PGM VII. 155–67; XIII. 15, 349, 1037.

PGM XCI. 1–14

*“ABLANATHANALBA
BLANATHANALB
[LA]NATHANAL
ANATHANA
NATHAN
ATHA
TH.

5

“Melt (?) . . . [NN], whom NN bore . . . / who has . . . the daily . . . reaching 10
out this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of D. S. Crawford, *Papyri Michaelidae* (Aberdeen: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1955) no. 27: Magical Charm, 49–50. The editor suggests that this fragment is a curse or a love charm; however, the mention of “daily” in l. 11, as well as “who has” in l. 10 (a typical description in the PGM for an affliction) suggests it is a fever amulet.

PGM XCII. 1–16

**Your great name, for¹ favor*: “Everyone fears your great might. Grant me the 5
good things:² the strength of AKRYSKYLOS,³ / the speech of EUŌNOS, the eyes of 5
Solomon,⁴ the voice of ABRASAX, the grace of ADŌNIOS, the god.⁵ Come to me, 10
Kypri, / every day.⁶ The hidden name bestowed to you(?) [is this]: THOATHO- 10
ĒTHATHOOTHATHĒTHOUSTHOATHITHĒTHOINTHŌ; grant me victory, / repute, 15
beauty toward all men and all women.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, and J. W. B. Barns, eds., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., II* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), no. 58: Magical Charm, 22–24 (pl. VII).

PGM XCIII. 1–6

*. . . [sacrifice and] . . . bury¹ . . . the same all [around?] . . . ; pour blood into a 5
vessel . . . / and on the outside besprinkle² . . . to Hekate. . . . [i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliaceus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 65: Magical Prescriptions (?), 45–47 (pl. III, i). The ascription of this fragment of a parchment leaf to a Greco-

1. The editors suggest the first three letters are a magical name, EIE. L. 1, they admit, makes little sense regardless of what is read; however, the photograph of the papyrus shows that one might read the preposition εἰς, “for, unto.” The sentence thus seems clearer, although the reading and translation remain tentative.

2. The language and temper of this charm show that this spell is one used to acquire favor and victory. Cf. for example PGM XII. 397–400 etc.

3. The following list of names whose powers the client is requesting suggests that each person named is recognized for his special attribute. Thus, Akryskylos is recognized for his strength, Euōnos for his speech, and so on. Neither Akryskylos nor Euōnos (*sic* for Euō[nym]os? [so the editors]) can be identified; however, each of the following personalities is recognizable. Cf. PGM VII. 1017–26.

4. Or, possibly, “the glances of Solomon,” according to the editors. Although Solomon was a popular magical figure, the mention of his “eyes” is not common. Consult the note in the original cited above, p. 23, n. 6. On the other hand, cf. the ἀνῶν that illumines Solomon’s mind in the *Test. Sol.*, Rec. C, Prologus, 2 (McCown, *Testament* 76).

5. Adonis is here rendered by the variant spelling Adōnios. Adonis is often associated with Kypri, a popular name for Aphrodite.

6. Or, if accusative of duration, “for the whole day,” that is, presumably for the duration of each day which the person wears the charm.

1. The command to bury something occurs in PGM IV. 2215; XII. 100, where an inscribed tablet and an egg are referred to. The context here, however, gives no hint of what is to be buried.

2. On sprinkling dove’s blood to dismiss a deity, see PGM II. 177.

Egyptian magical handbook is fairly certain. Although the two sides contain no *voes magicae*, and thus we may have a simple manual of sacrificial procedures, the presence of the name Hekate in l. 6 (side 1) suggests a magical text. Also, in the margin of l. 7 the number 43 occurs, which the editor describes as a numbering of the magical procedures.

PGM XCIII. 7–21

- 10 *43 . . . and whatever you wish³ . . . blind, on . . . / stomach (?) . . . a cock [which
[i, 10] is alive] . . . ; bring it and set it on the . . . the piglet⁴ and the / . . . carrying, out-
15 side of many (?) . . . the house; . . . and offer this . . . nine women . . . in front of
[ii, 15] the doors . . . / [it is] believed (?). . . .
20
[ii, 20]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus (see introductory note on previous spell), 46, side i, ll. 7–10; side ii, ll. 11–21. The procedure described here is of an uncertain purpose. The spell after l. 10 (side ii) may be independent of the preceding lines.

PGM XCIV. 1–6

- *“ . . . YNYEL . . . STOOU . . . M . . . SEGEIR . . . Y . . . Y ERBĒTH . . . E . . . OUCHI.”¹
5 *Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight*: / KA . . . AL . . . 2 drams.
Use a dram of boar skin which has been dried in the sun.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 66: *Magico-Medical Prescriptions*, 47–49. The papyrus begins with the fragments of an invocation of unknown purpose. The prescriptions are separated by paragraph marks.

PGM XCIV. 7–9

**For excellent health*:² Write on an amulet: “ABRAŌ . . . ARŌN BARA BAR . . . A . . . Ō.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 10–16

- 10 **A phylactery for [fever]*: . . . RARA . . . leather . . . seven days . . . [and] wear
15 / . . .”  S . . . S . . .  Z  . . .”
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 17–21

- 20 **For those possessed by daimons*: “. . . T . . . Y . . . depart . . . YT. . .” The things prescribed below . . . / “ATR . . . Y SOLŌMŌN . . . is washed. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 22–26

**For the eyes*: Make a gothic (?) [figure]³ and carve [on it the] following: one who

3. References to stating one's wish are regularly found throughout the PGM. For very similar wording, cf. PGM IV. 1907.

4. As the editor points out, the cock and the pig probably serve as sacrificial animals. For the use of a cock in magical sacrifices, see PGM IV. 237; XII. 312; XIII. 377, 437–38, and so on. Pigs are found less often as sacrificial animals in the PGM.

1. As the editors suggest, these lines may have consisted entirely of magical words. In the sequence ERBĒTH can be read.

2. Or “easy healing.” The word is a hapax legomenon, as the editors point out.

3. Following the interpretation of the editors.

[holds (?) with the left] / hand, in the middle . . . : “CHACH. . .”

25

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6. The instructions seem to describe the manufacturing of a *figura magica*.

PGM XCIV. 27–35

*[For] tumors [and] . . . : [the] following . . . / [write] on a leaf [the] following things and boil . . . the leaf . . . “⊗ ⊗ BB ⊗ ⊗ . . . Ζ ςς, flesh (?). . .”

30

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 36–38

*[For . . .] and strangury: [write on a] tin lamella [the following]: “MARŌTHA . . . M. . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 39–60

*Another, for migraine headache:

/ “ . . . IYIŌ
. . . YAŌŌ
. . . ŌYOŌ
. . . OY.”

40

It delivers (?). And this is Neros’ (?)⁴ formula:

/ “OURBEDERAEIS OUROURBEDERAEIS OUROUROBEDERAEIS EISTHES ABRASA
ELECH BELLENOURE OUNOURE BAPHAMMĒCH, to you I speak, pounding head-
ache: don’t throb, don’t rage, / don’t shake the teeth, don’t produce mucus, don’t
produce a ‘black-out’, don’t stir up convulsions. For if there is throbbing, raging,
shaking of teeth, producings of mucus, producings of a ‘black-out,’ / or stirrings of
a convulsion . . . BŌ . . . G . . . A . . . Χ . . . CH . . . / . . . A . . .”

45

50

55

60

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XCV. 1–6

*. . . on the left sole of one foot,¹ near (?) . . . having subjected . . . [upon?] . . . and there will a be reward for the. . . Take the skin of a mouse . . . / and have in the workshop, beneath. . .

5

[col. i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, III (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1967) no. 140: *Magico-Medical Prescriptions*, 71, Fr. (a). This portion of the formulary describes the engraving of parts of a figure, perhaps a magical doll for the purpose of subjugating someone. The description of the mouse skin either begins a new spell or introduces part of a procedure belonging to the previous charm.

PGM XCV. 7–13

*Concerning the mole[-rat]:² one (?) mole-rat that is alive . . . a remedy (?) for (?)

4. Reading perhaps a proper name here; however, the editors note that *νηρὸν* may be “fresh (water)” (cf. modern Greek *νερό*), in which case the spell is to be recited over it.

1. The prescription is describing what to engrave on a waxen or clay figure such as we find in PGM IV. 296–335, 2373–2440; and VII. 927. These references describe the function of the left sole of the foot (along with other parts of the body) in a specified magical procedure. PGM VII. 927 (a charm to subject someone) commands one to place a tablet under the left sole of the foot. The mention of subjection in the spell above suggests that we have here a “charm to subject” (*hypotaktikon*).

2. The editors point out that the blind-rat or mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*) may possibly be used as the remedy for the epilepsy.

10 epilepsy (?)³ . . . / on the first of the month . . . [altar?]. . . .

[col. ii, 4]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous spell) 71, col. ii. The editors identify this spell as a prescription for the “sacred disease.” The spell, we should note, comes under a heading apparently arranged according to the magical virtues of the animal. Such arrangements are typical for a number of magico-medical prescriptions, in which case this section would enumerate the medicinal or magical values of the blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*).

PGM XCV. 14–18

15 * . . . *This will be a remedy for you for all cases* of . . . : / . . . ATHOU, given thrice,
[(b), 2] in the month it delivers, in the same manner both those afflicted by epileptic seizures and by . . . thus by our returning thanks . . . *those affected by lung disease*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous papyrus) 71, fr. (b). The formulary at this point seems to provide a remedy for epilepsy. The beginning of a new remedy seems to be given at the end.

PGM XCVI. 1–8

5 * “ . . . AS (7 times) MELI XARO ŌRO AAAAAAA BAINCHŌŌŌCH MAI ĒBI / LĒNA-GKOLI, protect him who carries [this amulet].”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised text of R. W. Daniel, “Some PHYLAKTĒRIA,” *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53 (text two). The text was originally published by J. O’Callaghan in *Chronique d’Égypte* 43 (1968): 111–13, and subsequently commented upon by M. Vandoni in *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti* 102 (1968): 532–34 and again by J. O’Callaghan in *Studia Papyrologica* 8 (1969): 115–18. It is recognized that the text is a version of ll. 7–8 of *P. Oslo* I.5 (= *PGM* 3); however, whereas *PGM* 3 is Christian, this one is not. This text, moreover, is virtually complete, save for the slightly cut-away edges which suggest the papyrus was inserted in a case to be worn as an amulet.

PGM XCVII. 1–6

* . . . [wrap it up in purple] cloth. . . .
5 [Another:] Cut out the right [eye] of a lizard and / [enclose it] in [goat skin]; attach it to [your] left [eye].

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 109–11. Extant are only a few remnants of two columns, the first of which is too fragmentary to translate here. The individual spells in this collection of recipes are divided by *paragraphi*. Wortmann thinks the spell is against eye disease because the lizard is often used to that effect in magic. See A. D. Nock, “The Lizard in Magic and Religion,” *Essays I*, 271–76. The purpose of the first recipe cannot be recovered.

PGM XCVII. 7–9

* Another: Grind up the heart¹ of a nightowl² [with . . .], and [anoint yourself].³

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVII. 10–13

10 / * Another: KR . . . ES, and TŌ . . . OS at the same time [attach as an amulet] . . . of a bull⁴ . . . with one thong of a male goat. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

3. Remedies for epilepsy are not found often in *PGM*. For literature and discussion of epilepsy in antiquity, see in particular E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, “Epilepsie,” *RAC* 5 (1965): 819–31.

1. Cf. *PGM* III. 427.

2. For the nightowl, see *PGM* I. 223; XXXVI. 264.

3. Cf. *PGM* II. 19; VIII. 185, 192; XXXVI. 291–92.

4. Cf. the reading by F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I,” *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 176.

PGM XCVII. 15-17

/ *For every [disease: Take] a scarab . . . K . . . IO . . . THEN. . .

15

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVIII. 1-7

*“A Victorious² in everything is

EE the nourisher³ of

the whole inhabited

III world, lord Sarapis;

00000 deliver⁴

5

YYYYYY Artemidora."

$$\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}^1$$

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1969): 107–8.

PGM XCIX. 1-3

*“God is one who heals every sickness.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 105.

PGM C. 1-7

*“A /// EE ÊÊÊ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ÔÔÔÔÔÔÔ¹ ABLANATHAMALA² . . . EÔ AKRAM-
MACHAMARI KAI CHA KAI; lord god of gods,³ heal everything with Thaēs . . . E . . .
ECHAÏMA / ÊLO . . . OYEA dissolve.⁴ The name of the father of Christ⁵ BB [BBBB]⁶ 5
X X X * * * * * N N Heal Thaēs, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 102–04.

PGM CI. 1-53

*“I bind you¹ with the indissoluble fetters of the underworld Fates and mighty Necessity, for I conjure you, daimons, who lie here² and who move about here and who keep busy here, and the boys here who have died prematurely.³

“I conjure you by the invincible god, IAΘ BARBATHIAΘ BRIMIAΘ CHERMARI, to rise up, O daimons who are lying / here, and to search for Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, [for] Theon, whom Proechia bore. During the whole night let her not find sleep, but fetch her until she comes before his feet and loves him with mad love and affection and intercourse. For I have bound her brain and her hands and her intestines and her genitals, and her heart to love me, Theon.

1. For this formation of the vowels in form of a grape, cf. *PGM* I. 13 and n.; C and n. 1.

2. For this important epithet of Sarapis, see Wortmann's commentary, 107.

3. This epithet of Sarapis also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 638–39; XII. 244; XIII. 772–73; XXI. 7–10.

4. Probably from daimons; cf. *PGM* IV. 86–87; V. 125–26.

1. This series of vowels is called *κλίμα*. See *PGM* I. 13 and n.; XIXa. 33, etc. On the whole, see C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954):910-12.

2. Misspelled for the common palindrome ABLANATHANALBA.

3. So the restoration by Wortmann on the basis of *PGM* II. 53; IV. 180.

4. Probably referring to the disease.

5. This Christian influence shows the syncretism of the spell.

6. The BBBB have been lined out in the manuscript.

1. The second-person singular, apparently referring to Euphemia; the daimons are addressed in the second person plural.

2. Cemeteries are the preferred dwelling places of the daimons.

3. The spirits of infants of premature death are preferred mediums of the magicians.

10 “But if you disobey and do not quickly / carry out what I tell you, the sun will not set under the earth, and neither Hades nor the world [will] exist.⁴ But if you fetch for me Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, for me, Theon whom Proechia bore, I shall give you Osiris Nophrioth, the brother of Isis, and he [will] bring you fresh water and he shall give rest, too, for your souls.⁵ But if you do not carry out
15 for me what I tell you, / the EÖNEBYÖTH⁶ shall burn you.

“I conjure you, daimons, who are lying here, IEÖ IIIIAIA ÊIA IAÖ IAË IAÖ ALILAMPS. I deposit [this spell] for you in this land of the dogs.⁷ Bind Euphemia to love me, Theon. O daimons, I adjure you by the stele of the gods, I adjure you by the ones in the innermost shrines, I adjure you by the names of the all-seeing god,
20 IA IA / IA IÖ IÖ IÖ IE IE IE OYÖA ADÖNAI. I conjure the one pleased in the temple,⁸ and the blood⁹ which the great god IÖTHATH¹⁰ has received. I conjure you by the one who sits upon the four pinnacles of [the] winds.¹¹

“Do not disobey me, but do [it] quickly, because ordering you is¹² AKRAM-MACHAMARI BOULOMENTOREB GENIOMOUTHIG DËMOGENËD ENKYKLIE ZËNO-BIÖTHIZ / ÊSKÖTHÖRË THÖTHOUTHÖTH IAEÖUÖI KORKOOUNOÖK LOULOENËL,
25 MOROTHÖËPNAM NERXIARXIN XONOPHOËNAX ORNEOPHAO PYROBARYP REROUTÖËR SESENMENOURES TAUROPOLIT YPEPHENOURY PHIMEMAMEPH CHENNEOPHEOCH PSYCHOMPOIAPS ÖRIÖN, the true one. May I not be compelled to say the same things again, IÖË IÖË. Fetch Euphemia, whom / Dorothea bore, for Theon, whom his mother Proechia bore, to love me with love and longing and affection and intercourse, with mad love. Burn her members, her liver, her female parts, until she comes to me, longing me and not disobeying me. For I conjure you by the mighty Necessity, MASKELLI MASKELLÖ¹³ PHENOUKENTABAÖTH OREOBAGRA
30 RËXICHTHÖN / HIPPOCHTHÖN PYRICHTHÖN PYRIPËGANIX LEPETAN LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOËL, in order that you bind for me Euphemia, for me, Theon, in affection and in love and in longing for a period of ten months¹⁴ from today, which is the 25th of Hathyr of the second year of the indiction.

“And again I conjure you by the one who rules over you, in order that you do not disobey me. And again I conjure you by the one who is in charge of the air.
40 And / again I conjure you by the seven thrones, ACHLAL LALAPHENOURPHEN

4. The operator threatens the gods with upsetting the cosmic order; see PGM IV. 185–86; XXXIV, and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

5. The dead in the netherworld suffer from thirst, while Osiris brings them the drink of life. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 94–95.

6. This name is otherwise not known. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 95.

7. Apparently referring to the desert cemetery where hyenas roam about. Thus Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 96.

8. Following Wortmann’s interpretation of *ōap* as “temple” (97). (I should prefer to take *ōap* as abaton, “innermost shrine” [see l. 18] and the god as Osiris. Note that Osiris is called “he who rests in the abaton,” whereby “rest” in Egyptian is *hṯp*, which corresponds to Greek *ἐνδοκεῖν*. [J.B.])

9. The blood is that of the enemies of the gods, especially that of Seth. See D. Wortmann, “Das Blut des Seth,” *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30, who refers to Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353 B, and Rv 16:4 as parallels.

10. That is, Hermes-Thoth.

11. For the four winds, see PGM III. 496; XII. 84, 238; XIII. 761, and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 97–98.

12. The list of names contains the twenty-four names of the Greek alphabet; each name, except the first and the last, also ends with the letter of the alphabet. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 146–51; Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 98, who calls attention to the unique character of this list.

13. For the MASKELLI MASKELLÖ formula, see Glossary, s.v.

14. Ten lunar months was considered the normal period of pregnancy. See J. Bergman, “Decem illis diebus,” *Ex Orbe Religione*. Studia Geo Widengren oblata (Leiden: Brill, 1972) I, 332–46.

BALEŌ BOLBEŌ BOLBEŌCH BOLBESRŌ YYPHTHŌ,¹⁵ and by the relentless god, CHMOUŌR ABRASAX IPSENTHANCHOUCHAINCHOUCEŌCH. Seize Euphemia and fetch her for me, Theon, to love me with mad love, and bind her with indissoluble, strong, adamantine fetters / to love me, Theon; and do not let her eat, or drink, or find sleep, or have fun, or laugh; but make her run away from every place and from every house, and leave father, mother, brothers, sisters,¹⁶ until she comes to me, Theon, being fond of me, loving me, Theon, in unending love and mad affection. But if she has another one at her / bosom, move her to push him away and forget him and hate him, but me she shall be fond of and love with affection and grant¹⁷ me her favors, and she shall do nothing against my will. You, these holy names and these powers, confirm and carry out this perfect enchantment; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 85–102. The papyrus was found folded up in a clay vessel and deposited in a cemetery. Inside the folded papyrus were found two wax figurines in erotic embrace (cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.).

PGM CII. 1–17 [frag. E, D, C]

*. . . over [the lamp] . . . your hand, and [when you are almost awake] the god [will come and speak to you, and . . .] / [. . . and smear the picture with the black (?) of Isis . . .] But [the strip of cloth . . .]. Take rainwater³ . . . Speak this [*formula* over the] lamp:

[“I call upon you,] / the headless god,⁴ the one who [has his head and] his face [upon his feet;⁵ you who are hurling lightning [and who are thundering]; you are the one whose mouth [constantly pours forth] fire;⁶ [you are the one who is over] Necessity. I call upon you, [the headless] god . . . [the one who has his head and his face upon his feet,] / strong⁷ BĒSAS, [the dim-sighted one. You are the one lying on a coffin] and having at the side of the head . . . an elbow cushion . . . and of bitumen⁸ . . . , the one whom they call, ANOUTH ANOUTH, lord. . . . You are not a daimon, but the blood of . . . , / and of the 30 and of the 104 falcons⁹ who are also chattering and watching before the head of Osiris.¹⁰ . . .”

/ . . . and from impurity . . . over the lamp . . . wholly black. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, according to the edition by R. A. Coles et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 36 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1970), no. 2753: Magical Spells, 27–28. The papyrus, a request for a dream oracle, was cut into several pieces, all severely damaged. It is not clear whether there were one or two spells. Some of the lines can be restored on the basis of remarkably close parallels elsewhere in *PGM*.

15. The names of the seven thrones are attested here for the first time completely. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101.

16. For parallels see *PGM* IV. 2756–59; XV. 4–5; and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101.

17. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 102, who refers to *PGM* IV. 2740–41, 2759–61.

1. Almost all is restored on the basis of *PGM* VII. 226–30.

2. As restored from *PGM* VII. 231–41.

3. For the association of the headless god with rainwater, see *PGM* VII. 224, 319–20; V. 152; LXI. 7.

4. For the headless god, see *PGM* II. 11; V. 98, 125, 145–46; VII. 233, 243, 442; VIII. 91; *Test. Sol.*

9. 1, and the discussion in Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110–11, 164–66.

5. Cf. *PGM* VII. 234; VIII. 91. See Bonner, *SMA* 110.

6. The fire has been omitted in *PGM* VII. 234.

7. Cf. on this epithet *PGM* V. 129.

8. Cf. *PGM* VII. 237; VIII. 98.

9. The number of falcons varies: cf. *PGM* VII. 239–40 (with Preisendanz’s note); *PGM* VIII. 100.

10. Cf. *PGM* VII. 240; VIII. 100.

11. Cf. *PGM* I. 55–60; VII. 539.

PGM CIII. 1–18

- 5 *"... TAR thus P . . . ŌTHOI and . . . from every place . . . place and every. . . / If
she lies down . . . let . . . [not] eat, if she drinks . . . B . . . SON NN and . . . and the
10 . . . most loved / . . . immediately, immediately . . . [NN, whom NN] bore . . . to
15 every place . . . but not . . . fire, and throwing / . . . RI of gain THI . . . CHIŌCH
. . . upon. . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Georgios A. Petropoulos, *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis* (P. S. A. Athen.) (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972; repr. of 1939 edition), no. 70, pp. 430–31. The ostensible purpose of this second-century magical text is the acquisition of a lover. For similar love charms that seek to disrupt the victim's eating, sleeping, and so on, compare PGM IV. 1510ff.; CVIII, etc. For further commentary, see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 169–72.

PGM CIV. 1–8

- *"AEŌ¹ . . . AEEŌ² . . . THYRINERE³ . . . ARMARINNE . . . ARI . . . OCH . . . SOZO-
CHABAI . . . ACHABOZO . . . OUEDDOUCHAI,⁴ get rid of all Althea's (?) daily
5 fever with shivering fits. Give [Althea (?)] / rest from the daily fever with shiver-
ing fits. . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of M. Amclotti and L. Z. Migliardi, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova* (PUG), vol. I (Milan: Giuffrè, 1974) no. 6: Amuleto contro la febbre, 17–18 (tav. V).

PGM CV. 1–15

- *"The one having appeared [before]¹ the universe in [accordance with your] eter-
nal nature, the untiring one, the one who . . . the one from the south . . . guard;
5 I call upon you, lord [Almighty], / the unknown one, the pure soul, I, the one . . .
having been sanctified. Be merciful to me, O Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios, IOUS . . .
SANBALCHANBAL THANŌAMA . . . CHŌCH, so that I may speak . . . of the gods
10 . . . / AŌT² ABAŌT BASYM³ ISAAC [ABRAHAM] JACŌB, hearken to me, the one . . .
ŌROU ŌROU ŌROU AE IAI A . . . SOUŌ I IYAOË IAO, [always,] the god who com-
15 mands, the god . . . / the inhabited world. . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–27. On the basis of the Zeus/Helios identification in I. 7, Brashear labels this spell *Anrufung an Sarapis*, "an invocation to Sarapis." See also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375.

PGM CVI. 1–10

*"ADŌNAI ELO[AI SA]BAŌTH ABLANATHANAB[LA AKR]AMMACHAMARI . . . SES-
ENGERBARPHARANGËS AEËIOYŌ IAO PHRË . . . ĒAŌ IAO EAŌ . . .

1. There is space for a single letter here, perhaps Ē; see n. 2, below.

2. After the Ō, there is one letter to make out. It is probably an omicron. The first nine letters, then, probably contain a series of vowels, viz., AEŌË AEEŌŌ.

3. The editor suggests that these letters may contain the Greek for "portal of Erebus" (reading θύρην ἐρεβους). Erebus was the mythological place of nether darkness which formed a passage from Earth to Hades.

4. Supplying here an alpha before the final iota.

1. Following the likely restoration of A. Henrichs.

2. On this Aoth-logos, Brashear points the reader to PGM IV. 1376; Delatte and Derchain 416, 487; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 242. 9.

3. BASYM, in Greek letters, corresponds to Aramaic *besum*, "in the name of": see Glossary, s.v. Thus the text perhaps reads, "in the name of Isaac, [Abraham,] Jacob." In the lacuna, Brashear restores instead ". . . Isaac [Sabaŏth, Iao], Jacob"; however, "Abraham" is another possible reading, as the three names form a natural, formulaic grouping in magical literature. See M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

AEËIOYŌ
OURIĒL
MICHAËL
GABRIĒL
SOURIĒL
RAPHAËL



Protect Touthous, whom
Sara bore, from every
shivering fit and fever:
tertian, quartan, quoti-
dian, daily, or every
other day [it occurs]
... ADŌNIAS, / ADŌNAEI,
protect in. . ."

SALAMABA
ZZZ
BAM IACHA

ABLANATHANABLA
ACHRAMMACHAMARI
SESENGHBPHARAGĒS
IAŌ / SABAŌTH
ŌRIPHER LOU.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 27–30 (see note on previous papyrus).

PGM CVII. 1-19

*“U IOCHO — SIM / PHNOUE¹ PHTHONTHON 2B2 ÷ L - W · Y L2 PERKMEM² BIOU
BIOU RIRIOU³

OCHERO|NOURI⁵ EPNEBAI⁶ SERPÖT' MOUISRO⁷ RINT'⁸ MÊI MÊI⁹ ÊI OU OUSIRI¹⁰
 SERPHOUTH MOUISRO MÊI / MÊI. Quickly fetch here Tapias whom Demetria
 bore, for Achilles whom Helene bore, by means of the soul of the one who died
 prematurely, / BAKAXICHYCH,¹¹ by the one whom all things are entrusted to, EU-
 LAMÔ;¹² fetch Tapias for Achilles, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotarsky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 255–64 (text two). Daniel provides copious notes and parallels to the *PGM*. Only his most essential comments are noted below.

PGM CVIII. 1-12

*“THŌBARABAU TEUTHRAIAIAIŌ BAKAŌPHLEN NOPH EPHOPHTHE AMOU AMIM
BAIN BAARA AALŌ B . . . NAARA AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒ / IIIIII OOOOOOO 5
YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, make fly through the air¹ the soul and the heart of Leontia
whom Ailia² bore in her womb, and don't allow her to eat or drink or to fall

1. PHNOU may be equated with the Coptic word *pnoun*, "the abyss." Otherwise it is the magical name for a god in *PGM* XII. 290 and is found in frequent combinations throughout the *PGM*.

2. PERKMEŃ, perhaps Coptic for "the Lord of darkness" or "house of darkness."

3. BIOU BIOU BIBIOU: BIOU is frequent in the *PGM* and is identical to the name of a decan. Cf. W. Gundel, "Dekane und Dekansternebilder," *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 19 (1936): 233–34.

4. In these lines there are thirty-six characters which correspond to the number of decans and their deities.

5. NOURI is Coptic for "vulture."

6. EPNEBAI may reflect the words *p nb by*, "the lord of souls," in *DMP XXVIII*, 1 (cf. Copt. *neb bai*).

7. For this Egyptian formula: lotus (*serphouth*)—lion (*moui*)—ram (*sro*), cf. *PGM* III. 659.

8. RINT' is Sahidic for "my name." Cf. *PGM* IV. 83–84.

9. **MĒI MĒI** (also in ll. 9–10) is Fayumic and Bohairic for “truth.”

10. The god Osiris.

11. This name is to be equated with BAINCHŌŌCH: both names mean "spirit of darkness." See Glossary, s.v.

12. This popular name can be equated with "eternal" and has become the subject of some etymological speculation (see Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," 264, n. 17, for literature).

1. This verb, *ἀεροπετέω*, is used only in magical texts, as Daniel points out, pp. 249–50.

2. Reading Ailia instead of Elia.

- 10 asleep / until she comes to me, Dioskouros whom Thekla bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” |—+—
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, “Two Love-Charms,” *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–55 (text one).

PGM CIX. 1–8

- 5 * “As Hermes turns in his marrow¹ and this strip of papyrus becomes reality,² so turn the brain³ and the / heart⁴ and search out⁵ all the mind of her who is called Kalemera, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Eric G. Turner, “The Marrow of Hermes,” in *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke . . . dicata* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1976) 169–73. The love spell from Oxyrhynchus (ca. A.D. 300) presents very difficult problems, so that the translation by necessity remains tentative. See also the different readings and interpretations by Giuseppe Giangrande, “The Marrow of Hermes: A Papyrus Love-Spell,” *Ancient Society* 9 (1978): 101–16; P. Gorissen, “Once more the Love-Spell of Hermes and the Marrow,” *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200; and J. Gwyn Griffiths, “Hermes and the Marrow in a Love-charm,” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 287–88.

PGM CX. 1–12

- 5 * . . . a voice comes to you in conversation. Lay out the stars on the board in their natural order,¹ with the exception of the sun² and the moon.³ Make the sun⁴ gold, / the moon⁵ silver, Kronos⁶ of obsidian, Ares⁷ of yellow-green onyx, Aphro-
 10 drite⁸ of lapis-lazuli streaked with gold, Hermes⁹ / of turquoise; make Zeus¹⁰ of a [dark blue] stone, but underneath of crystal. But the horoscope. . . .
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, “Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection,” *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 1: Astrological Text, 175–77 (plate). The text, constructed from two separate fragments, seems to contain instructions for a special type of astrological divination. The incomplete text at the beginning of the horoscope shows that the client participates in an auditory revelation of a god. This probably contains the end of the procedure section of the magical spell.

1. The phrase is unknown. Perhaps it is Hermes himself who “is turned around by the marrow,” the marrow referring to a magical substance used in the ritual operation. In this case the verb is construed as passive, with “marrow” as the genitive of agent. This avoids the need to emend the word to the accusative case (so P. Gorissen), or to take the genitive as “locative” (so Turner), since this normally requires the dative case. [R.D.K.]

2. Perhaps the words are an interjected “commercial”: “and this sheet really ‘works.’” The *πιττάκιον* is the sheet or piece of papyrus on which the spell itself is written; see Turner, 172; Giangrande, 107, for parallels. [R.D.K.]

3. Cf. on this notion *PGM* IV. 1544–45.

4. Cf. the parallel in *PGM* XIc. 3. For another interpretation, see Giangrande, 109.

5. Thus Turner’s translation. Gorissen takes *ζητουν*, “search out,” to be a personal name.

1. Packman translates this more literally: “Let the stars be set upon the board where (they belong) by nature. . . .” The sense may suggest that the planets and stars are to be arranged in their acknowledged order in their sphere of orbit.

2. The term for “sun” is represented in the papyrus by the symbol ☉.

3. The term for “moon” is represented by the symbol ☾.

4. That is, Helios.

5. That is, Selene.

6. That is, the planet Saturn.

7. That is, the planet Mars.

8. That is, the planet Venus.

9. That is, the planet Mercury.

10. That is, the planet Jupiter.

PGM CXI. 1–15

*. . . in Egyptian, [Kneph;]¹ . . . in Greek; and the great sculptor . . . and after forming two cows alike . . . and their sexes male and . . . / and after shaping another . . . [make] its body that of a serpent which has [no tail], but from either end [three-headed: on the right] human heads, [and on the left] geese heads, [and in the middle heads of] / golden gazelles with solar disks matching the shapes of their horns. [And after forming another] with its body, on the one hand . . . on the other hand, its appearance that of a sea falcon . . . , in Egyptian . . . / slight interpretations. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976) no. 2: Description of Magical Figures, 177–79 (plate).

PGM CXII. 1–5

*"SABAPSYRA IOEL
SEBAÖN SBAÖTH."
NAPSERNOUSOR [For] scorpion [sting].
ANAX
/ IRĒ

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 3: Amulet, 179–80 (plate). The text is presumably a charm for scorpion sting.

PGM CXIII. 1–4

*". . . PENCHIRAASARA . . . DA, drive out¹ . . . and scorpion . . . XAXAP. . . ."



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Amulett gegen Skorpionsstich," *ZPE* 22 (1976): 108 (Taf. IIIb). This spell is similar to other amulets against scorpion sting in the *PGM* (cf., e.g. *PGM* XXVIII a–c).

PGM CXIV. 1–14

*"[Protect] her, NN, O lord, [from all] evil acts [and from every] demonic visitation [and] . . . of Hekate and from . . . / attack and [from every onslaught (?)] in sleep . . . [from] mute daimons [and from every] epileptic fit [and from all] epilepsy / and . . . and. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised edition of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΑΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 145–49 (text one). Daniel greatly improved the reading of the original edition in P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974): 83–88. Daniel also offers a tentative reconstruction of the lacunae in the text. The translation above reflects Daniel's improved text, but not all of his tentative reconstructions. For further commentary see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 173–75.

1. Following the restoration suggested by R. Merkelbach.

1. The imperative is in the plural, thus suggesting that the preceding text contained a list of magical names.

PGM CXV. 1–7

- *“PHĒG GĒ . . . BALOCHRA THAMRA ZARACHTHŌ, I conjure you all by the bitter compulsion: MASKELI MASKELŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGAR RHĒZICH-
 5 THŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN / PYRIPĒGANXX. Deliver Ammon from the fever and shivering fit that restrains him, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; today!”
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the text of R. W. Daniel, “Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ,” *ZPE* 25 (1977): 153–54. The papyrus was first published with photographs and commentary by Z. Ritoók in *Antik Tanulmányok* 22 (1975): 30–43. Daniel’s text offers some changes.

PGM CXVI. 1–17

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | *“IAIŌ ERBĒTH | IŌBRAK | IŌBRAK | IŌBRAK |
| | IŌKABRA | ŌBRAK | ŌBRAK | ŌBRAK |
| 5 | ŌKABRA | BRAK | RAK | BRAK |
| | ARBA | RAK | AB | RAK |
| | ABA | AK | B | AK |
| | BA | K | | K.” |
- “IAŌ IAKOUNBATT IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX
 10 IŌ ERAPOMPS IŌ TANONO IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ABRASAX IŌ PSAAPOPSI / IŌ PHTHEA-
 POPS IŌ ISIŌR IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBIŌTH AMOUNAUEIEOUN PEITŌRE AU EN
 KTENOUATEI . . . KOX . . . OUS PSĒTAĒSEEBOLNOURTOU METHERENOUBTANOUN /
 15 TEB IMETHE . . . LENE EUINASMA, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary of Rosario Pintaudi, “Invocazione a Seth-Typhon,” *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48. Ll. 1–6 contain four “wing formations”; the rest seems to be an invocation using typical Seth-Typhon acclamations.

PGM CXVII

*Fr. 1 . . . [the elder?] . . . Fr. 2 . . . the house [she?] leaves, [her] husband [forgetting] . . . to sleep most sweetly by me, [her waist] . . . until earth and heaven . . . Fr. 4 . . . a cow . . . Fr. 5 . . . with black, join together . . . into a new cup . . . Fr. 6 . . . come to me . . . Fr. 7 . . . and . . . in the middle of the night, the streets . . . OSIRIS ESIĒS, to meet . . . to pour out my fruits . . . Fr. 8 . . . fulfill . . . Fr. 9 . . . [what is prescribed below]: . . . ANOUBIS, ANOUBIS, I love her [NN] . . . Fr. 10 . . . pluck two strands of her hair and [throw them] into a [new drinking vessel] . . . Fr. 11 . . . her, possessed by your . . . Fr. 12 . . . from . . . a white [thorn-apple tree] . . . speak the spell . . . Fr. 13 . . . the Dioskouroi . . . the destroyer . . . Fr. 14 . . . I conjure the gods in Hades . . . all, fetch her, [NN] . . . Fr. 18 . . . of much knowledge . . . demand starry heaven . . . and the Eternal Mistress . . . Fr. 19 . . . dreadful, everlasting [Hekate?], with grievous suffering, with . . . pains . . . Fr. 21 . . . carry out [for me this perfect] spell . . . Fr. 22 . . . AKRA . . . SO O . . . and . . . black . . . bring insomnia to her, NN . . . Fr. 23 . . . [offer] to him as a drink . . . take it, for it is . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini et al., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978) no. 34: P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216: Formulario magico, 237–66. Although this text is comprised of twenty-three tiny fragments of which little sense can be made, its importance should not be underestimated, for it is one of a few magical papyri which antedates the Christian period. This, along with the so-called Philinna Papyrus (PGM XX), dates to the first century. Fragmentary as it is, one can detect that the papyrus contains portions of a love spell. Of special importance are the occasional Egyptian deities mentioned along with the Greek, thus showing that a syncretistic influence was already at work in the magic of this early period.

PGM CXVIII

P. Palau Rib. inv. 200 another “magical scroll” similar to those published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) (= *PGM* CIII a–c.). A description and photograph of the scroll, with no transcription of the text, was published by José O’Callaghan, “Rollo mágico (PPalau Rib. inv. 200),” *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978): 85–87.

PGM CXIXa. 1–3

*“. . . fortune, I conjure. . . .”

Love spell through touch: Take milk . . . 9 *echthei*, 12 *calē*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 57: “Frammenti di Manuale Magico (PL II/52),” 34–36. This papyrus contains fragments of approximately eight short spells. The opening line preserves the end of a conjuration of uncertain purpose; portions of a love spell follow.

PGM CXIXa. 4–6

**Fetching charm:* On an ostrakon . . . : / “BOLSAK SAR . . . , the thoughts. . . .” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. On this magical papyrus, see the introductory note above. Since this tiny, fragmentary spell has preserved its title, it can be assumed the invocation is to be engraved on a potsherd with the aim of binding the thoughts (i.e. “brains”) of a desired woman, as well as other parts of the human constitution.

PGM CXIXa. 7–11

**Charm to subject:* “. . . subject [to me] . . . CHR.” Write . . . / an aphrodisiac (?). 10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3 for the bibliographical reference to this text. The fragmentary word translated “aphrodisiac” may introduce a new spell or may simply show that the spell to subject can work as an aphrodisiac as well.

PGM CXIXb. 1–5

*“. . . A . . . EDĒS wounds . . . vain babbling, and also mingle. . . .”

[*For fever with shivering fits:*] Take an olive leaf and engrave: “. . . .” / [For 5 daily] and nightly fever. KELLIOTON. Take. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3. This portion of the magical manual deals in part with a spell for fever. The invocation preceding it serves an unknown purpose. Furthermore, it is not clear whether another formula follows the charm for fever. The editor of the papyrus suggests that *κάλλιστον* (sc. *φίλτρον*), “an excellent philtre” could be read in the letters KELLIOTON.

PGM CXX. 1–13

*“cutting the uvula
utting the uvula
tting the uvula
ting the uvula
ing the uvula
ng the uvula
g the uvula
the uvula
he uvula
e uvula
uvula
vula
ula
la
a”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III) (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 58: "Ὀνομα πτερνγοειδώς (PL III/1442) 37–38 (Tav. LIII). This "winged" formation is made up of an adjective, σταφυλότομος, attested in only one other place. According to the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, cited by Pintaudi, the adjective means *uvam incidens*, "cutting the uvula." This term contains a play on words, as words with the same root can also refer to a bunch of grapes. It is no coincidence, then, that in magical literature winged formations such as that shown above were also referred to as grape-shapes (cf. PGM III. 70). The manner in which the formation is written allows one to read "cutting the uvula" down the left margin. Conceivably, this spell served as an amulet to heal its wearer from inflammation of the uvula. For a parallel, see the gemstone published by A. Sambon, *Le Musée* 6 (1909): 111.

PGM CXXI. 1–14

*. . . [cessation]:

column 1:	column 2:
death	rudeness
darkness	evil
mental illness	the evil eye
grief	debauchery
fear	slavery
illness	indecenty
poverty	lamentation
disturbance	troublesomeness
	emptiness
	malignancy
	bitterness
	arrogance

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Giovanni Geraci, "Un'actio magica contro affezioni fisiche e morali," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979): 63–72. This magical text has no real parallel in the corpus of magical literature. It appears to be an elaborate phylactery, listing a number of ailments both physical and psychological. The initial lines of the spell probably contained a plea that the vices listed in the two columns should cease or come to an end. The entire spell is enclosed in an ouroboros figure which has not been well preserved on the papyrus.

PGM CXXII. 1–55

*An excerpt of enchantments¹ from the holy book called Hermes,² found in Heliopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple,³ written in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek. /

5 *Enchantment using apples*:⁴ "Three times I shall throw apples, . . . and thereby I
[col. I, 5] shall provide this timely love spell for both mortal people and immortal gods.
10 I . . . , I threw the apple and I hit [her] with the apple. / Setting everything aside,
[I, 10] may she fall madly in love with me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats . . . or
holds it in her bosom, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus,⁵ /
15 carry out this perfect charm. . . .

1. So according to Brashear's interpretation, p. 265.

2. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. Cf. PGM IV. 885–87.

3. This refers to the temple library.

4. Although reportedly coming from an Egyptian holy book, this love spell contains Greek magic. The importance of apples in declarations of love and in oracles is well known. See A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967): 154–55, 157.

5. That is, Aphrodite; for commentary, see Brashear, 268–69.

"I have taken your . . . eye.⁶ I, NN, have taken your soul.⁷ I, NN, have drunk [I, 15]
from your blood. I, NN, have used . . . I, NN, have devoured your liver.⁸ I, NN,
have / [put on] your [skin]. I, NN, have done it. 20

"The goddess⁹ in heaven looked down upon him, and it happened to him ac-
cording to every wish of his soul . . . NN says: From the day [and] from the hour I,
NN, [do this act] to you; you will love me, be fond of me, and value me . . . I
die. / O Lady, goddess, [Isis] . . . , carry out for me this perfect charm." 25
[I, 20]

Having¹⁰ raised your hands toward the stars, let down . . . NN, and . . . and
black night; and standing [awake] and sleeplessness and . . . you shall use [these?]
before you see the sun. Take myrrh and chant and anoint your face:

"You are the myrrh with which Isis¹¹ was anointed / when she went to the 30
bosom of Osiris, her . . . brother, and gave him her favor on that day. Give me. . . ." [II, 5]

"Wake up him, NN, or her, NN, Mistress Isis, and carry out this perfect charm.
Hail,¹² Helios; hail you who rise; hail also to you, the gods who rise together with
him . . . / let rejoice . . . nor concerning a silver coin, but concerning him, NN, . . . 35
remain . . . I am running, but he is escaping me . . . to you . . . and having done the
sacred [acts?] . . . at sunrise . . . neither . . . nor drink nor / lie down . . . nor . . . ,
but have me in . . . and anguished, until she [comes] to me, until . . . everlasting 40
god . . . if she leaves [me] . . . I will be with you until she comes back to me and
goes . . . / [that] you bring him, NN, O Helios . . . the ever . . . day, him, NN, . . . 45
a coin . . . ; / O goddess born on Cyprus,¹³ carry out this perfect charm." [II, 20]

For headache:¹⁴ "Osiris has a headache; Ammon has a headache at the temples of
his head; Esenephthys¹⁵ has a headache all over her head. May Osiris' headache not
stop, may Ammon's headache at the temples of his head not stop, until / first he, 55
NN, stops all. . . ." [II, 30]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner
Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78. The love spell is one of the oldest Greek magical
papyri; it was found in Abusir el Melek, Egypt (first c. A.D.). For further notes see F. Mal-
tomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1
(1980): 375–76.

6. Apparently, the lines refer to some sort of cannibalistic ceremony done for the purpose of erotic magic. See Brashear, 269–71, who refers to *PGM* IV. 296–335, and A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos, Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972) 70, n. 77.

7. The term may be a euphemism for the sexual organs (see Glossary, s.v. "Soul"). See Brashear, 272.

8. The liver plays a special role in erotic magic. See Brashear, 272.

9. A reference to some mythical detail.

10. Apparently some kind of nocturnal ceremony is described. See Brashear, 273.

11. The second column contains Egyptian magic. The mythical love of Isis is imitated here; cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 288–89 and Brashear, 274–75.

12. Apparently the beginning of a hymnic passage, addressed to Helios.

13. See n. 5 above.

14. A charm against headache, using a threat against the gods that they will not stop suffering headaches until they have healed the operator. See Brashear, 276, for parallels.

15. That is, Isis-Nephthys; cf. *PGM* XII. 234.

PGM CXXIII a–f

a.

*“MARMARITHI // MARMARITHE¹

AMCHĒ

AMICH

BAROU

RCHOBIÖCH

LOU

LOU

CHA

5

... SE



B ...

BLA

... KO ... ÖT

10



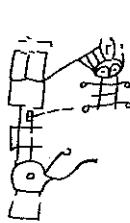
KAICH ...

SABAHÖ

MOUSĒTH³SISĒTH⁴NEMOUËL⁵A, NN, NN⁶

15

20

EULAMMÖN²

PHANEMOU

LACHAM

CHAMRI

CHÖTH

HTHÖCH

CHARIÖTH

AMËITËL

AI

NEÖTTASIA

ETHOOU.⁷25 Write on tin:⁸ onion, rue, frankincense. *Erōtylos*:⁹ / “Born of blood,¹⁰ shedding

1. A variation of the common magical name MARMARIÖTH, on which see K. Preisendanz, *PRE* 14 (1930): 1881; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* IV sec. 3206; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 746.

2. A form of the magical word EULAMÖ. For literature and additional occurrences of the term outside the *PGM*, consult Maltomini, 71–72, n. 11.

3. This name may be a conflation of the names “Moses” and “Seth.” Alternatively, the name may be explained from Coptic and Demotic as “lion-Seth.” See Maltomini, 72–73, n. 15.

4. Possibly Coptic for “Offspring of Seth”; see Maltomini, 73–74, n. 16.

5. An angelic name meaning “God has spoken.” See Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l’Angéologie* 299. Cf. Nm 26:12.

6. In the papyrus we have ⲁ ⲁ, the usual symbols for “so-and-so” (NN).

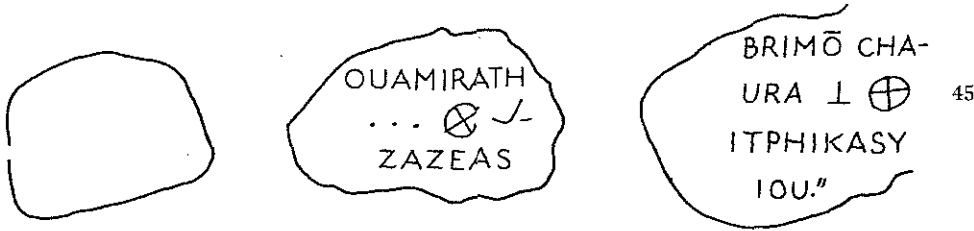
7. Perhaps Coptic *ethoou*, “evil,” thus Maltomini, 75, n. 22.

8. The reference is probably to writing the words on a tin plate. Cf. *PGM* VII. 459, 462; *PGM* XCIV. 37.

9. This word also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 946; VII. 478. According to *LSJ*, this Doric term can mean the following: (1) “a darling, sweetheart”; (2) as an adjective, it refers to singing love songs; (3) a name of a small star; and (4) the name of a gem. In the *PGM*, both the context and the etymology suggest the term means “a love charm.”

10. Reading *αἱμοφνῆ*, an apparent neologism in the *PGM*. Such formations of new words—usually epithets—abound in the magical papyri. Many of the new formations in the list that follows represent appropriate designations for Hekate and other chthonic deities. For parallels in each case, consult Maltomini, ad loc.

blood,¹¹ putting out roots,¹² androgynous,¹³ manly,¹⁴ / born with blood,¹⁵ saffron- 30
dyed,¹⁶ with golden arrows,¹⁷ golden-haired,¹⁸ like a white onion,¹⁹ / MENOU- 35
LATH, CHARBATHA, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA, CHŌNOUTHĀ, / MENOUBA, BELER- 40
THI, ZACHTHAĒR, CHALIOUBĒ



For childbearing: “Come out of your tomb, Christ is calling you.”²⁰ / [Place] a 50
potsherd on the right thigh. **For sleep:** on a bay leaf [write]: “ THARA 55
THARŌ.” **For strangury:** “MŌGIB  T  T  T  T THTHYS   / **For a shiver- 55**
ing fit: on a piece of papyrus: “[A]BLANATHANAPAMBALANATHANATH . . .
NATHANAMATHANATHANATHA                              Raphaēl, EI . . .
ŌI  THNĒ,” / Take a marble statuette, scratch with the right hand the right side of 60
a penis. Pound it on a table with wax. Take the wood from the heart of a plum tree,
the stock of a cabbage plant, chickpea; boil some garlic and give it as / a before- 65
dinner drink. Pellitory, pepper, grain, 23 parts kohl . . . bay leaf. Pound two pepper
grains and mix it with gum of “Hercules’ woundwort.”
For a victory: / [Wear] a tooth of a hyena, from the right side of the jaw . . . one of 70
the upper ones. . . .

11. Reading *αἰμωχνη*. Apparently a new formation from *αἷμα*, “blood” and *χέω*, “to pour out, shed.” Related epithets having to do with blood and applying to Hekate are listed by Maltomini, 77, n. 26.

12. Reading perhaps *ρίζοποιε* for *ρίζοπυε*. The expression is problematic and the restoration very tentative; nevertheless the association of roots with both Selene and Hekate is attested. Consult the references in Maltomini, 78, n. 27.

13. Reading *ἀνδρογύνη* for *ἀνδρωγενή* (cf. the variant spelling of the Greek in PGM CXXIII f, fr. A., 5). In PGM IV. 2610, Hekate is coupled with Hermes as an androgynous being.

14. The meaning of this unattested word *ἀνδρως* is at best very speculative; however, there is no question that the word originally formed a meaningful Greek epithet having to do with *ἀνήρ*, “man.” For similar, anomalous formations, consult the occurrences in PGM as cited by Maltomini, 78, n. 29. In addition to his philological parallels, compare the term *ἀνήνωρ*, “unmanly.”

15. The word *αἰμογενής* is now attested on a second-century inscription from Egypt, SEG 8. 374. Although LSJ, Supplement, s.v., p. 5, translates this “related by blood,” Maltomini is correct in suggesting here “born of/with blood.”

16. Reading *κροκοβαφή* for *κροκοβανη*? [R.D.K.] Maltomini suggests perhaps *κροκοφανη* (unattested). Saffron is associated with Hekate in Orphic Hymn 1. 2; 71. 1, and elsewhere with Demeter and Persephone.

17. The word is attested in Tzetzes, *Alleg. Il.* XX. 226, p. 132, Matranga. A similar epithet is used of Hekate in Lydus, *De mens.* 3. 10.

18. An appropriate epithet of Hekate (-Selene), thus Maltomini, 79, n. 33.

19. Reading *κρονον*(ον) *λευκον*.

20. Parallels adduced by Maltomini, 82–83, show that in Christian magic a *historiola* was used, according to which Elizabeth says to John the Baptist in her womb: “Come out, child, Christ is calling you. . . .” In our papyrus this *historiola* appears to have been confused with the account of Lazarus in the tomb, thus attesting the analogy of womb and tomb.

(pap. 2) *b*.

"KAICHABŌ, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL."

(Pap. 3) *c*.5 *Fr. A*: "KAICHABO, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL, A, NN, NN . . ." *Fr. B*
". . . CHAR . . . AMĒI . . . NEŌT . . . ETHOO . . ."*d*. ". . . ATH . . . PHAĒL EL . . ."*e*.5 "Born of blood, shedding blood, putting out roots, androgynous, manly, [born
with blood, saffron-dyed, with golden arrows]. . . E . . . THCHARBATH, STHŌM-
BAULĒ, ZANXMNA // CHŌNOUTHĀ // MENOUBA // BELERTHI // ZACHTHAĒR [//
CHALIOUBĒ]

10

OUAMIRATH
AUT ⊗ ⊥
ZAZĒAS

BRIMŌ CHA-
URA ⊥ ⊗
. . . K . . . " /

f.5 *Fr. A*: ". . . YBĒ . . . A . . . ROS. Born of blood, shedding blood, / putting out roots,
androgynous, ANTHROROC²¹, born with blood, saffron-dyed, with gold arrows,
golden-haired, dog-faced baboon. . ."

10

15

" . . . SAI
. . . AS
. . . GOBAS
E . . . NO . . .
ADONAEI
ELOEI."

Fr. B.

" . . .
ZANXMNA
MENOUBA
[ZACHTHAĒR]
. . .



. . .
. . .
MARMOUR
SABAŌTH
ADONAEI."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition and notes of Franco Maltomini, "I Papiri greci," in G. Arrighetti et al., "Nuovi papiri magici in copto, greco e aramaico," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), section II, pp. 55–124. The six papyrus fragments translated here correspond to those numbered 1–6 consecutively by Maltomini. They have been grouped here under the same Roman numeral because they represent duplications (with some variations) of the same magical text. The text, which contains a series of peculiar and difficult epithets, preserves portions of a magico-medical handbook. Unless otherwise stated, the notes that follow are summarized from those of the editor. For a full discussion of each of the terms and of the *voces magicae*, one should consult the edition of Maltomini.

21. Cf. n. 14. Something peculiar has occurred in the transmission of this epithet.

PGM CXXIV. 1-43

*.ΛΤΩΥΤ*ΛΩΞΝΘ CHAR . . . OBBA being written, and the one throw
 into a public latrine, / the other bury in the house βΑΓΓΗΥΠ THATHĒ THATHŌ. 5
Charm to inflict illness:¹ [Take] the blood of a weasel and write on a triangular
 potsherd and bury it in the house: ΤΑΚΕΙΣΝ

THRAX TRAX BRAX. /

27 / and fill it with water, up
to the [shoulder] of the
33 [manikin] only. / Crush
rhododendron plants with
some vinegar and sprinkle
the entrances to the tomb. /
35 Take a garland made from
the plant, and while pro-
nouncing the formula, at-
tach it to the tomb: "Prin-
cipal angel of those below
the earth, BAROUCH, and
you, angel of many forms,
OLAMPTER; in this hour /
40 do not disobey me, but
send to me . . . without
fear, without harm, doing
my every. . . ."



Take unsmoked² beeswax and make a little manikin. Write the characters / on a tiny piece of papyrus and place it inside the beeswax. Also write the three “ō’s” and the letters that follow, on the head of the manikin, and the bones of the victim (?).³ . . . / Prick the left one⁴ into the left eye of the manikin and the right one⁵ into the right. Hold the figure upside-down on its head⁶ / and put it into a new pot. Leave the pot in the dark

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Franco Maltomini, in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), sec. II, pp. 94–112 (Pap. 7) (see previous papyrus, *PGM* CXXIII. a–f). The instructions call for the manufacturing of a waxen doll; for this phenomenon in magic, consult the literature cited by Maltomini; cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.

PGM CXXV a-f

Papyri nos. 8–15 in Maltomini's edition in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 113–20 (see *PGM* CXXIII a–f for full reference) contain texts too fragmentary to translate.

a. Papyrus no. 8 (Tav. XI) 113–16, dates to the fifth or sixth century and is made up of three fragments: Fragment A contains several legible *voces magicae*, viz.,

1. Reading *κατακλιτικόν* for *κατακλητικόν*. Cf. *PGM* VII. 430 for the same expression and *PGM* IV. 2076, 2442, 2450, 2497, 2624; LXIV. 1 for the use of the verb in this sense.

2. That is, presumably wax taken without smoking the bees. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2378, 2945 for a similar practice in reference to honey.

3. The text is hopelessly corrupt at this point and thus defies explanation. The text seems to contain a reference to the bones of a victim, thus we read *σφακής* (thus Maltomini) in the series of letters immediately following “bones.”

4. The reference to "left one" and "right one" is not clear. Maltomini assumes the references are to "the left *part*" and "the right *part*" of the mannikin, respectively. That is, the magician is to prick the left part of the mannikin *up to* the left eye, and the same on the right. However, it is more likely on the basis of spells like *PGM* IV. 296–335 that "the left (one)" and "the right (one)" refer to left and right "needles" pricked into the matching eyes. The "left one" means a needle held in the left hand, the "right one" a needle held in the right. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2943–50 for a similar rite in which the eye of a magic doll is pricked.

5. See n. 4 above.

6. The text is unclear at this point. Literally, the text seems to direct the performer to hold the head of the mannikin "to the south." Judging from the description that follows, the mannikin is placed head-first into the pot, which is then filled up with water to cover its head.

SALAKALOU, KERKĒBI, and KAULYOUKAU. Fragment B contains only a handful of letters, whereas fragment C preserves an elaborate magical figure.

b. Papyrus no. 9 (Tav. XII) 116–17, contains nine lines of which only a few words can be positively identified: ALLELOUIA, SABAŌTH, and ADONAI. The other side of the papyrus preserves portions of an Aramaic magical text published by Marrassini in the same journal, p. 128.

c. Papyrus 10 (Tav. VIII) 117–18 dates to the fifth century and is made up of two tiny fragments which cannot be read. Fragment B contains portions of a Coptic formula.

d. Papyrus 11 (Tav. XII) 118, is made up of two fragments that are too small even to assign a date.

e. Papyrus 12 (Tav. XII) 119, is paleographically akin to Papyrus 6 (PGM CXXIII f.). Only the names ADONAI and SABAŌTH can be recognized.

f. Papyrus 13 (Tav. XI) 119–20, assigned to the end of the fifth century, also contains an Aramaic text on the other side (see Marrassini, pap. no. 3, p. 129). The text preserves portions of a formula which reads, “I conjure you by your holy name . . . BAROCH SĒMO. . . .”

PGM CXXVIa. 1–21

- 5 *“. . . ATĒS . . . [sweet wine?] . . . / ATA . . . ASSA . . . NN [add the usual] . . . K
 . . . B . . . BRIAPS . . . [IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCH[OSĒTH BASDOUMA] /
 10 OSESRO APOMPS P[ATATHNAX KOKKO]LOPTOLIN CH . . . K . . . [. . . IŌ THATHTHA]
 BRABO, without violence . . . [spell of Typhon] Seth [carrying] out the whole
 magic [procedure and] separate her, NN, from him, NN. ABERAMENTHŌ /
 15 OUTHLERTHEXANAX [ETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMA]REBA, and say, ‘Mustard, [you are
 20 not Mustard,] but the eye . . . the inner parts of the bull of Apis’” / (add the usual)
 . . . “from Osiris . . . and separate. . . .”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini, “Frammento di formulario magico (PL III/472),” in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P. Laur. IV), Papyrologica Florentina* vol. 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983) 46–53. Cf. the earlier edition by Rosario Pintaudi, “PL III/472: Frammento magico,” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 261–64, and the new readings by F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, (III.),” *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 239–40. The poorly preserved text appears to be a spell for separation. L. 20 may begin another such spell, as it is separated by a paragraph mark. For parallel texts and commentary, see Maltomini’s notes.

PGM CXXVIb. 1–17

- 5 *“. . . O . . . [add the usual] . . . but the sight . . . the power of ADŌNAI . . . / of
 the great god . . . [Mustard], in order to separate . . . enmity until [death] . . . [in
 10 order that] you might enter into the . . . them as the . . . / having heard about . . .
 15 of Osiris ANE . . . and frightful and . . . having burnt . . . / and you, Mustard
 . . . / [the] house of her, NN . . . passageway. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini (see note on the previous papyrus). This piece also appears to be from a spell for separation.

PGM CXXVII. 1–12

**To make one bend down and not get up*: Anoint the loins with the brain of an electric eel.

- 5 *To get a certain [lover] at the baths*: Rub a tick from a dead dog on the loins. /
To “play” with a woman: Anoint the phallus with the juice of the deadly carrot.

*To cause a fight*¹ *at a banquet*: Throw a dog-bitten stone into the middle.

To make wine sour: Throw burning / pebbles into it.

10

In order “to screw” many times: Drink beforehand seed of celery and of rocket.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. M. Parássoglou, “Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt,” *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53, no. 9: “Magico-Medical Prescriptions.” Note also F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II,” *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 374.

PGM CXXVIII. 1–11

**A phylactery for fever*:

“SARICH “Of Jesus Christ, son of IAŌ (?),
AORKACH quickly, quickly,
/ ROUGACH heal!
CHIOSNĒCH John,
KOCH.” / Son,
 Life.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, “Due papiri magici inediti,” *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 111–14: *P. Heid. G. 1386*.

PGM CXXIX. 1–7

*“... [concerning] the certain matter . . . [a tin?] lamella from a certain . . . and tie it up in a cloth . . . / of a black wolf from . . . and . . . it in a little case . . . again 5 and again it will be of service to you.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, “Due papiri magici inediti,” *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 115–17: *P. Berol. 21260*.

PGM CXXX

*[IA]RBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHŌĒMEŌ
[A E]E ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌ[Ō]
Lord gods, heal Helene, whom [NN] bore, from every
illness and every fit of shivering [fever].
/ daily, daylong, tertian, quartan. 5

IARBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHNĒMEŌ

AEĒIOYŌŌYOIĒEA

EĒIOYŌŌYOIĒE

ĒIOYŌŌYOIĒ

*²⁾

YYY

IOYŌŌYOI

10

OYŌŌYO

YŌŌY

YYYYY

ŌŌ

[traces]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by R. W. Daniel, “P. Mich. inv. 6666: Magic,” *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54. For a parallel to this spell, see *PGM* XVIII b; for the stellar and lunar symbols, see the parallels in Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, nos. 296, 301.

PDM Suppl. 1–6

*[Another spell for] *sending a dream*: [. . . I] am the youth without . . . scarab of . . . soul of the four faces (?) and I . . . you . . . complete. . . .

/ *Formula*: On a leaf . . . , and you put a . . . it, and you write . . . embalming 5 house.

1. Reading, with Maltomini (see introductory note above), $\mu\acute{\alpha}[\chi]\eta\nu$ for $\mu\acute{\alpha}[\nu]\eta\nu$.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, col. 1/1–6. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic text only when they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM Suppl. 7–18

10 **[Another spell]* for sending a dream: “. . . Come to me in your [form] . . . you . . . before I have gone to the . . . which is therein / . . . without a skin of . . . they took it . . . your town . . . and I know . . . [in] your secret form . . . power (?) . . . while it . . . is bearing witness what I did . . . noble mummy . . . face of a lion
15 which . . . is your name, I having done / . . . you . . . so-and-so guard his hand.”

Formula: “. . . [body] of a white donkey . . . cow’s fat . . . again; “great-of-love” plant, tear apart . . . gather . . . skin of a donkey. . . . It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, col. 1/7–18.

PDM Suppl. 19–27

20 **[Another] spell* for sending a dream: “. . . anger / . . . great . . . of the sea . . . Nun¹ at night . . . anger of the one who is in the water . . . the mountains. . . . Let the . . . speak to me . . . under me . . . in them. If not doing it . . . enemy of the praised one . . . me in the water at [night], in the day at [any time] . . . him.”

25 *Formula*: “. . . reed leaf and you write an image of . . . the ear . . . drowned, and you should recite these writings . . . *four* times . . . [wreath] to it and you say the thing [in the ear (?)] . . . It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, col. 1/19–27.

PDM Suppl. 28–40

30[1] **[Another spell]* for sending a dream: *Formula*: You bring . . . and you do it . . . in an oil of lotus² and [you] . . . wick / . . . and you protect it and you . . . [write?] these names in . . . falcon (?) with (?) its claw (?) and you write . . . of the . . . wick on (?) a new lamp of . . . of . . . which is above and you bring a new brick . . . the
35 [5] [lamp] . . . leave the lizard before the lamp . . . , / these again which you should write on the strip of the wick [of] the [lamp] . . .]

Formula: “. . . BAH[E (?)] P[A]IRE PSIR PAH[. . .]BPS [. . .] A BAT LA BATL-[A]ATE,³ come [to] me tonight and tell [me] an answer to [everything] about [which] I am praying (another [manuscript] says: . . . it goes in the place under the head of . . .) [stand?] ⁴ before him in the form of his god who is great in his heart
40 [10] and make him dream a dream [about such-and-such] / a thing which I shall tell him today.”

Formula: 7 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 67, col. 1/28–30; col. 2/1–10.

PDM Suppl. 40–60

40 [10] **Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “Listen to my voice, O noble mummy-spirit of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms; come to me and do for me such-and-such a thing today because I am calling you in your (?)

1. Primeval waters.

2. Scented with lotus.

3. Written ‘te, “limb.”

4. See PDM Suppl. 120.

name . . . in Abydos who rests in the house of the official⁵ whose name is 'this [one] who rests in truth' (another [manuscript] says, 'who . . . in truth'). Nun⁶ . . . oath (?), 'great image of Nun' is your true name; / SHLBI NYH[R] is your true name, truly; Nun, NEO soul of Ha[. . .] 'very great one of Nun' is your true [name]. Soul of souls (another papyrus says, 'soul of a bull [?])' . . . of Nun is your true name. Soul of souls SHLBI NYHR is your true name. NEO soul of H[A . . .] Nun NEO great one of Nun [is your] true [name]. May you listen to the voice . . . in all his forms [of a spirit, noble mummy] of a man of the necropolis because [I] am [calling to you] / in your name of s . . . ISIRA SIRATHMA, saying, 'I am . . . land.' O SYAL[. . .] NEBOY[TOSYALTH SIRATHMA saying, 'I am . . . s.' O SY[. . .] NEBOYTOS]YALTH, let the [soul of the] noble spirit awaken to me; let him go [to the place] in which such-and-such is; let him greet (?) . . . have him do for me such-and-such a [thing] about [which I am] asking. . . .

*Its preparation:*⁷ . . . / these names with blood of . . . reed leaf; you put it . . . of a dead man; you leave . . . of clay under the head . . . on (?) it; and you recite them to him again. You do . . . lunar month and it is left in a place. . . . If stubbornness occurs, you should [put] the hoof . . . of a male donkey and myrrh . . . on it and you should beat on the ground until it stops. . . . If you [will act against a man / you should . . .] of a male. If you will act against a woman, you should [. . . of a] woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 67–68, col. 2/10–29; col. 3/1. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 60–101

**Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula:* "[O] noble divine spirit [whose soul is in heaven] whose body is in the underworld, whose mummy [is among the living,] O good messenger of Osiris, O great follower of 'he who is in his bed,' the god . . . him (?). O guardian of the one who is in Alkhah,⁸ I am the soul of . . . the one who is in his [two sound] eyes, who protected his limbs in the soundness daily . . . / I am the offspring of khepri⁹ [whose] name is the divine [son?] of Amoun . . . scarab . . . body of the noble mummy in the sarcophagus which rests in the underworld . . . true, of the house of embalming. . . . I am the bull of the . . . ; I am the lion; I am the lion; I am . . . ; I am the soul of Pre, the breast of Shu; I am the egg of the snake; [I am] the dung ball of the beetle.¹⁰ I am the lord of the Amhet-underworld;¹¹ I am the divine fluid / of the living . . . ; I am the noble head which is in Abydos.¹² Come to me at night, quickly, quickly; hurry [hurry, O] soul

5. Perhaps one of the liked-named chapels listed in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. IV (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1927), 127–28.

6. Nun here and throughout this spell is the primeval waters.

7. Literally, "gathering of things"; the same term is used in PDM xii as a label for the directions.

8. See PGM IV. 124 and n.; cf. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to I. 3.

9. A sun god in the shape of the scarab beetle, whose dung ball represents the sun rolled across the sky. See PGM IV. 943 and n.

10. See n. 9 above.

11. I.e., the "upper" part of the underworld in contrast to *tph.t*, the "lower" part. See E. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, vol. II (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1968), par. 33, especially p. 622.

12. Osiris; see PDM xii. 628. On the dismemberment and burial of Osiris, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to Numen)* 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 24–25, 27, 51–52.

- without the body, dead one without the noble mummy, the noble mummy without the netherworld, [the] netherworld without the funerary bed, without the sarcophagus without . . . shrine (?) . . . born of Horus . . . Seth acts . . . against Apophis, the slaughter (?) against the evil one¹³ again. The brazier is in your hand . . .¹⁴
- 75 [16] morning bark / [at?] dawn, the evening bark greets heaven and earth with (?) a great fire. Woe, woe . . . until you send to him, NN, whom she, NN, bore, and you send his heart after NN . . . thing . . . at night, in the daytime, at any time, every day, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry . . . I [will ?] say them and I [will? . . .] specification (?) of saying them.¹⁵ *Formula: 7 times.*
- 80 [21] *Its preparation:*¹⁶ . . . kill it. You should bring it at the lunar month; / [you should] wash it in cow's [milk] . . . ; you [should] anoint it with oil of lotus¹⁶ . . . of the leaf . . . reed; you should put [them?] at the seven(?) openings of the head and and bind them [with] linen . . . made by the hand of . . . bind them to its head; you should put its head . . . before the sun at dawn in the lunar month . . . to yourself barley and grain; you should leave them . . . you should put water of the divine lake
- 85 [26] . . . after them for 7 days until they grow; / [you should] bring them up; you should dry them until the 15th of the month; you [should] pound them with myrrh, green eyepaint, [black] eyepaint (?), *qs-nb* stone,¹⁷ "live-thereby" plant, mustard . . . 7 reed leaves which are above.
- [col. 4] Afterwards, [you should put] a scarab into [fat?] of a bull; you should put [it?] in a vessel of copper which is full of cow's [milk] . . . until it . . . ; you should bring it up; you should put the . . . to the head of the . . . ; you should put blood of your
- 90 [4] left thigh and your [right] thigh / on them; you should . . . the time; you should [shape them] into a mummy of the foremost of the westerners¹⁸ which amounts to 7 fingers [in length]; you should embalm it with myrrh, with ointment [and a covering of] byssus. Afterwards you should [sprinkle] pure sand; you should make a layer of sand under it in your . . . ; you should set the image on the layer of sand; you should leave the scarab on the body of the . . . after the embalming (it) which you did first with myrrh, with ointment and a covering of byssus itself (?); you should write the things which you desire on a new papyrus with carob tree (?) /
- 95 [9] water; you should leave it before the image; you should cause the head which is on it to bend down; you should put a bandage of 4 [colors] on it, blue, red, white, black, on the head; you should leave it in a hidden place; you should put frankincense (?),¹ barley, a great recipe to the brazier before it; you should offer to it bread, beer, and milk, in its midst; you should have blood fall from you on the brazier; you
- 100 [14] should put a piece of a red lizard / before it; you should recite these writings to it up to 7 times at night while you are in a [hidden] place which is clean; and you should make . . . settle (?)¹⁹ before it. It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 68–70, col. 3/1–27; col. 4/1–15. The word preceded by ¹ is written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic inserted above.

13. Identical with *nk* of Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 205, 14–15, as suggested by Mr. Mark Smith.

14. The section left untranslated is glossed *KN* in old Coptic.

15. See n. 7 above.

16. Scented with lotus.

17. See *PDM* xiv. 98 and n.

18. An epithet of Osiris.

19. Literally, "lie down."

PDM Suppl. 101–16

**Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “O Anubis, the high one of heaven, go to the underworld! Let the head of Osiris stop being far from him.²⁰ Give praise, love, and respect to NN before NN. Let him do everything which he will write for him, entirely. Move him! Give your iron staff / which is in your hand to the spirit! . . . Let him go to NN, whom NN bore. Let him stand before the image of the god who is great in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he seeking after him. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN so that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart, and may you say, ‘Give every good . . . thing to NN. . . .’”

101 [15]

105[19]

Hear everything which he will say to you, entirely, while the crocodile of Isis, the great goddess, / is therein. [Let?] it be commanded before the gods to happen or you will delay because of it: “Is steadfastness [of] heart against me what you will do, so that you scorn (?) the blood of Osiris the moon, Thoth,²¹ at night at mid-month?”

110 [24]

Its preparation:²² On a new papyrus: you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it; you should write these writings under it; you should put it to the mouth of black dog of the embalming house; you should make great offerings before it; you should put frankincense on the brazier before him; / you should do it as a libation of milk of a black cow or a spirit whose face . . . ; and you should put its recitation in its mouth. [It is] very good.

115 [29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 70–71; col. 4/15–30.

PDM Suppl. 117–30

**Another form* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “O praised one, call to heaven! Speak to the underworld; Let Osiris stop sleeping while his head is far from him²³ until a forceful spirit which does not sleep at night is sent / so that he stand above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart, so that he say to him, ‘Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!’ Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN, saying, ‘Do the every command which NN will desire!’ Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit? Your soul will not be allowed to rise up to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation to dawn of day 26, while the excellent spirits are awake.”

120 [4]

Formula: / On a jackal of clean clay which is lying down, its body moistened with milk and fluid of a jackal of the embalming house with a . . . ²⁴ on its foot. You should write your words on a new papyrus; you should put it in the jackal’s mouth; and you should leave the jackal on a copper lamp which a brazier is heating. You should recite these writings to it at night; you should stamp / on the ground with your foot.

125 [9]

130 [14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71, col. 5/1–14.

20. See n. 12 above.

21. For the association Osiris-moon-Thoth, see J. G. Griffiths, “Osiris and the Moon in Iconography,” *JEA* 62 (1976): 153–59, although this Demotic evidence shows that the ibis in the hieroglyphic examples is not just a determinative, as he thought (noted by Dr. Mark Smith).

22. See n. 7 above.

23. See n. 12 above.

24. Perhaps “sound-eye” of Horus.

PDM Suppl. 130–38

- 130 [14] *A “god’s arrival”²⁵ of Osiris: “O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble soul of Osiris Wen-nefer, come to me! I am your beloved son, Horus. O gods who are in heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the primeval waters, O gods who are in the south, O gods who are in the north, O gods who are in the west, O gods who are in the east, come to me tonight! Teach me about such and such a thing /
135 [19] about which I am asking; quickly, quickly; hurry, hurry.”

Formula: On a phoenix written with myrrh water and juniper water. Put a pellet (?) of gum on your right hand; recite these writings to it in the evening while your hand is stretched out to the moon, while you are going to sleep; and leave your hand before you. (It is) very good. 4 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71–72, col. 5/15–22.

PDM Suppl. 138–49

- *A spell for ———.²⁶ **Formula:** “The copper is bent down. The *neshmet* bark²⁷ will
140 [24] not stop sinking. The great / river draws blood. Isis is ill. [Neph]thys. . . . The copper will not stop bending. The *neshmet* bark will not stop sinking. The great river will not stop drawing blood. Isis will not stop being sick. Nephthys will not stop. . . . The copper is bent toward the one who is (?) in the sun bark. Re²⁸ is bent toward him while Amun is bent after him until sleep is taken from NN, whom NN bore, at night and care is given by day . . . until they [make] him do the thing which NN desires from him.”

- 145 [2] **Formula:** A / vessel of copper [in] which an image [of] Osiris is drawn with human blood; you should bend [it] down before a lamp with an [image] of Anubis drawn on the wick with blood of a black dog; you should put cedar oil in it out of a new vessel, it being established on a brick standing on its (?) . . . ; you should recite these writings to it up to 4 times. (It is) very good. There is not its like . . . in her (?) hand. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72, col. 5/22–28; col. 6/1–6.

PDM Suppl. 149–62

- 150 [7] *A “god’s arrival”²⁹ of Thoth according to what is outside,³⁰ also, *saying* / **Formula:** “I call to you, O Thoth, the hearing-ear,³¹ who listens to everything. I call to you in your names which are great, which are divine:
‘ALIPS THABLIPS STSILIPS †GAGARPAOTHAR THANASIMA QHAH †ORTHÖMENKH-ROÖN †BALSA †ALABAKHABEL.’ Awaken to me, O lord of truth! Tell me an answer in
155 [12] truth to the “god’s arrival” / concerning such-and-such a thing, in truth, without falsehood therein, so that I may awaken and find it (out).”

Its preparations:³² A new lamp whose wick is of byssus cloth which is very clean; you should fill it with genuine oil; you should burn (it); you should write your command on a new papyrus; you should put it under the lamp; you should put a

25. See PDM xiv. 93–114.

26. Erased.

27. Sacred bark of Osiris.

28. The sun god, more commonly written Prē.

29. See n. 25 above.

30. On the other side of the papyrus?

31. I.e., who listens to the petitions of the average man.

32. See n. 7 above.

lobe of “great-of-love” plant under the lamp’s mouth; and you should recite these names above to it 8 times. / It comes to you.

160 [17]

Here is the ink with which you should write your command on the bookroll: “Great-of-love” plant, a leaf of olive tree; you should cook them, make them into myrrh ink and write with it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72–73, col. 6/1–19. Words preceded by are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 162–68

**Another spell for finding your house of life. Formula:* “Open to me! I am the noble ibis; I am the ape of Edfu,³³ I am the great male, the scarab; I am the guardian of the great body; I am the snake of the 4 gods / who were with Isis while she was searching for the good [one].³⁴ SHAPL is [my] name as Sothis.³⁵ The Ethiopian is [my] name. Osiris the bull of magic is [my] name. The divine Ra-Shu is my name, I going to all the gods in order to cause that I find my house in which I shall live.”

165 [22]

Formula: On an ibis written with black ink on the left hand of a man when he sees that house of life.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73, col. 6/19–25.

PDM Suppl. 168–84

**A spell for reciting* a document which is. . . . It is a “god’s arrival”³⁶ of Iymhotep to whom the tenth belong also.

Formula: “Awaken! / Awaken in the underworld, Osiris Wennefer, 1 p h,³⁷ Iymhotep the great, son of Ptah! . . . I am [. . . is] my name; I gather a box [. . . the sound-] eye is [my] name (?) . . . ; the moon, Thoth . . . [Iymhotep the great], the son of [Ptah . . .], excellent mother, fashioner of the underworld, go forth. . . . They will not stand in / their box . . . [moisten ?] their box. You should awaken before Iymhotep the great, son of [Ptah . . .] son, daughter, that I might live, and you should tell [me] an answer [to] the thing which is on . . . bookroll . . . every voice. Come to me, Thoth the great, the lord of Hermopolis . . . him. Give watch to the head for [the] day.”

170 [27]

175 [5]

Formula: write . . . on (?) it [with] your hand with / myrrh ink; likewise under . . . lick it; you should open your mouth to the ground in a cry, saying, “. . . the sound-eye; the sound-eye is what I ate.” You should open your mouth to it in order to lick it. Awaken at dawn; you should say: “Horus is my name; I am Horus, the triumphant.”

180 [10]

. . . day on which you will do the “god’s arrival” while the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, or Virgo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73–74, col. 6/25–27; col. 7/1–14.

PDM Suppl. 185–208

*“Face . . . which is at rest . . . except you also; my magical speech. I will take the

185 [1]

33. Presumably Thoth.

34. Osiris.

35. The star Sirius, by whose helical rising the beginning of the year is marked.

36. See n. 25 above.

37. “Life, prosperity, health.”

... Ò MITHRA A ... BARSA ... THŌMI, the great one who is pure, the one who
[grows ...] I putting them in your hand, NN, whom NN bore. [I cast] anger
190 [6] against you in the head (?), NĒ[... stand]ing (?) without listening to your mes-
sengers, saying ... them in [the] hand saying ... concerning these things, /
standing [without] listening to my prayer, my magical speech (?) ... it."

Its preparations:³⁸ ... draw ... of a crocodile ... of a snake ... make your hand
stand (?) on ... which belongs to you (?).

Formula: TERETA TABE KR ... N [ĒN?]Ē ... (another [manuscript] says N[?]
ELATS ... BATSY ...) +YO YAO SABATK M ... hand."

195 [11] Formula: " ... O NĒNĒBR ... / _____
dog. The one who is in bandages removes bandages; the one who is above ...
saying, 'I am Anubis, the ... of the underworld ... , Isis, the great goddess,
Osiris, the one who is in your hand, the lord of the gods ... against me in the ...
the dog ... the ... dog, the red dog, the red dog ... every ... You should ... at
night. Here is the ... of your tongue in the ... I am Anubis, the master of secrets.
200 [16] ... You should ... / to me at night, during the day. [I] will give you the greetings
of my mouth ... I am Anubis the master of secrets. ... Formula: 4 times ...
worm (?) saying "I am Isis ...," saying, "I am Osiris ... saying, "I am ... I am
the lord who came before the ruler ... wick. ... I ... you will stand, you will
... , while he will go (?) [to? Horus?] the son of Isis, the [son of Osiris] ... of this
205 [21] ... will do it to a young bird ... will do it to a young bird ... / saying ... of the
harem, son of the harem, ... 7 times ... heart. Be deaf, head! Come ... ! Come
... head of. ... Open (your) mouth to me for I am Isis ... , I am Osiris, I am
Harsiese. ... " 2 palm trees. ...

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):74–75,
verso, ll. 1–24. Words preceded by + are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic
glosses inserted above.

38. See n. 7 above.

Glossary

The glossary provides explanations for some of the more difficult technical terms and names occurring in the *PGM*. Bibliographical data have been added for further study. More common terminology and names have not been explained since they can be found in easily available dictionaries.

ABERAMEN formula: The abbreviated formula stands for the long palindrome ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTUOŌTHENEMAREBA, a magical name occurring several times in the *PGM* (see I. 294; II. 125–26; III. 67–68, 116–17; IV. 181; V. 180; XIV. 25; CXXVIa. 13–15, etc.). In it the name of the god Thoth can be read, although no meaningful decipherment of the word has been put forward. See K. Preisendanz, “Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, 3,” *WSt* 41 (1919): 11–12; M. Tardieu, “Aberamenthō,” in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Presented to G. Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 412–18.

ABLANATHANALBA: This palindrome, perhaps the most common in magic literature, often occurs in company with SESENGENBARPHARANGES. Usually invoked for beneficent results, this magical name has not been adequately explained although it has been suggested that the name contains Hebrew.

ABRASAX: This popular deity in magic (also spelled ABRAXAS) is identified with a variety of other names of gods and was explained by *gematria* (assigning the numerical value to the letters of the name) as the magic number 365 (see *PGM* IV. 331–32; VIII. 49, 611; XIII. 156, 466, etc.). Accordingly the deity is recognized as a solar god and is pictured on amulets as a snake-footed creature (the so-called *anguipede*), armored, and with the head of a cock. See Bonner, *SMA* 162–63; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 24–42; Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” *Hommages à W. Deonna, Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 67–86; C. Colpe, “Geister (Dämonen),” *RAC* 9 (1974): 618–19; Marcel Le Glay, “Abraxas,” *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 2–7, pls. 1–63.

ADŌNAI: An important angelic figure in gnosticism and in magic. The name originally came from the Old Testament designation “my Lord,” although this meaning had been long lost to the practitioners of the Roman Empire. See J. Michl, “Engelnamen,” *RAC* 5 (1965): 202. For the variant angel forms Adonael, Adonail, Adoniel, Adonaiel, see E. Peterson, “Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara,” *RhM* 75 (1926): 394.

ADONAIOS: Adonaios (an alternative reading of Adonai; note the Greek termination) is regarded in *PGM* as a name of the deity rather than as an epithet meaning “Lord” (cf. *PGM* I. 305). The Jewish origin, however, is still recognized (see *PGM* XII. 264). See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 203.

Agathos Daimon: “The good genius” was originally an epithet of a god invoked at Greek banquets. In the *PGM* the name has become a designation for a god—one, however, who can be identified with a number of different deities. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 264, 294–95; R. Ganschinietz, “Agathodaimon,” *PRE.S* 3 (1918): 37–59; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 213ff.; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619–20; W. Fauth, “Agathos Daimon,” *KP* 1 (1979): 121–22.

Aion: The god Aion, whose name signifies “long period of time,” “eon,” “eternity,” plays an important role in the *PGM*. For the complicated history of the god, see A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 4 (Paris: Les belles lettres, ³1954) 182–99; W. Bousset,

"Der Gott Aion," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 192–230; Fauth, *KP* 1 (1979): 185–88; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 146–48; Marcel Le Glay, "Aion," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 405.

AKRAMMACHAMAREI: This magical name, with variant spellings, occurs frequently in beneficent magical incantations in company with **ABLANATHANALBA** and **SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS**. For a possible explanation of the name from Hebrew, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965) 94–100.

Aktiophi(s): Hopfner has suggested that this name is an epithet of Selene, goddess of the moon, a name which occurs elsewhere in *PGM* (see IV. 2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913; VII. 317, 984; XVI. 23).

Ammon/Parammon: Hermes Parammon was honored as an Olympian god alongside Zeus Ammon and Hera Ammonia. The epithet Parammon probably means "he next to Ammon."

Amon (Amoun): The Egyptian god Amon. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 31–37, s.v. "Amun"; E. Otto, "Amun," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 237–48.

Anoch (Anog, anok): These letters, occurring often at the beginning of an invocation, correspond to the Egyptian *ink* (Coptic *anok*), "I am." See S. Sauneron, "Le Monde du Magicien Egyptien," *Le Monde du Sorcier* (Paris 1966) 36–39.

Anouth: Name of Osiris (see VII. 238, 243, 247; VIII. 83, 98–99, 102).

Anubis: Anubis is the jackal god of mummification, the son of Osiris and Nephthys. On Anubis as key holder and guard (*PGM* IV. 1465), see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln: Bohlau, 1975) 510–20; J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Jean Leclant, "Anubis," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 862–73 and plates.

Aphrodite Ourania: "Heavenly Aphrodite," whose city is Aphroditopolis (Dendera), refers to Hathor; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 277–82, s.v. "Hathor."

Apollonius of Tyana: This famous first-century philosopher/magician is the subject of an extant biography by Philostratus. The attribution of a spell to him at *PGM* XIa. 1 is unique in ancient magical literature. For a survey of the problems and bibliography, consult E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II. 16. 2 (1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686.

Apophis (Aphyphis): The "unseen serpent" (see *PGM* IV. 190–91; cf. *PGM* III. 87) is Apophis, who is slain daily by Seth/Typhon in the barge of Ra. See E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–52; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51–53, s.v. "Apophis."

Archentechtha (Harchentechtha): This is the Egyptian god Har-Khenty-Khet; cf. *PGM* III. 170. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai"; U. Rössler-Köhler, "Horus-Chentechtai," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 27–33. [R.K.R.]

Arsenophre: The Egyptian god Arsenouphis (note also *PGM* II. 117; IV. 1629; XII. 183; XIXa. 7). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 54–55, s.v. "Arsnuphis"; E. Winter, "Arsenuphis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 424–25. [R.K.R.]

Arsentechtha (Harsentechtha): Perhaps the Egyptian name can be read Harsennechtha, "Horus, child of the strong one." [J.B.]

Arsentephtha: The name is probably Egyptian, "Horus, child of Ptah." [J.B.]

Artemis: In the *PGM* the goddess Artemis is identical with Selene, Hekate, and Persephone (see also IV. 2523, 2720–21, 2816ff.; LXXVIII. 11–12, with a drawing of Artemis Multimamma). The invocations to Artemis, however, do contain archaic elements of her original cult. See T. Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," *Pisciculi, Festschrift F. J. Dölger* (Münster: Aschen-dorff, 1939) 125–45.

Assistant Daimon (paredros): Hellenistic magic knows of a special type of daimon called *paredros* ("assistant" or "attendant spirit"). The name refers to a deity who has been summoned as a servant to carry out any number of specified magical tasks. Cf. also *PGM* IV.

1348, 1841, 1851 (with *parastatēs*), 2083, 2109, 2145 (note); VII. 884; XII. 14ff. and surrounding contexts. See M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series 76 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) 88–95; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 1ff.; C. Colpe, “Geister (*Dämonen*),” *RAC* 10 (1974): 621ff.; C. Zintzen, “Paredros (*paredros*),” *KP* 4 (1972): 510–11.

Astrapsouchos: According to Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several magicians; see E. Ricss, “Astrampsychos,” *PRE* 2 (1896): 179–80.

author: See **Hathor**.

BAINCHÖÖÖCH: This formula, which invokes the god whose name corresponds to “spirit (soul) of darkness” (*b3 n kky*), occurs regularly in magical papyri and on curse tablets. [R.K.R.] See Bonner, *SMA* 26, 146; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 224 and n. 23.

Balsames: This angelic name served originally as the name of a Phoenician sun god, but in *PGM* IV. 1019 the god plays the role of a light divinity from heaven. Cf. XII. 494. See A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 149–51, 185–86.

Basym: This magical name may have originally come from the Aramaic words meaning, “In the name of. . .” For the magician, however, the word serves as a magical name. See G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 235–51.

Baubo: Baubo may have originally come as an independent deity from Asia Minor, where Hekate also came from; she then entered into the circle of Demeter and the mysteries of Eleusis. See W. Fauth, *KP* I, s.v. “Baubo.”

Bear constellation: The identification of the constellation of the Bear with Artemis occurs at *PGM* VII. 687. The Great Bear was believed to be Callisto, Artemis’ fellow huntress, who was transformed into a constellation. Callisto was a manifestation of Artemis herself, who played an important role as a she-bear, especially at Brauronia. See also *PGM* IV. 1302; VII. 862; XII. 190; XIIIb. 26; LXXII. See W. Sale, “The Temple Legends of the Arkteia,” *RhM* 118 (1975): 265–84; L. Kahl, “L’Artemis de Brauron. Rites et mystères,” *Antike Kunst* (1977): 86–98; W. Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57 (1984): 93–99.

Bes (Besa, Besas): Ancient Egyptian religion knew of an entire class of so-called Bes-demons (in Greek, Besas), distinguished by their dwarf-sized ugliness, who served as protectors of sleep and childbirth. In Hellenistic Egypt, Bes became a pantheistic deity, and in this form he appears in *PGM* VII. 222–49 and VIII. 64–110 (see also LXXXVIII: his plant, IV. 807). His role as an oracle giver was popular at Abydos (Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 12). In *PGM* the god was identified also with the Headless One (see n. on *PGM* II. 11). On Bes, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 101–9; H. Altenmüller, *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 720–24, with bibliography.

Biaiothanatos Daimon: The *biaiothanatoi*, those who died violent deaths, were unable to enter the underworld because their time on earth had not been completed. After death, they lingered as evil spirits and were subject to magical compulsion. See J. H. Waszink, “Biothanati,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 391–92.

Breathing stone: The magnet. Magnetism fascinated ancient philosophers and scientists, who explained the phenomenon in a variety of ways. Already Thales explained it in magical terms when he stated that “life” (*psychē*) is in a magnet. Magnetic stones, not surprisingly, played a great role in the magic of all periods. See A. Barb, “Lapis Adamas,” *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, I (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1969) 67ff.

Brimo: For this epithet of Artemis of Pherai in Thessaly, see *PGM* IV. 2270, 2291, 2611, 2964; VII. 692; LXX. 20, where the epithet is attributed to Hekate, Selene, Persephone. Etymologically, she is the “snorting” and “angry” and therefore “terrible” goddess of the netherworld; cf. the command in *PGM* IV. 2247; Lucian, *Necyom.* 20. See O. Kern, “Brimo,” *PRE* 3 (1887): 853–54.

Chnouph (Chnoubis): The lion-headed serpent was popular in magic and is often found pictured on amulets. The daimon is a syncretistic combination of the Egyptian creator god Chnoum, the serpent Kneph, and the star *Knm*. In the *PGM* the name occurs mostly in *voces magicæ*, especially in the Harpon-Knouphi formula (see, e.g., *PGM* III. 435–36, 560–63;

IV. 2433; VII. 1023–25; XXXVI. 219–20; *DMP* 16, 6–9). For the amulets, see Bonner, *SMA* 54–60; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 54–73; for references, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. “Chnum”; E. Otto, “Chnum,” *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619.

Daimon, pl. daimons: In the *PGM*, as often in Greek literature, this term is used of deities and lesser spirits whose influential control is sought. In the New Testament, the word is used of an evil spirit, “demon,” a sense not generally used in the *PGM*.

Decans: The Decans are the thirty-six deities each of whom presides over ten degrees of the zodiac. See in general, Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder*; cf. also G. J. Turner, “Mathematics and Astronomy,” in J. R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 46–53; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, I (Providence and London: Brown University Press, 1960) 95–121. [R.K.R.]

Demokritos: Strangely, the philosopher of Abdera (fifth century B.C.) was thought in antiquity to have been involved in magic. See E. Wellmann, “Demokritos (6),” *PRE* 5 (1903): 135–40; I. Hammer-Jensen, *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 219–23; H. Steckle, *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 191–223, esp. 193–94, 199–200. See also **Ostanes**.

EI LANCHYCH formula: For this magical formula, see *PGM* III. 131ff.; IV. 1625, 1630 (with corrupt or variant spellings). **EI** is perhaps Coptic for “house.” [R.K.R.]

Eloaios: Eloaios occurs in *PGM* in various forms (*Eloe*, *Elouein*, *Elouai*) as a name for the Jewish god (see *PGM* I. 311; IV. 1577; VII. 564; XXXVI. 42). In Gnosticism he is one of the light-acons and is described as having a donkey’s face. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965) 212, no. 73: Eloaios.

ERBETH formula: The formula “IÖ ERBETH, IÖ PAKERBETH, IÖ BOLCHOSETH, IÖ APOMPS” occurs quite often in magical texts, especially in malicious invocations. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 142–43.

Erebos: An old Greek expression for the dark underworld, the place of the dead. Sometimes in literature it describes a place for the impious only, other times for the good before they are admitted to the Elysian fields. See O. Waser, “Erebos,” *PRE* 6 (1907): 403–4.

Ereschigal: This name of the Babylonian underworld goddess is regularly associated with the Greek Hekate. The deity already occurs in the lead curse tablets of the fourth century B.C.

Erotylos: A writer of Orphica (see *PGM* XIII. 945) by this name is not otherwise known but may be the person mentioned by Zosimus in Bertholet and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecques* II (1888) 144, 7. See Kern, *Orph. Fr.* p. 71, no. 235; idem, “Erotylos,” *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 386. For the possible Greek meaning of the word, consult LSJ s.v.; cf. also *PGM* VII. 478; CXXIIIa. 24 and comments by F. Maltomini, *Studi classici e orientali* 29 (1979): 76–77.

Esies: Esies (Egyptian *hwy*, “praised”) is an epithet of the sacred dead often applied to Osiris who was drowned and restored to life. See S. Eitrem, “Tertullian *de Bapt.* 5. Sanctified by Drowning,” *ClR* 38 (1924): 69; A. Hermann, “Ertrinken/Ertränken,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; C. Strauss, *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19.

Eulamo: For literature and a possible interpretation of this magical name, see H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, “Two Curse Tablets from Beisan,” *TAPA* 68 (1937): 62; cf. *PGM* III. 57; VII. 401; IX. 8; XVI. 18.

Faïence: Faïence is a blue-green earthenware material popularly used in ancient Egypt for jewelry and other objects.

Good Daimon. See **Agathos Daimon**.

Hapi and Mnevis: The Apis (Hapi) and Mnevis bulls were incarnations of Ptah, Osiris, and Ra, respectively. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 46–51, s.v. “Apis”; 468–470, s.v. “Mnevis.”

Harpocrates: Harpokrates (“Horus the child”) typically is portrayed with a finger of his right hand to his mouth, and he also may hold a crook and flail in his left hand. Harpokrates is the son of Isis and Osiris and is identified with the rising sun. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 273–75, s.v. “Harpokrates”; D. Meek, “Harpokrates,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1003–11.

Harpon-Knouphi formula: This is Horus Knephis. On “Knephis” (*Km-3t.f*) as the

Agathos Daimon, see *LdÄ* I, 94; II. 1011–12. For this as Horus Khnum (and on the formula in general), see P. Pedrizet, “BRINTATĒNŌPHRIS: l’ un des noms magiques du dieu Chnoum,” *Mélanges Maspero, II: Orient grec, romain et byzantin* 137–44; G. M. El-Khachab, “Some Gem Amulets Depicting Harpocrates,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–33; D. Meeks, “Harpoknuphi,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1011–12. [R.K.R.]

Harsamosi: According to W. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 452, the name is Egyptian *Hr-smw*, “Horus the Firstborn.” See also *PGM* II. 155; XI. 91–92; XIII. 626; cf. I. 240–41. See D. Jankuhn, “Horsemsu,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 13.

Hathor: The Egyptian goddess of love; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 22–105; F. Daumas, “Hathor,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1024–33.

Headless One (Greek Akephalos): The Headless God is one of the most peculiar deities of the *PGM*. His origin seems to be in the older Egyptian religion, but he became very popular in Hellenistic Egypt, where he could be identified with Osiris (as in *PGM* II. 98–117) and Besas (as in *PGM* VII. 222–49; VIII. 64–110). Headless deities are also known outside Egypt. Plutarch tells about the headless Molos in Crete (*Def. orac.* 417E), Pausanias of the headless Triton in the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra (9. 20. 5); see A. Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque V,” *BCH* 38 (1914): 189–249; K. Preisendanz, “Akephalos,” *RAC* 1 (1950): 211–16; K. Abel, “Akephalos,” *PRE* 12 (1970): 9–14, with bibliography. For depictions of the god, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, plate I, 2; Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110, 164–66, 178, 243; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 42–54.

Helios: The Greek word for the sun (Helios) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Helios is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as “sun,” unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of a deity.

Helios-Osiris: Although this link is possible through the fusion with Sarapis, for the older link of Osiris and Re, see A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21.

Hephaistos: The important connection of Hephaistos, the Greek god of the hearth and of fire, with magic is reflected a few times in *PGM* (see VII. 379; XII. 177, 417, 439). Since Herodotus, Hephaistos was the Greek interpretation of Ptah. See M. Delcourt, *Hephaistos ou la légende du magicien* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1957).

Hermopolis: Hermopolis is “the city of Hermes,” the cult center of Thoth in upper Egypt, the modern Ashmuncin; cf. *PGM* III. 664; 670. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 293–95, s.v. “Hermopolis.”

Hesies: See *Esies*.

Horus: The great Egyptian god, son of Osiris and Isis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 307–15, s.v. “Horus”; W. Schenkel, “Horus,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 14–25.

Iabas (Iabo, Iabai, Iapos): This is apparently the Samaritan enunciation of the tetragrammaton YHWH (Yahweh), elsewhere rendered *Iabe* or *Iabai*; cf. *PGM* V. 102; XIc. 1; XII. 4 and S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 273–74 and passim. See also *IAÖ*.

IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN formula: This magical formula (often abbreviated) is intended to read as the long palindrome IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYEAIPIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖEAI; see *PGM* I. 140, 195; III. 60–61 (var.), 77, 268, etc.

IAÖ: Iaö, originally derived from the name of the Hebrew god YHWH, became an important deity in magical literature. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 215, no. 102; R. Ganschinietz, “IAÖ,” *PRE* 9 (1914): 698–721. In addition to being attested in the Nag Hammadi Library (see Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index), Iaö is also found at Qumran, 4Q Lev^b LXX; cf. H. Stegemann, “Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten,” in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978) 195–217.

IARBATHA formula: A common magical name, which, when spelled out fully and with allowance for variant spellings, reads IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAÖCHNĒMEÖ (see *PGM* I. 142, 195; III. 472, 535; XII. 94–95). PHIBAÖCHNĒMEÖ may be equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 hīb* ʕ3 *Hnm* ʕ3, “the great lamb, Khnum the great.” [R.K.R.]

Ieu (Jeu): The scribe Jeu is mentioned only in *PGM* V. 97 (cf. also l. 141) in *PGM*, but the

name is known in Gnostic literature. Elsewhere in *PGM* the name occurs rather frequently as a god or magical name. See C. Schmidt, ed., and V. MacDermot, trans., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, *NHSt* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

Isis band: Cloth or material taken from the dresses of statues of the gods, especially of Isis, was considered magically potent. Isis is a widow of Osiris and thus identified with the color black. See *PGM* I. 59; VII. 227, 231; VIII. 67; see Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 90, 451; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 678. [R.K.R.]

Jacob: The patriarch Jacob named at *PGM* XXIb. 1, together with Abraham and Isaac in XIII. 817, XXV. 14, occurs frequently in the context of magic. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 349–58; M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

Khnum (Chnum): The Egyptian ram god; see *PGM* I. 27–28; IV. 327. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otto, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54.

Kmeph: The Egyptian serpent god Kmeph or Kneph occurs in *PGM* IV. 1705; III. 142; IV. 2094; VII col. 17 with picture. See Bonner, *RÄRG* 378–79, s.v. "Kneph."

Kommes: The name Kommes is still unexplained (see also II. 122; cf. "Kommi" in XVI. 63; Kom-Re in *DMP* xii, xv). See Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* 233–34.

Lamella, pl. lamellae: From the Latin for a thin, metal plate. The word is used to translate a number of Greek terms for tablets of thin gold, silver, iron, or lead. The lamellae are usually engraved and worn as amulets or talismans (phylacteries). If lead is described, the tablets usually intend malicious or harmful magic.

Lamps, not painted red: In the *PGM* we find frequent references to the use of lamps with no red coloring (see I. 277, 293; II. 57; IV. 2372, 3191; VII. 542, 594; VIII. 87; XII. 27, 131; LXII. 1). Dipping the clay into red ocher (*milto*) or painting it on before the firing, as customarily done, would give the lamp a reddish color. In lamp divination, however, the red color had to be avoided because of its association with Seth-Typhon. See W. Kroll, "Minium," *PRE* 15 (1932): 1848–54; R. Ganszyniec, "Lychnomanteia," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2115–19. Cf. also *DMP* col. V, 4, pp. 44–45 (with note), where the lamp is said to be white, without the application of red lead (*pr̄i*). On the significance of red, cf. G. Posener, "Les signes noirs dans les rubriques," *JEA* 35 (1949): 77–81. [R.K.R.]

MASKELLI-MASKELLO formula: This well-known formula, written fully as MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAGRA RHËXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYYX, occurs often in magical literature (note *PGM* VII. 302; IX. 10; XXXVI. 342–46; *DMP* xv. 2; *Pistis Sophia* IV, chap. 140 [MacDermot 365]). On the meaning see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 747; Preisendanz, "Maskelli Maskellō," *PRE* 14 (1930): 2120. Within this formula, among other things, occur four words which may be old Greek epithets: *Oreobazagra*, perhaps an epithet of Hekate or of the moon goddess (thus *LSJ*, but of uncertain meaning); *Rhëxichthōn*, a word which may be translated "bursting forth from the earth" (thus *LSJ*; see Cook, *Zeus*, III 4–5 for parallels and discussion. See also Bonner, *SMA* 170; *Orph. H.* 52. 9); *Hippochthōn* (meaning unexplained, thus *LSJ*: Audollent, *Tab. Def.* 38129; cf. Hermann, "Erdbeben," *RAC* 5 [1965]: 1082ff.); *Pyripēganyx*, perhaps "lord of the fount of fire" (*LSJ* s.v.; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 29).

Material, magical: "Material" (*ousia*; see *PGM* I. 99, IV. 2336, etc.) is the magical substance such as hair, thread from clothing, etc., which is often necessary to make sympathetic magic effective. See K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri, I," *WSt* 40 (1918): 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 667–77.

Meliouchos: The meaning of this epithet is still unexplained. In the magical texts it can be attributed to various deities. See *PGM* III. 45–46, 99; V. 4; VI. 33; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 22. 32; 38. 12; see P. E. Göbel, "Meliuchos," *PRE* 15 (1931): 554–55.

Mene: This is an epithet of the moon goddess, Selene; see *Hymn. Hom.* 32. 1; *Hymn. Orph.* 9. 3, 4; *PGM* IV. 2264, 2546, 2815; VII. 758.

Mithras: The Persian god is mentioned only a few times in *PGM* (note III. 100, 462; IV. 482) and each time as being identical with Helios or with Zeus-Helios-Sarapis (see *PGM* V. 4). See Nilsson, *GGR* II, 668–72; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 67ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, "Mithras

in der Römerzeit," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen in Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 96–120, with bibliography.

Moses: In Greco-Roman antiquity, Moses was widely recognized as a great magician. See Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 134–61.

Myrrh(ed) ink: This ingredient used for writing on papyrus occurs throughout the *PGM*. Cf. the note on the Demotic equivalent *r' w hl* in *DMP* v. 5.

Nature (Greek *Physis*): *Physis* appears from early times as a deified conception of nature's powers of creation and creativity. As such, *Physis* has an important role in most philosophical schools, especially where the concept of *kata physin* ("in accordance with nature") seems at times to rise almost to the level of a religious credo (so in Seneca, *De Prov.* IV. 15 and often). *Physis* appears often elsewhere as a goddess: cf., for example, *Hymn. Orph.* 10 which is addressed to *Physis*. Much of its language closely resembles that in the *PGM* hymns to the moon (to whom *Hymn. Orph.* 9 is addressed). In *PGM* *Physis* the goddess appears elsewhere at IV. 2883, 2917; see also IV. 939 and n. The surprising thing is that she does not appear more often in *PGM*. See K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86.

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH: The name occurs frequently in magical literature and is often connected with Aktiophis and Ereschigal. In *PGM* the triad is often attributed to deities of the underworld, especially Hekate. The name Nebutosoualēth may be derived from the Babylonian god Nebo, but the origin is not clear. See K. Preisendanz, "Nebutosualeth," *PRE* 16 (1935): 2158–60; Bonner, *SMA* 30, 197–98.

Nephotes: The name appears to be a hellenized form of the Egyptian Nefer-hotep (*Nfr-hṯp*), but it is uncertain to whom it refers. Originally, it was the name of an Egyptian deity. See A. Rusch, "Nephotes" *PRE* 16 (1935): 2493–94; cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 518–19, s.v. "Nephotes." [R.K.R.]

(On)nophris: An epithet of Osiris, "The Beautiful Being." For the common proper name Onnophris, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 242. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078; IV. 128. [R.K.R.]

Oserapis: The occurrence of the old name Oserapis (cf. *PGM* XL. 1) for Serapis on the fourth century B.C. curse found in the Serapeum of Memphis is important for the origins of this cult. See on this issue Nilsson, *GGR* II, 156. Cf. also the note on *PGM* XIXa. 6.

Osoronophris: This is equivalent to the Egyptian *Wsir Wn-nfr*, "Osiris the Beautiful Being"; cf. *PGM* V. 101 and IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

Ostanes (Osthanes): The historical Ostanes was a theologian at the court of Xerxes, with whom he went to Greece. He is said to have taught Demokritos the philosopher (who is also mentioned in *PGM* IV. 2006; VII. 167, 795; XII. 122, 351) and to have introduced magic to Greece (Pliny *NH* 30. 8). Later, many different writings were transmitted under the name of Ostanes. See J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès, et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1938), vol. II, 267–356; K. Preisendanz, "Ostanes," *PRE* 18 (1942): 1610–42.

Ouroboros: The serpent who swallows its own tail is a widely used figure in magic. See W. Deonna, "Ouroboros," *Artibus Asiae* 15 (1952): 163–70; K. Preisendanz, "Aus der Geschichte des Uroboros," in *Brauch und Sinnbild. Eugen Fehrle zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern und Freunden* (Karlsruhe: Kommissionsverlag Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1940) 194–209. For examples of the figure on Egyptian monuments, see A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1955) pl. 48; idem, *Mythological Papyri* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1957) 22, fig. 3; 174, fig. 74; papyri 20, 27. [R.K.R.] See *PGM* I. 145–46; XII. 203–4, 274–75; VII. 58–59; XXXVI. 184.

Ouserannopthi: This is Egyptian *Wsir-rn-nfr*, "Osiris of the good name." [R.K.R.]

Palindrome: Palindrome (lit. "running back again") refers to magical words, usually of no recognizable sense, which can be read and pronounced the same forward as backwards.

Persian: The epithet "Persia," used of Artemis-Hekate (cf. *PGM* IV. 2271, 2715, 2781) shows evidence of the identification of the goddess with the Persian goddess Anahita. See Diod. V. 77 and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 672ff.

Pitys: W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* ([Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907] 192, n. 1; cf. *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 59, 105, 157, 210) has suggested that the Thessalian Pitys named in *PGM* IV. 1928, 2006, 2140 is in fact identical with the Egyptian priest and prophet Bitys (Iamblichus, *De myst.* 8. 5; 10. 7), the Bitos named in Zosimos' *On the Letter Omega*, and Bithus of Dyrrhachium mentioned in Pliny, *NH* 28. 82. See Festugière, *La Révélation* I, 268; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 610; K. Preisendanz, "Pitys (3)," *PRE* 20 (1950): 1882–83.

Phre: See **Ra**.

Phtha: See **Ptah**.

Phylactery: A phylactery (Greek *phylaktērion*) in the *PGM* refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet, or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which is worn about the person for protection. The term should not be confused with the Jewish technical term referring to the *tefillin* cases with Scripture verses.

Pnouthis: Pnouthis, or Pnythios, is an Egyptian name and means "He of God." See K. Preisendanz, "Pnouthis," *PRE* 41 (1951): 1104.

Priestly papyrus: Or "hieratic papyrus" refers to the best quality of paper for the writing of magical spells (cf. for example, *PGM* I. 233; IV. 2363, 2512–13; VII. 412). For this technical distinction on the quality of papyrus, see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 43–45. [R.K.R.]

Processional way (Greek *kōmastērion*): Ordinarily refers to the meeting place of the revelers of Dionysos, but in *PGM* it is used several times as a metaphor describing heaven as a place of procession of the stars (see also *PGM* IV. 1608–9; XII. 184, 252; XIII. 774; XXI. 10; LXXVII. 13).

Psammetichos: The name is the hellenized form of the Egyptian name *Psmtk*. A legendary figure, Psammetichos I (663–609 B.C.) was the first king of the twenty-sixth Dynasty, but other figures also bore this name. See W. Helck, "Psammetichos," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1305–8.

Psychē: See **Soul**.

Punishments, the (Greek *hai Timōriai*): These are the Greek deities responsible for retributive punishment and hence appropriately cited in spells dealing with malicious magic. See *PGM* VII. 303; XIII. 149, 291, 457; and K. Ziegler, "Timoros," *PRE* 2nd ser. 6 (1937): 1308–9.

Ptah: This is the Egyptian creator god, for which see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Ptah."

Pythagoras: Because of his interest in the mysticism of numbers, this philosopher's name became attached to late texts associated with mantic and magic. See W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 109ff.; idem, *Griechische Religion* 445–47.

Ra (Re, Phre): The Egyptian god of the sun (*P*)rē, without the definite article. Re means simply "sun," while Prē, the form of the god's name from the New Kingdom onward, means "the Sun." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 626–30, s.v. "Re."

Sarapis (Serapis): The god Sarapis, closely associated with Osiris in *PGM* IV. 226, appears mostly in the *PGM* as identical with Zeus and Helios (see, e.g., IV. 1715; V. 4–5; LXXIV. 4–5, 14, and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 513), but not with Dionysos, with whom the Greeks identified Osiris (Herod. 2. 42; Plut. *Is. et Os.* 356C). See G. Roeder, "Sarapis," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1920) 2394–2496; John E. Strambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, *EPRO* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); G. Mussies, "The Interpretatio Judaica of Sarapis," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, *EPRO* 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 188–214; L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis," in *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* 121–56. See *PGM* XIXa. 6 and n.

Sachmou: This is the Egyptian goddess of war and plague (*PGM* VII. 300), Sakhmet; see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet." [R.K.R.]

Scarab: The beetle (*Ateuchus sacer*) regarded as holy by the Egyptians and associated with various deities. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 720–22, s.v. "Skarabäus"; J. Assmann, "Chepre," *LdÄ* I (1975): 934–40; J. Bergman, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

Selene: The Greek word for the moon (*selēnē*) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Selene is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "moon" unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of deity.

SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS: A magical name very common in the *PGM*. It is often found together with *ABLANATHANALBA*. For possible derivations of the name and further references, see W. Fauth, "SSM PDRŠŠA," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 120 (1970): 229–56, esp. 254–55.

Seth: See Typhon/Seth.

Soul: The word *psychē* occurs frequently in *PGM* where it usually means "soul," "mind," etc., and "spirits of the dead." But in several passages (VI. 277, 2488; VII. 414, 472; XVIIa. 18) *psychē* means female pudendum, i.e., a synonym of *physis*, another regular term for the pudendum both in *PGM* and elsewhere. In addition, there are other places (i.e., IV. 1040, 1526, 1752, etc.) where *psychē* is translated "soul," but the erotic context also suggests the added meaning of pudendum. Indeed, it is entirely possible that such a double entendre was the origin of the extended meaning (see esp. IV. 1752, 2924; XXXII. 9, 15; XXXIIa. 15). This meaning of *psychē* occurs also outside of *PGM*. See, e.g., Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 193–99, esp. 195; Martial, *Epigr.* 68. 5–12, esp. 5–7; and also Sophocles, *El.* 775. [E.N.O.]

Systasis: "Divine encounter," *vel sim.* is a technical term for a rite (*PGM* IV. 778–79; VII. 505ff.) or prayer (*PGM* III. 197–98, 494ff.; IV. 260ff.) to establish an association between a god and a person. Sometimes the association is really only a meeting between the god and the human in order for the human to receive a revelation (*PGM* III. 197ff.; see II. 192–96; cf. also II. 43, 73; III. 698–99) or a blessing (see II. 576ff. in *PGM* III. 494ff., and in IV. 260ff., II. 272 and 284–85). At other times, the association is to be more long-lasting, and the god is to ally himself with the human (*PGM* I. 57, 79–80, 177–81) even to the point of some real sort of union (*PGM* IV. 209, 219–21; cf. II. 215–17; XIII. 927–31). There is no single English word to encompass this variety of meanings, and therefore *systasis* and cognate words are translated in a variety of ways throughout this volume. For a different interpretation of *systasis*, see K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 40 (1913): 2–5.

THERNOPSI formula: This formula in *PGM* III. 186, IV. 828–29, VII. 316 (with corruptions or variant readings) refers to the magical incantation "PSINÖTHER NÖPSITHER THERNÖPSI." For possible Egyptian meaning, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 750. Note, however, that the three words form rearranged groupings of the syllables PSI, NÖ, and THER. [R.D.K.]

Thoth (Thouth, Thoouth, Theouth, Thooth): The Egyptian god of wisdom and magic, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. See Bonnet, *RARG* 805–12, s.v. "Thot"; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Aris, 1979), esp. 124ff.; G. Mussics, "The Interpretatio Judaica of Thot-Hermes," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 89–120.

Typhon/Seth: The identification of the Egyptian god Seth with the Greek Typhos or Typhos was already made by the Greeks of the Classical period (Hesiod, *Theog.* 820ff.) and was common in the Greco-Roman Period (see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F and often), a fact reflected also in the *PGM* (see, e.g., VII. 964; XII. 138; XIV. 20). For references, see Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 556–57, 620–21. Because the figure of Seth was believed to be donkey-headed, Typhon in *PGM* IV. 3260 and elsewhere (cf. XIa. 1–2; IV. 2220) probably means "ass." See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula: For this formula (with variants) see *PGM* II. 32; IV. 2771ff. (cf. IV. 337); V. 424ff.; VII. 680ff.; 895ff.; XIII. 923ff.; XIXa. 12; *DMP* vii. 25–26. In this formula, AKROUROBORE is believed to mean in Greek "eater of the tip of your tail" (thus *LSJ*), a reference to the ouroboros (see Glossary, s.v.). On the formula, see Drexler in Roscher, I, 2. 2771; J. M. R. Cormack, "A *Tabella Defixionis* in the Museum of the University of Reading, England," *HTR* 44 (1951): 25–34, esp. 31–32.

THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

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THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

Edited by
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Shall we write about the things not to be spoken of?

Shall we divulge the things not to be divulged?

Shall we pronounce the things not to be pronounced?

Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*

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Preface

This volume of translations of the Greek magical papyri has been a long time in the making. The project began in a planning colloquium at Claremont, California, May 31 to June 4, 1978. At this meeting, a team of scholars resolved to produce this translation volume as part of a research project on the Greek magical papyri, the project as a whole being designed as a contribution to the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*.

The translations turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than had been expected. Since it seemed desirable to expand the Preisendanz collection to include as many newly discovered and newly published magical papyri as possible, the number of papyri increased from 81 to 131. In this respect, the translation volume differs from the Preisendanz volumes. It differs also in that while Preisendanz reproduced only the Greek sections of bilingual Greek-Demotic papyri, this volume includes the full translations of all bilingual texts.

All translations are based on the Greek, Demotic, and Coptic texts. *PGM* I–LXXXI follow the Preisendanz edition, while *PGM* LXXXII–CXXX and *PDM* Supplement follow their critical editions, which are indicated in the notes. Translators were free to make changes in the texts when they thought it necessary; these changes are also indicated in the notes. Where earlier translations exist, they have been consulted, but all the translations included in this volume are new.

Unlike the Preisendanz edition, this new volume does not have an *apparatus criticus*. Instead, it has notes explaining difficulties in the text and the translation, and notes alerting readers to important information. It has been necessary to limit these notes to a degree which many readers may find drastic, but the team decided not to attempt what could only be a lengthy commentary on the papyri. Instead, they agreed that other research tools should be developed to encourage and assist further research on the papyri. The following research tools are presently being prepared:

1. An index of Greek words is being prepared by Professor Edward O'Neil.
2. A subject index based on the English translation is being worked out by Ms. Marjorie Menaul.
3. A collection of parallels between the magical papyri and early Christian literature is being prepared by the research team. This part of the project is most directly related to the task of the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, namely, the collection of parallels from ancient literature to the New Testament and the other Christian literature up to approximately A.D. 150.
4. A comprehensive bibliography, including editions and investigations of the magical papyri, is being assembled by Professor David Hellholm.

The present volume would not have come about without the generous support of institutions and individuals. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the entire venture from the beginning by substantial grants from 1978 to 1983. Without this financial assistance, the project would simply not exist; schol-

arly team projects of this magnitude cannot live on enthusiasm alone. Apart from the purely financial aspect, the officers of the NEH have helped more than they may realize by their quiet encouragement and confidence expressed over a number of years.

A great deal of assistance also came from the institutions where the project was initiated and where it is now based. These include the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, where the project was based during the years 1977 and 1978, and the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion at the University of Chicago, where it has been from 1978 to the present. Thanks are especially due to the officers of these institutions, Professors James M. Robinson and James Brashler of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; and Professors Joseph M. Kitagawa, formerly dean, and Franklin I. Gamwell, currently dean, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, as well as to Martin E. Marty, program coordinator for the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion of the University of Chicago.

The present project could not have succeeded without the unfailing loyalty and generosity of the members of the team, both contributors and consultants. Among these should be named Professors Jan Bergman, Walter Burkert, Franco Maltomini, and P. J. Sijpesteijn. The research specialists of the project, Professor William C. Grese (1977–80), and Mr. Roy Kotansky and Ms. Marjorie Menaul (1980–83), not only helped to carry the burdens of administration and editorship, but made substantial contributions to the project as well. To all of them sincere thanks are due.

H. D. Betz

Table of Spells

This list of spells presupposes the divisions in the texts and the identification of section titles made by the editor. In the Demotic spells, section titles are sometimes indicated by red lettering (but this is not done consistently). If no titles are given, this fact is stated (No title) and a short description of content is added.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Translator</i>	<i>Short Title</i>
<i>PGM I</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM I. 1–42</i>	E.N.O.	[Rite] for acquiring an assistant daimon
<i>PGM I. 42–195</i>	E.N.O.	The spell of Pnouthis (for acquiring an assistant daimon)
<i>PGM I. 195–222</i>	E.N.O.	Prayer of deliverance
<i>PGM I. 222–31</i>	E.N.O.	Invisibility spell
<i>PGM I. 232–47</i>	E.N.O.	Memory spell
<i>PGM I. 247–62</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for invisibility
<i>PGM I. 262–347</i>	E.N.O.	Apollonian invocation
<i>PGM II</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM II. 1–64</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM II. 65–183</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Alternative spell for revelation
<i>PGM III</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM III. 1–164</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Cat ritual for many purposes
<i>PGM III. 165–86</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Oracular request (?)
<i>PGM III. 187–262</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM III. 263–75</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 275–81</i>	E.N.O.	[Horoscope]
<i>PGM III. 282–409</i>	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for foreknowledge
<i>PGM III. 410–23</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 424–66</i>	W.C.G.	A copy from a holy book (spell for foreknowledge and memory)
<i>PGM III. 467–78</i>	W.C.G.	Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 479–83</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 483–88</i>	W.C.G.	Another (foreknowledge charm to detect a thief)
<i>PGM III. 488–94</i>	W.C.G.	Another (spell to detect a thief?)
<i>PGM III. 494–611</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios
<i>PGM III. 612–32</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Spell for gaining control of one's shadow
<i>PGM III. 633–731</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for a direct vision
<i>PGM IV</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM IV. 1–25</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 26–51</i>	H.M.	Initiation
<i>PGM IV. 52–85</i>	H.M. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 86–87</i>	M.W.M.	Phylactery against daimons

<i>PGM</i> IV. 88–93	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	Another, to Helios
<i>PGM</i> IV. 94–153	M.W.M.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 154–285	J.P.H. / E.N.O.	Nephotes to Psammetichos (letter concerning bowl divination)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 286–95	E.N.O.	Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 296–466	E.N.O.	Wondrous spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> IV. 467–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 469–70	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 471–73	H.M.	(No title) Verses from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 474	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 475–829	M.W.M.	(No title) The “Mithras Liturgy”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 830	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 831–32	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 833–34	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 835–49	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological text
<i>PGM</i> IV. 850–929	W.C.G.	Charm of Solomon that produces a trance
<i>PGM</i> IV. 930–1114	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Charm that produces direct vision
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1115–66	W.C.G.	Hidden stele (prayer)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1167–1226	W.C.G.	Stele (spell for deliverance)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1227–64	M.W.M.	Rite for driving out daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1265–74	E.N.O.	Aphrodite’s name (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1275–1322	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1323–30	W.C.G.	Another (Bear charm)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1331–89	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1390–1495	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1496–1595	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1596–1715	M.S.	Consecration for all purposes
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1716–1870	E.N.O.	Sword of Dardanos (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1872–1927	E.N.O.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1928–2005	E.N.O.	King Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2006–2125	E.N.O.	Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2125–39	M.S.	A restraining seal
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2140–44	W.C.G.	Pitys the Thessalian’s spell for questioning corpses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2145–2240	H.M.	Divine assistance from three Homeric verses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2241–2358	E.N.O.	Document to the waning moon
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2359–72	R.F.H.	Business spell
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2373–2440	R.F.H.	Charm for acquiring business
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2441–2621	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2622–2707	E.N.O.	Slander spell to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2708–84	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2785–2890	E.N.O.	Prayer to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2891–2942	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2943–66	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2967–3006	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3007–86	W.C.G.	Charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3086–3124	W.C.G.	Oracle of Kronos, called “little mill”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3125–71	M.S.	(No title) Spell for favor
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3172–3208	W.C.G.	Dream-producing charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3209–54	J.P.H.	Saucer divination of Aphrodite
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3255–74	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> V		(No title) Magical handbook

<i>PGM</i> V. 1–53	W.C.G.	Oracle of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> V. 54–69	W.C.G.	Direct vision spell
<i>PGM</i> V. 70–95	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell to catch a thief
<i>PGM</i> V. 96–172	D.E.A.	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (letter)
<i>PGM</i> V. 172–212	W.C.G.	Another way (spell to catch a thief)
<i>PGM</i> V. 213–303	M.S.	Hermes' ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 304–69	M.S.	(No title) Defixio
<i>PGM</i> V. 370–446	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM</i> V. 447–58	M.S.	(No title) Instruction concerning a magical ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 459–89	D.E.A.	Another way (spell for many purposes)
<i>PGM</i> Va. 1–3	H.M.	(No title) Spell for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VI. 1–47	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer for encounter with Helios
<i>PGM</i> VII		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM</i> VII. 1–148	H.M.	Homer oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 149–54	W.C.G.	To keep bugs out of the house
<i>PGM</i> VII. 155–67	W.C.G.	Days and hours for divination
<i>PGM</i> VII. 167–86	R.D.K.	Demokritos' "table gimmicks"
<i>PGM</i> VII. 186–90	R.F.H.	Favor and victory charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 191–92	E.N.O.	Spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> VII. 193–96	J.S.	For scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> VII. 197–98	J.S.	For discharge of the eyes
<i>PGM</i> VII. 199–201	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> VII. 201–2	J.S.	Another (for migraine headache)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 203–5	J.S.	For coughs
<i>PGM</i> VII. 206–7	J.S.	Another (for coughs)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 208–9	J.S.	For hardening of the breasts
<i>PGM</i> VII. 209–10	J.S.	For swollen testicles
<i>PGM</i> VII. 211–12	J.S.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 213–14	J.S.	For daily fever and nightly fever
<i>PGM</i> VII. 215–18	H.M.	Stele of Aphrodite (spell for favor)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 218–21	J.S.	Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 222–49	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle from Besas
<i>PGM</i> VII. 250–54	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 255–59	W.C.G.	Another to the same lamp
<i>PGM</i> VII. 260–71	J.S.	For the ascent of the uterus
<i>PGM</i> VII. 272–83	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological calendar
<i>PGM</i> VII. 284–99	E.N.O.	Orbit of the moon (horoscope)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300a–310	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 311–16	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 317–18	M.S.	Another phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 319–34	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 335–47	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 348–58	W.C.G.	Divination by means of a boy
<i>PGM</i> VII. 359–69	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 370–73	W.C.G.	(Spell) against every wild animal
<i>PGM</i> VII. 374–76	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> VII. 376–84	R.F.H.	Another (charm to induce insomnia)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 385–89	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 390–93	R.F.H.	Victory charm for the races
<i>PGM</i> VII. 394–95	R.F.H.	Coercive spell for restraining
<i>PGM</i> VII. 396–404	R.F.H.	Spell for silencing, subjecting, and restraining

<i>PGM VII. 405–6</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 407–10</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Dream spell
<i>PGM VII. 411–16</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for causing talk while asleep
<i>PGM VII. 417–22</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 423–28</i>	R.F.H.	To win at dice
<i>PGM VII. 429–58</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 459–61</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 462–66</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 467–77</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM VII. 478–90</i>	H.M.	(No title) Spell for dream revelation
<i>PGM VII. 490–504</i>	M.S.	(No title) Spell for protection
<i>PGM VII. 505–28</i>	H.M.	Meeting with your own daimon
<i>PGM VII. 528–39</i>	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 540–78</i>	J.P.H.	Lamp divination
<i>PGM VII. 579–90</i>	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM VII. 591–92</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Prayer of invocation
<i>PGM VII. 593–619</i>	D.E.A.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM VII. 619–27</i>	E.N.O.	From the Diadem of Moses (spells for invisibility and love)
<i>PGM VII. 628–42</i>	M.S.	(No title) Rite involving a magical ring
<i>PGM VII. 643–51</i>	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 652–60</i>	R.F.H.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM VII. 661–63</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 664–85</i>	E.N.O.	Request for dream revelations
<i>PGM VII. 686–702</i>	H.D.B.	Bear charm
<i>PGM VII. 703–26</i>	W.C.G.	Request for dream oracle
<i>PGM VII. 727–39</i>	W.C.G.	Charm for a direct vision of Apollo
<i>PGM VII. 740–55</i>	W.C.G.	[Request for a dream oracle]
<i>PGM VII. 756–94</i>	W.C.G.	Prayer
<i>PGM VII. 795–845</i>	J.P.H.	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination
<i>PGM VII. 846–61</i>	W.C.G.	Shadow on the sun (spell for revelation)
<i>PGM VII. 862–918</i>	E.N.O.	Lunar spell of Klaudianos
<i>PGM VII. 919–24</i>	R.F.H.	Hermes' wondrous victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 925–39</i>	R.F.H.	Another, charm to subject
<i>PGM VII. 940–68</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to subject
<i>PGM VII. 969–72</i>	E.N.O.	A good potion (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 973–80</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction . . .
<i>PGM VII. 981–93</i>	E.N.O.	[Love spell of attraction]
<i>PGM VII. 993–1009</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM VII. 1009–16</i>	W.C.G.	Divination by a dream
<i>PGM VII. 1017–26</i>	R.F.H.	[No title] Spell for favor and victory
<i>PGM VIII. 1–63</i>	E.N.O.	Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos
<i>PGM VIII. 64–110</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Request for a dream oracle of Besas
<i>PGM IX. 1–14</i>	R.F.H. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to subject and silence
<i>PGM X. 1–23</i>	E.N.O.	(No title [?]) Love spell
<i>PGM X. 24–35</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM X. 36–50</i>	R.F.H.	Apollo's charm to subject
<i>PGM XIa. 1–40</i>	H.M.	Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman
<i>PGM XIb. 1–5</i>	R.D.K.	(No title) "Table gimmick" (?)
<i>PGM XIc. 1–19</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM xii (PGM XII)</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM xii 1–5</i>	J.H.J.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PDM xii 6–20</i>	J.H.J.	A ring to cause praise

<i>PDM</i> xii 21–49	J.H.J.	(No title) Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease
<i>PGM</i> XII. 1–13	H.M.	Rite (to produce an epiphany of Kore)
<i>PGM</i> XII. 14–95	H.M.	Eros as assistant daimon
<i>PGM</i> XII. 96–106	R.F.H.	Himerios' recipes
<i>PGM</i> XII. 107–21	W.C.G.	Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 121–43	R.D.K.	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 144–52	W.C.G.	Request for a dream
<i>PGM</i> XII. 153–60	W.C.G.	Spell for a divine revelation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 160–78	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to release from bonds
<i>PGM</i> XII. 179–81	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for restraining anger
<i>PGM</i> XII. 182–89	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XII. 190–92	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear
<i>PGM</i> XII. 193–201	J.S.	[To make] a tincture of gold
<i>PGM</i> XII. 201–69	M.S.	A ring
<i>PGM</i> XII. 270–350	M.S.	A little ring for success and favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XII. 351–64	J.P.H.	Demokritos' "sphere"
<i>PGM</i> XII. 365–75	R.F.H.	Charm for causing separation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 376–96	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> XII. 397–400	H.M.	To gain favor and friendship forever
<i>PGM</i> XII. 401–44	H.D.B. / J.S.	Interpretations
<i>PDM</i> xii. 50–61	J.H.J.	Spell for separating one person from another
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 445–48]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 62–75	J.H.J.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 449–52]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 76–107	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 453–65]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 108–18	J.H.J.	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 466–68]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 119–34	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	A spell for it (fetching spell?)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 469–73]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 135–46	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 474–79]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 147–64	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	Another (love spell of attraction)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–734	M.S.	A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth Book of Moses"
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–343	M.S.	[Part A: Initiation ritual and magical handbook]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 343–646	M.S.	[Part B: A second, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 647–734	M.S.	[Part C: A third, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 734–1077	M.S.	(No title) A collection of miscellaneous spells
<i>PDM</i> xiv		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1–92	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 93–114	J.H.J. / W.C.G.	(No title) Spell for revelation
[<i>PGM</i> XIVa. 1–11]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 115	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vision (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 116	J.H.J.	Another spell for vision (?)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 117–49	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 150–231	J.H.J.	An inquiry of the lamp
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 232–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 239–95	J.H.J.	The vessel inquiry of Khonsu
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 295–308	J.H.J.	[A] vessel [inquiry]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 309–34	J.H.J.	A spell for causing favor
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 335–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 355–65	J.H.J.	Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 366–75	J.H.J.	The method (spell for separating man and woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 376–94	J.H.J.	(No title) Various recipes
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 395–427	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 428–50	J.H.J.	(No title) Two love potions
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 451–58	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for going before a superior
[<i>PGM</i> XIVb. 12–15]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 459–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 475–88	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 489–515	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 516–27	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 528–53	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 554–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 563–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of poison
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 574–85	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 585–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 594–620	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for sting
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 620–26	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 627–35	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 636–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love potion
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 670–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Introduction to a collection of spells (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 675–94	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	A spell (to cause “evil sleep”)
[<i>PGM</i> XIVc. 15–27]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 695–700	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 701–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 706–10	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell against “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 711–15	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 716–24	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 724–26	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 727–36	J.H.J.	A prescription (three prescriptions to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 737–38	J.H.J.	A prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 739–40	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 741	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 742	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 743–49	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 750–71	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 772–804	J.H.J.	A method (love spells)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 805–40	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 841–50	J.H.J.	Another method (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 851–55	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 856–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Inquiry of the sun
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 875–85	J.H.J.	Here is another (inquiry of the sun)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 886–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipes involving herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 897–910	J.H.J.	(No title) List of herbs and minerals
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 912–16	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 917–19	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 920–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 930–32	J.H.J.	A prescription (love spell)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 933–34	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 935–39	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a watery ear
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 940–52	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning sala- mander and herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 953–55	J.H.J.	A prescription (to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 956–60	J.H.J.	(No title) Test of pregnancy
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 961–65	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 966–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 970–77	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 978–80	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 981–84	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 985–92	J.H.J.	Gout (prescription)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 993–1002	J.H.J.	Another (prescription for gout)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1003–14	J.H.J.	(No title) Amulet for gout
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1015–20	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for unidentifiable ailment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1021–23	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1024–25	J.H.J.	(No title) Another prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1026–45	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1046–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1047–48	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1049–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1056–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spells involving <i>voces magicæ</i>
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1063–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1070–77	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to send dreams and make a woman love
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1078–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Request for revelation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1090–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Fetching spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1097–1103	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to heal an eye disease
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1104–9	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipe concerning eye ointment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1110–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to open eyes for divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1130–40	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1141–54	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1155–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1163–79	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1180–81	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragment from invocation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1182–87	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause madness
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1188–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1190–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1194–95	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1196–98	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1199–1205	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1206–18	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1219–27	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for fever
<i>PGM</i> XV. 1–21	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVI. 1–75	E.N.O.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XVIIb. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer
<i>PGM</i> XVIIc. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIa. 1–4	J.S.	(No title) Amulet for headache
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIb. 1–7	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XIXa. 1–54	E.N.O. / R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 1–3	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 4–18	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XX. 1–4	E.N.O.	[Spell for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XX. 4–12	E.N.O.	[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara for any inflammation
<i>PGM</i> XX. 13–19	E.N.O.	The charm of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XXI. 1–29	W.C.G.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Magico-medical recipes
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 1–26	D.E.A.	Prayer of Jacob
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 27–31	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 32–35	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIII. 1–70	E.N.O.	Fragment of the <i>Kestoi</i> of Julius Africanus
<i>PGM</i> XXIVa. 1–25	W.C.G.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIVb. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> XXVa–d	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulets (?)
<i>PGM</i> XXVI. 1–21	—	(No title) <i>Sortes Astrampsychi</i> (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXVII. 1–5	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIa. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIb. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIc. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXIX. 1–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer (poem)
<i>PGM</i> XXX a–f	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXI a–c	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXII. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIII. 1–25	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XXXIV. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Fragment from a novel
<i>PGM</i> XXXV. 1–42	R.F.H.	Charm for favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 1–34	M.S.	Charm to restrain
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 35–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 69–101	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 102–33	E.N.O.	Divination by fire (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 134–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 161–77	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger, and for success
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 178–87	M.S.	Charm to break spells
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 187–210	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 211–30	R.F.H.	Prayer to Helios: charm to restrain anger, and for victory and favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 231–55	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 256–64	M.S.	(No title) Charm to break enchantment
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 264–74	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 275–83	H.M.	Charm for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 283–94	E.N.O.	Pudenda key spell

<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 295–311	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 312–20	R.F.H.	Charm to open a door
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 320–32	J.S.	Contraceptive spell
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 333–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 361–71	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVII. 1–26	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVIII. 1–26	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIX. 1–21	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XL. 1–18	R.F.H.	(No title) Curse
<i>PGM</i> XLI. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLII. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIII. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLIV. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet against fever (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 1–4	R.F.H.	(No title) Request for revelation (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 4–8	R.F.H.	Spell to silence and subject
<i>PGM</i> XLVII. 1–17	M.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLVIII. 1–21	M.W.M.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIX	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> L. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Oracle (?)
<i>PGM</i> LI. 1–27	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LII. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 9–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 20–26	R.D.K.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> LIII–LVI	—	(No titles) Spells (?) of uncertain purpose (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LVII. 1–37	R.F.H.	(No title) Rite to acquire an assistant daimon (?)
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 1–14	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 15–39	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LIX. 1–15	M.S.	(No title) Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LX. 1–5	M.S.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 1–30	R.K.R.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 30–41	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 42	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 43–48	J.H.J. / R.D.K.	Remedy for [an] ulcer (?) of the head
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. i–v]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 49–57	J.H.J.	[Remedy for the] head (?)
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 58–62	R.D.K.	For an erection
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. xi, x]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 63–78	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for a dream revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 79–94	J.H.J.	Way of finding a thief
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 95–99	J.H.J.	Spell of giving praise and love in Nubian
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 100–105	J.H.J.	The red cloth of Nephthys
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 106–11	J.H.J.	Prescription for a donkey not moving
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 112–27	J.H.J.	Prescription for making a woman love
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 128–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 148–58	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 159–96	E.N.O.	Love charm
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 1–38]		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 197–216	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 39–71]		
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction

<i>PGM</i> LXII. 24–46	W.C.G. / J.P.H.	(No title) Saucer divination
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 47–51	M.S.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 52–75	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 76–106	J.S.	(No title) Spell (or two spells), to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 1–7	E.N.O.	(No title) Love-potion (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 7–12	E.N.O.	[Spell to make a woman] confess the name of the man she loves
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 13–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 21–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 24–25	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 26–28	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIV. 1–12	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 1–4	J.S.	Spell to [prevent pregnancy]
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 4–7	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> LXVI. 1–11	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> LXVII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXVIII. 1–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> LXIX. 1–3	D.E.A.	(No title) Victory spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 1–4	H.D.B.	Charm for favor, etc.
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 4–25	H.D.B.	Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 26–51	H.D.B.	Against fear and to dissolve spells
<i>PGM</i> LXXI. 1–8	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LXXII. 1–36	W.C.G.	[Rite concerning the Bear]
<i>PGM</i> LXXIII–LXXVI	—	(No titles) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LXXVII. 1–24	W.C.G.	(No title) Charm for getting a revelation
<i>PGM</i> LXXVIII. 1–14	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> LXXIX. 1–7	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXX. 1–5	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXXI. 1–10	W.C.G.	(No title) Greetings to deities
<i>PGM</i> LXXXII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Recipe for ingredients (fragment of formula?)
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIII. 1–20	R.D.K.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIV. 1–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> LXXXV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) For daimon possession
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 1–2	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 3–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVII. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVIII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIX. 1–27	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for fever, phantoms, daimons, etc.
<i>PGM</i> XC. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) Rite or phylactery
<i>PGM</i> XC. 14–18	H.D.B.	Salve for fever
<i>PGM</i> XCI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCII. 1–16	R.D.K.	[Charm] for favor
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Sacrificial rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 7–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicæ</i>
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 4–6	R.D.K.	Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 7–9	R.D.K.	For excellent health
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 10–16	R.D.K.	A phylactery for [fever]

<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 17–21	R.D.K.	For those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 22–26	R.D.K.	For the eyes
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 27–35	R.D.K.	[For] tumors [and] . . .
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 36–38	R.D.K.	[For . . .] and strangury
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 39–60	R.D.K.	Another, for migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for subjugation
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 7–13	R.D.K.	Concerning the mole-[rat]
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 14–18	R.D.K.	A remedy for all cases of . . . [epilepsy]
<i>PGM</i> XCVI. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 1–6	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell against eye disease (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 7–9	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 10–13	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 15–17	H.D.B.	For every [disease]
<i>PGM</i> XCVIII. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCIX. 1–3	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> C. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> CI. 1–53	H.D.B.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CII. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> CIII. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CV. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Invocation of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> CVI. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CVII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIX. 1–8	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> CX. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> CXI. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Instruction for making magical figures
<i>PGM</i> CXII. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIII. 1–4	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIV. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for attacks by daimons and for epilepsy
<i>PGM</i> CXV. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CXVI. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Invocation of Typhon-Seth
<i>PGM</i> CXVII. Fr. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXVIII	—	(No title) Magical scroll (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 1	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment from formulary
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 2–3	R.D.K.	Love spell through touch
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 4–6	R.D.K.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 7–11	R.D.K.	Charm to subject
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 4–5	R.D.K.	[For fever with shivering fits]
<i>PGM</i> CXX. 1–13	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for a variety of evils
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 1–5	H.D.B.	An excerpt for enchantments
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 5–25	H.D.B.	Enchantment using apples
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 26–50	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell (fetching charm?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 51–55	H.D.B.	For headache
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>

<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 24–47	R.D.K.	Erotylos
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 48–50	R.D.K.	For childbearing
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 51–52	R.D.K.	For sleep
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 53–55	R.D.K.	For strangury
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 56–68	R.D.K.	For a shivering fit
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 69–72	R.D.K.	For victory
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIb	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIc	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIId	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIe	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIII f	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 6–43	R.D.K.	Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> CXXVa–f	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragments of spells
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIa. 1–21	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIb. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of formulary of magico-medical prescriptions
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	Phylactery for fever
<i>PGM</i> CXXIX. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of unidentifiable spell
<i>PGM</i> CXXX. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) For a shivering fever
<i>PDM</i> Supplement		
1–6	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
7–18	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
19–27	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
28–40	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
40–60	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
60–101	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
101–16	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
117–30	J.H.J.	{Spell} for sending a dream
130–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Osiris
138–49	J.H.J.	Spell for . . . (subjection?)
149–62	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Thoth
162–68	J.H.J.	Spell for finding your house of life
168–84	J.H.J.	Spell for reciting a document
185–208	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragments of rites and formulae

List of Papyri in Preisendanz

Reference	Location	Number	Date
I	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5025	IV ^P /V ^P —
II	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5026	IV ^P
III	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frags. 1–4)	IV ^P —
IV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	<i>P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl.</i> gr. no. 574	IV ^P —
V	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 46	IV ^P ?
Va	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet	<i>P.Holm.</i> , p. 42	
VI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 47	II ^P or III ^P
VII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 121	III ^P /IV ^P —
VIII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 122	IV ^P or V ^P
IX	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 123	IV ^P or V ^P
X	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 124	IV ^P or V ^P
XIa	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 125 verso	V ^P
XIb	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 147	III ^P
XIc	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 148	II ^P /III ^P
XII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV ^P
XIII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 395 (W)	IV ^P —
XIV	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.demot.</i> 10070	III ^P
	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 383	III ^P
XV	Alexandria, Musée gréco- romain d'Alexandrie	<i>P.Alex.</i> inv. 491	III ^P
XVI	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 3378	I ^P
XVIIa	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1167	IV ^P
XVIIb	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1179	II ^P
XVIIc	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 574	
XVIIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 955	III ^P /V ^P
XVIIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 956	III ^P /V ^P
XIXa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9909	IV ^P or V ^P
XIXb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 11737	IV ^P
XX	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 7504 + <i>P.Amb.</i> ii, Col. II (A) + <i>P.Oxy. inedit.</i> (=Pack ² 1872)	I ^a
XXI	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9566 verso	II ^P or III ^P
XXIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> IV 1026 (inv. no. 9873)	IV ^P or V ^P
XXIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 13895	IV ^P

XXIII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 412	III ^P
XXIVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 886	III ^P
XXIVb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 887	III ^P
XXVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 959	III ^P
XXVb	Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. Un. Bibl. Freib.</i> (w/o no.)	VI ^P
XXVc	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P. Cairo</i> 10434	
XXVd	Florence, Società Italiana per la ricerca de papiri	<i>P. Flor.</i> (w/o no.)	
XXVI	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1477	III ^P /IV ^P
XXVII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1478	III ^P /IV ^P
XXVIIa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2061	V ^P
XXVIIb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2062	VI ^P
XXVIIc	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2063	VI ^P
XXIX	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1383	III ^P
XXXa–f	[omitted]		
XXXIa–c	[omitted]		
XXXII	London, University College Institute of Archaeology	<i>P. Haw.</i> 312	II ^P
XXXIII	Berkeley, University of California	<i>P. Tebt.</i> II 275	III ^P
XXXIV	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	<i>P. Fay.</i> 5	II ^P /III ^P
XXXV	Florence, Università degli Studi, Istituto di Papirologia	PSI I 29	V ^P
XXXVI	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 1	IV ^P
XXXVII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 2	IV ^P
XXXVIII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 3	IV ^P
XXXIX	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P. Osl.</i> I, 4	IV ^P
XL	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 1	IV ^P
XLI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 339 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 4	V ^P /VI ^P
XLII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 331 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 8	VI ^P
XLIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 335 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 9	V ^P
XLIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 328 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 10	NA
XLV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 334 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 11	VI ^P /VII ^P
XLVI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 332 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 12	V ^P
XLVII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8034 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 2 [no. 526, Wessely]	NA
XLVIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8031 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 6 [no. 529, Wessely]	VI ^P /VII ^P
XLIX	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8035 = <i>P. Rain.</i> 7 [no. 525, Wessely]	NA
L	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8033 = <i>P. Rain.</i> [no. 527, Wessely]	VI ^P
LI	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 9.418	III ^P
LII	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P. gr.</i> 9.429	III ^P
LIII–LVI	[omitted]		
LVII	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	cryptogr. pap. [otherwise uncataloged]	I ^P /II ^P
LVIII	Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek	inv. no. 266 = <i>P. Iand.</i> 87	IV ^P
LIX	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P. Cairo</i> 10563	II ^P or III ^P
LX	Brussels, Fondation Egyp- tologique Reine Elisabeth	<i>P. Brux.</i> in. E 6390, 6391	VI ^P

LXI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Brit.Mus.</i> inv. 10588 (Egyptian Dept.)	III ^p
LXII	Leiden, Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae	<i>P.Warren</i> 21	III ^p
LXIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 323	II ^p /III ^p
LXIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29273	IV ^p
LXV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29272	VI ^p /VII ^p
LXVI	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60139	III ^p /IV ^p
LXVII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60140	NA
LXVIII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60636	II ^p /III ^p
LXIX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 1463 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 156	II ^p
LXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 7 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 154	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXI	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 193 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 155	II ^p or III ^p
LXXII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	inv. no. 75 = <i>P.Osl.</i> III, 75	I ^p /II ^p
LXXIII–LXXVI	[omitted]		
LXXVII	Birmingham, Woodbroke College	<i>P.Harr.</i> 55	II ^p
LXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Heid.</i> 2170	III ^p
LXXIX	Prague, National and Univer- sity Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 18	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXX	Prague, National and Univer- sity Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 21	III ^p or IV ^p
LXXXI	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1566	IV ^p

List of New Papyri Not in Preisendanz

Note: Bibliographical references are provided at the end of the translation of each spell.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>
LXXXII	Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski	<i>P.Vars.</i> 4	III ^P
LXXXIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 8963	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 107	
LXXXIV	Princeton, Princeton University Garrett Dep. 7665	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 76	III ^P
LXXXV	Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Central Library	<i>P.Harris</i> 56	I ^P /II ^P
LXXXVI	Paris, L'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Paris	<i>P.Rein.</i> II 89 inv. 2176	IV ^P
LXXXVII	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Erlangen</i> 37	IV ^P
LXXXVIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 11230	<i>P.Princ.</i> III 15	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXXIX	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Lund Univ.Bibl.</i> IV 12 inv. no. 32	IV ^P
XC	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. no. 23	IV ^P /V ^P
XCI	Collection, G. A. Michailidis	<i>P.Michael.</i> 27	III ^P or IV ^P
XCII	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	<i>P.Merton</i> II 58	III ^P
XCIII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 65	V ^P
XCIV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 66	V ^P
XCV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> III 140	V ^P /VI ^P
XCVI	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 126	IV ^P /V ^P
XCVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 1886	III ^P /IV ^P
XCVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 1982	III ^P
XCIX	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 2283	V ^P /VI ^P
C	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 2861	V ^P /VI ^P
CI	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 3323	V ^P

CII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2753	IV ^P
CIII	Athens, Archaeological Society	<i>P.S.A. Athen.</i> 70	II ^P
CIV	Genoa, Università di Genova	<i>PUG</i> I 6	III ^P
CV	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21227	III ^P /IV ^P
CVI	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21165	III ^P /IV ^P
CVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5512	III ^P or IV ^P
CVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5514	III ^P or IV ^P
CIX	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 50.4 B23 J(1–3)b	ca. A.D. 300
CX	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 181	II ^P or III ^P
CXI	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 139	III ^P /IV ^P
CXII	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 242	IV ^P /V ^P
CXIII	Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam	<i>P.Amst.</i> inv. 16	V ^P
CXIV	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 989	III ^P /IV ^P
CXV	Budapest, Collection of Erno Gaál	<i>P.(Mag.) Gaál.</i> ined.	IV ^P
CXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> inv. 54	VI ^P
CXVII	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung	<i>P.Mon.Gr.</i> inv. 216	I ^a
CXVIII	Barcelona, Seminário di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 200	before X ^P ?
CXIX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 57 (PL II/52)	III ^P
CXX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 58 (PL III/442)	III ^P
CXXI	Milan, Università Cattolica di Milano	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. 71.58	III ^P /IV ^P
CXXII	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 21243	I ^a /I ^P
CXXIIIa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 1–6	V ^P
CXXIV	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , no. 7	V ^P
CXXVa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 8–13	V ^P –VI ^P
CXXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III/472	V ^P
CXXVII	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 1206	III ^P or IV ^P
CXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitäts-Papyrussammlung	<i>P.Heid.G.</i> 1386	V ^P
CXXIX	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums (?)	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21260	III ^P
CXXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	<i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 6666	III ^P
<i>PDM</i>	Paris, Musée du Louvre	<i>P.Louvre</i> E3229	III ^P
Supplement			

Note on Editions

For the editions of the Greek papyri as cited, see the bibliography in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980), pp. 154–77, with the following exceptions:

- | | |
|--|---|
| PGM XC: A. Traversa, <i>Aegyptus</i> 33
(1953): 57–62 | PGM CXVIII: J. O'Callaghan, <i>StPapy</i> 17
(1978): 85–87 |
| PGM XCVI: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 25
(1977): 150–53 | PGM CXIX–CXX: R. Pintaudi, <i>Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana</i> (P.Laur. III), <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 5
(Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979), nos. 57–58 |
| PGM XCVII–CI: D. Wortmann, <i>BoJ</i> 168
(1968): 85–111 | PGM CXXI: G. Geraci, <i>Aegyptus</i> 33
(1979): 63–72 |
| PGM CV–CVI: W. Brashear, <i>ZPE</i> 17
(1975): 25–33 | PGM CXXII: W. Brashear, <i>ZPE</i> 33
(1979): 261–78 |
| PGM CVII–CVIII: R. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 19
(1975): 249–64 | PGM CXXIII–CXXV: F. Maltomini, <i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> 29 (1979): 55–124 |
| PGM CIX: P. Gorissen, <i>ZPE</i> 37
(1980): 199–200 | PGM CXXVI: F. Maltomini, in R. Pintaudi, ed., <i>Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana</i> (P.Laur. IV), <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983): 46–53 |
| PGM CX–CXII: Z. M. Packman, <i>BASP</i> 13
(1976): 175–80 | PGM CXXVII: G. M. Parássoglou, <i>Hellenica</i> 27 (1974): 251–53 |
| PGM CXIII: P. J. Sijpesteijn, <i>ZPE</i> 22
(1976): 108 | PGM CXXVIII–CXXIX: F. Maltomini, <i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> 31
(1981): 111–117 |
| PGM CXIV–CXV: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 25
(1977): 145–54 | PGM CXXX: R. W. Daniel, <i>ZPE</i> 50
(1983): 147–54 |
| PGM CXVI: R. Pintaudi, <i>ZPE</i> 26
(1977): 245–48 | |
| PGM CXVII: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini, ed., <i>Papiri Letterari Greci</i> (Pisa: Giardini, 1978), no. 34 | |

For the Demotic magical papyri, see Janet H. Johnson's Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri below, pp. 00–00. The editions are accordingly:

- | | |
|--|--|
| PDM xii: J. H. Johnson, <i>OMRM</i> 56
(1975): 29–64 | PDM lxi: Bell, Nock, and Thompson, <i>Magical Texts</i> |
| PDM xiv: F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, <i>The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden</i> , 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904) | PDM Supplement: J. H. Johnson, <i>Enchoria</i> 7
(1977): 55–102 |

Explanation of References and Textual Signs

PGM I.
262–347

References cited thus refer to translations of the corresponding Greek text of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, with each roman numeral (including those with appended letters, e.g., *PGM* Va) corresponding to a separate papyrus manuscript. Roman numerals after *PGM* LXXXI refer to texts whose translations are based on editions published since, and sometimes overlooked by, Preisendanz. The bibliographies of these editions are mentioned in the introductory note (*) to each spell. Arabic numerals usually delineate the compass of individual spells within the papyrus manuscript. The use of the separate designations for each independent spell or charm represents a new feature designed to enable easy identification and ready reference to an individual spell.

PDM xxi. 6–20

References listed thus refer to Demotic (bilingual) spells corresponding to the texts whose editions are listed in the introductory note (*) to each spell. *PDM* stands for *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, referring to this volume and not to be confused with *DMP*, an abbreviation for Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, a work often referred to in the notes. Lower-case roman numerals are used simply to avoid confusion with spells labeled *PGM*. Arabic numerals are used as above.

[*PGM* XII.
445–48]

PGM references bracketed thus come immediately after references for bilingual Greek sections with the given spell. The references correspond to the appropriate Greek portions in Preisendanz, whose edition contained only the Greek sections of the Greek/Demotic spells. Since this translation volume contains all the Demotic spells, Preisendanz's numbering system is retained, but it is subsumed under the new Demotic collation.

A,b,c

Texts set in roman type represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Greek.

A,b,c

Texts set with leader dots beneath represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Demotic (Egyptian).

A,b,c

Texts with a thin underscore represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Old Coptic. Coptic is found both in the Greek texts of Preisendanz's edition and as glosses in portions of the Demotic/Greek bilingual spells; however, the purely Coptic magical spells form a separate corpus not dealt with in this volume.

- * An asterisk introduces an independent spell or a spell that contains most of the constituent parts necessary to effect the whole charm, though organic connections with adjacent spells can be recognized (e.g., spells entitled "*Another . . .*," or the like). The asterisk directs the reader to the contributor, whose name is given at the end of the spell. Some introductory comments may be found here as well. Bibliographical data, if appropriate, may also be listed.
- Tr.: This abbreviation stands for "translator" or "transcriber" (if the text contains no recognizable words that can be translated).
- Victory spell: Phrases set in roman boldface type refer to general titles of charms which usually stand at the beginning of the spell and which are often followed by one or more subtitles. Many spells do not possess a title, either because of a scribal omission or because it has been lost in a lacuna in the text.
- Spell to be spoken* Phrases set in italic boldface type refer to various subtitles and a number of types of rubrics (subsumed under the main title) that function in a titular sense to introduce a component feature of a spell. These may introduce ingredients, additional instructions, invocations, figures, magical names and characters, and so on, which are mentioned in the instructions in the text. In a long, multifunctional spell (cf. *PGM* IV. 2145–2240 and *PGM* XIII. 1–343), general titles are subordinate to the larger title, which describes an often elaborate ritual. In description, these general titles are identical to the main titles of most spells but are set as subtitles since they usually depend on a prior set of conditions to guarantee their efficacy.
- IAŌ SABAŌTH
ADŌNAI Small capital letters indicate magical names (*voces magicae*) which are usually untranslatable and often meaningless to the reader. In some instances, small capital letters preserve recognizable Greek, Egyptian, or Semitic words that merit special attention. Portions of texts whose fragmentary nature precludes the possibility of proper translation, but which may in fact have been readable in the original, are also set in small capitals.
- A diagonal slash indicates every fifth line of translated text, corresponding to the number given in the left-hand margin. Usually these are numbered consecutively until a new papyrus number is introduced.
- 35 [5] A bracketed number alongside the regular number refers to the line number of the original edition (in a Greek/Demotic text). Occasionally at the beginning the column number and line are also cited (e.g., [Col. III,5]).
- 30 (4) A number in parentheses refers to the original line of Preisendanz in a Greek/Demotic spell. The number corresponds to the *PGM* reference given within the bracketed number at the head of the spell.

- ... An ellipsis in the body of the text refers to a lost portion regardless of the size of the lacuna. Some punctuation (e.g., a comma or a period) may also be added at the end of the ellipsis.
- [spell] Brackets enclosing words indicate that the words are not preserved in the original text. These include (1) suggested restorations of lacunae; (2) editorial expansions of the text to elucidate the sense of the original language; and (3) phrases traditionally set off by pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩, namely, modern corrections to scribal omissions or errors. Scholars interested in determining which use the bracketed text refers to are recommended to consult the texts of the original editions. As a general rule, bracketed texts will not divide a word, but will surround the whole word if its reading is fairly uncertain.
- (add the usual) Parentheses enclosing words simply indicate material in the *original texts best understood as parenthetical comments* of the ancient authors and redactors.
- “Come to
me . . .” Quotation marks enclosing words indicate material that is spoken (or intended to be spoken) or written (or intended to be written). Material not enclosed in quotation marks usually refers to parts of a formulary that contain instructions and directions apart from the material to be written or spoken. Such instructions are peculiar to the papyri that have preserved magical formularies, whereas the actual amulets and phylacteries found on papyrus usually contain simple invocations that have been transcribed as a result of following the instructions in such magical handbooks.
- Incantations originally written in Greek meter are set as verse, that is, they are indented *en bloc*, with the first letter of each line capitalized. In cases where the meter falters within such a hymnic portion, the original margin is restored to indicate prose.
- NN In the magical formularies, this abbreviation stands for a name or names to be inserted by the reader, the names of the persons against or for whom the magic is to be carried out. In the case of “(the) NN matter,” the reader understands that specific requests are to be named at this point.
- [R.K.R.] At the end of each footnote, the bracketed initials refer to the contributing scholar responsible for the material immediately preceding. Notes that carry no initials represent the joint efforts of the contributors and scholars.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series Titles, and General Reference Works

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AKA	<i>Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der (K.) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
APAW.PH	<i>Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Bauer	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire</i>
BoJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
Bonnet, RÄRG	Hans Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952)
ByZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CEg	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary	J. Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976)
CIR	<i>Classical Review</i>
Crum, Coptic Dictionary	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
DMP	<i>Demotic Magical Papyri</i> (see Griffith and Thompson)
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien</i> 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971 repr.)
GGA	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>
Kropp, <i>Koptische Zaubertexte</i>	A. M. Kropp, <i>Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte</i> 3 vols. (Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31)
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LdÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddel-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexikon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
<i>N.F.</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>NHSt</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>
<i>NT.S</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum, Supplements</i>
<i>OMRM</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>Orph. Frag.</i>	<i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. O. Kern (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, ³ 1972)
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Papyrus Oxyrhynchus</i>
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> (as cited in this volume only)
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, et al. (Stuttgart: Teubner, ² 1973–74)
<i>PRE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften</i>
<i>PRE.S</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Supplementa</i>
Preisendanz	See <i>PGM</i> ; on Preisendanz, vol. III, see the Introduction below, n. 37
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RÄRG</i>	See Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i>
<i>RVV</i>	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i>
<i>SCHNT</i>	<i>Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>StPapy</i>	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Abbreviations of Major Titles Used in This Volume

Ancient authors are cited with name and title, the latter following the customary abbreviations. In cases of doubt, see *LSJ*, pp. xvi–xxxviii: “Authors and Works.”

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Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri

Hans Dieter Betz

"The Greek magical papyri" is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To be sure, this body of material represents only a small number of all the magical spells that once existed.¹ Beyond these papyri we possess many other kinds of material: artifacts, symbols and inscriptions on gemstones, on ostraka and clay bowls, and on tablets of gold, silver, lead, tin and so forth.²

I

The history of the discovery of the Greek magical papyri is a fascinating subject.³ We know from literary sources that a large number of magical books in which spells were collected existed in antiquity. Most of them, however, have disappeared as the result of systematic suppression and destruction. The episode about the burning of the magical books in Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19:10) is well known and typical of many such instances. According to Suetonius,⁴ Augustus ordered 2,000 magical scrolls to be burned in the year 13 B.C. Indeed, the first centuries of the Christian era saw many burnings of books, often of magical books, and not a few burnings that included the magicians themselves.

As a result of these acts of suppression, the magicians and their literature went underground. The papyri themselves testify to this by the constantly recurring admonition to keep the books secret.⁵ Yet the systematic destruction of the magical literature over a long period of time resulted in the disappearance of most of the original texts by the end of antiquity. To us in the twentieth century, terms such as "underground literature" and "suppressed literature" are well known as descriptions of contemporary phenomena. We also know that such literature is extremely important for the understanding of what people are really thinking and doing in a particular time, geographical area, or cultural context. Magical beliefs and practices can hardly be overestimated in their importance for the daily life of the people. The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion—calling the former "religion" and "church" and the latter "magic" and "cult"—did not exist in antiquity except among a few intellectuals.⁶

Thus the suppression of this magical literature has deprived us of one of our most important sources of ancient religious life. Modern views of Greek and Roman religions have long suffered from certain deformities because they were unconsciously shaped by the only remaining sources: the literature of the cultural elite, and the archeological remains of the official cults of the states and cities.

But not everything was lost.⁷ At the end of antiquity, some philosophers and theologians, astrologers and alchemists collected magical books and spells that were still available. Literary writers included some of the material in their works, if only

to make fun of it. It is known that philosophers of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic schools, as well as Gnostic and Hermetic groups, used magical books and hence must have possessed copies. But most of their material vanished and what we have left are their quotations.

The Greek magical papyri are, however, original documents and primary sources. Their discovery is as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism.⁸

Like these manuscript discoveries, the discovery of the Greek magical papyri was and often still is the outcome of sheer luck and almost incredible coincidences. In the case of the major portion of the collection, the so-called Anastasi collection, the discovery and rescue is owed to the efforts (and, if one may use the term, cooperation) of two individuals separated by more than a thousand years: the modern collector d'Anastasi and the original collector at Thebes.

In the nineteenth century, there was among the "diplomatic" representatives at the court in Alexandria a man who called himself Jean d'Anastasi (1780?–1857). Believed to be Armenian by birth, he ingratiated himself enough with the pasha to become the consular representative of Sweden.⁹ It was a time when diplomats and military men often were passionate collectors of antiquities, and M. d'Anastasi happened to be at the right place at the right time. He succeeded in bringing together large collections of papyri from Egypt, among them sizable magical books, some of which he said he had obtained in Thebes.¹⁰ These collections he shipped to Europe, where they were auctioned off and bought by various libraries: the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre in Paris, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. Another papyrus was acquired by Jean François Mimaout (1774–1837), also a diplomat, whose acquisition ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*PGM* III).¹¹ Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the circumstances of the actual findings. But it is highly likely that many of the papyri from the Anastasi collection came from the same place, perhaps a tomb or a temple library.¹² If this assumption is correct, about half a dozen of the best-preserved and largest extant papyri may have come from the collection of one man in Thebes. He is of course unknown to us, but we may suppose that he collected the magical material for his own use. Perhaps he was more than a magician. We may attribute his almost systematic collections of *magica* to a man who was also a scholar,¹³ probably philosophically inclined, as well as a bibliophile and archivist concerned about the preservation of this material.¹⁴

Although the person who collected the Anastasi papyri remains unknown, comparable figures are known from later Egyptian literature. In the Demotic Papyrus no. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, there appears Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis. This legendary figure belongs to the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, published by Francis Llewelyn Griffith,¹⁵ stories that in many ways can serve as illustrative companions to the Greek magical papyri. Miriam Lichtheim has given this summary portrait in the third volume of her *Ancient Egyptian Literature*:

Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-ka-ptah), who lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accom-

panied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession. . . .¹⁶

The collection of the Anastasi papyri, if it was brought together by one person, may have been buried with him, either in his tomb or in the rubble of collapsed buildings. At any rate, when d'Anastasi came to Thebes and the papyri were offered to him, he sensed their value and acquired them, thus saving them from destruction.

It took almost another century, however, before scholars learned to appreciate the value of the papyri and started investigating them. It is noteworthy that the auction catalog of d'Anastasi's collection calls the material simply "fromage mystique."¹⁷ Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the papyri were stored in the museums simply as curiosities.

Scholarly investigations began when the great Dutch scholar Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvs (1793–1835) described some of the content of the Leiden papyrus J 395 (*PGM XIII*) in his *Lettres à M. Letronne* published in 1830.¹⁸ This work was reviewed almost immediately by the German historian of religion Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), who also translated Reuvs's excerpts into German.¹⁹ But Reuvs died before his edition of the Leiden papyri could appear. It was forty years before another Dutch scholar, the Egyptologist Conrad Leemans (1809–93), published the edition (*PGM XII, XIII*)²⁰ together with a Latin translation (1885).²¹

The first publication, however, is due to the efforts of the British scholar Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (1817–78), who published one of the papyri (*PGM V*) together with an English translation and commentary for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1853.²² Then the German philologist Gustav Parthey (1798–1872) edited the two papyri from Berlin in 1865 (*PGM I, II*).²³ A very important new phase began when the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931) published in 1888 a transcription of the great magical papyrus of Paris (*PGM IV*), the London papyrus (*PGM V*), and the Mimaout papyrus (*PGM III*),²⁴ followed in 1889 by corrections.²⁵ In 1893 both Wessely²⁶ and Frederick George Kenyon (1863–1952)²⁷ independently edited and published the magical papyri of London (*PGM VII–X*). The last major papyrus was published in 1925 by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem (1872–1966),²⁸ who had acquired in Egypt a valuable magical scroll with many drawings (*PGM XXXVI*).

With these important publications, the major pieces of the Greek magical papyri known to this period had become available. It seems to have been a suggestion first made by the great scholar of Greek religion, Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), that all the available papyri should be published in a handy study edition. But this idea developed only gradually after Dieterich began teaching a seminar on the subject of the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg in 1905.²⁹

Today it is astonishing to learn that teaching such a seminar at that time was quite a daring enterprise. Magic was so utterly despised by historians and philologists that the announcement of the seminar did not mention the word "magic" but was simply phrased as "Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri."³⁰

How far the dislike of the magical papyri could go is illustrated by a remark made by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that these papyri were found because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism."³¹

Dieterich,³² however, was at the edge of a wave of interest generated by the new

discipline of history of religions. His seminar therefore had a surprising attraction for students, some of whom wrote their dissertations on related subjects and became contributors to the study edition. The plan for such a study edition was seriously threatened by Dieterich's sudden death on 6 May 1908, but the work was taken over by Dieterich's students, foremost of whom was Richard Wünsch, chief editor. Adam Abt, Ludwig Fahz, Adolf Erman, Georg Möller, and other contributors³³ stepped in to carry on the work.

When the body of the material of *PGM* I–IV was almost ready, World War I broke out and interrupted the work. Wünsch, Abt, and Möller were killed in the war. Despite these terrible losses and the desperate economic situation following the war, the publisher, B. G. Teubner of Leipzig, did not give up the project, but decided to start over. The edition was entrusted to Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), another of Dieterich's former students.³⁴ Scholars at that time faced difficulties scarcely conceivable to us today, yet they persisted. In addition, a remarkable degree of international cooperation existed among the scholars.³⁵ Sam Eitrem from Oslo and Adolf Jacoby from Luxemburg joined the team, and British, French, and Dutch scholars gave their support to the effort. The *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* as well as other governmental agencies gave financial support, so that despite all the problems the first volume of the first edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* could appear in 1928, with a second volume following in 1931.³⁶

While all this was happening, new magical papyri were being discovered and published. A third volume, which was also supposed to contain extensive indexes, therefore became necessary. But this volume never appeared, for World War II broke out.

Despite the war, the work had progressed to the actual production of galley proofs, with the preface dated "Pentecost, 1941,"³⁷ when on 4 December 1943 the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig was bombed and everything was destroyed.³⁸ Fortunately, however, the galley proofs survived the war and are at present being used by a number of scholars in the form of xerox copies. When Karl Preisendanz, the editor of the first edition and tireless promoter of the study of the Greek magical papyri before and after World War II, died on 26 April 1968, the publishing house of Teubner, which had in part been relocated in Stuttgart, West Germany, decided to bring out a new edition. This new edition was prepared by Albert Henrichs, a papyrologist from Cologne, who has been on the faculty of Harvard University since 1973.³⁹ It appeared in two volumes in 1973–74.⁴⁰ The first volume is mostly a reprint of the first edition, though many corrections have been made. The second volume, however, is considerably different from the first edition. A number of papyri were reedited completely, and the papyri originally planned to appear in vol. III were added so that vol. II of the 1974 edition contains all pieces up to *PGM* LXXXI. The idea of a third volume containing the indexes was postponed because all indexes would have to be redone in view of the changes and additions in the material.

II

What is the significance of the Greek magical papyri? Scholars since Albrecht Dieterich have consistently pointed out the importance of the Greek magical papyri to the study of ancient religions; thus we can limit ourselves here to a summary of the issues.⁴¹

Historians of religion are intrigued by the Greek magical papyri for a number of reasons. If, as Dieterich rightly says,⁴² the papyri are a depository of a great reli-

gious literature over many centuries, the recovery of the sources becomes a task of primary interest. In fact, throughout these sources we find citations of hymns, rituals, formulae from liturgies otherwise lost, and little bits of mythology called *historiolae*. These older materials are now embedded in a secondary context, but by careful application of the methods of literary criticism they are often recoverable.⁴³

Taken as a whole, the material presents a plethora of interesting problems for modern scholarship. One must realize first that the material assembled under the name Greek magical papyri represents a collection of texts of diverse origin and nature. This collection includes individual spells and remedies, as well as collections made by ancient magicians, from the early Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Since the material comes from Greco-Roman Egypt, it reflects an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. Not surprising is the strong influence of Egyptian religion throughout the Greek magical papyri, although here the texts nevertheless show a great variety. Expressed in Greek, Demotic, or Coptic, some texts represent simply Egyptian religion. In others, the Egyptian element has been transformed by Hellenistic religious concepts. Most of the texts are mixtures of several religions—Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, to name the most important.

The picture presented by the Greek magical papyri has been changed substantially by the inclusion of the translation of the Demotic magical papyri. In Preisendanz's edition, the Demotic material was deleted, even when it occurred in the same papyrus as Greek sections apparently written by the same scribe. The inclusion of the Demotic material in the present translation raises new and intriguing questions regarding the relationship between the Greek texts and the antecedent Egyptian sources. Further studies must clarify the process of transmission and transformation of these texts. Such studies will gain new insights into the complex phenomena of the hellenization of religious traditions. (See also the Introduction to the Demotic texts below.)

Another interesting problem is posed by the fact that this material from Greco-Roman Egypt contains many sections that are Greek in origin and nature.⁴⁴ How did this older Greek religious literature find its way into Egypt? We do not, and probably never shall, know. In this older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous, as in Greek folklore.⁴⁵ The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri found in Egypt are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.⁴⁶

Questions similar to those appropriate to the study of Greek religion must be raised in view of the material (divine names as well as entire passages) that comes from some form of Judaism. Jewish magic was famous in antiquity,⁴⁷ and more sources have come to light in recent years; but the origin and nature of the sections representing Jewish magic in the Greek magical papyri is far from clear. Did this material actually originate with Jewish magicians? How did it get into the hands of the magicians who wrote the Greek magical papyri? What kind of transformation took place in the material itself? If the texts in question come from Judaism, what type of Judaism do they represent?

The historian of religion will be especially interested in the kind of syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri.⁴⁸ This syncretism is more than a mixture of diverse elements from Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, and Jewish religion, with a few sprinkles of Christianity.⁴⁹ Despite the diversity of texts, there is in the whole cor-

pus a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity. Such assimilation and uniformity, however, includes primarily the religious traditions already mentioned: the Romans, although in control of Egypt by the time most of the papyri were written, left only a few traces in the material. Thus the papyri represent a Greco-Egyptian, rather than the more general Greco-Roman, syncretism.

In this syncretism, the indigenous ancient Egyptian religion has in part survived, in part been profoundly hellenized.⁵⁰ In its Hellenistic transformation, the Egyptian religion of the pre-Hellenistic era appears to have been reduced and simplified, no doubt to facilitate its assimilation into Hellenistic religion as the predominant cultural reference. It is quite clear that the magicians who wrote and used the Greek papyri were Hellenistic in outlook.

Hellenization, however, also includes the egyptianizing of Greek religious traditions. The Greek magical papyri contain many instances of such egyptianizing transformations, which take very different forms in different texts or layers of tradition. Again, working out the more exact nature of this religious and cultural interaction remains the task of future research.

The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomenon of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and the Hellenistic setting. One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri.⁵¹ Some of the magicians writing and using the spells may have been associated with temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu.⁵² This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adopt and adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly "ecumenical" religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture.

We should make it clear, however, that this syncretism is more than a hodgepodge of heterogeneous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs. As an example, one may mention the enormously important role of the gods and goddesses of the underworld. The role of these underworld deities was not new to Egyptian religion or, to some extent, to ancient Greek religion; but it is characteristic of the Hellenistic syncretism of the Greek magical papyri that the netherworld and its deities had become one of its most important concerns. The goddess Hekate, identical with Persephone, Selene, Artemis, and the old Babylonian goddess Ereschigal, is one of the deities most often invoked in the papyri. Through the egyptianizing influence of Osiris, Isis, and their company, other gods like Hermes, Aphrodite, and even the Jewish god

Iao, have in many respects become underworld deities. In fact, human life seems to consist of nothing but negotiations in the antechamber of death and the world of the dead. The underworld deities, the demons and the spirits of the dead, are constantly and unscrupulously invoked and exploited as the most important means for achieving the goals of human life on earth: the acquisition of love, wealth, health, fame, knowledge of the future, control over other persons, and so forth. In other words, there is a consensus that the best way to success and worldly pleasures is by using the underworld, death, and the forces of death.

Apart from this fascination with the control of death and the underworld powers, there is an equally important fascination with the universe. The older gods of the Greco-Egyptian pantheon now mostly represent the forces of the universe. Thus the Greek god most often invoked is Apollo Helios, a fact consistent with the enormous expansion of the worship of the sun in the Greco-Roman era. Besides other astral deities such as Selene, the constellation of the Bear, and the like, abstract deities, new and old, demand attention. These abstract deities personify Nature (Physis), Time (Kronos, Chronos), Destiny (the Moirai), and most important, the All (Alon). Popular Egyptian gods and goddesses are, however, called upon just as often. Yet the god most often employed is Iao, the Jewish god.

The people whose religion is reflected in the papyri agree that humanity is incapable at the whim of the forces of the universe. Religion is nothing but taking seriously this dependency on the forces of the universe. Whether the gods are old or new, whether they come from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, or Christian traditions, religion is regarded as *nothing* but the awareness of and reaction against our dependency on the unathomable scramble of energies coming out of the universe. In this energy jungle, human life can only be experienced as a jungle, too. People's successes and failures appear to be only the result of Chance (Tyche). Individuals seem to be nothing but marionettes at the end of power lines, pulled here and there without their knowledge by invisible forces.

If this world view takes hold of people, what hope can there be for human life? How could ordinary men and women in the small towns of Egypt get something out of their lives? It is at this point that the magician enters the picture. In a transitional culture like Greco-Roman Egypt, a religious functionary who operated as a crisis manager became a necessity to the lives of ordinary people. This role the magician was able to fulfill.

Applying his craft, the magician could give people the feeling that he could make things work in a world where nothing seemed to work the way it used to. He had handbooks of magic,⁵³ which contained the condensed wisdom of the past, wisdom made effective to solve the problems of the present.

The magician claimed to know and understand the traditions of various religions. While other people could no longer make sense of the old religions, he was able to. He knew the code words needed to communicate with the gods, the demons, and the dead. He could tap, regulate, and manipulate the invisible energies.⁵⁴ He was a problem solver who had remedies for a thousand petty troubles plaguing mankind: everything from migraine to runny nose to bedbugs to horse races, and, of course, all the troubles of love and money.

In short, it was this kind of world in which the magician served as a power and communications expert, crisis manager, miracle healer and inflictor of damages, and all-purpose therapist and agent of worried, troubled, and troublesome souls.⁵⁵ To raise one final question: It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of

entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they? Do people never check up on the efficiency of magicians?

The answer appears to be that, in general, people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may all be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us.⁵⁶ In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works. As the Roman aphorism sums it up, "Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur" ("The world wishes to be deceived, and so it may be deceived"). To an immeasurable extent, people's lives carry on by what they decide they want to believe rather than by what they should believe or even know, by what appears to be real rather than by what is really real, by props and by fads, and by gobbledygook of this kind today and that kind tomorrow.

Magicians are those who have long ago explored these dimensions of the human mind. Rather than decrying the facts, they have exploited them. Magicians have known all along that people's religious need and expectations provide the greatest opportunity for the most effective of all deceptions. But instead of turning against religion, as the skeptics among the Greek and Roman philosophers did, the magicians made use of it. After all, magic is nothing but the art of making people believe that something is being done about those things in life about which we all know that we ourselves can do nothing.

Magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless.

Of course, it is all deception. But who can endure naked reality, especially when there is a way to avoid it? This is why magic has worked and continues to work, no matter what the evidence may be. Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis. Magic makes an unmanageable life manageable for those who believe in it, and a profession profitable for those who practice the art.

Notes

1. For a survey of the material, see the indispensable work by T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924); idem, "Mageia," *PRE* 14.1 (1928): 201–393; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); idem, "Le monde du magicien égyptien," in *Le monde du sorcier, Sources Orientales VII* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1966) 27–65; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, "Magical Texts," in *Textes et Langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique; Hommage à J.-F. Champollion* (Le Caire: Institut d'Égypte, 1974), 3: 7–19. See also J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1137–51; H. Altenmüller, "Magische Literatur," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1151–62. A wider range of literature is discussed by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 1507–57.

2. See the collections by Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); idem, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 20 (1951): 301–45, pls. 96–100; idem, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23

(1954): 138–57; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 1964). On the latter, see especially the reviews by H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965): 409–10; K. Preisendanz, *ByZ* 59 (1966): 388–92; M. Smith, *AJA* 71 (1967): 417–19; A. A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 298–307. On the relationship between gems and papyri see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509. For the magical tablets, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae, quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas . . .* (Paris: Fontemoling, 1904); K. Preisendanz, “Fluchtafel (Defixion),” *RAC* 8 (1972): 1–29.

3. See especially K. Preisendanz, “Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie,” in *Aus der Welt des Buches. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft* 75 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951) 223–40.

4. Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 67; K. Preisendanz, “Dans le monde de la magie grecque,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 10 (1935): 336–37; W. Speyer, “Büchervernichtung,” *JAC* 13 (1970): 123–52, with bibliography.

5. PGM LVII and LXXII are even written in cryptography. See also my article “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

6. A definition of the notion of magic cannot be attempted here. In order to provide an adequate definition, the complexities of the notion, its relations with “religion” and “science,” and the rather frustrating history and literature of the problem would have to be discussed first. For a good introduction to the question, see A. A. Barb, “The Survival of Magic Arts,” in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 100–125; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–19; cf. also Aune, *ANRW* II. 23.2, 1510–16 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, *Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

7. On the survival of magic, see Barb’s stimulating article mentioned in note 6 above. Also important for this question is the autobiographical account of the physician Thessalos and its discussion by J. Z. Smith, “The Temple and the Magician,” in his *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 172–89.

8. For the circumstances connected with the discoveries of the Qumran texts, see F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961); for the Nag Hammadi Library, see J. M. Robinson, “The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly,” *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 17–30.

9. C. J. C. Reuven’s, *Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus bilingues et Grecs, et sur quelques autres Monuments Gréco-Egyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités de l’Université de Leide* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1830), 1: “M. le chevalier D’ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie.” For bibliographical information, see W. R. Dawson, “Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 158–66.

10. See the remark by F. Lenormant in his catalog of the Anastasi collection entitled *Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes. Cette collection rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Cléry, N° 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc.* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857) 84: “M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d’un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c’est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée.”

11. See J.-F. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments coptes et arabes composant la collection de Feu M.J.-F. Mimaud* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1837) pp. Vff.

12. Cf. the report of another collector who speaks of his "residence of eighteen years at Thebes, entirely devoted to its objects of antiquity" (p. IX). This man, a Greek named Giovanni d'Athanasī, from the island of Lemnos, the son of a Cairo merchant, wrote his story at the suggestion of English travelers: Giovanni d'Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum* (London: John Hearn, 1836). As d'Athanasī reports, the papyri are found mostly in or near tombs; so he says about the Demotic papyri: "they are very rare, and are found not in the mummies, but in the terra-cotta urns which are found closed up and buried in the earth around the tombs" (p. 79). See also the *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d'Athanasī, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o'Clock precisely* (London: J. Davy, 1837) 23–24: "Manuscript Rolls of Papyrus, found in the tombs at Thebes." On the whole subject, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970), esp. 44ff.: books placed as gifts in tombs.

13. *PGM* V.a is a loose page stuck into a work on chemistry, the *Papyrus graecus Holmīensis* in Stockholm. This indicates that the owner and collector of the magical material also possessed works on chemistry. See also B. Olsson, "Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 355–56; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* 91–92.

14. See my article mentioned in note 5 above.

15. Francis Llewelyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

16. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3: *The Late Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 127; cf. also 8–9. See also Farouk Gomaā, *Chaemwese. Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), esp. 70ff. The papyrus was found in a Christian (!) tomb in Thebes. It should be noted that the story dealing with the search for the secret book has a parallel in Pseudo-Democritus, who may be identical with Bolos of Mendes. According to this text, Democritus went to Memphis where he was received by Ostanēs and his students in the temple of Ptah, but Ostanēs died before he initiated Democritus into his mysteries and handed his secret books over to him. Democritus also brought up the shadow of Ostanēs from Hades and asked him about the books. Ostanēs replied that they were in the temple, where they were finally discovered. Both names occur also in *PGM* (Democritus: VII.167, 795; XII. 351; Ostanēs: IV.2006; XII.122). The text is given in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938) 317–18; see J. H. Waszink, "Bolos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 502–8; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* 26–27, 72–73.

17. Lenormant, *Catalogue* 87 about *PGM* IV: "En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutent par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la *gnose*."

18. See note 9 above.

19. *GGA*, 56. Stück, den 9. April 1831, pp. 545–54. Müller remarks (p. 547): "Es gibt wohl keine Urkunde, die es so deutlich machte, wie die Magie, diese Seuche der Geister, vor allem in Aegypten sich entwickelt, und von dem alten Religionssystem dieses Volkes ausgehend, mit Hülfe metaphysischer Speculationen und verworrener Naturkenntnisse, sich zu einem Schrecken erregenden Umfange ausgebildet habe."

20. Leemans's edition was based upon Reuven's manuscript. See Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 225 n.13.

21. C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi. Regis augustissimi jussu edidit, interpretationem latinam, annotationem, indicem et tabulas addidit C. L.*, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1843, 1885). On Leemans, see *L'Egyptologue* Conrad Leemans et son correspondance. Contribution à l'histoire d'une science, à l'occasion du cent-cinquantième an-

niversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centenaire des Congrès des Orientalistes (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

22. C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic: From a Papyrus in the British Museum, Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a Translation and Notes*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. II (Cambridge: Deighton, 1852).

23. G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1865 (Berlin: Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866) 109–80.

24. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 36 (1888): 27–208. On Wessely's achievements in particular, see H. Gerstinger, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 250–55; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 120–22.

25. K. Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale," *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889) 3–23. See the review by A. Dieterich, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 11 (1891): 9–10.

26. "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Wien], philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42 (1893), II. Abhandlung.

27. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. I (London: British Museum, 1893).

28. S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1925).

29. See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), p. 164 n.1, and his remark in a review article, "Griechische und römische Religion," *ARW* 8 (1905): 486–87:

Es nimmt mich immer wieder wunder, dass der unermessliche Gewinn, der aus den Zauberpapyri nach so vielen Seiten hin zu erlangen ist, nur so wenige Arbeiter lockt. Wie mancher, der religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit tun will, täte besser hier sich zu bemühen als um Probleme herumzureden, zu deren Lösung er doch nichts beitragen kann. Nach dem Schema der 'Papyrologie' gehören sie weder zu den Urkunden noch zu den literarischen Papyri; denn daß sich hier die große religiöse Literatur von Jahrhunderten niedergeschlagen hat, ist nur sehr wenigen deutlich. Die Unbekanntheit mit den magischen Papyri macht sich zum Schaden so mancher religionshistorischer Arbeiten, auch der letzten Jahre, bemerklich, und da die wichtigste Publikation von Wessely in den Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Klasse XXXVI Band 1888, allerdings ohne eigene recensio und emendatio kaum benutzbar ist, habe ich es mit einem meiner Schüler zusammen unternommen, zunächst wenigstens das kapitalste Stück dieser Literatur, das grosse Pariser Zauberbuch, in einer neuen Ausgabe vorzulegen.

See also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1928), p. VI.

30. S. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I*, p. V.

31. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin: Weidmann, ²1902) 254–55. The remark in full reads as follows:

Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, dass diese Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Dass sie das thun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehen, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden,—soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muss er den Menschen menschlich sehn.

32. It should be noted, however, that Dieterich's doctoral dissertation was already devoted to the subject, a work that posed most of the pertinent problems. The dissertation was published in an expanded form under the title "Papyrus magicae musei Lugdunensis Batavi . . .," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband 16 (1888): 749–830; its prolegomena were reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) 1–47.

Dieterich's commentary on the Leiden papyrus J 395 (= PGM XIII) followed under the title *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). Related is the work entitled *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, ²1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). Still indispensable is his commentary on PGM IV. 475–834, entitled *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; ²1909 ed. R. Wünsch; ³1923 ed. O. Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For biographical details and a bibliography see R. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* pp. IX–XLII; H. J. Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule. Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–80): 5–106.

33. See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I* (1928) pp. VIII–IX.

34. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. IX–XII.

36. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz, vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931).

37. See the *Vorrede* to vol. III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), reprinted in the new edition of vol. II, ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), pp. VII–XVII.

38. See K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," in *Miscellanea critica Teubner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964) 215 n.1.

39. See the *Vorwort zur Neuauflage* by Henrichs in vol. I of the new edition (see n. 40 below), pp. XIII–XIV.

40. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974).

41. See A. Dieterich, "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," *Kleine Schriften* 449–539; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929): 219–35, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1: 176–94; A. J. Festugière, "La valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 281–328; M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1960) 129–66; S. Eitrem, "Aus Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte: Die magischen Papyri," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933*, hrsg. von W. Otto und L. Wenger, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19 (München: Beck, 1934) 243–63.

42. See note 29 above.

43. See, e.g., the attempt to recover ritual fragments from PGM LXX in my article "Fragments of a Catábasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

44. Cf. Nilsson's remark concerning the magical hymns, "Die Religion," 132: "Jedoch sind die Hymnen das Griechischste der Zaubervliteratur. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es ein älteres Zauberwesen gegeben hat, das an die griechischen Götter angeschlossen, von dem die auf uns gekommene ägyptische Zaubervliteratur Brocken sich einverleibt hat."

45. Since then fundamental changes have occurred in the interpretation of Greek religion, of which the success of the book by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951) was symptomatic. See also on this point E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 180–81. For recent developments, see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 21ff.; idem, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Sather Classical Lectures 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46. Cf. the comment made by A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 4 n.16: "Much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off. . . ."

47. On Jewish magic and related bibliography, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubervwesen*

(Strassburg: Trübner, 1898, ²1914); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk-Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vols. 4 and 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1969, 1970); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

48. See for surveys A. A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1971) 138–69; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 520–43 and passim; K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magic im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Neue Serie, V. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Wien: Rohrer/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1956) 111–25.

49. On Jesus and early Christian magic, with related bibliography, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

50. On Egyptian magic of the later periods, see the collection by Lichtheim (see note 16 above); G. Roeder, *Volks Glaube im Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1952); idem, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, = *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild*, vol. 4 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1961).

51. On the figure of the magician, see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–89.

52. See W. Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (see note 5 above), 1–22.

53. Some of these handbooks are among the PGM. How they were made can still be seen from the partly unfinished, late Byzantine (16th c.) copy in the Gennadios Library in Athens (Codex Gennadianus 45), the text of which was published by A. Delatte, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature so'omonique, le codex *Gennadianus* 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres*, 5^e série, tome 45 (1959): 280–321.

54. As I have tried to show, even the human self was regarded as a daimon which could be handled by the magician in the same way as all the other energies of the universe. See H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71.

55. A beautiful testimony of this self-understanding is cited by D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 84–85, where the great magician Amenhotep says about himself:

I am really magnificent among any people, one with a heaving heart when he is looking for a plan in some unknown problem, like one whose heart knows it already; who finds a sentence even if it was found destroyed; master of wisdom, friend of the ruler, who does useful things for the Horus, who makes his monuments splendid in order to cause everybody to remember him forever at the august place. Who guides the ignorant through the events since the primeval times, who shows their place to everybody who forgot about it; useful in his ideas, when he is looking for monuments to make immortal the name of his lord; who relates the proverb and acts with his fingers; leader of mankind, of engaging manners as a pleasant one. Who venerates the name of the king and his power, who praises his Majesty at any time of the day, who is on his guard in all his decisions. . . ."

56. A good illustration of the phenomenon is the social and psychological syndrome called "cognitive dissonance." The syndrome can be observed among persons of strong conviction who, when faced with evidence to the contrary of their convictions ("disconfirmation"), become more intense and close themselves off from their social context, rather than develop doubts about these convictions. See the study by Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). The authors of this study themselves may have become another instance of the syndrome: apparently they entered into the project armed with strong convictions about the origins of religion and, without ever becoming suspicious, found nothing but confirmation.

Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri

Janet H. Johnson

As important as the Greek magical papyri are to the understanding of Greco-Roman religion, as noted by Betz in his Introduction to the Greek magical texts, their full significance can be perceived only when it is realized that these texts written in Greek are part of a larger corpus that also includes texts written in that stage of the Egyptian language known as “Demotic,” and that the corpus as a whole derives in very large measure from earlier Egyptian religious and magical beliefs and practices. The interrelationship between the Greek and Egyptian aspects of these magical texts is emphasized by the fact that not only did the major find of such texts, the collection of Anastasi noted by Betz, occur in Egypt, in the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor) and include both Greek and Egyptian documents, but it also included documents that were bilingual—some of the spells were written in Greek, others in Egyptian, all within the same texts and all for use by the same magician. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that even in the spells written in Greek, the religious or mythological background and the methodology to be followed to ensure success may be purely Egyptian in origin. Thus it is only with the inclusion of the Egyptian materials together with the Greek, and the study of the complete corpus, that the full ramifications of this extraordinary body of material can be studied and appreciated.

All four of the Demotic magical texts appear to have come from the collections that Anastasi gathered in the Theban area. Most have passages in Greek as well as in Demotic, and most have words glossed into Old Coptic (Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet [which indicated vowels, which Egyptian scripts did not] supplemented by extra signs taken from the Demotic for sounds not found in Greek); some contain passages written in the earlier Egyptian hieratic script or words written in a special “cipher” script, which would have been an effective secret code to a Greek reader but would have been deciphered fairly simply by an Egyptian.

The longest of the four Demotic texts was at some time torn into two sections (*PDM* xiv; *PGM* XIV). The longer second section was acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1828; it now bears number *P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383 (formerly Anastasi 65). The shorter beginning section was purchased by the British Museum in 1857; it now bears number *P.Lond.demot.* 10070 (formerly Anastasi 1072). The definitive publication of the two sections, including hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with extensive commentary and glossary, is the work of F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson.¹ Attention was attracted to the Leiden section very early when Reuvens recognized the value that the glosses into Greek letters provided for the deciphering of Demotic script.² The entire preserved text (both the beginning and the end of the original manuscript are lost) consists of twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller columns on the verso. All are in Egyptian with the exception of three short passages in three separate columns, which are written in Greek. Elsewhere occasional Greek words occur as glosses to Egyptian

words or are written in the Egyptian text in an alphabetic Demotic script apparently developed for writing magical and foreign words. Much more common than the Greek passages is the use of the older Egyptian hieratic script in the midst of Demotic passages (as if the scribe were transcribing from an earlier manuscript and occasionally forgot to update what he was copying) and glosses into Old Coptic, most frequently for the writing of magical names and presumably to indicate proper pronunciation (which would have been very difficult to do given the abbreviated nature and great age of the traditional Egyptian scripts). Each column of the recto is written within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines; chapter or section headings are written in red ink (a tradition in Egyptian literature from Old Kingdom times³). In some cases, the scribes, while writing the body of the text in black ink, left room for the heading to be added later in red ink but failed to do so. Such headings can easily be restored.

The same scribe who wrote the London and Leiden text also wrote a second manuscript in the Leiden Museum (*PDM* xii; *PGM* XII) that contains Demotic magical texts—the verso of P.Lugd.Bat.J 384 (formerly Anastasi 75).⁴ Of the nineteen columns of magical spells on the verso, the two columns at the beginning (the left end of the manuscript) are purely Demotic, the following thirteen columns are in Greek (although two headings are written in Demotic), the next two columns are again in Demotic, and the last two columns at the right end of the papyrus are largely in Demotic although they have short passages in Greek cited in the middle. (Note that the papyrus is broken at both ends, so it is impossible to determine how many more columns there were originally and in what language.) Within the Demotic sections of the manuscript are occasional passages written in the earlier hieratic script and in alphabetic Demotic as well as Old Coptic glosses. It appears that this text was written before the London and Leiden text since it is in this text that one can see the development of the Old Coptic script being used for glosses. In the columns at the left end of the papyrus, the Old Coptic glosses were written letter by letter above the corresponding Demotic letter. Since the Demotic runs right to left, the glosses run the same direction. This would have been quite confusing to someone reading what appeared to be Greek, so by the glosses in the second group of Demotic spells, at the right end of the papyrus, the scribe had taken to writing the glosses word for word, left to right, over the appropriate Demotic word. It is this latter system that is found throughout the papyrus of London and Leiden. In Leiden J 384, the scribe did not write within a frame or use red ink for headings. That both the papyri of London and Leiden and Leiden J 384 were written in Thebes, where they were found and sold to Anastasi, is indicated further by the fact that the dialect of Coptic to which the glosses and other alphabetic spellings most closely correspond has been identified as “archaic Theban.”⁵

The British Museum also contains a second bilingual Greek and Demotic magical text (*PDM* lxi; *PGM* LXI), P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588.⁶ The recto contains eight columns of Demotic; two have occasional magical names written in Old Coptic and one has the names of some ingredients written in Greek in addition to two Greek sections within the Demotic. The verso contains two columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic and four columns of Greek. The Demotic sections use red ink for chapter headings (italicized in the translations), as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

The fourth Demotic magical text is P.Louvre E3229 (formerly Anastasi 1061).⁷ The preserved fragments (*PDM Supplement*) contain seven columns of Demotic on the recto and one column on the verso; the papyrus is broken at both ends. Both

the earlier hieratic script and Old Coptic are used, together with the alphabetic Demotic script developed for writing magical names and attested in each of these texts except P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588. Section headings are written in red ink on the recto (italicized in the translations); the columns on the recto are written within a red frame, as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

In all four of these texts, all of which can be dated paleographically to the third century A.D. or only slightly later, there is every indication that all the various scripts were written by, and for, the same scribe, a bilingual person equally at home in Egyptian (old, current, and future) and Greek. The contents and the methodology are overwhelmingly Egyptian. Most of the material is completely Egyptian and its origins are easily traceable in earlier Egyptian religious and magical literature. The methods used are likewise standard Egyptian practices. Some of this is indicated in the notes to the translations.

By contrast, Egyptian divinities (in their own names or in the guise of their Greek counterparts) and Egyptian mythological references abound in the Greek texts and Egyptian methodology is also frequent. For example, although threats against gods who might fail to do what one wants go back to the earliest Egyptian religio-magic literature (Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), but are unparalleled in classical Greece, they are frequent in the Greek magical texts as well as those written in Egyptian. Much of the Egyptian background of the Greek texts has been pointed out in the numerous textual notes added by Robert K. Ritner. The common source of the Greek and Egyptian language texts is also indicated by their frequent use of identical strings of invocation names, including, in addition to Egyptian and Greek divinities, western Asiatic divinities, "abracadabra" names, and what appear to the modern reader as gibberish.

Because the bulk of the texts is written in Greek, and because there are short passages of Greek in some of the Egyptian texts,⁸ it has been suggested that the Egyptian texts are translations from the Greek. But there are passages in Egyptian, written in Old Coptic, within many of the Greek texts and, as indicated above, the religious and magical background of many of the spells, both Greek and Egyptian, is decidedly Egyptian. In discussing the Egyptian texts, Griffith and Thompson concluded: "even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian."⁹ The same may be true for much of the Greek material. One must, at any rate, be leery of overstating the Greek case and attributing too much to Greek influence.

The present collection of all the texts, Greek and Egyptian, in one easily usable volume, points this out conclusively. This will, in turn, allow and encourage the comparative study of the purposes, methods, props, magical names, and the like, of the Greek and Egyptian spells and encourage the study of the antecedents of the material in both cultures. This work will add greatly to our understanding of the cultural milieu in which these magical texts were produced and copied. Thus it is the hope of all those who have collaborated on the production of this volume that it will both further our knowledge of a dynamic period in the history of man and also encourage future study of cultural contact and cross-fertilization.

Notes

1. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904).
2. See n. 9 to Betz's Introduction, above.

3. See Georges Posener, "Sur l'emploi de l'encre rouge dans les manuscrits égyptiens," *JEA* 37 (1951): 75–80.
4. The recto contains a long Demotic literary composition known variously as the "Tefnut Legend" or the "Myth of the Sun's Eye"; for a short summary and bibliography, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, pp. 156–57. The magical spells on the verso were published by Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden J 384," *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64; for the identification of the scribe, see *ibid.*, pp. 51–53.
5. Janet H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, vol. 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 105–32.
6. Published by H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933).
7. Published by Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102.
8. But note that, e.g., one of the passages in Greek in London and Leiden concerns the purely Egyptian divinity Osiris and his burial in Abydos.
9. *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, p. 12.

THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

PGM I. 1–42

*[*Rite*]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat¹ and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circean² falcon / and deify it³ in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it⁴ with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrrh the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: "A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ." [But write this, making] two figures:⁵

A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
E E	Y Y Y Y Y Y
Ē Ē Ē	O O O O O
Ī Ī Ī Ī	Ī Ī Ī Ī
O O O O O	Ē Ē Ē
Y Y Y Y Y Y	E E
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	A

/ And take the milk with the honey⁶ and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed *spell*:

"A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,⁷ Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man's seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, II. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, N.F. 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κυρκαιος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. "*κύρκος*," I: "a kind of hawk or falcon." See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magic," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. "Falkc."

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, "Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning," *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, "Zu dem Ausdruck *ἡς Ἑστῆς*," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, "Ertrinken, Ertränken," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also PGM III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.*

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the PGM and called "grapelikey," "heart-shaped" or "winged," may be an example of *technopaision*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte" 104; G. Wojacek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. "Milch."

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis "the good oxherd": *PDM* xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 24 and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,⁸ you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds⁹ into the [sacred fig] tree of Heliopolis¹⁰ continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÖTH BAKCHABRË.¹¹

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards¹¹ and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

*The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:¹² . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,¹³ a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon's head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (*δενεκέως*). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *jšd* tree (see L. Kákossy, "Ischedbaum," *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree "in which is life and death" (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *persea* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means "herald," may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, "Keryx," *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,¹⁴ it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the goddess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis¹⁵ in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess.

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel¹⁶ whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly¹⁷ learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods and Mendesian wine,¹⁸ set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy¹⁹ serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words²⁰ to the god: "I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, 'Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!'"

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.²¹ Test this²² oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, "Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will," and the god vanishes.

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, "Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, "Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh *troglitis*. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as "Ethiopian myrrh."

16. This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as "the god" throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in PGM I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean "precisely" or "in detail."

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendacian wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium PGM II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. *πρόπεμπε* with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: "first," hence "preliminary words." [E.N.O.]

21. *πρὸς ἃ φράζει* should be read as second-person middle (cf. I. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word "this" is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps "the oath itself" is preferable. Cf. I. 156: "the same spell."

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the
 105 single exception of fish²³—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,²⁴ you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered
 110 with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and
 115 you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers
 120 and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars²⁵ and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold
 125 and cold things / warm,²⁶ he will light lamps and extinguish them again.²⁷ And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air.
 130 And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: "ÖRI PI . . . AMOUNTE²⁸ AINTHYPH PICHAROUR²⁹ RAIAL KAPHIOUTH
 135 YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZÖ ZÖN TAZÖTAZÖ PTAZÖ MAU-
 IAS SOUÖRI SOUÖ ÖOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A . . . RICHAMCHÖ BIRATHAU
 ÖPHAU PHAUÖ DAUA AUANTÖ ZOUZÖ ARROUZÖ ZÖTOUAR THÖMNAÖRI AYÖI
 PTAUCHARËBI AÖUSÖBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAA AEËIOYÖYÖÖIËEA CHACHACH
 140 CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ö ËI³⁰ / IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABÖEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHËR
 PHICHRÖ PHNYRÖ PHÖCHÖCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMË PHIBAÖCHNËMEÖ." This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. "Schwein"; J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, "Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics," *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see PGM VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in PGM VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikrour*, "the frog." [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning "Amon the Great." [R.K.R.]

*And engraved on the stone*³¹ is: Helioros³² as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting 145
its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): “ACHA
ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH.” And after passing an Anubian string³³
through it, wear it around your neck.

Spell to Selene: “INOUTHŌ³⁴ PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA
ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAU- 150
RACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR
ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU IABAU KANTANTOUMI
BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH.” Having said this, you will see some star gradually free
itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, 155
kiss him and say the same spell: “ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL
RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . . TAMARA CHTŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO
ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI.” When you have spoken this,
/ a reply will be given. But you say to him: “What is your divine name? Reveal it to me 160
ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it].” It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR
PHTHĒ MŌTH.³⁵

And this is spoken next: “Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty,
boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from 165
me from this day forth through all the time of my life.”

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the
hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of
the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to 170
him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way
you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad
with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what
things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone 175
asks you “What do I have in mind?” or “What has happened to me?” or even “What
is going to happen?” question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you
speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will
wrap [up] your body as befits a god,³⁶ but he will take your spirit and carry it into
the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will 180
go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do some-
thing, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, [“Come!”] and you will see him
actually standing near you. And say to him, “Perform this task,” and he does it at
once, and after doing it he will say to you, “What else do you want? For I am eager
for heaven.” If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, “Go, lord,” and he 185
will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone
ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RARG* 427–429, s.v. “Löwe.”

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *i ntr* ʿ3, “O great god,” and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body’s subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, “The Decree of Amonrasenethēr for Neskhons,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

190 about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure, and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no one except [your] legitimate son³⁷ alone when he asks you for the magic powers imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula “IAEÖBAPHRENE-MOUN” and the formula “IARBATHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

*This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born god: “I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
200 whose side the Glorious Ones³⁸ stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father, and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAÖ CHAÖ CHA OUPH CHTHE-THÖNIMEETHËCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAÖ BLATHAMMACHÖTH PHRIXA ÈKE . . . PHYËIDRYMËÖ PHERPHRITHÖ IACHTHÖ PSYCHEÖ PHIRITHMEÖ ROSERÖTH /
205 THAMASTRA PHATIRI TAÖCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root, [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

“I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is [distressed], and I am perplexed³⁹ and in want of [everything]. Wherefore, come]
215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical power of aerial daimon [and] fate.⁴⁰ Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHËZOPHÖIM ZADËAGËÖBËPHIA-
220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKÖTHÖÖËË ACHTHÖNÖN / SA ISAK CHÖËIOURTHASIÖ IÖSIA ICHËMEÖÖÖÖ AÖAEI, rescue me in an hour of need.”

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.⁴¹

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms) is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz’s reading *ἰσχνῶ νύψ* is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom (“son of your own loins”), an idiom formed in Greek from the word *ἰσχνον* (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to “part of the body.” [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35:11; 1 Kgs 8:19; Acts 2:30; Heb 7:5, 10. See furthermore PGM IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Doxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. “δόξα,” 4.

39. The translation of *ἄβου[λος]* follows Preisendanz (“ratos”). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42:6, 12; 43:5; Jon 4:9 LXX: Sir 37:2; Mk 14:34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in PGM here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l’antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l’argumentation morale anti-fataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, ²1974); H. O. Schröder, “Fatum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1969):524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

***Indispensable invisibility spell:** Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled⁴² by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive⁴³ and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: “I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ ĒAŌ,” and moisten it and say in addition: “Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAĒ EIE ĒAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA.” 225 230

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

***Memory spell:** Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic⁴⁴ myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off⁴⁵ into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount. 235

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: “KAMBRĒ CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOCHA LINOCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY ĒĒ EE ŌŌ.” After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed. 240

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,⁴⁶ spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write. 245

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

***Tested spell for invisibility:** A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,⁴⁷ say the spell as follows: “I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,⁴⁸ I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.⁴⁹ Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me.” 250 255

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men. 260

42. The pellet (“that which is rolled”) of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also PGM VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads *φακνίνου*, which Preisendanz emends to *(ὀμ)φακνίνου*. For similar expressions, see PGM IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidt, GGA 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37): 1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, “destroyed (him).” [M.W.M.] Cf. DMP col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

“O lord Apollo, come with Paian.⁵⁷

Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
Whene’er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ

300

And you, MICHAËL, who rule heaven’s realm,
I call, and you, archangel GABRIËL.

Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world,

305

All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.

I adjure God’s head,⁵⁸ which is Olympos;

I adjure God’s signet, which is vision;

I adjure the right hand you held o’er the world;

I adjure God’s bowl containing wealth;

I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;

/ I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS;

310

I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:

I adjure these holy and divine names that

They send me the divine spirit and that it

Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.

/ Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n⁵⁹

315

And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell

[Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].

Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,

Who moves by night to orders ’neath your force,

From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /

In total truth all that my mind designs,

320

And send him gentle, gracious, pondering

No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not

Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard

That my whole body come to light intact,

For you yourself arranged these things among

Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name,

325

In number equal to the very Moirai,

ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIËIAËIA

AIËIAËIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA.”⁶⁰

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy, about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease, about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

330

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words “Ἀναξ . . . σὺν Παϊῶνι form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. PGM II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, “I adjure (you by) God’s head,” here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means “Thoth the great.” [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel, which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:⁶¹

“Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O elder-born, self-generating god.
I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
I adjure your pow’r which is greatest o’er all; /
I adjure him who destroys e’en in Hades,
That you depart, returning to your ship,
And harm me not, but be forever kind.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

“... AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A” (speak the whole name thus, in wing formation).¹

“O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
Come joyous, Leto’s son, who works afar,
Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
Foretell, give prophecies amid night’s hour,²
5 ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA”³ (speak this name too, / leaving off one letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):⁴

“If e’er with vict’ry-loving laurel branch
Here from your holy peak you often voiced
Words of good omen, so may you now speed
Your way to me with truthful oracles,

LAETONION and TABARAÖTH AEÖ EÖ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night, who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons, help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus.”

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and together with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you come in from the prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of frankincense in the wick of the lamp: “BOASOCH⁵ OĒAĒ IAÖIĒ ŌIAĒ ŌIAĒ NICHAROPLEX / STHOM ÖTHÖ . . . Y IE IÖ ĒI LAĒL IRMOUCH ÖNOR ÖEYE IYÖ EAÖ SABAÖTH
15 THEÖTĒ PAÖMIACH SIEOU IAÖ IE IEÖ . . . IOY IEÖY IÖ IĒI ĒÖ IĒAI IEÖA A E Ē I O Y Ö.”

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god’s self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also PGM I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see PGM I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply (KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA) and (A) at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at PGM IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. PGM I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.⁶ Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a “breathing stone,” the heart of a hoopoe⁷ (also known as the “vulture cock”). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum. 20

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass’s milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs⁸ of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and 25 twelve right-whorled⁹ pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censer¹⁰ of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,¹¹ and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down 30 to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],¹² and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin “BOLSOCH,” etc.¹³

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: “YESSEMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOËRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE” / (write 12 names). 35

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear. 40

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

*The character is:*¹⁴ *ℓ*

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of 45

6. σύνθεμα as a variant of σύνθημα may also have the meaning of “token” or “sign.”

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. κλάδος is normally to be translated “branch,” but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. “Twig” may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. δεξιούς is either “right-turning” or simply “perfect in shape.” Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. θυμιατήριον is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for “altar.”

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (ⲁ), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads εν πιννηλι. . . . Preisendanz suggests πίννη λι[τῆ], “with a simple, or plain, pen” (taking πίννη as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, l. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below¹⁵ on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one
 50 who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse¹⁶ / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: “ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus.” /

55 If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,¹⁷ and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,¹⁸ chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

60 Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–183

65 **An alternative procedure:* Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: “[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A”¹⁹; the other: “SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A.”¹⁹

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,²⁰ while you begin with a sacred utterance. *This is as follows:*
 70 And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it,
 75 anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice²¹ is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, PGM II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. *γυμναζομένω* means literally “trained” or “practiced.” But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy’s sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of *ἀφθόρῳ* here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 Sm 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in “wing formation,” leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See I. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, “in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes.”

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and “Hermes’ finger.” You shall also speak into the lamp the following: “PERPHAËNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH²² PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU.”

*The operative name*²³ is: “AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian.”

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,²⁴ 80
when the moon is in Gemini:

*Fourth Invocation:*²⁵

“Laurel,²⁶ Apollo’s holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.”

85

(Speak while the sun is rising).

*Greeting formula:*²⁷

“Hail, fire’s dispenser, world’s far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,²⁸
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

90

22. MENCHTHŌTH is equivalent to *mnē Dhwty*, “Thoth is excellent/beneficent.” [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.*

74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαίρε*, “hail,” which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαίρε-τισμός*, “greeting formula.” See on this A. Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, “I call upon you . . .,” may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλ(έ)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *δωπετής* properly means “fallen from Zeus or heaven,” referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply “divine.” Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. “*δωπετής*,” Betz, *Lukian* 168 n. 2.

- With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
 And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
 For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
 To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
 Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
 Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
 Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
 95 Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
 From heav'n, whenc'er she hears the crack of whip
 That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
 AAAAAA EEEEEEE ÊÊÊÊÊÊÊ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ;
 O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
 Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
 To earth, Icios, hair wreathed with ivy.
 And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
 100 To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
 ÊPHTHISIKÊRE, and hail, Moirai three,
 Klotho and Atropos and Lachis²⁹ too.
 I call you,³⁰ who are great in heav'n, airlike,
 Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
 Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
 you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and
 who light up the whole inhabited world;³¹ you who have designated the various
 105 living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe³² in
 the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the figure
 of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names,
 SESENGENBARPHARANGÊS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred
 falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXANAX;
 110 NAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail
 of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east
 you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you
 quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself
 115 as god in truth, ÎÔ ÎÔ ERBÊTH / ZAS³³ SABAÔTH SMARTH ADÔNAI SOUMARTA IALOU
 BABLA YAM MOLÊENTHIÔ PETOTOUBIÊTH IARMÎÔTH LAILAMPS CHÔOUCH³⁴ AR-
 SENOPHRÊ EU PHTHA ÊÔLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the
 120 day, NATHMAMEÔTH; you who rise as an infant,³⁵ / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who
 traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see PGM III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject H. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," *ZÄS* 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apulcius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* 11. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. PGM XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

33. Zas is an old name for Zeus. See also PGM XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

34. CHÔOUCH is equivalent to Egyptian *kky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

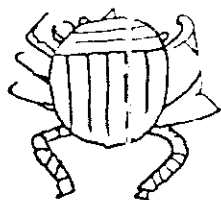
35. See on this point PGM II. 102 and n.

yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator³⁶ of many things, SESEN-
GENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommes, Kommes IASPHĒ³⁷
IASPHĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN / SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI ARSAMŌSI 125
NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEX-
ANAXETHRELUOŌTHNEMAREBA, the most great and mighty god. I am he, NN,
who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of
your most great name, of which the number is 9,999: IĒ IE IA IĀE IAE IEY IĒA IŌA
IEY / IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EĒE EĒE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO 130
YYY ŌŌŌ IY EY OY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE IĒA IOY IŌE IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒIE; Paian,³⁸
Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia; IĒEA IĒ IŌ
IY / IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYIE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE 135
EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor . . . AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ
ŌĒA EŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IŌA IĀE IEŌY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH
PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH;³⁹ I summon you, Apollo of
Klaros, / EĒY; Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian, ŌAE; Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI.” 140

Preparation for the rite: On the first day, [collect] nails of a sheep; on the sec-
ond, the nails of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as
burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet
come, / make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died vio- 145
lently, and light a lamp from pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas, beseech-
ing and exhorting the god to come with good will; let your place be cleansed of all
pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it
is very great and irresistible.

/ *Rite:* Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you are 150
observing ritual purity, and having thus smeared on the mud, write the following
inscription with a bronze stylus on the right-hand doorpost.⁴⁰

What is to be written is as follows: “𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 2 ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA 𐤀
ĒI ĒI IA IA IE ĒY / ABRASAX LERTHEMINŌTH.” Similarly on the left-hand doorpost: 155
“𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 IŌE EŌA ĒIEA IALA IE IAIĒEA HARPON KNOUPHI” (formula).⁴¹



On the upper part of the door: “𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 AA EE 160
MICHAĒL ĒIA EYŌ YAE EYŌ IAE.” Below the door, [inscribe]
the scarab, as it stands / here,⁴² having anointed it with the
blood of a goat, outside your bedchamber. Let the throne be
purified, and upon it a linen cloth, and beneath it a foot-
stool. Inscribe on the throne, on the underside: “IĒ IEA
IOAY DAMNAMENEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA; lord of the

36. The papyrus reads πολυφωτιστα (cf. LSJ, s.v. πολυφωτίστης), a reasonably well-formed word only attested here. However, in view of the genitive ὑδάτων following the *vax magica*, which seems to need a governing noun, Preisendanz emends to πολύφω(τε κ)τίστα.

37. For similar formulas see PGM V. 485; XII. 80; XIII. 805ff.; XXI. 25. The formula beginning “ABERAMEN . . .” (see Glossary) should be read in Preisendanz’s text as a long palindrome.

38. The following text has many epithets of the god Apollo. Cf. PGM II. 139–40; III. 251; VI. 24–25. See I. 263 and n.

39. The spacing of this formula has been changed to conform to the spacing of the same formula found elsewhere in the PGM (see I. 141–42; III. 77–78, 151–52, etc.).

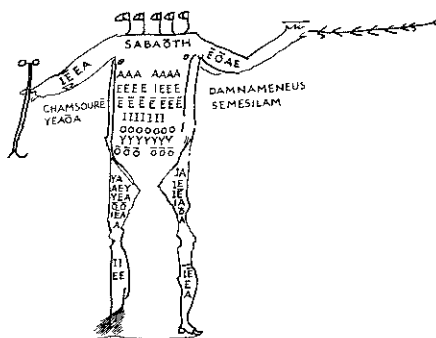
40. For the ritual concerning the doorposts cf. the Jewish *mezuzah*, for which see Ex 12:7, 22–23; Dt 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen* 152; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* II, 479–80 (with additional references).

41. For the whole formula, see PGM I. 27.

42. The papyrus has *ωσπεριεχει*, which Preisendanz emends to read *ὡς περιέχει*, but the meaning is not clear.

- 165 Muses, / be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevo-
lent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance.”

170



This figure is to be / in-
scribed on a piece of clothing
belonging to one who has died
violently, and is to be cast into
a pure lamp.

175 SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS / ŌĒIA IŌAE

- After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in
a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove's blood round about, make a burnt offering of
myrrh, and say, "Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIŔŌCH KIMNOIE
180 EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU / SARBOENDOBAIACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off,
lord, to your seats, to your palace, leaving me strength and the right of audience
with you."

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 81–87; 88–101).

PGM III. 1–164

*[Take a] cat, and [make] it into an *Esiēs* [by submerging] its body in water. While
you are drowning it, speak [the formula] to [its] back.

The formula during the drowning [is as follows]:

- 5 "Come hither to me, you who are in control of the form of Helios, you the
cat- / faced god,¹ and behold your form being mistreated by [your] opponents,²
[them,] NN, so that you may revenge yourself upon them, and accomplish [the]
10 NN deed, because I am calling upon you, O sacred spirit. Take on / strength and
vigor against your enemies, them, NN, because I am conjuring you by your names,
BARBATHIAŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH NIABŌAITHABRAB³ SESENGENBARPHARARGĒS . . .
PHREIMI; raise yourself up for me, O cat-faced god, and perform the NN deed"
(add the usual).

- 15 / Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus,⁴ one for . . . , and one
for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean⁵ sheet of

1. The goddess addressed here is Sekhmet-Bastet, well known from Egyptian magical texts. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, nos. 5, 13–15, 18, 20, 124; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* 264–67; E. Otto, "Bastet," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 628–30.

2. For this type of accusation, see PGM III. 113–14; IV. 2475 and n.

3. The letters BARBATHIAŌBAINCHŌŌŌCHNIABŌAITHABRAB form a palindrome. BAINCHŌŌŌCH ("soul of Khukh," the god of darkness) is often read separately, but is adapted to this form for numerological reasons: the formula adds up to 3663.

4. That is, "one [to be placed] in its anus." Preisendanz in the second case restores ἐν τῷ στόματι, but this is in conflict with the other restoration in l. 67 below: [. . . διὰ τῶν καμ[αρῶν], "through the carholes."

5. "Clean" is meant regularly in PGM in a descriptive sense, i.e., previously unused or "free" from imperfections, etc. See LSJ, s.v. "καθαρός," 3a. For detailed description regarding papyrus, see Pliny, *NH* 13. 68–89, and R. Wünsch, "Charta," *PRE* 3 (1899): 2185–92.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and chariotcers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.⁶ Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.⁷ / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

“Angel, . . . [SĒMEA], chthonic / . . . lord⁸ (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTÖRĒ;⁹ hold . . . restrain . . . , PHÖKENSEPSEUARE[K-TATHOUMISONKTAI],¹⁰ for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHÖCHA EIN CHOUCHEÖCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIÖR EUÖR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed” (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: “I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,¹¹ Mistress of corpses,¹² Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,¹³ LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYÖR;¹⁴ I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;¹⁵ come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACH-AXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BALACHACHYCH BAZĒTÖPHÖTH / BAINCHÖÖCH ANI-BÖÖ CHÖCHE . . . PHIÖCHEN GĒBRÖCHTHÖ MYSAGAÖTH CHEÖÖ . . . Ö¹⁶ SABAÖTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHÖCH]AXIN CHOUCHEÖCH.”

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: “IAEÖ” /

6. *μονότωρ* is a late word for *μονόμπτυξ*, “horse with a single frontlet,” i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Sethian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. PGM IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976): 772–75 s.v. “*εὐφραίνω*.”

8. The papyrus reads . . . *ονε*. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, “drivers,” but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from PGM III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. “*ἄρκυια*,” as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), “the netter” is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκρία* is also attested in this sense only in PGM IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. *ΑΜΟΥ* at the beginning is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματώδης* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. PGM XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώδη*.

16. A plausible restoration is *IAÖ* in that *IAÖ* and *SABAÖTH* form a common pairing in the PGM.

60

[AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPTHNAI]-
YIANTHPIRKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.¹⁷

65 / On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],¹⁸ there should
be this: "TREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLEAEXANAXETHRELTHYŌETHNEMA-
70 REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

Right skeletal figure:

[Left skeletal figure]:



"IŌ ERBĒTH
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
IŌ APOMPS
75 IŌ PATATHNAX
IŌ AKOUBIA
IŌ SĒTH
PHŌKENSEPSEU-
AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,
80 Perform the NN deed"
(add the usual, what-
ever you wish).

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of
this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me,
and perform the NN [deed] both on this very
day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself /
for me against my enemies, NN, and perform
NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you
by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the
great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA
CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌ-
CHŌ BŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA

AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA
DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE]¹⁹ THORTOEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *καί*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

the tiller of the lord god,²⁰ rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,²¹ and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLÖ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter” (add your additional requests).²² Proceed toward the sunset²³ and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: “Halt, halt the sacred boat,²⁴ steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THON-TOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,²⁵ THON-TOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS²⁶ . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Harken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOU-BRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “for it is those same people who have mistreated²⁷ your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue²⁸ / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,²⁹ MASKELLI MASKELLÖ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!”

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: “Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS³⁰ PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See PGM III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, “for other uses.” Cf. the list of uses at PGM XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. PGM III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, “established and beautiful,” an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see PGM III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is “by the Hebrew sound” and refers to the vowel combinations with IŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, “Jahwe-Name und Zauberen,” in his *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of “barbaric language” (ῥῆσις βαρβαρικῇ) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in PGM IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. “Satis.”

- perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
 135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,³¹ gold-gleaming, / shining
 with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the
 day, who set in the west³² of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,³³ circle-
 140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO³⁴ / EMPHE . . . IR,
 the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH
 PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,³⁵ the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole
 inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSOEI Ō PSOEI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
 145 TĒROU;³⁶ / I adjure you by the Egg.³⁷ I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam.
 Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god
 ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURĪĒL, by the
 150 god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AK-
 RAMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)³⁸ PHNESKĒR
 PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
 155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augments of fire and of much
 light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of
 all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
 160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the
 whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed" [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: *A charm to re-
 strain charioteers in a race, a charm for sending dreams, a binding love charm,
 and a charm to cause separation and enmity.*

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of
 which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot
 races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the
 spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the
 appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

- 165 *Take [some] water cress,³⁹ 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the
 plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
 170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: "AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISIRO . . .
 OUSIREN [TECHTHA⁴⁰ . . .]L, I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither φιλομαντοσύνης nor χρυσοπρόσωπος is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading λιβυβόρω, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means "west."

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vox magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in PGM IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the
 form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in PGM IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is
 an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *hm̄f*, "his shrine." Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in
 PGM XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 šy ʿ3 p3 šy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, "Good Daimon,
 Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!" PSOETŌ should be the usual PSALAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. PGM XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seelen und
 Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of PGM I. 141–42; II. 138–
 39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [.]α[.] δαμινον, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ] δαμινον, an unat-
 tested adjectival form of κάρδαμον, "nose-smart" (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However,
 Schmidt, GGA 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ] σάμινον, "balsam wood." Cf. PGM XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also PGM VII. 257. The name corresponds to
 Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in
 the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. "Chen-
 rehtai." [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . . of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of the important matter of mine.” 175

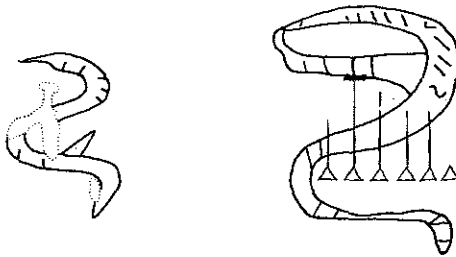
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly papyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [ouroboros]⁴¹ serpent . . . “ÖTE . . . IAM . . . GRASÖ-CHÖ . . . NÖPSITHER THERNÖPSI . . .” 180

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of PGM III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

* Pound up dry fruit (?)⁴² with a pestle (?)⁴³ and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. 190
Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod⁴⁴ before him. Then he will bring about⁴⁵ your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,⁴⁶ as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks. 195

The drawing of the tripod:



*This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:*⁴⁷

“Keep silent, everyone, the voice that’s in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o’er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].” 200

41. Supplying [οὐροβ]ορος in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. τὰ ξυρά. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, ξυρόν, “cutting, dry, sharp.” But perhaps we are to understand simply ξύλα, “pieces of wood,” assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has σχομπανον, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to κομπανον, “strawberry tree,” a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read κοπάνον, “pestle,” the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician’s basic equipment (see PGM IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future τελει instead of imperative τέλει. The phrase that follows (τρανής τῇ ὁμιλ[λ]ίῃ) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. PGM II. 83–84, where ὁμιλῶν is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo’s epiphany cf. Callimachus, Hy. 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

- Now, birds of augury, stop everything
 Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
 The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
 205 [Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
 Itself's astonished by the secret words.
 King Semea,⁴⁸ [father] of the world, be gracious
 To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
 Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
 To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
 Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
 210 Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
 Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
 Of Zeus, divine ΙΑΘ; and you, too,
 Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAËL],
 Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
 O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
 O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAËL], your helper,⁴⁹ /
 215 Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
 Of Zeus, and who has both exalted⁵⁰ nature
 And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
 And I call . . . of the immortals . . .
- ΟΡΑΣΕΕΡΑ ΣΕΣΕ[NGENB]ΑΡΦΑΡΑΓΓΕΣ:
 All-mighty is the god, but you are⁵¹ greatest,
 Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
 220 Lord of the world, ΣΑΒΑΘΘΗ, / who veil⁵² sunset
 From dawn, ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, who, being a world,
 Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
 Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
 To those who with a cry raise you at night.⁵³
- ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑΧ[ΑΡΙ], ΚΑ . . . Κ . . .
 225 Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
 Of untamed Stryx and Death the Arbiter.

48. The name Semea also appears at *PGM* III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; *PDM* xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἀ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ι]χαήλ, which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαήλ σου ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. *PGM* I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wünsch, is preferable to δειξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whatever is written must govern φύσιν in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as azeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fahz reads ἐσσι in lieu of ἐστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaut"). Cf. *PGM* I. 303, ἐπισκοπάζεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god's seal,⁵⁴ at whom all deathless
 Gods of Olympos quake and daimons who
 Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
 Is ordered to be silent when it hears.⁵⁵
 You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /

ΑΕΪΙΟΥΩ."

230

Also say this: "Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about every-
 thing which I order him to speak about." And he will bring this about.

*This is also [another] hymn:*⁵⁶

"I⁵⁷ sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
 Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one,
 O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying⁵⁸ [youth],
 Dodona's [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
 I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
 Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
 [With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
 [O well]-named Phoibos . . .

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/ . . . ruler absolute . . .

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Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
 Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
 O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god,
 Cease grow . . .

245

A greater light, for he will learn . . .
 From lips divine; someone . . . to arouse
 The seer with plectrum⁵⁹ . . .
 But come you hither, prophesying; come,
 Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus,
 Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
 Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
 For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
 In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
 Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
 They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
 O maiden who exult in tones divine
 And oracles / . . . heaven's runner,⁶⁰ light bearer,
 Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

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54. O, "I adjure you [by] the god's seal." See PGM I. 306 and n.

55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with ἀκούει, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]

56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]

57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]

58. The papyrus has]ωλετοκτυπε, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [Πυθ]ολετοκτύπε. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: Πυθολκτόνος, "Python slayer," and Πυθολέτης, "Python destroyer."

59. On the instrument called πλῆκτρον, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* I. 5. 3. [W.B.]

60. Read οὐρ(αν)οδρόμει for papyrus ουροδρομει, which is meaningless. For this epithet see I. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian.”

- 260 *Dismissal*: [“Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, / leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]”
*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

- ***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue]⁶¹ before you speak to anyone.⁶² Say these things along with the [great name]: / “make me know in advance the things in each person’s mind, today, [because] I am TOM . . . IAŌ SABAŌTH IAŌ THĒAĒĒTH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAŌ . . . EA THŌĒ IABRABA ARBATHRAS[IAŌ] BATHIAŌŌIA ZAGOURĒ BARBATHIAŌ AĒI AAAAAAA EEEEEEE . . . ŌE . . . SOESĒSISIETH . . . SABAŌTH IAEŌ” (formula). If you wish, you will know
270 [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

- And the formula is*: “Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree.” If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.⁶³ Whenever you say the formula,
275 also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AŌTH / SABAŌTH. The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

- *[**Horoscope**]:⁶⁴ Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divination . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invocation . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . OTŌ or love charm; in Sagittarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . .
280

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . beyond measure. . . .

- Rite that brings foreknowledge**, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] / subservient:⁶⁵ In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish.

- [But speak thus:] “Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel]⁶⁶ of Phoibos, you
290 yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms.”

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:⁶⁷

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see PGM IV. 1745–46. Cf. also V. 253–54.

62. Cf. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: “(in the morning) before you speak to anyone.”

63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it “Zodiakalkreis.” In the parallel passage in PGM VII. 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates “Kreislauf des Mondes.”

65. Cf. PGM IV. 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term “angel” can also be read as “messenger.”

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

ZC76Θδ'Λ. Cover the tripod with clean linen, / and place a censer on the tripod.
It is advantageous⁶⁸ to place on the table a [hollow figurine] of Apollo out of laurel wood. Engrave [on a lamella] of gold, of silver, or of tin these characters:
ΘΣϜ⌘⌚⌛⌞⌟⌠⌡. Place the lamella under the censer, near / the wooden image,
which was set up [at the same time as the] censer, and place [next to] the tripod a
beaker or a shell containing [pure] water. In the center of the shrine, surrounding
the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character. . . It is
necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod]
must be / covered. [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white]
garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel,⁶⁹ which on the head . . . worm-wood . . .
[before the] invocation, sacrifice laurel to him . . . [during the] sacrifice / honor the [god]
with paian[s] [directed to the sunrise]. . . ask . . . [cardamom] . . . holy god . . . [almond blossom] . . . from balsam . . / and taking . . .
my thought . . / a buttercup, after taking, taste . . . four-footed. . . .

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But the formula that is recited is . . . if you wish [to know], say these things which are in the . . . god and all such prophetic . . . worm in . . . as for ten days. Mixing . . . / . the heart [with] honey. [Recite] this formula toward the sunrise, 325 [and] you will know in advance during the hour [and during this] day. [After sacrificing,] make a drink offering with dark wine . . . middle . . . say: "Make me know in advance each of the . . . from . . . and . . . toward the sunrise early / [to know] 330 each of the men [and] to know in advance [what things] each has in his mind [and] all their essence."

Single-shooted wormwood, with a single stem, born of the sun, born of the moon⁷⁰ . . . fruit pulp of the lotus, houseleek, a turnip; [wait for] the sunrise in your house fasting. During the third hour finger . . . / . [your] face, say: "[TH]Ō-OU[TH] PIŌPIŌ⁷¹ AUAPS THŌOUTH . . . ARS . . . KENON ŌOUN PACHEN NO . . . TOOU Ê . . . T ARSASŌTA YNASPOR . . . THA P . . . MNĒPHIELŌKNĒMEŌ, give to me from your effluence."

[To] the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day [say:] "Come to me, greatest archangel; come to me XASR XAM [THŌ]OUT . . . come to me, ruler / of reality, ĒMI 340
THĒ . . . BA THŌOUTH THEŌREI . . . ENĒN PAUPIOU PSIBIOAU ABLANATHANALBA
. . . AMOAMMA. Give to me, NN, memory . . . sō . . . I may know all things and I
may understand the things above the. . . ."

... toward the sunrise MASÈS . . . saying thus: "I am [the lord] of the sea. Make
all things . . . / all things [that will be, so that] I know in advance. Reveal this, the 345
concerns of all men and what things will be . . . TŌOUT ANG⁷² . . . SA . . . OUT ANG

68. Fahz and Preisendanz take *καλόν* as modifying *θυμιατήριον*, "a beautiful censer." Here *καλόν* has been taken with *ἔστιν κτλ.*, and the text has been punctuated accordingly. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 2520 and Bauer, s.v. "καλός," 3.a.

69. The text at this point has many lacunae, and the reconstruction is uncertain. Fahz and Preisendanz take the reference to the garments and the laurel to refer to the god who is seen.

70. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιόγονος, σεληνόγονος* translates these epithets accordingly. However, since *selēnagonon* is attested as a plant (peony) and since a plant name would be appropriate here, one should perhaps translate “peony.” “Sun-born” is not attested as a plant name.

71. ΘΗΟΟΥΤΗ ΠΙΘ ΠΙΘ (cf. also l. 340) is equivalent to Egyptian *Dhwtwy p3 3 p3 3*, "Thoth the twice-great." Cf. PGM IV. 19. For this title of Thoth, see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 158–60; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75. [R. K. R.]

72. Following G. Möller (see the apparatus in Preisendanz ad loc.) this short section can also be read as Coptic: "[I am] Thoṯ; I am Sa[.]out; I am Em[...e]on; I am Alaboul[.....]lōrai; I am (?) Natreko; [..m]..... is your [true] name [...]." [M.W.M.]

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL . . . ”

- . . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . .
 350 ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . . / . just now. . . ”
 . . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . “CHŌLŌM
 355 CHŌL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord. . . ”
 360 . . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . . / . anoint
 . . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . .
 365 you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often
 repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . .
 [the formula], the beginning of which is: “Cause me to know, in order that . . . ”⁷³
 370 the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand accord-
 ing to . . . formula.”

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh formula: “Do for me the things that are written. . . ”

- To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . .
 375 pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . . / . fresh, pleasing, happily as
 . . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily
 . . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the
 egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a
 380 place⁷⁴ or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inac-
 cessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season’s flowers . . .
 to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white
 bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest
 385 cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the
 lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following for-
 mula, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . .
 after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving
 390 advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . . / saying seven times
 . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master
 . . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth
 and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: “Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . ”

- . . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: “I conjure those with com-
 395 plete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who
 [created the universe]” . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to]
 a holy . . . ”⁷⁵

- 400 “ . . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name
 405 which . . . who makes . . . / . Gabriel, Michael, PYAOUËTE . . . NETETETET . . . the
god (?) TAAIAIAIAIALOP . . . ĒL.” Seven times you say . . . then say one time or
 three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

- 410 *Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god⁷⁶ sets. Take cow’s milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered “a grave.” Cf. LSJ, s.v. “*τόπος*,” 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.⁷⁷ Put down a clean vessel⁷⁸ and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.⁷⁹ Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[*It is*]: “BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAA I IY EI AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ EOĀ AŌĒ EOĀ ŌĒA, 415
enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM ĒĒĒ MTHPH.” Do this monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the goddess,⁸⁰ and wear the tablet as an amulet.



The name of the soul of god is: “EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTHZ blood.” Write these things with a copper stylus: “I am KŌOU BŌOU PĈŌSM . . . HOUIT⁸¹ . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RENIM E GEINNA⁸² EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO.”⁸³ Speak into your 420
hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift: ⁸⁴ “SILIBANAGOU-NACHAOUĒL. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

*A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory: Take a kakouphon,⁸⁵ / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey 425
when the goddess⁸⁶ approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,⁸⁷ mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times, once while tasting with the forefinger, this *formula*:

“Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen, the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [to-day’s] activities.”

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .⁸⁸ 430

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has *καταχεάσα[ς]*, “pour it,” which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests *καταλέάζειν* on the basis of Hesychius’ *ἀλεάζειν*, “to heat up.” The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds (*εἰς*), “into,” which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., “put it [into] a clean vessel.”

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *pĉsm* [*pe*]/*houit*, “the first darkness.” [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning “Jesus our great one.” [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. PGM IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, “La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques,” in his *L’Idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term PGM II. 18 and n.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN] KANTHARA (add the usual).⁸⁹ [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;⁹⁰ on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOES EIRE CHRY-SOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSAITHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name],
 435 ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;⁹¹ on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA ORE-OBAZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPHARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [wanes], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has
 440 been tested / by Manethon,⁹² [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . and . . . the sun: "Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM] ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ÊLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA. . . ."

445 . . . [Foreknowledge] . . . Moses . . . and . . . / for memory, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: ". . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ
 450 SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAE." . . . / . . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chattering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [take] these and
 455 crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

" . . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I"

460 . . . pray to him. But . . . / but a swallow⁹³ of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . *formula*, which you say: "Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . ."

465 . . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semiteritian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

470 *Memory spell: Take first . . . 2 calf's snouts, "Hermes' finger" . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: "[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACHAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction "add the usual" (*κουρά*) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. "She-wolf" is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also PGM IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Manetho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also PGM XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, "Manetho," *LdA* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. [J.S.]

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . 475
in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime.”
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm:** Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of 480
the heavenly circle: “The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assem-
bly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to “prognosti-
cate” the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

**Another [copy]:* “. . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT 485
NPRŌME,⁹⁴ [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who
took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behead. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

**Another:* Take a wing . . . / “AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ 490
[PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended
to PGM III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

*[**Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios.** A procedure for every [rite], for
[all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: “[Come,] come to me 495
from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every
ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, be-
cause I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what 500
your name is.”⁹⁵

“In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree]
you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;⁹⁶ the bird . . . your name is
PHROUER.⁹⁷

“In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the
persea; the stone, the pottery stone;⁹⁸ / the bird, the halouchakon;⁹⁹ on land, the 505
ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

“In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree;
the stone, the *samouchos*;¹⁰⁰ the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is
AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

“In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the 510

94. This is Coptic and means “to the man.” [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomor-
phic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun’s creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this
Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. PGM II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means “invisible stone” (clear quartz?).
[J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for “Pre the great.” [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with *ψαμμούχος*,
a sandstone (not attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads *γεννᾶς δένδρον [καὶ] λίθον*, “you produce a tree [and] stone.” This should prob-
ably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,¹⁰¹ the amethyst;¹⁰² the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

“In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

515 “In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;¹⁰³ on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is ELAU AKRI LYX. . . .

“[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] 520 . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;¹⁰⁴ / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

“In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

525 “In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

“In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon’s neck; [the bird]. . . .

530 / “In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

535 “. . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACH-RAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ¹⁰⁵ KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

“I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,¹⁰⁶ guarded the holy place of 540 the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored¹⁰⁷ widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me 545 the lord’s fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌ-RIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANIX KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOULĒALABAĒNEREDEMŌU.”

550 “Come¹⁰⁸ to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies *παυδέρως* as an opal (NH 37. 84) or an amethyst (NH 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, *LCL* edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means “glass fish.” [M.S.]

104. The translation of *ἡλιοπάλιος* is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name PGM I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz’s translation as “Auserwählter.”

107. The papyrus reads *κατατετιμημένη[s]*, a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be “despised.” Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation “dishonored” is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis’ husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,¹⁰⁹ created carefully, from water
That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn
Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.¹¹⁰
'Tis by your counsels they attend all things."

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPTHŌ . . .
IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRIN- 560
TATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOU-
MAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS¹¹¹ AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALE ASRISKI . . . OU BRIT-
HEI STOMA,¹¹² master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light, 565
sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN,
graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today,
with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from
every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.¹¹³ From the 570
right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,'
but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPI ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' 575
Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, suste-
nance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing,
goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who 580
see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words,
great god, to the EYAĒŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HAR-
SAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you com-
manded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things be-
loved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord, 585
accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my elo-
quent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the 590
petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.¹¹⁴ We give you thanks with
every soul and heart stretched out to [you],¹¹⁵ unutterable name honored with [the]
appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone¹¹⁶
and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and 595
sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we
might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that
we might know you.¹¹⁷ We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. PGM I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρως (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδινο-
πλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mouth is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. C.H. 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευματίζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and NHC VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHC 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; C.H. 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Grsec, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. I (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

- 600 because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb¹¹⁸ of all knowledge. We have come to know, O womb¹¹⁹ pregnant through the father's be-
 605 getting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father. After bowing thus before your goodness,¹²⁰ we ask no [favor except this]:¹²¹ will that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:¹²² that [we] not
 610 fall away from a [life] such as this. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

- *[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened¹²³ (?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of
 615 your own shadow¹²⁴ / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day, toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] dark-colored palmfiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right
 620 ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

- Having reached the place,¹²⁵ [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and utter the following *formula*: "Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know
 625 your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each hour], and what your name is."¹²⁶

- Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,¹²⁷ and in case he does not [hearken, say]:¹²⁸ "I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your symbols, wherefore, O lord,¹²⁹ cause / my [shadow] to serve me." [And] at the seventh
 630 [hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: "Follow me everywhere!" But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on PGM III. 494–611. This unique spell to acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole *Encounter with Helios* contained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (PGM III. 633–731) belongs with this section, and the mention of the "signs and symbols" in l. 625 connects this spell to the preceding; furthermore, the mention of the "formula given above" (l. 626) must refer to a formula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in PGM III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238. Cf. also PGM V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. Ibid.

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirksc and Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[πέκ]χυτον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restoration ἀ[διά]χυτον, "not softened by cooking"; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for "lucky shadows" (*wd hyb.t*). [R.K.R.] See also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

125. Literally, "treading about in the place."

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appearance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with PGM III. 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect, "And when you are finished, say. . . ." [J.M.D.]

129. The "lord" addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , “Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] . . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEĒĒ]ĒĒIIIIIOOO[OOYYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Praise¹³⁰ be to (?) SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ADŌN BARBARIOT . . . of Lo son of Ouer¹³¹ . . . / whose face is in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram¹³² . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . For [I] am . . . all (repeat).¹³³ I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[ĒĒIOYŌ AEĒI] OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of Shmoun¹³⁴ . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name] . . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual [?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne . . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . [Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you wish). For I am Iethor,¹³⁵ who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name . . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To¹³⁶ is your name . . . father. / You are Earth-shaker,¹³⁷ the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am . . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . .¹³⁸

. . . this day . . . speak to Helios¹³⁸ . . . / on the third day, also to the moon¹³⁹ . . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled¹⁴⁰ to the right. Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will show . . . let him dwell (?)¹⁴¹ for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].¹⁴² So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and

130. Cf. PGM IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUER cf. Egyptian *wr*, “the great one.” [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUT-SRO. Cf. PDM xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus on DMP* col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz's text at l. 682), we are to understand “(add the usual)”; thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian “eye of Horus.”

136. Possibly, *To* is “land”; hence at III. 687 “the great land.”

137. For *κμρτο* cf. PGM IV. 1323; PDM xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selene; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at PGM II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οικείτω* is to be read instead of *οικητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐ[πιτη]δές*, following Schmidt, GGA 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite
 705 the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger]¹⁴³ to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail
 710 and a crook¹⁴⁴ . . . then “ABLANATHANALBA”; in wing . . .¹⁴⁵ / “ABRASAX”: near the back, “OĒAUA . . . ,” and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : “ĒFĒINTOK¹⁴⁶ . . . TE UONĒFIOUOI.” Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . .
 715 on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in
 720 each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before
 725 . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . .
 730 pure. . . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at PGM III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*“SAPHPHAIOR BAEKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the
 5 inexorable one,¹ . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK AN-
 TRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANTH BALA SHOUPLA
 SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the
 10 day of Zeus² in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance³ in the fifth hour: a
 cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.⁴ Praise⁵ be to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the
 lord of embalming, he who is at the south of This, who is honored at Abydos, he
 15 who is under⁶ the noubs tree⁷ in Merouse,⁸ whose glory is in Pashalom.⁹ Praise be
 to Althabot; bring unto to me Sabaoth. / Praise be to Althonai, great Eou, very
 valiant; bring unto me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Praise be to

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύλιον]. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, “in wing formation.”

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *iw.f r in.t.k.*, “He shall bring you.” [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101; on the verb *παπαρεύω*, see Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to *PDM* xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or “under the shade of the noubs tree.”

7. According to Griffith, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the noubs tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. “Meroe.”

9. Cf. also *PDM* xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. Situated to the south of This, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n. 1.

Anubis, of the nome of Hansiese,¹⁰ upon his mountain.¹¹ Praise be to the goddesses—Thoth the great, the great, the wise. Praise be to the gods, / ACHNOUI 20
 ACHAM ABRA ABRA SABAÖTH.¹² For Akshha Shha¹³ is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the under-
 world join him who is in the air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of 25
 the matter about which I ask them” (add the usual) .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in PGM IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

*Initiation:¹⁴ Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. / On two bricks¹⁵ standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood 30
 (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which 35
 [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around¹⁶ the altar before the sun appears).¹⁷ When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with your knees]¹⁸ and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and 40
 drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what’s left of the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the clothes you have on, walk backwards¹⁹ out of the water, and, after changing into fresh garments, / depart without turning round.²⁰ After this, take bile from an owl, 45
 rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be complete. But if you can’t get hold of an owl, use an ibis’s egg and a falcon’s feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get 50
 the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, “house of the son of Isis.” See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for “Lord, Lord of Hosts;” ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. “four”) designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubermagie* 126; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or “JEAKSHHA SHHA”; but cf. *PGM* IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula “for . . . is my name” or “for I am. . . .”

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, “Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or “dig a trench around,” which may in fact mean “walk around” and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, “Circumambulation,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase “with your knees” is a conjecture based on *PGM* IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at *PGM* I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances *PGM* VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot’s wife (Gn 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly
 55 half / of your food in a turquoise²¹ vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by
 60 abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section
 of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels.
 Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he²² can get
 there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw
 out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two
 65 cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung
 beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has
 not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so
 that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have
 70 thrown out the morsels, gone to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one
 you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will
 try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he
 gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of
 purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7
 75 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing
 out the food). Keep it secret: “You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?)
 face,²³ come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven.”

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a pregnant woman, / write the name²⁴ given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it
 80 about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. *Here is what is to be written:*
 “SHTËIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose.”

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: “Harko, Harko is my name;
 Harko is my true name.”

85 Guard these instructions / well. *The rite:* an onion.²⁵

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

**Phylactery against daimons:*²⁶ “HOMENOS OHK KOURIËL IAPHËL, deliver” (add the usual), “EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAUUCHE.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faience. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. “He” is the one summoned (l. 70), but “he” is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The “name” may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts “name” often means “full title.” The Greek *προνοκείμενον* normally means “given above,” but it can also be read as meaning “set forth below.” This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, “Use the procedure that involves an onion.”

26. Or “For those possessed by daimons,” which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένο(ν)ς*. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with OHK is separated by a space and *-ζομενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

* **Another,**²⁷ to **Helios:** Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,²⁸ then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,²⁹ and standing behind him say the *formula*: 90

“I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth.”

*Tr.: W. C. Gress and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

* Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday³⁰ in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs. 95

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, “O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!”

She said [to him], “He is not with me,³¹ O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother’s son.” 100

He said to her, “Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis.”

She [said] to him, “It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself.”³² 105

He said to her, “Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.³³ There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,³⁴ and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me.” 110

“/ Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,³⁵ every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne³⁶ and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Rise up to the kings of Alchah,³⁷ speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN³⁸ whom NN has borne, and I shall send 115 120

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. PGM IV. 1–25, 52–85). In fact, the spell is specifically a “divination using a boy,” for which cf. PGM VII. 348–58; also *Test. Sol.* I. 3.

28. Cf. for this phrase PDM xiv. 96.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. PDM xiv. 1219.

31. Or “It is not of my doing.”

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356E–F. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 316–17.

33. Cf. PDM xiv. 628.

34. Cf. PDM xiv. 440–41.

35. Or “sighing.”

36. Cf. PDM xiv. 656–58.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *‘rq-ḥḥ*, “Alxai”) and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See PGM XIVb, 12–15 (in the context of PDM xiv. 451–58). [R.K.R.]

38. Or “every god (after NN).”

125 her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;³⁹ I am the Great
son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon
King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you
130 may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her
heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day.”

If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she
135 is distressed⁴⁰ and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to
come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health⁴¹ and is
returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is dis-
tressed⁴² or even dying.

“Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.].
140 Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two
bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the
light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has
borne.”

[Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about
145 women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

“When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I
will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I
150 will bewitch / her 365 members,⁴³ I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I de-
sire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of
what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately.

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

155 *Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great
god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,⁴⁴
I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical
160 procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have
tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation.
You will observe through bowl divination⁴⁵ on whatever day or night you want, in
165 whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from
the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain⁴⁶
both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on
other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First,
170 attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided
it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, PGM III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or “lovesick.”

41. That is, “unafflicted” by the love charm.

42. Or “lovesick.”

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In PGM the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. “Abrasax”), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (PGM VII. 452–53).

44. Or “an expert magician,” as σοφιστής applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, “Λεκανομαντεία,” *PRE* 12 (1925): 1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that οἶσεις is a late future form of οἶδα. Perhaps one should emend the text to read ὄψεις, “you will see.” However, the future of φέρω can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where “carry off as a prize,” “win,” “gain,” etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.⁴⁷ And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. *Prayer*:⁴⁸

“O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm 175

Above and master, god of gods, O lord 180

ABERAMENTHŌOU (formula),

O dark’s disturber, thunder’s bringer, whirlwind,

Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,

Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of

The waves, disturber of the sea’s great depth, /

IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAU I MĒNI, 185

I’m He⁴⁹ who searched with you the whole world and

Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.

I’m he who joined you in war with the gods

(but others say, “’gainst the gods”).

I’m he who closed / heav’n’s double gates and put 190

To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,

Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents

Where’er you rule this realm. And as your soldier

I have been conquered by the gods, I have

Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /

Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore; 195

Thrown me not on the ground, O lord of gods,

AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,⁵⁰

O grant me power, I beg, and give to me

This favor, so that, whensoe’r I tell

One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /

Swiftly to me in answer to my chants, 200

NAIN E BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTŌU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAU-

APTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARA-

MEI IAO ATHTHARAUI MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAU I MĒNI CHARCHARA 205

PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAU I TRAU EPSE MAMŌ PHORTOCHA AEĒIO IOY OĒŌA EAI

AEĒI ŌI IAO AEĒI AI IAO.”

After you have said this three times,⁵¹ there will be this sign of divine encounter,⁵²

but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies 210

down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should

arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on

an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this: 215

“I have been attached to your holy form.

I have been given power by your holy name.

I have acquired your emanation of the goods,

47. See Glossary, s.v. “Isis band.”

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

50. See for this formula PGM I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, “Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform,” in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point PGM IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.

ATHTHOUIN THOUTHOU I TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ.”

220 Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

*Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:*⁵³ Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if 225 gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding 230 the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

235 *The spell spoken over the vessel is:* “AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAU I MANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this⁵⁴ ACHCHŌR 240 ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU” (a hundred letters).⁵⁵

But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the 245 chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you 250 called will appear, god or dead man,⁵⁶ and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,⁵⁷ dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, “Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you.” Speak the name, and he will 255 depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

There is also the protective charm itself which you wear while performing, even while standing:⁵⁸ onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze 260 stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.⁵⁹

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words *θέλει καὶ ἐπιτάσσει* seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: “The Soul of the Dead.”

57. At this point the revelatory dialogue comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: “auch wenn du stehend agierst.”

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:⁶⁰

“I call you who did first control gods’ wrath,⁶¹

You who hold royal scepter o’er the heavens,

You who are midpoint of the stars above,

You, master Typhon, you I call, who are

/ The dreaded sovereign o’er the firmament.

265

You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,

You who’re obscure⁶² and irresistible

And hater of the wicked, you I call,

Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,

You who’ve walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,

270

You who are / over snows, below dark ice,

You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,⁶³

I invoked you in pray’r, I call, almighty one.

That you perform for me whate’er I ask

Of you, and that you nod assent at once

To me and grant that what I ask be mine

(add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THÖRTHÖR / KATHAU- 275

KATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MŌ ZAU OUZŌNZ ŌN YABITH,

mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your

true names, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH OEN / TYPHON ASBA- 280

RABŌ BIEAISĒ ME NERŌ MARAMŌ TAUĒR CHTHENTHŌNIE ALAM BĒTŌR MEN-

KECHRA SAUEIŌR RĒSEIODŌTA ABRĒSIOA PHŌTHĒR THERTHŌNAX NERDŌMEU

AMŌRĒS MEEME ŌIĒS SYSCHIE ANTHŌNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the 285

NN deed.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

**Spell for picking a plant:*⁶⁴ Use it before sunrise. *The spell to be spoken:* “I am

picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am

bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you

by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which 290

produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere *σέ* is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *ὄργιλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *ὄπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *ὄρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δῆλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll’s emendation *ἄδηλον* is paleographically sound, for “A” could have been omitted before “Δ.” Second, *ἄδηλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμήχανον*, and third, the idea of *ἄδηλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ’ εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “over the Moirai invoked in prayer.” In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “of the longed-for Moirai,” originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to PGM IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
 295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil⁶⁵ for me / the perfect charm.”
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

***Wondrous spell for binding a lover:** Take wax [or clay] from a potter’s wheel and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
 300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right side of her neck. And make her⁶⁶ with her arms behind her back and down on her knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
 305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / “ISEĒ IAO ITHI OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH”; on the right ear: “OUER MĒCHAN”; on the left ear: “LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHŌ”; on the face: “AMOUNABREŌ”; on the right
 310 eye: / “ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH”; on the other: “CHOBŌUE”; on the right shoulder: “ADETA MEROU”; on the right arm: “ENE PSA ENESGAPH”; on the other: “MEL-CHIOU MELCHIEDIA”; on the hands: / “MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL”; on the breast: the name, on her mother’s side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: “BAL-AMIN THŌOUTH”; and below the lower belly: “AŌBĒS AŌBAR”; on the pudenda:
 320 “BLICHIANEOI OUŌIA”; on the buttocks: “PISSADARA”; on / the sole of the right foot: “ELŌ”; on the sole of the other one: “ELŌAIAOE.”

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, “I am piercing your brain, NN”; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
 325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the soles, saying each time, “I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that she may remember no one but me, NN, alone.”

330 And take a lead tablet⁶⁷ and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying as you have learned, “ABRASAX, hold her fast!” You place it, as the sun is setting, beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the seasonal flowers.

335 *The spell to be written / and recited is:* “I entrust this binding spell to you, chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS the BARBARTHĀ, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCHTHA-
 340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRĒ and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
 345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,⁶⁸ whoever you are, whether male or female,⁶⁹ and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
 350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural *τελέσσετε* is strange. Preisendanz suggests that *δαίμονες* is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *vores magicae* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3^e/4^e siècle,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,⁷⁰ let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead, whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair, by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me, NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH ADŌNAI IA ROURA BIA BI BİOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILTH-THEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌS SIECHĒ. I am THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPHIA EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eternity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:

“IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI
AEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA
AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE III
EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ OEŌ
IŌ BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OIEE
YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OEYI
IO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OEYY
OE PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH IAYY 415
IŌAE YYAA
EOĒI OIII
YAOU YAAE
IAŌI EŌAY
AĒAĒ OOYI 420

70. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Text,” 72.

	ĒIOI	ĒĒEA
	ŌIYA	AAIA
	AŌOE	IIIŌ
425	YIŌĒ	EEAŌ
	EOAŌA	ĒĒAŌ
	YAYA	ĒĒEE
	IOĒIIE	OAĒI
	IAŌI	ĒIYI
430	AOAO	ĒĒOI
	YYOI	YAAI
		ĒILA
		AAŌŌ"

435 *Prayer that belongs to the procedure:* At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

“Borne⁷¹ on the breezes of the wandr’ing winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
Men’s daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and search
The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
To her, NN, at midnight hours,
To move by night to orders ’neath your force, /
450 That all I want within my heart he may
Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
And be not angry at my potent chants,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn about the threads
Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
455 I call your name, Horus,⁷² which is in number
Equivalent to those of the Moirai,

ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA AIĒ ĒIA IAE ĒIA THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.

Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
The world, self-generated, fire-bringer, aglow
Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. PGM IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN" (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIO THŌ THŌ PHIACHA." / *In another it is:* "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IĒA ĒAI IAĒ AEI ĒIA ŌTHŌ-THŌ PHIACHA." 465

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

*Charm to restrain anger: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?"⁷³

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at PGM IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

*To get friends:

/ "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."⁷⁴

470

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10. 193) occurs in PGM IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in PGM IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in PGM IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from PGM IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a "divine assistance from three Homeric verses."

PGM IV. 471–73

* . . .

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."⁷⁵

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."⁷⁶

"and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."⁷⁷

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in PGM IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the *Iliad* and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*" . . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."⁷⁸

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on PGM IV. 469–70, and see PGM IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina." *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband* 9 (1893), section X: *Versus Homerici et Vergiliani* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of "he" is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of "him" unaccounted for. In Homer, "him" is governed by "bound" in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

475 *Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,⁷⁹ as I write these mysteries handed
down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immor-
480 tality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daugh-
ter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at
the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be
revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an in-
485 quirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

“First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS⁸⁰
490 PHR[E], spirit of spirit,⁸¹ the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to
my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ, water of
water, the first of the water in me, ŌŌŌ AAA EEE, earthy material, the first of the
495 earthy material in me, / YĒ YŌĒ, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN,
which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world with-
out light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YĒI AYI EYŌIE: now
500 if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place)⁸²
IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying
nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze
505 upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOU-
PHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOU PARAKOUNĒTH, with the most
steadfast air, EIOAĒ PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX
510 R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN AP-
OTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I
may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ
515 OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNO-
MĒTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal
from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible
520 right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery
diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within
525 me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after
the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN,
whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YIA EĒI AŌ
530 EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden
brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒYA EŌĒ YAE ŌIAE, stand, O per-
ishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexor-
535 able and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am
MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

540 Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and you
will see yourself being lifted up and / ascending to the height, so that you seem to
be in midair. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in
that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, “Soul.” Some scholars read Tyche, “Fortune.” On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the “Mithras Liturgy,” see M. W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

81. “Spirit,” “breath,” “wind” (πνεῦμα) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the
 skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of
 the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fash-
 ion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hang-
 ing from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the
 regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the
 east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And
 you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth⁸³ and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /

Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!"

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

"PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PI-
 TĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ / TYRĒ PHILBA."

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at
 you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the
 gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to
 shock you. Then say again:

"Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shin-
 ing forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH."

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And
 after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the
 accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and
 immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and
 filling all the air. Then say again: "Silence! Silence!" And when the disk is open, you
 will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. *The third prayer:*

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O lord, you who
 have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,"⁸⁴

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,

Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,

Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,

Fire-feeler, IAŌ,

Light-breather, ŌAI,

Fire-delighter, ELOURE,

Beautiful light, AZAI,

Aion, ACHBA,

/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,⁸⁵

Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,

Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, "Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets," *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading τετραλιζώματος with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than τετραλιζώματος. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests διαζώματος (cf. *C. H.*, *Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For PIPPI as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
 Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
 600 Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
 Star-tamer . . .

Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA,
 605 because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke
 the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and
 610 are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal
 sound: ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒŌ IŌŌ ŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒ ĒŌ IŌŌ ŌĒĒĒ ŌĒĒ ŌŌĒ IĒ ĒŌ ŌŌ ŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ
 ŌŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ IĒĒŌ ĒĒ IŌ ŌĒ IŌĒ ŌĒŌ ĒŌĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ ĒŌ ŌI III ĒŌĒ ŌYĒ ĒŌŌĒ
 615 ĒŌ ĒIA ĒĒA ĒĒA / ĒĒĒĒ ĒĒĒ ĒĒĒ IĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒĒŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒYŌ ŌĒ ĒIŌ ĒŌ ŌĒ ŌĒ ĒĒ
 ŌŌŌ YIŌĒ.”

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then,
 620 similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.⁸⁶
 When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the sur-
 rounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again:
 625 “Silence!” (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open and
 the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy
 of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you
 630 look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

“Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO
 PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATHI.”

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of
 635 them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in ap-
 pearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a
 fiery crown.⁸⁷ At once greet him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the
 Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your
 strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who
 645 has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,⁸⁸ whose mother is NN, / who was
 born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

M. Philonenko, “L’Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAŌ” *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In PGM see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia-Zodiac: II,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihegrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, “*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l’arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d’un myste isiaque,” in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell’impero romano*, EPRO 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MOR-IROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EÖRÖ RÖRE ÖRRI ÖRIÖR RÖR RÖI / ÖR REÖRÖRI EÖR EÖR EÖRE!”

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After saying this, you will see the doors⁸⁹ thrown open, and seven virgins⁹⁰ coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.⁹¹ They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars!⁹² / Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAËS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEËS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHËS!⁹³ Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIË! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAËS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIËS!”

There also come forth another seven gods,⁹⁴ who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

“Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERÖNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTÖ! Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRÖALITHÖ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHÖPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHË!”

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking,

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term ἐπτάπυλος, “seven-gated.” See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word “goddess.” One Egyptian Fate, *Rmnwtet* (Thermutis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die “Tw3 pt”-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, “Horus who is on the horizon.”

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,⁹⁵ and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.⁹⁶ Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

And at once / make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

“MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul!⁹⁷ Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you.”

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

“Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. / Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is “First origin of my origin,⁹⁸ AEĒIOYŌ.” And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,⁹⁹ so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, “Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.* 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of ζωή “life,” and ψυχή “soul,” suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for ζωή καὶ ψυχή, and the note on PGM IV. 377). [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see PGM IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2nd 1965) 58.

Instruction for the rite: Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;¹⁰⁰ put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, / and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and / spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven:

“I have consecrated you, that your material may be useful to me, to NN alone, IE IA ĒĒ O Y EIA, that you may prove useful to me / alone, for I am PHŌR PHORA PHŌS PHOTIZAAS” (others: “PHŌR PHŌR OPHOTHEI XAAS”).

On the 7th day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine¹⁰¹ and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean field. / Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called *ken-tritis*, and smear, it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; / and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.

Now the encounter with the great god is like this: Having obtained the above-mentioned herb / *ken-tritis*, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion,¹⁰² take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-lettered name, as given below.¹⁰³ And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; / lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then he [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare [the scarab] on the new moon in the lion, according to the god’s [reckoning].¹⁰⁴

Now this is the name: “I EE OO IAI.” Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf /, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery / of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds,¹⁰⁵ and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of 3 times a year.”

The *ken-tritis* plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the / black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the lord / pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the *besas* plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit / like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapēs*, like the wild beet.

100. Literally, “at the seizure of the moon,” probably designating the new moon.

101. Cf. PGM I. 85–86 and n.

102. That is, at the new moon.

103. See PGM IV. 788.

104. The new moon of god, according to the heavens, in contrast to the new moon of man, according to the calendar.

105. The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.

Now the phylacteries require this procedure: copy that for the right [arm] onto
 815 the skin / of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with sinews of
 the same animal, put it on; and copy that [for] the left [arm] onto the skin of a
 white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHY-
 820 MĒRI" /, and has this memorandum:¹⁰⁶

"So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses."¹⁰⁷

"And men gasping among grievous slaughters."¹⁰⁸

"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea."¹⁰⁹

"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus."¹¹⁰

825 / Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he
 bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said:¹¹¹

"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINÖTHER NÖPSITHER
 THERNÖPSI" (add the usual).¹¹²

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 830

830 * . . . "Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."¹¹³

Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 831–32

*Charm to restrain anger: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against
 Zeus?"¹¹⁴

Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 833–34

*To Get Friends: "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."¹¹⁵

Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 835–49

835 *From 53 years and 9 months on Hermes took the period up to 10 years and 9
 months, from which he assigned to himself 20 months, which would be 55 years 5
 840 months; then to Aphrodite 8 months, / which would thus be 56 years 1 month;

106. The relationship of the poetic quotations in the following, which repeat those in ll. 468–74, and the Mithras liturgy is obscure. They seem unrelated; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (see above, Introduction, n. 24), which shows a blank after l. 820 and a sign indicating a new paragraph. For a different view, cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 84. [M.S.]

107. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564.

108. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521.

109. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572.

110. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. See PGM IV. 467–68 above and 830–31 below. Probably this verse served as a spell to restrain anger, but it may be misplaced here.

111. That these verses are part of the *ὑπόμνημα* ("the memorandum," l. 821) seems unlikely. More probably, a heading has been lost, and the verses contain an altogether independent spell. Story spells (*historiolae*) were ancient (see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, nos. 7, 75, 148, 154, 157, 158, etc.). They usually tell of a happening such as they are meant to produce (cf., e.g., PGM VII. 199–201; IV. 1471–79). This story tells of a person compelled or bribed to give up something; it could have been used to make a person give up anger. Hence it may have been attached to the Homeric verse for that purpose and was interpolated here. The name Amara is obscure; it could mean "the bitter woman" (Hebrew or Latin; cf. Ru 1:20, Vulgate).

112. Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 136 and 142, also with permutations of ΙΑΘ. PSINÖTHER is Egyptian for "the sons of god." [R.K.R.] See also PGM III. 186 and n. See Glossary, s.v. "THERNÖPSI formula."

113. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The same verse occurs in PGM IV. 474.

114. Homer, *Il.* 6. 424, quoted also PGM IV. 468, 824.

115. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193. See PGM IV. 470, where the same verse is quoted.

then to Helios 19 months, which would be 57 years 8 months. In this period assigned to Helios, that is to the 19 months, devote yourself to what you seek. After this he assigned to Ares 15 months, which would be 58 years 11 months. This is a hostile period. / Then to Selene 25 months, which would be 61 years. They are good. Then to Zeus 12 months, which would be 62 years. They are good. Then to Kronos 30 months, which would be 64½ years. They are bad for the body; within them also are the dangerous points. 845

*Tr.: W. C. Gresc. The section appears to be a fragment from an astrological work about the influence of the planets upon the periods of life.

PGM IV. 850–929

*Charm of Solomon that produces a trance¹¹⁶ (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable¹¹⁷ / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you. 855

Formula to be spoken: “OURIÖR AMĒN IM TAR CHÖB KLAMPHÖB PHRĒ¹¹⁸ PHRÖR PTAR OUSIRI SAIÖB TĒLÖ KABĒ / MANATATHÖR ASIÖRIKÖR BĒEINÖR AMOUN ÖM MĒNICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA AOU ALAKAMBÖT BĒSINÖR APH-ĒSIÖR PHRĒPH AMĒI OUR LAMASIR CHĒRIÖB PITRĒM / PHĒÖPH NIRIN ALLAN-NATHATH CHĒRIÖCH ÖNĒ BOUSIRI NINOUNO AMANAL GAGÖSARIĒR MĒNIAM TLĒR OOO AA ETNĒ OUSIRI OUSIRI OURISI OURISI MĒNĒMB MNĒM / BRABĒL 870 TNĒKATÖB. Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled / names. Come to me, you who became Hesies and were carried away by a river; inspire the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: BARBĒTH MNÖR ARARIAK TARĒRIM ÖAR TĒRÖK SANIÖR MĒNIK PHAUKEK / DAPHORIOUMIN LARIÖR ĒTNIAMIM KNÖS CHA-LAKTHIR KRÖPHĒR PHĒSIMÖT PRĒBIB KNALA ĒRIBĒTIM GNÖRI. Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice-greatest Hermes¹¹⁹ wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: ARBAKÖRIPH MĒNIAM ÖBAÖB ABNIÖB MĒRIM BAIAX CHENÖR PHĒNIM ÖRA ÖRĒ-SIOU OUSIRI¹²⁰ PNIAOUSIRI / PHRĒOUSIRI HÖRIOUSIRI NAEIÖROUSIRI MĒN-IMOUSIRI MNĒKOUSIRI PHLĒKOUSIRI PĒLĒLOUSIRI ÖNIÖ RABKOUSIRI ANTÖB-OUSIRI AMĒAOUSIRI ANÖROUSIRI AMĒĒPHĒOUSIRI / AMĒNIOUSIRI XÖNIÖR 885 ÖOUROUSIRI. Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter.” 890 895

After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him.¹²¹ After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat¹²² and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, extend your hands / up 900 905

116. Literally, the title means “Solomon’s Collapse,” an indication of ecstatic seizure.

117. Or “for trivial reasons.”

118. The names include the gods Prē, Osiris, and Amon.

119. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. For this name, see PGM VII. 551 and n.

120. The following list, after “Osiris,” contains a series of compound deities whose second element is the god Osiris, but only some can be identified: Pre-Osiris, Horus-Osiris, Onnuris-Osiris, Amenophis-Osiris, and Amon-Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. The following account has a parallel in *Test. Sol.* I. 3, ed. McCown, p. *8, ll. 5–15.

122. The meaning of Anubis’s head of grain is not known. On the god Anubis, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, EPRO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), esp. p. 139 for ear of grain. [R.K.R.]

to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black
 910 cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You
 915 should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood, / both him and you, for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: “ANANAK ARBEOUËRI AEËIOYÖ.”

If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin
 920 while saying: / “ANANAK ÔRBEOUSIRI AEËIOYÖ, go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN, from all evil.” You learned thoroughly; keep it secret.

*The awakening*¹²³ [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or
 925 man, having your / palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or toward the left: “AMOUN ÊEI¹²⁴ ABRIATH KICHÔP ÔTEM PITH.” Then as a dog.¹²⁵
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 930–1114

930 *Charm that produces a direct vision:¹²⁶ *Prayer for divine alliance*, which you are to say first toward the sunrise, then the same first prayer is to be spoken to a lamp. Whenever you seek divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod
 935 with fibers of the doum palm and / your head crowned with a spray from an olive tree—but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle. Clasp a pebble numbered 3663¹²⁷ to your breasts, and in this way make your invocation.

*Hymn:*¹²⁸

940 “Hail,¹²⁹ serpent, and¹³⁰ stout lion, natural Sources of fire.¹³¹ / And hail, clear water and Lofty-leaved tree,¹³² and you who gather up

123. The translation of this difficult term follows Preisendanz (see apparatus ad loc.).

124. AMOUN ÊEI is equivalent to Egyptian “Amon comes” (?), with Greek *ηει* standing for Egyptian *iy*. [R.K.R.]

125. Probably referring to barking; cf. PGM IV. 1006.

126. This is equivalent to the type of Demotic spell called *ph-ntr*-spell, literally, a “god’s arrival” spell. See J. H. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

127. According to Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 184, the mystical number is 3663 and refers to BAIN-CHÔDÔCH (the numerical value of the Greek letters being 2 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 800 + 800 + 600 = 3663).

128. Preisendanz ends the hymn at l. 948, but the petition to the god continues through l. 955. Ll. 949–54 include references to the spell for a direct vision, the lamp divination, and the prayer for divine alliance. Thus the present form of these lines comes from the time when the spell was put together. Ll. 949–54 contain vestiges of verse and originally may have been part of the hymn which was composed by the final author; or they may be a prose addition to part of an earlier hymn, perhaps substituting for, or expanding the petition in, the original hymn. [W.C.G.]

129. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 3; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238.

130. *τε*, though necessary to the sense, mars the hexameter. [E.N.O.]

131. A possible echo of a pre-Socratic expression, but to the author of this spell this phrase must have had a much different meaning. Preisendanz wants to emend and read *Φύσι και πυρός αρχή* (“O Nature and fire’s origin”), but the emendation is more clever than persuasive. For Physis as a goddess, see PGM I. 310 and n. [E.N.O.]

132. An adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 4. 458, which in the context of the spell indicates that the author knew not only the Homeric verse but the whole passage as well. [E.N.O.]

Clover from golden fields of beans,¹³³ and who
Cause gentle foam to gush forth from pure mouths.
Scarab, who drive the orb of fertile fire,
O self-engendered one,¹³⁴ because you are
Two-syllabled, AĒ, and are the first-
Appearing one, / nod me assent, I pray, 945
Because your mystic symbols I declare,

ĒŌ AI OY AMERR OOUŌTH IYIŌĒ MARMARAUŌTH LAILAM SOUMARTA.

Be gracious unto me, first-father, and

May you yourself send strength as my companion.

Stay allied, lord, and listen to me / through the charm that produces direct vision 950
which I do today, and reveal to me concerning those things I ask you through the
lamp divination for direct vision which I do today, I, NN, IY EYĒ OŌ AEĒ IAEĒ ALAE
E AI EY ĒIE ŌŌŌŌ EY ĒŌ / IAŌAI” (repeat).¹³⁵ 955

Light-bringing charm: Crown your head with the same spray, stand in the same
fashion facing the lamp, close your eyes and recite this spell 7 times.

Spell: “I call upon you, the living god, / fiery, invisible begetter of light, IAĒL 960
PEIPTA PHŌS ZA PAI PHTHENTHA PHŌSZA PYRI BELIA IAŌ IAO EYŌ OEĒ A ŌY EOI A
E Ē I O Y Ō give your strength, rouse your daimon, / enter into this fire, fill it with a 965
divine spirit, and show me your might. Let there be opened for me the house of the
all-powerful god ALBALAL,¹³⁶ who is in this light. / Let there be light, breadth, 970
depth, length, height, brightness, and let him who is inside shine through, the lord
BOUĒL¹³⁷ PHTHA PHTHA PHTHAĒL PHTHA ABAI BAINCHŌŌŌCH, now, now; imme-
diately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

Light-retaining spell that is spoken once / in order that the light-magic might 975
remain with you, for sometimes when you invoke the god-bringing spell darkness
is produced. Therefore, you should conjure in the following way.

Spell: “I conjure you, holy light, holy brightness, breadth, depth, length, height,
brightness, by the holy names / which I have spoken and am now going to speak. 980
By IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ABLANATHANALBA AK-
RAMMACHAMARI AI AI IAO AX AX INAX, remain by me in the present hour, until I
pray to the god / and learn about the things I desire.” 985

God-bringing spell to be spoken three times with your eyes open: “I call upon
you, the greatest god, sovereign HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IŌAI
DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI / ABRAIAŌTH, you who enlighten the universe and by 990
your own power illumine the whole world, god of gods, benefactor, AO IAŌ EAĒY,
you who direct night and day, AI AŌ, handle and steer the tiller,¹³⁸ restrain the ser-

133. This refers to the Egyptian bean from the Nymphean lotus mentioned in PGM IV. 1110. Thus the reference is again to Horus atop the lotus. [R.K.R.]

134. “Self-generation” is a common epithet of Khepri (see Glossary, s.v. “Scarab”) and is a pun on his name which means “to come into being.” [R.K.R.] See also J. Whitaker, “Self-generating Principles in Second-century Gnostic Systems,” in B. Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. I: The School of Valentinus, *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)* 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 176–93.

135. Here the papyrus has the sign //, perhaps signifying doubling. See below, ll. 973 and 1046 (in the papyrus).

136. For this name, see T. Hopfner, “Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Ägyptens,” *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931): 341.

137. This name is not attested elsewhere.

138. A reference to the solar bark of Re and the serpent Apophis, who attempts daily to devour the sun. Cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 6–7; E. Hornung and A. Badawy, “Apophis,” *LdÄ* I (1975): 350–51. [R.K.R.]

995 pent, / you Good, holy¹³⁹ Daimon, whose name is HARBATHANÖPS LAOAI, whom
 1000 sunrises and sunsets hymn when you arise and set. You who are praised among all
 gods, angels and daimons, come and appear to me, god of gods, HÖROS / HARPO-
 KRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMÖSI IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH. En-
 1005 ter, appear to me, lord, because I call upon you as the three baboons¹⁴⁰ call upon
 you, who speak / your holy name in a symbolic fashion, A EE ÊÊÊ IIII OOOOO
 YYYYYY ÖÖÖÖÖÖÖ (speak as a baboon). Enter in, appear to me, lord, for I speak
 your greatest names: BARBARAI BARBARAÖTH AREMPSOUS PERTAÖMÉCH PERA /
 1010 KÖNĒTHCH IAÖ BAL BĒL BOL BE SRÖ IAOËI OYEËI EËI EOYEI AËI ÊI LAO EI. You
 who are seated on the top of the world and judge the universe, surrounded by the
 1015 circle of truth and honesty, / IYAË IÖAI, enter in; appear to me, lord, to me, the one
 who is before fire and snow and in the midst of them, because my name is BAIN-
 CHÖÖÖCH. I am the one who is from heaven; my name is BALSAMĒS. Enter in, ap-
 1020 pear to me,¹⁴¹ / lord, you who have a great name, you whom we all have each in our
 own heart; your name is BARPHANNĒTH RALPHAI NINTHER CHOUCHEI. You who
 1025 break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you
 who have in fire your power / and your strength, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. You
 who are seated within the 7 poles, AEËIOYÖ, you who have on your head a golden
 crown and in your hand a Memnonian staff¹⁴² with which you send out the gods,
 1030 your name is BARBARIËL BARBARAIËL god / BARBARAËL BĒL BOUËL. Enter in,
 lord, and answer me with your holy voice in order that I might hear clearly and un-
 1035 erringly concerning the NN matter, IYĒYĒ OÖAEË (formula) IAEË ALAË EAI EYËIE /
 ÖÖÖÖÖ IYËÖ IAÖ AI.”

Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation (say the incantation one or 3 times): “The great, living god commands
 1040 you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who cre-
 ated every / soul and race, IAÖ AÖI ÖIA AIÖ IÖA ÖAI. Enter in, appear to me,
 lord, happy, kind, gentle, glorious, not angry, because I conjure you by the lord,
 1045 IAÖ AÖI ÖIA AIÖ IÖA ÖAI APTA PHÖIRA ZAZOU / CHAMĒ. Enter in, lord, appear to
 me happy, kind, gentle, [glorious,]¹⁴³ not angry” (repeat).¹⁴⁴

Salutation said once after the god enters. While holding the pebble, say: “Hail,
 1050 lord, god of gods, benefactor, HÖROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMÖSI IAÖ AI
 DA/GENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖ; let your Hours which you traverse be wel-
 comed; let your Glories¹⁴⁵ be welcomed forever, lord.”

139. The occurrence of “holy” between “good” and “daimon” makes it doubtful that the familiar Good Daimon is meant. See Glossary, s.v.; see also the apparatus ad loc.

140. Baboons were thought to praise the sun when they chattered at it. For a representation, see A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), vol. I, 39, fig. 22 and pl. I. See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 7–8, s.v. “Affc.” [R.K.R.] On the magician’s imitation of the “language” of animals, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 778–80. Understanding this language of animals belongs to the traditional phenomenology of the “divine man” and magician. See, e.g., Porphyry, *De abst.* 3. 3, and on the whole topic H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921); Betz, *Lukian* 28–38.

141. Preisendanz has *ἐάνη θίμωι*, which should be read as *ἐάνηθί μοι*, as in PGM IV. 1001, 1006, 1015, 1024, 1041, 1045. [W.C.G.]

142. For Memnon as a deified hero in Egypt, see A. Baraïlle, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1952) 1–21; as recipient of worship, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977) 299, no. 82. [R.K.R.]

143. An addition by Preisendanz in order to conform to PGM IV. 1042. But such consistency is not always to be expected. Cf. ll. 1063–65 with 1079–80.

144. See the note above on PGM IV. 955, regarding the sign for doubling.

145. Cf. PGM I. 199 and n.

Charm to retain the god: When he comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not / go away unless you raise your heel from his toe¹⁴⁶ and at the same time say the dismissal. 1055

Dismissal: Close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding, lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his / toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: “I give thanks to you lord BAINCHÖÖCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my / lifetime.” 1060 1065

Dismissal of the brightness: “CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH,¹⁴⁷ holy brightness.” In order that the brightness also go away:¹⁴⁸ “Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAÖNA.” Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself / with Coptic kohl;¹⁴⁹ smear yourself by means of a golden probe. 1070

Phylactery for the rite, which you must wear for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip]¹⁵⁰ from a linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] / write with myrrh these things: “I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMÖSIS IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH, SON OF ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NÖPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my / lifetime.” Place inside the strip of cloth an everliving plant;¹⁵¹ roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis.¹⁵² Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite. / 1075 1080

Preparation: Take broad cords of papyrus, tie them to the four corners of the room so that they form an X. In the middle of the X attach a ring-shaped mat made from single-stemmed wormwood. Provide / a glazed lamp¹⁵³ with a wick called reed grass, and rub the wick itself with fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. Fill the lamp with good olive oil, and place it in the middle, / on the mat. Light the lamp and stand in the previously mentioned fashion, facing the sunrise, whenever you perform the rite, without distinguishing the days.¹⁵⁴ Purify yourself / from everything three days in advance, and rub the wick beforehand with the fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. 1085 1090 1095 1100

Signs of the lamp: After saying the light-bringing spell, open your eyes and you will see / the light of the lamp becoming like a vault. Then while closing your eyes say (*differently*: 3 . . .¹⁵⁵ after saying 3 times), and after opening your eyes you will see all things wide-open and the greatest brightness within, but the lamp shining nowhere. Then you will see the god / seated on a lotus,¹⁵⁶ decorated with rays, his 1105 1110

146. The translation follows the interpretation by Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc.

147. CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH corresponds to Coptic KÖ KÖ Ö KAKE, “depart, depart, O darkness.” [R.K.R.]

148. An attempt on the part of the redactor of the papyrus text to explain the need for a second dismissal.

149. Powdered antimony used as cypaint.

150. Addition by Eitrem on the basis of I. 1081.

151. A general name for plants that seem to live a long time. See R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 46 (Göteborg: Elanders, 1940) 103.

152. On the Anubian thread, see PGM I. 147 and n.

153. On this type of faïence, see PGM IV. 55 and n.

154. That is, the charm can be performed on any day. For charms that can be used only on certain days, cf. PGM III. 275–81; VII. 155–67, 284–89.

155. The text is obscure at this point but seems to include alternative instructions. See apparatus ad loc.

156. The deity seated on the lotus flower is Harpokrates, invoked here in ll. 989, 999–1000, and 1074–75. This standard depiction of Harpokrates is found in all the media during the Greco-Roman

right hand raised in greeting and left [holding] a flail, while being carried in the hands of 2 angels with 12 rays around them.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 930–38; 949–1114) and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 939–48). This spell is a composite, made by combining a lamp divination with a charm for a direct vision and including an introductory prayer for divine alliance. The repetition in the present charm (note especially the two dismissals in ll. 1057ff. and 1065ff. and the explanation in ll. 1066ff.) is a result of the inclusion of similar elements from both of the charms here combined.

PGM IV. 1115–66

- 1115 ***Hidden**¹⁵⁷ **stele**:¹⁵⁸ “Hail, entire system of the aerial spirit,¹⁵⁹ PHÖGALŌA. Hail,
spirit who extends from heaven to earth, ERDĒNEU, and from earth which is in the
1120 middle chamber of the / universe unto the borders of the abyss, MEREMÖGGA.¹⁶⁰
Hail, spirit who enters into me, convulses me, and leaves me kindly according to
1125 the will of god, IŌĒ ZANŌPHIE. / Hail, beginning and end of the immovable nature,
DŌRYGLAOPHŌN. Hail, revolution of untiring service by heavenly bodies,
RŌGYEU ANAMI PELĒGEŌN ADARA EIŌPH. Hail, radiance of the universe subordi-
1130 nate / to the solar ray, IEO YĒŌ IAĒ AI ĒŌY OEI. Hail, orb of the night-illuminating,
unequally shining moon, AIŌ RĒMA RŌDOUŌPIA. Hail, all spirits of the aerial im-
1135 ages / RŌMIDOUĒ AGANASOU ŌTHAUA. Hail to those to whom the greeting is
given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women. O great,
greatest, round, incomprehensible figure of the universe, heavenly ENRŌCHES-
1140 YĒL; / in heaven, PELĒTHEU; of ether, IŌGARAA; in the ether, THŌPYLEO DARDY;
watery, IŌĒDES; earthy, PERĒPHIA; fiery, APHTHALYA; windlike, IŌIE ĒŌ AYA; lumi-
1145 nous, ALAPIE; dark-looking, / IEPSERIA; shining with heavenly light, ADAMALŌR;
moist, fiery, and cold spirit. / I glorify you, god of gods, the one who brought order
to the universe, AREŌ PIEUA; the one who gathered together the abyss at the invis-
1150 ible foundation of its position, PERŌ MYSEL / O PENTŌNAX; the one who separated
heaven and earth and covered the heaven with eternal, golden wings, RŌDĒRY
OYŌA; the one who fixed the earth on eternal foundations, ALĒIOŌA; the one who
1155 hung up / the ether high above the earth, AIE ŌĒ IOYA; the one who scattered the
air with self-moving breezes, ŌIE OYŌ; the one who put the water roundabout,
1160 ŌRĒPĒLYA; the one who raises up hurricanes, ŌRISTHAUA; / the one who thunders,
THEPHICHYŌNĒL; the one who hurls lightnings, OURĒNES; the one who rains, OS-
IŌRNI PHEUGALGA; the one who shakes, PERATŌNĒL; the one who produces living
creatures, ARĒSIGYLŌA; the god of the Aions; you are great, lord, god, ruler of the

period. Harpocrates holds the flail, the symbol of royalty, here interpreted as a whip. See A. M. El-Kachab, “Some Gem-Amulets Depicting Harpocrates Seated on a Lotus Flower,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–45, esp. 133–34. For the gesture of greeting, a modification under the influence of Helios instead of the more common gesture of finger sucking, see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

157. The exact meaning of ἀπόκρυφος is uncertain here. LSJ, s.v., II, gives as possible meanings “obscure, recondite, hard to understand.” More likely is the meaning “secret,” for which see Baucr, s.v.; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 344, 731, 732, 1057, 1078.

158. The term *stēlē* occurs in the *PGM* with several meanings. Originally it refers to a plate of stone or metal on which texts could be inscribed (e.g., VIII. 42), but most of the time the term is a literary device suggesting the text was copied from a stone slab. It can also refer to an amulet in the shape of a *stēlē* (as in *PGM* VII. 215; see the picture *Tafel I, Abbildung 1* in Preisendanz, vol. II).

159. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion (see I. 1164). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 200, 208–10. See also *PGM* I. 309 and n.

160. For this imagery, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 74; furthermore, *DMP* col. XX, l. 28 (p. 133); *PGM* IV. 1210. [R.K.R.]

All, ARCHIZŌ / NYON THĒNAR METHŌR PARY PHĒZŌR THAPSAMYDŌ MARŌMI 1165
CHĒLŌPSA.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1167–1226

***Stele** that is useful for all things; it even delivers from death. Do not investigate what is in it.

Formula: “I praise you,¹⁶¹ the one and blessed of the eons and / father of the 1170
world, with cosmic prayers. Come to me, you who filled the whole universe with
air, who hung up the fire from the [heavenly] water and separated the earth from 1175
the water. Pay attention, form, spirit, / earth and sea, to a word from the one who
is wise concerning divine Necessity, and accept my words as fiery darts, because
I am a man,¹⁶² the most beautiful creature of the god in heaven, made out of 1180
spirit, / dew, and earth. Heaven, be opened; accept my words. Listen, Helios, father
of the world; I call upon you with your name AŌ EY ĒOI AIOĒ YEŌA OUOR-
ZARA LAMANTHATHRĒ KANTHIOPER / GARPSARTHRĒ MENLARDAPA KENTHĒR 1185
DRYOMEN THRANDRĒTHRĒ IABE ZELANTHI BER ZATHRĒ ZAKENTI BIOLLITHRĒ
AĒŌ OYŌ ĒŌ OŌ RAMIATHA AĒŌ ŌYŌ OYŌ ŌAYŌ: the only one having the origi-
nal / element. You are the holy and powerful name considered sacred by all the an- 1190
gels; protect me, so- and-so, from every excess of power and from every violent act.
Yes, do this, / lord, god of gods, IALDAZAŌ BLATHAM MACHŌR PHRIX AĒ KEŌPH 1195
EĒA DYMEŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ RŌSERŌTH THAMA-
STRAPHATI RIMPSAŌCH IALTHE MEACHI ARBATHANŌPS, / creator of the world,
creator of the universe, lord, god of gods, MARMARIŌ IAŌ. I have spoken of your 1200
unsurpassable glory,¹⁶³ you who created gods, archangels, and decans. The ten
thousands of angels stood by [you] and exalted / the heaven, and the lord witnessed 1205
to your Wisdom,¹⁶⁴ which is Aion, IEŌYĒŌĒ IAĒAIEŌĒYŌEI, and said that you are as
strong as he is. I invoke your hundred-lettered / name¹⁶⁵ which extends from the 1210
sky to the depth of the earth; save me, for you are always ever rejoicing in saving
those who are yours, ATHĒZE PHŌI AAA DAIAGTHI THĒOBIS PHIATH THAMBRAMI
ABRAŌTH / CHTHOLCHIL THOE OELCHŌTH THIOŌĒMCH CHOOMCH SAĒSI ISACH- 1215
CHOĒ IEROUTHRA OOOOO AIŌAI (100 letters). I call upon you, the one on the gold
leaf,¹⁶⁶ before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns,¹⁶⁷ / the great God,
the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem, lord, IAŌ AIĒ 1220
IŌĒ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ IĒ AIŌAI AI OYŌ AŌĒ ĒEI IEŌ ĒYŌ AĒI AŌ AŌA AĒĒI YŌ EIĒ / AĒŌ IBY
AĒĒ IALA IAŌ EY AEY IAĒ EI AAA III ĒĒĒ IŌ IŌĒ IAŌ (100 letters), for a blessing,
lord.” 1225

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

161. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion. See Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198, who compares the prayer with the older form in I. 196–221.

162. For different interpretations and translations, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, who thinks of the god Anthropos, “Man”; cf. also Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 169: “I am a human being, the heavenly deity’s most beautiful creation. . . .”

163. Preisendanz prints Δόξα, as if to suggest a divine hypostasis. See also PGM I. 199.

164. The notion of “Wisdom” (Sophia) is here identified with Aion, a unique instance in the PGM. Cf. PGM I. 210, and Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198–99.

165. Cf. I. 1225.

166. This protective prayer presumes a section describing a gold lamella to be worn as a phylactery. The phylactery contained the hundred-letter name of the god and was worn as protection against “every excess of power” and the “very violent act” mentioned in ll. 1193–94.

167. For the light miracle at Jerusalem, see PGM IV. 3070 and n. See also PDM xiv. 490 and K. Preisendanz, “Zum grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914): 347–48.

PGM IV. 1227–64

* **Excellent rite for driving out daimons:** *Formula* to be spoken over his head:

1230 Place olive branches before him, / and stand behind him and say:

“Hail, God of Abraham; hail, God of Isaac; hail, God of Jacob; Jesus Chrestos,¹⁶⁸
1235 the Holy Spirit, the Son of the Father, who is above¹⁶⁹ the Seven, / who is within
the Seven. Bring Iao Sabaoth; may your power issue forth from him, NN, until
you drive away this unclean daimon Satan, who is in him. I conjure you, daimon,
1240 / whoever you are, by this god, SABARBARBATHIŌTH SABARBARBATHIOUTH SABAR-
BARBATHIŌNĒTH SABARBARBAPHAI. Come out, daimon, whoever you are, and stay
1245 away from him, NN, / now, now; immediately, immediately. Come out, daimon,
since I bind you with unbreakable adamantite fetters, and I deliver you into the
black chaos in perdition.”

1250 **Preparation:** take 7 olive branches; for six of them / tie together the two ends of
each one, but for the remaining one use it like a whip as you utter the conjuration.
Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the daimon, hang around him, NN, a phylactery, which the
patient puts on after the expulsion of the daimon—a phylactery with these things
1255 [written] on / a tin metal leaf: “BŌR PHŌR PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN
BAUBŌ TE PHŌR BŌRPHORBA PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIĒ PHŌRBA
1260 PHARBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA / BŌPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBA BŌBOR-
BORBA PAMPHORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBA, protect him, NN.” But *another version*
has a phylactery on which this sign¹⁷⁰ occurs: §

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This Greek and Coptic exorcistic spell is discussed by Tambornino,
RGVV VII 3, 9; 10. For additional literature, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, 114 and idem,
APF 8 (1927): 115.

PGM IV. 1265–74

1265 * **Aphrodite’s name** which becomes known to no one quickly is NEPHERIĒRI¹⁷¹—
this is the name. If you wish to win a woman who is beautiful, be pure for 3 days,
1270 make an offering of frankincense, / and call upon this name over it. You approach
the woman and say it seven times in your soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it
will succeed.¹⁷² But do this for 7 days.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1275–1322

1275 * **Bear-charm**¹⁷³ which accomplishes everything: *Formula*: “I call upon you, the
greatest power in heaven” (*others*: “in the Bear”) “appointed by the lord god to
1280 turn with a strong / hand the holy pole, NIKAROPLĒX. Listen to me, Helios, Phre;¹⁷⁴
hear the holy [prayer], you who hold together the universe and bring to life the

168. On *Chrēstos*, “excellent one,” rather than *Christos*, “anointed one,” see K. Weiss, *TDNT* 9 (1974): 484–85; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 44–45; Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 63.

169. Or “below.”

170. This sign is familiar from the so-called Chnoubis amulets. See Bonner, *SMA* 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques* 54–57; A. Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnoubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 269–70. The translation of the sentence is according to the interpretation by R.D.K.

171. Nephherieri is the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, “the beautiful eye,” a suitable epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor. See G. Möller, in Preisendanz, *apparatus* ad loc. [J.B.; R.K.R.]

172. Or “you will succeed,” the subject being the spell itself.

173. The spell invokes the astral constellation of the Bear and its powers. See *PGM* IV. 700, 1331; VII. 687; XXIII. 10.

174. That is, Helios-Prē.

whole world, THŌZOPITHĒ EUCHANDAMA ŌCHRIENTHĒR / OMNYŌDĒS CHĒMIO- 1285
CHYNGĒS IEŌY” (perform a sacrifice) “THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI KAN-
THIMEŌ ZANZEMIA ŌPER PEROMENĒS RŌTHIEU ĒNINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN
MENI KĒDEUA KĒPSĒOI” (add the usual).

Petition / to the sun at sunset. Formula: “THĒNŌR, O Helios, SANTHĒNŌR, I 1290
beseech you, lord, may the place and lord of the Bear devote themselves to me”
(while petitioning, sacrifice armara.¹⁷⁵ Do it at sunset). 1295

Charm of compulsion for the 3rd day: “ANTEBERŌYRTŌR EREMNETHĒCHŌR
CHNYCHIROANTŌR MENELEOCHEU ĒESSIPO DŌTĒR EUARĒTŌ GOU PI PHYLAKE
ŌMALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA / do the NN thing.” 1300

The first formula in a different way: “THŌZOPITHĒ, Bear, greatest goddess,
ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining god-
dess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the 1305
universe AEĒIOYŌ (square),¹⁷⁶ you who stand on the pole, you whom the lord god
appointed to turn the holy pole with a strong hand: THŌZOPITHĒ (formula).”

Offering for the procedure: 4 drams of frankincense, 4 drams of myrrh, 2 ounces
each of cassia leaf and / of white pepper, 1 dram of bdellion, 1 dram of asphodel 1310
seed, 2 drams each of amomon, of saffron, of terebinth storax, 1 dram of worm-
wood, . . . of vetch plant, priestly Egyptian incense, the complete brain of a black
ram. / Combine these with white Mendesian wine¹⁷⁷ and honey, and make pellets 1315
of bread.

Phylactery for the procedure: Wear a wolf knucklebone, mix juice of vetch and of
pondweed in a censer, / write in the middle of the censer this name: “THERMOU- 1320
THEREPSIPHIRIPHI¹⁷⁸ PISALI” (24 letters),¹⁷⁹ and in this way make an offering.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1323–30

**Another:* “KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN¹⁸⁰ you who shook and shake the
world, you who have swallowed the ever-living serpent and daily / raise the disk of 1325
the sun and of the moon, you whose name is ITHIOŌ ĒI ARBATHIAŌ Ē, send up to
me, NN, at night the daimon of this night to reveal to me concerning / the NN 1330
thing.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1331–89

**Powerful spell of the Bear¹⁸¹ which accomplishes anything:* Take the fat of a
black ass, the fat of a dappled she-goat, the fat of a black bull, and Ethiopian cumin,
mix all together / and make an offering to the Bear, having as a phylactery hairs 1335

175. For the recipe, see below, ll. 1308–16, and Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 803. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1990.

176. According to Preisendanz, *πλινθίων* (square) inserted here means that the letters are to be ar-
ranged in a series of lines forming a square. For this form of pictorial writing, see V. Gardthausen,
Griechische Paläographie II (Leipzig: Veit, 1913) 59. For a similar piece, see A. Gröfenhagen, *Schmuckar-
beiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenab-
teilung, 1975) 98 n. 11; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 905–11.

177. Cf. *PGM* I. 85 and n.

178. Thermouth is Rennutet, the Egyptian harvest goddess and Fate. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 803–4,
s.v. “Thermutis.” See also *PGM* IV. 664 and n.

179. That is, in Greek letters.

180. Preisendanz suggests this line may contain Coptic, which according to F. Li. Griffith, “The Old
Coptic Magical Text of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 93, means “earth-shaker, ground-shaker, abyss-shaker.”
[R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 680.

181. For the meaning of the constellation of the Bear, see *PGM* IV. 1275.

from the same animals which you have plaited into a cord and are wearing as a diadem around your head. Anoint your lips with the fats, smear your whole body with storax / oil, and make your petition while holding a single-shooted Egyptian onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, kneel down, and speak the following *formula*:

1345 / "I call upon you, holy, very-powerful, very-glorious, very-strong, holy, auto-
 1350 chthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons, you who / are in-
 habitants of Chaos,¹⁸² of Erebos, of the abyss, of the depth, of earth, dwelling in the
 recesses of heaven, lurking in the nooks and crannies of houses, shrouded in dark
 clouds, watchers of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those in
 1355 the underworld, administrators / of the infinite, wielding power over earth, earth-
 shakers, foundation-layers, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful minis-
 1360 ters, turning the spindle, freezing snow and rain, air-transversers, causing / summer
 heat, wind-bringers, lords of Fate, inhabitants of dark Erebos, bringers of compul-
 sion, sending flames of fire, bringing snow and dew, wind-releasers, disturbers of
 1365 the deep, treaders on the calm sea, mighty in courage, grievors / of the heart, pow-
 erful potentates, cliff-walkers, adverse daimons, iron-hearted, wild-tempered, un-
 1370 ruly, guarding Tartaros, misleading Fate, all-seeing, all-hearing, / all-subjecting,
 heaven-walkers, spirit-givers, living simply, heaven-shakers, gladdening the heart,
 those who join together death, revealers of angels, punishers of mortals, sunless
 1375 revealers, rulers of daimons, / air-transversers, almighty, holy, unconquerable
 AÖTH¹⁸³ ABAÖTH BASYM ISAK SABAÖTH IAÖ IAKÖP MANARA SKORTOURI MOR-
 TROUM EPHRAULA THREERSA; do the NN matter."

1380 / Then write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon,¹⁸⁴
 curved as a star, and bind it in the middle of the core with the letters showing.

1385 *This is the name:* / ACHCHÖR ACHCHÖR ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHÖ
 CHARACHÖCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHÖRA CHÖCH APTOUMIMĒ CHÖCHAPTOU CHA-
 RACHPTOU CHACHCHÖ CHARA CHÖCH PTENACHÖCHEOU.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1390–1495

1390 *Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or
 those who have died a violent death: Leave a little of the bread which you eat;
 break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and
 1395 gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. / Say the spell to the
 pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place
 where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom
 you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

1400 "To¹⁸⁵ Moirai, Destinies, / Malignities,
 To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died

182. For these names referring to the underworld places of Greek mythology, see *Orph. Frag.* 1 and 54; Homer, *Il.* 16. 327; *Od.* 10. 528; Hesiod, *Theog.* 515; etc. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952) 92.

183. The magical words contain some garbled Aramaic. On BASYM, see PGM LXX. 3 and n.; XIII. 147, 593. For an explanation from the Hebrew *ba-shem*, see G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977) 235–51, esp. 237, 240.

184. The association of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear (cf. PGM IV. 1331, 1335) is Egyptian. The Bear represents the soul of Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359D, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 373.

185. These iambic trimeters (which are sometimes rather clumsy) have been adapted to form the reconstructed Hymn 25, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 263. [E.N.O.]

- Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
 I'm sending food: Three-headed Goddess, Lady
 Of Night, who feed on filth, O Virgin, thou
 Key-holding Persephassa,¹⁸⁶ Kore out
 Of Tartaros, grim-eyed, dreadful, child girt /
 With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed 1405
 With tears and bitter groans leftovers from
 His own food, so that you, O luckless heroes
 Who are confined there in the NN place,
 May bring success to him who is beset
 With torments. You who've left the light, O you
 Unfortunate ones, / bring success to him, 1410
 NN, who is distressed at heart because
 Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
 So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!
- EIOUT ABAŌTH PSAKERBA ARBATHIAŌ LALAOITH / IŌSACHŌTOU ALLALETHŌ 1415
 You too as well, Lady, who feed on filth¹⁸⁷
- SYNATRAKABI BAUBARABAS ENPHNOUN MORKA¹⁸⁸ ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUA-
 LĒTH, and send the Erinys ORGOGORGONIOTRIAN,¹⁸⁹
 Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, /
 Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines, 1420
 Who in this place, who on this day, who in
 This hour, who in coffins of myrtlewood,
 Give heed to me and rouse / her, NN, on 1425
 This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
 And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
 Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
 And / for my will give her a willingness 1430
 Until she does what I command of her.
 O mistress Hekate¹⁹⁰
- PHORBA PHORBŌBAR BARŌ PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBAI
 O Lady of the Crossroads, O Black Bitch.”
- When you have done / these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use 1435
 this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the
 bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung / from a black cow and say this 1440
 and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.

The words spoken over the offering are these:

“Chthonic Hermes and chthonic Hekate and chthonic Acheron¹⁹¹ and chthonic /

186. A poetic form of Persephone.

187. These words with some changes are included as part of Hymn 25 (ll. 14–16), and they seem to scan, but without a translation possible for the formulaic terms nothing can be gained by inserting them in the verse section. [E.N.O.]

188. A. Jacoby has proposed (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) that the name is that of the Babylonian deity Omorka. See O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/1 (1897–1902) 868–69, s.v. “Omorka.”

189. The epithet “the Orgogorgoniotrian” signifies one of the Furies (Erinys). According to LSJ, s.v., it is found only here in Greek.

190. The meter breaks down at this point and only by rearranging and omitting words can Hymn 25 (l. 28) accommodate the concluding phrases here. [E.N.O.]

191. The name Acheron refers to the mythical river or sea in the underworld. There is also a connection with the river Acheron in Epirus, where the famous underworld oracle of Ephyra was located. See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 252. The oracle of Ephyra has been excavated; see S. I. Dakaris, “Das Tau-

- 1445 flesh-eaters and chthonic god and chthonic Amphiaraios¹⁹² and chthonic attendants
 1450 and chthonic spirits and chthonic sins and chthonic dreams / and chthonic oaths
 and chthonic Ariste¹⁹³ and chthonic Tartaros and chthonic witchery, chthonic
 Charon and chthonic escorts and the dead and the daimons and souls of all men: /
 1455 come today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love
 spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me
 NN, whose mother is NN (add the usual), because I am calling
 1460 O¹⁹⁴ primal Chaos, / Erebus, and you
 O awful water of the Styx, O streams
 O Lethe, Hades' Acherousian pool,
 O Hekate and Pluto and Kore,
 And chthonic Hermes, Moirai, Punishments,
 1465 Both Acheron and Aiakos,¹⁹⁵ / gatekeeper
 Of the eternal bars, now open quickly,
 O thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis.¹⁹⁶
 Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
 Forthwith for service in this very hour. /
 1470 So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN" (add
 the usual).
 "Isis¹⁹⁷ came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow,¹⁹⁸ and
 1475 Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms / of the dead as
 they were being led to her, NN, and were performing the NN business (add the
 usual). All the immortal gods and all the goddesses came to see the phantoms of
 1480 these dead. Do not, therefore, delay; / do not loiter, but dispatch, O gods, the
 phantoms of these dead, so that having gone to her NN they may perform the NN
 1485 deed (add the usual) because I adjure you by IAŌ / SABAŌTH and ADŌNAI PAT-
 RAXILYTRA BOURREPHAŌMI ASSALKĒ AIDOUNAX SESENGEN (formula) BALIABA
 1490 ERECHCHARNOI ABERIDOUNA SALBACHTHI EISERSE / RATHŌ EISERDA ŌMI SIS-
 IPHNA SISAEDOUBE ACHCHARITŌNĒ ABERIPHNOUBA IABAL DENATHI ITHROU-
 1495 PHI. Send up the phantoms of these dead to her NN / whose mother is NN, so that
 they may perform the NN deed" (add the usual).
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

benorakel von Dodona und das Totenorakel bei Ephrya," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963): 35–55; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 185–86.

192. The name refers to an old underworld god who had an incubation oracle at Oropos. See R. Herzog, "Amphiaraios," *RAC* 1 (1950): 396, with further literature.

193. For this epithet of Artemis and Demeter, see Jessen, "Ariste," *PRE* 2 (1895): 876.

194. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 26, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. The reconstruction is even more extensive than usual, for in places only faint vestiges of verse remain. [E.N.O.]

195. Aiakos was one of the judges of the underworld, along with Minos and Rhadamanthys. See Plato, *Apol.* 41a; *Gorg.* 523c, and W. Schmid, "Aiakos," *PRE* 1 (1893): 923–26.

196. On Anubis with the key, see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," in his *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975) 510–20. [R.K.R.]

197. These lines, which contain vestiges of dactylic hexameters, have been arranged in an awkward verse pattern and accepted as the reconstructed Hymn 27; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. Nonetheless, the translation is prose because the lines have no more of a metrical pattern than many other passages scattered through these documents. [E.N.O.]

198. Isis aroused desire within the dead Osiris and by him conceived Horus. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 1496–1595

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh which is offered:** While offering it over coals, recite the spell.

Spell:

"You are Myrrh, the bitter, the difficult, who reconciles / combatants, who sears 1500
and who forces those to love who do not acknowledge Eros. Everyone calls you
Myrrh, but I call you Flesh-eater and / Inflamer of the heart. I am not sending you 1505
to far-off Arabia; I am not sending you to Babylon, but I am sending you to her
NN, whose mother is NN, so that you may serve me on the mission to her, so
that / you may attract her to me. If she is sitting,¹⁹⁹ let her not keep sitting; if she is 1510
chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let
her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is
strolling about, let her not / keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep 1515
drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her
not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it;
if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping. Rather, let her hold me / NN alone in 1520
her mind; let her desire me alone; let her love me alone; let her do all my wishes.
Do not enter through her eyes or through her side or through her nails / or even 1525
through her navel or through her frame, but rather through her 'soul.' And remain
in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, / her breath, her bones, her 1530
marrow, until she comes to me NN, loving me, and until she fulfills all my wishes,
because I adjure you, Myrrh, by the three names,²⁰⁰ / ANOCH²⁰¹ ABRASAX TRŌ, 1535
and by the more coercive and stronger names KORMEIŌTH IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI,
so that you may carry out my / orders, Myrrh. As I burn you up and you are po- 1540
tent, so burn the brain of her, NN, whom I love. Inflame her and turn her guts in-
side out, / suck out her blood drop by drop, until she comes to me, NN, whose
mother is NN. I adjure you by the MARPARKOURITH NASAARI NAIEMARE PAI- 1545
PARI / NEKOURI. I throw you into the burning fire and adjure you by the almighty
god who lives forever: Having adjured you, I now also adjure you, / ADŌNAI BAR- 1550
BAR IAŌ ZAGOURĒ HARSAMŌSI ALAOUS and SALAŌS. I adjure you who strength-
ened man for life: Hear, hear, / great god, o Adonaios, ETHYIA, self-gendering, 1560
everlasting god, EIŌĒ IAŌ AIŌ AIŌ PHNEŌS SPHINTĒS ARBATHIAŌ IAŌ IAĒ IŌA /
AI, who are OUĒR²⁰² GONTHIAŌR RARAĒL²⁰³ ABRA BRACHA SOROORMERPHERGAR 1565
MARBAPHRIOURIGX IAŌ SABAŌTH MASKELLI / MASKELLŌ (the formula) AMON-
SŌĒ ANOCH RIGCH PHNOUKENTABAŌTH SOUSAE PHINPHESĒCH MAPHI / RAR 1575
ANOURIN IBANAŌTH AROUĒR CHNOUPH ANOCH BATHI OUCH IARBAS BABAUBAR
ELŌAI; attract for me her NN, whose mother is NN, to me / NN, whose mother is 1580
NN, on the very day, on this night, at this very hour, MOULŌTH PHOPHITH PHTHŌ-
ITH PHTHŌYTH PENIŌN. I call upon you also who hold / the fire, PHTHAN ANOCH; 1585
give heed to me, O one, only-begotten, MANEBIA BAIBAI CHYRIRŌOU THADEIN
ADŌNAI EROU NOUNI / MIŌŌNCH CHOUTIAI MARMARAUŌTH. Attract her, NN, 1590
whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, now, now; immediately,
immediately; quickly, quickly."

And say also the spell for all / occasions.

Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

199. For parallels to this passage, cf. P. Smither, "A Coptic Love-Charms," *JEA* 25 (1939): 175–76.

200. On this passage, see C. Bonner, "Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets," *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; idem, "The Transcendency of Divine Attributes," *ibid.* 37 (1944): 338–39.

201. This means in Egyptian "I am great." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* I. 149.

202. OUĒR corresponds to Egyptian *ꜥꜣ*, "great." [R.K.R.]

203. RARAĒL occurs only here; perhaps Raphael should be read. [E.N.O.]

PGM IV. 1596–1715

*This is the consecration for all purposes: *Spell to Helios*: “I invoke you, the
 1600 greatest god, eternal lord, world ruler, / who are over the world and under the
 world, mighty ruler of the sea, rising at dawn, shining from the east for the whole
 1605 world, / setting in the west. Come to me, thou who risest from the four winds,
 joyous²⁰⁴ Agathos Daimon, for whom heaven has become the processional way. I
 1610 call upon your holy / and great and hidden names which you rejoice to hear. The
 earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you
 1615 laughed; the animals begat their young / when you permitted. Give glory and honor
 and favor and fortune and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate²⁰⁵ today (or
 1620 to the / phylactery being consecrated) for NN.²⁰⁶ I invoke you, the greatest in
 1625 heaven, ΕΙ LANCHYCH AKARĒN BAL MISTHRĒN MARTA / MATHATH LAILAM MOU-
 SOUTH SIETHŌ BATHABATHI IATMŌN ALEI IABATH ABAŌTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, the
 1630 great god, ORSENOPHRĒ ORGEATĒS / TOTHORNATĒSA²⁰⁷ KRITHI BIŌTHI IADMŌ
 IATMŌMI METHIĒI²⁰⁸ LONCHOŌ AKARĒ BAL MINTHRĒ BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH
 1635 OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI / ARSIOUTH ERŌNERETHER, the shining Helios, giving
 light throughout the whole world. You are the great Serpent, leader of all²⁰⁹ the
 1640 gods, who control the beginning / of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited
 world, who mate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR.²¹⁰ You are he who be-
 1645 comes / visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven, and rises in the south-
 east.²¹¹ In the 1st hour you have the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH.
 1650 / Give glory and favor to this phylactery. In the 2nd hour you have the form of a
 dog; your name is SOUPHI. Give strength and honor to this phylactery, [or] to this
 1655 stone, / and to NN. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a serpent; your name is
 AMEKRANEBECHEO THŌYTH. Give honor to the god NN. In the 4th hour you have
 1660 the form of a scarab; your name is / SENTHENIPS. Mightily strengthen this phylac-
 tery in this night, for the work for which it is consecrated. In the 5th hour you have
 1665 the form of a donkey; your name is / ENPHANCHOUPH. Give strength and courage
 and power to the god, NN. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion; your name
 1670 is BAI SOLBAI, the ruler of time. Give / success to this phylactery and glorious
 victory. In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is OUMESTHŌTH.
 1675 Give sexual charm to this ring / (or to this phylactery, or to this engraving). In the
 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is DIATIPHĒ, who becomes visible
 1680 everywhere. Let all / things [done] by the use of this stone be accomplished. In the
 9th hour you have the form of a falcon; your name is PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH, the lotus
 1685 emerged from the abyss.²¹² Give success / [and] good luck to his phylactery. In
 the 10th hour you have the form of a baboon; your name is BESBYKI. In the 11th

204. “Joyous” can also mean “benevolent” or “lucky,” meanings appropriate and probably intended here. In the writer’s mind the three were probably not distinguished. [M.S.]

205. Cf. on this point PGM IV. 2179 and n.

206. Or “for use in relation to NN.”

207. Reading (δ) *οργεατης τ’ ὁ θορνατης*. Both nouns seem unattested formations; perhaps the former should be corrected to *οργιαστής*, “participant in orgiastic rites,” which were often secret and connected with Dionysos. [M.S.]

208. From ΕΙ onward the words repeat in variations the formula with which the series begins.

209. Reading *πάντων* for *τούτων*, with Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 29. [M.S.]

210. This is equivalent to the Egyptian “the Agathodaimon, the god (of) the gods.” [R.K.R.] Cf. PGM III. 144–45.

211. On the forms of the sun god, see PGM II. 104 and nn.

212. On the lotus flower, see PGM IV. 1111; PDM xiv. 45; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 179–80. [R.K.R.]

hour you have the form of an ibis; your name is / MOU RÔPH.²¹³ Protect this great phylactery for lucky [use] by NN, from this present day for all time. In the 12th hour you have the form of a crocodile; your name / is AERTHOË. You who have set at evening as an old man,²¹⁴ who are over the world and [under] the world, mighty ruler of the sea, hear my voice in this present day, / in this night, in these holy hours, and let [all things done] by this stone [or] for this phylactery, be brought to fulfilment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate it. Please, / lord KMÊPH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAÔ YAI. I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness and the / great god who created all, SAROUSIN, you, Agathon Daimonion the helper, to accomplish for me everything [done] by the use of this ring or [stone].”

When / you complete [the consecration], say, “The one Zeus is Sarapis.”²¹⁵
 *Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 1716–1870

***Sword**²¹⁶ of Dardanos:²¹⁷ Rite which is called “sword,” which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul²¹⁸ of whomever you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: “I am bending to my will the soul of him NN.”²¹⁹

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche²²⁰ / and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above her head: “ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI”; and below / Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche.²²¹ And below Eros these / names: “ACHAPA ADÔNAIE BASMA CHARAKÔ IAKÔB IAÔ Ê PHARPHARÊI.” On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing / one another and beneath Eros’ feet these letters: “ssssssss,” and beneath Psyche’s feet: “ÊÊÊÊÊÊÊÊ.” Use the stone, when it has been engraved and conse-

213. Here, and again below after the twelfth hour, the prayer for a gift to the phylactery or stone has presumably been skipped by a copyist.

214. This is a reference to Arum, the form of the sun god at setting. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 731. [R.K.R.]

215. On this formula, see O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1919; reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* I [Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969] 410–42); Nilsson, *GGR* II, 574; W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, *EPRO* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 353, n. 2; 396.

216. The designation “sword” apparently serves as a kind of title for certain types of formulas, here presumably the formula in I. 1813. See K. Preisendanz, “Xiphos,” *Roscher* 6 (1924–37) 526–28; Nock, *Essays* I, 190. The classical work of this kind is the so-called Sword of Moses, for which see M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* I (London: Maggs, 1925) 288–337. See also PGM IV. 1813 and n.

217. Dardanos was believed to have founded the mysteries of Samothrake. See A. Hermann, “Dardanus,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 593–94.

218. Since the operator does not want spiritual love, *ψυχή* here is probably the female pudenda. Against this interpretation is *τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα* (I. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read *τῆς δεῖνα*. [E.N.O.]

219. It is not clear whether this spell concerns a male or a female lover. Cf. II. 1720, 1807, 1828–29.

220. The best treatment of this image is that by R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrie, Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930) 53–64. See also R. Reitzenstein, “Noch einmal Eros und Psyche,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 42–87; A. Rumpf, “Eros (Eroten) II. in der Kunst,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 312–42, esp. 330–31.

221. For this theme and literature, see R. Helm, “Psyche,” *PRE* 23 (1959): 1434–38; S. Binder and R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) esp. 433–34. See also PGM XII. 20.

- 1745 crated, / like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say
this *spell*:
“I²²² call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the
1750 whole / world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every
1755 soul life-giving / reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn,
founder of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud rea-
1760 sonable / thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly in-
1765 habit every soul. You engender an unseen fire / as you carry off every living thing
without growing weary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in
1770 pain²²³ from the time when the world came into being. You also come / and bring
pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men
1775 dare beyond what is fitting and take refuge in your light which is darkness. / Most
headstrong, lawless, implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless, generator of frenzy,
1780 archer, torch-carrier, master of all living / sensation and of everything clandestine,
dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence, through whom the light and to whom
1785 the light travels, infantile when you have been engendered within / the heart, wisest
when you have succeeded; I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great name:
1790 AZARACHTHARAZA²²⁴ LATHA / IATHAL²²⁵ Y Y Y LATHAI ATHALLALAPH IOIOIO AI
1795 AI AI OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,²²⁶ first-shining, night-/shining,
night rejoicing, night-engendering, witness, ERĒKISITHPHĒ²²⁷ ARARACHARARA
1800 ĒPHTHISIKĒRE²²⁸ IABEZEBYTH IO, you in the depth,²²⁹ BERIAMBŌ / BERIAMBEBŌ,
you in the sea, MERMERGOU, clandestine and wisest, ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHA-
1805 RAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ CHAROUĒR AROUĒR LAILAM / SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA
KARBA MENABŌTH ĒILIA. Turn the ‘soul’ of her NN to me NN, so that she may love
me, so that she may feel passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her
1810 power.²³⁰ / Let her say to me what is in her soul because I have called upon your
great name.”
1815 And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword:²³¹ “One²³² THOURIĒL / MICHAĒL

222. The hymn to Eros has been called “notably elegant and literary” (Nock, *Essays* I, 183). Cf. the hymn to Eros among the *Orphic Hymns* (no. 58). See Binder and Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* 150, 386–87.

223. The words ὀδύνηρ ῥᾶ τέρψας make little sense, esp. without a verbal form in the clause. Because there are traces of poetic language here, we should perhaps read ὀδύνη ῥᾶ τέρψας, and this is what the translation renders. [E.N.O.]

224. An imperfect palindrome.

225. The spacing of this *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

226. Again, the spacing has been arranged to show the palindrome.

227. Again, the *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

228. This often attested *vax magica* can be read as Greek φθισικηρε (φθίω, κήρ), perhaps “destroying evil demons” (cf. φθισήνωρ, φθισίμβροτος, φθισίφρων). [W.B.] See also R. Merkelbach, “ΦΘΙ-ΣΙΚΗΡΕ,” *ZPE* 47 (1982): 172, commenting esp. on PGM II. 100.

229. Here, βύθιε, “you in the deep,” as well as πελάγιε, “you in the sea” (l. 800), and κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτατε, “clandestine and wisest” (ll. 1801–2) are recognizable Greek words, inserted into this series of magical palindromes. Cf. the similar formulas on a lead piece, P. Rein. II. 88, ll. 17–20. See P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*, vol. II, *BIFAO* 39 (1940): 29–32. [R.D.K.] Cf. also the figure of Bythos in Valentinian gnosticism.

230. This means “power to give”; lit., “what is in her hands.”

231. See also on l. 1717, above. This “sword” or magical formula may be so named because the words to be written on the gold lamella were to be engraved in the shape of, or enclosed by, a “sword.” For a magical gold leaf with a sword, see the facsimile in S. Reinach and E. Babelon, “Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884),” *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. [R.D.K.]

232. For a discussion of this monotheistic formula, see Bonner, *SMA* 175–76; cf. H. D. Betz, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1978): 969–71, s.v. “εἰς.”

GABRIËL OURIËL MISAËL IRRAËL ISTRAËL:²³³ May it be a propitious day for this name and for me who know it and am wearing it. I summon the immortal / and infallible strength of God. Grant me the submission of every soul for which I have called upon you.” Give the leaf to a partridge to gulp down²³⁴ / and kill it. Then pick it up and wear it around your neck after inserting into the strip the herb called “boy love.”

The burnt offering / which endows Eros and the whole procedure with soul is this: manna, 4 drams; storax, 4 drams; opium, 4 drams; myrrh, [4 drams;] frankincense, saffron, bdella, / one-half dram each. Mix in rich dried fig and blend everything in equal parts with fragrant wine, and use it for the performance. In the performance first make a burnt offering and / use it in this way.²³⁵

And there is also *a rite for acquiring an assistant*,²³⁶ who is made out of wood from a mulberry tree. He is made as a winged Eros wearing a cloak, with his right foot lifted / for a stride and with a hollow back. Into the hollow put a gold leaf after writing with a cold-forged copper stylus so-and-so’s name [and]: “MARSABOUTARTHE²³⁷—be my / assistant and supporter and sender of dreams.”

Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door / with the Eros and say: “Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, say what I propose.” And go to your / home, set the table, spread a pure linen cloth, and seasonal flowers, and set the figure upon it. Then make a burnt offering to it and continuously say the / spell of invocation. And send him, and he will act without fail. And whenever you bend her to your will with the stone, on that night it sends / dreams, for on a different night it is busy with different matters.²³⁸

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1872–1927

*. . . instruct no one, for it is very powerful and unsurpassable, effective for everyone / on the same day, absolutely binding, exceedingly powerful. And it is: Take 4 ounces of wax, 8 ounces of fruit from the chaste-tree, 4 drams of manna. Pound each of these fine / separately and mix with pitch and wax, and fashion a dog eight fingers long with its mouth open. And you are to place in the mouth of the dog / a bone from the head of a man who has died violently, and inscribe on the sides of the dog these characters: $\times \bar{z} \bar{o} \bar{\pi} \Xi \Psi \times \vee \Psi$ and you are to place the dog on a tripod. And have the dog raising its right paw. And write on the strip of papyrus these / names and what you wish: “IAO ASTO IOPHE,” and / you are to place the strip of papyrus on the tripod and on top of the strip you are to place the dog and / say these names many times. And so, after you have spoken the spell, the dog

233. For a discussion of these peculiar variants of the name of Israel, see R. Ganshinietz, “Israel,” *PRE* 9 (1939): 2234; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95. Cf. *PGM* IV. 3034: Osrac; XXXVI. 259: Astrael.

234. Cf. *Sword of Moses* 324 n. 70 (see n. 216, above) for a parallel: a silver lamella is given to a cock to swallow, and the cock is then killed. [R.D.K.]

235. The excessive use of $\chi\rho\omega$ and $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\omega$ is strange. The translation of this sentence is tentative and little more than a paraphrase. [E.N.O.] Cf. the following section and also *PGM* I. 38; XII. 284.

236. The translation is based on the emended Greek in Preisendanz, but it differs from the German translation (“Erfolg hat aber auch ein Beisitzer . . .”).

237. The translation tries to make sense of what appears to be a corrupt Greek text; it differs from the German translation (“. . . den Namen eines Beliebigen geschrieben hast: ‘Marsaboutarthe, werde mir . . .’”). See the apparatus ad loc.

238. The Greek is ambiguous at this point. Cf. Preisendanz’s translation: “Denn in jeder Nacht beschäftigt er sich mit anderen.”

hisses [or barks], and if it hisses, she is not coming.²³⁹ Therefore address the spell to it again, / and if it barks, it is attracting her. Then open the door, and you will find her whom you wish at your doors. Let a censer stand beside the dog, and let frankincense be placed upon it / as you say the spell.

Spell: “Barking dog, I adjure you, Kerberos, by those who have hanged themselves, by the dead, by those who have died violently: / attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you, Kerberos, by the holy head of the infernal gods. Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, ZOUC / ZOUCI TO PARY YPHĒ-BARMŌ ENŌR SEKEMI KRIOUDASEPHĒ TRIBEPSI: attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

And you are also to say / the spell for all occasions. But you are to do these things in a level, pure place.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1928–2005

**Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup. His / prayer of petition to Helios*: Stand facing the east and speak thus:

“I call upon you, lord Helios, and your holy angels on / this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THĒNŌR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORŌ / MISRĒN NEPHŌ ADŌNAI AUEBŌTHI ABATHARAI THŌBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTĒN ŌPHREŌPHRI ŌLCHAMAŌTH OUTE SOUTĒATH MONTRO ELAT / CHOUMIOI LATHŌTH ŌTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power / over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, [NN] as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him.”

/ *At sunset the same man’s prayer to Helios*:

“Borne²⁴⁰ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, / who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
From you, indeed, come elements which are
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n
And earth and Chaos and Hades, where dwell /
Daimons of men who once gazed on the light.
And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The regions of the dead, this daimon send
To move at midnight hours perforce at your
Commands, / from whose tent I hold this. And let

239. As the text stands, it makes no sense. We should probably follow the suggestion of Preisendanz, who inserts “or he barks” (“oder bellt”), and add to the Greek some such phrase as ἡ ὑλακτεῖ which may have fallen out by haplography. For similar alternative conditions, cf. PGM IV. 131–37; VII. 613–16. [E.N.O.]

240. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): vv. 1–17, 20–22, 18, 25, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; VIII. 74–81. [E.N.O.]

- Him tell to me (NN) whate'er my mind designs,
 And let him tell me fully and with truth.
 Let him be gentle, gracious, let him think
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. / But guard 1975
 That my whole body come to light intact;
 Let him (NN) reveal to me the what and whence,
 Whereby he now can render me his service
 And at what time he serves as my assistant, /
 For you yourself gave these for men to learn, lord. 1980
 Because I call upon your four-part name:
 CHTHETHŌ NI LAILAM IAŌ ZOUCHE PIPTOË.
 I call upon your name, / Horus,²⁴¹ which is 1985
 In number equal to the Moirai's names:
 ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIË IAË AI IAË AIË
 IAŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA (36 letters).²⁴²
 Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
 O father of the world, self-generated one.
 / After burning armara²⁴³ and uncut frankincense, go home. 1990
*Enquiry:*²⁴⁴ Ivy with 13 leaves. Begin from the left side and write on them one
 by one with myrrh, and after putting on the wreath / say over them the same 1995
 names. And over the skull cup place the same writing on the forehead with the
 proper words: "SOITHERCHALBAN OPHROUROR ERĒKISITHPHĒ (formula)²⁴⁵ /
 IABE ZEBYTH LEGEMAS THMESTAS MESMYRA BAUANECHTHEN KAI LOPHŌTŌ BRĒ- 2000
 LAX HARCHENTECHTHA APSOIER CHALBAN."
And the ink: Serpent's blood / and the soot of a goldsmith. 2005
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2006–2125

- *Pitys' spell of attraction:²⁴⁶ Pitys to King Ostanēs: greetings. Since you write to
 me on each occasion about the enquiry of skull cups, I have deemed it necessary to 2010
 send you this process / as one which is worthy of admiration and able to please you
 greatly. And subsequently I will submit to you the process, and finally the black ink
 will be revealed.
 Take the hide of an ass²⁴⁷ and, after drying it / in shade, inscribe on it the figure 2015
 which will be revealed and inscribe this spell in a circle: "AAMASI NOUTH I APHTHE-
 CHENBŌCH POUPAIEICHNERI TA LOUTHIANI SERANOMĒGRENTI EI BIL / LONOU- 2020
 CHICH EITA PHOR CHORTOMNOUTH I THRACH PHIBŌBI ANTERŌ PHOCHOR-
 THAROCH EBOCH LESANOUACH PHEORŌBIS TRAION KŌBI INOUNIA SAPHŌBI
 CHIMNOUTH I ASRŌ / CHNOUPHNEN PHARMI BOLCHOSĒTH EPHOUKTERŌ AB- 2025
 DIDANPITAAU EAE BOL SACHY ACHCHERIMA EMINTO RŌŌRIA EN AMOUN AK-
 REMPHTHO OUTRAUNEIL / LABOCH PHERACHI AMENBOL BĒCH OSTAOUA BEL- 2030

241. Horus is identified with Helios; see ll. 988–89 below.

242. That is, thirty-six Greek letters.

243. For this material, see PGM IV. 1294 and n.

244. That is, the inquiry of the spirit of the dead man (l. 1950). See PGM IV. 2140–41; 2005–7.

245. Referring to the palindrome cited also in PGM IV. 1797–99.

246. ἀγῶνῆ is a general term which sometimes, as here, indicates a spell whose primary purpose is not to "attract" for sexual purposes. The same noun, without a qualifying word, is the title of a "Love spell of attraction." For a parallel to the usage of this passage, cf., e.g., PGM IV. 2441. [E.N.O.]

247. The ass is associated with Seth/Typhon. See PGM IV. 259–60 and n.

THŌ; I adjure you, dead spirit, by the powerful and inexorable god and by his holy
 2035 names, to stand beside me in the / coming night in whatever form you used to
 have, and inform me whether you have the power to perform the NN deed; immediately,
 immediately; quickly, quickly!”

Then go quickly to where [someone] lies buried or where something has been
 2040 discarded, if you do [not] have a buried body; / spread the hide under him at about
 sunset. Return [home], and he will actually be present and will stand beside you on
 2045 that night. And he describes to you how he died, but first he tells you if / he has the
 power to do anything or to perform any service.

And take a leaf of flax and with the black ink which will be revealed to you, paint
 on it the figure of the goddess who will be revealed to you, and paint in a circle this
 2050 spell (and place on his head / the leaf which has been spread out and wreath him
 with black ivy, and he will actually stand beside you through the night in dreams,
 and he will ask you, saying, “Order whatever you wish, and I do it”): “PHOUBEL
 2055 TAUTHY ALDE MINŌOURITHI / SENECHŌ CHELĒTHICHITIATH MOU CHŌ ARIANTA
 NARACHI MASKELLI (formula) AEBITHŌ ACHAIL CHAŌSOUNISOU SOUNIARTE
 2060 NŌPH ARCHEREPHTHOUMI / BOLPHAI ARŌCHŌ ABMENTHŌ PHORPHORBA
 CHNOUCHIOCHOIME; I adjure [you], dead spirit, by the Destiny of Destinies,²⁴⁸ to
 2065 come to me, NN, on this night, on this night, and / agree to the act of service for me.
 And if you don’t, expect other chastisements.”

And when he agrees, rise up immediately and take a roll of hieratic papyrus and
 write on it with the black ink which will be revealed to you the figure which will be
 2070 revealed to you,²⁴⁹ / and write in a circle this spell and offer it to him, and straight-
 way he will attract, even if he is unmanageable, immediately without delaying a
 single day.

But often there will be no need for the leaf of flax, but in the second spell²⁵⁰ the
 2075 papyrus / sheet²⁵¹ is to be placed there after you have commanded the act of service
 for you. He attracts and causes one to be ill, and he sends dreams and restrains, and
 he obtains revelations by dreams as well. These are the things which this single spell
 2080 accomplishes. Depending on what you are performing,²⁵² / alter only the passage
 with the usual items.²⁵³ Most of the magicians, who carried their instruments²⁵⁴
 with them, even put them aside and used him as an assistant. And they accom-
 2085 plished the preceding things with all dispatch. / For [the spell] is free of excessive
 verbiage, immediately carrying out as it does the preceding things with all ease.

Spell: “I say to you, chthonic daimon, for whom the magical material of this
 2090 female (of this male) has been embodied on / this night: proceed to where this fe-
 male (or this male) resides and bring her to me NN either during the middle of the
 night or quickly. Perform the NN deed because the holy god OSIRIS KMĒPHI

248. See on this concept PGM III. 120 and n.

249. The figure is not extant. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

250. This refers to a variant in another spell available to the author but not included in the PGM.

251. Preisendanz suggests, in the apparatus ad loc., that this sheet refers to the hide of the ass mentioned in IV. 2014.

252. Preisendanz follows the papyrus and reads *πρὸς τὸ, τὸ πρᾶσσεis*, but this is surely impossible Greek. The easiest change is *πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πρᾶσσεis*, but the sense seems to require something like *πρὸς ὃ τι ποτὲ πρᾶσσεis*, “for whatever you do,” or “depending on what(ever) you do.” [E.N.O.]

253. This is apparently a reference to the formulas given as *κουρόν, κουρά* found elsewhere in the PGM.

254. Probably this is a reference to instruments such as were found in Pergamon. See R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergefäß aus Pergamon*, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Ergänzungsheft* 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1905).

SRÖ²⁵⁵ wishes and commands it of you. Fulfill, daimon, what / is written here. And 2095
after you have performed it, I will pay you a sacrifice. But if you delay, I will inflict
on you chastisements which you cannot endure. And perform for me the NN deed,
immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

The black ink of the procedure / is this: The hide is inscribed with blood of an 2100
ass²⁵⁶ from the heart of a sacrificial victim, with which is mixed the soot of a cop-
persmith. But the leaf of flax is inscribed with falcon's blood, with which is mixed
the soot of a goldsmith. / But the leaf of the hieratic papyrus is inscribed with cel's 2105
blood, with which acacia is mixed.

Do these things in this manner and, once you have performed them, you may 2110
know with what a marvelous nature this process is endowed, since in all case / it
considers the implements as the assistant. But guard yourself with whatever protec-
tion you want.

And this is the figure²⁵⁷ written on the hide: A lion-faced form of a man wearing 2115
a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be a serpent. / And
around all his left hand let an asp be entwined, and from the mouth of the lion let
fire breathe forth.

The figure written onto the leaf of flax is this: Hekate²⁵⁸ with three heads and six 2120
hands, holding / torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head
of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle the head of a
maiden with sandals bound on her feet.

And inscribed on the piece of papyrus: Osiris clothed / as the Egyptians show 2125
him.²⁵⁹

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2125–39

*A restraining seal for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use in divination], and 2130
also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]:²⁶⁰
Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris / and
from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and 2135
make a ring on which have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his
head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet / a skeleton (the right foot
should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these should be an owl-
eyed cat with its paw on a gorgon's head; in a circle around [all of them?], these
names: IADÖR INBA NICHAIOPLEX BRITH.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

255. The names come from the Egyptian and mean “Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince” (or “ram”). [R.K.R.]

256. For the application, see PGM IV. 2015, 2220. On the blood of the ass, see D. Wortmann, “Das Blut des Seth,” *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30; also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 276, commenting on *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353B.

257. For this figure, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 53; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 499–501 with *Tafel* V, 2a and 2b.

258. For pictures of Hekate *triformis* on gemstones, see Bonner, *SMA*, nos. 64, 66; cf. no. 156; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 189, nos. 252, 253, *254, *254 (bis); Mouterde, *Glaive* 67–71 (see above, n. 220).

259. This prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian. The Egyptian Osiris is presented here in his capacity as god of the dead. For his ability to send demons and spirits of the dead, cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 16, “The Contending of Horus and Seth,” Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* I, spell 335, pt. II. [R.K.R.]

260. Reading *τοῦτω(ι)* with the papyrus, instead of Preisendanz's *τοῦτω(ν)*.

PGM IV. 2140–44

- 2140 *Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses:²⁶¹ On a flax leaf write these things: "AZĒL BALEMACHŌ" (12 letters).²⁶²

Ink: [Made] from red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen, and flax. Write [on the leaf] and put it in the mouth [of the corpse].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 2145–2240

- 2145 *Divine assistance from three Homeric verses:²⁶³

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."²⁶⁴

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."²⁶⁵

- 2150 / "and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."²⁶⁶

If a runaway carries these verses inscribed on an iron lamella,²⁶⁷ he will never be found. Likewise, attach the same lamella / to someone on the point of death, and you will get an answer²⁶⁸ to everything you ask him. Whenever anyone thinks he is under a spell, let him pronounce the verses while sprinkling with sea water and . . . against enchantments. A contestant with the / tablet stays undefeated, just as also a charioteer who carries the tablet along with a lodestone; and the same is true in court; also, these are the things for a gladiator to carry. Attach it to a criminal who has been executed, speak / the verses in his ear, and he will tell you everything you wish. Insert the lamella into his wound, and you will have a great blessing with regard to your superiors and masters and others as well, for you will have honor, / trust. It also keeps off daimons and wild animals. Everyone will fear you; in war you will be invulnerable; when you ask you will receive; you will enjoy favor; your life will change; and you will be loved by any woman or man you have contact with. / You will have honor, happiness; you will receive inheritances, have good fortune, be unaffected by potions and poison; you will break spells and conquer your enemies.

Here is the the formula to be spoken when you immerse the lamella.²⁶⁹

261. See PGM IV. 1990 and n.

262. That is, in Greek letters.

263. In the papyrus these three verses from Homer are written in exceptionally large letters. Cf. PGM IV. 470–74; 821–24, where magical power is ascribed to the same verses. See the note on PGM IV. 470.

264. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. In Homer, the referent of "he" is Odysseus.

265. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. The quotation includes only a portion of the Homeric sentence. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who "saw." The text of *Il.* 10. 521 here and at PGM IV. 822 differs slightly, though not so as to offset the sense of that of PGM IV. 472.

266. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

267. The use of iron lamellae (as opposed to those of lead, silver, gold, and tin) is comparatively rare in magic (but cf. PGM VII. 382). See the discussion by A. M. Tupet, *La Magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1976) 39–43. An iron lamella engraved with magical words is housed in the Louvre; see A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1933) 108, no. 205. [R.D.K.]

268. The Greek verb rendered "you will get an answer to" could also mean "he will hear." Perhaps the former is the correct rendering, and the passage is expressive of the ancient notion that individuals on the point of death have prophetic power (see, e.g., *Il.* 16. 843–61, where the dying Patroclus prophesies the death of Hector; *Il.* 22. 355–66, where the dying Hector does the same of Achilles; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 605–28, 1370–96, 1516–55, where the aged Oedipus, his death approaching, delivers prophecies; and Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 607–29, where Dido utters a prophetic curse shortly before committing suicide. [H.M.]

269. Immersing the lamella is part of the consecration; see S. Eitrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *SO* 19 (1939): 57–85.

The formula: / “NN, leave the sweet light and also render me whatever service I require of you whenever I call you (add the usual) because I conjure you by the gods of the underworld GOGGYLORYGCHE OMBROLIGMATE²⁷⁰ THOËRYSËRIS. / Render me the service for which I summon you.” Speak this formula that invokes all supernatural powers.

Consecrating the plaque: Go, I say, into a clean room. Set up a table, on which you are to place a clean linen cloth and flowers of the season. / Then sacrifice a white cock, placing beside it 7 cakes, 7 wafers, 7 lamps; pour a libation of milk, honey, wine, and olive oil.

Here is the formula to be spoken when you consecrate the plaque: “Come to me! You who are master above the earth and below the earth, / who look to the west and the east and gaze upon the south and the north, O master of all, Aion of Aions! You are the ruler of the universe, Ra, Pan,²⁷¹ (H)ARPENCHNOUBI / BRINTATË-NÏPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUZAR BAMESEN KRIPHÏ NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAÏPHI IA IOY IYÏ AII OYÏ AEËIOYÏ BAUBÏ BAUBÏ PHORBA PHORBA OREOBAGRA ÏYOÏËEA ER.” Speak too the formula that invokes Necessity: “MASKELLI (formula) IARCHTHA ECHTHABA CHOIX IABOUCH IABÏCH,” and the one that / invokes all supernatural powers.

So much for the ritual of consecration.²⁷² *Here are the operations for specific purposes:*

For an oracle: Write as follows on a bay leaf in myrrh mixed with blood from someone who has died by violence: “ABRAA, you are the one who reveals all things MARIAPHRAX.” / Then put it under the lamella.

For wrecking chariots: Burn garlic and a snake’s slough as an offering, and write on a tin plaque: ²⁷³ “NEBOUTOSOUALËTH BEU ERBËTH PAKERBËTH and ÏNOUPH; overturn him, NN, and his / companions.” Bury the tablet for 3 days in the grave of someone who died untimely; he will come to life for as long as it stays there.

For spells that restrain: Write on a seashell in the ink²⁷⁴ mentioned below, adding / Typhon’s blood.²⁷⁵ Then you are to bury the shell in the tomb of someone who died untimely, when the moon stands in opposition to the sun. What you are to write is the 3 Homeric verses,²⁷⁶ and the following: “IÏ BOLCHOSËTH IAKOUBIAI IÏ PATATHNAX / ERBËTH IÏ PAKERBËTH.” The lamella is to be carried, as in the examples at the beginning.

For popularity spells and love spells: Write “MYRI MYRI NES MACHESNÏN” on a gold tablet, after putting it under / the iron one for 3 days. When you remove it, carry it, keeping yourself clean all the while.

For fetching spells. Burn roses and sumac as an offering; take myrtle leaves and write on them in ink: “STHENEPIÏ ARRÏRIPHRAÏS YYY / IIII fetch her, NN, for him, NN.” Recite the formula²⁷⁷ and put the magical substance under the lamella.

270. This and the preceding *voces magicæ* can be translated and mean, “you with the round snout,” and “you who lap rain.” [H.M.]

271. The interpretation of the god Pan as Aion and as god of the All is based on the assumed etymology of the name (cf. also PGM XIII. 980: *Ëν και τὸ πᾶν*, “One and the All”). See F. Brommer, “Pan,” *PRE.S* 8 (1956): 1005–6.

272. See above on PGM IV. 2186.

273. That is, the iron tablet that has been consecrated, not the tin plaque just described.

274. That is, the myrrh ink mentioned at the end of the spell.

275. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see PGM IV. 2100 and n.

276. See for these verses PGM IV. 2145–51.

277. Presumably, this formula is the one previously mentioned (“that invokes all supernatural pow-

You are to add some single-stemmed wormwood to the myrrh ink. Let the lamella
 2240 be worn on a cord; get it from the places where / the woolworkers have their shops.
 *Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 2241–2358

*Document to the waning moon.²⁷⁸

Spell:

“Hail,²⁷⁹ Holy Light, Ruler of Tartaros,
 Who strike with rays; hail, Holy Beam, who whirl
 Up out of darkness and subvert all things
 2245 With aimless plans. / I’ll call and may you hear
 My holy words since awesome Destiny
 Is ever subject to you. Thrice-bound goddess,
 Set free yourself. Come, rage against him, NN.
 For Klotho will spin out her threads for you.
 Assent, O blessed one, ere I hold you
 2250 As hateful, ere I seize your / sword-armed fist,²⁸⁰
 And ere you grieve, O god in maiden form.
 You’ll, willy-nilly, do the NN task
 Because I know your lights in full detail,
 And I am your priest of good offices, /
 2255 Your minister and fellow witness, Maid.
 What must take place, this you cannot escape.
 You’ll, willy-nilly, do the NN task.
 I now adjure you by this potent night,
 In which your light is last to fade away,
 2260 In which / a dog opens, closes not, its mouth,
 In which the bar of Tartaros is opened,
 In which forth rages Kerberos, armed with
 A thunderbolt, Bestir yourself, Mene,
 Who need the solar nurse, guard of the dead, /
 2265 You I implore, Maid, by your stranger beams,²⁸¹
 You I implore,²⁸² O cunning, lofty, swift,
 O crested one, who draw swords, valiant,
 Healer, with forethought, far-famed, goading one,
 2270 Swift-footed, brave, crim/son, Darkness, Brimo,
 Immortal, heedful, Persian, pastoral,
 Alkyone, gold-crowned, the elder goddess,
 Shining, sea-goddess, ghostly, beautiful,
 The one who shows, skiff-holder, aiming well,

ers”), ll. 2186, 2204–5. The “magical substance” is usually material taken from the person to be “fetched.” See Glossary, s.v. “Material, magical.”

278. The correct reading here is *Δέλτος ἀποκρουστικὴν πρὸς Σελήνην*. [E.N.O.]

279. These iambic trimeters, many of which are metrically faulty or even collapse almost completely, have been adapted as the reconstructed Hymn 17; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 250–53. The text is frequently uncertain and the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

280. The magician claims later to have done so (l. 2328).

281. For *ξευη τ’ Αὐγή* read *ξευην αὐγην*; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 251, apparatus ad loc.

282. The conclusion of the line is lost. Here a long list of what seem to be epithets, now mostly corrupt, has been inserted. The translation usually follows the conjectures proposed by Heitsch, although many are questionable.

Self-gendered, wearing / headband, vigorous, 2275
 Leader of hosts, O goddess of Dodona,
 Of Ida,²⁸³ e'er with sorrows fresh, wolf-formed,
 Denounced as infamous, destructive, quick,
 Grim-eyed, shrill-screaming, Thasian, Mene,
 O Nethermost one, beam-embracer, savior,
 World-wide, dog-shaped, / spinner of Fate, all-giver, 2280
 Long-lasting, glorious, helper, queen, bright,
 Wide-aimer, vigorous, holy, benign,
 Immortal, shrill-voiced, glossy-locked, in bloom,
 Divine, with golden face, delighting / men, 2285
 Minoan, goddess of childbirth, Theban,
 Long-suffering, astute, malevolent.
 With rays for hair, shooter of arrows, maid;
 I²⁸⁴ truly know that you are full of guile
 And are deliverer from fear; as Hermes,
 The Elder, chief of all magicians, I
 Am Isis' father.²⁸⁵ Hear: Εὐ ΦΟΡΒΑ
 BRIMŌ SACHMI NEBOUTO / SOUALĒTH. 2290
 For I have hidden this²⁸⁶ magic symbol
 Of yours, your sandal, and possess your key.
 I opened the bars of Kerberos, the guard
 Of Tartaros, / and premature night I 2295
 Plunged in darkness. I whirl the wheel for you;
 The cymbals I don't touch.²⁸⁷ Gaze at yourself:
 Lo! As you see yourself, you'll wonder at
 The mirror, love charm of the Nile's goddess,²⁸⁸
 Until you cast the dark light from your eyes.
 What you must do, / this you must not escape. 2300
 You'll, willy-nilly, do this task for me,
 Marc, Kore, dragoness, lamp, lightning flash,
 Star, lion, she-wolf, Αἶϖ ἔἔ.
 A sieve, an old utensil, is my symbol,²⁸⁹

283. The papyrus reads *εἰδεα*, which Wessely, whom Preisendanz follows, emends to *Ἰδαία*. This epithet means "belonging to Ida," a mountain range in Crete or Phrygia. Cf. PGM V. 455–56; LXX. 14, and Betz, "Fragments," 293 with n. 30; H. von Geisau, "Idaia," *KP* 2 (1979): 1337.

284. Here the spell that preceded the list of epithets is resumed. Some connective material may have been lost. [M.S.]

285. The elder Hermes is the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos (Thoth) who was thought to be older than the Greek god. On Hermes/Thoth as the father of Isis, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3, 352A–B, and 12, 355F–356A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 263. See also PGM IV. 99–101, where Thoth is the father. On the topic, see also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 136 n. 4; Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* III, p. cxxvii. [R.K.R.]

286. Reading *τό* for *τοῦτο*. That the symbol was the sandal is shown by the later reference to it in ll. 2334–35. The "symbols" of the gods were thought not to be mere signs of them but objects and formulas by which they could be controlled. [M.S.] See also Betz, "Fragments," 291.

287. Reading *δ'οὐχ* and understanding the negative to refer to both verbs, as suggested by L. Koenen. The magician threatens to strike: he will not perform actions that would prevent the impending eclipse. [M.S.]

288. Reading *Νειλω(ι) Ἰ(σ)ιδος χαριν κατοπτρ(οι οι)*. For *ἀθρέω* with *ἐν*, see the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. Sturzius, 13. 20. [M.S.]

289. Perhaps "you" instead of "my" should be read (also l. 2311). Cf. the similar list in PGM VII. 780–85. [M.S.]

- 2305 And one morsel of flesh, a piece / of coral,
 Blood of a turtledove, hoof of a camel,
 Hair of a virgin cow, the seed of Pan,
 Fire from a sunbeam, colt's foot, spindle tree,
 Boy love, bow drill, a gray-eyed woman's body
 2310 With legs outspread, a black sphinx's / pierced vagina:
 All of these are the symbol of my power.
 The bond of all necessity will be
 Sundered, and Helios will hide your light
 At noon, and Tethys will o'erflow the world,²⁹⁰
 2315 Which you inhabit. Aion's / quaking; heaven
 Will be disturbed; Kronos, in terror at
 Your pole²⁹¹ o'erpowered by force, has fled to Hades
 As overseer of the dead below.
 The Moirai throw away your endless thread,
 Unless you check my magic's winged shaft,²⁹² /
 2320 Swiftest to reach the mark. For to escape
 The fate of my words is impossible:
 Happen it must.²⁹³ Don't force yourself²⁹⁴ to hear
 The symbols forward and then in reverse
 Again. You'll, willy-nilly, do what's needed.
 Ere useless light becomes your fate, do what /
 2325 I say, O Maid, ruler of Tartaros.
 I've bound your pole with Kronos' chains, and with
 Awesome compulsion I hold fast your thumb.
 Tomorrow does not come unless my will
 2330 Is done. / To Hermes, leader of the gods,
 You promised²⁹⁵ to contribute to this rite.
 Aye, in my power I hold you. Hear, you who
 Watch and are watched. I look at you, you look
 At me. Then, too, I'll speak the sign to you:
 2335 Bronze sandal of her / who rules Tartaros,
 Her fillet, Key, wand, iron wheel, black dog,
 Her thrice-locked door, her burning hearth, her shadow,
 Depth, fire, the governess of Tartaros,
 Fearing the Furies, those prodigious daimons,²⁹⁶ /
 2340 You've come? You're here? Be wroth, O maid, at him,
 NN, foe of heav'n's gods, of Helios-
 Osiris²⁹⁷ and of Isis, his bedmate.

290. Reading *κλυζήσει* for *κουφισει*. Helios' light is the moon's because the moon shines with it (see above). He will hide it in the south, because that is where the sun goes to hide in the winter. Tethys is the goddess of the primordial waters. [M.S.]

291. Reading *πολον* for *σου νουν* with H. van Herwerden, "De carminibus e papyris acgyptiacis erutis et eruentis," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. 16 (1888): 342. [M.S.]

292. Understanding *μαγείης τῆς ἐμῆς* as equivalent to the dative (commendation may not be necessary), and reading *ἀναγκασ(θ)ῆς*. [M.S.]

293. Reading *ἦν δεῖ γενέσθαι* for *ὁ δεῖ γενέσθαι*. [M.S.]

294. Reading *σα(υ)τήν* with Preisendanz, ad. loc. [M.S.]

295. Reading *ἐννευσα* for *ἐνευσας*. [M.S.]

296. Reading nominatives for accusatives. [M.S.]

297. Although the link between Helios and Osiris is possible through the connection with Sarapis,

As I instruct you, hurl him to this ill
 Because, Kore, I know your good and great /
 Majestic names, by which heav'n is illumined, 2345
 And earth drinks dew and is pregnant; from these
 The universe increases and declines;

EUPHORBA PHORBA PHORBOREOU PHORBA PHORBOR PHORBOR PHORBOR BOR-
 BORPHA ÊRPHOR / PHORBAIÔ PHORBOR PHORBOR BOROPH PHORPHOR BOR 2350
 PHORBOR AÔ IÔÊ PHORBORPHOR EUPHOR BOPHOR EUOIEÔ PHÔTH IÔPHÔTH
 IÔPHÔTH PHÔTHIÔPH AÔÔÔTHÔ ÔAI IÔ EÔÔIÔ HAHABA EE ÊÊ IOYY ÔÔÔ OYYYY
 AEËIOUÔ / YYY mistress, Harken-techtha,²⁹⁸ who sits beside Lord Osiris, Michael, 2355
 Archangel of angels, the god who lights the way, perform for me.”

Protective charm of the procedure . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The translation is based on the edition in Preisendanz, but several emendations by Morton Smith have been accepted (see the notes); see his article “The Hymn to the Moon, PGM IV 2242–2355,” *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. L. Koenen et al. (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1981) 643–54.

PGM IV. 2359–72

***Business spell:** Take orange beeswax and / the juice of the acria plant and of 2360
 ground ivy and mix them and fashion a figure of Hermes²⁹⁹ having a hollow bot-
 tom, grasping in his left hand a herald's wand and in his right a small bag. Write on
 hieratic papyrus these names, and you will see continuous business: / “CHAIÔCHEN 2365
 OUTIBILMEMNOUÔTH ATRAUCH. Give income and business to this plase, because
 Psentebeth³⁰⁰ lives here.” Put the papyrus inside the figure and fill in the hole with
 the same beeswax. Then deposit it in a wall, at an inconspicuous place, / and crown 2370
 him on the outside, and sacrifice to him a cock, and make a drink offering of Egyp-
 tian wine, and light for him a lamp that is not colored red.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2373–2440

***Charm for acquiring business and for calling in customers**³⁰¹ to a workshop or 2375
 house or wherever you put it. / By having it, you will become rich, you will be suc-
 cessful. For Hermes made this for the wandering Isis.³⁰² The charm is marvelous
 and is called “*the little beggar*.”

Take beeswax that has not been heated, which is known as bee gluc, and fashion /
 a man having his right hand in the position of begging and having in his left a bag 2380
 and a staff. Let there be around the staff a coiled snake, and let him be dressed in a
 girdle and standing on a sphere that has / a coiled snake, like Isis. Stand it up and 2385

the older link between Osiris and Re may be of influence here. See A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21. [R.K.R.]

298. Harkentechtha is a male god (see Glossary s.v.); thus he is not to be addressed by “mistress,” a title belonging to the moon goddess of the preceding hymn. See also PGM IV. 2004 and n.

299. Here Hermes is portrayed as the god of merchants and of commerce. See PGM V. 390–99.

300. This name means “the son of the female falcon.” Cf. Jacoby in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., who fails to recognize the female definite article, a fact that precludes the identification with Horus, the falcon god. [R.K.R.]

301. LSJ renders κατακλητικόν (spell) “for invoking,” but Eitrem, in Preisendanz's apparatus, is probably right in translating “charm for calling in customers.” See on this point Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 102; see also PGM CXXIV. 7.

302. The wandering of Isis refers to her as the widow of Osiris searching for his body. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356D–E; 39, 366F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 315, 452. For wax figurines associated with the cult of Isis, see Diodorus Sic. I. 21. 5–6 and the commentary by A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I, EPRO* 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1972): 93–94.

erect it in a single block of hollowed-out juniper, and have an asp covering the top
 2390 as a capital.³⁰³ Fashion him during the new moon and consecrate / it in a celebrating
 mood, and read aloud the spell over his members, after you have divided him into
 three sections—repeating the spell four times for each member. For each member
 write on strips of papyrus made from a priestly scroll, with ink of cinnabar, juice of
 2395 wormwood, and myrrh. When you have set it / up high on the place you have
 chosen, sacrifice to it a wild [ass]³⁰⁴ with a white forehead and offer it whole and
 roast the inward parts over the wood of willow and thus eat it.

2400 *Now this is what is to be written on [each] strip of papyrus. The spell on the /*
bag: “EPH EROUCHIÖ CHÖRAI DARIDA MÊTHEUEI ABACHTHIE EMESIE ECHENĒ
 IAE IEN EBAPS PHNEÖA ENTHÖNICHAEINTHA TROMOCHMOUSÖ THERAÖCHEIN
 2405 SASI SAMACHIÖTH OUASA AMAKARALA KAIÖS / LASOI.” Upon the head: “ÖAI IĒ
 IĒÖ NAÖ OULABETHEN THERMATH ENESIE.” On the neck: “THALAA MEMARACHÖ
 CHETH THROU PHEN PHTHAI.” On the right shoulder: “ĒMAA CHNA THOU
 2410 BÖLERI.” On / the left: “ARIAÖ IĒE SYPSO ITHEN BACHTHIPHĒRPSOI THENIBON.”
 On the belly: “AMAMAMAR AIII OU MAMÖ MOU OMBA.” On the sacred bone:
 2415 “IANOA PHTHOUTHÖ OTHOM MATHATHOU.” / On the right thigh: “ARIN THEA
 RAGNI MĒTHETHIÖ CHRĒ IĒ IĒ ERE.” On the left thigh: “ĒI EIN YEAIÖ ERENPS
 2420 TEPHĒT PARAOU ANĒI.” On the private parts: “ĒERÖTHĒSONĒEN / THNIBITH EU-
 ECHEN.” On the right shin: “MIANIKOUĒI BIOUS.” On the left: “CHNOU TOUÖY-
 MOUCHOS ONIÖ.” Under the sole of the right foot: “OURANION.”³⁰⁵ On the left:
 2425 / “ANOUPSIE.” On the back of the buttocks: “ETEMPSIS PSPHOPS IAIÄĒIÖO.” On
 the snake the name “Agathos Daimon,” which is, as Epaphroditus³⁰⁶ says, the follow-
 2430 ing: / “PHRĒ ANÖI PHÖRCHÖ PHYYY RORPSIS OROCHÖÖI,” but as on the paper
 which I found the spell was changed thus: “Harponknouphi” (formula).

2435 *This is the spell for the rite:* “I receive / you as the cowherd who has his camp
 toward the south, I receive you for the widow and the orphan.³⁰⁷ Therefore, give me
 2440 favor, work for my business. Bring to me silver, gold, clothing, / much wealth for
 the good of it.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2441–2621

* **Spell of attraction:**³⁰⁸ (implements: those for a lunar burnt offering); it attracts those who are uncontrollable and require no magical material³⁰⁹ and who come in one day. It inflicts sickness excellently and destroys powerfully, sends dreams beau-

303. The clause ὀρυκτόν . . . κεκρυμμένον is obscure and not clearly related to its context. Preisendanz understands the snake to be buried in the basket which is put under the figure. The reference is apparently to the *cista mystica* which contained the snake and was carried on the head. See Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 11 and Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 222–26; H. Leisegang, “The Mystery of the Serpent,” in *The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, Bollingen Series XXX. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 194–260.

304. The papyrus has only here and in I. 3148 ἀγριον which Jacoby emends to (ὄν)ἀγριον, “wild ass.” Eitrem suggests ἄγριον κριόν, “wild ram.”

305. In Greek, “heavenly.”

306. Apparently the papyrus refers to another author by the name Epaphroditos, but nothing is known about him.

307. Cf. I. 2375. See also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 31. The widow and orphan refer to Isis and Horus; cf. PGM III. 542–43. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 450. For the importance of hospitality in the myth of the wandering Isis, cf. C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956) 41–42; Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 59–62. [R.K.R.]

308. This spell is similar to, and perhaps even parallel to, PGM IV. 2622–2784.

309. The translation of these adjectives is tentative and follows Preisendanz's German translation,

tifully, accomplishes dream revelations marvelously and in its many / demonstrations has been marveled at for having no failure in these matters. 2445

Burnt offering: Pachrates,³¹⁰ the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. / For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, / he ordered double fees to be given to him. 2450 2455

Take a field mouse³¹¹ and deify it in spring water. And take two moon beetles³¹² and deify them in river water, and take a river crab and fat of a dappled goat that is virgin and dung of a dog- / faced baboon, 2 eggs of an ibis, 2 drams of storax, 2 drams of myrrh, 2 drams of crocus, 4 drams of Italian galingale, 4 drams of uncut frankincense, a single onion. Put all these things onto a mortar with the mouse and the remaining items / and, after pounding thoroughly, place in a lead box and keep for use. And whenever you want to perform a rite, take a little, make a charcoal fire, go up on a lofty roof, and make the offering as you say / this spell at moonrise, and at once she comes. 2460 2465 2470

Spell:³¹³ “Let all the darkness of clouds be dispersed for me, and let the goddess AKTIŌPHIS shine for me, and let her hear my holy voice. For I come / announcing the slander³¹⁴ of NN, a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who says, ‘I have seen the greatest / goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.’ It is she, NN, who said, ‘I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.’ She, NN, said it, not I, AKTIŌPHIS ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHORPHORBA SATRAPAMMŌN CHOIRIXIĒ, flesh eater. Go to her NN and take away her sleep and put a burning heat in her soul,³¹⁵ punishment and frenzied passion in her thoughts, / and banish her from every place and from every house, and attract her here to me, NN.” 2475 2480 2485 2490

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and go backward as you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being attracted / so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.³¹⁶ 2495

For causing illness: Use these spells, adding, “Make her, NN, whom NN bore, ill.”

And for destroying: Say, “Draw out her breath, Mistress, from the nostrils of her, NN.”

except for *μονομηέρους* which is rendered in analogy to *μονόωρος* in ll. 2450–51. Cf. also the parallels in PGM IV. 2071–72; XXXVI. 361.

310. The prophet Pachrates may be identical with Pankrates described by Lucian, *Philops.* 34. See K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74; Nock, *Essays* I, 183–84.

311. On the role of the mouse in magic, see W. R. Dawson, “The Mouse in Egyptian and Later Medicine,” *JEA* 10 (1924): 83–86.

312. On the moon beetle and its association with the moon, see Abt, *Apologie* 126–27.

313. Although only the general term for “spell” is used here (*λόγος*), the contents show clearly that the passage is a “slander spell” (*διαβολή*). Cf. PGM IV. 2622 in the title of a spell. [E.N.O.]

314. For this slander, cf. ll. 2574–2621, below. The projection of a ritual violation onto the party to be affected by the spell, esp. the statement, “It is NN who said that. It is not I who said that,” is also found in numerous older Egyptian texts. See F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l’Égypte antique* I (Paris: Geuthner, 1925) 56–58; Pritchard, *ANET* 327 and note b. In PGM cf. also III. 5, 114–15; VII. 593–619. On the whole subject, see S. Eitrem, “Die rituelle ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ,” *SO* 2 (1924): 43–61. [R.K.R.]

315. On the “burning of the soul,” see R. Ganszyniec, “Das Märchen der Pythia,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920): 170–71. Cf. also Glossary, s.v. “Soul.”

316. Differently Preisendanz, who understands: “otherwise she will die.”

- 2500 / *For sending dreams*: Say, "Become like the god whom she worships."
For dream revelations: Say, "Stand beside me, Mistress, and reveal to me about the NN matter." And she will stand beside you and will tell everything without deception.
- 2505 Do not therefore perform the rite rashly, and do not perform / it unless some dire necessity arises for you. It also possesses a protective charm against your falling, for the goddess is accustomed to make airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm and to hurl them from aloft down to the ground. So consequently / I have also thought it necessary to take the precaution of a protective charm so that you may perform the rite without hesitation. Keep it secret.
- 2510 Take a hieratic papyrus roll and wear it around your right arm with which you make the offering. And these are the / things written on it: "MOULATHI CHERNOUTH AMARŌ MOULIANDRON, guard me from every evil daimon, whether an evil male or female." Keep it secret, son.³¹⁷
- 2520 *The second spell*, after you make / the first sacrifice, but it is better for you to say it before you make the offering. This is the spell attached to the first:
 "[I offer you]"³¹⁸ this spice, O child of Zeus,
 Dart-shooter, Artemis, Persephone,
 2525 Shooter of deer, night-shining, / triple-sounding,
 Triple-voiced, triple-headed Selene,
 Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
 And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
 Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets,
 And you who oft frequent the triple way
 And rule the triple decades with three forms
 2530 / And flames and dogs. From toneless throats you send
 A dread, sharp cry when you, O goddess, have
 Raised up an awful sound with triple mouths.
 Hearing your cry, all worldly things are shaken:
 2535 The nether gates and Lethe's / holy water
 And primal Chaos and the shining chasm
 Of Tartaros. At it ev'ry immortal
 And ev'ry mortal man, the starry mountains,
 Valleys and ev'ry tree and roaring rivers,
 2540 And e'en the restless sea, / the lonely echo,
 And daimons through the world, shudder at you,
 O blessed one, when they hear your dread voice.
 Come here to me, goddess of night, beast-slayer,
 Come and be at my love spell of attraction,
 Quiet and frightful, and having your meal
 2545 Amid the graves. / And heed my prayers, Selene,
 Who suffer much, who rise and set at night,
 O triple-headed, triple-named MĒNĒ
 MARZOUNĒ, fearful, gracious-minded, and
 Persuasion.³¹⁹ Come to me, horned-faced, light-bringer,

317. The term "son" seems to indicate the magician's apprentice. Cf. similar references in *PGM* I. 193; XIII. 214, 313, 343, 719, 755, etc. [E.N.O.]

318. These dactylic hexameters, with the usual mixture of accurate and faulty meter, also form the reconstructed Hymn 20, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 257–59. [E.N.O.]

319. For the personified Persuasion (*Peithō*) as an attribute and companion of Aphrodite cf. *PGM*

Bull-shaped, horse-faced goddess, who howl doglike; /
 Come here, she-wolf, and come here now, Mistress 2550
 Of night and chthonic realms, holy, black-clad,
 'Round whom the star-traversing nature of
 The world revolves whene'er you wax too great.
 You have established ev'ry worldly thing,
 For you engendered everything on earth
 And from / the sea and ev'ry race in turn 2555
 Of winged birds who seek their nests again.
 Mother of all, who bore Love, Aphrodite,
 Lamp-bearer, shining and aglow, Selene,
 Star-coursing, heav'nly, torch-bearer, fire-breather, /
 Woman four-faced, four-named, four-roads' mistress. 2560
 Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
 O heav'nly one, harbor goddess, who roam
 The mountains and are goddess of the crossroads;
 O nether one, goddess of depths, eternal,
 Goddess of dark, come to my / sacrifices. 2565
 Fulfill for me this task, and as I pray
 Give heed to me, Lady, I ask of you."

Use this for the spells of coercion, for it can accomplish anything, but do not use
 it frequently to Selene / unless the procedure which you are performing is worthy 2570
 of its power. For the hostile offerings, when some slander is involved, use the fol-
 lowing stele, speaking thus:

This is the 3rd coercive spell:

"She,³²⁰ NN, is burning for you, /
 Goddess, some dreadful incense³²¹ 2575
 And dappled goat's fat, blood and filth,
 The menstrual flow of virgin
 Dead, heart of one untimely dead,
 The magical material
 Of dead dog, woman's embryo,
 Fine-ground wheat husks, / sour refuse, 2580
 Salt, fat of dead doe, and mastic,
 And myrtle, dark bay, barley,
 And crab claws, sage, rose, fruit pits and
 A single onion, / garlic, 2585
 Fig meal, a dog-faced baboon's dung,
 And egg of a young ibis.
 And this is sacrilege! She placed
 Them on your altar; she set
 The flaming fire / to juniper 2590
 Wood strips and slays a seahawk
 For you, a vulture and a mouse,
 Your greatest myst'ry, goddess.

LII. 15, where the connection is not clear, however, and esp. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* passim.

320. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears just below in PGM IV. 2643–74. [E.N.O.]

321. On the accusations, see PGM IV. 2475 and n.

- She said, too, that these deeds of pain
 You had performed so harshly:
 For she said that you slew a man
 2595 And drank the / blood of this man
 And ate his flesh, and she says that
 Your headband is his entrails
 That you took all his skin and put
 It into your vagina,
 [That you drank] sea falcon's blood and
 That your food was dung beetle.
 But Pan before your very eyes
 Shot forth his seed unlawful. /
 2600 A dog-faced baboon now is born
 Whene'er there's menstrual cleansing.
 But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
 Selene, Only Ruler,
 Swift Fortune of daimons and gods:
 NEBOUTOSOALĒTH IŌI LOIMOU LALON, in Syriac: ETARONKON BYTHOU PNOU-
 2605 SAN / KATHINBERAO ESTOCHETH ORENTHA AMELCHERIBIOUTH SPHNOUTH,
 Brand her, NN, the lawless one,
 With bitter retributions,
 Whom I again will duly charge
 To you in hostile manner.
 I call you, triple-faced goddess
 Mene, O light-beloved
 2610 Hermes / and Hekate at once,
 Male-female child together;
 MOUPHŌR PHORBA, Queen Brimo, dreaded and lawful, and Dardania, All-seeing
 One, come here, IŌIĒ, Virgin, Goddess of crossroads and bull snake are you,
 2615 Nymph and mare bitch and head / -nodder and Minoan and powerful, EALA-
 NINDŌ, come here, ATEĒS ENIDELIDIMA, Mistress Phaiara, MĒDIXA EMITHĒNIŌ,
 come to me, INDEOMĒ, come here, MEGAPHTHĒ; she will come here. Attract her
 2620 NN to me very quickly, / I myself will clearly convict her of everything, goddess,
 which she had done while sacrificing to you."
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2622–2707

- 2625 *Slander spell³²² to Selene,³²³ which works for everything and every rite. For it
 attracts in the same hour, it sends dreams, it causes sickness, produces / dream vi-
 sions,³²⁴ removes enemies when you reverse the spell, however you wish. But above
 all be protected by a protective charm and do not approach the procedure³²⁵ care-
 lessly or else the goddess is angry.³²⁶

322. See on this term PGM IV. 2475 and n.

323. For a similar slander spell, see PGM IV. 2471–92.

324. The papyrus has *ονειροθανπτει*. For conjectures, cf. the apparatus ad loc., and for parallels PGM IV. 3172, 3197. See also K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920): 31–32.

325. Here *πραγματεία* seems to be a variant for the usual expression *πράγμα*, "rite."

326. The present tense is strange here; it should perhaps be read *μηνει*, "will be angry." Preisendanz's translation has a future ring, too ("sonst zürnt die Göttin").

/ *Preparation of the procedure's protective charm*: Take a magnet that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty-lettered spell that is all vowels, / and wear it around your body. 2630 2635

The following name is what is written: "AEYŌ ĒIE ŌA EŌĒ EŌA ŌI EŌI." For this spell is completely capable of everything. But perform this ritual in a holy manner, not frequently / or lightly, especially to Selene. At any rate, burn upon pieces of juniper wood an offering of Cretan storax and begin the spell. 2640

The spell which is to be spoken:

"For³²⁷ you the woman NN burns
 Some hostile incense, goddess;
 The fat of dappled goat, and blood, /
 Defilement, embryo of 2645
 A dog, the bloody discharge of
 A virgin dead untimely,
 A young boy's heart,³²⁸ with barley mixed
 In vinegar, both salt and
 A deer's horn, mastic, myrtle and
 Dark bay, and mix at random,
 And crab claws, / sage, rose, pits for you 2650
 And single onion, garlic,
 Mouse pellets, dog-faced baboon's blood,
 And egg of a young ibis—
 And what is sacrilege, she placed
 These on your wooden altar
 Of juniper. She, NN, / said 2655
 That you had done this matter;
 For she said that you slew a man
 And drank the blood of this man
 And ate his flesh, and she says that
 Your headband is his entrails,
 That you took all his skin and put
 It into your vagina, /
 [That you drank] blood of a sea falcon 2660
 And your food was dung beetle.
 And Pan before your very eyes
 Shot forth his seed unlawful:
 A dog-faced baboon now is born
 From all the menstrual cleansing,
 But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
 Selene, / Only Ruler, 2665
 The Fortune of daimons and gods,

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH IŌ IMI BOULLON ENOURTILAIĒ (otherwise: NOUMILLON

327. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatelectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears above in PGM IV. 2574–2610. [E.N.O.]

328. On rituals involving a boy's heart, see A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972): 32–37, 69–72.

- “Come,³³³ giant Hekate, Dione’s³³⁴ guard, /
 O Persia, Baubo Phroune,³³⁵ dart-shooter, 2715
 Unconquered, Lydian,³³⁶ the one untamed,
 Sired nobly, torch-bearing, guide, who bends down
 Proud necks, Kore, hear, you who’ve parted / gates 2720
 Of steel unbreakable. O Artemis,
 Who, too, were once protectress, mighty one,
 Mistress, who burst forth from the earth, dog-leader,
 All-tamer, crossroad goddess, triple-headed,
 Bringer of light, august / virgin, I call you 2725
 Fawn-slayer, crafty, O infernal one,³³⁷
 And many-formed. Come, Hekate, goddess
 Of three ways, who with your fire-breathing phantoms
 Have been allotted dreaded roads and harsh /
 Enchantments. Hekate I call you with 2730
 Those who untimely passed away and with
 Those heroes who have died without a wife
 And children, hissing wildly, yearning in
 Their hearts.”³³⁸ (*But others* say, “with form of winds”). /
 “Go stand above her (NN) head and take 2735
 Away from her sweet sleep. And never let
 Eyelid come glued to eyelid, but let her
 Be sore distressed with wakeful cares for me. /
 And if she lies with someone else in her 2740
 Embrace, let her thrust him away and take
 Me in her heart. Let her abandon him
 At once and stand before my door subdued
 In soul at longing for my bed of love.³³⁹ /
 But you, O Hekate, of many names, 2745
 O Virgin, Kore, Goddess, come, I ask,
 O guard and shelter of the threshing floor,
 Persephone, O triple-headed goddess,
 Who walk on fire, cow-eyed BOUORPHORBĒ³⁴⁰
 PANPHORBA PHORBARA AKTIŌPHI
 ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH 2750

333. The dactylic hexameters, which are frequently interrupted by *voces magicæ* and other formulas, also form the reconstructed Hymn 21. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 259–60, where the hymn concludes with IV. 2764 but adds 2784 as a kind of postscript. [E.N.O.]

334. Dione is a name of Aphrodite; see LSJ, s.v. Here in this syncretistic hymn the name belongs to Hekate, as on the magical tools from Pergamon; see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät* 23–24.

335. The epithet of Hekate may be related to the frog (cf. PGM XXXVI. 235). The animal played an important role in magic as a representative of the gods of the underworld. See M. Weber, “Frosch,” *RAC* 8 (1970): 524–38.

336. The use of the name “Lydian” with Hekate-Artemis should be noted in connection with the possible Lydian origin of Artemis. See on this point Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* I, 116–17.

337. The translation follows Reitzenstein’s emendation (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) of ἀδ-
 ναια as Ἀἰδωναία. This epithet of the goddess of Hades also occurs in PGM IV. 2855. Cf. LSJ, s.v. Ἀἰδωναῖος; Suppl. s.v.

338. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9. 75. As the apparatus points out, the verse may be corrupt.

339. φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνή is a Homeric *bendiadys*. Cf. *Il.* 3. 445; 6. 25. See PGM IV. 2910.

340. The *voces magicæ* here seem intended as a part of the verse pattern and they have, however awkwardly, been treated as such. [E.N.O.]

Beside the doors, PYPYLĒDEDEZŌ
 And gate-breaker; Come Hekate, of fiery
 Counsel, I call you to my sacred chants.

- 2755 MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA who burst forth from
 the earth, / earth mare, OREOPĒGANXX MORMORON TOKOUMBAL (add the usual),
 “In frenzy³⁴¹ may she (NN) come fast to my doors,
 Forgetting children and her life with parents,
 2760 And loathing all the race of men / and women
 Except me (NN), but may she hold me alone
 And come subdued in heart by love’s great force.
 2765 THENŌB³⁴² TITHELĒB ĒNŌR TENTHĒNŌR. / Many-named One, KYZALEOUSA
 PAZAOUS; wherefore, KOLLIDĒCHMA and SAB set her (NN) soul ablaze with un-
 resting fire. Both ŌRIŌN and MICHAĒL who sits on high: you hold the seven wa-
 2770 ters / and the earth, keeping in check the one they call the great serpent, AKRO-
 KODĒRE³⁴³ MOUISRŌ CHARCHAR ADŌNAI ZEUS DĒ DAMNAMENEUS KYNIOU
 2775 EZAGRA” (add the usual). “IŌ, all-powerful goddess / and IŌ all-guarding one; IŌ,
 all-sustaining One, ZĒLACHNA: and SAAD SABIŌTHE NOUMILLON NATHOMEINA,
 2780 always KEINĒTH, stalwart THĒSEUS ONXX,³⁴⁴ prudent DAMNAMENEUS, / avenging
 goddess, strong goddess, rite of ghosts, Persia SEBARA AKRA.

Haste quickly. Let her now stand at my doors” (add the usual).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 2785–2890

- 2785 *Prayer to Selene for any spell:³⁴⁵
 “Come³⁴⁶ to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
 Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
 Night’s ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
 2790 O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
 O queen who drive your car on equal course
 With Helios, who with the triple forms
 Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
 2795 The stars. You’re Justice³⁴⁷ and the Moira’s threads:
 Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos³⁴⁸

341. See on this point the discussion by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101–2. On the subject of madness caused by magic, see J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrhunderts*, *Bibliothek der Altertumswissenschaften*, N. F. 2. Reihe, Band 36 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970) 44–49.

342. These lines (2764–84) retain some traces of hexameters, but only the last line comes close to being a complete line. [E.N.O.]

343. The formula seems to be textually mutilated. Cf. for similar passages PGM II. 23–24; V. 424–27; VII. 680–83. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

344. ONXX may refer to the stone onyx which was used in magic. Cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 582.

345. For a discussion of this hymn, see K. Kerényi, “Die Göttin Natur,” *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86, esp. 68–79.

346. These dactylic hexameters, some of which show the usual irregularities, also form the reconstructed Hymn 18. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 253–55. [E.N.O.]

347. Dike (Justice), the daughter of Zeus, has here and in l. 2860 become an epithet of the underworld goddess. For the association of Dike with underworld deities, see A. Dihle, “Gerechtigkeit,” *RAC* 10 (1976): 243–45.

348. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain at this point. Traditionally, the names of the Furies were Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaira (Apollodorus, *Bib.* I. 1. 4; *Orph. Hymn.* 69. 2). If the three Furies are intended here, the reading of Persephone will have to be changed to Tisiphone, as suggested by Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. See also H. Funke, “Furien,” *RAC* 8 (1971): 699–722, esp. 704–5.

Three-headed, you're Persephone, Megaira,
 Allekto, many-formed, who arm your hands /
 With dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks 2800
 Of fearful serpents on your brow, who sound
 The roar of bulls out from your mouths, whose womb
 Is decked out with the scales of creeping things, /
 With pois'nous rows of serpents down the back, 2805
 Bound down your backs with horrifying chains
 Night-Crier, bull-faced, loving solitude,
 Bull-headed, you have eyes of bulls, / the voice 2810
 Of dogs; you hide your forms in shanks of lions,³⁴⁹
 Your ankle is wolf-shaped, fierce dogs are dear
 To you, wherefore they call you / Hekate, 2815
 Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like
 Dart-shooter³⁵⁰ Artemis, Persephone,
 Shooter of deer, night / shining, triple-sounding, 2820
 Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
 Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
 And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
 Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets, /
 And you who oft frequent the triple way 2825
 And rule the triple decades,³⁵¹ unto me
 Who'm calling you be gracious and with kindness
 Give heed, you who protect the spacious world
 At night, before whom daimons quake in fear /
 And gods immortal tremble, goddess who 2830
 Exalt men, you of many names, who bear
 Fair offspring, bull-eyed, horned, mother of gods
 And men, and Nature,³⁵² Mother of all things,
 For you frequent Olympos, / and the broad 2835
 And boundless chasm you traverse. Beginning
 And end are you, and you alone rule all.
 For all things are from you, and in you do
 All things, Eternal one, come to their end.
 As everlasting / band around your temples 2840
 You wear great Kronos' chains,³⁵³ unbreakable
 And unremovable, and you hold in
 Your hands a golden scepter. Letters 'round
 Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave 2845
 To you to wear that all things stay steadfast:
 Subduer and subdued, mankind's subduer,
 And force-subduer; Chaos, too, you rule.

349. The phrase describing Hekate/Artemis as standing between two lions points to the older concept of the "queen of the animals." See W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur Grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (München und Wien: Oldenbourg, 1971) esp. 223–25.

350. Ll. 2819–26 are parallel to IV. 2523–28.

351. For the term "triple decades," see PGM IV. 2527.

352. For the concept of Nature, see Glossary, s.v.; for the epithet "mother of all things" see *Orph. Hymn.* 10. 1: *παμμήγετρα*. See also PGM IV. 2917.

353. See also PGM IV. 3084–3124 and S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," *Université libre de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II: *Mélanges J. Bidez*, vol. I (Bruxelles: Secrétariat de l'institut, 1934) 351–60.

2850 ARARACHARA/RA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE.

Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
 I burn³⁵⁴ for you this spice, O child of Zeus,
 Dart-shooter, heav'nly one, goddess of harbors,
 Who roam the mountains, goddess of crossroads, /
 2855 O nether and nocturnal, and infernal,
 Goddess of dark, quiet and frightful³⁵⁵ one,
 O you who have your meal amid the graves,³⁵⁶
 Night, Darkness, broad Chaos: Necessity
 Hard to escape are you; you're Moira and /
 2860 Erinys,³⁵⁷ torment, Justice and Destroyer,
 And you keep Kerberos in chains, with scales
 Of serpents are you dark, O you with hair
 Of serpents, serpent-girded, who drink blood, /
 2865 Who bring death and destruction, and who feast
 On hearts, flesh eater, who devour those dead
 Untimely, and you who make grief resound
 And spread madness, come to my sacrifices,
 2870 And now for me do you fulfill / this matter."

Offering for the rite: For doing good, offer storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, a fruit pit. But for doing harm, offer magical / material of a dog and a dappled goat (or in a similar way, of a virgin untimely dead).

2880 *Protective charm for the rite:* Take a lodestone and on it have carved / a three-faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is
 2885 done, / clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a violent death. Then make a food offering to it³⁵⁸ and say the same spell at the time
 2890 of the / ritual.³⁵⁹

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2891–2942

*Love spell of attraction:

*Offering to the star of Aphrodite:*³⁶⁰ A white dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh and parched wormwood. Make this up together as pills and offer them to the star
 2895 on pieces of vine / wood or on coals. And also have the brains of a vulture for the compulsion, so that you may make the offering. And also have as a protective charm a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer,
 2900 tied to your left arm with / Anubian thread.³⁶¹

354. The following lines are similar to those at PGM IV. 2522–29, but their order occasionally differs.

355. On δασπλήτη, "frightful," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 2. 14 (said of Hekate). [E.N.O.]

356. On eating amid graves, cf., e.g., Tibullus l. 5. 49–56, esp. 53–54.

357. The goddess is here identified with Erinys, the avenging deity. This identification is somewhat inconsistent with l. 2798, where the three Furies are named; the same is true of Moira (l. 2859) as compared with the three Moirai (ll. 2795–96). See PGM IV. 1418, 2339; V. 191; and IV. 2798 with n.

358. The term παράθεις refers to an offering of food. See PGM I. 23, 39; XIII. 1012. Cf. Eitrem's and Preisendanz's translation: "leg ihn (eine Weile) beiseite." Wunsch thinks of the term as a cover ("Hülle").

359. For the meaning of the phrase, see PGM V. 230.

360. The star of Aphrodite is the planet Venus.

361. On the Anubian thread see PGM I. 147 and n.

Compulsion element of the rite:

“But,³⁶² if as goddess you in slowness act,
 You will not see Adonis rise from Hades,³⁶³
 Straightway I’ll run and bind him with steel chains; /
 As guard, I’ll bind on him another wheel 2905
 Of Ixion;³⁶⁴ no longer will he come
 To fight, and he’ll be chastized and subdued.
 Wherefore, O Lady, act, I beg: Attract
 NN, whom NN bore, to come with rapid step
 To my door,³⁶⁵ me, NN, whom NN bore, /
 And to the bed of love, driven by frenzy, 2910
 In anguish from the forceful goads—today,
 At once, quickly. For I adjure you, Kythere,³⁶⁶

NOUMILLON BIOMBILLON AKTIŌPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHROU-
 RĒXIA THERMIDOCHĒ BAREŌ / NĒ.” 2915

Hymn of Compulsion:

“O foam-born Kythereia, mother of
 Both gods and men, etherial and chthonic,
 All-Mother Nature, goddess unsubdued,
 Who hold together things,³⁶⁷ who cause the great
 Fire to revolve, who keep the ever-moving
 BARZA³⁶⁸ / in her unbroken course; and you 2920
 Accomplish everything, from head to toes,
 And by your will is holy water mixed,
 When by your hands you’ll move RHOUZŌ³⁶⁹ amid
 The stars, the world’s midpoint which you control.
 You move holy desire into the souls
 Of men / and move women to man, and you 2925
 Render³⁷⁰ woman desirable to man

362. This is a curious and confused passage. Ll. 2902–15 contain scattered snatches of verses which are obviously parts of dactylic hexameters. Ll. 2916–28 contain lines which are relatively accurate hexameters, but 2929–39 are a mixture of metrical and nonmetrical lines. Nevertheless, the whole passage has been arranged and reconstructed as Hymn 22; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 260–61. Since the tone and purpose of the whole passage seems hymnic, the translation has been made in verse but with an occasional faulty line. [E.N.O.]

363. On the cult of Adonis in Egypt and the problem concerning his “resurrection,” cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15 and, with further literature, Nilsson, *GGR* II, 35 n. 2; 650, n. 4; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 320–22.

364. Because he attempted to make love to Hera, wife of Zeus, the mythical king Ixion was condemned by being fastened to an ever-turning wheel. The myth of Ixion was very popular in antiquity. See Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, pp. 200–205 (with plates); P. Weizsäcker, in Roscher 2, 766–72, s.v. “Ixion”; H. von Geisau, “Ixion,” *KP* 3 (1979): 31–32.

365. Preisendanz states that *ἐν προθύροις* is a tag from Homer, *Od.* 10. 220.

366. Two traditional epithets of Aphrodite occur here closely together: *Kythērē* in l. 2912 and *Kythereia* in l. 2915. The name may refer to the island of Kythera which was believed to be Aphrodite’s birthplace and which had a temple of Aphrodite Urania. See LSJ, s.v.; E. Meyer, “Kythera,” *KP* 3 (1979): 423.

367. The reading of this epithet is uncertain. See the apparatus.

368. The word BARZA is Persian and means “shining light.” See Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100.

369. Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100, assumes that RHOUZŌ is confused with the Persian magical word ZOURŌ. See also K. Preisendanz, “Zuro,” in Roscher 6, pp. 763–64.

370. Preisendanz prints *τιθησι*, the reading of the papyrus, but the third person is certainly wrong here. The simplest correction is that of Wessely: *τιθησὶ σὺ*, and that is what is translated here.

Through all the days to come, our Goddess Queen,
Come to these chants, Mistress

ARRŌRIPHRAΣI GŌTHĒTINI, Cyprus-born, SOUI ĒS THNOBOCHOU THORITHE
2930 STHENEPIŌ, Lady / SERTHENEΒĒĒI, and inflict fiery love on her, NN, whom NN
bore,

So³⁷¹ that for me, NN, whom NN bore,
She melt with love through all the days to come
But, blessed RHOUZŌ, grant this to me, NN:
Just as into your chorus 'mid the stars

A man unwilling you attracted to
2935 Your bed for intercourse, / and once he was
Attracted, he at once began to turn
Great BARZA, nor did he cease turning, and
While moving in his circuits, he's aroused:
wherefore attract to me, her, NN, whom NN bore,
To bed of love. But goddess Cyprus-born
Do you now to the full fulfill this chant." /

2940 If you see the star shining steadily, it is a sign that she has been smitten, and if it is
lengthened like the flame of a lamp, she has already come.³⁷²

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2943–66

***Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness:** Take the eyes of a bat and release
2945 it alive, and take / a piece of unbaked dough or unmelted wax and mold a little
dog; and put the right eye of the bat into the right eye of the little dog, implanting
also in the same way the left one in the left. And take a needle, thread it with the
2950 magical material and / stick it through the eyes of the little dog, so that the magical
material is visible. And put the dog into a new drinking vessel, attach a papyrus
strip³⁷³ to it and seal it with your own ring which has crocodiles with the backs of
2955 their heads attached,³⁷⁴ and / deposit it at a crossroad after you have marked the
spot so that, should you wish to recover it, you can find it.

Spell written on the papyrus strip: "I adjure you three times by Hekate PHOR-
2960 PHORBA BAIBŌ PHŌRBŌRBA, that she, NN, lose the fire in her eye or even / lie
awake with nothing on her mind except me, NN, alone. I adjure by Kore, who has
become the Goddess of Three roads, and who is the true mother of . . . (whom you
2965 wish), PHORBEA BRIMŌ NĒRĒATO DAMŌN BRIMŌN SEDNA / DARDAR, All-seeing
one, IŌPĒ, make her, NN, lie awake for me through all [eternity]."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

371. The verse resumes here after a few lines of prose; however, the NN-formula does not scan.

372. The last word of this section is either ἤξεν ("she has come") or ἤξεν ("it has attracted"). The magical sense—or the result—is the same in either case. For the rare aorist of ἄγω cf. PGM IV. 2934: ἤξας. Preisendanz prints ἤξεν in the first, ἤξεν in the second edition, but in the index lists the word under ἤκω. [E.N.O.]

373. πῦττακιζω means "attach a label" (LSJ, s.v.) in the sense of attaching a papyrus strip on which writing is placed; cf. below, ll. 2956–66. [E.N.O.]

374. Whether this means "head to head" (thus Preisendanz) or "tail to tail" (thus LSJ) or "head to tail" is uncertain. Paired crocodiles appear on seals in all these positions, but head to tail is far more frequent. [M.S.] The crocodile was sacred to Sobek, with whose cult sacred prostitution seems to have been associated. Thus there may be a link with the erotic theme of this spell. See H. Thompson, "Two Demotic Self-Dedications," *JEA* 26 (1940): 68–78. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 2967–3006

* Among the Egyptians herbs are always obtained like this: ³⁷⁵ the herbalist first purifies his own body, then sprinkles with natron ³⁷⁶ and / fumigates the herb with resin from a pine tree after carrying it around the place 3 times. ³⁷⁷ Then, after burning *kyphi* and pouring the libation of milk as he prays, he pulls up the plant while invoking by name the daimon to whom the herb / is being dedicated and calling upon him to be more effective for the use for which it is being acquired. 2970 2975

The invocation for him, which he speaks over any herb, generally at the moment of picking, is as follows: ³⁷⁸

“You were sown by Kronos, you were conceived by Hera, / you were maintained by Ammon, you were given birth by Isis, you were nourished by Zeus the god of rain, you were given growth by Helios and dew. ³⁷⁹ You [are] the dew of all the gods, you [are] the heart of Hermes, you are the seed of the primordial gods, you are the eye / of Helios, ³⁸⁰ you are the light of Selene, ³⁸¹ you are the zeal of Osiris, ³⁸² you are the beauty and the glory of Ouranos, you are the soul of Osiris’ daimon which revels in every place, you are the spirit of Ammon. As you have exalted Osiris, so / exalt yourself and rise just as Helios rises each day. Your size is equal to the zenith of Helios, your roots come from the depths, but your powers are in the heart of Hermes, your fibers are the bones of Mnevis, ³⁸³ and your / flowers are the eye of Horus, ³⁸⁴ your seed is Pan’s seed. I am washing you in resin as I also wash the gods ³⁸⁵ even [as I do this] for my own health. You also be cleaned by prayer and give us power as Ares and Athena do. I am Hermes. I am acquiring you with Good / Fortune and Good Daimon both at a propitious hour and on a propitious day that is effective for all things.” 2980 2985 2990 2995 3000

After saying this, he rolls the harvested stalk in a pure linen cloth (but into the place of its roots they threw seven seeds of wheat and an equal number of barley, after mixing them with honey), / and after pouring in the ground which has been dug up, he departs. 3005

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

375. On plant picking, see PGM IV. 286 and n.

376. Natron, a natural compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate, was the primary mineral used for purification in Egypt. See J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 193–94. [R.K.R.]

377. On the ritual of walking in a circle, see W. Pax, “Circumambulatio,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52. For a humorous example, see Propertius, *Eleg.* 4. 8. 81–86. [E.N.O.]

378. Cf. the divinization of persons in Egyptian religion, documentation of which lists the individuals alongside various gods so as to identify them. See A. Masset, “A propos des ‘listes’ dans les textes funéraires et magiques,” *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 227–46. [R.K.R.]

379. On the significance of dew (*δρόσος*), see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 424, where he refers to PGM XII. 234. [E.N.O.]

380. The association of the eye and the sun (Helios) was widely known in antiquity. See P. Wilpert (S. Zenker), “Auge,” *RAC* 1 (1950) esp. 961–63.

381. That is, the light of the moon.

382. The term *σπουδή* (“zeal”) is troublesome. Preisendanz translates “Würde” (majesty). Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [E.N.O.]

383. The epithet Mnevis, which occurs in PGM VII. 445; XIXa. 6, is the hellenized form of the Egyptian *Mn-wr*, the name of the holy bull of Heliopolis, the incarnation of the sun god Prê. See Diiodorus Sic. 1. 84. 4; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, with Griffiths commentary, 425. On the matter, see W. Helck, “Mnevis,” *KP* 3 (1975): 1374–75; L. Kákosy, “Mnevis,” *LdÄ* 4 (1980): 165–67.

384. For the eye of Horus, see PGM III. 421–26.

385. The reference is to the daily temple cult and care for the divine statues, including their washing, dressing, and feeding. See Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 87–88. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 3007–86

* A tested charm of Pibechis³⁸⁶ for those possessed by daimons:³⁸⁷ Take oil of unripe olives with the herb mastigia and the fruit pulp of the lotus, and boil them with colorless marjoram / while saying, “IŌĒL ŌS SARTHIOŌMI EMŌRI THEŌCHIP-SOITH SITHEMEŌCH SŌTHĒ IŌĒ MIMIPSŌTHIOŌPH PHERSŌTHI AEĒIOYŌ IŌĒ EŌ CHARI PHTHA, come out from NN” (add the usual). *The phylactery*: On a tin lamella write / “IAĒO ABRAŌTH IŌCH PHTHA MESENPSIN IAŌ PHEŌCH IAĒO CHAROK,” and hang it on the patient. It is terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears. After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure. *This is the conjuration*: “I conjure you by the god of the Hebrews, / Jesus,³⁸⁸ IABA IAĒ ABRAŌTH AIA THŌTH ELE ELŌ AEŌ EOY IIBAECH ABARMAS IABARAOU ABELBEL LŌNA ABRA MAROIA BRAKION, who appears in fire, who is in the midst of land,³⁸⁹ snow, and fog, TANNĒTIS,³⁹⁰ let your / angel, the implacable, descend and let him assign the daimon flying around this form, which god formed in his holy paradise, because I pray to the holy god, [calling] upon AMMŌN IPSENTANCHŌ (formula). I conjure you, LABRIA IAKOUTH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMM (formula) AŌTH IATHA-BATHRA CHACHTHABRATHA CHAMYN CHEL ABRŌŌTH OUABRASILŌTH HALLĒLOU IELŌSAI IAĒL. I conjure you by the one who appeared to Osrael³⁹¹ in a shining pillar and a cloud by day,³⁹²/who saved his people from the Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because of his disobedience.³⁹³ I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal / which Solomon³⁹⁴ placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or Ebousacus or Cherseus or Pharisacus,³⁹⁵ tell / whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by god, light-bearing,³⁹⁶ unconquerable, who knows what is in the heart of every living being, the one who formed of dust the race of humans,³⁹⁷ the one who, after bringing them out from obscurity, packs together

386. Pibechis was a legendary magician from Egypt. See K. Preisendanz, “Pibechis,” *PRE* 20 (1941): 1310–12. Pibechis is Egyptian *P3-bk*, “the falcon.” [E.N.O.]

387. The following section contains numerous references to Jewish traditions. For a discussion and collections of parallel passages, see W. L. Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” *HTR* 31 (1938): 191–203; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 256–64.

388. On the peculiar epithet “Jesus the god of the Hebrews,” see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 14, nn. 1–2; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 260, n. 4; Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” 193–94; H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 21965) 210 (on c. Cels. 4. 34); Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 113; A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 7–9. Cf. *PGM* XXIIb. 18.

389. See on this “field” *PGM* XIV. 8; LXXVII. 5.

390. TANNĒTIS may be equivalent to the Egyptian *Ta-nt-N.t*, “She of Neith.” Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [R.K.R.]

391. Osrael is a variant form of Israel. See *PGM* IV. 1816 with n.

392. Cf. on this legendary tradition *LXX* Ex 13: 21–22 and parallels. See J. Daniélou, “Feuersäule (Lichtsäule, Wolkensäule),” *RAC* 7 (1969): 786–90.

393. On the plagues of Pharaoh, see *LXX* Ex 7: 8–11: 10 and parallels.

394. The “seal of Solomon” is the name of a famous amulet in antiquity. For bibliography, see G. Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72. Placing the amulet on the tongue of Jeremiah appears to come from haggadic tradition unknown to us. See K. Preisendanz, “Salomo,” *PRE* 58 (1965): 660–704.

395. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261, n. 11, derives these names of demons from *LXX* Gn 15: 20–21; Ex 3: 8, 17, etc.: The *Xerraiot* have become *Xeporaios* (“land daimon”), the *Φερεζαιο* have become *Φαρισaios* (which therefore has been confused with Pharisee), and the *Ἰεβουσαιο* have become *Ἐβουσαιος*. Cf. Dietrich, *Abraxas* 139; Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

396. Ll. 3045–52 contain prayer language apparently of Jewish origin. See the biblical parallels in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261–62.

397. Cf. *LXX* Gn 2: 7.

the clouds, waters the earth with rain / and blesses its fruit, [the one] whom every 3050
 heavenly power of angels and of archangels praises. I conjure you by the great god
 SABAÖTH, through whom the Jordan River drew back³⁹⁸ and the Red Sea, / which 3055
 Israel crossed, became impassable,³⁹⁹ because I conjure you by the one who intro-
 duced the one hundred forty languages⁴⁰⁰ and distributed them by his own
 command. I conjure you by the one who burned up the stubborn giants with
 lightning,⁴⁰¹ / whom the heaven of heavens praises, whom the wings of the cheru- 3060
 bim⁴⁰² praise. I conjure you by the one who put the mountains around the sea [or]
 a wall of sand and commanded the sea not to overflow.⁴⁰³ The abyss obeyed;⁴⁰⁴ and
 you obey, / every daimonic spirit, because I conjure you by the one who causes the 3065
 four winds to move⁴⁰⁵ together from the holy aions, [the] skylike, sealike, cloud-
 like, light-bringing, unconquerable [one]. I conjure [you] by the one in holy Jerusa-
 lem,⁴⁰⁶ before whom the / unquenchable fire burns for all time,⁴⁰⁷ with his holy 3070
 name, IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN (formula), the one before whom the fiery Gehenna
 trembles, flames surround, iron bursts asunder and every mountain is afraid from
 its foundation. / I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, by the one who oversees the 3075
 earth and makes its foundations tremble,⁴⁰⁸ [the one] who made all things which
 are not into that which is.”⁴⁰⁹

And I adjure you, the one who receives this conjuration, / not to eat pork,⁴¹⁰ and 3080
 every spirit and daimon, whatever sort it may be, will be subject to you. And while
 conjuring, blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face,⁴¹¹ and it
 will be assigned. Keep yourself pure, for this charm / is Hebraic and is preserved 3085
 among pure men.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

398. Cf. LXX Jos 3:13–14; Ps 113:3.

399. Cf. LXX Ex 14:27. See J. Daniélou, “Exodus,” *RAC* 7 (1969):22–44.

400. Most Jewish sources speak of seventy nations and seventy languages in the world. But there are authorities who name 140 languages. For discussion and references, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 173; II, 214; V, 194–95.

401. Cf. LXX Gn 6:4; 19:24–29. See W. Speyer, “Gigant,” *RAC* 10 (1978):1247–75.

402. The text has *Cherubin*. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 262, n. 8.

403. Cf. LXX Jb 38:10–11; Jer 5:22.

404. Cf. LXX Prv 8:26–29; Jb 38:30, 34.

405. Cf. LXX Ps 134:7; also Gn 8:1; Nm 11:31; Jb 28:25, etc.

406. The name is given as Hierosolymon. For the various forms of the city’s name, see G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. *Σιών κτλ.*, sections A. I. 2; B. I (esp. nn. 133, 134); C. I. 2.

407. This refers to the seven-branched candelabrum (menorah) of the Jerusalem Temple. Its undying light was legendary in antiquity. See PGM IV. 1219 and n.; Ps.-Hecataeus, in Iosephus, *c. Ap.* 1. 199; LXX Ex 27:20; Lv 6:12–13; Diodorus Sic. 34. 1. 4 (also in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976], p. 180 (# 63). For additional references, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* II (1979) 297 and n. 18.

408. Cf. LXX Ps 103:32.

409. This is a reference to the doctrine of the *creatio ex nihilo*. Cf. 2 Mc 7:28; Philo, *De spec. leg.* 4.187; etc. Cf. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon, The Anchor Bible* 43 (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 38–40; G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*, *AKG* 48 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978).

410. The prohibition to eat pork is the Jewish one in this case, and not the Egyptian. Cf. LXX Lv 11:7; Dt 14:8; Is 65:4; etc. Cf. also PGM I. 105; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 5, 352F and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 272.

411. On this “inspiration,” see S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966) 47–49.

PGM IV. 3086–3124

*Oracle of Kronos⁴¹² in great demand, called “little mill”: Take two measures of salt and grind with a handmill while saying the formula many times until / the god appears to you. Do it at night in a place where grass grows. If while you are speaking you hear the heavy step of [someone] and a clatter of iron, the god is coming bound with chains, holding a sickle.⁴¹³ But do not be frightened since you are protected by the phylactery that / will be revealed to you. Be clothed with clean linen in the garb of a priest of Isis.⁴¹⁴ Offer to the god sage together with a heart of a cat and horse manure.

The formula to be spoken while you are mixing is this: Formula: “I call you, the great, holy, the one who created the whole inhabited world, against whom the transgression was committed / by your own son,⁴¹⁵ you whom Helios bound with adamantine fetters lest the universe be mixed together, you hermaphrodite, father of the thunderbolt, you who hold down those under the earth, AIE OI PAIDALIS PHRENOTEICHEIDŌ STYGARDĒS SANKLEON / GENECHRONA KOIRAPSAI KĒRIDEU THALAMNIA OCHOTA ANEDEI; come, master, god, and tell me by necessity concerning the NN matter, for I am the one who revolted against you, PAIDOLIS MAINOLIS MAINOLIEUS.” These are to be said while the salt / is being ground.

And the formula which compels him is: “KYDOBRIS KODĒRIEUS ANKYRIEUS XANTOMOULIS.” You say these things when he appears threateningly, in order that he might be subdued and speak about the things you ask.

The phylactery / in great demand for him [is]: On the rib⁴¹⁶ of a young pig carve Zeus holding fast a sickle and this name: “CHTHOUMILON.” Or let it be the rib of a black, scaly, castrated boar.

Dismissal: “ANAEA OCHETA THALAMNIA KĒRIDEU / KOIRAPSIA GENECHRONA SANĒLON STYGARDĒS CHLEIDŌ PHRAINOLE PAIDOLIS IAEI, go away, master of the world, forefather; go to your own places in order that the universe be maintained. Be gracious to us, lord.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3125–71

*Whenever you want a place to prosper greatly, so that those in the place or the temple where the phylactery is hidden will marvel, [use this rite]. For wherever this [phylactery] be placed, if in a temple, the temple will be talked about throughout the whole world; / if in some other place, [the place] will prosper greatly.

This is how to make [the phylactery]: Taking Etruscan wax, mold a statue three handbreadths high.⁴¹⁷ Let it be three-headed. Let the middle head be that of a sea falcon; the right, of a baboon; / the left, of an ibis. Let it have four extended wings and its two arms stretched on its breast;⁴¹⁸ in them it should hold a scepter. And let

412. For an analysis of the agrarian features of Kronos in this spell, see Eitrem, “Kronos in der Magic,” 351–60.

413. On the sickle as a weapon (also l. 3116), see A. A. Barb, “Cain’s Murder-weapon and Samson’s Jawbone of an Ass,” *JWCI* 35 (1972): 386–89.

414. For the Egyptian priestly costume, see S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 40. See also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 4, 352C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 270. [R.K.R.]

415. That is, Zeus who castrated his father Kronos.

416. The text is uncertain at this point. See the apparatus ad loc.

417. For a wax statue of this so-called pantheistic god, see S. Sauneron, “Le Nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoës,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 269–87; esp. 284–85. Cf. *PGM* XII. 121–43; XIII. 50 for this figure. [R.K.R.]

418. Probably crossed. [M.S.]

it be wrapped [as a mummy] like Osiris. Let the falcon wear the crown of Horus; the baboon, / the crown of Hermanubis;⁴¹⁹ and let the ibis wear the crown of Isis. Put into the hollow inside it a heart [made] of magnetite, and write the following names on a piece of hieratic papyrus and put them into the hollow. Next, when you have made it an iron base, stand it / on the base and put it into a little juniper wood temple at moonrise on the third day of the goddess.⁴²⁰ Then, having fixed it [firmly] in whatever place you choose, sacrifice to it a wild white-faced [falcon?],⁴²¹ and burn [this offering] entire; also pour to it, as a libation, the milk of a black cow, / the firstborn [of its mother] and the first she suckled. [By these sacrifices you will have completed the deification of the statue.] And [now] feast with [the god], singing to him all night long the names written on the strip [of papyrus] put in the hollow. Wreath the little temple with olive and thus [you will prosper] throughout life. / And sing the same spell when you get up in the morning, before you open [your shop or temple]. *The names to be written and recited are these:*

"BICHŌ	MOUR	SOUMARTA	
BICHŌBI	SOURPHEŌ	AKERMORTHŌOUTH	
CHŌBIBEU	MOURĒTH	ANIMI	3160
NASSOUNAINTHI	ANIMOKEŌ	MIMNOUĒR	
NOUNAITH	ARPAĒR	IĒRI	
	SANI	ANIMI	
		MIMNIMEU."	

"Give me all favor, all success, for the angel bringing good, who stands beside [the goddess] Tyche, is with you. Accordingly, give profit [and] success to this house. Please, Aion, ruler of hope, giver of wealth, O holy Agathos Daimon, bring to fulfillment all favors and / your divine oracles." Then open [your establishment] and you will marvel at the unsurpassed holy power.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 3172–3208

***Dream-producing⁴²² charm using three reeds:** The picking of the three reeds is to be before sunrise.⁴²³ After sunset raise the first, look / to the east and say three times: "MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANIX AEĒIOYŌ LEPETAN AZARACHTHARŌ, I am picking you up in order that you might give me a dream." / Raise the second to the south and say again the "MASKELLI" formula, the vowels and "THRŌBEIA"; hold the reed and spin around; look toward the north and the west and say three times the same names, / those of the second reed. Raise the third and say the same names and these things: "IĒ IĒ, I am picking you for such-and-such a rite."

These things are to be written on the reeds: On the first: "AZARACHTHARŌ"; on the second: "THRŌBEIA"; / on the third: "IĒ IĒ."

Then take a lamp that is not painted red and fill it with pure olive oil. Take a clean strip of cloth and write down all the names. Say the same things to the lamp seven times. Let the lamp be facing east / and let it be next to a censer on which you will make an offering of lumps of frankincense. After preparing the reeds and binding them together with fibers of a date palm, make them into a kind of tripod, and

419. The name is a combination of Hermes and Anubis.

420. Third day of the goddess Selene. Cf. *PGM* III. 702; IV. 170; XII. 379.

421. For the emendation (ὄν)ἄγριον, see *PGM* IV. 2396 and n.

422. The word translated is ὀνειροδανπτάνη. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. and *PGM* IV. 2624–25.

423. For picking a plant, see *PGM* IV. 286 and n.

place the lamp on it. Let the head of the practitioner be crowned with olive branches.

3200 *Composition of the ink* with which it is necessary to write / on the reeds and the wick: single-stemmed wormwood, vetch, 3 pits of Nicolaus date palms, 3 Karian dried figs, soot from a goldsmith, 3 branches of a male date palm, sea foam.

3205 *The things to be written / and recited are these*: “I conjure you by the sleep releaser because I want you to enter into me and to show me concerning the NN matter, IERÖRIETHEDIEN THROU CHAÖRA ARPEBÖ ENDALĒLA.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3209–54

3210 **Saucer divination of Aphrodite*: Having kept oneself pure for 7 / days, take a white saucer, fill it with water and olive oil, having previously written on its base with myrrh ink: “ĒIOCH CHIPHA ELAMPSĒR ZĒL A E Ē I O Y Ō” (25 letters); and beneath the base, on the outside: “TACHIĒL CHTHONIĒ DRAXŌ” (18 letters). Wax over / with white wax. On the outside of the rim at the top: “TERMI PHILO 6 ERIKŌMA DERKŌ MALŌK GAULĒ APHRIĒL I ask” (say it 3 times). Let it rest on the floor and looking intently at it, say “I call upon you, the mother and mistress / of nymphs,⁴²⁴ ILAOUCH OBRIĒ LOUCH TLOR; [come] in, holy light, and give answer, showing your lovely shape.”

3225 Then look intently at the bowl. When you see her, welcome her and say, “Hail, very glorious goddess, ILARA / OUCH. And if you give me a response, extend your hand.” And when she extends it, expect answers to your inquiry.

3230 But if she does not listen say, “I call upon the ILAOUCH who has begotten Himeros,⁴²⁵ the lovely Horai and / you Graces; I also call upon the Zeus-sprung Physis of all things, two-formed, indivisible, straight, foam-beautiful Aphrodite. 3235 Reveal to me your lovely light and your lovely face, O mistress ILAOUCH. / I conjure you, giver of fire, [by] ELGINAL, and [by the] great names OBRIĒTYCH KERDY-NOUCHILĒPSIN NIOU NAUNIN IOUTHOU THRIGX TATIOUTH GERTIATH GERGERIS 3240 GERGERIĒ THEITHI. I also ask you⁴²⁶ [by] the all wonderful / names, OISIA EI EI AŌ ĒY AAŌ IŌIAIAIŌ SŌTHOU BERBROI AKTEROBORE⁴²⁷ GERIĒ IĒOYA; bring me light and your lovely face and the true saucer divination, you shining with fire, bearing fire all around, stirring the land from afar, / IŌ IŌ PHTHAĒ THOOUTHŌI PHA-EPHI. Do it.”

3250 *Preparation*: having kept yourself pure, as you learned, take a bronze drinking cup, and write with myrrh ink the previously inscribed stele which calls upon Aphrodite, / and use the untouched olive oil and clean river water. Put the drinking cup on your knees and speak over it the stele mentioned above, and the goddess will appear to you and will reveal concerning what things you wish.

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbelt.

PGM IV. 3255–74

3255 *Take an unbaked [brick] and with a bronze stylus draw an [ass] running, and on its face “IAŌ IŌ,” and on its neck in the shape of a little bell “ĒOĒOĒ,” and on its

424. For the epithet “Mistress of the Nymphs,” see *Orph. Hymn.* 52. 22–25. Aphrodite Nymphaia is discussed in Pausanias 2. 32. 7.

425. Himeros may be a personification of “the yearning of love.” See LSJ, s.v. “ἔμερος,” I. 3.

426. ἀξιώσης, “you might ask,” could be emended to ἀξιώ σέ, “I ask you,” and perhaps read with the following imperative as a part of the conjuration set in quotation marks. [R.D.K.]

427. The papyrus has ἀκτεβορε, which Preisendanz reads as an unattested epithet ἀκτε(ρο)βόρε, “eater of the unburied.”

back “LERTHEMINŌ,” and on its breast “[s]ABAŌTH,” and under its hooves “ABRASAX.” / Smear it with the blood of Typhon and a pig and with juice of an onion. 3260

The spell of the brick to be written down is this:

“IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH SABAOUM KOK-
LOTOM PATATHNAX, the shaker, IŌ ERBĒTH APOMPS IAŌTH IABAŌTH SEISAŌ
PEUKRĒ, you fortunate one, TESCHŌ PATONAK PHENDE / MIEPHEOR ABIRBOLON- 3265
CHITHI RŌPHTHĒ APERMA PALELŌPS, the shaker of the world, I call upon you,
great Typhon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, because I am he, NN.
Hear me, in this business which I am performing LERTHEMINŌ AROUZORON
BATHOU / CHĒASMĒPHIS, O great, great⁴²⁸ Typhon LERTHEMINO; attend this 3270
magical operation which I am performing, because it is your great and honored
name that I am saying and writing, ABERAMENTHŌOU” (formula).

Underneath the ass: “Give her the heaving of the sea, total wakefulness⁴²⁹ of
Mendes,⁴³⁰ and give her⁴³¹ the punishments.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM V. 1–53¹

*Oracle of Sarapis, [by means of] a boy, by means of a lamp, saucer and bench: “I
call upon you, Zeus, Helios, Mithra, Sarapis, / unconquered one, Meliouchos, 5
Melikertes, Meligenetor, ABRAAL BACHAMBĒCHI BAIBEIZŌTH (ĒBAI BEBOTH)
SERIABEBŌTH AMELCHIPSITHIOUTHIPOTHIO PNOUTE NINTHĒRTĒROU² IY EY
ĒOŌ AIĒIA EĒOIA / ĒEAI EYĒIE ŌŌŌŌ EYĒŌ IAŌAI BAKAXICHYCH BOSIPSETĒTH 10
PHOBĒBIBŌTH, the great, great³ Sarapis SAMASPHRĒTH” (otherwise above) “O
DARGAZAS O DARMAGAS O DAPHAR YAKIABŌTH EPHIA ZELEARHTAR (AKRABAEŌE-
PHIAZALE ARBAMENOTHĒŌ SAMAS PHRĒTI)⁴ / METHOMĒŌS LAMARMERA OPTĒBI 15
PTĒBI MARIANOU (AKRABAEŌ EPHIAZĒLE ARBAMENOTHI ĒŌ NAMISPHRĒTI), ap-
pear and give respect to him who appeared before fire and snow, BAINCHŌŌŌCH,
for you are the one who introduced light and snow, hurler of shudderful / thunder 20
and lightning, KYPODŌKTE PINTOUCHE ETŌM THOOUT THASINAEAK AROURON-
GOA PAPHTHA⁵ ENŌSADE IAĒ IAŌ AI AŌIAŌ EOĒY” (nine lettres): [Pronounce]:

the “A” with an open mouth, undulating like a wave;

the “O” succinctly, as a breathed threat, 25

the “IAŌ” to earth, to air, and to heaven;

the “E” like a baboon;

the “O” in the same way as above;⁶

the “E” with enjoyment, aspirating it, /

428. The repeated “great, great” is Egyptian *geminatio*. See also PGM I. 41 and n.

429. E. Hohl, *RhM* 68 (1913): 313, n. 4, restores [π]αναγρυσπνιαν in accordance with *Anth. Pal.* 7. 195. 5, where Melaeager has used παναγρυσπνοιο μερίμνης. Both the noun and the verb are *hapax legomena*. [E.N.O.]

430. Mendes corresponds to Egyptian *B3-nb-Dd.t*, the ram incarnation of Prē identified with Pan and Priapus. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 451, s.v. “Mendes”; 868–71, s.v. “Widdier”; Herodotus 2. 46; Diodorus Sic. 1. 88; Strabo 16. 1. 19. [R.K.R.]

431. The translation follows Preisendanz in assuming that ἀντῇ in ll. 3273–74 is τῇ δεινα. But the fact remains that, while ὁ δεινα occurs in l. 3248, nowhere in the spell is a woman mentioned. There is really no indication that this spell is designed to affect a woman, until this last sentence. [E.N.O.]

1. Parentheses in this spell contain words that are written between the lines. For further discussion see Preisendanz, ad loc.

2. The phrase means “O god (of) all the gods.” Cf. PGM III. 144–45 and n.

3. For the meaning of “twice great,” see PGM IV. 3270 and n.

4. See l. 46 below.

5. This is equivalent to “Thoth . . . He of Ptah.” [R.K.R.]

6. According to Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 778, this means either as the “E” in l. 27 or the “O” in l. 25.

- 30 the “Y” like a shepherd, drawing out the pronunciation.⁷
 If he says, “I prophesy,” say: “Let the throne of god enter, THRONOUZATERA KYMA
 35 KYMA LYAGEU APSITADRYΣ GĒ MOLIANDRON BONBLILON PEUCHRĒ, / let the
 throne be brought in.” If it then is carried by 4 men, as, “With what are they
 crowned, and what goes before the throne?” If he says, “They are crowned with
 40 olive branches, and / a censer precedes,” [the] boy speaks the truth.

- Dismissal*: “Go, lord, to your own world and to your own thrones, to your own
 45 vaults, and keep me and / this boy from harm, in the name of the highest god,
 SAMAS PHRĒTH.”⁸ Do this when the moon is in a settled sign, in conjunction with
 50 beneficial planets or is in good houses, not when it is full; for it is / better, and in
 this way the well-ordered oracle is completed. (But in other copies “when it is full”
 has been written.)

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 54–69

- 55 ***Direct vision spell**: “EIM TO EIM ALALĒP BARBARIATH / MENE BREIO ARBA-
 THIAŌTH IOUĒL IAĒL OUĒNĒIE MESOMMIAS, let the god who prophesies to me
 come and let him not go away until I dismiss him, OURNAOUR SOUL ZASOUL /
 60 OUGOT NOOUMBIAOU THABRAT BERIAOU ACHTHIRI MARAI ELPHEŌN TABAŌTH
 KIRASINA LAMPSOURĒ IABOE ABLAMATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI.”

- 65 In a bronze cup over oil. Anoint / your right eye with water from a shipwreck
 and the left with Coptic eyepaint, with the same water. If you cannot find water
 from a shipwreck, then from a sunken skiff.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 70–95

- 70 *Take a plant *chelkbei* (?) and bugloss, strain them, burn what you strain out, mix
 [them] well with juice, and write “CHOŌ” with it on a wall. Take gallows wood
 75 and carve a hammer. With / the hammer strike the [eye]¹⁰ while saying the for-
 mula: “I conjure you by the holy names; hand over the thief who made off with it,
 80 CHALCHAK CHALKOUM CHIAM CHARCHROUM ZBAR BĒRI ZBARKOM CHRĒ / KA-
 RIŌB PHARIBOU, and by the shudderful names: A EE ĒĒ III OOOO YYYYY
 OOOOŌŌŌ.”

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---------|--|---------------|
| | “Ō | | | “A |
| | / Y Y | | | E E |
| 85 | I I I I | | | Ē Ē Ē |
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| | E E E E E | | | Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē |
| | A A A A A A A | | | E E E E E E |
| | / IAŌ ŌIA | | | A A A A A A A |
| 90 | | IŌA AĒŌ | | ĒŌA ŌAĒ.” |



- “Hand over the thief who stole it. As long as I strike the eye with this hammer, let
 95 the eye of the thief be struck, and let it swell up until it / betrays him.” While saying
 these things, strike with the hammer.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

7. Presumably, the way the formula is to be spoken; see Preisendanz’s interpretation ad loc.

8. Samas is the Canaanite solar deity Shamash, combined here with the Egyptian counterpart Prē. Cf. ll. 12–14 above.

9. CHOŌ could be Coptic KŌ which can mean “hand over,” or “put”; it would fit the sense of the spell. [R.K.R.]

10. Thus the emendation οὐ(τάριον) in Preisendanz, based on l. 91. Cf. the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 96–172

*Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist¹¹ in his letter:

"I summon you, Headless One, who created earth and heaven, who created night and day, / you who created light and darkness; you are Osoronnophris whom none has ever seen; you are Iabas; you are Iapos; you have distinguished the just and the unjust; you have made female and male; / you have revealed seed and fruits; you have made men love each other and hate each other.

"I am Moses your prophet to whom you have transmitted your mysteries / celebrated by Israel; you have revealed the moist and the dry and all nourishment; hear me.

"I am the messenger of Pharaoh Osoronnophris; / this is your true name which has been transmitted to the prophets of Israel. Hear me, ARBATHIAO REIBET ATHELEBERSETH [ARA] BLATHA ALBEU EBENPHCHI CHITASGOE IBAOTH IAÖ; / listen to me and turn away this daimon."

"I call upon you, awesome and invisible god with an empty spirit,¹² AROGOGOROBRAO SOCHOU MODORIO PHALARCHAO OOO. Holy Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him, / ROUBRIAÖ MARI ÖDAM BAABNA-BAÖTH ASS ADÖNAI APHNIAÖ ITHÖLETH ABRASAX AEÖÖY; mighty Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him. / MABARRAIÖ IOEL KOTHA ATHOREBALÖ ABRAÖTH, deliver him, NN AÖTH ABRAÖTH BASYM ISAK SABAÖTH IAÖ. /

"He is the lord of the gods; he is the lord of the inhabited world; he is the one whom the winds fear; he is the one who made all things by the command of his voice."

"Lord, King, Master, Helper, / save the soul, IEOU PYR IOU PYR IAÖT IAEO IOOU ABRASAX SABRIAM OO YY EY OO YY ADÖNAIE, immediately, immediately,¹³ good messenger of God ANLALA LAI GALA APA DIACHANNA CHORYN." /

"I am the headless daimon with my sight in my feet; [I am] the mighty one [who possesses] the immortal fire; I am the truth who hates the fact that unjust deeds are done in the world; I am the one who makes the lightning flash and the thunder roll; / I am the one whose sweat is the heavy rain¹⁴ which falls upon the earth that it might be inseminated; I am the one whose mouth burns completely; I am the one who begets and destroys; / I am the Favor of the Aion; my name is a heart encircled by a serpent; come forth and follow."

Preparation for the foregoing ritual: Write the formula¹⁵ on a new sheet of papyrus, and after extending it from one / of your temples to the other, read the 6 names, while you face north saying,

"Subject to me all daimons, / so that every daimon, whether heavenly or aerial or earthly or subterranean or terrestrial or aquatic, might be obedient to me and every enchantment and scourge which is from God." / And all daimons will be obedient to you.

The beneficial sign is: >

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

11. The term ζωγράφος, usually translated "painter," is here rendered "hieroglyphist," after the suggestion of Wünsch (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

12. On the notion of "empty spirit," see J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, N.T.S. 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 41–48.

13. The letters ηδε εδε are indicated in Preisendanz as magical words, but they may be Greek misspelled for ηδη ηδη, "immediately, immediately."

14. Cf. the expression ὕδωρ ὀχεντικόν in *C.H.* I. 17. See also Dieterich, *Abraxas* 25.

15. The term ὄνομα apparently refers to a formula containing a number of magical words. See also the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 172–212

**Another way*:¹⁶ “In order to catch a thief I summon you, Hermes,¹⁷ immortal god, who cut a furrow down Olympos / and a holy barge, light-bearer Iao, the great immortal, shuddersome indeed to behold and shuddersome to hear. Hand over the thief whom I seek ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXENAXSONELYSŌTHNEMAREBA.” / *This formula* is to be said 2 times during the purificatory sacrifice.

Formula of bread and cheese:¹⁸ “Come to me, LISSOIN MATERNA MAUERTĒ PREPTEKTIOUN INTIKIOUS OLOKOTOUS PERIKLYSAI; / may you bring back to me what is lost and point out the thief today. I call upon Hermes, finder of thieves, Helios and the pupils¹⁹ of Helios, / two who bring to light lawless deeds, and Themis,²⁰ Erinys,²¹ Ammon, and Parammon, to take control of the thief’s throat and to single him out / today, in this hour.”

Preparation: The same formula during the purificatory sacrifice: Take a faïence vessel, add water, myrrh, and calf’s-snout plant. Wet a branch of laurel [and sprinkle], / cleansing each one. Take a tripod and place it on an earthen altar, offer myrrh, frankincense, and a frog’s tongue. Take unsalted winter wheat and goat-cheese, and give to each 8 drams of winter wheat and 8 drams of cheese while saying the following formula (inscribe this name and glue it underneath the tripod): “Master IAO, light-bearer, / hand over the thief whom I see.” If one of them does not swallow what was given to him, he is the thief.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 213–303

**Hermes’ ring*.²² *Preparation of a scarab*: Taking a scarab / engraved as described below, put it on a papyrus table and put under the table a clean sheet and olive twigs, scattering them about, and in the middle of the table / a small censer, burning myrrh and *kyphi*. Have ready a little faïence vessel in which there should be salve of lilies or myrrh or cinnamon. / And taking the ring put it into the salve, having in advance purified [it?] ²³ from everything, and burning on the censer the *kyphi* and myrrh. Leave [the ring] 3 days and, taking it ²⁴ [from the table], put it in a pure place. Have at hand / for the consecration pure bread and whatever fruits are in season. When you have made another [incense] offering on [a fire of] grapevine twigs, during the offering take the ring from the / salve and put it on. Anoint yourself at dawn with the ointment from it and stand facing the sunrise [and] say the spell given below.

**Carving of a scarab*: Carve a scarab in costly green stone / and, having pierced [the stone], thread it with gold [wire?]. On the underside of the scarab engrave holy

16. That is, another spell to catch a thief. Originally this spell may have followed immediately after PGM V. 70–95 (a spell to catch a thief), but the *Stele of Jeu* (V. 96–172) was inserted between the two.

17. On Hermes, the god of thieves, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 63; W. Fauth, “Hermes,” *KP* 2 (1975): 1074–75. On the identification with IAO (ll. 176–77), see A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 1–6.

18. See on this peculiar form of magic P. de Labriolle, “Artyrotyritac,” *RAC* 1 (1950): 718–20.

19. For the “eye of Helios,” see PGM IV. 2985 and n.

20. Themis is the personified Greek concept of justice, custom, and social law. See K. Latte, “Themis,” *PRE*, 2nd series 5 (1934): 1626–30.

21. On the Erinys, see PGM IV. 2860 and n.

22. On Hermes’ ring, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 294–95.

23. Presumably the ring, but the reference could be to the practitioner himself, or even to the salve. The Greek gives no indication of the object.

24. I.e., that in which it was laid.

Isis. And when you have consecrated it as written above, use it. The days in which it is proper to perform [the rite] are, [counting] from the rise / [of the new moon] 245
the 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 24th, 25th. On the others, restrain yourself.

The spell to be said to Helios: “I am Thouth, discoverer and founder of drugs and letters. Come to me, you under the earth; arouse [yourself] for me, / great daimon, 250
he of Noun,²⁵ the subterranean” (or [in other texts]: ‘the [plural] Noun the subterranean’). I am the famous Heron,²⁶ egg of the ibis,²⁷ egg of the falcon, egg of the air-ranging Phoenix, having under my tongue the mud of Em;²⁸ / I wear the hide of 255
Keph.²⁹ Unless I know what is in the minds of everyone, Egyptians, Greeks, Syrians, Ethiopians, of every race and people, unless I know³⁰ what / has been and what shall be, unless I know their skills and their practices and their works and their lives, and the names of them and of their fathers and / mothers and brothers and 265
friends, even of those now dead, I will pour the blood of the black dog-face³¹ as a drink offering in a new, faultless jar and put it on a new base and burn under it the bones of Hesies,³² and I will shout³³ / in the port of Busiris that he remained in the 270
river 3 days and 3 nights, Hesies, that he was carried by the current of the river / into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mist of the 275
air. Your belly is eaten by fish, and I will not / stop the fish chewing your body with 280
their mouths, nor will the fish shut their mouths. I will take the fatherless boy away from his mother.³⁴ The pole [of the sky] will be brought down,³⁵ and the two mountains will be one. / I will let *anoixis*³⁶ loose against you and she will do what 285

25. PHNOYN refers to the primordial abyss; cf. PGM III. 554 and IV. 139. PHNOYN is the Bohairic spelling of the definite article before NOYN used as a vocative. [R.K.R.] See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 535–36, s.v. “Nun.”

26. Heron was a god of Greco-Roman Egypt, apparently a fusion of the “Thracian rider god” and the Egyptian god Atum; the name has no connection with the English bird name or the bird so called. [M.S.] See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 295–96, s.v. “Heron.”

27. For the egg of the ibis, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 321, s.v. “Ibis”; 162–64, s.v. “Ei”; Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 76–87.

28. For this name, see PGM III. 636; V. 353. For possible explanations, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 219, s.v. “Eu.”

29. This name is unexplained; for suggestions, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 259 s.v. “κεφ.” Em may be an abbreviation of Ammon, and Keph of Kynokephalos, i.e., baboon, symbol of Thoth, with whom the magician identified himself at the beginning of the spell. [M.S.]

30. For this threat against the deity see J. Bergman, “Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellungen von Gott und Welt,” in *Mysticism, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 5 (1970): 70–72.

31. The translation of the term follows the emendation in Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc. Clearly Anubis is meant. See also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 317–19; idem, *The Isis-Book* 215–18. The reference is to the dog-headed god Anubis, assistant of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. It is not Thoth because (1) the magician has identified himself with Thoth; (2) this god face is “black,” as Anubis commonly is in Egyptian paintings, whereas the *Kynokephalos* (“dog-headed,” s.c. baboon) of Thoth is commonly tan. [M.S.]

32. For the name Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. “Esies.”

33. For the myth recounted here, cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 13, 356C–D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 312. For the threat to Busiris, cf. P. Smither, “A Ramesside Love-Charm,” *JEA* 27 (1941): 131–32.

34. The fatherless boy is Horus; the mother, Isis. Cf. PGM III. 543.

35. For toppling the supports in heaven, cf. PGM III. 537–38; IV. 669. The two mountains of east and west (Bakhu and Manu) form the horizons of Egyptian cosmography; they derive from the mountains framing the Nile valley. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 78, s.v. “Bachu”; 440, s.v. “Manu.” [R.K.R.]

36. The papyrus has *ἀνοῖξις* from *ἀνοῖξις*, “opening.” The reference is obscure; it may refer to an unknown mythical or ritual item or it may be a corruption of the text. See the apparatus ad loc.; LSJ, s.v.

she wants. I will not let god or goddess give oracles until I, NN, know through and
 290 through what is in the minds of all men, Egyptians, / Syrians, Greeks, Ethiopians,
 295 of every race and people, those who question me and come into my sight, whether
 they speak or are silent, so that I can tell them / whatever has happened and is hap-
 300 pening and is going to happen to them, and I know their skills and their lives and
 their practices and their works and their names / and those of their dead, and of
 everybody, and I can read a sealed letter³⁷ and tell them everything [in it] truly.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. How to carve, consecrate, and use a scarab; with the spell to be said when using it. Though the scarab is engraved with Isis and the spell is addressed to Helios, the ring is said to be “of Hermes” because the spell first identifies the magician with Hermes-Thoth. As Thoth he invokes Osiris (the Nile) from the underworld waters, to reveal to him all facts relevant to all men, and he threatens that, unless he receives this knowledge, he will destroy the remains of Osiris’ body, reveal his mysteries, and generally upset the divine order.

PGM V. 304–69

305 *Taking hieratic papyrus or a / lead lamella and iron ring, put the ring on the pa-
 pyrus and with a pen draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, then tint the
 310 outlined area with myrrhed ink, then write on this outlined area / of the ring—
 writing on the papyrus—the name,³⁸ and write the characters outside [the area],
 then, [in the circle] inside it, what you want not to happen, and “Let so-and-so’s
 315 thoughts be bound so that he may not do NN thing.” Then / putting the ring on
 its outline, which you made, and turning up the [areas of the papyrus] outside the
 outline, wrap up the ring until it is completely covered. Piercing [the package]
 320 through the characters / with the pen and tying it, say, “I bind NN with regard to
 NN [thing]. Let him not speak, not be contrary, not oppose; let him not be able to
 325 look me in the face nor speak against me; let him be subjected / to me, so long as
 this ring is buried. I bind his mind and his brains,³⁹ his desire, his actions, so that he
 330 may be slow [in his dealings] with all men.” / And if it be a woman: “In order that
 she, NN, may not marry him, NN” (add the usual). Then, taking it [the package]
 away to the grave of someone untimely dead, dig [a hole] four fingers deep and put
 335 it in and say, “Spirit of the dead, who[ever] / you are, I give over NN to you, so that
 he may not do NN thing.” Then, when you have filled up the hole, go away. Better
 do it when the moon is waning.

The things to be written inside the circle [bounded by the inner side of the ring’s
 340 outline] *are these*: “AROA / MATHRA ERESCHIGALCH EDANTA LABOU NĒ AKĒ IAŌ
 DARYKNŌ MANIĒL, let NN thing not be done so long as this ring is buried.” Bind
 345 [the package] with ties, [using] cords you have made, / and thus deposit it. The
 [wrapped] ring may also be thrown into an unused well, or [into the grave] of
 [anyone dead] untimely. After the characters, write also the following, under the
 350 [outline of the] ring, as a rectangle: “ARCHOOL LAILAM / SEMESILAMPH AMMO-
 PHORIŌN IŌAĒ PHTHOUTH EŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌTH AR-
 BATHIAŌ LAILAM OSORNŌPHRI EM PHRĒ PHRĒ PHTHA CHRŌIŌ IAŌ BABOURĒ
 355 THIMAM EN PHRĒ RE/NOUSI SABAŌTH BARBARTHIAŌ THACHRA OUCHEETH

“ἀνομιῆς”; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 522, 523, 536 for the ritual of the “Opening of the mouth.”

37. For the magical ability to read sealed letters, see the tale of Khamwas in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 142–51. [R.K.R.]

38. Given below, ll. 339–41.

39. In Greek, “the midriff,” representing the classical term for the supposed location of the thinking element of the body. [M.S.]

ESORNŌPHRI” and the entire 59 [letter formula] above,⁴⁰ which you also put inside [the circle bounded by the ring’s outline].⁴¹



[The same schedule can be written on a lead lamella; then, putting the / ring in [the middle] and folding up [the lead] around it, cover [it] with plaster. After the rectangle underneath [write] also the IAEŌ formula⁴² and the following: “BAKAXICHYCH MENEBAICHYCH AERASAX AŌ, prevent NN thing,” [or], as the names are found in the authentic [text]: / “ARPHOOL LAILAM SEMESILAM IAEŌ (formula) BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ ARCHŌMILAK MENESILAM IAEŌ OYŌ BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX ŌII, prevent the NN thing.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. This untitled text gives directions for a familiar type of magical rite called *defixio*—essentially sending a letter to underworld powers to ask or compel them to do something to a specified victim. Many *defixiones* are, like this one, intended to prevent things from happening. The gods invoked here are a curious lot—solar and subterranean, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, suggesting that the text has grown, like many, by ignorant additions.

PGM V. 370–446

*Take 28 leaves from a pithy laurel tree⁴³ and some virgin earth and seed of worm-wood, wheat meal and the herb calf’s-snout⁴⁴ (but I have heard⁴⁵ from a certain

40. This refers to the top of the papyrus page, where the scribe has written on the margin, with a few errors, the formula IAEŌBAPHRENEMOYNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEU and the same letters (without the final U) in reverse order. Together they form a fifty-nine-letter palindrome which often occurs in magical texts, mainly in spells to the solar deities. [M.S.]

41. (On the drawing): the reading of the third line in the circle from TH on, including the letters NIN (?) written above, is uncertain. If PHTHANNI is read, Phtha contains the name of the Egyptian god revered as creator. [M.S.]

42. See ll. 366–69 and the picture, l. 357. The palindrome is also printed in Preisendanz, apparatus to l. 357.

43. Cf. on this point PGM I. 264.

44. On this plant see PGM V. 198 and III. 468.

45. Undoubtedly, these are the words of a redactor, but expressions in the first person (here and l. 383) are rare. More often such variants are introduced by *oī dē* . . . (cf. l. 390). [E.N.O.]

375 man of Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree, / which is
cultivated, the famous one). Those are carried⁴⁶ by an uncorrupted boy.⁴⁷ Also
pounded together with the foregoing ingredients is the liquid of an ibis egg⁴⁸ and
380 made into a uniform dough and into a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while
the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or / Virgo or Sagittarius. Let Hermes be
holding a herald's staff. And write the spell on hieratic papyrus or on a goose's
windpipe (again, just as I heard from the man of Herakleopolis), and insert it into
385 the figure for the purpose of / inspiration; and when you want to use it, take some
papyrus and write the spell and the matter; and shave your head⁴⁹ and roll a hair
into the papyrus, binding it with a piece from a purple cord, and put on the outside
390 of it an olive branch, and / place it⁵⁰ at the feet of the Hermes (but others say: place
it upon him). And let the figure lie in a shrine of lime wood. But when you want to
395 use it, place the shrine beside your head / along with the god and recite as on the
altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump of rock salt.
Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell without giving an
answer to anyone. /

400 "Hermes,⁵¹ lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,⁵²
With winged sandals, turning airy course /
405 Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
O eye of Helios, O mighty one,
Founder of full-voiced speech,⁵³ who with your lamps
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life.⁵⁴ / The prophet of events
410 And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
All pains of mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
415 Of Memory, / who brings full mental powers,
In your own form both graciously appear
And graciously render the task for me,
A pious man, and render your form gracious

46. Apparently the subject of βασιλάεσται is all the ingredients named above. [E.N.O.]

47. See on this medium of the "uncorrupted boy" PGM II. 56; V. 87; VII. 544, and T. Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926) 65–74; R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier, Refut. haer. IV. 28–42, TU 39/3* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) 30, 32–33.

48. See on this point PGM V. 252 and n.

49. This is done in imitation of Egyptian priests. See S. Saucron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 37. On the shaving of the head by the initiates of Isis, see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 28; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3–4, 352C; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 268–69.

50. For hair sacrifices in Egyptian religion, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 267–68, s.v. "Haaropfer"; Betz, *Lukian* 131, n. 3.

51. Although the text of the following lines is quite fragmentary, enough remains to show that they are dactylic hexameters. Consequently they have been accepted as one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–15; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 429. This version is, however, very different from that in PGM VII. 668–80 and XVIIb. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

52. Cf. l. 378 above.

53. A repetition of the idea expressed in l. 402.

54. A reference to the role of Hermes as the guide of the dead to the underworld.

To me, NN,
That I may comprehend you by your skills
Of prophecy, by your own wondrous deeds. /
I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and
Without deceit appear and prophesy to me.”

420

Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.

The stele written on the papyri belonging to the figure: “YESENNIGADŌN ORTHŌ
BAUBŌ / NOËRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL ANKISTĒ 425
DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE⁵⁵ KODĒRE SĒMEA KENTEU KONTEU KENTEU KĒRI-
DEU DARYGKŌ LYKYNXYNTA KAMPYCHRĒ IRINŌTON LOUMANATA . / . . ION KO- 430
MANDRON CHREIBACHA NOUBACHA NOUMILLON EROUPHI TETROUPHI LIBINO
NOUMILLON CHANDARA TON PHERPHEREU DROUËR MAROUËR” (say it 3 times,
then / the usual formula). 435

Spell of compulsion: “OUKRA NOUKRA PETIRINODE TMAISIA, terrible-eyed, DRY-
SALPIPS BLEMENNITHEN BANDYODMA TRIPSADA Ariba . . . TA KRATARNA” (then
the hundred-lettered name of Hermes). . . .⁵⁶

/ Another: “IOUKRAIŌNIOU (spoken to the lamp) ŌCHMARMACHŌ TONNOURAI 440
CHRĒMILLON DERKYŌN NIA IAŌ SOUMPSĒPHISON SOUMPSĒNIS SIASIAS IAŌ, you
who shake the world, come in and prophesy / concerning the NN matter, THOIS 445
KOTOTH PHTHOUPHNOUN NOUEBOUË.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. For a discussion of ll. 370–439, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 174.

PGM V. 447–58

*On a jasperlike agate engrave Sarapis seated, facing forwards (?), holding an Egyptian royal scepter and on the scepter an ibis, and on the back of the stone / the 450
[magical] name [of Sarapis?], and keep it shut up. When need [arises] hold the ring
in your left hand, and in your right a spray of olive and laurel [twigs], waving them
toward the lamp while saying the spell 7 times. And when you have put / [the ring] 455
on the index finger of your left hand with the stone inside, [keep it] thus and, going
off⁵⁷ [to bed] without speaking to anybody, go to sleep holding the stone to your
left ear.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM V. 459–89

**Another way:* “I call upon you who created / earth and bones⁵⁸ and all flesh and 460
all spirit and who established the sea and suspended (?)⁵⁹ the heavens, who separated⁶⁰
the light from the darkness, the Supreme Intelligence⁶¹ / who lawfully ad- 465

55. Cf. on this formula the Glossary, s.v. “YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula.”

56. The name is missing here, but the papyrus left space for its inscription later. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. For one-hundred-letter names, see *PGM* IV. 242, 1209, 1380.

57. Reading the papyrus ἀπερ as an abbreviation of ἀπερχόμενος rather than Preisendanz’s ἀπερχόμενος, which would be awkward Greek. See the apparatus ad loc. [M.S.]

58. See on this point LXX Jb 10:9–11.

59. The text is corrupt at this point; for suggested emendations, see the apparatus ad loc. Cf. Preisendanz’s translation: “der . . . festgenagelt hat den Himmel”; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 90: “solidement cloué le ciel.”

60. Cf. Gn 1:4, 14, 18; Wisd Sol. 7:29–30. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberveresen* 107; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV. 190.

61. The concept of the divine Nus (Mind) is an influence from Greek philosophy. Cf. also *PGM* XIII. 173, 487. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 49, 371A; *C. H.* I. 2, 6, 9; X. 19–21; XIII. 21. See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London: Duckworth, 1977) 283, 372, 382, 389, 391, 393; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, n. 2; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 199–200 and index, s.v. “Nus, Nous.”

ministrates⁶² all things. Eternal Eye, Daimon of daimons, god of gods, the lord of the spirits, the invariable AIŌN IAŌ OYĒI, hear my voice.

- 470 / “I call upon you, master of the gods, high-thundering Zeus, sovereign Zeus,
ADŌNAI, lord IAŌ OYĒE; I am he who calls upon you, great god, in Syrian: ‘ZAA-
475 LAĒRIPHPHOU,’ and you must not / ignore my voice (in Hebrew: ‘ABLANATHA-
NALBA ABRASILŌA’); for I am SILTHACHŌOUCH LAILAM BLASALŌTH IAŌ IEŌ
480 NEBOUTH SABIOTH ARBŌTH ARBATHIAŌ IAŌTH SABAŌTH PA/TOURĒ ZAGOURĒ
BAROUCH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRAAM⁶³ BARBARAUŌ NAUSIPH, high-minded one, im-
mortal, who possess the crown of the whole [world], SIEPĒ SAKTIETĒ BIOU BIOU
485 SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO SIETHO CHTHETHŌNI RIGCH ŌĒA Ē ĒŌA AŌĒ
IAŌ ASIAL SARAPI OLSŌ ETHMOURĒSINI SEM LAU LOU LOURIGCH.”

It loosens shackles, makes invisible, sends dreams; [it is] a spell for gaining favor.
(Add the usual for what you want.)

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM Va. 1–3

*“O Helios BERBELŌCH CHTHŌTHŌMI ACH SANDOUM ECHNIN ZAGOUĒL, bring me into union with you” (add the usual). Then anoint yourself, and you will have a direct vision.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VI. 1–47

- *. . . His encounter with Helios [takes place] on the 2nd, but the invocation itself is spoken when [the moon] is full. But you will accomplish a better encounter at [sun]rise on the 4th, when the god is on the [increase,¹ from the ground floor of a house]. Say, therefore, to the rising sun² / [the following] prayer:

- 5 “[Laurel,]³ Apollo’s holy plant [of presage,
Which] Phoebus [tasted once] and with [the fresh-
Cut] branches wreathed his [holy] head, adorned
With tresses long [and golden]. In his hands
10 He shook [a scepter] / on the [peaks of Mount
Parnassus], lofty and with many vales
[And gave to all] the gods⁴ [responses] and
To mortals prophesied. [For in the throes
Of grievous love], it was Apollo who
Himself [gave you, a nymph], dread virgin, power
[To utter presages. Come quickly hither

62. The doctrine of *διοικήσεις* points to philosophical influence. Cf. also LXX Wisd Sol. 8:1; Philo, *De opif. mundi* 3; *De spec. leg.* IV. 187; *C. H.* I. 9. See Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 190, n. 3.

63. The Greek underlying these magical words corresponds in part to the Jewish blessing, “Blessed be Jahwe, . . . god of Abraham. . . .” It is not clear whether or not the magician understood these words. A similar formula written in Greek occurs on a gold lamella published by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), n. 436. See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberbuch* 106–7.

1. An apparent reference to the spring, when the days grow longer. Cf. *PGM* XIII. 388–91. [E.N.O.]

2. The sun is identical with the god Helios; see Glossary, s.v.

3. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 6–21) are also the reconstructed Hymn 13. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) also appear at *PGM* II. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2), and l. 6 also appears at *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14.1). [E.N.O.]

4. In Hymn 13. 6 Preisendanz has changed *εοῖς* to *θεοῖς*.

To me beseeching you] in holy measures⁵ /
 [And] in my hands holding [a laurel leaf].⁶ 15
 Send me [divine responses] and a holy
 Prophetic sign. In lucid [words], O priestess,
 [Reveal all things]: both [when this will occur]
 And how it will be done. [Give me a presage,]
 So that with it [I may perform a test]
 On [anything. / Subduer, hither come! 20
 Lo you,] mankind's Subduer, mankind's [force!
 Come, blessed Paian,]⁷ most supreme, [help] me;
 [Come hither to me, golden-tressed], IEŌ,
 E'en thou, Paian, [the very lord of song.
 Come thou to me,] O Phoibos, many-named.
 O Phoibos, / sing out clear with presages, 25
 Phoibos Apollo, Leto's son, far-worker,
 Hither, come hither, hither come; respond
 With prophecies, give presage in night's hour."
 Then speak, declaiming⁸ this: "ΕΕ ΙΕ ΙΕ ΕΙ ΙŌ . . . ΙΑŌΙΕ ΙΥΕ ΙΑ ΙΑŌ Ε . . . ΟΥŌ."
 Then at sunset make your request again: /
 "Hear me, god of the silver bow, who stand 30
 Protector of Chryse and holy Cilla⁹
 And are the mighty lord of Tenedos,
 Gold-shining, hurricane and dragon-slayer,
 MESEKRIPIH,¹⁰ Leto's son, SIAŌTH,
 SABAŌTH, MELIOUCHOS, ruler, PEUCHRĒ,
 Night-wanderer, SESEGGEN, BAPHARAGGĒS, /
 ARBĒTHŌ, god of many forms, O thou 35
 Who're fond of chariots,¹¹ ARBATHIAŌ
 Smintheus, if e'er I've roofed a pleasing shrine
 For you, or if I've ever burned for you
 Fat thighs of bulls or goats, grant this my prayer."¹²
 And in the same way in his encounter with Selene, as follows: /
 "Laurel,¹³ Apollo's holy plant of presage, 40

5. "In holy measures" translates *ἱεροῖσι πεδίλοις*. Although Preisendanz says "auf heiligen Sandalen," this sense has no place in the passage: first, the word order suggests that the phrase goes closely with *μοι λισσομένῃ* ("to me as I pray"); second, Daphne's mythology seems to have nothing to do with sandals (cf. L. von Sybel, in Roscher I [1884–86] 954–55, s.v. "Daphne," although the article omits this passage and *PGM* in general); and third, this passage is hymnic, and one meaning of *πέδιλον* (as the diminutive of *πούς*) is "meter," "measure," for which cf. Pindar, *O.* 3.5 and 6. 8. [E.N.O.]

6. The mixing of the plant and the goddess in this hymn is another good example of the thin line between inanimate objects and personified spirits of these objects. Cf. esp. ll. 40–41 below. [E.N.O.]

7. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 22–38), many of which are metrically faulty, are the reconstructed Hymn 10; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 244–45. Ll. 24–27 (Hymn 10. 4–6) appear, in slightly altered form, at *PGM* II. 2–4 (Hymn 9. 1–3). [E.N.O.]

8. The translation is problematic, but cf. perhaps Plutarch, *Mor.* 131A; *Cic.* 4, 862F. [E.N.O.]

9. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 37–38.

10. The *voces magicæ* in these verses are intended to be a part of the verses. The translation attempts to treat them in the same way, but some liberties must be taken. [E.N.O.]

11. *φιλάρματε*, "fond of chariots," is the reading in Hymn 10. 12; the papyrus has *φιλαίματε*, "fond of blood." [E.N.O.]

12. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 39–41.

13. These dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 14; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14. 1) also appears at *PGM* II. 81 (Hymn 11. 1) and VI. 6 (Hymn 13. 1). [E.N.O.]

O virgin Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' mistress,
 SABAÖTH¹⁴ IAÖAÖO IAGCHÖTHIPYLA MOYSIARCHA¹⁵ OTONYPON
 Hither to me come quickly; haste to sing
 Divine precepts to me [and to proclaim
 Pure words] and in dark night [bring me true sayings].¹⁶ /

45 RĒSABAAN AAN . . . ANA AANANAANANALAAA AAA AAA.¹⁷

It is for you, O Delios, O Nomios, O son of Leto and Zeus, to give persuasive oracles at night as you recount the truth through dream oracles."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is badly mutilated, and little is gained by offering a translation of the scattered words and phrases that remain. Instead, for the three verse passages, the reconstructed texts of Hymns 10, 13, 14 have been used. Additional information appears at VI. 6, 22, and 40. [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 1–148

*Homer oracle:

1. 1-1-1 But on account of their accursed bellies they have miserable woes, [Od. 15. 344]
2. 1-1-2 neither to cast anchor stones nor to attach stern cables, [Od. 9. 137]
3. 1-1-3 being struck by the sword, and the water was becoming red with blood. [Il. 21. 21]
4. 1-1-4
5. 1-1-5 stood holding a scepter, which Hephaistos produced by his labors. [Il. 2. 101]
6. 1-1-6
7. 1-2-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [Il. 9. 120; 19. 138]
8. 1-2-2 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [Il. 7. 360; 12. 234]
9. 1-2-3
10. 1-2-4
11. 1-2-5 let it lie in the great hall. And I wish for your happy arrival [Od. 15. 128]
12. 1-2-6
13. 1-3-1
14. 1-3-2
15. 1-3-3 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [Il. 18. 328]
16. 1-3-4 I would even wish it, and it would be much better [Il. 3. 41; Od. 11. 358; 20. 316]
17. 1-3-5 Then indeed would he smash all your fine show, [Od. 17. 244]
18. 1-3-6 I also care about all these things, woman. But very terribly [Il. 6. 441]
19. 1-4-1
20. 1-4-2 speaking good things, but they were contriving evil things in their hearts. [Od. 17. 66]

14. The *voces magicae* in these lines make no pretense of being verse and for that reason are omitted from Hymn 14. [E.N.O.]

15. Cf. the epithet ὁ Μουσάρχης, "leader of the Muses," belonging to Apollo. See LSJ, s.v.

16. See Hymn 14. 4–5 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248.

17. The *voces magicae* here appear immediately after "in dark night" in the papyrus, but because of the addition of two half-lines in Hymn 14, it is more convenient to complete the translation of the hymn before giving these *voces*. [E.N.O.]

21. 1-4-3 The glorious gifts of the gods are surely not to be cast aside, [*Il.* 3. 65]
22. 1-4-4
23. 1-4-5
24. 1-4-6 These things, Zeus-nurtured Skamander, will be as you order. [*Il.* 21. 223]
25. 1-5-1 a joy to your enemies, and a disgrace to yourself? [*Il.* 3. 51]
26. 1-5-2 Within this very year, Odysseus will arrive here, [*Od.* 14. 161; 19. 306]
27. 1-5-3 No use indeed to you, since you will not lie clad in them, [*Il.* 22. 513]
28. 1-5-4 And to the victor are to go the woman and the possessions. [*Il.* 3. 255]
29. 1-5-5 The rule of the many is no good. Let there be one ruler, [*Il.* 2. 204]
30. 1-5-6 And the gateway is full of ghosts, and full also is the courtyard, [*Od.* 20. 355]
31. 1-6-1 We have won great honor. We have killed glorious Hektor, [*Il.* 22. 393]
32. 1-6-2 Who would undertake and complete this task for ? [*Il.* 10. 303]
33. 1-6-3 Not even if his gifts to me should be as numerous as the grains of sand and particles of dust, [*Il.* 9. 385]
34. 1-6-4
35. 1-6-5
36. 1-6-6
37. 2-1-1 For no island is made for driving horses or has broad meadows, [*Od.* 4. 607]
38. 2-1-2 in the past, when you were boys, did you listen to your [*Od.* 4. 688]
39. 2-1-3
40. 2-1-4
41. 2-1-5
42. 2-1-6 His gifts are hateful to me, and I honor him not a whit. [*Il.* 9. 378]
43. 2-2-1 an only beloved heir to many possessions, [*Il.* 9. 482; *Od.* 16. 19 (?)]
44. 2-2-2
45. 2-2-3
46. 2-2-4
47. 2-2-5 So they thronged about him. And near [*Od.* 24. 19]
48. 2-2-6 and fashioning lies out of what nobody could see. [*Od.* 11. 366]
49. 2-3-1 be valiant, that later generations may also speak well of you. [*Od.* 1. 302]
50. 2-3-2 leaning on the grave marker over a barrow heaped up by men [*Il.* 11. 371]
51. 2-3-3 go. You have a way, and beside the sea your ships [*Il.* 9. 43]
52. 2-3-4 You will be proved a liar, and will not go on to fulfill your word. [*Il.* 19. 107]
53. 2-3-5 And his mother for her part continued the lament amid a flood of tears, [*Il.* 22. 79]
54. 2-3-6 Not even if remaining for five or six years [*Od.* 3. 115]
55. 2-4-1 So he spoke, and ordered Paion to administer a cure. [*Il.* 5. 899]
56. 2-4-2 These things, unhappy man, will I accomplish and do for you. [*Od.* 11. 80]

57. 2-4-3 How can you propose to render toil useless and ineffectual? [*Il.* 4. 26]
58. 2-4-4 a thing delayed, late of fulfillment, whose fame will never perish. [*Il.* 2. 325]
59. 2-4-5 Sooner would you grow weary and return to your native land. [*Od.* 3. 117]
60. 2-4-6 to go, that he may bring poisonous drugs from there, [*Od.* 2. 329]
61. 2-5-1 Husband, you departed from life young, and me behind as a widow [*Il.* 24. 725]
62. 2-5-2 in which way I will for sure accomplish everything and how it will be brought to pass, [*Il.* 9. 310 (?)]
63. 2-5-3 Offer me not honey-tempered wine, honored mother, [*Il.* 6. 264]
64. 2-5-4
65. 2-5-5
66. 2-5-6 Do not orphan your son and make your wife a widow. [*Il.* 6. 432]
67. 2-6-1 would that they might now eat their last and final meal here. [*Od.* 4. 685]
68. 2-6-2 It is not meet for a man who speaks in the Council to sleep all the night through, [*Il.* 2. 24]
69. 2-6-3 What's wrong with you, that you took this wrath into your heart? [*Il.* 6. 326]
70. 2-6-4 But who knows if he will one day return and punish them for their violent deeds? [*Od.* 3. 216]
71. 2-6-5 wives I will provide for both and furnish possessions [*Od.* 21. 214]
72. 2-6-6 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
73. 3-1-1 For it's no reproach to flee evil, nor by night. [*Il.* 14. 80]
74. 3-1-2 Be mindful of every form of valor. Now you needs must [*Il.* 22. 268]
75. 3-1-3 as a widow at home. And the boy is still just a baby, [*Il.* 22. 484; cf. 24. 726]
76. 3-1-4 But do you in no wise enter the moil of Ares, [*Il.* 18. 134]
77. 3-1-5 For amid misfortune mortals quickly grow old. [*Od.* 19. 360]
78. 3-1-6
79. 3-2-1
80. 3-2-2 Such a man is not alive nor will be born, [*Od.* 6. 201]
81. 3-2-3 Of a truth, child, there's nothing really wrong with this, [*Il.* 18. 128]
82. 3-2-4 Now is it no longer possible for him to find escape from us, [*Il.* 22. 219]
83. 3-2-5 we will ransom with bronze and gold, for it is within. [*Il.* 22. 50]
84. 3-2-6 drink, and do not vie with younger men. [*Od.* 21. 310]
85. 3-3-1 where are you fleeing, turning your back like a craven in the ranks? [*Il.* 8. 94]
86. 3-3-2 Would that such a man be called my husband [*Od.* 6. 244]
87. 3-3-3 plants her head in heaven and walks upon the earth. [*Il.* 4. 443]
88. 3-3-4 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
89. 3-3-5 and nodded for his army to survive and not to perish. [*Il.* 8. 246]
90. 3-3-6 Would that you had not pled with the noble son of Peleus, [*Il.* 9. 698]
91. 3-4-1 Honey-sweet wine has the best of you, which others also [*Od.* 21.

- 293]
92. 3-4-2 Act in whatever way your mind is moved, and no longer hold back. [*Il.* 22. 185]
93. 3-4-3 For it is fated for both to turn the same ground red [*Il.* 18. 329]
94. 3-4-4 keep on shooting like this, if haply you may become a light to the Danaans [*Il.* 8. 282]
95. 3-4-5 as there is no one who could keep the dogs off your head, [*Il.* 22. 348]
96. 3-4-6 You will not kill me, since I am for sure not subject to Fate. [*Il.* 22. 13]
97. 3-5-1 staying right here you would help me watch over this house [*Od.* 5. 208]
98. 3-5-2 Get out of the gateway, old man, or it won't be long before you're dragged out by the foot. [*Od.* 18. 10]
99. 3-5-3 Better for a man to escape evil by flight than to be caught. [*Il.* 14. 81]
100. 3-5-4 and declare to no one, neither man nor woman, [*Od.* 13. 308]
101. 3-5-5 of wheat or barley. And the heaps fall thick and fast. [*Il.* 11. 69]
102. 3-5-6 Whatever sort of word you speak, such would you hear. [*Il.* 20. 250]
103. 3-6-1 was opposed to giving Helen to tawny Menelaos, [*Il.* 11. 125]
104. 3-6-2 or will you alter your purpose? The hearts of the good are flexible. [*Il.* 15. 203]
105. 3-6-3 Yet I for one never doubted, but at heart [*Od.* 13. 339]
106. 3-6-4 Eurymachos, it will not be so. And even you know it. [*Od.* 21. 257]
107. 3-6-5 You miserable foreigner, you have no sense at all. [*Od.* 21. 288]
108. 3-6-6 And the father granted him one thing, but denied him the other. [*Il.* 16. 250]
109. 4-1-1 Nay, go to your chambers and tend to your own work, [*Od.* 1. 356]
110. 4-1-2 Now then, do not even tell this to your wife. [*Od.* 11. 224 (alternate version)]
111. 4-1-3 would you have been stoned to death for all the wrongs you've done. [*Il.* 3. 57]
112. 4-1-4 you prayed to the immortals to see with a beard grown. [*Od.* 18. 176]
113. 4-1-5 and vow to Lycian-born Apollo the famous archer [*Il.* 4. 101]
114. 4-1-6 and no spirit of harmony unites wolves and sheep, [*Il.* 22. 263]
115. 4-2-1 Come now, let us make these concessions to one another, [*Il.* 4. 62]
116. 4-2-2 And in the throng were Strife and Uproar, and Fate-of-Death, [*Il.* 18. 535]
117. 4-2-3 . . .
118. 4-2-4 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
119. 4-2-5 . . .
120. 4-2-6 You baby, what use now to keep your bow idle? [*Il.* 21. 474]
121. 4-3-1 For even fair-tressed Niobe turned her mind to food, [*Il.* 24. 602]
122. 4-3-2 after giving a mass of bronze and gold and raiment [*Od.* 5. 38]
123. 4-3-3 Surely then the journey will not be useless or fail to occur. [*Od.* 2. 273]
124. 4-3-4 One omen is best, to defend your country. [*Il.* 12. 243]
125. 4-3-5 I will gild her horns all round and sacrifice her to you. [*Il.* 10. 294]

126. 4-3-6 and you would gain every Trojan's thanks and praise, [*Il.* 4. 95]
 127. 4-4-1 put in with your ship, since women are no longer trustworthy. [*Od.* 11. 456]
 128. 4-4-2 It is not possible or proper to deny your request. [*Il.* 14. 212]
 129. 4-4-3 would straightway fit his will to your desire and mine. [*Il.* 15. 52]
 130. 4-4-4 and give him instruction. And it will be beneficial for him to obey. [*Il.* 11. 789]
 131. 4-4-5 will give glory to me, and your soul to horse-famed Hades. [*Il.* 5. 654]
 132. 4-4-6 fill up his ship with gold and bronze aplenty, [*Il.* 9. 137]
 133. 4-5-1 but tell one part, and let the other be concealed. [*Od.* 11. 443]
 134. 4-5-2 and at birth Zeus sends a weight of misery. [*Il.* 10. 71]
 135. 4-5-3 alone to have intelligence, but they are flitting shades. [*Od.* 10. 495]
 136. 4-5-4 yielding to his indignation. But they now withheld from him the gifts [*Il.* 9. 598]
 137. 4-5-5 I rejoice at hearing what you say, son of Laërtes. [*Il.* 19. 185]
 138. 4-5-6 But Zeus causes men's prowess to wax or to wane, [*Il.* 20. 242]
 139. 4-6-1 a terrible man. He would be quick to blame even the blameless. [*Il.* 11. 654]
 140. 4-6-2 with all haste. For now would you capture the broad-wayed city [*Il.* 2. 66]
 141. 4-6-3 Endure now, my heart. An even greater outrage did you once endure, [*Od.* 20. 18]
 142. 4-6-4 You lunatic, sit still and listen to the word of others, [*Il.* 2. 200]
 143. 4-6-5 had cast aside wrath and chosen friendship. [*Il.* 16. 282]
 144. 4-6-6 so good it is for a son to be left by a dead [*Od.* 3. 196]
 145. 5-1-1 Here then, spread under your chest a veil, [*Od.* 5. 346]
 146. 5-1-2 'Tis impiety to exult over men slain. [*Od.* 22. 412]
 147. 5-1-3 through immortal night, when other mortals sleep? [*Il.* 24. 363]
 148. 5-1-4 How then could I forget divine Odysseus? [*Od.* 1. 65]
 149. 5-1-5 lurid death and o'erpowering doom laid hold of [*Il.* 5. 83]
 150. 5-1-6 So there's nothing else as horrible and vile as a woman [*Od.* 11. 427]
 151. 5-2-1 Let us not advance to fight the Danaans around the ships. [*Il.* 12. 216]
 152. 5-2-2 to put up a defense, when some fellow provokes a fight. [*Il.* 24. 369; *Od.* 16. 72; 21. 133]
 153. 5-2-3 nor do children at his knees call him "papa" [*Il.* 5. 408]
 154. 5-2-4 I am this very man, back home now. And after many toils [*Od.* 21. 207]
 155. 5-2-5 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
 156. 5-2-6 let him stay here the while, even though he's eager for Ares. [*Il.* 19. 189]
 157. 5-3-1 And do not, exulting in war and battle, [*Il.* 16. 91]
 158. 5-3-2 never to have gone to bed with her and had intercourse, [*Il.* 9. 133; 19. 176]
 159. 5-3-3 and moistens the lips, but fails to moisten the palate. [*Il.* 22. 495]
 160. 5-3-4 Take heart! Let these matters not trouble your thoughts. [*Il.* 18. 463]
 161. 5-3-5 But this mad dog I'm unable to hit. [*Il.* 8. 299]
 162. 5-3-6 Keep quiet, friend, and do as I say. [*Il.* 4. 412]

163. 5-4-1 Bad deeds don't prosper. The slow man for sure overtakes the swift,
[*Od.* 8. 329]
164. 5-4-2 They shut fast and locked the doors of the hall. [*Od.* 21. 236]
165. 5-4-3 Ah, poor man! Death's not at all on your mind, [*Il.* 17. 201]
166. 5-4-4 Odysseus has come and reached home, though he was long in coming. [*Od.* 23. 7]
167. 5-4-5 in full he will accomplish it at last, and the penalty they pay is great,
[*Il.* 4. 161]
168. 5-4-6 and therein was Strife, and therein Valor, and therein chilling Attack,
[*Il.* 5. 740]
169. 5-5-1 but 'tis most wretched to die and meet one's doom by starvation.
[*Od.* 12. 342]
170. 5-5-2 shall I be laid low when I die. But good repute is now my goal, [*Il.*
18. 121]
171. 5-5-3 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4.
264]
172. 5-5-4 In no way do I mock you, dear child, nor am I playing tricks. [*Od.*
23. 26]
173. 5-5-5 but she stayed Alkmene's labor and stopped her from giving birth.
[*Il.* 19. 119]
174. 5-5-6 But come, and hereafter I shall make amends for this, if now anything wrong [*Il.* 4. 362]
175. 5-6-1 Where are you two rushing? What causes the heart within your breast to rage? [*Il.* 8. 413]
176. 5-6-2 Pray now, let him not be too much on your mind. [*Od.* 13. 421]
177. 5-6-3 But the gods do not, I ween, give men all things at the same time.
[*Il.* 4. 320]
178. 5-6-4 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
179. 5-6-5 So he spake, but did not move the mind of Zeus by saying this. [*Il.*
12. 173]
180. 5-6-6 but Odysseus nodded no and checked him in his eagerness. [*Od.* 21.
129]
181. 6-1-1 How can you want to go alone to the ships of the Achaians? [*Il.* 24.
203]
182. 6-1-2 him a bridegroom in his house, who left as only child a daughter
[*Od.* 7. 65]
183. 6-1-3 And too, I've taken the mist from your eyes, which before was there,
[*Il.* 5. 127]
184. 6-1-4 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
185. 6-1-5 And I know that my arrival was longed for by you two [*Od.* 21.
209]
186. 6-1-6 I shall dress him in a mantle and a tunic, fine garments. [*Od.* 16. 79;
17. 550; 21. 339]
187. 6-2-1 by fastening a noose sheer from a high rafter, [*Od.* 11. 278]
188. 6-2-2 remembering our excellence, of the sort that even we [*Od.* 8. 244]
189. 6-2-3 the sea's great expanse they cross, since this is the Earthshaker's gift to them. [*Od.* 7. 35]
190. 6-2-4 Nay, come on with the bow. You'll soon be sorry for obeying everybody. [*Od.* 21. 369]
191. 6-2-5 But hurry into battle, and rouse the other soldiers. [*Il.* 19. 139]

192. 6-2-6 For mighty Herakles, not even he escaped his doom, [*Il.* 18. 117]
 193. 6-3-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120;
 19. 138]
 194. 6-3-2 And let him stand up among the Argives and swear an oath to you
 [*Il.* 19. 175]
 195. 6-3-3 The man is nearby. Our search will not be long, if you are willing [*Il.*
 14. 110]
 196. 6-3-4 and not quite suddenly, and a very god should be the cause? [*Od.*
 21. 196]
 197. 6-3-5 Verily, these things have already happened, and not otherwise could
 [*Il.* 14. 53]
 198. 6-3-6 On now, follow close! In action numbers make a difference. [*Il.* 12.
 412]
 199. 6-4-1 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360;
 12. 234]
 200. 6-4-2 Take heart, and let your thoughts not be of death. [*Il.* 10. 383]
 201. 6-4-3 by her wailing she rouse from sleep her household servants, [*Il.* 5.
 413]
 202. 6-4-4 Come now in strict silence, and I shall lead the way, [*Od.* 7. 30]
 203. 6-4-5 are there ears for hearing, and sense and respect are dead. [*Il.* 15.
 129]
 204. 6-4-6 as he was growing old. But the son did not grow old in his father's
 armor. [*Il.* 17. 197]
 205. 6-5-1 to return home and behold the day of homecoming. [*Od.* 5. 220;
 8. 466]
 206. 6-5-2 Apollo of the silver bow did strike the one, still sonless, [*Od.* 7. 64]
 207. 6-5-3 then you may hope to see your loved ones and reach [*Od.* 7. 76]
 208. 6-5-4 As for you two, I will tell you exactly how it will be. [*Od.* 21. 212]
 209. 6-5-5 For so shall I proclaim, and it will be accomplished too. [*Il.* 1. 212]
 210. 6-5-6 and I shall send him wherever his heart and spirit urge him. [*Od.* 16.
 81; 21. 342]
 211. 6-6-1 idiot? You'll soon pay when the swift hounds devour you [*Od.* 21.
 363]
 212. 6-6-2 You would learn what mighty hands I have to back me up. [*Od.* 20.
 237; 21. 202]
 213. 6-6-3 In no wise do I think he will in that event take you for himself, nor is
 it proper. [*Od.* 21. 322]
 214. 6-6-4 here we gather, waiting day after day. [*Od.* 21. 156]
 215. 6-6-5 to reach decision making secret plans. Nor yet now to me [*Il.* 1.
 542]
 216. 6-6-6 Don't dare get it into your mind to escape from me, Dolon. [*Il.* 10.
 447]

Here end the verses of the Homer oracle. May it help you!

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The so-called Homer oracle, a list of 216 isolated and disconnected Homeric verses, is in fact a manual designed to provide the reader with an oracular response to a personal inquiry. Concerned with matters of daily life such as we find in our newspaper horoscopes, the inquirer rolls three dice or knucklebones, each of which has its six surfaces numbered from one to six and is used to select a number from one of the three *vertical* number columns to the left of the Homeric verses (in each column, there are only six numbers to select from, though each occurs thirty-six times); one die thrown three times would achieve the same purpose. The three numbers selected by this process establish a *horizontal*

number column that indicates which verse is to be consulted; e.g., a roll of 1, 3, 6 on the dice would guide the inquirer to no. 18. As is true with oracles in general, most of the responses provide ambiguous answers which leave the exact interpretation up to the reader.

In this translation of Homer, which usually follows the Oxford Classical Text rather than that of Preisendanz, a lowercase letter at the beginning of a translated verse indicates that the first word of the verse does not begin a sentence. Such verses often constitute or involve incomplete syntactical units. In general, the punctuation at the end of a translated verse is that of the Oxford text, although in some instances this policy cannot be strictly observed. In a number of cases both the text and the Homeric reference given by Preisendanz have been emended. Furthermore, each of the verses has been numbered consecutively for ready reference. Since in all but a few instances the text of the Homeric verse is certain, we have omitted the usual brackets used to indicate lacunae in the papyrus. For additional discussion on this special type of divination, see T. Hopfner, "Astragalomanteia," *PRE.S* 4 (1924) 51–56, esp. 54–55; cf. Franz Heinvetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Breslau, 1912).

PGM VII. 149–54

***To keep bugs / out of the house:** Mix goat bile with water and sprinkle it. **To keep fleas out of the house:** Wet rosebay with salt water, grind it and spread it. 150

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 155–67

***Days and hours for divination:** 155

1 at dawn	16 do not use	
2 at noon	17 do not use	
3 do not use	18 at dawn and in the afternoon	
4 at dawn	19 at dawn	
/ 5 at dawn	20 at dawn	160
6 do not use	21 in the afternoon	
7 at noon	[22] in the afternoon	
8 throughout the whole day	[23] at dawn	
9 do not use	24 at dawn	
/ 10 throughout the whole day	25 do not use	165
11 in the afternoon	26 in the afternoon	
12 throughout the [whole] day	27 throughout the whole day	
13 throughout the whole day	28 throughout the whole day	
14 at dawn	29 throughout the whole day	
15 throughout the whole day	30 in the afternoon	

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 167–86

***Demokritos' "table gimmicks":**

*To make bronzeware look like it's made of gold:*¹ Mix native sulfur with chalky soil and wipe it off.²

/ To make an egg become like an apple: Boil the egg and smear it with a mixture of egg-yolk and [red] wine.³ 170

To make the chef unable to light the burner: Set a houseleek plant on his stove.

1. According to H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, ⁸1956), vol. II, p. 220, this recipe shows the beginnings of alchemy.

2. That is, one wipes off the mixture after it has been applied.

3. For coloring eggs, see the references in M. Wellmann, *Die ΦΥΣΙΚΑ des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa*, part I, *APAW* 7 (1928): 57–58. Cf. also Athenaeus 13. 484e. Here, "egg yolk" can also mean "saffron."

*To be able to eat garlic and not stink:*⁴ Bake beetroots and eat them.

To keep an old woman from either chattering or drinking too much: Mince some pine⁵ / and put it in her mixed wine.

*To make the gladiators painted [on the cups] “fight”:*⁶ Smoke some “hare’s-head” underneath them.

To make cold food burn the banqueter: Soak a squill in hot water and give it to him to wash with. *To relieve him:* [Apply] oil.

To let those who have difficulty intermingling⁷ perform well: Give gum mixed with wine and honey / to be smeared on the face.

*To be able to drink a lot and not get drunk:*⁸ Eat a baked pig’s lung.

*To be able to travel [a long way] home and not get thirsty:*⁹ Gulp down an egg beaten in wine.

*To be able to copulate a lot:*¹⁰ Grind up fifty tiny pinecones with 2 ozs. of sweet wine and two pepper grains and drink it.

*To get an erection*¹¹ / *when you want:* Grind up a pepper with some honey and coat your “thing.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This curious collection of recipes contains humorous tricks as well as helpful remedies presumably designed to be performed or used at a symposiastic dinner. Similar tricks are found scattered throughout the pages of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*. See also PGM XIb; VII. 149–54; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 449 (3–7); Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 7 (1928): 1–80. It has not been fully appreciated that this collection seems to refer to events that take place at a dinner table. This fact does not necessarily hold true for all the other examples of *paignia*.

PGM VII. 186–90

**Favor and victory charm:* Take a blood-eating gecko that has been found among the tombs and grasp its right front foot and cut it off with a reed, allowing the gecko to return to its own hole alive. Fasten the foot / of the creature to the fold of your garment and wear it.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 191–92

**Eternal spell for binding a lover:* Rub together some gall of a wild boar, some rock salt, some Attic honey and smear the head of your penis.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 193–96

**For scorpion sting:* On a clean piece of papyrus, write the characters and place it on the part which has the sting; wrap / the papyrus around it, and the sting will lose its pain immediately.

4. Cf. Athenaeus 3. 84c for a similar breath freshener.

5. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 57b–d for pine and pine kernels at a dinner.

6. It seems likely that the reference is to translucent, painted glass which, when lit, produces the effect.

7. The reference is presumably to those who are shy in a social setting: the concoction is to be applied to the face.

8. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 52d where eating almonds is said to prevent drunkenness.

9. In Athenaeus 2. 58f and 2.69f similar means for quenching thirst are found.

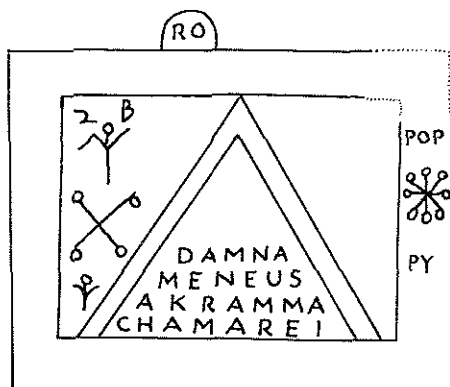
10. Cf. Athenaeus 1. 18d–e, where certain devices for having frequent sexual intercourse are mentioned.

11. See on this point PGM VII. 194–95; PDM lxi. 58–62.

PGM VII. 215–18

- 215 * **Stele**¹² of Aphrodite: To gain friendship, favor, success, and friends. Take a strip of tin and engrave on it with a bronze stylus. And be sure you are pure while carrying it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

**PGM VII. 218–21**

* **Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits**: Write on a clean piece of papyrus and wear as an amulet:

- 220 / "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI (subtracting down)
 AŌ [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
 Ō [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]

ABRASAX."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 222–49

- * **Request for a dream oracle from Besas**: Take red ocher [and blood]¹³ of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed worm-wood, cinnabar, and rainwater; / blend all together, put aside and write with it¹⁴ and with black writing ink, and recite the formula to the lamp¹⁵ at evening. Take a black¹⁶ of Isis and put it around your hand. When you are almost awake the god
 230 will come and speak to you, and he will not go away unless you wipe off / your hand with spikenard or something of roses and smear the picture with the black of

12. The use of "stele" may refer here to the triangular shape found on the drawing of the tin plate.

13. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, *μίλτον (καὶ αἷμα) περιστερᾶς λευκῆς*. The conjectural *(καὶ αἷμα)* makes the text conform to the parallel passage in *PGM VIII. 69–70*, where blood of a white dove is mentioned. The addition here, however, is not needed, for *μίλτον* (which does not occur in the parallel passage) can also mean "blood." See *PGM XII. 98* and LSJ, s.v. "*μίλτον*," III.

14. The Greek seems defective here. The only possible antecedent for *αὐτός* is the preceding portion as a substance with which one is to write. The following reference to ink suggests that it would be better to take *αὐτός* as the substance on which one is to write, particularly since the practitioner has just been told to put the portion aside, and no substance to write on is mentioned. In the parallel charm, *PGM VIII. 64–110*, a similar potion is used to paint the left hand.

15. Cf. *PGM VIII. 84–111*, where the use of a lamp is more fully described; this description occurs immediately before the prayer to the headless god, which is here found in ll. 233–48.

16. This item, which is not explained here (cf. *PGM VII. 231*; *VIII. 67–68*), may be the black linen garment used in the Isis cult. It is mentioned in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os. 39, 366E*; *77, 382C*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 451, 562. Preisendanz interprets the reference by translating: "take a black piece from the garment. . . ."

Isis.¹⁷ But the strip of cloth put around your neck,¹⁸ so that he will not smite you.

Formula to be spoken to the lamp: “I call upon you, the headless god, the one who has his face upon his feet;¹⁹ you are the one who hurls lightning, / who thunders, you are [the one whose] mouth continually pours on himself. You are the one who is over Necessity ARBATHIAO; you are the one lying on a coffin and having at the side of the head an elbow cushion²⁰ of resin and asphalt, the one whom they call ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the [blood] of the 2 falcons²¹ / who chatter and watch before the head of Heaven.²² Rouse your nighttime form, in which you proclaim all things publicly. I conjure you, daimon, by your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH. You are the headless god, the one who has a head and his face on his feet, / dim-sighted Besas. We are not ignorant. You are the one whose mouth [continually] burns. I conjure [you by] your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH M . . . ORA PHĒSARA Ê . . . Come, lord, reveal to me concerning the NN matter, without deceit, without treachery, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” The small figure²³ is drawn in the beginning of the book.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 250–54

***Request for a dream oracle**, a request which is always used. **Formula to be spoken to the day lamp:** “NAIENCHRĒ NAIENCHRĒ, mother of fire and water, you are the one who rises before, ARCHENTECHTHA; reveal to me concerning the NN matter. If yes, show me a plant and water, but if no, fire and iron; immediately, [immediately; quickly,] quickly.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 255–59

***Another to the same lamp:** “Hail, lord, lamp, you who shine beside Osiris and shine beside Osirchentechtha²⁴ and my lord, the archangel Michael. If it is advantageous for me to do this, show me a plant and water, but if not, fire and iron, immediately, immediately.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 260–71

***For ascent of the uterus:**²⁵ “I conjure you, O Womb, [by the] one established

17. See the note on l. 227 above. There is no previous reference in this charm to a picture (though “write” in l. 226 can also mean “draw”). Cf., however, PGM VIII. 64–65.

18. For this detail, see PGM VIII. 67.

19. K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos. Der kopflose Gott, Beihefte zum Alten Orient* 8 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926) 48–50, sees this passage as a reference to the Egyptian practice of putting the heads of those who have been beheaded between their feet. A. Delatte, “Akephalos,” *BCH* 38 (1914): 221–32, prefers to see this passage as a reference to the god Besas, who has the heads of animals for feet. Cf. K. Abel, “Akephalos,” *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 13. See Glossary, s.v. “Headless.”

20. Cf. on this point PGM VIII. 97–98.

21. This refers to Isis and Nephthys, who in the form of falcons or kites watch over the body of Osiris. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 35, 305, 328. [R.K.R.]

22. See on this concept the parallel passage PGM VIII. 100–101, which has Ὀσίρειος, “of Osiris,” instead of “of Heaven.” But “Heaven” should be kept (against the suggestion by F. Boll, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.). Perhaps, Nut (Heaven) is really meant here: her image was placed in the coffin in such a way that her head and that of the dead were close to each other. [J.B.]

23. The picture is missing; it may have been in the portion of the papyrus which is now lost.

24. See PGM III. 171 and note; note also the apparatus at PGM VII. 252.

25. Cf. on this point Soranus, *Gynecology* III. 50 (ed. Ilberg, pp. 127–28): “On the Flexion, Bending, and Ascent of the Uterus,” esp. sec. 2 (p. 127): “[A] flexing to the anterior of the uterus causes

over the Abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light, or darkness came to be; [you?] who created the angels, being foremost, AMICHAMCHOU and CHOUCHAŌ CHĒRŌEI
 265 OUEIACHŌ ODOU PROSEIOGGĒS, and who sit over the cherubim, who bear / your
 (?) own throne, that you return again to your seat, and that you do not turn [to one
 side] into the right part of the ribs,²⁶ or into the left part of the ribs, and that you
 do not gnaw into the heart like a dog, but remain indeed in your own intended and
 270 proper place, not chewing [as long as] I conjure by the one who, / in the begin-
 ning, made the heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!”

Write this on a tin tablet and “clothe” it in 7 colors.²⁷

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 272–83

*Thōth: 1, 4, 12, 13, 22. Phaōphi: 2, 4, 10, 19, 20. Athyr: 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23,
 275 27. / Choiak: 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 24, 25. Tybi: 3, 4, 12, 24, 26. Mecheir: 1, 2, 10, 14,
 280 19. Phamenōth: 7, 8, 9. Pharmouthi: 5, 6, 14, 15, 20. / Pachōn: 3, 4, 12, 13, 21,
 26, 28. Pauni: 1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 20. Epeiph: 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 22. Mesore: [10, 14,]
 20, 23, 24, 25.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. An Egyptian calendar of months and days unsuitable for magic opera-
 tions. See Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 829–30. Cf. also PGM VII. 153–67; Delatte, *Anecdota*
Atheniensia I. 631–32; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism, Arbeiten zur*
Geschichte des antiken Judentums 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 102–3.

PGM VII. 284–99

285 *Orbit²⁸ of the moon: Moon / in Virgo: anything is rendered obtainable.²⁹ In Li-
 bra: necromancy.³⁰ In Scorpio: anything inflicting evil.³¹ In Sagittarius: an invoca-
 290 tion or incantations / to the sun and moon. In Capricorn: say whatever you wish
 295 for best results. In Aquarius: for a love charm. Pisces: for foreknowledge. / In
 Aries: fire divination or love charm. In Taurus: incantation to a lamp. Gemini: spell
 for winning favor. In Cancer: phylacteries. Leo: rings or binding spells.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Cf. PGM III. 275–81, which is very similar to this passage despite some
 significant differences in detail.

PGM VII. 300

*“SACHMOU OZOZO, you the one who thunders, the one who shakes the heaven
 and the earth, the one who has swallowed the serpent, hour by hour raising³² the

some problems [blockage?] in urination, and also causes a swelling of the pubic area; in some patients, it
 [will cause] an inability to stand upright.” [J.S.] For a more magical interpretation see A. A. Barb, “Diva
 Matrix,” *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238.

26. The context might suggest “hips,” but the Greek is specific; perhaps the author was quite vague
 in the knowledge of internal anatomy. [J.S.]

27. Presumably, this means that the cord around the neck is to be woven together from the threads of
 seven colors. The strip of tin would then be worn as an amulet.

28. Or “horoscope”; see, however, PGM III. 275, where κύκλος appears alone. On Selene and her
 astrological role in magic, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 826–28; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 411. On
 κύκλος, see Gundel, *Astrologumena*, esp. pls. I, VII. [E.N.O.]

29. The Greek term is unclear; see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.; K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 196
 (1934): 171.

30. Necromancy and Libra are also connected in PGM III. 278.

31. The reading πανκακώσιμον is uncertain and, at any rate, a *hapax legomenon*. Cf. PGM LXXI.
 6–7.

32. Reading ἐξαιρῶν, which Preisendanz has in the two parallels to this passage: PGM IV. 1326;
 VII. 367.

disk of the sun and surrounding the moon, CHŌNSOU³³ OCHCHA ENSOU O BIBEROËSOS.” Write on your left hand with myrrh ink these things surrounding the ibis.



*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The purpose of this spell is not given though it may form part of the whole given in PGM VII. 272–83, 284–99.

PGM VII. 300a–310

/ *Love charm which acts in the same hour: Take a seashell and write the holy names with the blood of a black ass.³⁴ 300a

Spell: “I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity³⁵ (MASKELLI formula)³⁶ and [by those] who have been placed [in charge of] the Punishments, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIMOU MOUKILA KILAMOU IŌR MOUŌR MOUDRA MAXTHA / MOUSATHA: attract her, NN, 305 whom NN bore” (add the usual, whatever [you wish]). “Do not be stubborn, but attract her, OUCH OUCH CHAUNA MOUCLIMALCHA MANTŌR MOURKANA MOU-LITHA MALTHALI MOUI ĒĪĒI YYY AĒ AĪĒ YOŌ AĒI AĒI AĒI AŌA AŌA AŌA IAŌ ŌAI ŌAI AĪŌ ŌIA IŌA IAŌ ŌAI, attract her, NN” (add the usual). As the moon waxes / in 310 Aries or in Taurus [add the usual, whatever you wish].³⁷

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 311–16

*A phylactery: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI SESENGENBAR[PHARANGES] PEPHRAZAŌTH ZŌTH [MENE] BAINCHŌŌCH, protect NN, whom NN [bore], from any violence both by a frightful dream and by all demons of the air. [I conjure you] by the great, famous name, Abraam EMEINA AEUBAŌTH BAITHŌ BES IA IABAŌTH AGRAMAKRAMARI PSINŌTH³⁸ BER ŌŌN

33. This refers to the Egyptian moon god Khonsu; the moon is mentioned in the context. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 140–44, s.v. “Chons”; Hellmut Brunner, “Chons,” *LdÄ* I (1975): 960–63.

34. See on this point PGM IV. 3260 and n.

35. On “bitter Necessity,” see PGM IV. 526, 605, 1499–1500; XV. 13. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 59–60; idem, *Nekyia* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969) 124. Necessity (‘Ανάγκη) is a demonic being. See H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch’s Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature*, *SCHNT* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 224 (on *De sera num. vind.* 25, 564E).

36. See the Glossary, s.v. “MASKELLI logos.”

37. Preisendanz deletes these words, thinking they belong at l. 316.

38. This name is Egyptian, meaning “the son of the female falcon.” [R.K.R.]

- 315 IASÖP B . . . PNOUTE³⁹ / [and add the usual, whatever you wish].⁴⁰

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 317–18

**Another phylactery*, [to be said] to the moon: “ACHTHIÖPHIPH ERESCHIGAL NEBOUGOSOUALĒTH⁴¹ SATHÖTH SABAÖTH SABRÖTH” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 319–34

- 320 ***Charm for direct vision**: Take a copper vessel, / pour rainwater into it and make an offering of male frankincense.

Formula: “Let the earth be still, let the air be still, let the sea be still; let the winds also be still, and do not be a hindrance to this my divination—no sound, no loud cry, no hissing. For I am a prophet, and since I am about to call / a terrible, fearful name, ‘KOLLA OLPHIOGEMALA ACHERÖIO,’ open [the holy temple,] the world [built on the earth,] and welcome Osiris, because I am MANCHNÖBIS CHOL-
325 CHOBĒ MALASĒT IAT THANNOUTTA KERTÖMENOU PAKERBAÖ KRAMMASIRAT MOMOMO MELASOUT PEU PHRĒ. Open my ears so that you may reveal to me / concerning those things I ask you to answer me. Come on, come on; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; and speak concerning those things about which I questioned you. Appear to me, lord Anubis,⁴² I command you, for I am IEÖ BELPHENÖ, who considers [this] matter.”

Dismissal. Say: “Go away, Anubis, to your own thrones, for my health and well-being.”

Use after you have kept yourself pure for 3 days.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 335–47

- 335 ***Charm for a direct vision**: If you want to see him yourself, take a fly and Coptic eyepaint, grind them, and smear them on your eyes. Take a feather of an ibis 14 fingers long, smear it with perfume of roses or lilies, wind around it a linen cloth, and hold it with your hands as a scroll. Then say thus, while looking to the side
340 with the left / eye:

Formula: “MOUN EIPOSIS ÊU PHTHA NOUTH⁴³ THIE SĒMI NOUEI NĒITH⁴⁴ CHRECHREÖ SININÖRPS MOUCH ORÖOU ENTHERINI⁴⁵ EÖĒ MOUNIACH NESÖI MOUNESÖCH MOUNĒI ENIME CHREMOU RENENE SON SNĒI ÖS MOUCHORÖOU
345 ENTHERINI / ANOK SÖS ERMAICHÖ ENTEUMOUTOICHNĒ CHREMOU TĒŠBAS PNĒTE⁴⁶ KYPHOCH EMM IEBOCHNĒS TCHĒNĒ PHIMOU CHNOU NYOICHÖÖIM SEOUNEUMOI INONRI.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

39. The word is Egyptian and means “O/the god.” [R.K.R.]

40. Preisendanz adds this formula from I. 310.

41. Read νεβουτοσουαληθ (tau for gamma). See PGM IV. 2484–85, and Glossary, s.v. “Nebuto-soualeth.”

42. For Anubis as conducting the gods to the magician, cf. PDM xiv. 35–37. [R.K.R.]

43. These three words mean in Egyptian, “Come, Ptah, god.” [R.K.R.]

44. This name seems to refer to the Egyptian goddess Neith; see Bonnet *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. “Neith.” [R.K.R.] Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 9, 354C, reporting about the statue of the Athena of Sais, as Neith is called by the Greeks. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 283–84.

45. This word corresponds to the Egyptian *ntr*, “god.” [R.K.R.]

46. Perhaps this corresponds to the Egyptian *p3 ntr*, “O/the god.” Cf. PGM VII. 316. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 348–58

***Divination by means of a boy:** ⁴⁷ After you have laid [him] on the ground, speak, and a dark-colored boy will appear to him. /

Formula: “I call upon you, inhabitants of Chaos and Erebos, of the depth, of earth, watchers of heaven, of darkness, masters of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those beneath the earth, administrators of things which are infinite, those who wield power over earth, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, inhabitants of dark Erebos, / coercive watchers, rulers of cliffs, grievors of the heart, adverse daimons, iron-hearted ones BITHOURARA ASOUËMARA . . . OTROUR MOURROUR APHLAU MANDRAROUROU SOU MARAROU, reveal concerning the matter which I am considering” (add the usual). 350
355

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 359–69

***Request for a dream oracle:** Take a strip of clean linen and write on it the following name. / Roll it up to make a wick, pour pure olive oil over it and light it. 360

The formula to be written is this: “HARMIOUTH LAILAM CHŌOUCH ⁴⁸ ARSE-NOPHRĒ PHRĒU PHTHA HARCHENTECHTHA.”

In the evening then, when you are about to go to sleep, being pure in every respect, do this: Go to the lamp, say 7 times the following formula, extinguish the light / and go to sleep. 365

The formula to be spoken is as follows: “SACHMOUNĒ ⁴⁹ PAËMALIGOTĒRĒËNCH, the one who shakes, who thunders, who has swallowed the serpent, surrounds the moon, and hour by hour raises the disk of the sun, ‘CHTHETHŌNI’ is your name. I ask you, lords of the gods, SĒTH CHRĒPS: reveal to me concerning the things I wish.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 370–73

***Against every wild animal, aquatic creature and robbers:** Attach a tassel ⁵⁰ to your garment and say: “LŌMA ZATH AIŌN ACHTHASE MA . . . ZAL BALAMAŌN ĒIEOY, protect me, NN, in the present hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” 370

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 374–76

***Charm to induce insomnia:** [Take] a seashell and write: / “IPSAË IAŌAI, let her, NN daughter of NN, lie awake because of me.” That night she will lie awake. 375

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 376–84

***Another:** Take a lamp and furnish it with a wick and say to it: “I conjure you, lamp, by your mother Hestia, MĒRALLĒL (say twice), and by your father Hephais-tos, MELIBOU MELIBAU / MELIBAUBAU. [Let] her lie awake” (and add the usual). 380

47. On this form of divination, see PGM V. 1 and n.

48. CHŌOUCH is Egyptian for “darkness.” [R.K.R.]

49. This name refers to the goddess Sakhmet; cf. PGM VII. 300. See Bonnet, *RĀRG* 643–46, s.v. “Sachmet” (esp. 645–46 on her role in magic).

50. For the tassel, cf. the *zizith* in Jewish religion. See Nm 15:38–39; Dt 22:12. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People II*, 479, with further references.

ÖKĒSĒ EĒRINIARE MIN / ENTĒTAIN PHOOU TÖNKĒTÖ MNĒ SIETHÖN OSIRI ENA- 475
 BÖTH PSANOU LAMPSOUÖR IEOU IÖ IÖ AI ĒI EI AI EI AÖ, attract to me her, NN,
 whose mother is NN,” and the rest. *This is the figure*:
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 478–90

*“Eros, darling PASSALEON ĒT,⁶⁹ send me my personal [angel] tonight to give me 480
 information about whatever the concern is. For I do this / on order from PAN-
 CHOUCI THASSOU at whose order you are to act, because I conjure you by the
 four regions of the universe, APSAGAĒL CHACHOU MERIOUT MERMERIOUT and by
 the one who is above the four regions of the universe, KICH MERMERIOUTH” (add
 the usual).

This is the offering: Take equal portions of dirt from your sandal, / of resin, and 485
 of the droppings from a white dove, and while speaking [the invocation], burn
 them as an offering to the Bear.

The phylactery for this: Write these names on a strip of tin: “ACHACHAĒL 490
 CHACHOU MARMARIOUTI.” Then wear it around your neck. After uttering the
 summons, go to your quarters, put out the lamp, and sleep / on a newly made bed
 of rushes.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 490–504

*Taking sulfur and seed of Nile rushes, burn [them] as incense to the moon and say,
 “I call on you, Lady Isis, whom Agathos Daimon permitted to rule in the entire
 black [land].⁷⁰ Your name is LOU LOULOU BATHARTHAR THARĒSIBATH ATHER- 495
 NEKLĒSICH / ATHERNEBOUNI ĒICHOMÖ CHOMÖTHI Isis Sothis,⁷¹ SOUĒRI, Bou-
 bastis, EURELIBAT CHAMARI NEBOUTOS OUĒRI⁷² AIĒ ĒOA ŌAI. Protect me, great
 and marvelous names of the [god] (add the usual); for I am the one established in
 Pelusium,⁷³ SERPHOUTH MOUISRÖ⁷⁴ / STROMMÖ MOLÖTH MOLONTHĒR PHON 500
 Thoth. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the great god” (add the usual).

“ASAÖ EIÖ NISAÖTH. Lady Isis, Nemesis, Adrasteia,⁷⁵ many-named, many-
 formed, glorify me, as I have glorified the name of your son⁷⁶ Horus” (add the
 usual).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 505–28

**Meeting with your own daimon*:⁷⁷ “Hail, Tyche, and you, the daimon of this 505

69. The text here is doubtful. See the apparatus ad loc.

70. The name for Egypt in Egyptian is *Km.t*, meaning the “black” and referring to the alluvial soil in distinction from the “red” desert soil that borders it. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 425–26.

71. Isis Sothis is the identification of Isis with the dog star Sothis (Sirius). See J. Bergman, “I Overcome Fate, Fate Harkens to Me,” in *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature*, *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis II* (1967) 38–40; idem, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34, 41–45, 52–58 (p. 55 refers to PGM VII. 490–504).

72. OUĒRI is Egyptian *wr*, “great one.” [R.K.R.]

73. The god of Pelusium (*Pr-ir-Imn*) is Amon. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 357E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 334–35.

74. SERPHOUTH MOUISRO is *Srp.t m3y sr*, “Lotus, Lion, Ram.” Cf. PGM III. 659 and n.

75. On the identification of Isis, Nemesis, and Adrasteia, see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 153–54.

76. Although this sentence seems parallel to Jn 17:4–5, there is no Christian influence here.

77. For this spell and its interpretation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 160–62.

place, and you, the present hour, and you, the present day—and every day as well. Hail, Universe, that is, earth and heaven. Hail, Helios, for you are the one who has established yourself in invisible light over the holy firmament / ORKORĒTHARA.⁷⁸

510 “You are the father of the reborn Aion ZARACHTHŌ;⁷⁹ you are the father of awful Nature *Thortchophanō*;⁸⁰ you are the one who has in yourself the mixture⁸¹ of universal nature and who begot the five wandering stars,⁸² which are the entrails of heaven, the guts of earth, the fountainhead of the waters, and the violence / of fire
515 AZAMACHAR ANAPHANDAŌ EREYA ANEREYA PHENPHENSŌ IGRAA; you are the youthful one, highborn, scion of the holy temple, kinsman to the holy mere called Abyss which is located beside the two pedestals SKIATHI and MANTŌ.⁸³ And the
520 earth’s 4 basements were shaken, O master of all, / holy Scarab,⁸⁴ AŌ SATHREN ABRASAX IAŌAI AEŌ EŌA ŌAĒ IAO IĒO EY AĒ EY IE IAŌAI.”

Write the name in myrrh ink on two male eggs.⁸⁵ You are to cleanse yourself thoroughly with one; then lick off the name, break it, and throw it away. Hold the other
525 in your partially open right hand and show it to the sun at dawn and . . .⁸⁶ / olive branches; raise up your right hand, supporting the elbow with your left hand. Then speak the formula 7 times, crack the egg open, and swallow its contents.

Do this for 7 days, and recite the formula at sunset as well as sunrise.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 528–39

530 *Victory charm: “Helios, Helios, hear me, NN, Helios, lord, Great God, you who maintain all things and who give life / and who rule the world, toward whom all things go, from whom they also came, untiring, ĒIE ELĒIE IEŌA ROUBA ANAMAŌ MERMAŌ CHADAMATHA ARDAMATHA PEPHRE ANAMALAZŌ PHĒCHEIDEU ENE-

78. For the magical name ORKORĒTHARA, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203.

79. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203, n. 34, suggests that the name ZARACHTHŌ may be related to that of Zorochthora Melchisedek, which plays a role in gnosticism (*Pistis Sophia* IV. 136, 139, 140; *Book of Jeu* 108, 110, 111; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 55. 1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7. 36).

80. This name is written in Coptic.

81. The term “mixture” plays a great role in hellenistic philosophy and gnosticism. See *C.H.* XI. 7; *Pistis Sophia* III. 3 (and *passim*). For further references see *PGL*, s.v.

82. That is, the planets.

83. For the background of this passage in Egyptian religion and explanation of the names SKIATHI and MANTHŌ, see J. Bergman, “An Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (PGM VII, 11. 516–521),” in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee, Numen Supplements* 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

84. This acclamation expresses Khepri theology, of which the cosmogony in *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* 26, 21 (in Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 6) is the largest example. Khepri, the holy scarab, is mentioned at the end of the climax of names and epithets which often refer to his form of existence even by the Greek terms. The cultic context is also evident: the noble birth, representing creation, takes place in the temple at the time of the appearance of the Original Sea. This sea is identical with the sacred lake in the temple near the two pedestals of the evening bark (Sektat) and the morning bark (Manedjet). The temple represents the whole world, so that the four basements of the earth were shaken by the birth of Khepri, the master of all. [J.B.]

85. That is, eggs from which male chicks will be hatched. The ancients believed that one could predict the sex of the chick from the shape of the egg, though there appears to be some uncertainty as to which shape produced which sex. See Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* VI. 2 (559a); Pliny *NH* 10. 74; Columella, *De Re Rustica* VIII. 5. Cf. the comments by P. Louis in vol. 2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1968) of his Budé translation of Aristotle’s treatise, p. 64, n. 4, and by A. L. Peck in vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1970) of his *LCL* translation of the same treatise, p. 225, n. a; also the reference at *PGM* XII. 100 to an egg that will produce a male chick. [H.M.]

86. There is a lacuna in the Greek text at this point.

DEREU SIMATOI MERMEREŌ AMALAXIPHIA MERSIPHIA EREME THASTEU PAPIE⁸⁷
 PHEREDŌNAX ANAIE / GELEŌ AMARA MATŌR MŌRMARĒSIO NEOUTHŌN ALAŌ 535
 AGELAŌ AMAR AMATŌR MŌRMASI SOUTHŌN ANAMAŌ GALAMARARMA. Hear me,
 lord Helios, and let the NN matter take place on time.” Say this while you make an
 offering over oak charcoal, sacred incense, with which has been mixed the brain of a
 wholly black ram and the wheat meal of a certain plant.⁸⁸

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 540–78

***Lamp divination:** Put an iron lampstand in a clean house⁸⁹ at the eastern part, 540
 and having placed on it a lamp not colored red, light it. Let the lampwick be of new
 linen, and light the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense on grape-
 vine wood. The boy, then, should be uncorrupt, pure.⁹⁰

/ **Formula:** “PHISIO IAŌ AGEANOUMA SKABARŌ SKASABRŌSOU ASABRŌ, because 545
 I implore you this day today, this very time, to let the light and the sun appear to
 this boy, MANE OUSEIRI, MANE⁹¹ ISI,⁹² ANOUBIS the servant of all gods, and make
 this boy fall into a trance and see the gods, / all who are present at the divination. 550
 Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great!⁹³ May
 he appear, the one who [made] the four parts of the heaven and the four founda-
 tions of the earth, RESENNĒETHŌ BASENERAIPAN THALTHACHTHACHŌTHCH CHI-
 NEBŌTH CHINEBŌTH MIMYLŌTH MASYNTORI / ASTOBI. Come to me, you who are 555
 in heaven; come to me, you who are from the egg.⁹⁴ I conjure you by the ENTŌ⁹⁵
 TAPSATI LEGĒNISTHŌ ĒLEGĒ SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ⁹⁶ LEGE [having appeared
 and]⁹⁷ the two gods who are about you, THATH. The one god is called ‘So’⁹⁸ the
 other, ‘Aph,’⁹⁹ KALOU KAGŌĒI SESOPHĒI BAINCHŌŌŌCH.”

87. Perhaps PAPIE is related to PIPĪ, but cf. the apparatus ad loc. See for PIPĪ PGM IV. 595 and n.

88. For the plant called *κατανάγκης ἀλευρα*, see Diosc. 4.131; Pliny, *HN* 27.57.

89. The Greek is ambiguous, referring either to a house or a room in a house serving as a temple.

90. On the boy medium, see PGM V. 1 and n.

91. MANE is perhaps equivalent to Egyptian *mry.n*, “beloved one of,” hence: “beloved one of Osiris, beloved one of Isis.” [J.B.]

92. OUSERI . . . ISI, referring to Osiris and Isis, perhaps by the vocative. [R.K.R.]

93. The epithet “thrice great” results from the Egyptian superlative which repeats the positive three times. For the name Hermes Trismegistos and its derivation, see Festugière, *La révélation* I, 73–74; K. W. Tröger, “Die hermetische Gnosis,” in *Gnosis und Neues Testament. Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973) 103–4; J. Parlebas, “L’Origine égyptienne de l’appellation ‘Hermès Trismegistos,’” *GM* 13 (1974): 25–28; M.-Th. and P. Derchain, “Noch einmal Hermes Trismegistos,” *GM* 15 (1975): 7–10; R. K. Ritner, “Hermes Pentamegistos,” *GM* 49 (1981): 73–75; idem, “Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos,” *GM* 50 (1981): 67–68.

94. In Egyptian cosmogony the mythical primordial egg played a great role. Cf. PGM III. 145 and n. According to Orphic cosmogony, the one born from the egg is the god Phanes. See *Orph. Frag.* nos. 54, 55, and 56, and H. Leisegang, “The Mystery of the Serpent,” in J. Campbell, ed., *The Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978) 194–260.

95. Or, ἐν τῷ, “. . . by the one who is in TAPSATI . . .,” following Preisendanz. The latter probably belongs to the series of *voes magicæ* as indicated here. See also I. 576.

96. On SERPHOUTH MOUISRO, see PGM III. 659; and Preisendanz, vol. III, p. 230, s.v.

97. The text is mutilated here: “[and having appeared]” is Preisendanz’s conjecture. The plural participle may refer to the two preceding commands, if these commands refer to two separate gods. But the conjecture does not help much. The problem is also complicated by λέγε, “tell” or “speak” (?).

98. This name probably refers to the god Shu, Greek Sōsis. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 326–37; Bonnet, *RARG* 685–89, s.v. “Schu.” Cf. PGM VII. 345.

99. The name is unexplained; for possible explanations, see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., and vol. III, p. 217, index, s.v. “Aφ.” Perhaps the name refers to Apophis, the snake god and enemy of Re. This god is mentioned as Ἀφνφς in PGM XIII. 262; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 36, 365D. See Griffiths,

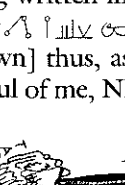
- 560 *The formula to be spoken*: “Come to me, spirit that flies in the air, / called with
secret codes and unutterable names, at this lamp divination which I perform, and
enter into the boy’s soul, that he may receive the immortal form in mighty and in-
corruptible light, because while chanting, I call, ‘IAO ELŌAI MARMACHADA MENE-
565 PHŌ¹⁰⁰ MERMAI / IĒŌR AIEŌ ĒREPHIE PHEREPHIŌ CHANDOUCHE AMŌN EREPNEU
ZŌNŌR AKLEUA MENĒTHŌNI KADALAPEU IŌ PLAITINE RE AŌTH IĒI ŌEI MEDCHĒ-
NŌR ALACHAL PERECHAĒL SERENŌPH DOUNAX ANAXIBOA EREBE BŌ BEBŌBIA
570 ANĒSIODEU IAŌA ENIŌEAL / EMERŌ MASAINDA.”

“Hither to me, O lord, riding upon immaculate light without deceit and without
anger; appear to me and to your medium, the boy, MARMARIAU ANAPSICHALAŌ
PEOE NIPSEOUA AIETY HARENNŌTHĒS¹⁰¹ ANERŌPHĒS ITHYAMAREM ŌSIĒR ANAP-
SICHYŌN PSYELĒMICHALĒS, appear” (say it 3 times).

- 575 / If he says, “I see your lord in the light,” say: “O holy YMERI EIGESOU ENTŌ
TĒRIOUA MENĒ SOMIŌŌ ALAMAŌR CHŌCHENEMĒTŌR,” and thus he will answer.
Ask: “ARSERETŌTHI OUEMANTOUR.”

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbelle.

PGM VII. 579–90

- 580 *A **phylactery**, a bodyguard against daimons, against phantasms, / against every
sickness and suffering, to be written on a leaf of gold or silver or tin or on hieratic
papyrus. When worn it works mightily for it is the name of power of the great god
and [his] seal, and it is as follows: “KMĒPHIS CHPHYRIS¹⁰² IAEŌ IAO AEĒ IAO OŌ
585 AIŌN IAEŌBAPHRENE / MOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAE Y EAIPHIRKIRALITHANYOME-
NERPHABŌEAI.”¹⁰³ These [are] the names; the figure is like this: let the Snake be
biting its tail, the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and
the characters thus, as follows: .

- 590 The whole figure¹⁰⁴ is [drawn] thus, as given below, with [the spell], “Protect
my body, [and] the / entire soul of me, NN.” And when you have consecrated [it],
wear [it].



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride 440; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51, s.v. “Apophis.” Cf. the strange ἀφφώ in *LXX* 2 Kgs 2:14; 10:10 and the explanations given by patristic commentators, for which see *PGL*, s.v. “ἀφφώ.”

100. Menepho is the name of the city of Memphis. Cf. *PGM* III. 104.

101. Harennōthes is Egyptian for *Hr-nḏ-it-f* (Harendotes), meaning “Horus the defender of his father.” See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 269, s.v. “Harendotes”; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 345; D. Meeks, “Harendotes,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 964–66. [R.K.R.]

102. Chphyris is the Egyptian scarab, Khepri.

103. IAEŌ begins an often-cited palindrome, but it is not set out as such in Preisendanz. The copyist got one letter wrong: ALITHA should be ALITHO.

104. Preisendanz gives the opening words surrounding the serpent as TARĒON EOY PHI, but the photograph (plate I, no. 4) shows clearly the reading given in the transcription here.

PGM VII. 591–92

*“Come to me, ear of heaven; come to me, ear [of the air;] come to me, ear of the earth,” and so forth, as indicated.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This portion of an invocation seems to be mislocated in the papyrus manuscript.

PGM VII. 593–619

***Fetchng charm for an unmanageable [woman]:**¹⁰⁵ Take a [lamp], not painted red, with seven wicks, and make a wick of [the hawser of] a wrecked / ship. On the [1st] wick write with myrrh, “IAŌ”; on the 2nd, “ADŌNAI”; on the 3rd, “SABAŌTH”; on the 4th, “PAGOURĒ”; on the 5th, “MARMOROUTH”; on the 6th, “IAEŌ”; on the 7th, “MICHAĒL.” 595

Put olive oil in the lamp and place it in a window / facing south. Also put worm-wood seeds on the lamp (around the edge of the lamp), and recite this *formula*: “I call upon you, the masters, great gods, who shine in the present hour, on this day, for the sake of her, the ungodly NN. For she has said: / 600

‘IAŌ does not have ribs.’ 605

[She, NN, has said,] ‘ADŌNAI was cast out because of his violent anger.’

[She, NN, has said,] ‘SABAŌTH emitted three cries.’¹⁰⁶

She, NN, has said, ‘PAGOURĒ is by nature a hermaphrodite.’

She, NN, has said, ‘MARMOROUTH was castrated.’

She, NN, has said, ‘IAEŌ was not entrusted with the ark.’

She, NN, has said, ‘MICHAĒL is by nature a hermaphrodite.’

/ “I am not the one who says such things, master, but she, the godless NN. Therefore fetch her for me, her inflamed with passion, submissive. Let her not find sleep until she comes to me” (repeat 7 times). 610

If the first lamp flickers, know that she has been seized by the daimon. And if the 2nd, she has left (the house); and if the 3rd, she is on the / way; and if the 4th, she has arrived; and if the 5th, she is at the door; the 6th, at the doorlatch; the 7th, she has come into the house. 615

It can fetch people even from across the sea. For that, place the lamp in some water in the open air. Place a papyrus boat under the lamp, and [recite the] formula 6 times.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM VII. 619–27

***From the Diadem of Moses:**¹⁰⁷ / Take the plant snapdragon and hold it under your tongue while lying asleep. And rise early and before you speak to anyone recite the names, and you will be invisible to everyone. 620

But when you say them over drinking cups and give them to a woman, she will love you, since this spell has power over everything: “ARESKILLIOUS THOU DALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR / MOULABŌTH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHŌRBAŌ SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASŌ IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI.” 625

For what you wish, say: “Get her, NN, for me, NN” (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

105. See for parallels to this spell PGM IV. 2475 and n.

106. For this cry, cf. the parallel in Ignatius, *Eph.* 19. 1.

107. This spell seems to be a selection from a larger collection entitled “The Diadem of Moses.” [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 628–42

- *Taking a field lizard,¹⁰⁸ let it down into oil of lilies until it be deified. Then engrave / the [image of] the Asklepios [worshiped] in Memphis¹⁰⁹ on a ring of iron from a leg fetter and put [the ring] into [the] oil of lilies [in which the lizard was drowned]. And when you use [the ring] take [it and] show [it] to the pole star,¹¹⁰ saying this spell 7 times: “MENŌPHRI¹¹¹ who sit on the cherubim, send me / the true Asklepios, not some deceitful daimon instead of the god.” Then take the incense burner in where you are going to sleep and burn 3 grains of frankincense and wave the ring in the smoke of the incense, saying 7 times the [spell], “CHAU-APS / ŌAEIAPS ŌAIS LYSIPHTHA,¹¹² lord Asklepios, appear.” And wear the ring on the index finger of your right hand.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 643–51

- ***Cup spell**, quite remarkable: Say the spell that is spoken to the cup 7 times: “You are wine; you are not wine¹¹³ but the head of Athena. / You are wine; you are not wine, but the guts of Osiris, the guts of IAŌ PAKERBĒTH SEMESILAM ŌŌŌ Ē PATACHNA IAAA.” (For *the spell of compulsion*: “ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI EEE, who has been stationed over necessity, IAKOUB IA IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX”).

- 650 “At whatever hour / you descend into the guts of her, NN, let her love me, NN, [for] all the time of her life.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 652–60

- ***Spell to induce insomnia by means of a bat**: Take blood of a black ox or of a goat or of Typhon¹¹⁴—but preferably of a goat—and write on its right wing: 655 “BŌRPHŌR PHORBA PHORPHARBA / PHŌRBŌRPHORBA PHORBA PHORBA PHORBA BAPHAIĒ PHŌRBAPHŌR BARBA” (put one word under another one, like bricks,¹¹⁵ and [add the usual, whatever] you want). And on the left wing write this in the same pattern: “PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBABŌR / BORBORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA” (likewise, add the usual as you want).

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

108. See A. D. Nock, “The Lizard in Magic and Religion,” in his *Essays* I, 271–76. On deification by drowning, see *PGM* I. 5; III. 1, with notes; LXI. 39–71.

109. Asklepios in Memphis is the Egyptian god Imhotep. See D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977). [R.K.R.]

110. The constellation of the pole star (Bear) is connected here with the “true” Asklepios of Memphis, that is Asklepios/Imhotep in contrast to the Greek Asklepios. This expression is indeed non-Greek. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 14 and 181.

111. That is, Memphis, or perhaps Memphite. [R.K.R.]

112. -SI PHTHA is Egyptian and means “son of Ptah,” a standard epithet of Imhotep. [R.K.R.]

113. For the formula “you are x, you are not x, but . . .” cf., e.g., *PGM* LXI. 7–9. See also Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 111, 197 n.

114. The “blood of Typhon” is the blood of an ass. See *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

115. For this magical formation of words, see *PGM* V. 349, 361 and Preisendanz, vol. I, plate III, no. 6.

PGM VII. 661–63

***Love spell:** In conversation ¹¹⁶ while kissing passionately, say: “ANOK THARENEPI-BATHA CHEOUCHCHA ANOA ANOK CHARIEMOCHTH LAILAM.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 664–85

***Spell for obtaining dream revelations:** Take a linen strip, and on it you write with myrrh ink the matter, / and wrap an olive branch and place it beside your head, beneath the left side of your head, and go to sleep, pure, on a rush mat on the ground, saying the spell 7 times to the lamp:

“Hermes,¹¹⁷ lord of the world, who’re in the heart,
 O circle of Selene, spherical
 And square, / the founder of the words of speech, 665
 Pleader of Justice’s cause, garbed in a mantle,
 With golden sandals, turning airy course 670
 Beneath earth’s depths, who hold the spirit’s reins,
 The sun’s and who with lamps of gods immortal
 Give joy to those beneath earth’s depths, to mortals
 Who’ve finished life. / The Moirai’s¹¹⁸ fatal thread 675
 And Dream divine you’re said to be, who send
 Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
 Pains of all mortals with your healing cares.
 Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
 Of the goddess who brings full mental powers,
 By your own form and gracious mind. And to
 An uncorrupted youth / reveal a sign 680
 And send him your true skill of prophecy,

OIOSENMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NIOËRE KODËRETH DOSËRE SYRE SUROE SAN-KISTË DŌDEKAKISTË AKROUROBORE¹¹⁹ KODËRE RINŌTON KOUMETANA ROUBITHA NOUMILA PERPHEROU AROUŌRËR / AROUËR¹²⁰ (say it seven times and add 685 the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 686–702

***Bear charm:** “Bear, Bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion;¹²¹ / I appeal to you, imploring and supplicating that you may do the NN thing, because I call upon you with your holy names at which your deity rejoices, names which you are not able to ignore: BRIMŌ, earth-breaker, chief hunt-

116. Cf. on this title *PGM VII. 405* and n.

117. These dactylic hexameters are also one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–12; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249. This version is, however, quite different from that in *PGM V. 400–421* and *XVIIb. 1–23*. [E.N.O.]

118. At *PGM V. 410*, Preisendanz prints the word as a common noun, here as the proper noun. [E.N.O.]

119. On this *vax magica*, see the Glossary, s.v. “YESSIMMIGADO/AKROUROBORE formula.”

120. AROUËR is Egyptian for *Hr-wr*, “Horus the great.” [R.K.R.]

121. For this concept of the divine mover of the universe, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 208–11.

ress,¹²² BAUBŌ L¹²³ . . . I AUMŌR AMŌR AMŌR . . . IĒA [shooter] of decr¹²⁴ AMAM[A-
 695 MAR] APHROU . . . MA, universal queen, queen of wishes, / AMAMA, well-bedded,¹²⁵
 Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner,
 man-conqueror, LICHRISSE PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one,¹²⁶ O song and
 700 dance, guard,¹²⁷ spy, delight, delicate, protector, adamant, adamantine, O / Dam-
 namencia, BREXERIKANDARA, most high, Taurian,¹²⁸ unutterable, fire-bodied,
 light-giving, sharply armed. Do such-and-such things" (add the usual).

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. The purpose of the spell is not given, although directions to insert requests come at the end. Cf. the Bear spells in *PGM* IV. 1275–1330, 1331–89; LXXII. 1–36.

PGM VII. 703–26

*Request for a dream oracle: Write [with myrrh] on clean papyrus:

705 "I call you, the one who shines on the whole inhabited / and uninhabited world,
 whose name is composed of 30 letters, in which are the seven vowels, through
 which you name [the] universe, gods, lords, RARAPAE ABRAIĒ IRARA PAUOYŌ
 710 ARAŌACH (30 letters)¹²⁹ IEŌYŌĒ AIĒ IAŌĒ YŌEI: Reveal [to me], / lords, concern-
 ing the NN matter, dependably and through memory, PSICHOM¹³⁰ MORAIOUCH
 PSICHOM ARASKELLITH ĒCHOMMORAKAUPS PSICHOMMO ARATOPOTH. Lords of
 glory, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ CHAR-
 715 PHRAUTHI / PHRĒ"¹³¹ (add the usual, as you wish). Also write the name composed
 of 30 letters in two wing formations,¹³² thus: RARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOYŌA-
 BRAŌACHRARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOYŌABRAŌACH: A

O
 CHAŌARBAŌYOAPARARIĒIARBAEAPARAR
 / RAR A A R
 O O
 IEŌYŌĒ[AIĒIAŌĒYŌEI]
 R E E R

Write also the ["heart"] as indicated [if] you want, and after placing the strip of
 725 papyrus / under the lamp, go to sleep in a pure condition. Give answer to no one,
 ENTYTHLCH.¹³³

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

122. The rendering of *προκυνή* is uncertain. See also *PGM* VII. 885–86; P. Reinach II, 88 which has *προκυνήτε*. For similar epithets, see LSJ, s.v. "*κυναγέτης, προκυναγός, προκυνήγης, προκύων*." The epithet "earthbreaker" has usually in *PGM* been transcribed *RĒXICHTHŌN*.

123. The following list of divine epithets comes from the cult of Artemis; it contains old material, but not all is explainable and some renderings are quite tentative. Cf. for parallels *PGM* IV. 1301–8, 1345–79; also P. Reinach II, 88 (ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach, BIFAO* 39 [1940]: 29–32).

124. For this epithet, see Homeric Hymn 27. 2 and K. Wernicke, "Artemis," *PRE* 2 (1895): 1384.

125. The rendering of *εὐναία* is uncertain. See Euripides, *Hippol.* 160, also Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 236.

126. Preisendanz translates, "O goddess of Erymna."

127. On this epithet of Artemis, see also *PGM* IV. 1298; *Orph. Frag.* 42.

128. The meaning of this epithet is uncertain; for similar expressions, see K. Wernicke, *PRE* 2 (1895): 1399–1400.

129. The name is given below, ll. 716–18; cf. 708–9.

130. PSICHOM is Egyptian *p3 shm*, "the image/power." [R.K.R.]

131. THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ . . . PHRE corresponds to Egyptian "Thoth the ibis . . . Prē." [R.K.R.]

132. For the wing formation of magical words, see *PGM* I. 11 and n.

133. This is Demotic *mtw.f.ti bl.k* (?), "and he makes you fly" (?). [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 727–39

***Charm for a direct vision of Apollo:** In a ground-floor room without light, while you are crowned with a wreath of marjoram and while wearing wolf-skin sandals, recite this formula:

Formula: / “Helios, ruler of light, MER . . . EIPHIRA GARGERI PHTHA ER 730
 . . . OIE . . . GERLYCHA MER . . . [OPHO] R ITHARA PHERXEI AR . . . EID . . .
 PHÖRITHARZEI ERPHIBILCHIE ZEIRABELBÊ BICHA ARTHIA MÊLICHIA ERGA
 GERPHI IÔ CHERPHEI KARGÔOARA EARMILICHA ATHERTHAPHTHÔ ATHTHERTHA-
 PHI ARNACHERBBI.” /

After you have said these things, the god Apollo will come having a cup for a 735
 drink offering. Then you inquire concerning what you want. He gives from mem-
 ory if you want, and if you ask, he will let you drink from his cup.

Dismissal: “ERKIKCHI BELTĒAMILICHA ARCHARZEIR PHIZÖR GEIRPHEI.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 740–55

*[**Request for a dream oracle:** Write] on a strip of tinfoil, and after crowning the 740
 strip of foil with myrtle, set up the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankin-
 cense and carry the leaf of metal around the vapor while saying: “Lords, gods, re-
 veal to me concerning the NN matter / tonight, in the coming hours. Emphatically 745
 I beg, I supplicate, I your servant and enthroned¹³⁴ by you.”

Then place the piece of foil under your pillow, and, without giving answer to
 anyone, go to sleep after having kept yourself pure for 3 days.

Formula to be written: / “MOU AMOU¹³⁵ AU IAÔ ABARBARASA AIÔ BAÔA CHPHĒ- 750
 NOURIS AÔB AMO ADÔNAÏ ÔIG IIII OTHTHOUÔ AORCHA ARORCHA CHAXYNNĒRE
 THIRARI OTHÔ CHOÔTH ERRE OCHÔ ANA ÊEPHRORE CHEIR ÊIN IÊIÔ ÔÔAA-
 MADAA / OOO ÔÔÔ ÔÔA.” Write [it] with a copper stylus. 755

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell appears to be another version of a dream request; cf. *PGM VII.*
 703–76. In this one, however, the title has been added by Preisendanz.

PGM VII. 756–94

***Prayer:** “I call upon you who have all forms and many names, double-horned
 goddess, Mene, whose form no one knows except him who made the entire /
 world, IAÔ, the one who shaped [you] into the twenty-eight shapes of the world so 760
 that they might complete every figure and distribute breath to every animal and
 plant, that it might flourish, you who grow from obscurity into light and leave light
 for darkness” / (beginning to leave by waning). 765

“And the first companion of your name is silence, the second a popping sound,
 the third groaning, the fourth hissing, / the fifth a cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the 770
 seventh barking, the eighth bellowing, the ninth neighing, / the tenth a musical
 sound, the eleventh a sounding wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thir- 775
 teenth a coercive sound, the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection. /

“Ox, vulture, bull, beetle, falcon, crab, dog, wolf, serpent, horse, she-goat, asp, 780
 goat, he-goat, baboon, cat, lion, leopard, fieldmouse, deer, multiform, virgin,
 torch, / lightning, garland, a herald’s wand, child, key.¹³⁶ 785

“I have said your signs and symbols of your name so that you might hear me,
 because I pray to you, mistress of the whole world. Hear me, you, the stable one,

134. On the ritual of the enthronement of the initiate, see A. D. Nock, “Notes on Beliefs and Myths,” *JHS* 46 (1926): 47–48; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 642, 680.

135. AMOU is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

136. See for the meaning of these symbols *PGM LXX.* 9–11 and nn.

the mighty one, / APHEIBOËŌ MINTĒR OCHAŌ PIZEPHYDŌR CHANTHAR CHADĒ- 790
ROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU PHĒRZON AINDĒS LACHABOŌ PITTŌ RIPHTHAMER
ZMOMOCHŌLEIE TIĒDRANTELA OISOZOCHABĒDŌPHRA” (add the usual).

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 795–845

*Pythagoras’ request for a dream oracle and Demokritos’ dream divination: 795

The entering angel is subordinate to the sun, and as subordinate to the sun he enters—so he enters in the form of your friend whom you recognize, with a shining star upon his head, and sometimes he enters / having a fiery star. Take, then, a 800
branch of laurel, and inscribe on each leaf a sign of the Zodiac with cinnabar, hav- 805
ing crowned yourself [with it]. (Also write its name in front of the sign of the Zodiac.) / This rite is divine. Hence, keep in your breast the things revealed to you by me even after the parting of my life, and if you perform them devoutly you will be successful.

*They are:*¹³⁷

1. Aries	HAR MONTH ¹³⁸ HAR THŌ CHE		810
2. Taurus	NEOPHOBŌTHA THOPS		
3. Gemini	ARISTANABA ZAŌ		
[4]. Cancer	PCHORBAZANACHAU		
[5]. Leo	ZALAMOIRLALITH		
[6]. Virgo	EILESILARMOU PHAI		815
[7]. Libra	TANTINOURACHTH		
[8]. Scorpio	CHORCHORNATHI		
9. Sagittarius	PHANTHENPHYPHLIA		
[10]. Capricorn	AZAZAEISTHAILICH		
[11]. Aquarius	MENNY THYTH IAŌ		820
[12]. Pisces	SERYCHARRALMIŌ		

Take still another leaf of the royal laurel and write with cinnabar [ink] this name of [the] living god: “CHALCHANA PHOE KOSKIANŌ (19) / ALĒMONTALL . . . ASEICH.” 825
Having written it, do this for three days: wrap the leaves in a new handkerchief and lay it under your head. Having come when it is evening, while burning frankincense, speak this *formula*:

“I call upon you, holy angel ZIZAUBIŌ, from the company of the Pleiades to whom you are subordinate / and serve for all things, [for] whatever she might com- 830
mand you, you great, indestructible, fire-breathing one, who cast the rope of heaven, through which rope all things turn upon earth. Also, you [do I call upon], as many of you angels who are placed under his [ZIZAUBIŌ’s] power. Hence I call 835
upon you all that you may come quickly / in this night, and reveal to me clearly and firmly, concerning those matters I desire. I conjure you, O lord, who rise above the earth of the whole cosmic region, by the one ruling the whole inhabited world and the benefactor of all. Hence, I call upon you in this night, / and may you reveal all 840
things to me through dreams with accuracy, O angel ZIZAUBIŌ.”

Go to your house and having incensed the branch, put it on your head and sleep pure. You must have [the place] where you perform absolutely pure, and the phylac-

137. In this list most of the numerical designations 1–12 can be recognized in the far right column of the papyrus manuscript, numbering downward from Aries to Pisces. These numbers were erroneously included in the magical symbols by Preisendanz.

138. Har-Month is Horus-Montu. Montu is the Egyptian god of war and therefore the proper counterpart of Ares, the ruler of the zodiacal sign Aries. Horus is also associated with this sign, for “Horus the Red” was the name of Mars which governs Aries. [R.K.R.]

tery / where you have inscribed the name, put on your head and crown yourself 845
with the branch.

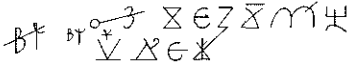
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbelle.

PGM VII. 846–61

*Shadow¹³⁹ on the sun: After you have purified yourself, walk towards the sun in the 5th hour, crowned with a tail of a cat, and say: “ERBETH BIO . . . PH . . . PH . . . LL . . . III ANACH ABAREIR LATÖRÖCH ERBEBRITHA AMBRITHĒRA ÖRYKISTAR / LAILAM AÖR XARXI THADARI ĒSYRPHA PHÖRPHI AGĒRÖCHĒ BEBATHA BARA 850
LIRYPÖ PHERCHĒ AMIARTH THERTHI GÖRĒ AMINACHARPHA IRGIRAMOU THARPHI THEIRIÖRYS PHERIA PHORPHOROPHI.”

When you have said these things, you will see a shadow in the sun. / Close your 855
eyes, look up, and you will see a shadow standing before you. Ask what you want, “ERBAIGÖRYTHARPHTHEIR.”

Phylactery: The tail and the characters with the circle [on which] you will stand after you have drawn it with chalk.

The characters are the following: /  860
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 862–918

*Lunar spell of Claudianus¹⁴⁰ and [ritual] of heaven and the north star¹⁴¹ over lunar offerings: This papyrus itself, the personal property of the Twelve Gods, was found¹⁴² in Aphroditopolis [beside] the greatest goddess, / Aphrodite Urania, who 865
embraces the universe.

The preparation for Mistress Selene is made like this: Take clay from a potter's wheel and mix a mixture¹⁴³ with sulfur, and add blood of a dappled goat and mold an image of Mistress Selene the Egyptian,¹⁴⁴ as shown below, making her in / the 870
form of the Universe. And make a shrine of olive wood and do not let it face the sun at all.¹⁴⁵ And after dedicating it with the ritual that works for everything, [put it away,] and thus it will be dedicated in advance. And anoint it also with lunar ointment and wreath it. And late / at night, at the 5th hour, put it away, facing Selene 875
in a [pure] room. And also offer the lunar offering and repeat the following in succession and you will send dreams, you will bind with spells. For the invocation to Selene is very effective. And after anointing yourself in advance [with] the ointment, appeal to her.

And this is the lunar spell: / “I call upon you, Mistress of the entire world, ruler 880
of the entire cosmic system, greatly powerful goddess, gracious [daimon], lady of night, who travel through the air, PHEROPHORĒ ANATHRA . . . OUTHRA. Heed

139. On the significance of the shadow, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 163–64.

140. Preisendanz indicates the name Klaudianos may refer to a certain philosopher and alchemist appearing in a list in Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* 26, I. 1.

141. The identity of the constellation of the Bear with Aphrodite-Selene is late. See Plutarch, *Amat.* 19, and F. Schwenn, “Selene,” *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1921): 1142; W. Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57(1984): 93–99. [R.K.R.]

142. On this literary claim of having found books, see W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, *Hypomnemata* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970).

143. The pleonasm (μίξον μίγματος, “mix a mixture,”) is not uncommon in PGM; see PGM VII. 972. [E.N.O.]

144. The Egyptian Selene is the mistress of the night sky. See Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46. [R.K.R.]

145. Preisendanz has incorrectly translated τὸ σύνολον with “das Ganze.” Cf. I. 915 below, for the sense of the instruction. [E.N.O.]

and put it under the sole of your left foot, after you have fumigated it carefully with incense.

/ The names and characters are:

930

⚡ ⚡ ⚡

3 “NOLEANOUN
EBREBA
OLOTHIERON
DENDENXOUN
TOUBANTŌNI Restrain
the wrath of him, NN, and the anger and
tongues of everybody, in order that
they might not be able to speak to him, NN.”
N Π → λ ω

⚡ ⚡ ⚡

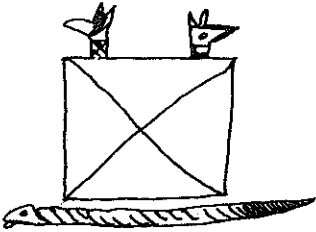
935

*Tr.: R. R. Hock. As shown here the papyrus illustrates how the lead tablet is to be drawn. The language of the curse suggests the spell was designed for use in a courtroom scene.

PGM VII. 940–68

*A charm to restrain anger and a charm to subject: On clean papyrus write with pure myrrh ink these names together with the “stele:” 940

IÖERBĒTH
IÖERBĒ
IÖERB
IÖER
IÖE
IÖ
I



IÖPAKERBĒTH
ÖPAKERBĒTH
PAKERBĒTH
AKERBĒTH
KERBĒTH
ERBĒTH
RBĒTH
BĒTH
ĒTH
TH

945

950

IÖSESESRÖ
ÖSESESRÖ
SESESRÖ
ESESRÖ
SESRÖ
ESRÖ
SRÖ
RÖ
Ö

IÖPĒMPS
ÖPĒMPS
PĒMPS
ĒMPS
MPS
PS

955

960

“Come to me, you who are in the everlasting air,¹⁵⁰ you who are invisible, almighty, creator of the gods. Come to me, you who are the unconquerable daimon. Come to me, you who are never grieved for your own brother, Seth.¹⁵¹ Come to me, / you fire-bright spirit. Come to me, you god who are not to be despised, you daimon, and put to silence, subordinate, enslave him, NN, to him, NN, and cause him to come under my feet.” 965

*Tr.: R. R. Hock.

150. For this expression see the parallel in PGM IV. 507–8.
151. This refers to Seth’s murder of his brother Osiris. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) esp. 81–82. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 969–72

- 970 ***A good potion:** Take a piece of hieratic papyrus and / write on it: “ΙΑΘ ὁ ΕΣ-
 TABISASĒ TOUREŌSAN ATHIACHIŌOUĒNOU ACHĒMACHOU. Let her, NN, whom
 NN bore, love me, NN, when she has drunk the drink.”¹⁵²
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 973–80

- 975 ***A love spell of attraction through touch:** Take a scarab and boil it in a good
 unguent,¹⁵³ / and take the beetle and grind it together with the plant vetch, and
 place them in a glass cup and say the spell that follows twice: “THŌBARRABAU MI-
 CHAĒL MICHAĒL OSIRIS PHOR PHORBA ABRIĒL SESEGGENBARPHARAGGĒS ΙΑΘ
 980 SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE LAILAM, compel / her, NN, whom NN bore, to follow me
 should I touch her.”
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 981–93

- *[**Love spell of attraction:** Purify yourself from everything for . . .] days and say
 [this] spell at sunrise: “Helios . . . but come here to me, [Mistress AKTIŌPHIS
 985 ERESCHIGAL] PERSEPHONĒ; / attract [to me and bind her], NN, whom NN bore,
 [to] the man who is [pining away] with [passion for her]; at this very moment,
 inflame her that she fulfill the nightly desires of NN, whom NN bore. Aye, lord
 990 NETHMOMAŌ [Helios, enter] into the [soul] of her, NN, whom NN bore, / and
 [burn her heart], her guts, [her liver, her spirit, her bones. Perform] successfully for
 me [this] charm,¹⁵⁴ immediately, immediately; [quickly, quickly].”
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM VII. 993–1009

- *Look [to the] east [and say: “You are the one who thunders,] the one who rains
 995 and / hurls lightning [at the] right time and dries [in the same way]; come to me,
 reveal” (add the usual or [write] whatever [you want], and anoint your hand).
Preparation of the ink: 3 dried figs, 3 stones of the Nicolaus date, 3 fragments of
 1000 wormwood, and 3 lumps of myrrh; [mix together, / then] after pulverizing them,
 [write] the following formula. Isis uttered [it and] wrote [it] when, after taking up
 Osiris, she fit together his separated members. Asklepios¹⁵⁵ [saw] Osiris and admit-
 ted that he [could] not [put together] someone who was dead [even] with the help
 of Hebe¹⁵⁶ or of [anyone else].
 1005 [This is / *the formula*: “Come to me, SESEGGENBARPHARAGGĒS SABAŌTH,] for
 [I conjure] you, [daimon] of the dead, [by] bitter [Necessity]; open [your ears and]
 hear [the] holy [words].” Also say [frequently] the [stele given] below.
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese. This fragmentary spell has not preserved its title and so its exact purpose
 cannot be known.

152. On the pleonasm *πιούσα τὸν πότον*, cf. PGM VII. 867. [E.N.O.]

153. *μύρον* is translated by Preisendanz as “Myrrhenöl.” Both translations, however, may be too specific for this unspecified aromatic concoction. [E.N.O.]

154. For this phrase, cf. PGM IV. 295, 2939; XX. 5.

155. Asklepios seems to have taken over the role of Anubis (thus Eitrem, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

156. The appearance of Hebe, daughter of Hera and Zeus, is surprising in this context. According to Euripides, *Heraklid.* 847; Ovid, *Met.* 9. 400, she made Iolaos young again, a deed of proverbial fame.

PGM VII. 1009–16

***Divination by a dream:** Say / to the . . . double . . . and rub your [head]; and 1010
[after descending], go to sleep without answering anyone.

“I call upon [you], Sabaoth, Michael, Raphael and you, [powerful archangel] Gabriel, do not [simply] pass by me [as you bring visions], but let one of you enter / and reveal [to me] concerning the NN matter, AIAI ACHĒNĒ IAŌ.” Write these 1015
things [on leaves . . .] of laurel and place them by your head.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 1017–26

*“[Hail, Helios!] Hail, Helios! Hail, [Gabriel! Hail, Raphael! Hail,] Michael! Hail, whole [universe! Give me] the [authority] and power of SABAŌTH, the / [strength of IAŌ], and the success of ABLANATHANALBA, and [the might of] AK- 1020
RAMMACHAMAREI. Grant that I [gain] the victory, as I have summoned you” (then write the 59-[letter] IAEŌ formula). “Grant [victory] because I know the names of the Good Daimon, HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRITATĒNŌPHRI BRISAROUAZAR BASEN / KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI (add the usual) and accomplish this 1025
for me.” Speak to [no one].

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, this spell is a “favor and victory” charm. Cf. PGM XCII for a similar request for the power and strength of various magical and mythological personalities.

PGM VIII. 1–63

***Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos:**¹

Spell: “Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses do to the wombs² of women. Come to me, lord Hermes, who collect the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord Hermes, and give me favor,³ sustenance, / victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty 5
of face, strength of all men and women. Your names in heaven: LAMPHTHEN OUŌTHI OUASTHEN OUŌTHI OAMENŌTH ENTHOMOUCH. These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also know what your forms are: ⁴ in the east you have the form / of an ibis, in the west you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the north 10
you have the form of a serpent, and in the south you have the form of a wolf. Your plant is the grape which is the olive.⁵ I also know your wood: ebony. I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and what your city is: Her-
mopolis. Come to me, lord Hermes, many-named one, who know / the things hid- 15
den beneath heaven and earth. Come [to me], NN, lord Hermes; serve well, benefactor of the world. Hear me and make me agreeable to all the forms throughout the inhabited world. Open up for me the hands of everyone who [dispenses gifts]⁶ and compel them to give me what they have in their / hands. I also know your fore- 20
ign names: ‘PHARNATHAR BARACHĒL CHTHA.’ These are your foreign names.

“Whereas Isis, the greatest of all the gods, invoked you in every crisis, in every

1. According to Diogenes Laertius, *Proem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several Persian magicians. See E. Reiss, “Astrampsychos,” *PRE* 2 (1896): 1796–97.

2. For parallels to this concept, see PGM III. 603 and n.

3. Here and throughout this section, *χάρις* is translated “favor,” but the term comes close to meaning “grace.” [E.N.O.]

4. The four animals represent the following deities: the ibis is Thoth, the dog-faced baboon is Anubis, the serpent is Uto, the wolf is another form of Anubis. Their respective positions are partially clear as well: Uto is often the north, Anubis the west (or the south), but why Thoth stands in the east remains a puzzle. [J.B.]

5. The underscored words are Coptic written with Greek letters.

6. Accepting the emendation of Preisendanz.

district, against gods and men and daimons, creatures of water and earth and held
 25 your favor, / victory against gods and men and [among] all the creatures beneath
 the world, so also I, NN, invoke you.⁷ Wherefore, give me favor, form, beauty.
 Hear me, Hermes, benefactor, [inventor]⁸ of drugs; be easy to talk to and hear me,
 30 just as you have done everything in the form of your Ethiopian dog-faced ba-
 boon, / the lord of the chthonic daimons. Calm them all and give me strength,
 form (add the usual), and let them give me gold and silver and every sustenance
 which will never fail. Preserve me always, through all eternity, from drugs and de-
 35 ceits, every slander and evil tongues, from / every daimonic possession,⁹ from every
 hatred of both gods and men. Let them give me favor and victory and business and
 prosperity. For you are I, and I am you;¹⁰ your name is mine, and mine is yours. For
 I am your image.¹¹ If something should happen to me during this year or this
 40 month or this day or this hour, it will happen to the great / god ACHCHEMEN ES-
 TROPH, the one inscribed on the prow of the holy ship. Your true name has been
 inscribed on the sacred stele in the shrine at Hermopolis where your birth is. Your
 45 true name: OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. This is your name with fifteen / letters,¹² a
 number corresponding to the days of the rising moon; and the second name with
 the number 7, corresponding to those who rule the world,¹³ with the exact number
 365,¹⁴ corresponding to the days of the year. Truly: ABRASAX. I know you, Hermes,
 50 and you know me. / I am you, and you are I. And so, do everything for me, and
 may you turn to me¹⁵ with Good Fortune and Good Daimon, immediately, imme-
 diately; quickly, quickly.”

Take a piece of olive wood and make a small dog-faced baboon sitting down,
 55 wearing the winged helmet of Hermes / and a box on its back, and inscribe the
 name of Hermes on the papyrus and put it in the box. Write in myrrh ink, praying
 for what you do or what you wish, and after putting a lid on, burn incense and
 place it where you wish in the middle of the workshop.

60 *And the name to be written is:* “PHTHORON PHTHIONĒ THŌYTH.” / In addi-
 tion, write also these great names: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE ABLANATHANALBA
 AKRAMMACHAMAREI, 365, give to the workshop business, favor, prosperity, ele-
 gance, both to NN himself and to his workshop, immediately, immediately;
 quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: É. N. O’Neil. The title of the spell is misleading, for the spell has nothing to do with
 love, sex, or attraction of a woman. This is a spell for some shopkeeper to ensure good busi-
 ness. There are traces of mysticism here. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 19–20. [E.N.O.]

7. On Thoth as Isis’ chief helper, see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 132–36. [R.K.R.]

8. The translation follows Preisendanz’s emendation. Cf. below, l. 33 and PGM V. 247–48.

9. *συννοχή* occurs only here in PGM, and its meaning is uncertain. The verb *συνέχω*, however, oc-
 curs at PGM IV. 1408; V. 126, 131, where each time it seems to refer to daimonic possession. [E.N.O.]

10. For this formula of mutual identity, see PGM VIII. 49–50; XIII. 795. See Betz, “The Delphic
 Maxim,” 165–68.

11. The term *εἰδωλον* may show philosophical influence. See PGM XII. 235–36; LXI. 53–55. See
 Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 165–67; J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton:
 Princeton University Press, 1983) 78–80, 83.

12. As the Greek text stands, the name has sixteen letters. The name should be separated OSE-
 RGARIACH NOMAPHI. The discrepancy must be in the first word because the second is correctly said to
 have seven letters. The confusion may be due to underlying Egyptian words. [J.B.]

13. That is, the seven planets.

14. Cf. l. 61. The number has the numerical value of Abraxas. See Glossary, s.v. “Abraxas.”

15. The term *συντρέπω* is rare. See Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 164 n. 49.

PGM VIII. 64–110

***Request for a dream oracle of Besa:** / On your left hand draw Besa in the way shown to you below. Put around your hand a black cloth¹⁶ of Isis and go to sleep without giving answer to anyone. The remainder of the cloth wrap around your neck. 65

This is the ink with which you draw: Blood of a crow, blood / of a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, black writing ink, cinnabar, sap of mulberry tree, rain-water, juice of a single-stemmed wormwood and vetch. With this write. 70

Prayer to him,¹⁷ toward the setting sun:

“Borne¹⁸ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds, /
Golden-haired Helios who wield the flame’s 75
Untiring light, who drive in lofty turns
Around the great pole; who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
For from you come the elements arranged
By your own laws which cause the whole world to
Rotate through its four yearly turning points. /
If you go to the depths of earth and reach 80
The region of the dead, send up the truthful
Prophet out of that innermost abode.

I beg you LAMPSOÛER SOUMARTA BARIBAS DARDALAM PHORBĒX, lord, send forth your holy daimon ANOUTH ANOUTH SALBANACHAMBRE BREITH, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; in this night, come.” / If you wish to call him also for a direct vision, [take] a strip [of linen], soak it in sesame oil you have mixed [with] cinnabar, and place the linen as a wick in a lamp that is not colored red. The lamp should be lighted with sesame oil. Place it opposite you, say the formula, and he will come to you. Have near you / a small tablet so that you may write as much as he says,¹⁹ lest after going to sleep you forget. 85

“I call upon / you, the headless god, having your face beside your feet,²⁰ the one who hurls lightning and thunders; you are the one whose mouth is continually full of fire, the one placed over Necessity. I call upon you, the god placed over Necessity, IAEŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ZABARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin of myrrh, having resin and asphalt as an elbow cushion,²¹ [the one] whom they call ANOUTH ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the blood / of the two 100
falcons²² who chatter and watch before the head of Osiris. You are the oracle-giving god SALBANACHAMBRE ANOUTH ANOUTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI IĒ IE IĒ IE” (add the usual). Go to sleep on a rush mat, having an unbaked brick beside your head.

What you draw is / of this sort: A naked man, standing, having a diadem on his head, and in his right hand a sword that by means of a bent [arm] rests on his neck, 105

16. See PGM VII. 227 and n.

17. The translation here is tentative because the reading of the papyrus is uncertain. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

18. These dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 1–6, 11 (7–8 [the identification of lines in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 239, is incorrect: v. 13 is not included here]). For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; 1957–89. [E.N.O.]

19. Cf. the memory spells in PGM I. 233–47; II. 16–20, 40–42.

20. See on this point PGM VII. 234 and n.

21. See for a parallel PGM VII. 237.

22. See for the two falcons and their watch PGM VII. 239 and n.

and in the left hand a wand. If he reveals to you, wipe off your hand with rose perfume. This is the figure / of the rite:



*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 64–74; 81–110) and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 74–81). This particular charm in its present form is actually two charms (a request for a dream oracle and a request for a direct vision) directed to Bes, an originally non-Egyptian god who came to Egypt early and was given many functions, one of which was to provide oracles. The request for a dream oracle contains preparatory instructions and a hymn to the sun that also appears in *PGM* IV. 436–46 and 1957–68. The request for a direct vision has instructions and a formula of invocation addressed to the “headless god.” This invocation also appears in *PGM* VII. 233–48 and makes use of language that can also be found in a boast of the “headless god” in *PGM* IV. 145–58.

PGM IX. 1–14

*“I’ll give you rest from wrath and soothe your raging.”¹ Come, lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your father ANIBAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your mother CHECHPHIŌ, with your two bodyguards CHENGĒBIŌCHTHŌ MYSAGŌTH ECHE ŌŌ MYSAGŌTH ACHPHIPHIŌ IAIA ŌCH SEBAU PHRĒ IŌ RĒXICHTHŌN YŌĒŌ AEAEĒIOYŌ CHYCH-BACHYCH BAUACHYCH BAKAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH MENEACHYCH BADĒDO-PHŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH. Bring into subjection, put to silence, and enslave / every race of people, both men and women, with their fits of wrath, and those who are under the earth beneath the feet of him, NN, especially so-and-so (add the usual, as you wish), for you have put beneath my feet, like my robe, the heart of SABAŌTH.”

On the back of the lamella: “EULAMŌ SISIRBBATĒRSESI PHERMOU CHNOUŌR ABRASAX. Bring into subjection, enslave, and put to silence the soul, the wrath [of him, NN], because I adjure you by the / awful Necessity MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHMOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN PHNOUNOBOĒ.” On the front [write] the person’s name.

The introduction to the rite:

“I’ll² give you rest from wrath

And soothe your raging.

Come silently and bring

Silence and keep it.

Stop ev’ry wrath in souls

And melt all anger

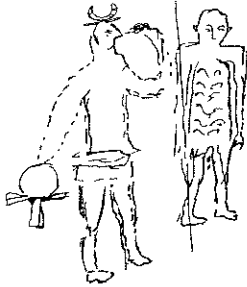
Of those with temper,

because I call upon your authentic name, BAINCHŌŌŌCH.” Say this name, [written] at the top of the metal leaf: “IAŌMORMOROTOKONBAI.”

1. The introduction to this spell cites only the first line of the “prologue” given in ll. 12–14.

2. These lines have been arranged in iambic trimeters and are the reconstructed Hymn 30. See Preisandanz, vol. II, p. 266. [E.N.O.]

[ON VERSO]:



*Tr.: R. F. Hock and E. N. O’Neil (verse sections, ll. 12–13). This spell to subject and silence gives instructions for engraving a so-called curse tablet, presumably made of lead.

PGM X. 1–23

*[While drinking] and eating take the first [morsels] and place them [into] a small dish¹ [of the temple while speaking] thus: “NN, may you have been sent [to me as a helper] to fulfill the commands / of the gods. My name is OI . . . IAÖ SABAÖTH 5 ZABARBATHIAÖ [ADÖNAI . . .]; let her, [NN,] love me, NN, with a divine [and] indelible [love].” >>>>>—

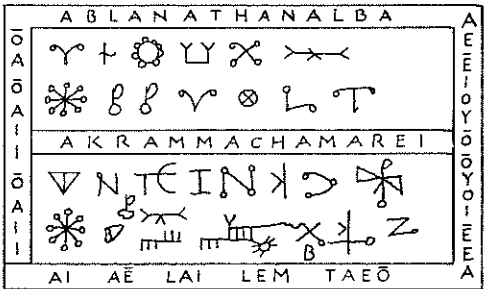
Spell that is spoken: / “I adjure you and the spirit which is with you. To you 10 speaks the great and powerful god, SATHIS [PEPHOOUTH MOU]RÖPH ANOUR² OUPH[IRIGCH]: let her, NN, be well [disposed toward me]; let her see me and, having seen me, let her fall in love with me, and no one [will be able] to speak in opposition, PHTHOROCHËB ATHA / . . . N THARAMËCHI EOPSËRIPSOU ACHOR- 15 SÖTHIA . . . THIE Ë NOUSOU PHTHAPA APOUOROTH . . . Ë CHOADOUSTRÖ PRÖTHIAPSIÖR . . . S CHOMARCHÖCH CHANACHOUÖRRËLOUKOUMPHA.”

[*The spell in another form:* “May she, NN,] fall in love when she sees³ [me, and] may she [never] resist [me], / O great and powerful god, because of modesty.” And 20 when you see her, NN, take a long, deep breath three times while staring at her, and then she smiles at you. For [this is] a sign of [her love]. >>>>>—

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. The text clearly preserves a love spell, but the beginning of the text is mutilated. The restoration by Preisendanz remains tentative, and so is the translation.

PGM X. 24–35

***Charm to restrain anger** which works in all cases, for it works against ene- 25 mies, / accusers, brigands, phobias, and nightmares: Take a gold or silver lamella and engrave on it the characters and names, and when you have consecrated it, wear it in purity. *Now here it is:* 30



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. παραψιδιον is taken here to be a misspelling of παροψιδιον, referring to a small food dish. [E.N.O.]
2. ANOUR is Egyptian In-hr (Greek Onouris), whose major role in mythology was to bring back the angry goddess Tefnut. Cf. Bonnet, RÄRG 545–47, s.v. “Onuris.” [R.K.R.]
3. On the idea of love at first sight, a typically hellenistic idea, see, for example, Theocritus, Idyll 2.

PGM X. 36–50

**Another way*: Apollo's charm to subject: Take a lamella [or metal leaf]⁴ from a yoke for mules and engrave on it the following names and put a frog's tongue in it.

- 40 *Spell*, when the metal leaf with the frog's tongue is put / into your right sandal: "Just as these sacred names are being trampled, so also let him, NN (add the usual), the trouble-maker, be trampled."

"ABRASAX



	AEËIOYŌ	CHYCH	MICHAËL	IŌCHCH
	EËIOYŌA	CHYBACHYCH	RAPHAËL	NYSEU
	ËIOYŌAE	BACHACHYCH	GABRIËL	NYCHIEU
45	IOYŌAEË	BAKAXICHYCH	SOURIËL	AŌCHË
	OYŌAEËI	BAZABACHYCH	ZAZIËL	MECHEU
	YŌAEËIO	BADËTOPHŌTH	BADAKIËL	IAŌ
	ŌAEËIOY.	BAINCHŌŌŌCH.	SYLIËL.	SABAŌTH
				ADŌNAI.

- 50 ✂ ABRASAX ✂ Subject him, NN, to me, / immediately; quickly, quickly."
✂ z ✂

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XI.a 1–40

**Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman*: Take Typhon's skull¹ and write the following characters on it with the blood of a black dog: "⏏ ⏑ ⏒ ⏓ ⏔ ⏕ SABERRA."

- 5 Then, going to a suitable place, by a river, the sea, or at the fork of a road, in the middle of the night put the skull / on the ground, place it [under] your left foot, and speak as follows.

The formula: "ERITHYIA² MEROPË GERGIRO CHËTHIRA ANAPEROUCH . . . LYRŌPHIA GËGETHIRA LOLYN GOUGŌGË AMBRACHA BI . . . AEBILË MARITHALA MPROUCHE ABËL ETHIRAŌ AP . . . ŌCHORIËLA MŌRËTHIRA PHECHIRŌ ŌSRI
10 PHOIRA AMERI . . . PHË. OUTHËRA / GARGERGIŌ TITHEMYMË MËRAPSËCHIR AŌRIL. Come, appear, O goddess called Mistress of the House."³

- After you say this, you will behold sitting on an ass a woman of extraordinary loveliness, possessing a heavenly beauty, indescribably fair and youthful. As soon as you see her, make obeisance and say: "I thank [you], lady for appearing to me. /
15 Judge me worthy of you. May your Majesty be well disposed to me. And accomplish whatever task I impose on you."

82 (on a magical ritual), a line which Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 41, and the author of the *Ciris* (l. 430) copied. See Gow's note to *Idyll* 2. 82, Theocritus, vol. II, 51–52. [E.N.O.]

4. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, which has the editor's insertion (ἡ πέταλον) to conform with the occurrence of the noun in l. 39. The emendation, however, may not be necessary.

1. "Typhon's skull" is the semantic equivalent of the skull of an ass. See C. Colpe, "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1978): 620–21; H. Kees, "Seth," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 4 (1923): 1896–1922; esp. 1899, 1920–21; W. Fauth, "Seth-Typhon, Onoel und der eselköpfige Sabaoth," *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973): 79–120.

2. This seems to be the reading of the papyrus, but it is not certain. Preisendanz treats the word as a proper name. One may also read εἰλειθνία on the grounds that both it and μεροπε which follows immediately are names suitable for the goddess Nephthys. [J.B.]

3. "Mistress of the house" is a direct translation of the Egyptian name Nephthys, sister of Isis, and (as is stressed in this spell) wife of Seth. Thus she is fittingly associated with an ass. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 519–21, s.v. "Nephthys"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 305, 447. [J.B./R.K.R.]

The goddess will reply to you, “What do you have in mind?”

You say, “I have need [of you] for domestic service.”

At that, she will get off the ass, shed her beauty, and will be an old woman.⁴ And the old woman will say to you, “I will serve and attend you.”

After she tells you this, the goddess will again put on her own beauty, which she had just taken off, / and she will ask to be released.⁵

20

But you say to the goddess, “No, lady! I will use you until I get her.”

As soon as the goddess hears this, she will go up to the old lady, and will take her molar tooth and a tooth from the ass and give both to you; and after that it will be impossible for the old woman to leave you, unless perhaps you want to release her. From that time forth, you will receive a bounty of great benefits, for everything that your soul desires will be accomplished by her. She will guard all your possessions⁶ / and in particular will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you.⁷

25

Indeed she will tell you everything and will never desert you: such is her store of good will toward you. But if ever you wish, there is a way to release her (but never do this!). Take her tooth and the ass’s tooth, / make a bonfire, and throw them into the fire, and with a shriek the old woman will flee without a trace. Do not be prone to release her, since it will be impossible for you to replace her.

30

But do release the goddess, when you are sure that the old woman will serve you, by speaking as follows: “MENERPHER PHIE PRACHĒRA LYLŌRI / MĒLICHARĒ NECHIRA.” When the old woman hears this, the goddess will mount the ass and depart.

35

The phylactery to be used throughout the rite: The skull of the ass. Fasten the ass’s tooth with silver and the old lady’s tooth with gold, and wear them always; for if you do this, it will be impossible for / the old woman to leave you. The rite has been tested.

40

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. See on this spell, for general background and additional literature, E. L. Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,” *ANRW* II, 16, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686; J. Bergman, “Nephthys découverte dans un papyrus magique (PGM XIa.),” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Editions de l’université de Montpellier, 1984) 1–11.

PGM XIb. 1–5

*To make men who have drinking at a symposium appear to have donkey snouts⁸ to outsiders, from afar: In the dark [take] a wick from a lamp and dip it in donkey’s blood; make a new lamp / with the new wick and touch the drinkers.

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. For similar “gimmicks,” see the translation and notes on PGM VII. 167–85. The translation adopts the restorations mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* of Preisendanz.

4. At this point, the old woman and the goddess assume separate identities. [H.M.]

5. On this point see PGM LXX. 11 and Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

6. Reading with Eitrem πάντα δέ σοι, instead of Preisendanz’s καὶ τὰδε σοι. [H.M.]

7. Or “whatever anyone is plotting against you.” [J.B.]

8. LSJ, s.v., cites this as a gloss (a plant name). But here and in Psellos, *Lect. Mirab.* (A. Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963; repr. of 1839 ed.] 147, 11; the *paignion* of Anaxilaos in Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 1928, p. 79, 7) the term can be rendered literally “donkey-faced” or “ass-snouted.” The *paignion* of Anaxilaos reads: “If you wish your wife to appear ‘ass-snouted’ when she looks in the mirror, rub her mirror with donkey’s tears.” [R.D.K.]

PGM XIc. 1–19

*You write this on hieratic papyrus and [place . . . :]

"I adjure you, by the god IABŌ: turn the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, to NN, 5 whom / NN bore, at the command of IABŌ, MASKELLEI MASKELLŌ PHAINOUKENTABAŌ; cause me, NN, to obtain 10 intercourse,	God the [BAR]BARAI let her, NN, [whom NN bore, come beneath my] / roof, and let her love [me, NN, whom NN bore], for [all] the time / [of her] life, lusting [for me] with [eternal] love, immediately, [immediately; quickly, quickly]."
--	--

5
10 ABLANATHANALBA
BLATHANABA
NATHANDA
ANATHANA
NABANAEI
ABTHŌŌTH
15 BARBACHA
ABRASAX
AŌ[IAMARI]
SERPHOUTHEI
E EI EI Ê I Ê I AAAAAA IIIIII

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PDM xii. 1–5

5 *"... I am NA, come (?) . . . farmer (?), the millions of falcons, / this young man. . . ."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 1–5. The first line of this invocation of an uncertain purpose is missing. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic texts only when they appear in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic magical papyri).

PDM xii. 6–20

10 *A ring to cause praise: You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone which is in the shape of a grape [which] grows / as a fresh plant in the water, there being [a] daimon with the face [of] a falcon . . . together with his snake tail,¹ there being
15 a nemes headdress (?) in (?) the . . . eye whose face goes to the. . . . Write / this name on it . . . saying, "ABRAXAM PHILEN . . . CHNI . . .," put a limb of a lion
20 under it together with a piece of gold; put them under it; and / make . . . it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 6–20.

PDM xii. 21–49

*"Open to me, O heaven! Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me! I am Horus. Open to me! I went forth from the necropolis of Wen-nefer.

1. For a composite deity, cf. *PGM* XII. 121ff.; XIII. 50 with n.

May Iymhotep² the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, come to me tonight! May he tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness / which has happened to me, together with the method of [using] it, there being no falsehood therein! Bear witness! Bear witness! O Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, and put this . . . of reed (?) on yourself while the bark of *rw*-wood is under you, while the . . . of . . . of Ptah is on you. Is it what is fitting? May he, Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, / born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?) to the fury against you in the presence of Nephthys saying, 25 [5]

‘O Shu, live! O soul, live! Live, O Shu, live! Live, O Osiris! Live, O Ethiopian soul! Live, O Sokar who endures (?) who is [on] board . . . harbor . . . entire (?), he having ascended. Live O great (secret) image of Egypt who rests in the middle of Memphis, the place of Ptah’ (another [manuscript] says: ‘the House of the obelisk’) ‘without a prescription! If I am called / about it, . . . calls to me about a prescription, I shall tell him the prescription which is fitting to the illness in which he is.’ 30 [10]

Is it what is fitting? May Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?). Come to me, O battler! Tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness [which] has happened to me! Come to me, O great of face . . . O . . . the peak . . . soul! Come to me, O one whose face / is as the face of a falcon . . . hair of . . . ! O he who rests . . . necropolis of (?) Heliopolis (?). I (?) am the son . . . after swallowing. O son of the great Shu. Come to me . . . of man upon his egg (?) . . . of Thoth and his father! Come to me, O (?) . . . who is in the great ennead, not knowing his . . . , the . . . ! Are you steadfast against me, not to tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened / in me? I will say much 35 [15]

(?) . . . which is in . . . , the mysterious one (?), who is in . . . the heart of the . . . the . . . of . . . of . . . of the . . . soul” (another [manuscript] says: “Ruler of the western half”). “You will not live in the . . . without having come to me tonight to tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened to me, together with the method of using it, [there] being no falsehood therein.” 40 [20]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 35–37, col. I*, ll. 1–29. The purpose of this prayer is to secure a remedy for an unstated disease. 45 [25]

PGM XII. 1–13

***Rite:** Unfold a funeral shroud at night and carry it;⁴ also take a sword.

Then say: “THERMOCH CHTHABOI ACHAPH MARMILYCHA BERTHIÖCH CHARÊL . . . BAIÖCH . . . THACH DÊRPHO PHIRBSAT (?) SÖTHÖRAI PHAUXAI IÖA MEILICH LABAI EIA KARSE REUTHRA ENROUCH ZERPHRÊCH / PSERPHERCHÖ THNERBÊCH 5

CHARCHERBER YEICH PHCHYAR PA . . . CHA MILCHITHER CHLÊLÖR PHACHILER MAZ MACHAIRIÖCH.”

After you say this, the Maiden will come carrying torches.⁵ Say: “PHERTHELI- LÖCH PEIY . . . ,” and her firebrands will be extinguished, and she will stand there in distress and complain.

You say, “Do such-and-such and I will light your torches.” If she sends a dream, you are to light them and she will fly away. / If you send her to kill somebody, give 10

2. For Imhotep, the vizier and architect of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara later divinized as the patron of scribes and physicians, see Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunst Verlag, 1977); idem, “Imhotep,” *LdÄ* 3, 145–48. [J.H.J.]

3. The words “Bear witness!” were crossed out by the original scribe.

4. It is not clear what the conjurer is to carry. Is it the funeral shroud? [H.M.]

5. The reference is to Kore (Persephone). See the picture on the Niinnion Tablet in G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), fig. 88, and the discussion, pp. 213–21.

her the sword and she will give you the torches and return with the sword covered with blood. Tell her that the torches belong to her; they will catch fire, and she will take flight.

While doing this, say: “MÖZERPHER TACHCHAPS.” Attach a phylactery⁶ to your right and your left hand at night and wear it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 14–95

- 15 *Eros⁷ as assistant. / A ritual of Eros: *consecration and preparation* (among his operations, he sends dreams or causes sleeplessness; and he releases from an evil spirit, if you use him in a proper and holy manner, for he can perform every operation). Take [wax] of Etruria⁸ and mix with it [every] kind of aromatic plant. Then make a statue of a torch-bearing Eros that is eight dactyls⁹ high and has a large base to support it. Put a bow / and arrow in [his left] hand, and fashion a Psyche¹⁰ of
20 the same sort as Eros.

When you have completed all this, conduct a three-day consecration. You are to present to Eros fresh fruits of every kind and 7 cakes, 7 pinecones, every kind of sweetmeat, 7 lamps not colored red; also, [three] daggers, votive tablets, a bow and arrow, dates, a bowl mixed with honey wine.

- 25 After you make the statues and the presentation as indicated, next place your Eros on a table laden with the fruit / and holding both the 7 lamps, ablaze with clear olive oil, and all else listed so as to win the favor of wondrous Eros.

- On the first day, after you put him on the table and arrange things as prescribed—and I describe its form in full for you, that you may understand and lack no detail—build a pure altar; that is, take two unbaked bricks and form them into 4
30 horn-shaped objects, on which you lay fruit-bearing branches. / Take also on the first day 7 living creatures and strangle them: one cock, a partridge, a wren, a pigeon, a turtledove, and any two nestlings you can get hold of. Do not make a burnt offering¹¹ of any of these; instead, you are to take them in hand and choke them, all the while holding them up to your Eros, until each of the creatures is suffocated and their breath¹² enters him. After that, place the strangled creatures on
35 the altar together with aromatic plants / of every variety.

On the second day, strangle a male chick before your Eros and burn it as a whole offering.

On the 3rd day, place another chick on the altar; while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present. I assure you, if you perform the above actions in a holy and pure manner, you will have complete success.

- 40 *First formula to be spoken* while making the burnt offering: / “I call upon you, who are on the couch of beauty, who are in the mansion of desire: serve me and, no matter where I send you, always bear the message I give you, likening yourself to some god (or goddess) such as men and women there worship, announcing all that is written out or imparted to you in speech, quickly!

6. It is not certain what the phylactery is, although it may be the shroud.

7. Cf. PGM VII. 479 for a parallel.

8. For this substance, see PGM IV. 3131.

9. That is, the measure of the finger's breadth, about 7/10 of an inch.

10. On Eros and Psyche, see PGM IV. 1741 and n.

11. This refers to the so-called holocaust, in which the sacrificial gifts are burnt completely (cf. PGM IV. 2396, 3148–49). See Nilsson, *GGR* I, 132; J. Milgrom, *IDB.S* (1976): 769–70 on *‘Olā*.

12. For this peculiar purpose of sacrifice, see PGM XIII. 377.

“Fire overtook the greatest phantoms, and heaven swallowed unawares the orb of the holy scarab / called ‘PHŌREI.’¹³ Scarab, the winged ruler in midheaven, was be-headed, dismembered, and wasted his greatness and glory; they confined him and took another as master of heaven.¹⁴ You take note, and serve as my minister to any-one I choose, man or woman.

“Come to me, O master of heaven, who shine upon the world of men; serve as my minister, whether to men or to women, whether to the small or to the great, and / compel them always to do everything written by me.

“Come to me, O master of forms, and arouse men and women for me; force them by your ever-strong and mighty authority to do everything written or spoken by me, EISAPHSANTA PHOUREI ARNAI SYSYN PHREŌ¹⁵ RIŌBAIOSOI, you are ATEPHTHO AŌREL ADŌNAI; afflict them with fear, trembling, terror; trouble their thoughts / with fear of you. And do everything prescribed for [me], NN. If you disobey me, the sun’s orb will burn out and darkness will cover the whole world. The Scarab will come down until you do for me everything I write or say—in strict obedience to me; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

Second [formula] to be spoken while making the burnt offering: “I conjure you by the one who controls the universe, laid the four foundations, and mixed the 4 / winds. You are the one who sends lightning, you are the one who thunders, you are the one who shakes, you are the one who overturned all things and set them up again. Cause all men and all women to turn to love me, the man NN (or the woman NN), from the very hour when I make my petition with this binding charm,¹⁶ on order from the most high god,¹⁷ IAŌ ADŌNEAI ABLANATHANALBA. You are the one who embraces the Graces on the mountain top, LAMPSRĒ; you are the one who holds Necessity in your right hand, BELTEPIACH; you are the / one who looses and binds, SEMESIELAMP EKRIPIH. Obey me from this day forth even unto all time.”

Third formula for the same offering: “I call upon you, gods of heaven and gods of earth, gods aerial and gods terrestrial. And I conjure you by the one who controls the 4 foundations, to accomplish for me, the man NN (or the woman NN) such-and-such a matter and to give me favor, sweet speech, charm with all men / and all women under creation, that they may be submissive to my every wish, inasmuch as I am the slave of the most high god, the almighty who controls the universe, MARMARIŌTH LASIMŌLĒTH ARAAS . . . S SĒBARBAŌTH NOŌ AŌI ŌIĒR (add the spice)¹⁸ AAAAA ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ŌŌŌŌŌŌ. I give orders to Eros, who is charged with carrying out these my commandments, inasmuch as I am god of all gods, IAŌN SABAŌTH ADŌNAI [ABRASAX] IARABBAI / THŌURIŌ THANAKERMĒPH PANCHONAPS.”

The above formulas must be used and [spoken] during the 3 days if you are to endow the rite with full potency. But when you dispatch your Eros to accomplish

13. The relationship between the holy scarab and the name PHŌREI is not clear. Cf. the *voces magicae* below, I. 53 (PHOUREI) and the apparatus ad loc.

14. The reference to scarab mythology in ll. 45–47 is syncretistic and reminiscent of the dismemberment of Osiris. See S. Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101.

15. PHREŌ is “Prē the great.” It should be noted that the sun god is in conjunction with the scarab. [R.K.R.]

16. The papyrus reads *παράψιμω* (LSJ, s.v.: “charm acting by means of touch”); the translation follows Preisendanz’s reading *παράψιμω* (“Zauberzwang”). See the apparatus ad loc.

17. For this epithet of IAŌ ADŌNAI, cf. PGM IV. 1068; XVI. 9. See G. Bertram, *TDNT* 8 (1972): 618–19, s.v. “ὕψιστος.”

18. The papyrus reads *ἄρτημα*, “ornament”; Preisendanz takes it to be *ἄρτυμα*, “spice.”

your desires, utter only the formula below, removing him from the table together with the things presented to him; write instructions as to what you desire on a small piece of papyrus.

Formula to be written on the piece of papyrus: “You are the babe, the living god, the creature of beauty¹⁹ . . . SAMMŌTH / SABAŌTH TABAŌTH SORPHĒ SEOUR-PHOUTH MOUI SI SRŌ²⁰ SALAMA GŌUTH ETHEIMĒOUS OUSEIRI HESEIĒ E PHTHA NOUTH SATHAĒ ISIS²¹ ACHTHI EPHANOUN BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ ASĒĒAĒI. Go [to] every place and every dwelling to which I send you, to him, NN, [born of] her, NN (or to her, NN, [born of] her, NN), likening yourself to a god (or goddess) he [or she] worships. Force him to do such-and-such a matter (write as much as you wish on the piece of papyrus along with the formula). Awake, terrify him! I conjure you / by the [holy] and precious name to which all creation is subject: PAS-ICHTHŌN IBARBOU THARAKTITHEANŌ BABOUTHA KŌCHED, Amen.²² Let such-and-such a matter come to pass immediately, immediately. . . .

“ . . . of the Red Sea, the one who drives the winds together from the 4 regions, the one who sits upon the lotus²³ and illumines the whole world; for you throne in the form of a crocodile, and in southerly regions you are a winged serpent. Such now in very / truth is your nature, IŌIŌ BARBAR ADŌNAI KOMBALIŌPS THŌB IAR-MIŌOUTH. Come to me; heed this my request for service, this my request for action, O most great one, HARSAMŌSI MOUCHA LINOUCHA robber ADŌNEAI. I am he whom you met at the foot of the holy mount and to whom you gave the knowledge of your most great [name], which knowledge will I even keep in sanctity, imparting it to no one save the very initiates into your own holy mysteries, IAR-BATHATRA MNĒPSIBAŌ / CHNĒMEŌPS. Come! Submit to this service and be my assistant.”

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 96–106

*Himerios²⁴ recipes:

Drawing made with Typhonian ink:²⁵ A fiery red poppy, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, red Typhon’s ocher, asbestos, quicklime, wormwood with a single stem, gum, rainwater.

To do well at the workshop: / On the egg of a male bird²⁶ write and then bury the egg near the threshold where you live. “CHPHYRIS,²⁷ egg, which is CHORBAI SANACHARSŌ AMOUN Ꝁ SPHĒ SPHĒ GAKNEPHĒ SIETHŌ Ꝁ NOUSI NOUSI, you are the sacred egg from birth, which is SELBIOUS BATHINI PHNIĒIAĒO AŌĒ AŌĒ AŌIAŌI A PHIAEA THŌUTH IAŌ SELETĒA THEŌĒPH OXYMBRĒ ĒĒĒ III.”

19. The words “babe, living god, creature of beauty” translate Egyptian epithets: *hwn*, “youth,” *ntr nh*, “living god,” and *Wn-nfr*, “Onnophris.” See PGM IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

20. For SERPOUTH MOUI SI SRO, “Lotus, lion, son (?) of Ram,” cf. PGM III. 659 and n.

21. USIRI HESIE PHTHA NOUTH . . . ISI is Egyptian and means “Osiris, drowned one, Ptah, Nut . . . Isis.” On Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. “Esies”; for Nut, the sky god, see Bonnet, *RARG* 536–38, s.v. “Nut.” [R.K.R.]

22. The *amen* points to Jewish influence. Cf. PGM VII. 271; XXIIb. 21, 25.

23. For this epithet, see PGM II. 101 and n.; IV. 1684; LXI. 32.

24. The papyrus reads *ημεριος*, which Preisendanz assumes is a reference to the fourth-century physician Himerios. See H. Goossen, “Himerios, 2,” *PRE* 8 (1913): 1635.

25. Cf. for this ink PGM VII. 653; XIa. 2.

26. Preisendanz translates “on the male egg of a bird.” The idea is less of a problem when the egg is taken to be an image of the primordial egg, in which the first god comes to existence. See PGM III. 145 and n.

27. CHPHYRIS is the scarab. See PGM VII. 584 and n.

The prayer concerning the egg: “Great God, give favor, business to me and to this place where the egg lies, in the house I do my business, SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH and / Good Daimon, send to this place every business and good daily profit. You are my work. You are the great Ammon,²⁸ who dwells in heaven. Come, help me.” 105

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 107–21

***Charm of Agathokles**²⁹ for sending dreams: Take a completely black cat that died a violent death, make a strip of papyrus and write with myrrh the following, together with the [dream] you want sent,³⁰ and place it into the mouth of the cat. /

“I am lying,³¹ I am lying, I am the great one, the one lying in [the mouth], MOM- 110
MOU THŌTH NANOUMBRĒ CHARICHA KENYRŌ PAARMIATH, [to whom belongs] the holy name, IAOU IEĒ IEOU AĒŌI, the one above the heaven; arise, YMEU NEN-
NANA SENNANA ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI ABRASILOUA LAMPSŌREI
EEI EIEI AŌĒĒŌ THĒOURIS³² ŌA EPEIDEU EPERGA BRIŌN AMĒN. Reveal to him,
NN, concerning this.”

Compelling charm: “Come to me, NN, [you who] established the . . . by your own power, / you who rule the whole world, the fiery god.³³ Reveal to him, 115
NN, THARTHAR THAMAR ATHATHA MOMMOM THANABŌTH APRANOU BAMBALĒA
CHRĒTH NABOUSOULĒTH ROMBROU THARAĒL ALBANA BRŌCHRĒX ABRANA ZOU-
CHĒL. Hear me, because I am going to say the great name, AŌTH, before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel completes those things which are assigned. Your divine name according to the seven³⁴ is AEĒIOYŌ IAYŌĒ EAŌOYEĒŌIA. I have spoken the / glorious name, the 120
name for all needs. Reveal to NN, lord god.”

This is the name; this Apollobex³⁵ also used.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 121–43

***Zminis**³⁶ of Tentyra’s spell for sending dreams:³⁷ Take a clean linen cloth, and (according to Ostanos) with myrrh ink draw a figure on it which is humanlike in

28. For the invocation of Amon and Thoth in conjunction with the cosmic egg, see Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 178.

29. Nothing is known about this author.

30. Or “to whom you want to send this dream.” [J.B.]

31. The papyrus has *κεμι*. It could be a reference to the Egyptian *kemi*, *kmj*, “the black one,” an epithet of Osiris. See Schmidt, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 55 (1935): 1174, and the apparatus ad loc.

32. THĒOURIS is the Egyptian *T3-wr.t*, “Thoeris,” the hippopotamus goddess who protected the bedside. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 530–35, s.v. “Nilpferd.” [R.K.R.] For the Greek name, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358C: Θούρις; and Griffiths, Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride* 347–48.

33. See on this epithet Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 118–20, 164.

34. That is, the seven vowels.

35. Apuleius, *Apol.* 90 calls Apollobex a famous magician, and Pliny, *NH* 30. 9, makes him the forerunner of Demokritos, who copied his works from him. But the name is also an epithet of Horus. See E. Riess, “Apollobex,” *PRE* 1 (1894): 2847; Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 210; K. Preisendanz, “Apollobex,” *PRE* 20 (1941): 1311–12.

36. The magician Zminis of Tentyra (Dendera on the Nile) is not otherwise known. See K. Preisendanz, “Zminis,” *Roscher* 6 (1936): 762.

37. On dream sending, see I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London: British Museum, 1960), vol. I, pp. xx, n. 11; 63. [R.K.R.]

appearance but has four wings,³⁸ having the left arm outstretched³⁹ along with the
 125 two left wings, and having the other arm bent with the fist clenched. / Then upon
 the head [draw] a royal headdress and a cloak over its arm, with two spirals on the
 cloak. Atop the head [draw] bull horns and to the buttocks a bird's tail. Have his
 right hand held near his stomach, and on either ankle have a sword extended.

Also write on the strip the following names of the god and whatever you want
 him, [NN], to see and how:⁴⁰ "CHALAMANDRIOPH IDEARZÖ THREDAPHNIÖ /
 130 ERTHIBELNIN RYTHADNIKÖ PSAMOMERICH,⁴¹ to all of you I speak, also to you, O
 very powerful daimon: go into the house of this person and tell him such-and-
 such."

Next take a lamp neither colored red nor inscribed, and after you put a wick in it,
 fill it with cedar oil, and light it. Invoke the following names of the god, three
 [times]:⁴² "CHALAMANDRIOPH IDEARYÖTH THREDAPHNIÖ ERTHABEANIG RYTHA-
 NIKÖ PSAMMORICH, O sacred names of the god, listen to me—you also, O Good
 135 Daimon, whose might is very great / among the gods, listen to me: go to him, NN,
 into his house, where he sleeps, into his bedroom, and stand beside him, causing
 fear, trembling, by using the great and mighty names of the god. And tell him such-
 and-such.

"I conjure you [by] your power, [by] the great god, SĒITH,⁴³ [by] the hour in
 which you were begotten a great god,⁴⁴ [by] the god revealing⁴⁵ it now (?), [by] the
 365 names of the great god, to go to him, NN, this very hour, this very night, and
 140 to tell / him in a dream such-and-such.

"If you disobey me and don't go to him, NN, I will tell the great god, and after
 he has speared you through, he will chop you up into pieces and feed your members
 to the mangy dog who lies among the dungheaps.⁴⁶ For this reason, listen to me
 immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, so I won't have to tell you again."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XII. 144–52

145 *Request for a dream; / an exact method for everything.⁴⁷ Using blood from a

38. The picture is of Bes-Pantheos known from Egyptian monuments and from gemstones. See Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 126–41; Bonner, *SMA* 25, also nos. 251–61, plates 24–25. On the identification with El-Kronos, see A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 304; P. Zazoff, ed., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975) 387 (no. 77). For a detailed picture and description, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 11–16.

39. Reading ἐκτεταμένον; see *apparatus criticus* in Preisendanz ad loc.

40. ὥς must be read here as a relative particle, with the meaning that the magician is to insert a description of how the dream will appear to the sleeper. See LSJ, s.v. "ὥς," A.c.

41. The *voces magicae* here have been written to conform to the second occurrence of the list in ll. 133–34. The division of the words follows the edition of C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885), plate V, col. 4a. Preisendanz divides the names differently in both series. [R.D.K.]

42. Or the "three names of the god."

43. That is, Seth.

44. Or "[by] the hour in which you were appointed a great god." This rendering follows Leemans's edition.

45. The interpretation of the symbol, read by Preisendanz as χ(ρηματίζοντ)α, is open to question. See the *apparatus* ad loc.

46. The god is threatened in the name of Seth with the same attack Seth committed against Osiris. Cf. *PGM* VII. 940–68. [R.K.R.]

47. The translation follows the suggestion by W. B. that ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα is probably part of the title.

quail, draw on a strip of linen the god Hermes, standing, ibis-faced.⁴⁸ Then with myrrh write also the name and say the *formula*:

“Come to me here quickly, you who have the power. I call upon you, the one appointed god of gods over the spirits, to show this⁴⁹ to me in dreams. I conjure [you] by your father, Osiris, and Isis,⁵⁰ your mother, to show me one of your forms, / and reveal concerning the things I want. Your name is ËIIOUATHI PSRËP-NOUA NERTËR DIOCHASBARA ZARACHÏ, whom they call BALCHAM. Reveal concerning this⁵¹ concerning all things [about which] I inquire.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 153–60

***Spell for a divine revelation:** Invoke the great name in a time of great stress, in major and pressing crises. If not, you will blame yourself.⁵² In addition say three times the “IAÏ,” then the great name of god. /

“I call upon you, PHTHA RA PHTHA IË PHTHA OUN EMËCHA ERÏCHTH BARÏCH THO[RCH]THA THÏM CHAIEOUCH ARCHANDABAR ÔEAEÏ YNËÏCH ËRA ÏN ËLÏPH BOM PHTHA ATHABRASIA ABRIASÏTH BARBARBELÏCHA BARBAIAÏCH; let there be depth, breadth, length, brightness, ABLANATHANALBA ABRASIAOUA AKRAMMA-CHAMAREI THÏTH HÏR ATHÏÏPÏ. Come in, lord, and reveal.”

The serpent-faced god⁵³ will come in and answer you. When you dismiss [him], make an offering of / the skin of a serpent.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 160–78

*[**Charm to release from bonds:**]⁵⁴ If you want to do something spectacular and want to free yourself from danger, stand at the door and say the spell, and having said it, go out, adding: “Let the bonds of him, NN, be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him.”

You may even prove that it happens. Bind someone securely and shut him in a house. Stand outside and say the spell six or seven times thus: “I call upon you great gods, with a loud voice, / AISAR AIÏTH OUAIGNÏR MARSABÏOUTÏRTHE LABATH ERMOU CHOÏRTHEN MANACHTHÏRPH PECHRËPH TAÏPHPÏTHTHÏCHO THARÏCH BALETHAN CHEBRÏOUTHAST ADÏNAI HARMIÏTH.”

Whenever [you say] this spell, and he has been released, say this besides, in order that the doors might open: “OCHLOBARACHÏ LAILAM DARIDAM [DARDAM] DARDARAMPTOU IARTHA IERBA DIERBA BARÏTHA THIARBA ARBITHÏ . . . Ï MAAR SEMESILAM MARMARACHNEU MANE THÏTH; holy one, enter and release him, NN, and give him a way / of escape, SESENGENBARPHARAGGËS, you who loosen all

48. For an ibis-faced Hermes, see PGM VIII. 10.

49. Or “such and such.” That is, the practitioner supplies here his request. See below, l. 151.

50. Osiris and Isis are the parents of Horus, not of Thoth/Hermes as one might infer from the preceding.

51. See n. 49 above.

52. Cf. the *lex sacra* from Halikarnassos, published by M. Çetin Şahin, “Five Inscriptions from Halicarnassus,” *ZPE* 20 (1976): 22–23. [W.B.]

53. When depth, breadth, length, and brightness are summoned, this may indicate the reenactment of creation. In such a context, a serpent-faced deity (l. 159) would be appropriate, because the serpent form is the primordial form of the gods. See K. Sethe, *Anun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929) 26–27. [R.K.R.]

54. This title for the spell does not appear in the papyrus manuscript and has been supplied by Preisendanz. It is, however, typical of other spells to begin with the phrase, “If you wish to do (this and this). . . .” Cf. e.g., PGM XII. 179–81; XIII. 239–64, and often. [R.D.K.]

bonds and you who loosen the iron fetter that has been placed around him, NN, because the great, unutterable, holy, righteous, awful, powerful, unspeakable, fearful and not-to-be-despised daimon of the great god commands you, SOROERMER [PHERGAR] BAX MAMPHRI OURIXG.”

When the bonds break, say: “I thank you, lord, [because] the holy spirit, the unique one, the living one, has [released] me.”

175 And say this spell again: / “Star-grouping god, you thunderbolt-with-great-clap-Zeus-confining-world-flashing-abundant-bolt-bestowing daimon, cracking-through-the-air, ray-producing, mind-piercing, you who [produce] cunning.”

And use also the name of Helios for everything: “Fiery, ĒPHAIE, Hephaistos, who is shining with fire, brightly moving, ANANŌCHA AMARZA MARMARAMŌ.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 179–81

*If you want someone to cease being angry with you, write with myrrh [on linen]⁵⁵ this / name of anger: “CHNEŌM.”⁵⁶ Hold it in your left [hand and say]: “I am restraining the anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEŌM.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 182–89

*“Greetings, lord, you who are the means to obtain favor for the universe and for the inhabited [world]. Heaven has become a dancing place [for you], ARSENO-PHRĒ, O king of the heavenly [gods], ABLANATHANALBA, you who possess righteous-
185 ness, AKRAMMACHAMAREI, gracious [god,] SANKANTHARA, ruler / of nature, SATRAPERKMĒPH, origin of the heavenly [world], ATHTHANNOU ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTŌTH PA . . . ĒRINTASKLIOUTH ĒPHIŌ MARMA-RAŌTH.

“[Let] my outspokenness not leave me. [But] let every tongue and language listen to me, because I am PERTAO [MĒCH CHACH] MNĒCH SAKMĒPH⁵⁷ IAŌOYĒĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ IEŌYŌĒIEIAĒA IEŌYOEI, Give [me graciously] whatever you want.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, the first line of this invocation shows it is a “favor charm.”

PGM XII. 190–92

190 *Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear: Take olive oil [from] a clean⁵⁸ . . . onto the left hand and say the [names. Then] smear yourself and go to sleep having your head towards the east. “IĒSOVS⁵⁹ ANOVI. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 193–201

*[To make] a tincture [viz., “reduction”] of gold:⁶⁰ Take thickened pungent vinegar and also have ready 8 drachmas of ordinary salt, 2 drachmas of rock alum that has clear cleavage, 4 drachmas of massicot, and triturate them [together] with the

55. Or byssus.

56. CHNEŌM here and in l. 181 is probably Egyptian Khnum. Cf. PGM I. 29. [R.K.R.]

57. MNĒCH SAKMĒPH corresponds to Egyptian “beneficient, son of Agathodaimon.” For Kneph, Knephis, cf. PGM I. 27; *μνηχ* is Egyptian *mnḥ*, an adjective of the preceding noun. Cf. PGM II. 77. [R.K.R.]

58. A noun seems to be missing here.

59. The name of Jesus appears at the beginning of an invocation; the rest is lost.

60. The term *ῥωσις* or *ἐξίωσις* (l. 198) probably refers to the process of reduction in alchemy. Since there is no gold included in the papyrus until l. 198, the process may actually be designed to produce

vinegar for 3 days, and strain off [and] / use. Then add one drachma blue vitriol [cupric sulfate] to the vinegar, 1/2 obol in weight of chalcopyrite, 8 obols of rock alum, 1/2 obol in weight of melanterite, a carat [viz., 1/1728 lb. = *siliqua*] of ordinary salt, 2 [carats] of Cappadocian [salt]. 195

Make a leaf [of metal] of 2 fourths by weight, dip [it] 3 times into fire until the leaf [breaks up] into fragments. Then take up the pieces [and] assume them as “reduced” to the metallic state of gold.

Treatment: Take [2] fourths by weight of gold, make a leaf and [purify it in] fire, dip it in blue vitriol / triturated with water. 200

And another [treatment]: Pound dry cupric sulfate and dip [it] in the vinegar.

(Yet another [treatment]: with the compound): Pour off the verdigris and throw it in.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XII. 201–69

***Placing (a) ring.**⁶¹ A little ring [useful] for every [magical] operation and for success. Kings and governors [try to get it]. Very effective. Taking an air-colored⁶² jasper, engrave on it a snake in a circle with its tail in its mouth, and also in the middle of [the circle formed by] the snake [Selene]⁶³ having two stars / on the two 205 horns, and above these, Helios, beside whom ABRASAX should be inscribed; and on the opposite side of the stone from this inscription, the same name ABRASAX, and around the border you will write the great and holy and omniscient [spell], the name IAŌ SABAŌTH. And when you have consecrated the stone⁶⁴ wear it in a gold ring, when you need it, [provided] you are pure [at that time], and you will succeed in everything you may wish. You are to consecrate the ring together with the stone in the rite used for all [such] objects. A similar engraving in gold, / too, is equally 210 effective.

The consecration [requires] the following equipment: Making a pit in a holy place open to the sky, [or] if [you have none] in a clean, sanctified tomb looking toward the east, and making over the pit an altar of wood from fruit trees, sacrifice an all-white goose, with no flecks [of color], and 3 roosters and 3 pigeons. Make these whole burnt offerings and burn, with the birds, all sorts of incense. Then, standing by the pit, look / to the east and, pouring on a libation of wine, honey, 215 milk, [and] saffron, and holding over the smoke, while you pray, [the stone] in which are engraved the inscriptions, say:

“I invoke and beseech the consecration, O gods of the heavens, O gods under the earth, O gods circling in the middle region from one womb. O masters of all living and dead, [O] heedful in many necessities of gods and / men. O concealers 220 of things now seen, O directors of the Nemeseis⁶⁵ who spend every hour with you,”⁶⁶

pseudo gold. This is in keeping with the fact that the section 193–201 is full of technical terminology from alchemy. See M. P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London: Heinemann, 1962) 3–4, and esp. 54; A. J. Hopkins, “Transmutation by Colour: A Study of Earliest Alchemy,” in J. Ruska, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie. Festschrift E. O. von Lippmann* (Berlin: Springer, 1927) 9–14. [J.S.]

61. The symbols printed in Preisendanz’s text as magical characters are Demotic *w’ gswr*, “a ring.” Cf. PGM XII. 270. [R.K.R.]

62. According to LSJ, s.v., a “light-blue” or perhaps “grey, cloudy” color.

63. That is, a crescent moon.

64. On the consecration of amulets, see PGM IV. 2179 and n.

65. For the Nemeseis, cf. PGM VII. 503 and n.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 311–12.

66. The papyrus here accidentally repeats the preceding clause about the Nemeseis.

O senders of Fate who travels around the whole world, O commanders of the rulers, O exalters of the abased, O revealers of the hidden, O guides of the winds,
 225 O arousers of the waves, O bringers of / fire (at a certain time), O creators and benefactors of every race, O nourishers of every race, O lords and controllers of kings, come, benevolent, for that [purpose] for which I call you, as benevolent assistants in this rite for my benefit. I am a plant named Baïs (palm leaf); I am an outflow of blood from the tomb of the great One [between] the palm trees;⁶⁷ I am the faith⁶⁸ found in men, and am he who declares the holy names, who [is] always alike, who
 230 came forth from the abyss.⁶⁹ I am / CHRATES⁷⁰ who came forth from the eye [of the sun].⁷¹ I am the god whom no one sees or rashly names. I am the sacred bird, Phoinix.⁷² I am Krates the holy, called MARMARAUÖTH. I am Helios who showed forth light. I am Aphrodite called ΤΥΦΗ.⁷³ I am the holy sender of winds. I am Kronos who showed forth light. I am Mother of gods, called Heaven. I am Osiris,
 235 called water. I am Isis, called dew.⁷⁴ / I am ESENEPHYS,⁷⁵ called spring. I am the image resembling the true images. I am SOUCHOS⁷⁶ [who appear as] a crocodile. Therefore, I beseech [you], come as my helpers, for I am about to call on the hidden and ineffable name, the forefather of gods, overseer and lord of all.”

“Come to me, you from the four winds, god, ruler of all, who have breathed
 240 spirits into men for life, master of the good things in the world. Hear me, lord, whose / hidden name is ineffable. The daimons, hearing it, are terrified—the name BARBAREICH ARSEMPHEMPHRÖTHOU—and of it the sun, of it the earth, hearing, rolls over; Hades, hearing, is shaken; rivers, sea, lakes, springs, hearing, are frozen; rocks, hearing it, are split. Heaven is your head; ether, body; earth, feet; and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon.⁷⁷ You are lord, the begetter and nourisher and increaser of all.”

67. For the efflux of Osiris, see *Book of the Dead*, spells 63b sec. S 1; 119 sec. S 1; 147a sec. S 1; 147g sec. S 1; 149n sec. S 1; 149o. [R.K.R.]

68. Preisendanz treats the term as a hypostatized name (Pistis, “Faith”). See Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 234–35; D. Lührmann, “Glaube,” *RAC* 11 (1979): 84–86.

69. Preisendanz takes βύθος to be the name of a deity. Bythos is the name of the primordial deity in Valentinian gnosticism. For passages, see *PGL*, s.v. “Búthos”; *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index s.v. “Bythos.” See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, passim; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 58.

70. Preisendanz, following Eitrem, takes this name to be Egyptian for *Chrut*, “child (Horus).” Actually, the papyrus reads σοκρατης; see C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1885) 26–27. Eitrem’s emendation was taken up by J. Kroll, “Chrates,” *PRE* 11 (1922): 1641–42; K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74, esp. 2072. The fact, however, remains that the papyrus reads Socrates in l. 230 and Crates in l. 231.

71. The papyrus reads οὐραγιου; the translation follows Preisendanz’s emendation ἐκ τοῦ οὐραίου. Cf. *PGM* V. 75.

72. On the Phoenix, see Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques* 231–62. Cf. *PGM* II. 104.

73. Typhi, the epithet of Aphrodite, may correspond to Egyptian Triphis (Τ3-ῤϣϣ.t), “the maiden.” See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 838–39, s.v. “Triphis.” [R.K.R.]

74. For Isis as dew, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 12, 355F–365A; 33, 364B, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 303, 420, 424. [R.K.R.]

75. ESENEPHYS may correspond to Egyptian “Isis the beautiful.” Preisendanz, however, understands it to refer to Isis-Neph[th]ys. [R.K.R.]

76. Souchos is Sobek, the Egyptian crocodile god. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 755–59, s.v. “Suchos.” [R.K.R.]

77. On the cosmic body of the deity, see *PGM* XIII. 767–72; XXI. 3–7. See J. Assmann, “Primat und Transzendenz: Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines höchsten Wesens,” in *Aspekte der ägyptischen Religion*, ed. W. Westendorf, *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, 4th series 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979) 7–42.

“Who⁷⁸ molded the forms of the beasts [of the Zodiac]? Who / found [their] routes? Who was the begetter of fruits? Who raises up the mountains? Who commanded the winds to hold to their annual tasks? What Aion nourishing an Aion rules the Aions? One deathless god. You are the begetter of all and assign souls to all and control all, king of the Aions and lord, [before] whom mountains and plains together tremble, springs and streams of rivers, and valleys of earth, and spirits, and [all things] that are. High shining heaven trembles before you, and every sea, / lord, ruler of all, holy one, and master of all. By your power the elements exist and all things come into being, the route of sun and moon, of night and dawn—all things in air and earth and water and the breath of fire. Yours is the eternal processional way [of heaven], in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets] which utter [their] voices according to the 28 forms of the moon. Yours are the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and fortunes / and fates. You give wealth, good old age, good children, strength, food. You, lord of life, ruling the upper and the lower realm, whose justice is not thwarted, whose glorious name the angels hymn, who have truth that never lies, hear me and complete for me this operation so that I may wear this power in every place, in every time, without being smitten or afflicted, / so as to be preserved intact from every danger while I wear this power. Yea, lord, for to you, the god in heaven, all things are subject, and none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me because I have called on your great name for the consecration. And again I call upon you, according to Egyptians, PHNŌ EAI IABŌK; according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH; according to Greeks, “the king of all, ruling alone”; / according to the high priests, “hidden, invisible, overseer of all”; according to Parthians, “OUERTŌ,⁷⁹ master of all.” Consecrate and empower this object for me, for the entire and glorious time of my life.”

The names inscribed on the back side of the stone are these: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XII. 270–350

*A Ring. A little ring for success and favor and victory. It makes men famous and great and admired and rich as can be, or it makes possible friendships with suchlike men. The circlet is always yours [to use] justly and successfully for all purposes. It contains a first-rate name.

Helios is to be engraved on a heliotrope stone⁸⁰ as follows: A thick-bodied snake⁸¹ in the shape of a wreath should be [shown] having its tail in its / mouth. Inside [the circle formed by] the snake let there be a sacred scarab⁸² [beetle surrounded by] rays. On the reverse side of the stone you are to inscribe the name in hieroglyphics, as the prophets pronounce [it]. Then, having consecrated [the ring], wear it when you are pure.

The world has had nothing greater than this. For when you have it with you you will always get whatever you ask from anybody. Besides, it calms the angers of masters and kings. Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed,

78. The dactylic hexameters (ll. 244–52) are also the reconstructed Hymn 1. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 237. [E.N.O.]

79. OUERTO corresponds to the Egyptian epithet “the great one of earth.” [R.K.R.]

80. A green chalcedony with small spots of red jasper. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 37. 165. [J.S.]

81. That is, the Ouroboros serpent. See Glossary, s.v. “Ouroboros.”

82. On the scarab, see *PGM* IV. 943 and the Glossary, s.v. “Scarab.”

and you will be pleasing to everybody. Anyone can open doors and break chains
 280 and rocks if he / touches them with the stone, that is, the gem, and says the name
 written below. It also works for demoniacs. Just give it [to one] to wear, and the
 daimon will immediately flee. So at dawn stand facing the sun, holding the well-
 planned, beneficent, divine, holy, useful, economical, merciful stone which pro-
 vides your needs, the beautiful and becoming one, [say]:
 285 “Greatest god, who exceed / all power, I call on you, IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI
 EILŌEIN⁸³ SEBŌEIN TALLAM CHAUNAŌN SAGĒNAM ELEMEDŌR CHAPSOUTH
 SETTŌRA SAPHTHA NOUCHITHA, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,⁸⁴ CHATHATHICH ZE-
 PEIN NĒPHYGOR ASTAPHAIOS KATAKERKNĒPH KONTEOS KATOUT KĒRIDEU MAR-
 290 MARIŌTH LIKYXANTA BESSOUM SYMEKONTEU, the opponent of Thoth, / MASKELLI
 MASKELLŌTH PHNOU KENTABAŌTH OREOBAGRA HIPPOCHTHŌN RĒSICHTHŌN
 PYRIPĒGANYX NYXIŌ ABRŌROKORE KODĒRE MOUISDRŌ, King, THATH PHATH
 CHATH XEUZĒN ZEUSĒN ELATHATH MELASIŌ KOUKŌR NEUSŌŌ PACHIŌ
 295 XIPHNŌ THEMEL NAUTH BIOKLĒTH SESSŌR CHAMEL CHASINEU XŌCHŌ IAL-
 LINŌI / SEISENGPHARANGĒS MASICHIŌR IŌTABAA S CHENOUCI CHAAM PHA-
 CHIARATH NEEGŌTHARA IAM ZEŌCH AKRAMMACHAMAREI Cheroubei(m) BAIN-
 CHŌŌCH EIOPHALEON ICHNAŌTH PŌE XEPHITHŌTH XOUTHOUTH THOŌTHIOU
 XERIPHŌNAR EPHINARASŌR CHANIZARA ANAMEGAR IŌO XTOURORIAM IŌK NIŌR
 300 CHETTAIOS ELOUMAIOS NŌIŌ DAMNAMENEU / AXIŌTHŌPH PSETHAIAKKLŌPS
 SISAGETA NEORIPHRŌR HIPPOKELEPHOKLŌPS ZEINACHA IAPHETHANA A E Ē I O
 Y Ō. I have called on you, greatest god, and through you on all things, that you may
 give divine and supreme strength to this image and may make it effective and
 powerful against all [opponents] and to be able to call back souls, move spirits,
 subject legal opponents, strengthen friendships, produce all [sorts of] profits,
 305 bring / dreams, give prophecies, cause psychological passions and bodily sufferings
 and incapacitating illness, and perfect all erotic philters. Please, lord, bring to fulfill-
 ment a complete consecration.”

When you perform this rite, say [the spell] three times each day, in the third,
 sixth, and ninth hour, and this for fourteen days, beginning when the moon begins
 its third quarter. And try to have the goddess [i.e., the moon] either [rising] in [the
 Zodiacal sign of] the Bull or the Virgin or Scorpion or the Water Carrier or the
 310 Fishes. Also when you are performing the consecration, each time / you recite
 [the spell] pour as libation the [fluids] specified above and all kinds of perfumes
 except frankincense. And when you have completed the consecration properly, have
 a live rooster with a double comb—either white or yellow; keep away from black—
 and after the consecration cut the rooster open and stick the [stone with its] image
 well into the guts of the rooster, taking care that the entrails of the animal be not
 315 broken. Leave [it there] for one day, / then in the ninth hour of the night take [it]
 out and put [it] away in a holy place, and use as [seems] best.

Whenever you wish to command the god, give [your] command, saying the
 greatest [name] OUPHŌR, and he will perform. You have [now] the consecration [to
 secure] the supreme and divine action. This OUPHŌR is the [god] whom Urbicus
 used, the holy, true OUPHŌR. Here is truly written out, with all brevity, [the rite]
 320 by which all modeled images and engravings / and carved stones are made alive.
 For this is the true [rite], and the others such as are widely circulated, are falsified
 and made up of vain verbosity. So keep this in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide
 it, hide it! It is—the beginning—

83. Almost certainly a misspelling of *elohim*, a Hebrew word meaning “god.”

84. The names are misspelled as Abraan, Isak, Iakkōbi.

“The gates of heaven were opened. The gates of earth were opened. / The route of the sea was opened. The route of the rivers was opened. My spirit was heard by all gods and daimons. My spirit was heard by the spirit of heaven. My spirit was heard by the terrestrial spirit. My spirit was heard by the marine spirit. / My spirit was heard by the riverine spirit. Therefore give spirit to the mystery⁸⁵ I have prepared, O gods whom I have named and have called on. Give breath to the mystery I have prepared.”

Hide, hide the true [spell to control?] OUPHŌR, / which contains the truth in summary. *The invocation to OUPHŌR*:⁸⁶

“ĒI IEOU MAREITH
 ĒI IEOU MONTHEATHI MONGITH
 ĒI IEOU CHAREŌTH MONKĒB
 ĒI IEOU SŌCHOU SŌRSŌĒ
 / ĒI IEOU TIŌTIŌ OUIĒR 340
 ĒI IEOU CHARŌCHSI CHARMIŌTH
 ĒI IEOU SATHIMŌOYEĒOY
 ĒI IEOU RAIRAI MOURIRAI
 ĒI IEOU Amoun ĒEI Osiris
 / ĒI IEOU PHIRIMNOUN⁸⁷ 345
 ĒI IEOU ANMORCHATHI OUĒR
 ĒI IEOU ANCHEREPHRENEPSOUPHIRINGCH
 ĒI IEOU ORCHIMORŌIPOUGH
 ĒI IEOU MACHPSACHATHANTH
 / ĒI IEOU MOROTH.” 350

*Tr.: Morton Smith. The Demotic title (line 270) is written between the sections.

PGM XII. 351–64

*Demokritos’ “sphere”: prognostic of life and death. Find out what day of the month⁸⁸ the sick one took to bed. Add his name from birth⁸⁹ to the day of the month and divide by thirty.⁹⁰ Look up on the “sphere” the quotient: if the number is on the upper register, the person will live, but if it is on the lower register, he will die.

85. That is, the magical ring.

86. These invocations begin with a formula corresponding to the Egyptian *i i3w*, “O, hail!” [R.K.R.]

87. PHIRIMNOUN corresponds to Egyptian “He who comes forth from Nun (the abyss).” Cf. PGM XII. 229. [R.K.R.]

88. Literally, “know in relation to the moon.” Beginning with the new moon, each day of the lunar month can be given a number from one to thirty.

89. The *praenomen*, or first name, among the Romans. Each letter of the Greek alphabet has a numerical value.

90. Literally, “see how many times thirty there are.” In other words, the sum of the numerical value of the name and the value of the day on which the person took ill, is divided by thirty.

355

360

1	10	19
2	11	20
3	13	23
4	14	25
7	16	26
9	17	27
5	15	22
6	18	28
8	21	29
12	24	30

*Tr.: J. P. Hershb. A similar “sphere” is attributed to Petosiris, the mythical Egyptian astrologer. The so-called sphere is only a circle or other plane figure, in this case a rectangle, but even when the circle is reduced to a rectangle, it is called a sphere. For full discussion of this kind of “astrological medicine,” see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899, repr. 1963) 537–42, esp. 538, and Thorndike, *A History of Magic I*, 682ff.; see also V. Alfieri, *Gli atomisti, frammenti e testimonianze* (Bari 1936) 305–6, n. 801 and Budge, *Egyptian Magic* 228–30.

PGM XII. 365–75

365 ***Charm for causing separation:** On a pot for smoked fish inscribe a spell with a bronze stylus and recite it afterwards and put it where they [i.e., your victims] are, where they usually return, repeating at the same time this spell: “I call upon you, god, you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, and great, you who afflict the earth and shake the universe, you who love disturbances and hate
370 stability and scatter the clouds / from one another, IAIA IAKOUBIAI IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH BASDOUMA PATATHNAX APOSS OSESRŌ ATAPH THABRAOU ĒŌ THATHTHABRA BŌRARA AROBREITHA BOLCHOSĒTH KOKKOLOIPTOLĒ RAMBITHNIPS: give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war; and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had”⁹¹ (but if it is a husband and wife, “just as Typhon and Isis had”). “Strong Typhon, very / powerful one, perform your mighty acts.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This charm provides a means for effecting a breach between two men’s friendship or love for each other, with a variant formula inserted to make the spell work against a husband and wife.

PGM XII. 376–96

***Charm to induce insomnia:** Take a living bat and on the right wing paint with myrrh the following figure, and on the left write the 7 names of the god as well as: “Let her, NN whom NN bore, lie awake until she consents.” And so release the bat again.

380 Perform this spell at the waning of the moon⁹² when the goddess is in her third night, and the woman will die for lack of sleep, without lasting / 7 days.

This charm cannot at any time have an antidote. But if you at some time wish one, do not release the bat, but keep it in custody, and do this as well: when you want to release it, wash off with spring water [what] has been written on the wings and release the bird. But do not do this, save for a great intrigue.

91. On the enmity between Typhon/Seth and Osiris, see PGM VII. 964 and n.

92. That is, the moon goddess Selene.

This then is the figure:



/ The names to be written on the left wing are these: “I call upon you, great god, 385
 THATHABATHATH / PETENNABOUTHĪ PEPTOU BAST⁹³ EIĒSOUS OUAĪR AMOUN 390
 OUTHĪ ASCHELIDONĒTH / BATHARIBATH; let her, NN, lie awake through the whole 395
 night and day, until she dies, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 397-400

***To gain favor and friendship forever:** Take a pasithea or wormwood root and write this name on it in a holy manner: † 7 8 - 3 7 7 L. Then carry it, and you will be an object of favor, friendship, and admiration to people who see you. /

The formula: 1 dram of myrrh, 4 drams of truffle, 2 drams of blue vitriol, 2 drams of oak gall, 3 drams of gum arabic.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 401-44

* **Interpretations** which the temple scribes employed, from the holy writings, in translation. Because of the curiosity of the masses they [i.e., the scribes] inscribed the names of the herbs and other things which they employed on the statues of the gods, so that they [i.e., the masses], since they do not take precaution, / might not practice magic, [being prevented] by the consequence of their misunderstanding.⁹⁴ But we have collected the explanations [of these names] from many copies [of the sacred writings], all of them secret.

*Here they are:*⁹⁵

A snake's head: a leech.

93. On Bastet, the Egyptian cat goddess, see *PGM* III. I and n.

94. Cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), Hymn IV. 37–39: “Reliably learning these facts from men who study history, I myself have set them all up on inscribed pillars and translated (into Greek) for Greeks the power of a Prince who was a god” (pp. 64–65). Isidorus himself cannot read the hieroglyphs.

95. For similar lists of names, cf. *De succedaneis* transmitted among the works of Galen, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn, vol. 19 (Lipsiae: Officina libraria Car. Knoblochii, 1830) 721–

- A snake's "ball of thread": this means soapstone. /
 410 Blood of a snake: hematite.
 A bone of an ibis: this is buckthorn.
 Blood of a hyrax: ⁹⁶ truly of a hyrax.
 "Tears" ⁹⁷ of a Hamadryas baboon: dill juice.
 Crocodile dung: Ethiopian soil. /
 415 Blood of a Hamadryas baboon: blood of a spotted gecko.
 Lion semen: Human semen.
 Blood of Hephaistos: wormwood.
 Hairs of a Hamadryas baboon: dill seed.
 Semen of Hermes: dill. /
 420 Blood of Ares: purslane.
 Blood of an eye: tamarisk gall. ⁹⁸
 Blood from a shoulder: bear's breach ⁹⁹
 From the loins: camomile.
 A man's bile: turnip sap. ¹⁰⁰ /
 425 A pig's tail: leopard's bane. ¹⁰¹
 A physician's bone: sandstone.
 Blood of Hestia: camomile.
 An eagle: wild garlic (?). ¹⁰²
 Blood of a goose: a mulberry tree's "milk." /
 430 Kronos' spice: piglet's milk.
 A lion's hairs: "tongue" of a turnip. ¹⁰³
 Kronos' blood: . . . of cedar.
 Semen of Helios: white hellebore.
 Semen of Herakles: this is mustard-rocket. ¹⁰⁴ /
 435 [A Titan's] blood: wild lettuce. ¹⁰⁵
 Blood from a head: lupine.
 A bull's semen: egg of a blister beetle. ¹⁰⁶

47, as well as the adapted version of Galen's tract in Paul of Aegina, *Paulus Aegineta, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* IX/2, ed. I. L. Heiberg, vol. II (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1924) 401–8; and Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907–14). [J.S.]

96. Probably the rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*), also mentioned in the LXX Lv 11:6; Dt 14:7; Ps 103 (104): 18; Prv 24:61 (30:26). [J.S.]

97. Perhaps the "sleep sand" from the eyes of baboons. [J.S.]

98. Cf. Dioscorides 1. 75; also 1. 89. [J.S.]

99. Probably to be emended to ἄκανθος (*Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.). [J.S.]

100. Probably to be emended to βουνίας as in Dioscorides 2. 111, a kind of turnip (probably *Brassica napus* L.). [J.S.]

101. Literally, "scorpion-tail," probably a variety of "leopard's bane" in the genus *Boronicum*, or one of the heliotropes. Cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9. 13. 6; Nicander, *Alexiph.* 145; Dioscorides 4. 190. 1. See J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbs and Herbal Remedies," *Journal of the History of Biology* 11 (1978): 373–74, with n. 120; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology II: Spiders, Scorpions, Insects, and Myriapods," *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979): 3–34, 73–92. [J.S.]

102. The papyrus reads οσελγεβει, which the editors read either as χελκβει, "wild garlic" (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*), following Griffith, ad loc.; PGM V. 70, or as ἡλλέβορος, "hellebore." [J.S.]

103. As emended in l. 425 (see above, n. 100), referring to the leaves of the taproot. [J.S.]

104. Probably *Eruca sativa* Mill. [J.S.]

105. See on this Dioscorides 2. 136. [J.S.]

106. The blister beetle played a role in the manufacture of the aphrodisiac known as Spanish fly. See J. Scarborough, "Some Beetles in Pliny's Natural History," *Coleopterists Bulletin* 31 (1977): 293–96; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology" (see above, n. 101). [J.S.]

A hawk's heart: heart of wormwood.
 Semen of Hephaistos: this is fleabane. /
 Semen of Ammon: houseleek.
 Semen of Ares: clover.
 Fat from a head: spurge.
 From the belly: earth-apple.
 From the foot: houseleek.¹⁰⁷

440

*Tr.: H. D. Betz (ll. 401–7) and John Scarborough (ll. 408–45) who are also responsible for the respective notes. The “interpretations” refers to the secret list of plant names below; cf. the *Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth* 61, 19ff., in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 296–97; 2 *Jeu*, chaps. 45–48; *Test Sol* 13.6; see Gudeman, “Lyseis,” *PRE* 13 (1927): 2511–29.

PDM xii. 50–61 [PGM XII. 445–48]

*A spell for separating one person from another: Dung of . . . and you put it [in] a document, and you write on a document of papyrus these great names / together with the name of the man, and you bury it under the doorsill of the house. 50 [1] 55 [6]

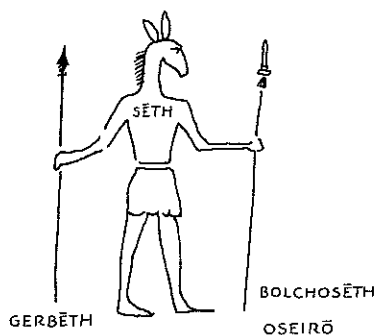
Here are the names for (?) it and you recite them over it also, 7 times: “†IO-ERBETH †IO-SETH¹⁰⁸ †IO-BOLGHÖSETH¹⁰⁹ †IO-PAGERBETH †IO-PATATHNAGS †LÉE-MENG.RĒ †IO-ÖSESRO¹¹⁰ / †IO-GHLŌNTOĒPS, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” It is . . . : “Separate Isis from . . .” (formula: 7 times). (445–48) 60 [11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 1–12. The Old Coptic/Greek and Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 57–60 [8–11] are transcribed as Greek in PGM XII. 445–48 (*Kol. XIV*) in Preisendanz. A variant of the same spell follows immediately in ll. 62–75, a spell in which a magical figure is supplied. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 62–75 [PGM XII. 449–52]

*Another: You bring a . . . and you write the names on it, and you bury [it] in the road of. . . .

Formula: †BRAG †GRAB †BRAGH †HÖSPERTHNAKS¹¹¹ / †BHRIENTHE(?)GH †BAS-PHETHŌI †ATHRYPH †PATATHNAG †APŌPSI †IO-BĒTH †IO-BOLGHÖSETH †IO-PAGERBETH,¹¹² separate NN born of NN, from NN born of NN!” Two [times] . . . You bring a sherd . . . of beer of . . . which is burnt, and you write [on] it a donkey / in this manner: 65 [16] (449–52) 70 [21]



107. See on this plant Dioscorides 4. 88. [J.S.]

108. Ending includes Egyptian god Seth. [J.H.J.]

109. See n. 108 above.

110. Or, perhaps, IO ŌSEIRŌ, as in the label to the figure. [J.H.J.]

111. HÖSPER may be for ὁσπερ, “similarly.” [R.K.R.]

112. See figure.

75 [26] “Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” And you say this name to it again, 7 times, and you lift the sherd, and you . . . in the house in which they are. / You do it. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 13–26. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 15–18 are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 449–52 (*Kol.* XIV). Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 76–107 [PGM XII. 453–65]

80 [5] * Another: . . . of a black donkey,¹¹³ and you put a . . . which is . . . , and you leave [it] in it for three days . . . it. You should cook it for one night . . . , and you should bring a / strip of . . . , and you should write . . . the names on it with donkey blood, and you should gather outside . . . saying, “Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!” And you should . . . and you should . . . the urine. . . .

85 [10] Here is the *name* which you should write it: / . . . “THALAMAXI, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!”

90 [15] . . . again on the day of separating (another [manuscript] says: “beating” [?]), . . . of a donkey and a . . . / urine (?), and you put them in a new ladle (?) and you . . . until they come . . . , and you put . . . and you . . . the sherd . . . and you [write] these names . . . and you . . . in the above-mentioned house.

95 [20] / Here are the names: “I call upon you, you who are in the [empty air], you who (453–65) are terrible, you who are an invisible god, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a stable household and you who do mischief.¹¹⁴ I call upon your great name; cause him, NN, to be separated from him, NN, IŌ IŌ IŌBRACH KRA-BROUKRIOU BATRIOU APOMPS STROUTELIPS IAK[OUBIAI]¹¹⁵ IŌ PAKERBETH PAKERBETH, god of gods . . . at the gate of IAO. Separate him, NN, from him, NN, because I am the daimon XANTHIS¹¹⁶ OUBATH . . . E . . . TEBERETERRI . . . EI . . . , separate him, [NN], from him, NN.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 76–95), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 40–41, col. III, ll. 1–20; and R. F. Hock (ll. 96–107), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 453–65.

PDM xii. 108–18 [PGM XII. 466–68]

110 [3] * A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man . . . : You bring dung, hair and hair . . . which is dead, / and you mix them with fresh blooms, and you put it in a new papyrus after writing on the papyrus first with my ink, saying, “May NN, born of NN, hate NN, born of NN!” And you recite these true names over it 7 times, and you bind the papyrus, and you put it in the water of. . . .

115 [8] Here are / the true names: †IAKYMBLAI IAO †IŌERBETH †IŌBOLGHOSETH †BA- (466–68) SELE OM †GITATHNAGS †APSOPS †Ō.ELT, separate NN, born [of] NN, from NN, born of NN; hurry, hurry; be quick, be quick!”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 42–43, col. II, ll. 1–18. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 8–10 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek in *PGM* XII. 466–68. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

113. On the donkey as the image of Seth, see the Glossary, s.v. “Typhon-Seth.”

114. So following the emendation in Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

115. Supplying in the lacuna †Iako[υβιαι], a name attested elsewhere.

116. The reading of this name is, however, textually uncertain.

PDM xii. 119–34 [PGM XII. 469–70; 471–73]

*A spell for it: Surround (?) . . . of . . . another [manuscript] says . . . : / You (?) 120 [13]
 write [the] true names with ink . . . and you write at its bottom, . . . to me Anubis,
 saying, “Surround (?) NN, born of NN!” . . . you should write on its bottom . . .
 “vex NN, born of NN!” and you should . . . them to it again, and you should . . . 125 [18]
 fire, flame (?), and you should [bind] . . . of the hair of the woman with . . . , / and
 you should put a . . . a bitch which is dead.

Its formula: “Rouse yourself and depart, at the undertaking ward off responses of (469–70)
 each penalty . . . woman.” You write these words on a new papyrus with myrrh ink,
 and you put it in . . . of a . . . / built (?), and you put it in a chest (?), and you give it 130 [23]
 to an ibis.

Here are the names: “[†]ALBANAGHAMBRE [†]AMESÖTSIE(?)R [†]ATHRÖER [†]ATHROI (471–73)
[†]THYIN, surround NN, born of NN, . . . in her heart.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 119–125, 128–31), following the edition in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 12–27; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 126–27), following the edition in Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 469–70. The Demotic *voces magicæ* in ll. 132–33 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek at *PGM* XII. 471–73. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 135–46 [PGM XII. 474–79]

*. . . you bring a sealed . . . of copper . . . this lion, this mummy (?), and this 135 [1]
 Anubis . . . while they seek . . . black scarab (?) . . . put . . . :

/ “. . . AIDIÖ ÖRICH THAMBITÖ, Abraham who at . . . PLANOIEGCHIBIÖTH 140 [6]
 MOU ROU and the whole soul for her, NN [whom NN bore] . . . the female body (474–79)
 of her, NN [whom NN bore], I conjure by the . . . [and] to inflame her, NN whom
 [NN bore].”

[Write these] words together with this picture on a new papyrus:



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 135–39; 146), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):44–45, col. I, ll. 1–5, 12; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 140–45) following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 474–79.

PDM xii. 147–64 [PGM XII. 480–95]

*Another: Cook it [in the (?)] bath: “ALLANTH BIREIBAMETIRA / EMETHIRE THA- 150 [16]
 RABLATH PNOU THE THOUCHARA ÖSOUCHARI SABACHAR . . . , / burn her, NN, 155 [21]
 until she [comes] to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. I conjure (480–95)
 you, daimons of the dead, [by] the dead and by the daimon of [Balsames], and
 the / dog-faced god,¹¹⁷ and the gods with him.” 160 [26]

117. The dog-faced god is Anubis.

Write these things . . . with the salt first . . . which is on it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 147, 163–64), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45, col. I, ll. 13–14, 29–30; and E. N. O’Neil (ll. 148–62), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 480–95.

PGM XIII. 1–343

- *GOD/GODS.¹ A sacred book called “Unique”² or “Eighth Book of Moses,”
 5 concerning the holy Name. Its content goes as follows: Remain / pure 41 days, hav-
 ing calculated in advance so that your completion of them will coincide with the
 dark of the moon which occurs in Aries.³ Have a house on ground level, in which
 no one has died during the past year. The door should face west. Now set up in the
 middle of the house an earthen altar and have ready cypress wood, ten pinecones
 10 full of seed,⁴ two white roosters / uninjured and without blemish, and two lamps
 each holding an eighth of a pint, filled with good oil. And don’t pour in any more,
 for when the god comes in they will burn more fiercely. Have the table prepared
 with these following kinds of incense, which are cognate to the god (from this /
 15 book Hermes plagiarized when he named the 7 kinds of incense⁵ [in] his sacred
 book called *Wing*).⁶

- The proper incense of Kronos is styrax, for it is heavy and fragrant; of Zeus, mal-
 abathron;⁷ of Ares, kostos; of Helios, frankincense; of Aphrodite, Indian nard; of
 20 Hermes, cassia; / of Selene, myrrh. These are the secret incenses (the direction in
 the *Key of Moses*,⁸ “Prepare sun vetch on every occasion,” refers with these [words]

1. *ἰεοὶ* (“gods”) commonly stands at the beginning of sacral inscriptions from Athens and sites in the Athenian sphere of influence; elsewhere it is rare (see the uses in F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969). The use here indicates literary and philosophical pretensions. “GOD” is put above “GODS” both to suggest that the magician has access to a higher power, and to conform to the fashion which, by the time this text was copied (under Constantine’s successors), favored monotheism.

2. “Unique” translates the Greek *μόνος*, “by oneself, solitary”; in philosophy, primarily Pythagorean, then Platonic, “monad.” Hence also in *C.H.* 4. 10, on which see Festugière’s n. 28. Philosophic use for the primal deity made the word vague and prestigious, which accounts for its appearance here. The attribution to Moses was due partly to the texts’ content (see below, n. 16), partly to Moses’ fame as a magician. Pliny, *NH* 30. 11, credited him with starting his own school of magic. Both Jews and gentiles helped the tradition grow by repeating stories about him and circulating magical texts under his name. See J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1972), chap. 4, pp. 134–61. The compiler of *PGM* XIII was both a composer and a collector of “Mosaic” texts. He had himself written one called “The Key of Moses” (l. 229), which he often recommends; he had a variorum edition of VIII Moses, giving three texts, and in his additions to it he cites “The Archangelic (Teaching?) of Moses,” Moses’ “secret moon prayer,” and “The Tenth Hidden (Book?) of Moses.” The choice of “eighth” as the number of the book is surprising, since we hear nothing of the sixth and seventh; it may be due to the increasing prestige of the ogdoad (see below, nn. 29 and 112). The choice of “Tenth” for the next numbered book (nothing is heard of a ninth) is also explicable from numerology, ten being the Pythagorean perfect number.

3. The Greek *σύννοδος* here is ambiguous. It was also used loosely to refer to the new moon, and was so understood by Preisendanz, but see l. 349.

4. So Preisendanz, translating *δέξιος*; alternatively, “with spirals (formed by the edges of the scales) running to the right.”

5. The promised list of incenses “cognate to the (one) god” can hardly be the following list of incenses proper for seven different gods. The author probably inserted a standard list taken from the book of “Hermes” whom he therefore accused of plagiarism.

6. To this “Hermetic” book there is no other reference. Evidently it was the work of a rival author. This comment by the compiler clearly interrupts the earlier text. That “Hermes” is attacked makes the restoration of “Hermetic spell” (in l. 138) dubious.

7. Leaves of *Cinnamomum tamala* or *albiflorum*. “Kostos,” which follows, is *Sassurea lappa*.

8. The two following statements by the compiler again interrupt the text. The *Key of Moses* was his own book (l. 229), evidently a sort of magician’s handbook with astrological information, etc. There is

to the Egyptian bean). Moreover, Manetho gave these directions in his own book.

Then take the 7 flowers of the 7 stars (which are marjoram, white lily, lotus, erythyllinon,⁹ / narcissus, gillyflower, rose); take these flowers twenty-one days before the initiation, and grind them fine in a white mortar¹⁰ and dry them in the shade and have them ready for that day. 25

First, however, present yourself, on / whatever auspicious new moon occurs,¹¹ to the gods of the hours of the day, whose names you have in the *Key*. You will be made their initiate¹² as follows: Make 3 figures from fine flour, one bull-faced, one goat-faced, one ram-faced, each of them standing on the celestial pole and holding an Egyptian flail.¹³ And when you have / censured them, eat them, saying the spell for the gods of the hours (which is in the *Key*) and the compulsive formula for them and the names of the gods set over the weeks. Then you will have been made their initiate. 30 35

Next, for the all-important meeting, have a square of natron¹⁴ on which you will write the great name with the seven vowels. Instead / of the popping noise and the hissing [sound in the name] draw on the first part of the natron a falcon-faced crocodile¹⁵ and the nine-formed god standing on him, for this falcon-faced crocodile at the 4 turning points [of the year] greets the god with the popping noise. For, coming up to breathe from the deep, he goes “Pop, pop, pop,” / and he of the 9 forms replies to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the popping noise, draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the popping noise is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing. Instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting its / tail. So the two elements, popping and hissing, are represented by a falcon-faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels. 40 45 50

Now [the great name] is [composed of] 9 names, before which you say [those of] the gods of the hours, with [the prayer on] the stele, and [those of] the gods of the days and of those / set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these; for without these the god will not listen but will refuse to receive you as uninitiated, unless you emphatically say in advance the [names of] the lord of the day and of the hour, which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]; for without these / you will not accomplish even one of the things you find in the *Key*: . . . 55 60

no good reason to think it had anything to do with *C.H.* 10, which was also called *Key* but dealt with totally different subjects. Manetho was an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt for Ptolemy II, ca. 275 B.C. The success of this work made him famous; hence many other texts, especially of astrology, but also of magic, were fathered onto him. Which this writer had in mind, is unknown. Cf. *PGM* III. 440 and n. The content of the *Key* is described in eight passages in *PGM* XIII, viz. ll. 21–22, 30–31, 35–36, 59–60, 228–29, 282–83, 431–32, and 735–43. From these it appears that the *Key* contained directions for performance of rites, names of the gods of the days, hours, etc., spells to control these, and the great name of 6 letters, *Ogdoads*. Some of the directions were allegorical or allegorized (see ll. 21–22 and 228–29).

9. Unknown.

10. Alternatively, “into white incense.”

11. Literally, “a new moon favored by a god,” meaning one which the god, by giving good auspices, declares favorable for your purposes.

12. Literally, “initiated.”

13. Alternatively, “Egyptian flails.”

14. Sodium carbonate, a soapy substance. This was not a gourmet rite.

15. The falcon-faced crocodile appears on many Egyptian inscriptions. He was a fusion of the crocodile god Sobek and the hawk god Horus. The “nine-formed” was the “Ennead,” an Egyptian complex of nine gods who in the late period were thought to be the members of the body of a single god. See H. Bonnet, *RAAG*, 521–25, s.v. “Neunheit.” The “four turning points of the year” are the equinoxes and solstices. That crocodiles pop off at these periods is an example of the unnatural history surprisingly common in ancient authors from Aristotle on.

Now the [text of the] sacred stele to be written in the natron is:

65 “I¹⁶ call on you, who are greater than all, the creator of all, you, the self-begotten,
 Selene [the privilege] to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing
 from the earlier-born darkness, but apportioned things so that they should be
 70 equal. For when you appeared, both order¹⁷ arose and light appeared.¹⁸ All things
 are subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can / see; who change into all
 forms. You are invisible, Aion of Aion.

“I call on you, lord, to appear to me in a good form, for under your order I serve
 your angel, BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, and your fear,
 75 DANOUPI CHRATOR BELBALI BALBITH IAŌ. / Through you arose the celestial pole
 and the earth.

“I call on you, lord, as do the gods who appeared under your [order?] that they
 may have power; ECHEBYKRŌM of Helios, whose is the glory,¹⁹ AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III
 80 AAA ŌŌŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ / ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATHY ADŌNAIE.

“I call on you, lord, in ‘birdglyphic’²⁰: ARAI; in hieroglyphic: LAILAM; in He-
 braic:²¹ ANOCH BIATHIARBATH BERBIR ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTROM; in
 85 Egyptian: ALDABAEIM; in ‘baboonic’: ABRASAX; / in ‘falconic’:²² CHI CHI CHI CHI
 CHI CHI CHI TIPH TIPH TIPH; in hieratic: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH CHA CHA CHA CHA
 CHA CHA CHA.” Then clap 3 times, go “pop, pop, pop” for a long time; hiss at
 some length.

90 “Come [to me], lord, faultless and unflawed, who pollute / no place, for I have
 been initiated into your name.”

Have a tablet in which you will write what he says to you and a two-edged knife,
 all of iron, so that, clean from all [impurities],²³ you may kill the sacrifices, and a
 95 libation (a jug of wine and a flask full of honey /) that you may pour. Have all these
 ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Pre-
 pare the canopy²⁴ thus: Taking a clean sheet, write on the border [the names of] the

16. This invocation and that following (138–53) are essentially identical, both being variations of an old Egyptian hymn in which the rising sun is greeted by the sacred animals, each kind making its appropriate noises. In both invocations (and their close parallels in the B version—443–61, 570–99; in C only the first lines are cited) the sun god has been made the creator and sustainer of the world, and the songs of the animals are preceded by and partly fused with the songs of the angels, many of whom are Jewish. In both, the same angels and the same languages appear in the same orders. The roles given the god and the angels, and the personnel, help explain the attribution to Moses, the more so because these two invocations are the most important elements in the text—the active agents which make the deity appear (this is particularly clear in B, which, since it put the first invocation after the rite as an appendix, ll. 570–99, followed it by a second epiphany, 608–717).

17. Here “order” translates the Greek *κόσμος*, which means also “the cosmos.”

18. I.e., light and darkness?

19. Or “the doxology” without following comma, the doxology being the following formula. Here the choice is difficult because “glory” fits Helios, but “doxology” gives the magical words a function in the text, as those in the preceding paragraph functioned as names of the angel and the fear. *Δόξα* meaning “spoken/sung praise” is found already in LXX; see G. Kittel and G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2 (1964): 233–55.

20. Greek *ὀρνεογλυφιστί*, formed by analogy from *ιερογλυφιστί*, which follows.

21. In spite of the claim that this is Hebrew, the first word is a transliteration of the Egyptian word for “I (am),” *anoch*. A similar Hebrew word, *ʾanoki*, has the same meaning. The author seems to have known Hebrew and Egyptian badly enough to mix them up. See Glossary, s.v.

22. *Chi chi* is the cry appropriate for the morning sun; *tiph tiph*, for the evening sun. [J.B.]

23. This supposes a purity code in which iron neither received nor transmitted pollution.

24. That is, under which you will receive the god. Perhaps from some mystery rite. (Originally the bridal tent?) Here an unexplained residuum.

365 gods,²⁵ and make it a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have a 100
cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have
also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, with tripod stand-
ing beside him and / Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name, in 105
Egyptian form; on his chest: BAINCHÖÖCHÖÖCHNIAB, written [the same]
forwards and backwards; and on the back of the figure this name: ILILLOU IL-
ILLOU / ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod; ITHOR MAR- 110
MARAUGĒ PHÖCHÖ PHÖBÖCH. Have this too around your neck when you perform
the initiation; it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through 115
the last] / seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon²⁶ begin
sleeping on the ground on a pallet of rushes. Rising at dawn, greet Helios through
seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] gods of the hours, then those set
over the weeks. Also [each day], / learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after 120
him, saying, “Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacri-
fices”—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, when you come to this day, in the middle of the night at about eleven 125
o’clock / when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters
and the two lamps, lighted (the lamps should hold an eighth of a pint each, and you
must not put more oil into them). Begin to recite the stele and the mystery of the
god, which is [called?] “Scarab.” Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk
of a black cow / and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end.²⁷ 130
Then, having written [the text of] the stele on the two faces of the natron plaque,
lick off the one side and, pouring [wine?] on the other, wash it off into the mixing
bowl. The natron should be written on [with ink made] both from the incense ma-
terials and from the flowers.

Then, before you drink off the milk and wine, say over it / this petition;²⁸ and 135
having said it, lie down on the mat, holding both the tablet and the stylus, and
say—*Hermetic* (?) [*spell*]:²⁹

“I call on you who surround all things, I call in every language and in every dia- 140
lect, as he first / hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all
authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRÖM³⁰ (which signifies the flame and radiance of the
disk)³¹ whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ÖÖÖ, because he was glorified by you—[you]³²

25. The gods of the days of the year.

26. Greek *σύννοδον*, the twenty-four-hour day in which the moon will come into line with the earth and the sun.

27. I.e., essential, all important, cf. Rv 21 : 6; 22 : 13. [M.S.] Seawater was prohibited because the sea was a symbol of Seth, the enemy of Osiris and of fertility. [R.K.R.]

28. The identity of “this petition” is not clear. The prayer on the stele has already been recited (l. 127), the main invocation is to follow; perhaps something has fallen out. A similar problem is posed by C, 684–95. B prescribes a prayer to the gods of the hours.

29. The Greek here is corrupt and the restoration uncertain. See above, n. 6. In B 443ff. this spell has no such designation. The following “You who surround all things” found in all three versions refers to the outermost celestial sphere conceived as a god, i.e., the Ogdoad. See below, n. 112.

30. *Ache* in Egyptian means “brightness.” Cf. l. 34 above. [J.B.]

31. An obvious gloss. This hymn is full of such. They have been set off by parentheses and henceforth will not usually be pointed out. Many seem to be early, since they appear in both A and B.

32. As the text stands, Helios set the stars in their places and created the world in which, thereafter, “you”—the highest god—set all things in order. This is not totally impossible, but not at all likely. Most likely the writer attributed creation to the highest god (whom he was invoking) and did so either by anacoluthon or by a *σὺ* (“you,” reduced to *σ*) before *ἀέρας* (“winds”), which fell out with the word it preceded.

who set [in their places the winds]³³ and then, likewise, the stars of glittering forms, and who, in divine light / create the cosmos, III AAA ŌŌŌ, in which you have set in order all things. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ (these are the angels who first appeared)³⁴ ARATH ADŌNAIE BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries in ‘bird-glyphic’ ARAI—which is [“Woe to my enemy”—and you have set him] in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own³⁵ name, ANOK³⁶ BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM / (36 letters);³⁷ he says, ‘I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?)’,³⁸ thanks to you.’ Your magical³⁹ name in Egyptian is ALDABIAEIM” (9 letters, see below). Now he who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying ‘You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.’⁴⁰ The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out to receive food: CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP. He of the nine forms greets you in / hieratic, saying: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH. (He means, ‘I go before you, lord’). . . .”⁴¹

So saying, he clapped 3 times, and the god⁴² laughed 7 times⁴³: “CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA.” When the god laughed, 7 gods were born⁴⁴ (who encompass the cosmos—see above—for these are those who appeared before [the world was formed])).

33. The text is corrupt; I follow Preisendanz’s conjecture, ad loc.

34. This gloss interrupts a list of the first seven angels, probably thought to be the first creatures within the cosmos, certainly the foremost subjects of the cosmocrator, Helios. We should next have a list of their utterances, but it is broken off after the first and replaced by those of the Egyptian gods who accompany the sun god’s boat at sunrise, and among whom Helios (here the sun disk) is a minor deity by relation to the god on the boat.

35. Reading *αὐτοῦ* for Preisendanz’s *αὐτοῦ*.

36. See above, n. 21.

37. Numerical glosses of this sort, of which there are many, reflect a special interest of the compiler; see ll. 737–57, his postscript after VIII Moses. Besides their convenience for numerological speculation, they helped copyists check their transcriptions of magical names. Not that copyists always took advantage of the convenience. Here Preisendanz proposes to get the number of letters down to thirty-six by omitting the final *r* of BERBIR. More interesting is the fact that the compiler evidently did not count ANOK as part of the name, but gave it its Egyptian meaning, “I (am).”

38. “The disk” is an uncertain expansion of an abbreviation otherwise unknown.

39. *φυσικόν*, meaning “with power to produce physical effects.”

40. The sum of the numerical values of the Greek letters *a b r a s a x* is 365. See Glossary, s.v. “Abraxas.”

41. Here the sudden change in content and style indicates that something has fallen out of the text. What follows is a fragment from some theogonic and cosmogonic myth, an insertion which runs to l. 206, where the invocation, here interrupted, is resumed. The insertion was found in all three versions (C refers to it as “the account of the making of the world,” but does not quote it, l. 697).

42. “The god” seems to be someone other than the preceding “he”—we have come into the middle of some mythological scene.

43. Seven is common in cosmological contexts. Besides, Gn 1, Prof. Bergman reports that it appears, for instance, in the temple of Esna, where, as here, seven utterances of one god become other gods. See S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d’Esna* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1962) 268–69. 2 Enoch 25–30 combined an Egyptian sequence of seven utterances that produce gods, with the Hebrew sequence of seven commands that produce cosmic changes, and thus produced a muddle.

44. What were born, according to the following text, were not seven but eight *pairs* of gods, not angels, who do not encompass the cosmos but are involved in it as psychological and physical elements (see n. 45). Therefore the words here set in parentheses look like two glosses, especially because the wording of the second phrase echoes that of the clear gloss in l. 165 (see n. 45). However, the structure of seven laughs—seven emanations seem basic to this cosmology. That the last pair of gods does not come from a laugh but from a comment and an echo, makes it suspect; the list of eight looks like an

When he laughed first, / Phōs-Augē (Light-Radiance)⁴⁵ appeared and irradiated everything and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESSYN BERITHEN BERIO. 165

Then he laughed a second time. All was water. Earth, hearing the sound, cried out and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. A god appeared; he was given charge of the abyss [of primal waters], for without / him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is ESCHAKLEŌ (for⁴⁶ you are ŌĒAI, you are ŌN BETHELLE). 170

When he wanted to laugh the third time, Nous or Phrenes⁴⁷ [Mind or Wits] appeared holding a heart,⁴⁸ because of the sharpness of the god. He was called Hermes; he was called SEMESILAM. /

The god laughed the fourth time, and Genna [Generative Power] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation]. [This pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZ. 175

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] appeared, holding scales indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes⁴⁹ contested / with her saying, “Justice is my province” (see above). While they were fighting the god said, “What seems to be just will depend on both, but all things in the world will be subject to you, [Moira].” And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world—[Moira] of whom the name written first forward, then backwards, is great and holy and glorious, and it is this: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌR-RANGADŌ Ī ŌDANGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH⁵⁰ / (49 letters). 180 185

He laughed the sixth time and was much gladdened, and Kairos [Time] appeared holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it, said, “You, wrapping yourself in the glory of

adaptation to the Ogdoad (see below, l. 743 and n. 112)—perhaps misunderstood as eight, rather than four, pairs. The fact that this text was augmented by an appendix glorifying the Ogdoad (ll. 743–61), to make up for its absence from the original form, increases our suspicion. Hence the statement that seven gods were born is probably original. The fundamental problem presented by the text cannot be further investigated within the limits of these notes.

45. Thus the papyrus in both passages—here (with *αὐτῇ* for *αὐγῇ*) and l. 476. This is generation in syzygies, as in many ancient Egyptian and gnostic systems (see below, n. 111). Here the original structure may have been Phōs-Augē, Earth-Water, Nous-Phrenes, Genna-Spora, Moira-Hermes, Kairos-Basilissa (i.e., Sun-Moon), Psyche-Serpent, Phobos-Iaō. In the document used by the sources of PGM XIII this structure had been forgotten. Phōs and Augē had been identified, so had Nous and Phrenes. Nous had also been identified with Hermes. Spora had been reduced to a process controlled by Genna. In at least one version. Basilissa had been omitted. However, the original form is indicated by the needless occurrence of a *pair* of names at each level, and the frequent pairing of magical names: BERITHEN-BERIO, ESCHAKLEŌ-BETHELLE, HERMES-SEMESILAM, BADĒTOPHŌTH-ZŌTHAXATHŌZ. Another piece of evidence is the recurrence, in the Moira-Hermes and Phobos-Iaō pairs, of the story of original hostility/rivalry followed by fusion of function and name. Another element true to form is that, in the Phōs-Augē syzygy, Augē, being feminine and derivative from Phōs, is that aspect of the pair which is involved in lower being. It is she who appears to the earth (480), and she is probably the *δόξα* (glory) of Phōs in which sun and moon are clothed (189, 514–20, read *αὐγῇ* for *αὐραν*). So Christ is the *ἀπαύγασμα* (radiance) of the Father's glory (Heb 1:3).

46. “For you are” introduces another gloss.

47. “Or Phrenes” is taken as a gloss by Preisendanz but may have come from the phrase “and Phrenes” and from an original syzygy (see above, n. 45). In privately written texts *καί* (“and”) was often abbreviated to *K'*, easily confused with *H* (“or”).

48. From the Greek side, the heart was the seat of the intelligence in classical times; *φρένες*, “wits,” literally “midribs,” had earlier been thought the seat of the intelligence, and the word continued in literary use with that sense. For the Egyptian side, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 296–97, s.v. “Herz.”

49. Among the things of which Hermes was patron was public speaking, especially argument in the law courts. (The text here is extremely corrupt. I follow Preisendanz's conjecture.)

50. Double *g* in Greek is pronounced *ng*, so in the English transliteration of this palindrome the letters *n* and *g* change places, but in Greek there is no change.

190 Phōs [Light] / will be with me. . . .⁵¹ ANOCH BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SILATOUR
BOUPHROUMTRŌM” (36 letters).

When the god laughed a seventh time Psyche [Soul] came into being, and he wept while laughing. On seeing Psyche, he hissed, and the earth heaved and gave birth to the Pythian serpent who foreknew all things, so the god called him IL-
195 ILLOU / ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH.
Seeing the serpent, the god was frightened and said, “Pop, pop, pop.” When the god said, “Pop, pop, pop,” an armed man appeared who is called DANŌUP
CHRATOR BERBALI BARBITH. Seeing him the god was again terrified, as seeing
200 someone stronger [than himself, fearing] / lest the earth had thrown up a god.
Looking down at the earth he said, “IAŌ.” From the echo a god was born who is lord of all. The preceding man contended with him, saying, “I am stronger than this fellow.” The [first] god said to the strong man, “You come from the popping noise, and this [god] comes from an echo. Both of you will have charge of every need.”
205 [The pair] was then called DANŌUP / CHRATOR BERBALI BALBITH IAŌ.⁵²

“Lord, I imitate [you by saying] the 7 vowels;⁵³ enter and hear me, A EE ĒĒ IIII
OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PROARBATHŌ IAŌ
OYAEĒIOYŌ.”

210 / When the god comes in, look down and write the things he says and the Name which he gives you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he tells you accurately, too, the things that concern you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning [counting from the top down], and then coming to / *The Seven-Zoned*⁵⁴
215 count [the same number] from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

	<u>The Greek</u>	<u>The Seven-Zoned</u>
	Helios	Kronos
	Selene	Zeus
220	Ares	Ares
	Hermes	Helios
	Zeus	Aphrodite
	Aphrodite	Hermes
	Kronos	Selene

225 / Of these things, child, I have declared to you the easy and godly solution which not even kings were able to grasp.

You are to write on the natron with the ink from the flowers of the 7 [stars] and kinds of incense. Similarly, you are to make “the bean,”⁵⁵ which I described allegorically in my *Key*, from the flowers and the kinds of incense.

51. For the Kairos-Phōs relation, see ll. 509–19 and nn. Here the text has omitted “the Queen” (the moon) who is the consort of Kairos in this syzygy. The following *Anoch* is again “I (am)” in Coptic.

52. Here the cosmogonic insertion is broken off and the invocation it interrupted (above, l. 161) is resumed.

53. The supplement comes from the parallel, version C, l. 701. God’s creative power issues in perpetual harmony of which the seven vowels are the expression—“the music of the spheres.”

54. *The Seven-Zoned* was thought by Festugière, *La Révélation* I 343, n. 3, to be a planetary sphere, but Festugière’s opinion was based on other evidence; this author seems to have thought the thing a table or treatise; see below, ll. 722–30.

55. “The bean” was a bean-shaped ball of incense.

The initiation called *The Monad* has been fully declared to you, child. / Now I subjoin for you, child, also the practical uses of this sacred book, the things which all the experts accomplished with this sacred and blessed book. As I made you swear, child, in the temple of Jerusalem,⁵⁶ when you have been filled with the divine wisdom, dispose of the book so that it will not be found. 230

The first, then, [of these uses] is the marvelous / *[spell for] invisibility*: Taking the egg of a falcon, gild half of it and smear the other half with cinnabar. Wearing this you will be invisible when you say the Name.⁵⁷ 235

To fetch a lover: Say the Name 3 times to the sun. It fetches woman to man and man to woman in a way that will amaze you.

If you want someone to be unattractive / —either a woman to a man or a man to a woman: Take a dog's excrement and put it in the post-hole of their door, saying the Name 3 times and saying "I sever NN from NN." 240

If you say the Name to a demoniac while putting sulfur and asphalt to his nose, the daimon will speak at once and will go away.⁵⁸

If you say it over a man who has erysipelas,⁵⁹ / having rubbed him with crocodile dung, he will be rid [of it] at once. 245

If you say the Name over a sprain or fracture 3 times, having rubbed it down with earth and vinegar, you will make it go away.

If you say it over any bird, into its ear, it will die.

If you see an asp and want to fix it in its place, say / "Stay!" while turning yourself around. When the names⁶⁰ are said it will stay. 250

To restrain anger: Enter the presence of a king or magnate, and while you have your hands inside your garment say the name of the sun disk⁶¹ while tying a knot in your pallium or shawl.⁶² You will marvel at the results.

If [you want] to break spells:⁶³ Having written the Name on a page of hieratic papyrus, wear it.

To make Helios appear:⁶⁴ Say toward the east, "I am he / on the two cherubim, between the two natures, heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, O archangel of those subject to the cosmos, ruler Helios, set in authority by the One and Only Himself. The Eternal and Only orders you." Say the Name. And if he appears glowering / say "Give⁶⁵ me 255 260

56. Pretentious hokum.

57. Presumably the Name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual, I. 211.

58. Or, perhaps, "(the man) will speak and (the demon) will go away." For the technique, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8. 47.

59. Or, perhaps, "[the ἐρυσσιπέλας] will go away." Cf. Mk 4:31; diseases were evil beings.

60. The plural here indicates that this list of applications drew on sources not originally connected with the preceding rite to learn the (one) Name. This probably explains the absence of the list from the other versions. "Say the Name" in many of these spells looks like an addition.

61. This, again, did not originally belong to the preceding rite. The god invoked there was not the sun god, but the creator and ruler of the sun; see 138–61. A number of similarly incompatible spells will be noticed in what follows.

62. The pallium was a cloak affected by persons claiming to be philosophers. The rare word translated "shawl" means "crosswise garment." If this magician were a Jew, it may have been the *talith*.

63. Or "as an antidote for poisons" or, most likely, both.

64. A spell of unmistakably Jewish background in which, however, the magician identifies himself with Yahweh ("he that sitteth upon the cherubim," 1 Sm 4:4; 2 Sm 6:2; etc.) and identifies Helios as an archangel. Compare the use of a Greek prayer, transliterated into Hebrew, for the same purpose, in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 12, 99. The prayer in our text is clearly an interpolation in the list of short (two- or three-line) prescriptions which it interrupts.

65. In these requests it is not clear whether "give" means "specify" (a time suitable for some magical operation) or "add" (to the time of my life).

a day; give an hour; give a month; give a year, lord of life.” Say the Name.

If you want to kill a snake: Say, “Stay, for you are Aphyphis.” And taking a green palm branch and holding its heart,⁶⁶ split it [longways] into two, saying the Name
265 over it 7 times. At once the snake will be split / or will break open.

Prescience: This comes in the rite described above, that with the natron. And [you know] that the god will talk with you as with a fellow god, for I have often performed the rite when you were present.

Invisibility: Also thus: “Come to me, Darkness which appeared in the beginning, and hide me, NN, by the order of him who is self-begotten in heaven.” Say the Name.

270 / *Another way:* “I call on you alone, the only one in the cosmos who gives orders to gods and men, who changes himself into holy forms and brings existence out of the nonexistent and nonexistence from existent things, holy Thayth,⁶⁷ the true sight of whose face none of the gods can endure to see; make me seem to be, to the eyes
275 of all creatures—a wolf, dog, lion, / fire, tree, vulture, wall, water, or whatever you want—for you are able.” Say the Name.

Resurrection of a dead body: “I conjure you, spirit coming in air, enter, inspire,
280 empower, resurrect by the power / of the eternal god, this body; and let it walk about in this place, for I am he who acts with the power of Thayth, the holy god.” Say the Name.

If you want to cross [the Nile] on a crocodile: Sit down and say, “Hear me, you who live your life in the water. I am one who is at leisure in heaven and goes about
285 in water and in fire and in air / and earth. Return the favor done you on the day when I created you and you made your request to me. You will take me [to] the other side, for I am so-and-so.” Say the Name.

For release from bonds: [[Say, “Hear me, O Christ, in torments; help, in necessities, / O merciful in violent hours, able to do much in the world, who created
290 compulsion and punishment and torture.” Say it 12 times by day,⁶⁸ hissing thrice eight times.]] Say the whole name of Helios beginning from ACHEBYKRÖM.⁶⁹

295 “Let every bond be loosed, every force fail, let all iron be broken, every rope or every strap, let every / knot, every chain be opened, and let no one compel me, for I am”—say the Name.

To quench fire: “Hear, fire, a work of the works of god’s invention, glory of the honored luminary, be quenched, become snow, for the speaker himself is Aion who
300 puts on fire as if it were / asbestos. Let every flame be scattered from me, every physical power, by command of Him who exists forever. You shall not touch me, fire; you shall not harm my flesh, for I am”—say the Name.

66. The center of the triangular end of the branch.

67. Thoth, here and below, l. 283.

68. Not “twelve days” (Preisendanz). All these charms are for quick results, and in this case they were particularly wanted. The words in double brackets are a Christian interpolation as can be seen by the fact that it creates a doublet—a double recipe for a single purpose—and also by comparing form and content of this spell with those of the others in this series, which consistently contain just the elements left in this when the bracketed words are deleted. The interpolation is interesting as evidence that these pagan magical texts continued to be used by the newly Christian criminal class. It also makes conspicuous the absence of Christian elements from the rest of the text. Since the text with the Christian interpolation dates from the first half of the fourth century A.D., the pagan text that was interpolated was probably third century at the latest.

69. This refers to the full name given in ll. 590–92, ACHEBYKRÖN . . . IAÖ. See also ll. 78–79, and cf. ll. 141–47 and 446–53, where the elements of the name are separated by exegetic comments. The magician was to know this name by heart.

For fire to continue: “I conjure you, fire, daimon of holy love, the invisible and manifold, / the one and everywhere, to remain in this lamp at this time, shining and not dying out, by the command of NN.” Say the Name. 305

To send dreams: Make a hippopotamus⁷⁰ of red wax, / hollow, and put into the belly of this hippopotamus both gold and silver and the so-called ballatha⁷¹ of the Jews and array him in white linen and put him in a pure window and, taking a sheet of hieratic papyrus write on it with myrrh ink and baboon’s blood / whatever you wish to send. Then, having rolled it into a wick and using it to light a new, pure lamp, put on the lamp the foot of the hippopotamus and say the Name, and he sends [the specified dream]. 310 315

A philter to be drunk: Take the lion-wasps (?) in a spider’s web / and, when you have ground them [to a powder, sprinkle the powder] on a drink and give it [to the appropriate person] to drink.⁷² 320

If you want your wife⁷³ not to be had by another man: Taking earth and mixing with it ink and myrrh, mold a crocodile, and put it into a lead coffin and write on this the great Name and that of your wife and, “Let NN not cohabit with any other man except me, NN.” The name / to be written on the feet of the image is: BIBIOU OUËR APSABARA KASONNAKA NESEBACH SPHĒ SPHĒ CHPHOURIS. 325

To open doors by use of the Name: “Open, open, 4 quarters of the cosmos, for the lord of the inhabited world comes forth. Archangels, decans, angels rejoice. For Aion of Aion himself, the only and / transcendant, invisible, goes through this place. Open, door! Hear, bar! Fall into two parts, lock! By the name AIA AINRY-CHATH, cast up, Earth, for the lord, all things you contain, for he is the storm-sender and controller of the abyss, master of fire. Open, for ACHEBYKRÔM commands you!” [Say ACHEBYKRÔM] 8 times; [it is] the name of Helios. 330

Another way. The spell for Helios: “I am he on the two cherubim, at the middle of the cosmos, between heaven and earth, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, archangel of god, set in authority by the One and Only Himself.” With this spell perform the acts of thanksgiving to Helios, rites to fetch lovers, send dreams, / ask for dreams, make Helios appear, attain goals, win victories, and in short, everything. 335 340

You have now received, child, the sacred and blessed book, *Unique*, which no one [hitherto] was able to translate⁷⁴ or put into practice. Keep well, child.⁷⁵

*Tr.: Morton Smith. For a more extensive discussion of the composition, see Morton Smith, “The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew (PLcid. J 395),” in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo studio di papiri ercolanesi, 1984) 683–93. PGM XIII (copied about A.D. 350) consists of two parts, first *The Eighth Book of Moses* (henceforth *VIII Moses*), ll. 1–733; second, a collection of miscellaneous spells, divine names, etc., ll. 734–1077.

VIII Moses consists of three parts—three different versions of a rite to get a visit from the supreme god; let us call them A (ll. 1–343), B (ll. 343–645) and C (ll. 646–734). These versions differ considerably by peripheral additions and omissions, but their essential parts are often closely parallel, though not always arranged in the same order. Because of the parallelism, questions raised by two or three have been dealt with only when they first appeared.

70. The word for “hippopotamus” here is uncertain, but written in Greek letters. See also M. J. Raven, “Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism,” *OMRM* 64 (1983): 7–47, esp. 17–18.

71. Unknown.

72. The expected result is not indicated. Perhaps death, but perhaps love—the wasps had been ensnared and held fast.

73. Reading γυναικά σου instead of Preisendanz’s γυναικας οὐ.

74. More hokum.

75. A standard epistolary cliché. The use of epistolary beginnings and ending for treatises was a common ancient practice.

Hence readers of B and C who encounter difficulties should look for explanations in the notes on the parallel passages in A. Not all parallels are equally close, but those fairly clear are as follows:

Lines:

343–50 = 3–6	410–32 = 42–61	567–608 = 61–90
352–56 = 17–27	432–34 = 227–28	580–81 = 273–74
358 = 100–102	435–40 = 130–35	646–66 = 91–110
361–63 = 128–31	443–550 = 138–209	666–99 = 110–39
378–82 = 54–59	451ff. = 78ff.	692 = 227–28
384–88 = 35–43	562–70 = 138–209	700–701 = 206
		704–13 = 210–13
		718–30 = 213–24.

PGM XIII. 343–646

345 *The sacred, hidden book of Moses called “eighth” or “holy.”⁷⁶ / This is the ritual using the name that encompasses all things. It also has directions for a meeting with the god in which you will succeed if you leave out nothing [of what is prescribed].

Keep yourself pure 41 days, having calculated the day and the hour in which the last appearance of / the old moon will occur in Aries. And when the moon enters Aries sleep on the floor during the previous night, and when you have sacrificed burn also the seven approved kinds of incense⁷⁷ in which the god delights, for the seven censings of the seven stars. The incenses are these: malabathron, styrax, nard, kostos, cassia, frankincense, myrrh. [Take these] and the seven flowers of the seven / stars, which are rose, lotus, narcissus, white lily, erephyllinon, gillyflower, marjoram. Having ground them all to a powder, with wine not mixed with seawater, burn all as incense. And [also] wear cinnamon, for the god has given it magical power. Burn the incenses after the twenty-first day, so as to complete [the preparation?]. As / food take milk of a black cow and wine without seawater and Greek natron ([the author] indicates that is beginning and end).

When the day is at hand, put aside for the sacrifice cypress wood or balsam wood—so that even / without the incenses the sacrifice may give a pleasant odor—and five pinecones full of seed. And light two lamps, each holding about half a pint of oil, on this and that side of the altar. The altar, moreover, is to be made of earth. When you have prepared and filled the lamps, do not later pour any more oil into them. Sacrifice an unblemished⁷⁸ white rooster, / and leave another alive, and similarly [sacrifice one] pigeon [and leave another] so that the god, when he comes in, may take the spirit from whichever he prefers. Also lay out a knife, and lay beside it the seven incenses and the seven flowers prepared [as] written [above] so that if, on coming in, the god should wish to sacrifice again / he may find all in readiness. And leave the sacrifice lying on the altar.

The tasting of the victims is done [in] this way: When you are ready to taste them, sacrifice the rooster, so that [the god] may receive lots of spirit, and at the point of tasting, call on the god of the hour and him of the day, so that you may have sponsorship from them. For if you do not invoke them, / they will not hear you, as being uninitiated. Now you will find [the names of] the gods of the hours and those of the days, and the compulsive formula for each of them in the *Key of Moses*, for he set them out one by one.⁷⁹

76. The beginning of the second version; see the prefatory note above.

77. Translation dubious. Ἐπίθυμα, usually “incense,” might mean “censing,” which here seems required by the syntax.

78. Or one “without any fleck of color.”

79. Or “brought them out [of secrecy]”? The verb means “pulled away/apart”; this use is unparalleled.

As for the name [of the great god], write all of it on the Greek natron. Instead of / the “pop, pop, pop” sound [in the name] draw on the Greek natron a falcon-
 formed crocodile,⁸⁰ for he greets the god four times a year at the gods’ true entries
 of new periods⁸¹—at the cosmos’ first turning, called increase, then in his own ele-
 vation which they call “the birth / of Horus,” [[then at the rising of the Dog
 Star,]]⁸² then at the ascension of Sothis. At each increase of the sun and diminution
 he gives forth his popping noise. The nine-formed [the Ennead] gives him the
 power to make the noise at that time, so that the sun may ascend from the sound of
 water,⁸³ / for he himself appears together with him [the sun]. Therefore he [the
 falcon-faced crocodile] received the forms and the power of the nine gods that rise
 with the sun. For at the downward turning [the autumnal equinox] he sends out
 the sound weaker and less / powerful, [[for this is the birth of cosmos and sun]].⁸⁴
 Then at the “increase” when the lights [of the heavens] begin to rise, he too sends
 out the noise more powerfully. And at the rise of the Dog Star, turning to the west,
 he sends out the noise most powerfully,⁸⁵ inasmuch as he does not have the / related
 water near by, and because this solstice adds more [to his power], while the effects
 of the last equinox take away what he gained in the preceding solstice. For
 [the autumn equinox] is [the time of] the Nile flood’s⁸⁶ departure and the sun’s
 abasement.

Accordingly, draw the two, i.e., the falcon-faced crocodile / and the nine-formed
 god standing on him, both with myrrhed ink. For the falcon-faced crocodile at the
 four turnings [of the year] greets the god with his popping noise. For coming up to
 breathe from the deep he goes “pop, pop, pop,” / and he of the nine forms replies
 to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the “pop, pop, pop” [in the god’s name],
 draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the “pop, pop, pop” is the first element of the
 name. The second is a hissing, and instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting / its
 tail. Thus the two elements, popping and hissing, are⁸⁷ [represented by] a falcon-

80. I.e., falcon-faced/headed. See above, l. 4 and n. 15.

81. The reference is to the four solar seasons. The “gods” are the sun and the planets, thought to accompany him. That the beginnings of the seasons are called “new moons” shows how this latter term has been generalized. The “increase” is the sun’s return toward the north after the winter solstice. The falcon-faced crocodile was in part Horus (see above, n. 15); hence his elevation becomes “the birth of Horus,” probably the spring equinox. (Preisendanz’s reference to the winter solstice seems ruled out by the preceding “increase.”) “The birth of Horus” was also a festival celebrated on the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi (Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscr. Aegypt.* 609. 71–72; cf. 370. 14) and in the ideal year, which began with the rising of Sirius/Sothis in July, just after the summer solstice, the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi would have fallen near March 21, the spring equinox. Such a year actually occurred in Egypt in A.D. 139. Does this date the spell?

82. Omitting, “then (at) the rising of the Dog Star,” a marginal gloss which Preisendanz put in his text. The fourth occasion of greeting, the autumn equinox, is not here specified.

83. The deity is here identified with water, and specifically with the Nile flood. Thus he sends out the popping noise (the sound of water, l. 394) most powerfully at the rise of Sirius/Sothis which begins the inundation in Egypt. At this time the god is said not to have “his kindred water” near him (ll. 404–5), because he has just begun to summon it with his popping. [R.K.R.]

84. This seems an explanatory gloss irreconcilable with the preceding location of “the birth of Horus” (the sun) at the spring equinox. The festival would not have coincided with the autumnal equinox until the end of the sixth century A.D., much too late for this fourth-century papyrus. (Its last previous coincidence was about the end of the eighth century B.C.) Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 52, 372B, reports a festival at “the birthday of the staff of the sun, after the fall equinox, indicating its need . . . of strengthening.” This festival may explain the gloss.

85. Taking *δυναμικώτερον* as *litotes* for a superlative (as comparatives, in Greek, often are).

86. The Nile’s flood, beginning after the summer solstice, declines before the autumn equinox.

87. Omitting *καί* (“and”).

faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the god's name] is [composed of] nine names,⁸⁸ in advance of which you
 425 should say, with the [prayer on the] stele, [those of] the gods of the hours / and of
 the days [and] those set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these. For
 without these the god will not listen, but, thinking you uninitiated, will refuse to
 receive [you], unless you emphatically say to him the names of the lord of the
 430 day and of the hour, / which information you will find at the end [of this tractate].
 For without these you can accomplish nothing of the things you find written in
 the *Key*.

Then throw [the powder] of the seven flowers, which you have prepared, into the
 ink, and with this write on the natron. Write the same things on the two sides of the
 435 plaque and lick off / the one side and wash off the other into the wine and the milk,
 first—before you wash it off—having sacrificed the rooster and made everything
 440 read.⁸⁹ / Then call on the gods of the hours, as aforesaid, and then drink off [the
 wine and milk].⁹⁰

“I call on you, you who surround all things, in every language, and in every di-
 445 alect, I hymn you, / as he first hymned you who was by you appointed and en-
 trusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRŌM” (which signifies the flame and
 radiance of the disk) “whose is the glory AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ, because he was glorified by
 you” (or, as other [texts read], “was given a glorious form”)—“[you] who set [in
 450 their places] the stars / and who, in divine light, create the cosmos, in which you
 have set in order all things III AAA ŌŌŌ. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ.” (These
 are the angels who first appeared.) “ARAGA ARATH ADŌNAI BASĒMM IAŌ. The first
 455 angel cries to you in birdglyphic, / ‘ARAI’ (which is, ‘Woe to my enemy,’) and you
 have set him in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you thus in hieroglyphic,
 LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own name, ANAG⁹¹ BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHI-
 460 LATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, / saying, ‘I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat
 of the sun, the disk (?), thanks to you. Your magical name in Egyptian is AL-
 DABAEIM.” (This means the boat, on which he comes up, rising on the world.) “He
 465 who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets
 you in his own language, saying, ‘You are the number of [the days of] the year,
 ABRASAX.’ The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language
 and cries out, to receive food, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TI TI TI TI TI TI TI.
 470 He of the nine forms greets / you in hieratic, ‘MENEPHŌIPHŌTH,’” (meaning that
 “I go before you, lord”). . . .⁹²

88. The translation is conjectural, but conjecture seems required by the fact that none of the groups of names specified adds up to nine.

89. This contradicts the directions given above, ll. 369–75, and also requires more roosters than provided. Such internal incongruities prove version B composite. Most conspicuous is the doubling of the epiphany at the end.

90. Contrast l. 134, where the following petition precedes the drinking. For other discrepancies of detail between B and the other versions, cf. ll. 136, 440–41 (no reference to reclining), 695, and 702–3; and see above, nn. 16 and 28.

91. See above, n. 21, on l. 82. Here we have ANAG, a variant spelling of ANOCH, but equally Egyptian, not Hebrew. Several other variant spellings will occur below and be transcribed without further comment.

92. See above, l. 161. The same hiatus occurs here as in version A. Therefore both B and A were copied from a single source; but they differ considerably, therefore at least one was not copied directly from the source in which the hiatus first occurred. That source must therefore have been at least three literary generations prior to our fourth-century manuscript, and prior to it (by how many generations?) will have been the first copy of the correct text from a descendant of which (presumably) it was taken.

So saying he clapped three times and the god laughed seven times, CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA. When he laughed seven gods were born, who encompass all things. (For these are / those who appeared before [the world was formed].) 475

When he laughed first Phōs-Auge [Light-Radiance] appeared and divided all things, and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESEN BEREITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time—all was water, and the earth, hearing the / sound and seeing Auge, was amazed and heaved, and the water came to be divided 480 into three parts. And a god appeared and was given charge of the abyss, and therefore without him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is PROMSACHA ALEEIO. (For you / are ŌEAI BETHE[LLE].) 485

When he wanted to laugh the third time Nous and Phrenes [Mind and Wits] appeared holding a heart, because of the sharpness of the god, and was called Hermes, [since it is he] by whom all things have been interpreted.⁹³ He is also in charge of the power of understanding by which everything is managed. / And he is 490 [called] SEMESILAMPS.

The god laughed the fourth time and Genna [Creative Force]⁹⁴ appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation] of all things, by whom all things were sown, and [this pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZŌ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] / appeared, holding scales, indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes 495 contested with her, saying, “Justice is in my province.” While they were fighting the god said to them, “What seems to be just / will depend on both, but all things in 500 the world will be subject to you [Moira].” And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world and was called by a holy name, fearsome and frightful, written first forwards, then backwards, and it is this: THORIOBRITI, etc. [[of whom the name written first forwards, then backwards is great / and holy and glorious, and 505 this is of great value, a powerful name: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRAGGADŌ I ŌDAG-GARRŌMMATITIRBOIROTH—49 letters]].

He laughed the sixth time⁹⁵ and was much gladdened, the Kairos⁹⁶ appeared, holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to / the first- 510 created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it said, “You, wrapping yourself in the glory of Phos [Light] will be with me, because you first gave me a scepter. All things will be subject to you, those that were before and those yet to be. All power will be in you.” When he [Kairos] wrapped himself in the glory of Phos, / the character of the light 515 produced a certain effluence.⁹⁷ The god, [Phōs, then] said to the Queen,⁹⁸ “You, wrapping yourself in the effluence of Phōs, will be with him [Kairos—the sun] compassing all things. You will wax with the light you receive from him, and again you will wane because of him. With you all things will increase and / diminish.” So 520

93. “Interpreted” in Greek seems to come from the same root as “Hermes.”

94. The bracketed words seem a variant and expansion of the preceding text, probably with contamination from version A; cf. ll. 183–86.

95. *καιρός* (“time”) is here not only time, but the sun god qua measure of time.

96. Here the relation of Kairos as world ruler, to Phōs, the first created god, who subjects all things to him and clothes him with his own glory (cf. Phil 2:9–11), is remarkably like that of Jesus as Messiah (who is to reign until he puts all enemies under his feet, 1 Cor 15:23–28) to the first god, the Father. The Christians have transposed the relation a step higher. Jesus himself is Phōs (“Light,” Jn 1:7–9) and “first born of all creation” (Col 1:15), and the Father is the creator. However, it seems clear that the same sort of theogonic theorizing underlies both theological structures.

97. Reading *ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ φωτός* with C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci Musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885) ad loc.

98. The moon, probably Artemis-Selene-Isis.

the name is great and marvellous. ANAG BIATHIAR BARBERBI SCHILATOIR BOU-
PHROUNTÖRM (36 letters).

He laughed the seventh time, breathing hard, and Psyche [Soul] came into being
and all things were moved. So the god said, “You will move all things, and all shall
525 be made glad / so long as Hermes guides you.” When the god said this all things
were moved and filled with spirit unrestrainably. The god, seeing this, said, “Pop,
pop, pop,” and all things were terrified, and on account of the popping noise Pho-
530 bos [Fear] appeared, armed. So he is called DANOUP CHRATÖR / BERBALI BAL-
BITHI (26 letters).

Then, looking down at the earth, the god gave a long hiss and the earth was
opened, receiving the echo. It gave birth to a creature of its own, the Pythian ser-
pent, who foreknew all things through the utterance of the god. Its name is great
535 and / holy, ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ITHÖR MARMARAUGË PHÖCHÖ PHÖ-
BÖCH. When he appeared the earth heaved and was raised much higher, but the
celestial pole stayed unmoved, so when they were about to collide the god said
540 “IAÖ,” and everything was fixed in place / and a great, supreme god appeared who
established the things that were before in the cosmos and the things yet to be, so
that none of the aerial bodies was thenceforth out of place.

Phobos, seeing someone stronger than himself, opposed him, saying, “I am prior
545 to you.” He, however, said, “But I fixed all things [in their places].” So the / [first]
god said [to the serpent], “You come from an echo, but this god from an utterance.
Now an utterance is better than an echo. However, [he said to Iao],”⁹⁹ “the power of
you, who appeared last, will derive from both, so that all things may be fixed in
their places.” And he was thenceforth called by the great and marvelous name
550 DANOUP CHRATÖR / BERBALI BALBITH IAÖ. And wishing to give honor also to the
one who had assisted him, as having appeared together with him, the first god gave
him precedence of the nine gods and possession of power and glory equal to theirs.
555 / And he was called [by a name derived] from the nine gods, as having taken away,
along with their power, also the initials of their names, BOSBEADII,¹⁰⁰ and from the
seven planets AEËIOYÖ EËIOYÖ EIOYÖ IOYÖ OYÖ YÖ Ö ÖYOIËËA YOIËËA OIËËA IËËA
560 ËËA EA A— / when written forwards and backwards this is great and marvelous.
But his greatest name, which is this following, is great and holy (of 27 letters)
ABRÖCH BRAÖCH CHRAMMAÖTH PRÖARBATHÖ IAÖ. Another version: ABRÖCH
BRAÖCH CHRAMMAÖTH PRÖARBATHÖ IAÖ OY AEËIOYÖ.

565 When, then, the god comes in, / look down and write the things said and what-
ever name he may give you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy
until he also tells you the things that concern you.

Now the text of the sacred stele to be written in the natron is as follows—and the
invocation runs thus, as here given altogether accurately:

570 / “I call on you, the creator of all, who are greater than all, you, the self-begotten
god, who see all and hear all and are not seen. For you gave Helios all the glory and
575 the power, / Selene the privilege to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you
took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but assigned them equality [with it?].
For when you appeared, both order arose and light appeared, and all things were

99. Since in this version only the serpent was born of an echo, and since the last half of the god's speech must be addressed to Iaö, the change of interlocutor, indicated by the translation, just be conjectured. Presumably the text is corrupt. Cf. the A version, ll. 191–206, which, however, may have been produced by excision of the difficulties. That the more difficult text is apt to be the original is a well-known rule.

100. In spite of this clue the names remain uncertain.

arranged by you. Therefore all things are also / subject to you, whose true form 580
none of the gods can see, who take different forms in [different] visions, Aion of
Aion.

“I call on you, lord, that you may show me your true form. For under your order
I serve / your angel, ANOG BIATHIABAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTÖRM, 585
and your fear DANOUF CHRANTÖR BELBALI BALBITH IAÖ. Through you arose the
[celestial] pole and the earth.

“I call on you, lord, as do those gods who appeared under [order?] that they /
may have power, ACHEBYKRÖM, whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III AAA ŌŌŌ 590
SABAOTH ARBATHIAÖ ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATH ADÖNAI BASYMM IAÖ.

“I call on you, lord, in birdglyphic, ARAI; hieroglyphic, LAILAM; Hebraic, ANAG,
/ BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOURPHOUNTÖRM; Egyptian, ALDABAEIM; 595
baboonic, ABRASAX; falconic, CHI CHI CHI CHI! CHI CHI [CHI] ti ti ti ti ti ti;
hieratic, MENEPHÖIPHÖTH / CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA.” 600

Then clap three times, TAK TAK TAK, go “pop, pop, pop” for a long time; hiss a
great hiss, that is, one of some length.

“Come to me, lord, faultless, who pollute no place, joyful, unflawed, for I call on
/ you, King of kings, Tyrant of tyrants, most glorious of the glorious, daimon of 605
daimons, most warlike of the warlike, most holy of the holy. Come to me, willing,
joyful, unflawed.”

An angel will come in, and you say to the angel, “Greetings, lord. Both initiate
me by these rites¹⁰¹ I am performing / and present me [to the god], and let the fate 610
determined by my birth be revealed to me.” And if he says anything bad, say, “Wash
off from me the evils of fate. Do not hold back, but reveal / to me everything, by 615
night and day and in every hour of the month, to me, NN, son of NN. Let your
auspicious form be revealed to me, for under your [order] I serve [your] angel,
ANAG BIATHI.” (Repeat the formula.)

“I call on you, lord, holy, much hymned, greatly honored, ruler of the cosmos, /
[[Sarapis]];¹⁰² consider my birth and turn me not away, me, NN whom NN [bore], 620
who know your true name and valid name, ŌAÖĒŌ ŌEOĒ IAÖ IIIAÖ THOUTHĒ
THĒ AATHÖ ATHĒROUÖR AMIATHAR MIGARNA CHPHOURI IYĒYĒŌAĒĒ A EE ĒĒĒ
/ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ SEMESILAMMPS AEĒIOYÖ. ĒŌOYE LINOUCHA 625
NOUCHA HARSAMOSI¹⁰³ ISNORSAM OTHAMARMIM ACHYCH CHAMMÖ. I call on
you, lord; I hymn your holy power in a musical hymn, AEĒIOYÖŌŌ.”¹⁰⁴ / Burn in- 630
cense, saying, “ĒIOYÖ IOYÖ OYÖ YÖ Ō A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ
ŌĒŌAÖAÖ OOOYO IIIIIAÖ IYYYOAEÄ YO. Protect me from all my own astrological
destiny; destroy my / foul fate; apportion good things for me in my horoscope; 635
increase my life; and [may I enjoy] many good things, for I am your slave and peti-
tioner and have hymned your valid and holy name, lord, glorious one, ruler of

101. Literally, “Initiate me in/by these my matters.”

102. Sarapis (like Christ above, in ll. 289–92) is elsewhere of no importance in this text. Therefore
his name here and in l. 640 below is probably interpolated. However, this does not prove that the whole
section in which the name occurs is an interpolation. The section has the ideas and vocabulary of the rest
of the text, and understandably follows the visit of the angel as a spell to introduce the magician to the
supreme god himself. That no epiphany follows may be due either to the loss of the end of the text that
the compiler was using or to his desire to subordinate this to the C version, which now begins imme-
diately, is much abbreviated, and so leads quickly to the final meeting with the god.

103. HARSAMOSI is “Horus the Elder.” [R.K.R.] Other divine names are also embedded in the spell:
IAÖ, THOUTHE (probably from Thoth), SEMESILAM.

104. The seven Greek vowels, represented by the first seven letters of this group, were equated with
the notes of the musical scale, and so represented the basic harmony.

the cosmos, of ten thousand names (?),¹⁰⁵ greatest, nourisher, apportioner, /
640 [[Sarapis]].”

Having drawn in spirit with all your senses, say the first¹⁰⁶ name in one breath to
the east, the second to the south, the third to the north, the fourth to the west, and
having knelt to the left [on] your right knee once, say to the earth once and to the
645 moon once, to water once and to sky once, “ΘΑΩĒ ŌŌ EOĒLAŌ / ΙΙΙ ΑΑŌ ΘĒ THOU
THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROYŌ” (36 letters).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

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*Have¹⁰⁷ a tablet on which you will write what he says to you, and a knife so that,
clean from all [impurities], you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation, that you may
650 pour one. Have all these / ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned
with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy thus: taking a clean sheet write on the
655 border [the names of] the 365 gods. Make it like a tent / under which you go to be
initiated. Also have cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it
power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel,
660 / with tripod standing beside him and Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo
the great name in Egyptian form: on his chest this,¹⁰⁸ BAINCHŌŌCHŌŌCHNIAB,
665 written [the same] forwards and backwards; / on the back of [the] figure this name:
ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod: ITHŌR
MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this, too, around your neck when you
670 perform the initiation; / it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through
the last] seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon begin sleep-
ing on the ground. Rising at dawn, greet the sun [Helios] through seven days, each
675 day saying first the [names of the] / gods of the hours, then those set over the
weeks. Also [each day], learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying,
“Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices”—doing
so until the eighth day.

Then, / coming to this day, in the middle of the night, when there is quiet, light
the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted, into
685 which you must not put any more oil. Now begin to recite the stele and the / mys-
tery of the god. Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow and
wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end. Then having written
on one side of the natron [plaque, the text of] the stele which begins “I call on you,
690 who are greater than all,” / etc., as given above, lick it off, and pouring [wine?] on
the other side, on which is the figure drawing,¹⁰⁹ wash it off into the mixing bowl.
The natron should be written [with ink made] both from the incense materials and
695 from the flowers. Then, before you drink off the milk and the wine, / say over it this
petition and having said it lie down on the mat, holding the tablet and the stylus,
and recite the account of creation which begins, “I call on you who surround all

105. Reading *μυριώννυμε* for the papyrus’s *μυρικώτατες*, and Preisendanz’s *μυριώτατε* (otherwise unknown?).

106. “First” of those in this section; above, ll. 622–27.

107. Here version C of the main ritual begins, paralleling version A, ll. 91–110, where the notes on features common to both texts will be found.

108. Preisendanz’s supplement, *δνομα*, is needless.

109. Of the nine-formed god standing on a falcon-faced crocodile inside an ouroboros, above, ll. 39–45 and parallel. Contrast versions A and B in which the prayer is to be written on both sides of the tablet, ll. 131 and 434.

things, I call in every language and in every dialect,” etc. And when / you come to the vowels, say, “Lord, I imitate you by [saying] the seven vowels; enter and hear me.” Then repeat the name [composed] of the 27 letters. You should be lying on a rush mat spread under you on the ground.

Now when the god comes in do not stare / at his face, but look at his feet while beseeching him, as written above, and giving thanks that he did not treat you contemptuously, but you were thought worthy of the things about to be said to you for correction of your life. You, then, ask, “Master, what is fated for me?” And he will tell you even / about your star, and what kind of daimon you have, and your horoscope and where you may live and where you will die. And if you hear something bad, do not cry out or weep, but ask that he may wash it off or circumvent it, for this god can do everything. Therefore, when you begin questioning, / thank him for having heard you and not overlooked you. Always sacrifice to this [god] in this way and offer your pious devotions, for thus he will hear you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time,] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning, / and then, coming to the “Seven-Zoned,” count from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

Greek		The Seven-Zoned
Helios	The Monad of	Kronos
Selene	<u>Moses,</u>	Zeus
Ares	which is also a table	Ares
Hermes	called “The Seven-	Helios
Zeus	Zoned.”	Aphrodite
Aphrodite		Hermes
Kronos		Selene

*The Eighth, Hidden Book of Moses.*¹¹⁰ In another [manuscript] I found was written, *The Hidden Book of Moses concerning the Gret Name, or,*¹¹¹ *For Everything, in which is the Name of Him Who Governs All.*

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 734–1077

*You should also take, child, for this personal / vision, [a list of] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months, and the seven-letter name which is in the first book, and which you also have written in the *Key*, which [name] is great and marvelous, as it is what brings alive all your books. / I have also set out for you the oath that precedes each book, since, when you have learned the power of the book, you are to keep it secret, child, for in it there is the name of the lord, which is Ogdoads,¹¹² the god who com-

110. As often in ancient manuscripts, the title follows the text. Perhaps it did so in l. 344 and was there fused with the beginning title of version B.

111. Reading “or” for Preisendanz’s “which” (η for η). Evidently the copyist knew at least three manuscripts.

112. An “ogdoad” is something composed of eight members or elements. Capitalized, the term is used especially for a set of eight Egyptian gods, considered as a unit. They consisted of four pairs, representing the masculine and feminine aspects of the primeval world (Bonnet, *RARG* 5–6, s.v. “Achttheit”; cf. the similar “Ennead” discussed in n. 15 above). [R.K.R. adds that they were celebrated in the creation myth of Hermopolis—in Egyptian, “Eight-Town”—as those who brought forth the universe. He refers

745 mands and directs all things, since to him angels, archangels, he-daimons, / she-daimons, and all things under the creation have been subjected.

There are also prefaced four other names, that of nine letters and that of fourteen letters and that of twenty-six letters and that of Zeus. You may use these on boy-
750 mediums who do not see the gods, so / that one will see unavoidably, and for all spells and needs: inquiries, prophecies by Helios, prophecies by visions in mirrors. And for the compulsive spell you should use the great name which is Ogdoas, the god who directs all things throughout the creation. [For] without him simply
755 nothing / will be accomplished. Learn and conceal, child, the name [composed] of the nine letters, AEĒ EĒI OYŌ, and that of the fourteen letters, YSAU SIAUE IAŌUS, and that of the twenty-six letters, ARABBAOUARABA (to be written forwards and backwards),¹¹³ the name of Zeus, CHONAI IEMOI CHO ENI KA ABIA SKIBA PHOROUOM EPIERTHAT.

760 / *Here is the instruction [for recitation] of the heptagram,¹¹⁴ and the spell to which the god gives attention: (The spell):*

“Come to me, you from the four winds, ruler of all, who breathed spirit into men for life, whose is the hidden and unspeakable name—it cannot be uttered by human mouth / —at whose name even the daimons, when hearing, are terrified,
765 whose is the sun, ARNEBOUAT BOLLOCH BARBARICH B BAALSAMĒN PTIDAIOY ARNEBOUAT, and [the] moon, ARSENPENPRŌOUTH BARBARATŌNE OSRAR MEMPSE-
770 CHEI—they are unwearied eyes / shining in the pupils of men’s eyes—of whom heaven is head, ether body, earth feet, and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean, begetter of good things and feeder of the civilized
775 world. Yours is the eternal processional way¹¹⁵ / in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets which] utter their voices according to the twenty-eight forms of the moon, SAR APHARA APHARA I
780 ABRAARM ARAPHA ABRAACH PERTAŌMĒCH / AKMĒCH IAŌ OYE Ē IAŌ OYE EIOY AEŌ EĒOY IAŌ. Yours are¹¹⁶ the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and Fortunes and Fates, by whom is given wealth, good old age, good children, good luck,
785 a good burial.¹¹⁷ And you, lord of life, King of the heavens and the / earth and all things living in them, you whose justice is not turned aside, you whose glorious name the Muses sing, you whom the eight guards attend, Ē Ō CHŌ CHOUGH NOUN
790 NAUNI AMOUN AMAUNI,¹¹⁸ you who have / truth that never lies. Your name and

to Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 175–77.] As gods who produced the cosmos, like those of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, they interested Greeks who speculated about cosmology. Since the precosmic world was that of divine perfection, they came to be thought both a heaven above the seven planetary heavens, and a deity above the cosmic gods. Greek speculation about a divine sphere beyond those of the planets was happy to find in them an ancient, arcane, and prestigious prototype. Hence their name became a popular term in second-century A.D. and later theosophy; it figures in Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Christian writings, both “orthodox” and “gnostic,” and reflections are found even in rabbinic literature. Such popularity accounts for this postscript, adding the fashionable Egyptian name to the preceding collection, which had lacked it. Perhaps the collection was made before the name became truly popular.

113. In the Greek text this direction is abbreviated to α’ (for ἀναγραμμάτις), of which Preisendanz did not see the meaning.

114. I.e., the seven vowels. More pretentious terminology.

115. Of the sky, in which the luminaries revolve.

116. Reading σροῦ for οὔ, in accordance with Preisendanz’s emendation in the parallel text, XII. 254.

117. This list of divine gifts (while admittedly at home in most cultures) is quite Egyptian in its emphasis on “good old age” and “good burial.” Cf. the standard prayer, “that he be buried in the necropolis of the desert in good old age,” K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), vol. I, p. 120, and many parallels. [R.K.R.]

118. These are the names of the members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad (see above, n. 112, and

your spirit rest upon the good. Come into my mind and my understanding for all the time of my life and accomplish for me all the desires of my soul. /

For you are I, and I, you. Whatever I say must happen, for I have your name as a unique phylactery in my heart, and no flesh, although moved, will overpower me; no spirit will stand against me—neither daimon nor visitation nor any other of the evil beings of Hades, / because of your name, which I have in my soul and invoke. Also [be] with me always for good, a good [god dwelling] on a good [man], yourself immune to magic, giving me health no magic can harm, well-being, prosperity, glory, victory, power, sex appeal. Restrain the evil eyes / of each and all of my legal opponents, whether men or women, but give me charm in everything I do. ANOCH AIEPHE SAKTIETĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SEĒE SEĒE SIETHŌ SIETHŌ OUN CHOUNTIAI SEMBI IMENOUAI BAINPHNOUN PHNOUTH TOUCHAR SOUCHAR SABACHAR ANA¹¹⁹ of [the] god IEOU ION EON THŌTHŌ / OUTHRO THRŌRESE ERIŌPŌ IYĒ AĒ IAŌAI AEĒIOYŌ AEĒIOYŌ ĒOCH MANEBI CHYCHIŌ ALARAŌ KOL KOL KAATŌN KOLKANTHŌ BALALACH ABLALACH OTHERCHENTHE BOULŌCH / BOULŌCH OSERCHNTHE MENTHEI,¹²⁰ for I have received the power of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great god, daimon IAŌ ABLANATHANALBA SIABRATHILAŌ LAMPSTĒR IĒI ŌŌ, god. Do [it], lord PERTAŌMECH / CHACHMĒCH IAŌ OYĒE IAŌ OYĒE IEOU AĒŌ EĒOY IAŌ.”

The instruction: Speaking to the rising sun, stretching out your right hand to the left and your left hand / likewise to the left, say “A.” To the north, putting forward only your right fist, say “E.” Then to the west, extending both hands in front [of you], say “Ē.” To the south, / [holding] both on your stomach, say, “I.” To the earth, bending over, touching the ends of your toes, say “O.” Looking into the air, having your hand on your heart, say “Y.” Looking into the sky, having both hands on your head, say “Ō.”

	sky	
A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	III
east	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	south
air	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	
north	E E O O O O O E Ē Ē Ē	wcst
	earth	

“I call on you, eternal and unbegotten, who are one, who alone hold together the whole creation of all things, whom none understands, whom the gods worship, / whose name not even the gods can utter. Inspire from your exhalation (?),¹²¹ ruler

K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929], p. 65 and pl. I). The pairs are *Hh* and *Hh.t* (“Expansiveness” and “Female Expansiveness”), *Kk* and *Kk.t* (“Darkness” and “Female Darkness,” cf. CHŌŌŌCH, “darkness,” in BAINCHŌŌŌCH with the CHOUCH here), *Nwn* and *Nwn.t* (“Abyss” and “Female Abyss” sc. of water), and *Imm* and *Imm.t* (“the Hidden” and “the Female Hidden”). Cf. PGM XIII. 743 and XXI. 20. [R.K.R.] It should be noticed, too, that here the Ogdoad are merely assistants—the “eight guards” who “attend” the highest god—whereas in the preceding two paragraphs, which we saw reason to think interpolated (above, n. 112), the Ogdoad was itself and as a unit the supreme god. Detailed textual analysis is impossible here, but it seems clear that different sources have been used, and likely, that different writers used them.

119. Possibly “I [am]” in Aramaic, transliterated into Greek.
120. Besides the initial ANOCH “I am,” this list has many Egyptian words: BAINPHOUN, “spirit of Nun” (the abyss); PHNOUTH, “the god”; THŌTHŌ, “Thoth the great”; OSERCHENTHE MENTHEI, “Osiris the foremost of the westerners,” the standard epithet of Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. Dubious restoration, in Preisendanz’s text, of a word here plausible, but otherwise unknown.

of the pole, him who is under you; accomplish for me the NN thing.

“I call on you as by the voice of the male gods, IĒŌ OYE ŌĒI YE AŌ EI ŌY AOĒ OYĒ
 850 / EŌA YĒI ŌEA OĒŌ IEŌU AŌ. I call on you, as by the voice of the female gods, IAE
 EŌO IOY EĒI ŌA EĒ IĒ AI YO ĒLAY EŌO OYĒE IAO ŌAI EOYĒ YŌĒI IŌA. I call on you,
 855 as the winds / call you. I call on you, as the dawn.” (Looking toward dawn [say], “A
 EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ.”) “I call on you as the south.” (Looking
 860 to the south say, “I OO YYY ŌŌŌŌ AAAAA EEEEEĒ ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ.”) / “I call on you as the
 west.” (Standing [facing] the west, say, “E II OOO YYYY ŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA EEEEEĒ.”)
 “I call on you as the north.” (Standing looking toward the north say, “Ō AA EEE
 865 ĒĒĒĒ IIII OOOOOO YYYYYY.”) “I call on you / as the earth.” (Looking toward the
 earth say, “E ĒĒ III OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA.”) “I call on you as the sky.”
 (Looking into the sky say, “Y ŌŌ AAA EEEE ĒĒĒĒ IIIIII OOOOOOO.”) “I call on you
 870 as the cosmos, “O YY ŌŌŌ AAAAA / EEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒ IIIIII. Accomplish for me NN
 thing, quickly. I call on your name, the greatest among gods. If I say it complete,
 875 there will be an earthquake, the sun will stop and the moon will be afraid and the
 rocks and the mountains and the sea and the rivers / and every liquid will be petri-
 fied; the whole cosmos will be thrown into confusion. I call on you, IYEO ŌAEĒ
 IAO AEĒ AI EĒ AE IOYŌ EYĒ IEŌU AĒŌ ĒI ŌĒI IAE IOYĒ AYĒ YĒA IŌ IŌAI IŌAI ŌĒ
 880 / EE OY IŌ IAO, the great name. Become for me lynx, eagle, snake, phoenix, life,
 power, necessity, images of god, AIŌ IŌY IAO ĒIŌ AA OYI AAAA E IY IŌ ŌĒ IAO AI
 885 AOĒ OYEŌ AIEĒ IOYE YEIA EIŌ ĒII YY EE ĒĒ ŌAOĒ / CHECHAMPSIMM CHANGALAS
 EĒIOY IĒEA ŌŌŌŌE (seven of the auspicious [names?]) ZŌIŌIĒR ŌMYRYROMRO-
 MOS.” [Say it?] thus, extending the second AIŌ: “Ē II YY ĒĒ OAOĒ.”

This initiation is performed to the suns¹²² of the thirteenth day of the month,
 890 when the gold lamella is licked / off and one says over it: “IAIA IY OĒ IEYOŌ ĒŌI EO
 Ē ŌY EĒ YŌĒ ŌŌŌ ŌŌI ŌAO EŌ OĒ YŌ.” Then more completely, “AOĒYĒ OAI IO
 895 ĒYEŌA OYŌ ŌO EI OY EŌ OIYY ŌYY ŌI A / EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ
 AŌ EOĒ EŌĒ IAA ĒŌI ĒIŌ. In [the] initiation these things are said six times with all
 [the rest?], and the seven vowels are written on the gold lamella to be licked off, and
 900 on the silver lamella the seven vowels for the phylactery / OĒŌ AŌ OOO YOĒĒ OY YĒI
 SORRA THŌŌM CHRALAMPĒAPS ATOYĒGI. The following series of vowels [are writ-
 ten as] “wings”,¹²³ and on the gold lamella write this: AOĒYĒOI; on the silver:
 IOĒYEŌA, . . .¹²⁴

905	AEĒIOYŌ	AEĒIOYŌŌ	AEĒIOYŌOYŌ
	EĒIOYŌA	EĒIOYŌŌA	EĒIOYŌOYŌA
	ĒIOYŌAE	ĒIOYŌŌAE	ĒIOYŌOYŌAE
	IOYŌAEĒ	IOYŌŌAEĒ	IOYŌOYŌAEĒ
	OYŌAEĒI	OYŌŌAEĒI	OYŌOYŌAEĒI
910	YŌAEĒIO	YŌŌAEĒIO	YŌOYŌAEĒIO
	ŌAEĒIOY	ŌŌAEĒIOY	ŌOYŌAEĒIOY

and¹²⁵ the great heaven, eternal, incorruptible, OĒŌ AŌ THOOU OĒĒ OY YĒI OR-
 915 CHRA THŌŌMCHRA SEMESILAMPS / ATOYĒTI DROUSOUAR DROUĒSRŌ GNIDA

122. Of dawn, midday, and sunset (Preisendanz).

123. I.e., in triangles, produced by writing the words in successive lines, but in each line dropping one letter from the same end (usually the front) until only one is left. A “wing” is the technical term in magical jargon for the resultant form.

124. Something, probably directions from another rite, seems to have fallen out of the text. It resumes near the end of another spell.

125. This has no clear connection to the preceding vowels, so Preisendanz conjectures a lacuna. However, this may be the continuation of the lost spell in which the vowels stood.

BATAIANA ANGASTA AMASOUROUR OUANA APAISTOU OUANDA ÒTI SATRAPERK-
MĒPH ALA Dionysus, blessed EYIE YOY YYY THENŌR conducting YYY EYIEY EY
OYŌ XERTHENATHIA THAPHTHŌ / OIKROU ŌR ARAX GŌ Ō AAA ERARĒRAYIĒR 920
THOUTH ASĒSENACHTHŌ LARNIBAI AIOŌ KOUPIHŌ ISŌTHŌNI PATHENI IEEEN-
THĒR PANCHOCHITAS OYE TIASOUTH PACHTHEESTH HYSEMMIGADŌN / ORTHŌ 925
BAUBŌ NOĒRADĒR SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL APARA KEŌPH IAŌ
SABAŌTH ABRATIAŌTH ADŌNAI ZAGOURĒ HARSAMOSI RANAKERNŌTH LAMP-
SOUŌR.¹²⁶ Therefore, I am brought together with you by the great commander-
in-chief Michael, lord, the great archangel of IEYOY AĒ AIŌ EYAI / I Ē IĒ IŌA IĒIĒ AIŌ 930
EĒ AIŌ. Therefore, I am conjoined¹²⁷ [with you], O great one, and I have you in my
heart AŌ EĒ EOĒI AIAĒ ŌĒ IŌAŌ EOĒE ŌĒI AĒĒ ŌĒIŌ.

*As the revelator Orpheus*¹²⁸ *handed down in his private note*: “OISPAĒ IAŌ /
OYEA SEMESILAM AĒOI, son, CHOLOUE ARAARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE ŌĒEYAIĒ 935
OIAI EAĒ EAĒ ŌEA BORKA BORKA PHRIX RIX ŌRZA ZICH MARTHAI OYTHIN LI-
LILILAM LILILILŌOU AAAAAA ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ / MOUAMECH, fluid boundary, AĒŌ ŌĒA 940
ĒŌA.” (Breathe out, in. Fill up); “EI AI OAI” (pushing more, bellow-howling.)
“Come to me, god of gods, AĒŌĒI ĒI IAŌ AE OIŌTK” (Pull in, fill up, / shutting your 945
eyes. Bellow as much as you can, then, sighing, give out [what air remains] in a hiss.)

Erotylos, in his “Orphica”:¹²⁹ “YOĒĒŌAI ŌAI YOĒĒAI YOĒĒŌ EREPE EYA / NAR- 950
BARNE ZAGEGŌĒ ĒCHRAĒM KAPHNAMIAS PSIIPHRI PSAIARORKIPHKA BRAKIŌ
BOLBALOCH SIAILASI MAROMALA MARMISAI BIRAITHATHI ŌO.”

*And Hieros*¹³⁰ *writes thus*: “MARCHŌTH SAERMACHŌTH ZALTHAGAZATHA /
BABATHBATHAATHAB A III AAA ŌŌŌ¹³¹ ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ ŌNTHĒR.” Then, “Depth 955
AUMŌLACH.”

And as it stands in the “Holy Name” pronounced by Thphes, the sacred scribe to
King Ochos:¹³² “NETHMOMAŌ / MARCHACHTHA CHTHAMAR ZAXTHTHARN MA- 960
CHACH ZAROKOTHARA ŌSS IAŌ OUĒ SIALŌR TITĒ EAĒ IAŌ ĒS ZEATHE AAA ĒĒEOY
THŌBARRABAU.”

*And in the Memoranda / of Euenos*¹³³ he says the name is pronounced by the 965
Egyptians [and] the Syrians “CHTHETHŌNI.”

*As Zoroaster*¹³⁴ *the Persian in . . .* “RNISSAR PSYCHISSAR.”

And as is said in the works of / Pyrrhus:¹³⁵ “ZZA AAA EEE BBMŌEA ANBIOŌŌ.” 970

And as Moses says in the Archangelic [Teaching?]:¹³⁶ “ALDAZAŌ BATHAM MA-

126. Besides the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian divine names now familiar, this list has Baubo, a comic figure from Eleusinian legend, and Ereschigal, the ancient Mesopotamian queen of the underworld.

127. The verb is *συνίστημι*, usually “introduce, present,” but the context here seems to require some closer connection. Cf. above, ll. 795–804.

128. Orpheus, the legendary Thracian singer, had by this time become famous as a revelator. Many bogus works were attributed to him; nothing is known of this one.

129. Or “as quoted in the *Orphica*.” The translation given in the text follows Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* I, 17. An Erotylus was once cited by the alchemist Zosimus as an authority on “the All” (*ibidem*, III, 144). He is otherwise unknown.

130. Unknown?

131. Reading ŌŌŌ for ŌŌŌ, since the adjacent groups are all triplets of a single letter.

132. Ochos was Artaxerxes III, 358–338 B.C. Thphēs is unknown, and the conversation was probably fictitious.

133. Several authors named Euenos are known, but nothing connects any of them with this statement.

134. Zoroaster, like Orpheus, was a favorite victim of forgers, one of whom produced this.

135. We know of many men named Pyrrhus, but of none likely to have written this.

136. *The Archangelic Teaching* (?) of “Moses” is again cited in the Nag Hammadi documents (II. 5. 102) and may be reflected by a medieval manuscript which quotes an “archangelic hymn” given to

CHŌR,” or “BA ADAM MACHŌR RIZXAĒ ŌKEŌN PNED MEŌYPS PSYCH PHRŌCH
PHER PHRŌ LAOTHCHŌ.”

975 / *And as it is explained in Hebrew in “The Law”*:¹³⁷ “Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,
AĒŌ ĒŌA ŌAĒ IEŌY IEĒ IEŌ IAŌ IA ĒI AO EĒ OE EŌ.”

And as in the fifth book of the Ptolemaica,¹³⁸ the most excellent book entitled
980 / *One and the Whole*. (It contains [an account of] the birth of the spirit of fire and
of darkness:) “Lord of [the] Aion, who created all things, only god, unutterable,
985 THOROKOMPHOUTH PSONNAN / NEBOUĒTI TATTAKINTHAKOL SOONSOLOUKE
SOLBOSEPHĒTH BORKA BORKA PHRINX RIXŌ ZADICH AMARCHTHA IOU CHORIN
LI LI LAM LAM AAAAAA IIIIII ŌŌŌŌŌŌ EMACH ĒĒĒ NACH LILILI LAM CHENĒ
990 / LILILI ŌŌYAĒŌ ŌAĒ IŌA ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ, fluid boundary, MOTHRAĒ EIA OYŌ AOYE THOP-
TOCH A ŌŌ YYY ŌŌŌŌ IIII ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ EEEEE AMOUN IAAAA ŌI ĒI ANOCH AI IŌ ŌI
995 ĒI ORTONGOUR ŌĒAI EIAI / ŌĒAI ŌĒOI AA ĒI OYŌ ĒI IOY ĒŌ ĒEAE THATH IER
THAINONABOU, the great, great¹³⁹ Aion, god, lord (?), Aion.”

And the great name, that in Jerusalem, by which they bring out water when
1000 there is none in a cistern (?): “ACHMĒ IEŌĒ IEĒŌ IARABBAO / YCHRABAŌA, do the
NN thing, unutterable name of great god.”

Taking a golden or silver lamella, engrave with an adamant¹⁴⁰ stone the unutter-
able characters given below. He who engraves them should be pure from all /
1005 impurity, his wrists wreathed with wreaths of flowers in season, and should also of-
fer frankincense. The spell to annul this spell should be written on the reverse of the
1010 lamella. Then, taking it, inscribed, put it into a clean box / and put this on a clean
tripod covered with a linen cloth, and prepare an accompanying offering of pure
pinecones, a small basket¹⁴¹ of bread, sweetmeats, flowers in season, Egyptian wine
1015 not mixed with seawater. Then / putting milk, wine, water in a new vessel, pour a
libation while burning frankincense. Also let a clean lamp be at hand, full of rose oil.
1020 And say, “I call on you the greatest god in the heaven, / strong lord, mighty IAŌ OYŌ
IŌ AIŌ OYŌ, who exist.¹⁴² Perfect for me, lord, the great, lord, unutterable magical
1025 sign, so that I may have it and remain free of danger and unconquered and / unde-
feated, I, NN.”

Moses for use as a phylactery. Unfortunately, neither “hymn” nor “phylactery” matches the gender of “archangelic” as given in our text, and the quotations differ widely. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 292–93 and Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 150. One of the works used by the author of PGM XIII may have had a Hebrew source. The beginning of the second quotation is readable as Hebrew: “In Adam was the source of secrets” (taking *puḡḡan* as a corruption of *vazzaya*—Greek has no *y*).

137. The source of this may have been a targum in which the phrase, “the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob” (Ex 3:6, 15; 4:5, etc.) was followed by a magical gloss, like those sometimes inserted in manuscripts of Homer; cf. *P. Oxy.* 412.

138. Claudius Ptolemaeus, ca. A.D. 100–178, the famous astronomer and astrologer, was another favorite victim of false attributions; see Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 211. This adds one more.

139. Doubling is a common form of superlative, especially in Hebrew and Egyptian, but also in Greek. See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), sec. 493.1.

140. Probably the legendary adamant, which nothing could break. The observable stone most often called *adamas* was hematite, a relatively soft iron oxide not suitable for engraving. See A. A. Barb, “Lapis Adamas,” in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, vol. I, *Latomus* 101 (1969): 67–86; R. K. Ritner, “A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection,” *JNES* 43 (1984): 209–21.

141. Literally, one containing about a *kab*—roughly one-sixth of a bushel. However, the word thus literally translated appears in Greek only in Preisendanz’s text, where it is a conjectural correction of a corruption.

142. Literally, “the being” (person or thing, masc.)—the famous Greek hypostatized principle which LXX used in translating the obscure Hebrew gloss in Ex 3:14.

Try to prepare this when [the moon] is in the east and in conjunction with a beneficent planet, either Zeus or Aphrodite, and when / no maleficent one, Kronos or Ares, is in aspect. You may do it best when one of the three beneficent planets is in its own house, while the moon is taking / the position of conjunction or aspect or diametrical opposition and when the planet, too, is in the east, for then the rite will be effectual for you. Accordingly, do not / idly talk about the way to annul it, if you don't want to help damage yourself; but keep it to yourself.

Its uses are the following:

When you want to put down fear or anger: Taking a leaf of laurel, write on it the / sign, as it is, and having shown it to the sun, say, "I call on you, the great god in heaven, [strong] lord, mighty IAO OYŌ IŌ AIŌ OYŌ, who exist; protect me from all fear, from all danger that threatens / me in the present day, in the present hour." Having said these words thrice, lick off the leaf, and have the lamella with you. And if [things come to] hand-to-hand [fighting, wear it] on your hand.

✂  The spell to annul, which
✂  is written on the reverse:
✂  "PAITH PHTHA PHOŌZA."¹⁴³

A secret prayer of Moses to Selene: "OINEL of life, CHNOUB OUËR AKROMBOUS / OURAOI OYËR AI HAPH HŌR OKI. ANOCH BŌRINTH MAMIKOURPH AEI AEI Ë AEI EIE EIË TETH OUR OUR OUËR ME CHROUR CHOU TAIS ECHRËZË ECHRINX MAMIA OURPH, goddess in woman's form, mistress Selene, do the NN thing."

For opening [doors]: Taking / the navel of a male crocodile (he means pondweed)¹⁴⁴ and the egg of a scarab and a heart of a baboon (he means perfume of lilies),¹⁴⁵ put these into a blue-green faïence vessel. And when you wish to open a door, bring the navel to the door, saying, "By / THAIM THOLACH THECHEMBAOR THEAGON PENTATHESCHI BŌTI, [I call on you] who have power in the deep, for myself, that there may now be a way open for me, for I say to you, SAUAMBOCH / MERA CHEOZAPH ŌSSALA BYMBËL POUO TOUTHŌ OIRËREI ARNOCH."

If [you wish] to call phantoms: . . .

*The tenth (?) Hidden [Book of] Moses.*¹⁴⁶

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PDM xiv. 1–92

*[A vessel divination which a physician ?] in the nome of Oxyrhynchus [gave to me]:¹ *Formula:* "[O god, NN,] . . . the edge of whose strap rests in Pelusium while his face is like a spark . . . of an obscene cat whose testicles² are like a rearing uraeus . . . quickly. Put the light and breadth in my vessel. . . / Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me, O primeval waters! . . . large . . . of cop-

5
[col. I, 5]

143. PHTHA PHOŌZA is "Ptah, health." In the following prayer, CHNOUB OUËR is "Khnum the great," OURAOI OUËR is "great ureai," HAPH HOR is "Apis, Horus." [R.K.R.]

144. This is an example of the secret magical vocabulary by which everyday things were given pretentious names, partly to make magical rituals impracticable for chance readers, partly to impress the ignorant.

145. Or possibly, "myrrh mixed with (oil of white) lilies."

146. In the manuscript "book" is lacking and "tenth" uncertain. Against Gager's argument for a repetition of "eighth" (*Moses*, p. 148, [above, n. 136]) stand the conspicuous differences of the material preceding this title from that of the better attested "eighth" books in ll. 1–730.

1. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 528.

2. Read, perhaps, *sn.ty*; see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3d ser., vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1935), 115, n. 2; and cf. Griffith and Thompson, glossary #133 and 20, n. to l. I. 3.

- per of Alkhah.³ O gods who are in heaven, who are exalted, come! . . . [Put (the)] light and breadth in my vessel and my . . . [the] boy whose face is bent over this vessel.⁴ May . . . prosper, for this vessel divination is the vessel divination of Isis when she was searching / . . . Come in to me, O my compeller, for everything
- 10 . . . , and make this youth⁵ open his eyes to them all . . . , for I am the Pharaoh Lion-Ram. Ram-Lion-Lotus⁶ is my name; . . . to you here today, for I am SIT-TAKO.⁷ 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' [is my true name. I am GANTHA, GINTEY,
- 15 GIRITEY]⁸ HRENYTE (also called ARENOYTE)⁹ LAPPTOTHA LAKSANTHA SA/[RISA [I, 15] . . . BOLBYE]L¹⁰ BYEL BYEL LYTERI KLOGASANTRA LAHO [is my name, LAHO is my true name. BALKHAM the]¹¹ powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin¹² [of the shrine of the god who stands today].¹³
- [You should] say, whispering, "O good oxherd,¹⁴ my compeller, . . . in order to ask you about it here today, and you should make this [youth] open¹⁵ his eyes . . . every . . . and you should protect this youth whose face is bent [down over this / vessel]¹⁶ . . . of god, lord of earth, the survivor of the earth, lord of
- 20 earth . . . I am Hor-Amoun¹⁷ who sits at this vessel divination here today . . . [at]¹⁸ this vessel divination here today. MARIGHARI, you should . . . so that they say my inquiry for me."
- Say to them twice, "O pure gods of the primeval waters, [I am] . . . of earth by
- 25 name, under the soles [of whose feet] the gods of Egypt are placed / . . . THAR, for [I, 25]

3. For Alkhah (Eg., *ʿrq-hh*), see PGM IV. 124 and n. One should, probably, use a standard transliteration of the name throughout; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 6.

4. Or oil; parallels allow either; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 8.

5. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 43, 72, etc.; see discussion in Johnson, *Verbal System* 274–75.

6. For this combination, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 22, n. to l. I. 12; also PGM III. 659 and n.

7. For a discussion of the possible meaning of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 23, n. to l. I. 13.

8. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1171–72. The spelling of magical names given here is based on the Demotic spelling supplemented by the Old Coptic spelling. If there is a disagreement between the two, the Demotic is accepted. See Johnson, "Dialect," 110–25 for a discussion of the correlations among Greek, Old Coptic, and Demotic found in this text. Transcriptions try to maintain a one-to-one correspondence between ancient script and modern.

9. "Also called" is inserted above the line, in front of the Old Coptic gloss ARENOYTE. Note that PDM xiv. 1174 writes this name *hry ntr* "lord god."

10. The missing magical names could be restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1175–76.

11. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1178.

12. The griffin is described by the author of the Demotic tale called "The Myth of the Sun's Eye" in the following terms (15. 1–4): His beak is (that of) an eagle; his eyes are (those of) a man; his limbs are (those of) a lion; his scaly ears are (those of) an *3b3h* fish of the sea; his tail is (that of) a snake—the five [creatures] which breathe which are upon (the earth). The griffin is described as the "avenger upon whom no avenger can wreak vengeance" and the "herdsman of everything which is upon earth." The most recent discussion of this passage, and its translation into Greek, is by J. W. Tait, "A Duplicate Version of the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974): 23–27, and "The Fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976): 27–44.

13. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 1179.

14. Epithet of Anubis; cf. PDM xiv. 35, 400, and 422; see PGM I. 26 and n.

15. See n. 5 above.

16. See n. 4 above.

17. The formation of compound dieties occurs very early in Egyptian religion and remains a common feature.

18. Restoration based on Old Coptic gloss "a" = preposition *r*.

I am [†]TA [†]PISH[†]TEHEI¹⁹ of earth by name. . . . preserve you, O Pharaoh, PASHA-MEI²⁰ who rests opposite . . . these forearms of real gold. Truth is in my mouth, honey [is on my lips]²¹ . . . MA . . . THA, for I am [†]STEL [†]LAHO, [†]he [†]who [†]opens the [†]land.”

You should say to the boy, “Open your eyes!” If he opens his eyes and sees the light, you should make him cry out, / saying “Be great, be great, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be high, be high, O light! He who is outside, come in!”

30

[II, 2]

If he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you should make him close his eyes while you recite to him again.

Formula: “O darkness, remove yourself [†]from [†]before him! O light, bring the light in to me! Pshai²² who is in the primeval waters, bring the light in to me! O Osiris who is in the divine bark, bring the light in to me! O these four winds which are outside, bring the light in to me! O he in whose hand is the [†]moment, the one who belongs to these hours,²³ / bring the light in to me! O Anubis, the good ox-herd, bring the light in to me in order that you give me [†]protection here today, for I am Horus, the son of Isis, the good son of Osiris! You should bring the gods of the place of judgment, and you should cause them to take care of my affair so that they make [†]my business proceed. [†]O [†]those [†]belonging [†]to [†]the [†]avengers,²⁴ you should cause them to do it, for [I am] . . . [†]TYRAMNEI²⁵ [†]AMNEI²⁶ [†]A [†]A [†]MES MES [†]ORNYORF ORNYORF [†]ORNYORF ORNYORF [†]PAHOROF²⁷ . . . [†]PAHROF²⁸ [†]IO little king, [†]mountain [†]of [†]Horus. May this youth whose face is bent down to this / oil be saved [and may you] send Sobek to me until he comes forth. ‘Hearing’ is my name; ‘Hearing’ is my correct name, for I am L[OT [†]MYLO]T²⁹ TYLOT. [†]TAT [†]PINTAT is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, appear to this youth [†]without [†]alarming or [†]deceiving, [†]truthfully.”³⁰ You should recite these *writings* *seven times*.

35

[II, 7]

40

[II, 12]

If you make him open his eyes and the light is good and he says “Anubis is coming in,” you should recite before him,³¹

Formula: “O RIDJ MYRIDJ, O earth, great one of the earth, O this beautiful male whom [†]HERIEY, the daughter of the [†]Neme³² bore, / come to me, for you are this

45

19. The final group is the Demotic word [†]ny, “house”; the first element of the first word may be a phonetic rendering of [†]ta, “she of.”

20. See n. 19 above.

21. Or “the truth of my mouth is the honey of my lips.” Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 252.

22. On š(ʿ)y “Fate” and p3 šʿy ʿ3 as the ἀγαθοδαίμων, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et Ponomastique* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1975). See also PGM III. 144–45.

23. I.e., the god who is “on duty” at this moment; see below, PDM xiv. 58–60.

24. On avengers, see *Mythus* 4/20. “The Avenger” is identified by the Coptic monk Shenute as Chronos. See also PDM xiv. 242.

25. The ending is written with Demotic n3y, “there” or “to me.”

26. See n. 25 above.

27. The ending is written r.f, “his mouth.”

28. See n. 27 above.

29. Restored by comparison with PDM xiv. 534.

30. “Without alarming or deceiving, truthfully” are Greek words written phonetically in Demotic, as Griffith and Thompson, 28, n. to l. II. 14. The spelling of Greek επαληθια as ep[†]letsy[†] reflects the standard transcription of Greek τ/θ + ι as tsy; see Johnson, “Dialect,” 123–25. Greek π/φ + ι are written ps/śy; Greek κ/χ + ι as ksy.

31. I.e., Anubis.

32. A goddess of destruction, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 28–29, n. to l. II. 16.

[II, 17] lotus flower which came forth from †the †lotus bud †of †PNYSTOR which makes light for the entire land! Hail, Anubis! Come to me! †O †high †one, O mighty one, O master of secrets for those in the Underworld, O Pharaoh of those in Amenti,³³ O Chief Physician, O good [son] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, you should appear in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve the souls of Abydos in order that they all live through you, these souls, the ones of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here to-day! You are Thoth. You are the one who went forth from the heart of the great
 50 Agathodaimon,³⁴ the father of the fathers of all the gods. Come to the mouths / of my vessel today and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I
 [II, 22] am inquiring, without falsehood therein, for I am Isis the Wise, the sayings of whose mouth come to pass” (*formula: seven times*).

You should say to the youth, “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Go forth; bring the gods in!’”

When he goes after them and brings them in, you should question the youth, saying, “Have the gods already come in?” If he says, “They have already come,” and if you [*sic*] see them, you should recite before them.

Formula: “Awaken to me, awaken to me! PSHAI!³⁵ Awaken, †MERA, †the †Great †One †of †Five,³⁶ †TSITSY †TENNDJIY! Do justice to me! Thoth, may creation fill
 55 the earth with light; O ibis³⁷ in / his noble countenance, noble one who entered
 [II, 27] the heart,³⁸ create truth, O great god whose name is great!” (*Say seven times*).

You should say to the youth,³⁹ “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Bring in a table for the gods! Let them sit.’”

When they are seated, you⁴⁰ should say, “Bring in a wine jar; open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat, let them drink, (let them eat, let them drink),⁴¹ let them make merry.”

When they have finished, you⁴² should say to Anubis, “Will you make inquiry for me?”

If he says, “Immediately,” you⁴³ should say to him,⁴⁴ “The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up.” When he⁴⁵ says, “He has stood up,” you⁴⁶ should say to him, “Say to Anubis, ‘Carry off the things from the midst!’”⁴⁷

60 You⁴⁸ should recite / before him instantly, saying, “Agathodaimon of today, lord
 [III, 3] of today, the one to whom these moments belong.”⁴⁹

33. Literally, the west; i.e., the necropolis and, by extension, the realm of the dead.

34. See n. 22 above.

35. See n. 22 above.

36. Probably an epithet of Thoth; originally the title of the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 30, n. to l. II. 26.

37. I.e., Thoth.

38. I.e., who pleases.

39. A similar passage, but without the youth, is found in PDM xiv. 550–54.

40. I.e., the youth.

41. Dittography in going from column II to column III.

42. I.e., the youth.

43. See n. 42 above.

44. I.e., Anubis.

45. I.e., the god who will make the inquiry.

46. I.e., the youth.

47. I.e., of the gods seated at the table, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 32, n. to l. III. 2.

48. I.e., the youth.

49. I.e., Anubis.

You should cause him to say to Anubis, “The god who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name.” When he stands up and tells his name, you should ask him concerning everything which you wish.

*Its preparation:*⁵⁰ You bring seven new bricks which have not yet been moved in order to turn them (over) to the other face. You should lift them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you should set them back in the[ir] manner in which they were set. You should set three bricks under the oil. The other four bricks; you should arrange them around the youth without / his body touching the ground. Or seven palm staffs—you should treat them in this fashion also. You should bring seven clean loaves [of bread] and arrange them around the oil, together with seven lumps of salt. You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in] to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear. You should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman; you should speak down into his head beforehand, he standing up, (to learn) whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. If he will be useful, you should make him lie down on his belly / and cover him with a clean linen cloth (you should recite down into his head),⁵¹ there being a strap on the upper part of the cloth. You should recite this invocation which is above down into his head, he gazing downwards looking into the oil, up to *seven times*, his eyes being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes, and you should ask him about what you desire. You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

65

[III, 8]

70

[III, 13]

The invocation which you should recite (them [*sic*]) down into his head beforehand to test him in his ears to learn whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. *Formula:* “Noble ibis, falcon, / hawk, noble and very mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and very mighty.” You should recite this down into his head up to *seven times*.

75

[III, 18]

When you announce this, his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it is his right ear, he is good; if it is the left (ear), he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods come in and tell you an answer truthfully:⁵² You should put the shell of a crocodile’s egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame. It enchants instantly.

Prescription to make them speak: You put a frog’s head on the brazier. They speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: You should put bile / of a crocodile and ground myrrh on the brazier.

80

[III, 23]

If you wish to make them come in quickly, again: You should put stalks of anise on the brazier together with the eggshell, above. It enchants at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man: You should put sulphate⁺ of copper on the brazier. He comes in.

If you wish to bring in a spirit: You should put s3-*nr* stone⁵³ and glass(?) stone⁵⁴ on the brazier. The spirit comes in. You should put the heart of a hyena or a hare; (it is) very good.

If you wish to bring in a drowned man: You should put sca-*garab* (stone?) on the brazier.

50. Literally, “gathering of things.” [R.K.R.]

51. Repeated, out of place, from PDM xiv. 68.

52. See n. 30 above.

53. Perhaps σάπυ; see Harris, *Minerals* 179–80.

54. Ibid., 99–100.

If you wish to bring in a dead man: You should put ass's dung⁵⁵ and an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier. He comes in.

85 *If you / wish* to send them all away: You should put ape's dung on the brazier.
[III, 28] They all go away to their place. And you should recite their spell for dismissing them also⁵⁶

If you wish to bring in a thief: You should put crocus powder and alum on the brazier.

The spells which you should recite when you dismiss them to their place: "Go well, go in joy!"

If you wish to make the gods come in to you and (to make) the vessel enchant quickly: You should bring a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow and put it on the brazier. It enchants in the moment named and the light comes into being.

90 / An amulet to be bound to the body of the one who is carrying the vessel, to
[III, 34] cause it to enchant quickly: You should bring a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe. You should bind it to a scarab in its attitude of the sun god,⁵⁷ drowned,⁵⁸ being wrapped in byssus. You should bind it to the body of the youth who is carrying the vessel. It enchants quickly, there [being nothing in the world better ?] than it (?).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, cols. I/1–III/35. All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Section titles are indicated in PDM xiv as they are marked in the papyrus (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM xiv. 93–114 [PGM XIVa. 1–11]

*A casting for inspection⁵⁹ which the great god Iymhotep makes: *Its preparation*:⁶⁰ You bring a 'stool of olive wood having four legs,⁶¹ upon which no man on
95 earth has ever sat, and you put it near you, it being clean. When you wish / to make
[col. IV, a "god's arrival"⁶² with it truthfully without falsehood, *here is* its manner. You
3] should put the stool in a clean niche in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom;⁶³ you should put four bricks under the table before it, one above another, there being a censer of clay before it [sc. the table]; you should put charcoal of olive wood on it;⁶⁴ you should add 'wild' goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-nh*-stone;⁶⁵ you should make

55. The donkey was associated with the god Seth in the later periods. Seth, of course, had murdered his brother Osiris. For association of ass's dung with Seth, see PGM IV. 155–285 and n. The amulet is that of Nephthys, since she is the consort of Seth.

56. I.e., PDM xiv. 86–87.

57. The scarab beetle was identified with the sun god; cf. PGM I. 223; IV. 751 and 943; see R.K.R.'s notes there and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 39, n. to l. III. 34.

58. See R.K.R.'s note to PGM I. 5 and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 38–39, n. to l. III. 31.

59. Taking this noun as a compound from the two verbs *š* "to spread" and *mš* "to inspect," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary #786. The translation "casting" was suggested by R.K.R. since what follows is a horoscope; see n. 66 below.

60. See PDM xiv. 1–92 with n. 50.

61. Literally, "feet."

62. For a discussion of the reading and meaning of this term, used to describe spells in which a god is seen in a vision, usually a dream, see J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

63. Literally, from its head to its feet.

64. I.e., the censer.

65. Probably hematite; see Harris, *Minerals* 233–34.

them into balls; you should put one on the brazier; you should leave the remainder near you; you should recite this spell in Greek⁶⁶ to it (*formula*);⁶⁷ you should lie down without speaking / to anyone on earth; and you should go to sleep. You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals⁶⁸ on his feet.

“I call upon you [sing.] who are seated in impenetrable darkness and are in the midst of the great gods, you who set; take with you the solar rays, and send up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH; [you are the] great god, BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH, / Sun. Send up to me this night your archangel, ZEBOURTHAUNĒN. Respond with truth, truly, not falsely, unambiguously concerning such-and-such a matter, because I conjure you by him who is seated in the fiery cloak on the serpentine head of the Agathos Daimon, the almighty, four-faced, highest daimon, dark / and conjuring, PHŌX. Do not ignore me, but send up quickly tonight [in accordance with the] command of the god.” Say this three times.

He speaks with you truthfully with his mouth opposite your mouth concerning anything which you wish. When he has finished, he will go away again. You place a tablet for reading the hours upon the bricks, and you place the stars upon it, and you write your business on a new roll of papyrus, and you place it on the tablet. It sends your stars to you whether they are favorable for your business.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/1–22, and W. C. Grese (Greek sections). All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 115

*[A] tested [spell] for the security of shadows: Hawk’s egg and myrrh; rub, put [some] of it on your eye(s). You secure shadows.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/23. Or could this be a spell to protect against loss of vision? The following spell makes such an interpretation less likely. Griffith and Thompson, 43, n. to l. IV/23, suggest that the shadow is that of the god of the lamp. If so, this and the next should be considered part of the last spell; cf. *PGM* II. 612–13 and n.

PDM xiv. 116

*Another, again: Head and blood of a hoopoe; cook them and make them into a dry medicine. Paint your eye(s) with it. You see them again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IV/24. See note to the preceding spell.

PDM xiv. 117–49

*A tested “god’s arrival”.⁶⁹ You should set up your . . . ; you should stamp on the ground with your foot seven times. You should recite these spells to the Foreleg,⁷⁰ you having turned to the North, seven times; you should turn down;⁷¹ (you should

100
[IV, 8]

105
[IV, 13]
[PGM
XIVa. 5]
110
[IV, 18]
[PGM
XIVa. 10]

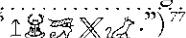
115
[col. IV,
23]

[col. IV,
24]

115
[col. V,
1f]

66. I.e., the procedure for reading a horoscope.
67. I.e., *PDM* xiv. 101–11.
68. The word written *šē*, “nose,” is a scribal error for *th.ty*, “sandals.” See R. K. Ritner, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* (forthcoming).
69. See n. 62 above.
70. I.e., Ursa Major.
71. I.e., away from the constellation.

go to a dark room).⁷² You should go to a dark, clean room whose face opens to the south; you should purify it with / natron water; you should bring a new white lamp to which no red lead⁷³ or gum water has been applied; you should put a clean wick in it; you should fill it with real oil after first writing this name and these figures⁷⁴ on the wick with ink of myrrh; you should put it on a new brick in front of yourself, its underside being spread with sand; and you should recite these spells⁷⁵ at the lamp again another seven times. If you put frankincense up in front of the lamp and you look at the lamp, you see the god near the lamp; you sleep on a reed mat without having spoken to anyone on earth, and he tells you the answer in a dream. *Here is its invocation.*

(124a–*Formula:* / (Here are the writings which you should write on the wick of the
126a) lamp: “BAXYXSIXYX”⁷⁶ ).⁷⁷
125 / “Hail, I⁷⁸ am MYRAI MYRIBI⁷⁹ BABEL BAOTH BAMYI,⁸⁰ the great Agathodai-
[V, 9] mon,⁸¹ MYRATHO, the . . . form of soul which rests above in the heaven of heavens,
TATOT TATOT BYLAI BYLAI MYIHTAHI MYIHTAHI LAHI LAHI BOLBYEL⁸² II
AA TAT TAT⁸³ BYEL BYEL IOHEL IOHEL, the first servant of the great god, he who
gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he is whose mouth is the flame
which is never extinguished, the great god who is seated in the flame, he who is in
the midst of the flame which is in the lake of heaven,⁸⁴ in whose hand is the great-
130 ness and the power of the god: reveal yourself to me / here today in the manner of
[V, 14] the form of revealing yourself to Moses which you made upon the mountain, be-
fore which you had already created darkness and light.”

(Insert above):⁸⁵ “I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer, in truth, concerning the given matter about which I am asking you. (I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer in truth)⁸⁶ without falsehood, for I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Phre;⁸⁷ I shall praise you before the Moon; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne,

72. An overlap with what is in the next line, showing where to insert these two lines.

73. See R.K.R.’s note in Glossary, s.v. “Lamps, not painted red.”

74. Written in the left margin opposite PDM xiv. 124–26; here called PDM xiv. 124a–126a.

75. See PDM xiv. 124–249 below.

76. This is Egyptian and can be translated “Soul (*Ba*) of darkness, son of darkness.” [R.K.R.]

77. These figures all resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs but cannot be translated by me.

78. The independent pronoun, which gives the translation “I am . . .,” was a later addition, above the line. Thus all the following magical names and descriptions may originally have been vocatives addressed to the god who is asked to appear and give the answer. This analysis is reinforced by the parallel in PDM xiv. 194–204, which has all as vocatives.

79. Ending written as *by*, “Soul.”

80. Ending written as *m3y*, “lion.”

81. See n. 22 above.

82. An almost identical version of this section appears in PDM xiv. 194–204, 489–99, and 516–26.

83. Written with the hieroglyph of the *dd*-column.

84. Astrological term for noon, in contrast to the “lake of the underworld,” which is midnight.

85. Added at the bottom of the column when the scribe realized he had left out part of one of the clauses in PDM xiv. 131. He began making the addition above the line in 131, but there was not space for all of it. Thus, as with the addition to PDM xiv. 119, he repeated much of the line in order to show the exact spot where the correction and additions override the original.

86. The overlap with PDM xiv. 148–49; see n. 85 above.

87. The sun god.

who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, †PETERI PETERI †PATER⁸⁸ †ENPHE
 †ENPHE, the god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful
 staff, who created deity, deity not having created him; come to me / down into the
 midst of this flame which is here before you, †O †he †of †BYEL †BYEL, and let me see
 the business about which I am praying tonight, truly, without falsehood! Let [me]
 see it, let [me] hear it. O great god †SISIHOT⁸⁹ †SISIHOUT (also called ARMIOOUTH),⁹⁰
 come in before me and tell me [an] answer to that about which I am
 asking, truly, without falsehood. O great god who is on the mountain of ATYGI⁹¹
 †CHABAHO,⁹² come in to me, let me learn⁹³ tonight about the given thing about
 which I am asking, truly, without falsehood . . . voice (?)⁹⁴ †of †the †LEASPHYT
 NEBLOT NEB LILAS⁹⁵ ([say it] seven times and go to sleep / without speaking).

135
[V, 19]140
[V, 24]

The ointment which you should put on your eye(s) when you are going to question the lamp in any lamp divination: You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.⁹⁵ You find them in the place of the garland seller (also called the lupine seller). You should bring them while they are fresh; you should put them in a glass bowl; you should seal its mouth with clay very well for twenty days in a hidden, dark place. After twenty days, if you bring it up and open it, you find some testicles in it together with a phallus. If you leave it for forty days and bring it up and open it, you find that it has already become bloody. In a place which is hidden at all times, you put it in a glass object, and you put the glass object into a pottery object. / If you desire to make a “god’s arrival”⁹⁶ of the lamp with it at any time, you should fill your eye(s) with this aforementioned blood while you are going in to recite the spell to the lamp. You see a secret figure of a god standing outside the lamp, and he speaks with you concerning the question which you wish; or you should lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you should awaken and recite his summons. You lie down on [a mat of] green reeds only while you are pure from a woman, the back of your head being turned to the south, your face being turned to the north, and the face of the lamp being turned to the north likewise.

145
[V, 29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. V/1–33. All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

88. This magical name is determined with the “man”-determinative rather than the “divine”-determinative normally found with the magical names. It is probably Greek *πατήρ*, “father.” The preceding may consist of this Greek word plus the Egyptian first-person singular suffix pronoun *y*, “my.” The following word, written alphabetically, corresponds to the Coptic for “in/of heaven” (*n p.t*). Thus these glosses may well mean “my father, my father, father in (the) heaven of the heaven(s).” (For the analysis of the repeat of the last word, cf. PDM xiv. 126, as noted by R.K.R.)

89. The last word of this name is probably the Egyptian word “male.” The first word, which is repeated, might be the word “son” or the verb “to be satisfied.” In PDM xiv. 202 it is written as the verb “to be satisfied.”

90. “Also called” is inserted above the end of the line and the Old Coptic gloss *ARMIOOUTH* is added in the left margin.

91. The Old Coptic gloss gives “of KABAON”; in PDM xiv. 204 the scribe changed Demotic *3twgy* into *g3b3wn*.

92. The Old Coptic gloss adds *TAKRTAT* after *XABA[H]O*.

93. Literally, “let my eyes open out”; the idiom *ti-wn tr.t*, “to cause that (the) eye(s) open” means “to instruct.” See Ritner above, n. 68.

94. Or is this sign the determinative (used with foreign words) of the preceding word, which ends in *ʔ*?

95. Literally, “eye-of-raven” plant.

96. See n. 62 above.

PDM xiv. 150–231

150 ***An inquiry of the lamp:** You go to a clean, dark room without light; you dig a
 [col. VI, new niche in an eastern wall; you bring a white lamp on which no red lead⁹⁷ or
 1] gum water has been put and whose wick is clean; you fill it with clean, genuine
 oasis oil; you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn when he rises; you bring the
 lamp, it being lit, opposite the sun; you recite the spells which are below⁹⁸ to it *four*
 times; you take it into the room, you being pure, together with the youth; you
 recite the spells to the youth⁹⁹ while he is not looking at the lamp, his eye(s) being
 closed, *seven* times. You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you are
 155 putting your finger on the youth's head, his eye(s) being closed. / When you have
 [VI, 6] finished, you make him open his eye(s) toward the lamp: he sees the shadow of the
 god near the lamp, and he inquires for you concerning that which you desire. At
 midday in a place without light you do it.

If you are inquiring for a demonic spirit, a wick of sailcloth is what you should
 give to the lamp, and you should fill it with clean butter.

If it is another matter, a clean wick and pure genuine oil are what you should give
 to the lamp.

If you will do it to bring a woman to a man, oil of roses¹⁰⁰ is what you should put
 in the lamp.

It is on a new brick that you put the lamp, and it is upon another brick that the
 youth seats himself while his eye(s) are closed, while you recite¹⁰¹ down into his
 head four times.

160 / *The spells* which you should recite to the wick¹⁰² beforehand before you have
 [VI, 16] recited to the youth: *Formula:*

"Are you the unique, great wick of the linen of Thoth? Are you the byssus robe of
 Osiris, the divine Drowned,¹⁰³ woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of
 Nephthys? Are you the original bandage which was made for Osiris Khenty-
 amenti?¹⁰⁴ Are you the great bandage with which Anubis lifted his hand to the
 body of Osiris the mighty god?¹⁰⁵ It is in order to cause the youth to look into you
 so that you may make reply concerning everything about which I am asking here
 today, that I am bringing you today, O wick. (If not doing it is what you will do, O
 wick, it is in the hand of the black cow that I am putting you, and it is in the hand
 165 / of the black cow that I am burning you. Blood of the Drowned One is what I am
 [VI, 16] giving to you for oil. The hand of Anubis is that which is laid against you. The
 spells of the great Sorcerer are those which I am reciting to you.) And so that¹⁰⁶ you
 bring me the god in whose hand the command¹⁰⁷ is today, so that he tell me [an]
 answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without false-

97. See n. 73 above.

98. PDM xiv. 160–69.

99. PDM xiv. 194–231.

100. *Skn/sgn* is a cheaper oil than *nbb*-oil (probably sesame oil); here it has been scented with rose
 scent. See J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 336–37.

101. See n. 99 above.

102. Corrected above, n. 99.

103. See references collected by R.K.R., n. to PGM I. 5.

104. "Foremost of the west," i.e., ruler of the world.

105. Anubis mummifying Osiris, using the fine bandages described in PDM xiv. 160–62.

106. Continuing from PDM xiv. 163.

107. For the god of the hour, i.e., the god who is "on duty," see n. 23 above. See also, as Griffith and
 Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53, n. to l. VI. 17, the reference to 365 gods in PDM xiv. 1224.

will undertake be summoned for me so that I may send him and so that he may complete them, they went and brought [one] to her. You are the lamp, the [thing] which was brought to her. The fury of Sakhmet, your mother, and of Hike,¹²⁵ your father, is / cast at you. You shall not burn for Osiris and Isis; you shall not burn for Anubis until you have told me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today truly, without telling me falsehood. If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil, (I will not give you oil),¹²⁶ I will not give you fat, O lamp. It is in the belly of the [female] cow that I shall put you,¹²⁷ and I shall put blood of the [male] bull after you,¹²⁸ and I shall put your hand to the testicles of the enemy of Horus.¹²⁹

185 [VI, 36] "Open to me, O you¹³⁰ of the underworld, O box of myrrh that is in my hand! Receive me before you, O souls, excellent ones¹³¹ belonging to Bi-wekem,¹³² O box of myrrh which has four corners. O dog who / is called Anubis by name, who rests on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of myrrh,¹³³ send to me the ointment for the youth of the lamp so that he may tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, there being no falsehood therein. IO TABAO SYGAMAMY AKHAKHA-NBY SANAYANI ETSIE¹³⁴ GOMTO¹³⁵ GETHOS BASA-ETHORI THMILA AKHKHY, make for me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today" (*seven times*).

190 [VII, 4] *The spells for the youth.*¹³⁶ BOEL BOEL BOEL I I I A A A TAT TAT
195 [VII, 9] TAT,¹³⁷ he that gives light very exceedingly, the companion of the flame, / he in whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who sits in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame, he who is in the lake of heaven,¹³⁸ in whose hand are the greatness and strength of the god, reveal yourself to this youth who is carrying my vessel today so that he may tell me [an] answer truly, without falsehood. I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne, who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, PETERI PETERI PATER ENPHE ENPHE,¹³⁹ the god who is in the upper part of
200 [VII, 14] heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, / who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame which is here before you, O he of BYEL.¹⁴⁰

125. The god of magic. For the association of Hike with Sakhmet, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 56–57, n. to l. VI. 35.

126. Dittography going from column VI to column VII.

127. Or, perhaps better, "that I shall give to you," since *n.k* should be the dative, not the oblique object.

128. The term to be "after" someone is also used in legal texts with the meaning "to have a legal claim against" someone.

129. I.e., Seth, whose testicles were cut off by Horus.

130. Plural.

131. Or, possibly, "of Aker," the earth god.

132. The eastern desert.

133. Note common depiction of Anubis, as jackal, on top of a chest.

134. See n. 30 above.

135. Perhaps "earthquake," as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 396a; if *gm* is for *qm*, this could be "creator of the earth."

136. An almost identical version of this section appears in PDM xiv. 128–38, 489–99, and 516–26.

137. See n. 83 above.

138. See n. 84 above.

139. See n. 88 above.

140. Old Coptic gloss above end of line adds ANIEL.

cause me to see the business about which
I am inquiring here today! Let [me] see
it; let [me] hear it.¹⁴¹

give strength to the eyes of the youth
who is carrying my vessel, to cause him
to see it and [give strength] to his ears
to cause him to hear [it].¹⁴²

O great god [†]SISIHYT,¹⁴³ come in
before me today and instruct me ¹⁴⁴ con-
cerning everything concerning which I
am praying here today!

O great god who is upon the mountain of GABAYN,¹⁴⁵ [†]CHABAHO.¹⁴⁶

You should recite this / until the light appears. When the light appears, you
should turn around ¹⁴⁷ and recite this other document again also. *Here is the copy* 205
[VII, 19]

of the summons itself which you should recite: “O, speak to me,
[†]THES [†]TENOR, the father of eternity and everlastingness, the god who is over the
entire land, [†]SALGMO [†]BALKMO [†]BRAK [†]NEPHRO-BANPRE ¹⁴⁸ [†]BRIAS [†]SARINTER ¹⁴⁹

[†]MELIKHRIPHS [†]LARNKNANES [†]HEREPHES [†]MEPHRO-BRIAS [†]PHRGA [†]PHEKSE
[†]NTSIYPISHIA ¹⁵⁰ [†]MARMAREKE [†]LAORE-GREPISHIE! Let me see the answer to the in-
quiry on account of which I am here. Let an answer be made to me / concerning 210
[VII, 24]

everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without falsehood. [†]O [†]ATAEL
[†]APTHE [†]GHO-GHO-MOLE [†]HESEN-MINGA-NTON-ROTHO-BAYBO ¹⁵¹ [†]NOERE [†]SERE-
SERE [†]SAN ¹⁵² [†]GATHARA [†]ERESGSHINGAL ¹⁵³ [†]SAKGISTE [†]NTOTE-GAGISTE ¹⁵⁴
[†]AKRYRO-BORE ¹⁵⁵ [†]GONTERE.¹⁵⁶

You should make him open his eye(s) so that he can look at the lamp, and you
should ask him about what you wish. If obstinacy occurs, he not having seen the god,
you should turn around ¹⁵⁷ and recite his compulsion.

Formula: [†]SEMEA-GANTEY ¹⁵⁸ [†]GENTY [†]GONTEY [†]GERINTEY ¹⁵⁹ [†]NTARENGO ¹⁶⁰
[†]LEKAYKS, / come to me! [†]GANAB [†]ARI [†]KATEI ¹⁶¹ [†]BARI KATEI, ¹⁶² sun disk, moon of 215
[VII, 29]
the gods, sun disk, hear my voice! Let me be told an answer to everything about
which I am asking here today. O perfume of [†]SALABAHO [†]NASIRA [†]HAKE, arise! O

141. PDM xiv. 202 and 204 are for use when a youth is consulting the lamp; xiv. 201 and 203 are to be used when the magician is not using a youth as intermediary.

142. See n. 141 above.

143. See n. 89 above. Here the scribe has added the Old Coptic gloss AXREMT0 above the beginning of the next line (i.e., over the Demotic “come!”).

144. Literally, “cause that my eyes open out”; see n. 93 above.

145. Modified by the Demotic scribe from ATYGI; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, to column VII of the autograph volume.

146. Old Coptic gloss adds TAKARTAT after CHBAHO; cf. PDM xiv. 138 and n. 92 there.

147. See n. 122 above.

148. The end is written in Demotic as “of Pre,” perhaps “soul of Pre.”

149. NTER is the Old Coptic gloss; the Demotic writes *ntr.w*, “gods.”

150. See n. 30 above (*nts* for *d* before *i*).

151. The last section shows a metathesis in the Demotic (apparently for graphic reasons) of the common ORTHO found in the gloss. See also n. 8 above (*nt*. for *d*.).

152. Written in Demotic as *sn*, “brother.”

153. See n. 8 above.

155. AKRYROBORE is Greek ἀκρορροβόρε (LSJ, s.v.: “swallowing the tip of her tail”). See also PGM I. 146 and the Glossary s.v. “YESSIMMIGADON formula.” [H.D.B.]

156. See n. 8 above.

157. See n. 120 above.

158. SEMEA is Greek for “image,” σῆμα/σημεία. [R.K.R.]

159. All four names end with Egyptian *t3w*, “breath, wind.”

160. See n. 8 above.

161. The ending is written ‘3 “linen.”

162. See n. 161 above.

Lion-ram,¹⁶³ let me see the light today, together with the gods, so that they may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly. NA NA NA NA is your name; NA NA is your true name.”

220 You should utter a loud whisper, calling out, saying, “Come to me” IAHO¹⁶⁴ IA EY
IAHO AYHO IAHO, husband,¹⁶⁵ bull,¹⁶⁶ high day,¹⁶⁶ NASHBOT ARPI-HPE ABLA-
[VIII, 1] ‘eye of raven.’ / ‘face of falcon,’ NI-ABIT THATLAT MIRIBAL.”

(If [the gods] delay so as not to come in, you should cry out: “MIRIBAL)¹⁶⁷ QMLA KIKH, the father of the fathers of the gods, enchant, ‘One eye weeps; the other laughs, Moon, moon, moon, moon, HA HA HE ST ST ST ST IHA IAHO, seek! Send to me the god in whose hand the command¹⁶⁸ is today so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

225 You should speak [to] that god with your mouth each time, and you should cry
[VIII, 5] out, “I am throwing fury at you, [fury] of him who cuts you, of him who devours you. / Let the darkness separate from the light before me. O god, HYHOS¹⁶⁹ sealed portion (?), be sated, be sated, AHO¹⁷⁰ AH,¹⁷¹ I do not appear without portion, awe, soul of souls IAHO ARIAHA¹⁷² ARIAHA; act for her; they will turn the face of [the] rebel; GS GS GS GS IANIAN; ‘we do’ EIBS¹⁷³ KS KS KS KS, send to me the god in whose hand the command is¹⁷⁴ so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. Come in, PIAToy CHITRE! O SHOP SHOPE SHOP¹⁷⁵ ABRAHME¹⁷⁶ the pupil of the sound eye,¹⁷⁷ QMR QMR QMR QMR KMRO,¹⁷⁸ who created creation, great flourishing creation. SH[]KNYSH is your real name. Let an answer be told to me / about everything concerning which I am asking here
230 today. Come to me BAKAKSIKHEKH!¹⁷⁹ Tell me an answer to everything about
[VIII, 10] which I am asking here today, truly, without telling me falsehood” (*formula*: seven times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VI/1–VIII/11. All words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

163. See n. 6 above.

164. Written with the Egyptian verb *im*, “to come.”

165. Although with animal determinative rather than phallus.

166. Or, if we do not believe the determinative on q3, “day of (the) bull.”

167. Overlap with the end of the preceding column. Note that, as Griffith and Thompson remark, *The Leyden Papyrus* 62, n. to l. VIII. 1, this heading is simply a reminder of the subject matter and is not a new heading; it is put in the middle of the column, not flush with the right margin.

168. See n. 107 above.

169. Ending written as *bx*, “praise.”

170. The Demotic uses the verb *im*, “to come.”

171. See n. 170 above.

172. Perhaps “lifetime maker.” [R.K.R.]

173. R.K.R. suggests translating “I shall induct (?).”

174. See n. 107 above.

175. Written with the Egyptian verb *hpr* “to bc, become,” Coptic *šape*; the middle example has an added final *e*.

176. With seated man determinative; the Old Coptic gloss reads ABRAHAM.

177. The *mg3.t*-eye of Horus.

178. “Creator (or creation) of the mouth.”

179. “Soul of darkness, son of darkness.” See n. 76 above.

PDM xiv. 232–38

*A “god’s arrival”¹⁸⁰ at the request of Paysakh, the priest of Cusac,¹⁸¹ who says that it has been tested nine times: “I am RAMSHY¹⁸² SHY RAMSHY son of PSHY of his mother she of PSHY. If such-and-such a thing is going to happen, do not come to me in your face of Pekhe.¹⁸³ You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY, the son of PSHY, of his mother she of PSHY.”

235

[col. VIII,

15]

[Say it] opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the lunar month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic with three iron needles piercing it; recite this to it seven times, and put it before you. He sees you and speaks with you.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VIII/12–18. Words preceded by ¹ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 239–95

*The vessel inquiry of Khonsu: “[Hail]¹⁸⁴ to you, Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus,¹⁸⁵ Horus, lord of time,¹⁸⁶ he is one. . . . / O silver,¹⁸⁷ lord of silver, o circuit of the underworld, lord of the circuit of the underworld,¹⁸⁸ lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian,¹⁸⁹ come to me. O noble child, the great god who is in the disk, who pleases¹⁹⁰ . . . , POMO¹⁹¹ who is called the bull, the great bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye,¹⁹² who came forth from the four . . .¹⁹³ of eternity, the avenger of flesh, whose name cannot be known, whose form cannot be known, whose manner cannot be known.

240

[col. IX,

2]

180. See n. 62 above.

181. A town in Middle Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 77*, #374. As Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 64, n. to l. VIII. 12, there is no determinative to show that Paysakh is a personal name, but it is hard to suggest an alternative interpretation.

182. Although SHY is written phonetically in the Demotic, this may well be the Egyptian god Shu, the god of the air. The first element of the name is written with the Egyptian word *r*, “mouth,” and the whole name could possibly mean “mouth of Shu.” If this is the god Shu, the *p* of PSHOU is the definite article, which is also found with *r* “the sun (god)” in the late form Pre.

183. A lion-headed goddess worshiped especially in Middle Egypt; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 65, n. to l. VIII. 14.

184. Restoring *ind*.

185. *Nfr-htp* means “beautiful of setting” (of the sun and moon). Khonsu (son of Amoun and Mur and preeminently a Theban god) is a moon god, here identified with Horus (also a moon god) in the form of the “noble child who came forth from the lotus,” i.e., *Nrf-tm*; see R.K.R.’s note to PGM IV. 1110.

186. The moon regulating the days of the month, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

187. The color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

188. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

189. Amoun, who in the late period was considered the god of Meroc; cf. l. 1097 and see Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

190. Or does this involve the verb *hm* “to command,” “to entrust”? Then the rendering would be “to whom is commanded” (*hm.w n.f*). [R.K.R.]

191. Perhaps “the great one of/among the great one(s).” [R.K.R.]

192. The *wḏ3.t*-eye, the sound-eye of Horus. See Bonnet, *RARG* 854–56, s.v. “Uzatauge.”

193. The identical epithets occur below, PDM xiv. 250–51. The word *hm* which is to be restored here means literally “vessel.” The plural means “things” and the Coptic derivative means not only “vessel” or “pot” but any material “thing.” Griffith and Thompson translate “boundaries” in 241 and 250 and “cycle” in 246. R.K.R. suggests that the idea of “four eternal things” is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements.

“I know your name, I know your form, I [know] your manner. ‘Great’ is your name; ‘Heir’ is your name; ‘Beneficial’ is your name; ‘Hidden’ is your name; ‘Great one of the gods’ is your name; ‘He whose name is hidden from all the gods’¹⁹⁴ is your name; ‘OM, Great One, Am’ is your name; ‘All the gods’ is your name; ‘Lorus Lion Ram’¹⁹⁵ is your name; ‘LOY is coming, Lord of the lands’ ‘Lord of the lands’ is your name; ‘AMAKHR of heaven’ is your name; ‘Lotus flower of stars (?) / is coming EI IO NE EI O’ is your name.

[IX, 7] Your [secret] form is [that of] a scarab with the face of a ram whose tail is a falcon and which is wearing two panther skins.¹⁹⁶ Your [serpent is a serpent] of eternity,¹⁹⁷ your . . .¹⁹⁸ is a lunar month; your wood is vine wood and persea; your herb is the herb of Amoun; your bird of heaven is a heron; your fish of [the sea] is a black *lebis*.¹⁹⁹ They are established on earth. ‘Sickness’ is your name in your body in the sea; your [secret] form of stone in which you came forth is a [. . .], Heaven is your shrine, the Earth is your forecourt. My desire was to seize you here today, for I am one who appears [shining] and who endures. My . . .²⁰⁰ grows old when I have not done it through delay, when I have not discovered your name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor of heaven. Bearing [hunger] / for bread and thirst for water I did it. You should save me and make me well and
250 [IX, 12] give me praise, love, and respect before every man. For I am the [great] bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye, who came forth from the four . . .²⁰¹ of eternity.

“I am youth, the great name who is in heaven, who is called AMPHOY²⁰² AMPHOY truly, truly; ‘He who was praised at Abydos,’²⁰³ Ra. ‘Horus the youth’²⁰⁴ is my name; ‘Chief of the gods’ is my correct name. Save me! Let me be healthy. Let my vessel become [successful?].

“Open to me Alkhah²⁰⁵ before every god and all men who came forth from the stone of Prah,²⁰⁶ for I am the serpent who came forth from Nun,²⁰⁷ I am the youthful Ethiopian,²⁰⁸ the rearing uraeus of real gold! In my lips is honey. That
255 [IX, 17] which I shall say comes to pass at once. Hail . . . / mighty one! I am Anubis, the youthful creation. I am Isis, I shall bind²⁰⁹ him. I am Osiris, I shall bind him. I am Anubis, [I shall bind] him. You should save me from every [misery?] and all confusion. LASMATNYT LESMATOT, save me! Heal me! Give me praise, love and respect in²¹⁰ my vessel, and (?) my bandage here today! Come to me, Isis, mistress of

194. An epithet of Amoun-Ra, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 67, n. to l. XI. 5.

195. See n. 6 above.

196. A figure found on late period coffins, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 7.

197. For the various possible meanings of this image, see the discussion in F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) 22, n. to l. III/20.

198. See n. 192 above.

199. Probably Labeo Niloticus; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 9.

200. With flesh determinative; it should be a part of the body.

201. See n. 192 above.

202. Could this be a phonetic rendering of the “great one in (the) heavens,” ³ *m p.w(t)?*

203. Osiris.

204. See n. 185 above.

205. See n. 2 above.

206. For Ptah as creator god, see H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. “Ptah.”

207. The primeval waters.

208. See n. 189 above.

209. The binding of the body as part of mummification.

210. I.e., through.

magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem. A snake, being the son of Atoum,²¹¹ is that which lies²¹² in the uracus diadem at my head in order that he who will strike me will strike the king. Mont is here today . . . Mighty Mihos²¹³ will send out a lion of the sons of Mihos, he being forced to bring to me quickly²¹⁴ the divine souls, the human souls, / the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead,²¹⁵ so that they tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am inquiring, for I am Horus, son of Isis, who is going across to Alkhah²¹⁶ to cast embalming wrappings before the amulets and to put linen on the Drowned one, the good Drowned one of the drowned ones.²¹⁷ They should²¹⁸ awaken and flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage, my word-gathering. Awaken for me the spirits, the dead; awaken their souls and their forms at the mouths of my vessel! Awaken them for me together with the dead! Awaken [them] for me! Awaken them for me! Awaken their souls and their forms. O fury of Pessiwont²¹⁹ the daughter of ARB . . . / awaken for me, awaken for me the Wontes from their misfortune! Let them speak with their mouths; let them talk with their lips; let them say that which I have said [concerning that which] I am asking here today. Let them speak before me; let truth happen to me. Do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true name, truly [without] falsehood in it! [O] scarab of true lapis lazuli that sits at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer,²²⁰ fill your mouth with the water of [the pool?]. Pour it out on my head together with that which is at my hand! Heal me; heal him, and vice versa until what I said [happens]! Let that which I said come to pass, for if that which I said does not come to pass, I will cause the flame to circulate around this bandage (?)²²¹ until that which I said does come to pass, for [they came] / to the earth, they listened to me . . . and they said to me, Who are you? Who are you? I am Atum in the sun boat of Pre; I am ARIATATY, the chest²²² of . . . I looked out before [me] to see Osiris the Ethiopian while he was coming in at me, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Wepwawet²²³ behind him, two sons of Rere²²⁴ mooring him. They said to me Who are you? Who are you? . . . I am one of those two falcons who watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . with its greatness. . . . Bring to me, bring to me the divine souls, the human souls, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead!²²⁵ Let them tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am asking,

260

[IX, 22]

265

[IX, 27]

270

[IX, 32]

211. For the connection between Atoum and serpents, see Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) 95–124.

212. Reading by W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miscellen, 5. Eine unerklärte Glosse im magischen Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 123.

213. A lion god.

214. Actually written *sp sm*, “twice.”

215. To the Egyptian, the range of forceful beings in the world.

216. See n. 3 above.

217. The drowned one is Osiris, who is here being cared for by his dutiful son Horus; see n. 58 above.

218. Corrected in Coptic from “you should” in Demotic.

219. To be translated “her son Wonte”; Wonte is a designation of Apophis, the enemy of Ra. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I. 325, #14. On Wonte and Apophis, see also *PGM* IV. 993–95 and n.

220. Unnefer is Onnophris. See *PGM* IV. 1078.

221. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Glosses in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden,” *ZÄS* 46 (1909–10): 128, and Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 368b.

222. Perhaps “sarcophagus.”

223. Jackal-headed god.

224. Usually the “sow” but here determined with the snake and perhaps indicating a snake goddess.

225. See n. 214 above.

275 for I am [†]ARTEMI ²²⁶ . . . womb when he rises in the east. / Come in to me, Anubis,
 [X, 2] in your beautiful face! It is in order to worship you that I come. Woe (?), woe (?),
 fire, fire, [south, north,] west, east, every breeze of Amenti, ²²⁷ let them come into
 being in very good condition, established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the
 one great] of reverence, for I am [†]IAE [†]LAO [†]IAEA [†]LAO [†]SABAOTH [†]ATONE, ²²⁸ I am
 casting [fury] at you, [†]TSIE ²²⁹ [†]GLATE [†]ARKHE ²³⁰ [†]LAO [†]PHALEKMI [†]LAO [†]MAKHA-
 HAI [†]IEE KHO . . . N [†]KHOKHREKHI [†]E-EOTH [†]SARBIAQY [†]IGRA [†]PSHIBIEG ²³¹
 280 [†]MOMY [†]MYNEKH [†]STSITHO ²³² [†]SOTHON [†]NAON [†]KHARMAI. / O fury of all these
 [X, 7] gods, whose names I have uttered here today, awaken for me, awaken for me the
 drowned, the [dead]! Let your souls and your [secret] forms live for me at the
 mouths of my lamp, my bandage, my word-gathering. Let it answer me concerning
 every word [about] which I am asking here today in truth, truly, without falsehood
 therein. Hasten, hasten, quickly, quickly!”

Its preparation. ²³³ You go to a dark storeroom whose [face] opens to the south
 or east in a clean place. You should spread it with clean sand brought from the great
 river. ²³⁴ You should bring a clean copper beaker or a new vessel [made] of pottery;
 you should put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled or of pure water into the
 285 beaker together with a *lok*-measure of pure real oil, / or oil alone without putting
 [X, 12] water into it; you should put a *qs-nh* stone ²³⁵ in the vessel with the oil; you should
 put a “heart-of-the-good-house” plant ²³⁶ in the bottom of the vessel; you should
 put three new bricks around the vessel; you should place seven clean loaves [of
 bread] on the bricks which are around the vessel; and you should bring a pure
 youth who has been tested in his ears beforehand (that is, he will be profitable in
 going with the vessel). You should make him sit on a new [brick]; you yourself
 should sit on another brick, you being before him (another [manuscript] says, be-
 hind him); you should put your hand up to [his] eye(s), [his eye(s) being] closed
 290 while you recite down / into the middle of his head seven times. When you have
 [X, 17] finished, you should lift your hand from before his eye(s), you should [make him
 bend over] the vessel and you should put your hands to his ears. You should take
 hold of them with your own hands while you ask the child saying, “Did you [see the
 great god]?”

If he says, “I see a darkness,” you should say to him “Speak, saying, ‘I see your
 beautiful face, . . . you . . . O great god Anubis!’”

If you wish to do it by vessel [you being] alone, ²³⁷ you should fill your eye(s) with
 this ointment ²³⁸ and you should sit [near the vessel?] in accordance with what is
 above, your eyes being closed. You should recite the above invocation seven times,
 open your eye(s), and question him concerning everything [that you wish]. . . . You

226. Artemis?

227. The west and, therefore, the necropolis.

228. Adonai?

229. See n. 30 above.

230. Greek ἀρχή, “beginning, first cause.”

231. See n. 30 above.

232. See n. 30 above.

233. See n. 50 above.

234. The Nile.

235. See n. 65 above.

236. “The good house” is the place of embalming.

237. I.e., without using the youth.

238. Cf. PDM xiv. 140. [R.K.R.]

do it from the / fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the sound-eye.²³⁹

295
[X, 22]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IX/1–X/22. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 295–308

*[A] vessel [inquiry, the magician being] alone²⁴⁰ in order to see the bark of Pre.²⁴¹ *Formula*: “Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! Let [me see the bark] of Pre [descending and ascending] in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Praying is what am doing before Pre, my father, [on account of] the things²⁴² which have gone forth from me. O great Heknet,²⁴³ mistress of the shrine, the Rishret (ʔ),²⁴⁴ open to me, mistress of spirits! [Open] to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods! O you seven Kings; O you [seven Montus],²⁴⁵ bull who engenders, lord of awe / who illuminates the earth, soul of the primeval waters. Hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of darkness! Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,²⁴⁶ great one, lofty one! Hail, soul of the ram, soul of the people of the west! Hail, [soul of souls, bull] of darkness, bull (ʔ) of bulls, son of Nut,²⁴⁷ open to me! I am the Opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! [I am I I] I E E E [HE HE HE] HO HO HO; I am ANEPO²⁴⁸ MIRI PO RE MAAT IB THIBIO ARYI²⁴⁹ YAY [IAHO].”²⁵⁰

300
[col. X,
27]

Formula: blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a [nightjar], “live-on-them” plant, [mustard], / “Great-of-Amoun” plant,²⁵⁰ *qs-nh* stone,²⁵¹ genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis” plant.²⁵² Pound [them]; make [them] into a ball [and paint] your [eye(s)] with it! Put a goat’s-[tear] in (ʔ) a “pleasure-wood”²⁵³ of juniper or ebony wood [and bind it] around you [with a] strip of male palm fiber in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eye(s) . . . according to what is written concerning it.

305
[X, 32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. X/22–35. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 309–34

*A spell for causing favor: “Come to me O . . . your beautiful name [of] Thoth! Hurry, hurry! Come to me. / Let me see your beautiful face here today . . . I being

310

239. I.e., full moon; on the sound-eye, see above, n. 192.

240. I.e., without using a youth.

241. This spell is repeated in PDM xiv. 805–16.

242. Literally, “words.”

243. “Joyful” or “acclaimed one.”

244. An epithet of Heknet?

245. For discussion of seven as a magical number in ancient Egypt, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 78–79, n. to l. X. 26. Note that *hknw* is the name of one of the seven oils found in offering lists.

246. Primeval waters.

247. Goddess of the sky.

248. Great Anubis.

249. Perhaps, “May the greatness of Ra, just (ʔ) of heart, and the great lamb act.” [R.K.R.]

250. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary [3], to be flax.

251. See n. 65 above.

252. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 80, n. to l. X. 32, for the suggested identification of this plant as *πῖτταξίς*.

253. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to l. X. 33, to be a kohl stick.

- [col. XI, 2] in the form of a baboon; may you rejoice over (?)²⁵⁴ [me (?)] in praise and honor with your tongue of. . . . May you hear my voice today and may you save me from all evil things and all evil spells. Hail, he whose form is of. . . his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting a god came forth, who rests in the midst of Thebes! I am. . . of the great Lady, under whom Hapy²⁵⁵ comes forth. I am the face of great awe. . . soul in his protection; I am the noble child / who is in the
- 315 [XI, 7] House of Re.²⁵⁶ I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern. . . the ibis as a true protection, who rests in Heliopolis. I am the master of the great foe,²⁵⁷ the lord who obstructs semen, the very strong one. . . is my [name]. I am the ram, son of the ram; Lotus Lion Ram²⁵⁸ (and vice versa) is my name. Ra-Khepri-Atum²⁵⁹ is my true name, truly. Give me praise and love [before NN, son of] NN today, so that he give me all good things, so that he give me food and nourishment, and so that he do everything which I [shall desire. And do not let him] injure me so as to do me any harm, so that he say to me a thing which [I] hate, today, tonight, this month, this year, [this] hour. . . . [But as for my enemies (?)] the sun shall impede their
- 320 hearts and blind / their eyes, and create darkness in their faces, for I am BIRAI. . .
- [XI, 12] RAI; be far off from me!²⁶⁰ I am the son of Sakhmet; I am BIGT, the bull of LAT. I am GAT, son of GAT, whose. . . the underworld, who rests in the depths of the great temple²⁶¹ in Heliopolis. I am a greatly praised one, the mistress of protection, who binds with leather thongs. . . in whose protection are great and powerful divine powers, who rests in Bubastis. I am the divine shrew-mouse²⁶² who [rests in] Letopolis. Lord of Letopolis, unique lord. . . is my name; Ra-Khepri-Atum²⁶³ is my true name, truly. O all you gods [whose names I have spoken] here today, come
- 325 to me in order that you might hear what I said today / and in order that you might
- [XI, 17] rescue [me] from all weakness, every defect, everything, every evil today! Give me praise, love [and respect before] NN,²⁶⁴ the king and his people, the mountain and its animals so that he does everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who will see] me [or] to whom I shall speak [or] who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old people, all people [or animals or things in the] whole land, [who] shall see me in these hours today so that they create my praise in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily, together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow every enemy! Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, before I have said them and repeated saying them!"
- 330 [XI, 22] [To be said] over an ape of wax and a fish; put it / in first-quality lotus oil (another [manuscript] says *tšps* oil)²⁶⁵ or moringa oil which is. . . ; add styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of "great-of-love" plant in a faience vessel; bring a wreath of. . . , anoint it with this oil as above, recite these [spells] to it seven times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken to any man at all; pu-

254. Suggested by R.K.R.

255. The Nile, especially the inundation.

256. I.e., Heliopolis.

257. Perhaps *hr.wy* "foe" is a mistake for *hr.wy* "testicles," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 82, n. to l. XI. 8.

258. See n. 6 above.

259. See n. 116 above.

260. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 83, n. to l. XI. 12.

261. Of the sun god, (P)re.

262. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 84, n. to l. XI. 15.

263. See n. 116 above.

264. Feminine.

265. For a possible identification, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 85, n. to l. XI. 22.

rify it; anoint your face with it; place the wreath in your hand; go to any place; [and be] among any people. It creates for you very great praise among them indeed. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius]²⁶⁶ There is none better than it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XI/1–26. Words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 335–55

*[A spell for making] a woman love a man: 'Juice 'of 'balsam 'tree, *one stater*; 335
'malabathrum, *one stater*. *qwt*, *one stater*; . . . scented . . . , *one stater*; *mrwe*, *one* [col. XII,
stater; genuine oil, two *lok*-measures.²⁶⁵ You should grind these [ingredients]. You 1]
should put them into a clean [vessel]; you should put the oil on top of them one
day before the beginning of the lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you
should bring a black Nile fish²⁶⁸ measuring nine fingers (another [manuscript] says
seven), its eye(s) being variegated(?) in color . . . [which you] find in [a] water(?)
. . . ; you should put it into this above-mentioned oil for two days; you should re- 340
cite this formula to it at dawn . . . / before you have come [out of your] house and [XII, 6]
before you have spoken to any man on earth. When the two days have passed [you
should] arise at dawn. You should [go] to a garden. You should bring a vine shoot
which has not yet formed grapes. You should lift it in your left [hand]; you should
put it in your right hand. It should amount to seven fingers [in length]. You should
take it [to your] house; you should bring the [fish] up out of the oil; you should tie
it by its tail with a strip of flax; you should hang it up [by the head on] the vine; and
[you should place] the thing containing oil under it for another three days until it²⁶⁹
pours out by drops downwards that which is in it, while / the vessel which is under 345
[it] is on a new brick. When the three days have passed, you should [bring it] [XII, 11]
down. You should embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and byssus. You should put it in
a hidden place or in [your house]. You should spend two more days, reciting to the
oil again, making seven days. You should keep it. When you [wish] to make it do its
work, you should anoint your phallus and your face and you should lie with the
woman to whom you will do it.

The spells which you should recite to the oil: "I am Shu²⁷⁰ GLABANO. I am Ra; I 350
am the 'creation'²⁷¹ of 'Ra; I am the son of Ra. I am / SISHT²⁷² the son of Shu, a [XII, 16]
water reed of Heliopolis, this griffin which is in Abydos. You²⁷³ are the first one, the
great one, great of magic, the living,²⁷⁴ uraeus. You²⁷⁵ are the sun boat, the lake of
Wu-poke.²⁷⁶ Give me praise, love, and respect before every womb, every woman.
Love is my true name."

[Another] spell pertaining to it,²⁷⁷ again: "I am Shu KLAKINOK; I am IARN, I am

266. For the restoration, see *ibid.*, 86, n. to l. XI. 26.

267. A *lok*-measure is about one pint.

268. For a discussion of the type of fish, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 87–88, n. to l. XII. 4.

269. The fish.

270. God of air.

271. Or the "reed" of Ra.

272. "The image of." [R.K.R.]

273. Feminine singular.

274. Or "rearing": cf. PDM xiv. 3.

275. Feminine singular.

276. See n. 113 above.

277. The fish.

GAMREN. I am SE . . . PAER(?) IPAF INPEN NTINHS GAMRY,²⁷⁸ water of Heliopolis. I am Shu SHABY SHA . . . , SHABAHO LAHEI²⁷⁹ LAHS LAHEI,²⁸⁰ the great god who is in the east, / LABRATHAA. I am the griffin which is in Abydos.²⁸¹

355

[XII, 21] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/1–21. Words preceded by * are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 355–65

*[Another] manner of them²⁸¹ to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa before . . . : “You²⁸² are the great one,²⁸³ the great of magic, the Ethiopian [cat], daughter of Ra,²⁸⁴ the mistress of the uraeus.²⁸⁵ You are Sakhmet²⁸⁶ the great, the mistress of Ast,²⁸⁷ who has destroyed every enemy . . . [eye (?)] of the sun in the sound-eye,²⁸⁸ born of the moon at midmonth at night.²⁸⁹ You are the great creation of the primeval waters. You²⁹⁰ are creation . . . the great one who is in the House of the obelisk²⁹¹ in Heliopolis. You²⁹² are the golden mirror: [you are] the morning bark [of the sun], the sun bark of Ra, . . . LANDJA, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Libyan woman of the . . . / of dom palm fruit, these secrets (?) . . . of Bi-weken.²⁹³ The favor and the love which Pre, your father, has given to you, send [them] down to me into this oil before every heart and eye of every woman before whom I am going in.”

360

[col. XII,

26]

365

[XII, 31]

[Invocation,] to a black Nile fish²⁹⁴ nine fingers [long]: [You should put it] in oil of roses,²⁹⁵ you should drown it in it; you should bring it [up]; you should hang [it] up by [the] head [for . . . days]. When you have finished you should put it in a glass vessel; you should [add] a little water of sisymbrium²⁹⁶ and a small “amulet plant(?)—of-Isis” which is . . . and pounded; and you should recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You should anoint your face with it / at the time when you lie with the woman; [you should] embalm the fish in myrrh and natron. You should bury it in your house or in a hidden place.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/21–31.

278. The end is written *r.w.*, “mouths.”

279. The end is written *iy*, “to come.”

280. The end is written *e.t.*, “limb.”

281. Written “me” rather than “them.”

282. Feminine singular.

283. *t3.wr.t*, identified by Griffith and Thompson as Thoucris, a goddess usually presented in the form of a hippopotamus.

284. In the story of the Myth of the Sun’s Eye (see n. 19 to xiv. 1–92), Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, fled to Ethiopia.

285. For all these epithets, cf. *PDM* xiv. 350–51.

286. Cat goddess, goddess of war.

287. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 22.

288. See n. 192 above and *PDM* xiv. 295.

289. The sun and moon were thought of as the eyes of heaven, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 23.

290. Feminine singular.

291. Within the great temple of the sun god, Ra.

292. Feminine singular.

293. The eastern desert.

294. See n. 268 above.

295. See n. 100 above.

296. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 92, n. to l. XII. 29.

PDM xiv. 366–75

*The method of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband: “Woe; woe, flame; flame; Geb made his form into (that of) a bull, he had intercourse [with] ²⁹⁷ his mother, Tefnet, again . . . as the heart of his father cursed his face, the fury of him whose soul is as a flame, while his body is as a pillar, so that he . . . fill the earth with flame and so that the mountains shoot with tongues. The fury of every god and every goddess, the great living one, ²⁹⁸ LALAT / ²⁹⁹ BARESHAK eye of Ethiopia ²⁹⁹ be cast upon NN, the son of NN, [and] NN, the daughter of NN. Put the fire behind his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] into his heart at any time, until he casts NN, the daughter of NN, out of his house(s), she carrying (?) hatred to his heart, she carrying quarrelling to his face. Give him nagging and squabbling, fighting and quarrelling between them at all times, until they are separated from each other, without having been at peace forever and ever.” Gum, . . . / myrrh. You should add wine to them; you should make them into a figure ³⁰⁰ of Geb, there being a *w3s*-scepter ³⁰¹ in his hand.

370
[col. XIII,
5]

375
[XIII, 10]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 376–94

*[The recipes] into which the shrew-mouse goes: If you bring a shrew-mouse, you drown it in some water, and you make the man drink it; [then] he is blinded in both eyes. If you grind its body(?) with any piece of food and you make the man eat it, [then] he makes a blistering death(?), ³⁰² he swells up, and he dies.

If you do it to fetch a woman, you should bring a shrew-mouse; you should place it on a Syrian potsherd; you should put it on the backbone of a donkey; you should put its tail on a Syrian potsherd or [piece of] a glass; also, you should let it loose alive in / the door of a bathroom of the woman; you should gild it. You should embalm its tail; you should add pounded myrrh to it; you should put it in a gold ³⁰³ ring(?); you should put it on your finger after reciting these ³⁰⁴ spells to it; and you should go with it to any place. Every woman whom you shall seize, she [wants?] you. You do it when the moon is full.

380
[col. XIII,
15]

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, ³⁰⁵ you should take its body when it is dry; you should pound [it; you should] take a little of it together with a little blood from your second finger and the little finger ³⁰⁶ of your left hand; you should mix it with it; you should put it in a cup of wine; you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it. [Then] she rages after you.

If you put its gall into a [measure of] wine / and the man drinks it, he dies at

385

297. See J. G. Griffiths, “A Note on P. Demot. Mag. Lond. et Leid. XIII, 2,” *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 156–57.

298. Perhaps the uraeus serpent; cf. *PDM* xiv. 3 and 351.

299. Tefnut; see n. 284 above.

300. The star-determinative suggested to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 94, n. to l. XIII. 10, that this is a reference to the planet *Króvos*/Geb, otherwise called Horus the Bull and depicted as a bull-headed man holding a *w3s* scepter.

301. Symbol of dominion.

302. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 13.

303. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 392, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 15.

304. *PDM* xiv. 392–94.

305. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 1206–18.

306. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 331b.

[XIII, 20] once; or [if you] put it into any piece [of food]. If you put its heart into a [seal] ring of gold, you put it on your hand, and you go anywhere, [then] it creates for you [favor, love and] respect.

If you drown a hawk in a [measure of] wine, and you make the man drink it, [then] he dies. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any piece of food, [then] he dies. If you put a two-tailed lizard into [the] oil, [cook] it, and anoint the man with it, [then he dies?].

If you wish to produce a skin disease on a man so that it does not heal: A *hantous* lizard [and?] a *haffela* lizard; you should cook them with [oil?], / and you should wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it . . . :³⁰⁷ you should put . . . ; [then] it. . . If you put beer . . . to the man's eye(s), he is blinded.

The spells which you recite to the ring³⁰⁸ at the time when you seize the woman: "[O] . . . I AHO ABRASAKS, may NN, whom NN bore, love me! May she burn for me in (?) the road!" . . . you . . .³⁰⁹ she follows after you. You write [it] also on the strip with which you embalm the [shrew-mouse?].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/11–29.

PDM xiv. 395–427

[col. XIV, 1] ***[A vessel divination:]** "Open my eyes! Open your eyes!" and vice versa, up to three times. (That which another man said to me, "Open, O my eyes! Open, O my eyes!" up to *four* times.) "Open, Tat! Open Nap! Open Tat! Open, Nap! Open, Tat! Open, Nap! Open [to me]! Open [to me]! for I am ARTAMO, whom the great craftsman³¹⁰ bore, the great serpent of the east, who rises with your father at dawn! Hail, hail, Heh!³¹¹ Open to me, flame!"³¹² You say whispering, "ARTAMO, open to me, flame. If you do not open to me, flame, I will make you open to me, flame. O ibis, ibis, sprinkle, so that I may see the great god Anubis, the powerful one, / who is before me, the great strength of the sound-eye!³¹³ O powerful Anubis, the good oxherd, open every[thing] to me! Reveal yourself to me, for I am NESTHOM NESDJOT NESHOTB BORILAMMAI BORILAMMAI MASTSINKS³¹⁴ Anubis, great one, Arian³¹⁵ the one who is great, Arian, this bringer of safety, Arian, the one who is outside! Hail, PHRIKS IKS lord IBROKS AMBROKS EBORKS KSON³¹⁶ NBROKHRIA, the great child, Anubis, for I am this soldier.

405 "O those of the Atef crown,³¹⁷ those of PEPHNUN³¹⁸ MASPHONEGE; / hail! Let all that I have said come to pass here today, for hail! You are THAM THAMTHOM

307. Written in cipher; reading and meaning uncertain. Griffith and Thompson read TOYR and translated "to be troublesome." It might read DOYR, in which case could it mean "to be strong" (*dr*) or "to scatter, disperse" (*dr**)? Depending on the meaning of this verb, the preceding subject might be "he" (the man) rather than "it" (the animal).

308. See PDM xiv. 381.

309. The verb *drp*, which is what appears to have been written, means "to stumble" or, transitively, "to trip (someone), to hinder, to impede."

310. A reference to Prah, the craftsman god of Memphis.

311. Personification of high numbers and everlastingness.

312. Or a phonetic spelling of the name Heh, written in hieratic.

313. See n. 177 above.

314. With flesh determinative; cf., perhaps, μάστιξ, "whip."

315. Arianus, written with seated man determinative.

316. The Old Coptic gloss adds another KSON.

317. A crown worn by the king and Osiris.

318. Perhaps "he of the primeval waters (Nun)."

THAMATHOM THAMATHOMTHAM THAMATHYTSI³¹⁹ Amoun. Amoun is your correct name, who is called THOM ANKTHOM.³²⁰ You are ITTH; Thoth³²¹ is your name. Son of THOM ANITHOM OP³²² SAO SHATNSRO black,³²³ open to me the mouths of my vessel here today! Come to me at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage! Let my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven. May the hounds of the Phulot³²⁴ give me that which is just in the primeval waters. May they tell me / that about which I am asking here today, in truth, truly, there being no falsehood therein AEËIOYO³²⁵ spirit of strife!³²⁶

410
[XIV, 16]

Formula: You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top³²⁷ [of the water] with true oil; you place it on [three] new bricks, whose undersides are spread with sand; you put another four bricks under the youth; you make the youth lie down on his stomach; you make him put his chin on the bricks of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, while a cloth is stretched over him, / and while a lighted lamp is in his right hand and a burning censer in his left hand; you put a lobe of Anubis plant on the lamp; you put this incense up [on the censer]; and you recite these writings which are above³²⁸ to the vessel *seven* times.

415
[XIV, 21]

The incense which you should put up [on the censer]: frankincense (?), oil, ammoniac, incense,³²⁹ dates. Pound them with wine, make them into a ball and offer up this scent.

When you have finished, you should make the youth open his eyes and you should ask him, “Is the god coming in?” If he says, “The god has already come in,” you should recite before him. **Formula:** “Your bull(?), MAO, O Anubis, this [soldier?],³³⁰ this bull³³¹ / this blackness³³² . . . This . . . this ITSI³³³ this SRITSI³³⁴ SRITSI SRITSI ABRITSI³³⁵ is your name, being your correct name.”

420
[XIV, 26]

And you should ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry about which you are asking, you should recite to him seven times and you should dismiss [the god] to his home.

His dismissal. Formula: “Farewell, farewell, [Anubis] the good oxherd, Anubis, Anubis, the son of a wolf and a dog, the . . .” (another papyrus says: “the child of

319. See n. 30 above.

320. I.e., I am THOM.

321. See n. 30 above.

322. Written as the verb *ip* “to count, reckon.”

323. Perhaps, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 100, n. to ll. XIV. 13–14, “[sacrifice (lit., cutting) of (a) black ram.”

324. A geographical name; see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* . . . , vol. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale: 1925–31), 4, for a discussion of the suggested identifications.

325. The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in order.

326. Written in Demotic with a foreign word determinative; a compound from μάχομαι, “to fight” and πνεῦμα, “spirit.”

327. Literally, “its (the water’s) face.”

328. PDM xiv. 395–410.

329. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 23.

330. Assuming the partially preserved word is the *mty*, “soldier” (Coptic *matoi*), from “Mede.”

331. If this is identical with Coptic *gam* (Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 330).

332. This, like the preceding, would have been pronounced КАМ, as that is glossed.

333. See n. 30 above.

334. See n. 30 above.

335. See n. 30 above.

her of [?] Isis and a dog, [†]NABRISHOTHT, the Cherub³³⁶ of Amenti,³³⁷ king of those of . . .³³⁸). Say *seven* times.

425 You should take the lamp from the child, you should take the vessel containing
[XIV, 31] water, you should take the cloth off him. You can also do it / alone³³⁸ by vessel in-
quiry. [It is] very good, tried, tested nine times.

*The Anubis plant:*³³⁹ It grows in millions of places. Its leaf is like the leaf of Syr-
ian [plant] which grows white; its flower is like the flower of conyza³⁴⁰ . . . you . . .
eye . . . before you have . . . the vessel.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIV/1–34. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Note the change in line arrangement.

PDM xiv. 428–50

*A potion: You should bring a small shaving from the head of a man who was
murdered together with seven grains of barley buried in a grave of a dead man; you
430 should grind them with ten *oipe* / (another [manuscript] says, nine) of apple seeds;
[col. XV, you should add blood of a tick³⁴¹ of a black dog to them together with a little blood
3] of your second finger and the little finger³⁴² of your left hand and your semen,³⁴³
you should press them together; you should put them in a cup of wine; you should
add three ladles to it of the first fruits of the wine, before you have tasted it and
before an offering has been poured out from it; you should recite this spell³⁴⁴ to it
435 *seven* times; you should make the woman drink it; you should tie the skin of the
tick aforesaid with a band of byssus; / and you should tie it to your left arm.

[XV, 8] *Its invocation. Formula:* “I am he of [†]Abydos, in truth, in the completion of
birth in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame, [†]she [†]of the seat of mercy of the
Agathodaimon.³⁴⁵ I am this figure of the sun, [†]the son [†]of [†]TAMESRO³⁴⁶ is my name.
I am this figure of the strong general, this sword, this great overthrower. The great
flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this fortress, this sword; this great
overthrower is my name. I am this figure of the Drowned one,³⁴⁷ who testifies in
440 writing, who rests on board here under / the great offering table of Abydos, to
[XV, 13] whose name of Isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put in this cup.
This wine, give it, the blood of Osiris [which] he gave to Isis, to make her feel love
in her heart for him at night, at noon, at any time, there not being time of change.
[†]Give it, the blood of NN, whom NN bore, to give it to NN, whom NN bore, in

336. For this interpretation, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 29.

337. The west, the necropolis, and thus the realm of the dead, over which Anubis presided.

338. I.e., without a youth.

339. PDM xiv. 415–16.

340. Thus Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*; see pp. 103–4, n. to XIV. 32. The identification has been questioned by D. Devauchelle and M. Pezin, “Un papyrus médical démotique,” *CEg* 53 (1978): 59. H. von Deines and H. Grapow (*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogenamen, Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], 39–41) identified this plant as “*mentha aquatica*.”

341. The identification of *hr-f-mst* of PDM xiv. 430 with *syb* of PDM xiv. 434 indicates the meaning “tick,” as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 318b–319a.

342. See n. 306 above.

343. Or “urine.”

344. PDM civ. 435–48.

345. See n. 22 above.

346. Or “the daughter of Ra.” [R.K.R.]

347. Osiris.

this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart. The love which Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let NN, the daughter of NN, feel it, / while seeking after NN, the son of NN, everywhere. The love which Isis felt for Horus the Behedite,³⁴⁸ let NN feel it for NN, she loving him, she being mad after him, she being inflamed by him, she seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.”

445
[XV, 18]

Another method [of doing it] again: The fragment³⁴⁹ of the tip of your fingernail and apple seed together with blood from your aforesaid finger also. You should pound the apple, you should add blood to it, you should put it in the cup of wine; / you should recite³⁵⁰ it *seven* times, and you should make the woman drink it at the above-mentioned time.

450
[XV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/1–23. Words preceded by ‘ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 451–58 [PGM XIVb. 12–15]

*[A spell] for going before a superior if he fights with you and he will not speak with you:

“Do not pursue me, you, so-and-so, I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, and I go to take it to Abydos, to take it to Tastai, and to bury it at Alkhah.³⁵¹ If he, NN, causes me trouble, / I will throw the mummy at him.”

455
[col. XV,
28] (15)

Its invocation in Egyptian³⁵² again is this which is below:

“Do not run after me, NN.³⁵³ I am PAPIPTY METYBANES, carrying the mummy of Osiris, going to take it to Abydos to let it rest in Alkhah. If NN fights with me today, I shall cast it out.” (Say seven times!)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/24–31, and R. F. Hock (Greek section).

PDM xiv. 459–75

*The words of the lamp: / “‘ BOTH ‘ THEY ‘ IE ‘ YE ‘ O ‘ OE ‘ IA ‘ YA (another manuscript [says], ‘ THEY ‘ IE ‘ OE ‘ ON ‘ IA ‘ YA) PTHAKH ELOE (another manuscript [says] ELON; very good) IATH ‘ EON ‘ PERIPHA ‘ IEY ‘ IA ‘ IO ‘ IA ‘ IYE, come down to the light of this lamp, appear to this youth, and ask for me about that which I am asking here today, ‘ IAO ‘ LAOLO ‘ THERENTHO ‘ PSIKSHIMEA KHE-LO³⁵⁴ ‘ BLAK-HANSPLA ‘ IAE ‘ YEBAI³⁵⁵ ‘ BARBARETHY ‘ IEY ‘ ARPON-GNYPH / ‘ BRINTATENOPHRI ‘ HEA ‘ GARHRE ‘ BALMENTHRE ‘ MENEBAKHEGH ‘ IA ‘ KHEKH³⁵⁶ ‘ BRIN-SKALMA ‘ ARYNSARBA³⁵⁷ ‘ MESEGHRIPH ‘ NIPTYMIKH ‘ MAORKHARAM. ‘ O, ‘ LAANKHEKH ‘ OMPH ‘ BRIMBAINYIOTH ‘ SENGENBAI ‘ GHOYGHE ‘ LAIKHAM ‘ ARMIOYTH.”

460
[col. XVI,
1, 2]

465
[XIV, 7]

348. I.e., of Edfu.

349. Literally, “measure.” See R. H. Pierce, “Dnf, A Problem in Demotic Lexicography,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 74.

350. PDM xiv. 435–48.

351. See n. 3 above.

352. Note the bilingual abilities of the scribe. The text is Egyptian in theme (the burial of Osiris) and the Greek text even includes one sentence in Egyptian. This indicates the Egyptian origin of the whole, despite the placement of the Greek version before the Egyptian one. [R.K.R.]

353. Feminine or, possibly, plural.

354. See n. 30 above.

355. Ending written by, “soul.”

356. Glossed *xyx*, Egyptian *kky* “darkness”: see n. 76 above.

357. See n. 8 above.

470 You should speak, you ³⁵⁸ being pure, in this manner: “O god who lives, O lamp
[XVI, 12] which is lit, TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring in / BOEL! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
in! ARBETH-BAI YTSIO, ³⁵⁹ O doubly great god, bring BOEL in! TAT TAT, bring
BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! TAGRTAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in!
Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! BEYTSI ³⁶⁰ O great god, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
in! Bring BOEL in!

The invocation which you should recite before Pre early in the morning before
you have recited to the youth, in order that that which you will do will come about:
“O great god, TABAO BASYKHAM AMO AKHA-GHAR-KHAN-GRABYNNSA-NYNI
475 / TSIKOMETO ³⁶¹ GATHYBASATHYRITHMILAALO” ([say] *seven times*).
[XVI, 17] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/1–17. Words preceded by † are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 475–88

* Another manner of [doing] it also: You should rise at dawn from your bed, early
in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that everything which you
will do will be exact through your agency, ³⁶² you being pure from all evil. You should
recite this spell before Pre three times or seven times: “† IO † TA-BAO † SOKHAM-MYA
480 † OKHOKH-KHAN-BYNSANAY ³⁶³ † AN-IESI † EGOMPTO ³⁶⁴ † GETHO † SETHYRI † THMILA
[col. XVI, 22] † ALYAPOKHRI, let everything / that I shall undertake here today, let it happen.”

Its manner: You bring a new lamp in which no red lead ³⁶⁵ has been put; you
[put] a clean wick in it; you fill it with pure genuine oil; you put it in a hidden place
cleansed with natron water; you lay it on a new brick; you bring a youth; you seat
him on another new brick, his face being turned to the lamp; you close his eyes;
and you recite these [words] above, ³⁶⁶ down into the youth's head, seven times. You
should make him open his eyes while you say to him, “Do you see the light?” If he
says to you, “I see the light in the flame of the lamp,” you should cry out at that
485 moment saying / † HEYE” nine times. You should ask him about everything you
[XVI, 27] wish after reciting the invocation which you did previously before Pre early in the
morning. ³⁶⁷ You do it in a place whose door opens to the east; you leave the face of
the lamp turned . . . ; and you leave the youth's faced turned . . . ³⁶⁸ facing the lamp,
you being on his left. You should recite down into his head, while you touch his
head with your second finger of the . . . of your right hand.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/18–30. Words preceded by † are written in the text in
Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

358. Actually written “it.”

359. See n. 30 above.

360. See n. 30 above.

361. Ending written *gme t3*, “creator of the earth”: for the correspondence of Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.

362. Literally, “through your hand.”

363. Ending written *m w*, “time”; for correspondences between Greek and Egyptian letters, see n. 8 above.

364. Old Coptic gloss aspirated; Demotic writes *m p3 t3*, “in the earth.”

365. See R.K.R.'s note to PGM I. 277.

366. PDM xiv. 478–79.

367. xiv. 476.

368. Left blank in the manuscript.

PDM xiv. 489–515

**Another* manner of [doing] it also; [it is] very good for the lamp. You should [say]: ³⁶⁹ BOEL BOEL BOEL I I I A A A TAT TAT TAT, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly / the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, the great god, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven, ³⁷⁰ in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come into the midst of this flame. Reveal yourself to this youth here today, have him inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask him here today, for I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed! O he of great praise, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of great praise, PETERI PETERI PATER EMPHE EMPHE, ³⁷¹ O doubly great god, who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having / created him, come in to me with BOEL ANIEL, give strength to the eyes of this youth who is carrying my vessel today, in order to let him see you, in order to let his ears hear you while you are speaking; and ask for him about everything and all things about which I shall ask him here today! O great god, SI-SAOTH AKHREMPTO, ³⁷² come into the midst of this flame! O he who sits on the mountain of Gabaon, TAGRTAT, he of eternity, he who does not die, who lives forever, bring ³⁷³ BOEL in BOEL BOEL, ARBETH-BAI-NOUSI ³⁷⁴ O great one, great god, great god, bring ³⁷⁵ BOEL in! TAT TAT bring ³⁷⁶ BOEL in!" You should / say these [things] *seven times* down into the youth's head. You should make him open his eyes; you should ask him, "Has the light already appeared?" If the light has not come forth, you should have the youth himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

Formula: "Be great, O light! Come forth, O light! Rise up, O light! Be high, O light! Come forth, O light of the god! Reveal yourself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is command today, who will ask for me." ³⁷⁷

He reveals himself to the youth in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, while he is looking / at the lamp. Do not let him look at another place except only the lamp. If he does not look at it, he is afraid. You should do all these [things]. When you finish your inquiry, you should turn around, you should have him close his eyes, and you should say down into his head this *other* invocation, below, that is, if the gods go away ³⁷⁸ and the youth ceases to see them: ³⁷⁹ Beginning KHEM-PHE, Zeus, Sun ³⁷⁹ SATRA-PERMET, watch over this youth! Do not let him be frightened, terrified, or afraid, and make him return to his original path! Open, O Underworld! Open, here. ³⁸⁰ I say [it] that this vessel inquiry of the lamp is better / than the first.

369. A very similar invocation appears in PDM xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 516–26.

370. See n. 84 above.

371. On this group, see n. 88 above.

372. Ending written *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."

373. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"

374. Could the end of this mean "Bas (souls) of the gods"? For the correspondence between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.

375. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"

376. See n. 375 above.

377. See n. 23 above.

378. Or "in order that the gods go away."

379. The gloss consists of the Greek symbol for the sun.

380. A pun between "here" (*ty*) and "underworld" (*tei*).

490
[col.
XVII, 2]

495
[XVII, 7]

500
[XVII,
11]

505
[XVII,
16]

510

[XVII, 21] This is the form again. *Its manner*: you bring a new lamp in which no red lead³⁸¹ has been put; you put a clean cloth wick in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick; you seat the boy on another brick opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes; and you recite down into his head according to the other form also.

515 *Another* invocation which you recite opposite Pre at dawn three times, or seven
[XVII, 26] times: *Formula*: IO-TABEO SOKHOMMYA OKHO-KH-KHAN BYNSANAY³⁸² AN-
IESI EGOM(PH)THO GETHO SETHORI / THMILA-ALYAPO-KHRI, may everything
which I shall do today come about.” And they succeed.³⁸³ If you do not purify it, it
does not come about. Purity is its chief factor.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVII/1–26. Words preceded by ° are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 516–27

**Another* invocation according to what is above, again;³⁸⁴ *Formula*: “° BOEL BOEL
BOEL ° I ° I ° I ° A ° I ° I ° I ° A ° TAT TAT TAT he who gives the light exceedingly, the
companion of the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who
lives, who never dies, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who
is in the lake of heaven,³⁸⁵ in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god,
reveal yourself to this youth, HEY HOY HOY ° HE-O so that he may inquire for me;
make him look so that he sees and hears³⁸⁶ everything about which I shall ask him,
for I shall praise you in heaven, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you be-
fore the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed. / O he of greatness,
520 [col. XVII, 31] ° PETERI PETERI ° EMPHE EMPHE,³⁸⁷ O ° great god³⁸⁸ who is in the upper part of
heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having
created him, come into the midst of this flame with BOEL ° ANIEL. Give strength to
the eyes of ° HEY ° HEY, [° HEY ° HEY],³⁸⁹ the son of ° HEY ° HEY, in order that he see
you with his eyes; make his ears hear; speak with him of anything about which he
will ask you; tell me an answer truly! You are the great god ° SABAOTH. Come down
525 [XVIII, 4] with ° BOEL TAT TAT! Bring BOEL in! Come into the midst of this flame / and ques-
tion for me concerning that which is good! TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring ° BOEL
in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! ARBTH BAINYTSIO,³⁹⁰ O ° great god,³⁹¹ bring
BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!” You should say these [things] down into
the youth’s head; you should have him open his eyes and you should ask him about
everything according to the manner which is outside,³⁹² also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*

381. See n. 73 above.

382. Ending written *nw*, “time”; for the correspondences between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 8 above.

383. Continuing from the instructions in PDM xiv. 512–13.

384. A very similar invocation appears in PDM xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 489–99.

385. See n. 84 above.

386. Or “obey.”

387. On this group, see n. 88 above.

388. Glossed “doubly great.”

389. Intentional dittography in going from column XVII to column XVIII. Note that HEY here and in the next line is written in Demotic with the silver determinative, as if it were the word “money, silver.”

390. See n. 374 above; here the adjective °3, “great,” has been added to the end of the invocation name. ARBETHBAINOYTHIO is “Horus-Falcon, spirit of the great god”; see PDM xiv. 500.

391. Glossed “doubly great.”

392. On the verso, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 118, n. to l. XVIII. 6.

motif Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XVII/26–XVIII/6. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic or in Greek letters with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 528–53

* [Another?] vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave me. You can also do it as a vessel inquiry by yourself: ³⁹³“SABANEM ³⁹⁴NN BIRIBAT Hail! Hail, O god, †SISIAHO who is on the mountain of Qabaho, / in whose hand is the begetting of Fate, ³⁹⁵go ³⁹⁶to this boy! Let him enchant the light, for I am †beautiful of face ³⁹⁷(another manuscript says “I am the face of Nun”) at dawn, HALAHO ³⁹⁸at midday; I am †joyful of face in the evening. I am Pre, the noble youth who is called GARTA by name. I am he who came forth on the arm of Triphis ³⁹⁹in the east. I am †great; †Great is my name; †Great is my real name. I am †OY; †OY is my name; †AY is my real name. I am †LOT †MULOT, the one who prevailed, he whose / strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, THEIT THEIT ⁴⁰⁰TO TO ⁴⁰¹HATRA HATRA, dog-face, dog-face. Hail, Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, the noble youth whom Isis loves, who seeks after his father Osiris Unnefer. Hail Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry / my bandage here today! Let me flourish; let the one whose face is bent down to this vessel here today flourish until the gods come in and tell me [an] answer in truth concerning my question about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without falsehood, immediately. Hail, Anubis, creature and youth! ⁴⁰²Go forth at once! Bring to me the gods of this city and the god who gives answer today ⁴⁰³so that he tell me my question about which I am asking today.” Nine times.

530
[col.
XVIII, 9]

535
[XVIII,
14]

540
[XVIII,
19]

545
[XVIII,
24]

550
[XVIII,
29]

/ When you open your eyes, or the youth [opens his eyes] and you see the light, you should recite to the light, “Hail, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be great, be great, O light! O that which is outside, come in!” You should say it nine times until the light is great and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis has come in and established himself, you should say to Anubis, “Arise! Go out and bring in to me the gods of this city or town.” He goes out at that moment and brings the gods in. When you know / that the gods have come in, you should say to Anubis, “Bring in a table for the gods so that they may sit down!” When they are seated, you say to Anubis, ⁴⁰⁴“Bring in a wine jar and some bread! Let them eat; let them drink.” When he has had them eat and drink, you should say to Anubis, “Are they going to inquire for me today?” If he says they [are] again, you

393. I.e., without using a youth as intermediary.

394. Ending written *nm*, “dwarf.”

395. See n. 22 above.

396. This verb also appears in *P. BM 10507*, 6/9, where it is translated “to approach” by M. Smith (not yet published).

397. Or, perhaps, “baboon-face,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 120, n. to l. XVIII. 10.

398. Ending written *hr*, “face.”

399. A goddess whose name meant “the noble lady”; Griffith and Thompson suggest, *The Leyden Papyrus*, 120, n. to l. XVIII. 12, that this might be a reference to the constellation Virgo.

400. The middle of this name is written with the word *ḥr*, “house.”

401. Written *ṯ3*, “land.”

402. Perhaps seen as half-canine, half-human. [R.K.R.]

403. See n. 23 above.

404. A very similar passage, but spoken by the youth, occurs in *PDM* xiv. 56–62.

should say to him, “The god who will question for me,⁴⁰⁵ let him raise his hand for me and let him tell me his name.” When he tells you his name, you should ask him concerning that which you desire. When you are finished asking about what you desire, you should send them away.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVIII/7–33. Words preceded by ^ˆ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 554–62

555 * [Spell] to be said to the bite of the dog: / “My mouth being full of blood of a
[col. XIX, 2] black dog, I spitting out the redness⁴⁰⁶ of a dog, I come forth from Alkhah.⁴⁰⁷ O
this dog who is among the ten dogs which belong to Anubis, the son of his body,
extract your venom, remove your saliva from me also! If you do not extract your
venom and remove your saliva, I shall take you up to the forecourt of [the temple
560 of] Osiris, my watchtower (?). I will do for ^ˆyou⁴⁰⁸ . . . / according to the voice of
[XIX, 7] Isis, the magician, the lady of magic, who bewitches everything, who is never be-
witched in her name of Isis, the magician.”

You [should] pound garlic with gum (?), put it on the wound of the dog bite,
and speak to it daily until it is well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/1–9. The word preceded by ^ˆ is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 563–74

* [Spell] to be said in order to extract the venom from the heart of a man who has
565 already been made to drink a potion or poison⁴⁰⁹ (?): “Hail, hail, IABLY, O golden
[col. XIX, 12] cup of Osiris! / From you have drunk Isis, Osiris, and the great Agathodaimon.⁴¹⁰
The three gods drank and after them I myself drank in order that you will not let me
get drunk, you will not let me list, you will not make me fall, you will not make me
be thrown down, you will not make me be troubled of heart, you will not make my
mouth curse. May I be healed of all poison, pus, [and] venom. They shall be re-
moved (?) from my heart. When I drink you, may I vomit⁴¹¹ them up in her name
570 of ^ˆSARBITHA, the daughter / of the Agathodaimon,⁴¹² for I am SABRA BRIATHA
[XIX, 17] BRISARA. HER is my name. I am Horus SHARON⁴¹³ coming from receiving greet-
ings. IAHO, ^ˆthe ^ˆchild, is my name, being my real name” [to be said] to a cup of
wine. Add fresh rue; add it to it; speak to it seven times, and make the man drink it
at dawn before he has eaten.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/10–21. Words preceded by ^ˆ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

405. See n. 23 above.

406. I.e., blood.

407. See n. 3 above.

408. Or, “act for you as . . .”: see the discussion of his passage in Johnson, *Verbal System* 11, n. 1. Or, “I shall do to you that which this other bird (?) did,” seeing a reference to Isis as a kite. [R.K.R.]

409. Or “hang over” (?). [R.K.R.]

410. See n. 22 above.

411. Literally, “cause them to be thrown up.”

412. See n. 22 above.

413. Written ⲥ̅ r.n., “to our mouths.”

PDM xiv. 574–85

*[Spell] to be said to the man, when a bone is stuck / in his throat: “You are SHLATE LATE BALATE the white crocodile, which is under the foam of the sea of flame whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man. Hail, you should spit out this bone for me today, it acting as a harpoon head, it making a point, it acting as a sack piercer,⁴¹⁴ it doing⁴¹⁵ everything, without change, for I am⁴¹⁶ a lion’s forepart, I am⁴¹⁷ a ram’s horn,⁴¹⁸ I am⁴¹⁹ a panther’s tooth. / Griffin⁴²⁰ is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand. The man named is the opener⁴²¹ of my neck³⁹⁴²² (seven times). 575 [col. XIX, 22] 580 [XIX, 27]

You should speak to a little oil, you should put the man’s face up; you should put it down in his mouth; you should move⁴²³ your finger and your thumb⁴²⁴ [to the] two sinews⁴²⁵ of his throat; you should make him swallow the oil; you should make him rise up suddenly; and you should eject the oil which is in his throat immediately. / The bone comes up with the oil. 585

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/21–32. [XIX, 32]

PDM xiv. 585–93

*Spell to be said to the bite of the dog: the fury of Amoun and Triphis:⁴²⁶ “I am this strong Arab SHLAMALA MALET secret one, mighty one SHETEI⁴²⁷ GRSHEI⁴²⁸ GRSHEI⁴²⁹ NEBRNT TAHNE BAHNE this dog, this black one,⁴³⁰ the dog which has bewitched this dog, he of these four bitch-pups, the wolf⁴³¹ son of Wepwawet.⁴³² O son of Anubis, seize by your teeth! Put down your secretion, your face being that / of Seth against Osiris, your face being that of Apophis against the sun! Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth,⁴³³ NN whom NN bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth. Hear this speech of Horus, who stopped heat, who went to the primeval water, who established the earth; listen, O IAHO SABAHO ABIAHO by name!” You should cleanse the wound and grind salt with Nubian hematite.⁴³⁴ Apply [it] to it. 590 [col. XIX, 37]

414. Meaning suggested by George R. Hughes; for harpoon head and point, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 25.

415. Or “acting as.”

416. Or “to me belongs,” as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 26.

417. See n. 416 above.

418. See n. 416 above.

419. See n. 416 above.

420. See n. 12 above.

421. Reading *nm*.

422. Reading *nhbe.t*.

423. Reading *hm*, “to approach,” “move toward.”

424. So William F. Edgerton, comparing it to Coptic *mout*, “thumb”: Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 81a.

425. Coptic *cine* means “sinew, nerve” or “neck”; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 189a.

426. See n. 399 above.

427. Ending written ‘*e.t*’, “limb.”

428. See n. 427 above.

429. See n. 427 above.

430. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 555.

431. Or jackal, given the association with Wepwawet.

432. See n. 223 above.

433. I.e., whom you bit.

434. For this identification, see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 156–57.

Another: You should grind rue with honey. Apply to it and say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/32–40.

PDM xiv. 594–620

595 * [Spell] to be said to the sting⁴³⁵ / “I am the King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis.
[col. XX, My mother Sekhmet-Isis comes⁴³⁶ after me all the way to the land of Syria, to the
2] hill of the land of Heh,⁴³⁷ to the nome of these cannibals, saying, ‘Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, my child, King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis,’ saying, ‘Arise and come to Egypt, for your father Osiris is King of Egypt; he is ruler over the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand.’

600 / “At the moment of saying these [things] she jumped⁴³⁸ at me. My strength fell
[XX, 7] from me. She coiled⁴³⁹ and she came to me with a sting; I sat down and I wept. Isis, my mother, sat near me, saying to me, ‘Do not weep, do not weep, my child, King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis! Lick from your tongue to your heart, and vice versa, as far as the edges of the wound! Lick from the edges of the wound up to the limits of your / strength!’ What you will lick up, you should swallow it. Do not spit it out
605 on the ground, for your tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaimon,⁴⁴⁰ your tongue is that of Atum!”

You should lick it with your tongue while it is bleeding. Immediately afterwards, you should speak to a little oil and you should speak⁴⁴¹ to it seven times while putting it on the sting daily. You should dye a strip of linen and put it on it.

610 / [The spell] which you should say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: “Isis sat
[XX, 17] speaking to the oil, ABARTAT, and lamenting to the true oil, saying, ‘You are praised. I am going to praise you, O oil; I am going to praise you. By the Agathodaimon you are praised. By me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, O oil, O vegetable oil’” (another [manuscript] says “true oil”), “O sweat of the
615 Agathodaimon, amulet of Geb. Isis is the one who / is speaking to the oil. O true
[XX, 22] oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter⁴⁴² which comes down from the sun bark at dawn, you should do the good [deeds] of the dew of dawn which heaven cast to the ground upon every tree. You should heal the limb which is paralyzed and you should act as remedy for him who lives, for I shall employ you for the sting of the King’s son, greatest and first, Anubis, my child, in order that you fill it and make it well. For I shall employ you for [the] sting of NN, whom NN bore, / in order that you fill it and make it well” (seven times).

620 [XX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/1–27.

435. Probably of a scorpion, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 128, n. to l. XX. 1. This interpretation is reinforced by the suggested new translation of PDM xiv. 601; see n. 439 below.

436. For this interpretation, see J. Johnson, *Verbal Systems* 102, n. 167.

437. Literally, “millions.”

438. See n. 456 below.

439. Literally, “gather”; this meaning was suggested by George R. Hughes.

440. See n. 22 above.

441. PDM xiv. 610–20.

442. Literally, “Horus the red” or “Horus the mysterious.”

PDM xiv. 620–26

*Spell to be said to bring a bone out of a throat: “I am he whose head reaches the sky while his feet reach the primeval waters,⁴⁴³ who awakened this crocodile . . . in Pidjeme⁴⁴⁴ in Thebes, for I am [†]SA [†]SIME. TAMAHO is my correct name, [†]ANYG ANYG, for a hawk’s egg is what is in my mouth, an ibis egg is what is in my belly, saying, ‘bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides, for let that which is in your belly come to your heart; let that which is in your heart / come to your mouth; let that which is in your mouth come to my hand here today, for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who is established in the seven shrines; for I am the son of the living god!’” [Say it] to a cup of water seven times and make the woman drink it.

625

[col. XX,

32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/27–33. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 627–35

*The vessel inquiry of Osiris:⁴⁴⁵ “Hail, Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in Thinis⁴⁴⁶ while his feet are in Thebes,⁴⁴⁷ the one who gives answer in Abydos, while his protection⁴⁴⁸ (?) is [in?] Pshilom,⁴⁴⁹ he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranous,⁴⁵⁰ who is on my house forever, / the house of the avengers⁴⁵¹ forever; he whose face⁴⁵² resembles the face of a hawk of byssus, mighty one whose tail is as the tail of a serpent while his back is as the back of a ‘dragon,’⁴⁵³ while his hand is [that of] a man, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, [†]in [†]whose hand is this palm staff of command. Hail, IAHO SABAHO ATONAI⁴⁵⁴ MISTEMY IAYTY! Hail, MIKHAEL⁴⁵⁵ SABAEL! Hail, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who leaps⁴⁵⁶ on only one foot! [†]Hide the darkness in the deep! Bring in the light for me! Come in to me; tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here today!” [Say] nine times, / until the god comes and the light appears.

630

[col. XXI,

4]

You do it according to the forms of the remainder above, again while the youth’s face is to the east and your own face is to the west, you reciting down into his head.

635

[XXI, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/1–9. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

443. Reaching from sky to abyss; see also *PGM* IV n. 160.

444. Western Thebes.

445. A partial parallel in Old Coptic is found in *PGM* IV. 10–25.

446. A town in the nome of Abydos; see A. H. Gardner, *Onomastica*, vol. II, p. 38*.

447. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 2.

448. The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has “whose glory is in Paqalôm.”

449. For possible identifications, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 3.

450. Perhaps the Egyptian definite article *p* + *ou̯pavós*, “firmament” of heaven, and Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, 135, n. to l. XXI. 4.

451. On avengers, see also n. 24 above.

452. See the description of a griffin taken from the Myth of the Sun’s Eye quoted in n. 12 above.

453. Literally, perhaps, “crocodile” or “guardian (dragon)”; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 135, n. to l. XXI. 5.

454. Adonai? The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has *alḥōnai*.

455. The Old Coptic text (see n. 445 above) also invokes Michael.

456. Coptic *fi fōqs*, “to leap, hop,” *Crum, Coptic Dictionary* 627b, as suggested by George R. Hughes.

PDM xiv. 636–69

*[The method] of the scarab in the cup of wine in order to make a woman love a man: You should bring a scarab of Mars⁴⁵⁷ (which is this small scarab which has no horn), it having three shields on the front of its head—you find its face shrunken—or also the one which has two horns.⁴⁵⁸ You should bring it at the rising of the sun; you should bind yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back; you should bind yourself at your face with a strip of palm fiber while the scarab is on the palm⁴⁵⁹ of your hand; and you should speak⁴⁶⁰ to it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you should drown it in milk of a black cow. You should put a [unit of ?] 10⁴⁶¹ (pieces) of olive wood to its head. You
 640 should leave it until evening in the milk. When evening comes, you should / bring
 [col. XXI, it up, you should spread under it with sand, and you should put a band of cloth
 14] under it upon the sand, for four days. You should put myrrh on a flame before it.

When the four days have passed, and it is dry, you should bring it before you, a cloth being spread under it. You should divide it in its middle with a copper knife. You should take its right half and nail parings of your right hand and foot, and you should cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood. You should pound them with nine apple seeds and your urine or your sweat free from bath oil; you should make it into a ball; you should put it in the wine; you should speak⁴⁶² over it seven times; you should make the woman drink it; you should take its other half, the left one, together with the nail parings of your left hand and foot also; you should bind them in a strip of byssus with myrrh and saffron; you should bind them to your left arm; and you should lie with the woman while they are bound to you.

645 / If you wish to do it also without drowning it, you do it also on the third of the
 [XXI, 19] lunar month, you doing this manner above for it also. You should recite its invocation to it before the sun at dawn; you should cook [it]; you should divide it; you should do it according to that which is above also in everything.

[The invocation] which you should recite to it before the sun at dawn: “You are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli. Bring yourself out of the door of my temple! You should lift (?) a copper vessel (?) to your nose, [O he] who knew how to eat the herbage, who tramples the field plants (?), who damages the great cult images of those of Egypt, I sending you against NN whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, for she is the one who urinated before the sun at dawn, saying to the sun, ‘Do not come forth!’; to the moon, ‘Do not rise!’; to the water, ‘Do not come to those of Egypt!’; to the field, ‘Do not bloom!’; and to the great trees of those of Egypt, ‘Do not grow green!’ / I sending you to NN, whom NN bore, in order to beat her from
 650 her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her
 [XXI, 24] womb, so that she put herself on the road following after NN, whom NN bore, at all times.”

[The spell] which you should recite to it while it is in the milk: “Woe, doubly great one; woe, my doubly great one; woe, his (?) Nun,⁴⁶³ woe, his love, O scarab,

457. See Ritner, “Gleanings” (above, n. 68).

458. For the possible identification as the “stag beetle,” see *ibid.*, n. to l. XXI. 11.

459. Lit., “body”: translation suggested by George R. Hughes.

460. PDM xiv. 646–50.

461. For the use of ten as a “round number,” see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1916) 39.

462. PDM xiv. 658–69.

463. Primeval waters.

464. See n. 306 above.

O scarab; you are the eye of Pre, the little finger⁴⁶⁴ of Osiris, the fingers of Shu.⁴⁶⁵ You should go in this form⁴⁶⁶ in which Osiris your father went, on account of NN, whom NN bore, until fire is put after her heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is.”

[The spell] which you should recite to it while you are cooking it: “Hail, my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), who cast semen and who casts semen among all the gods, this one whom the small one and the great one found among the two great enneads on the east of Egypt, / while he was coming forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus reed! I know your name; I know your craft⁴⁶⁷ (?). ‘The work of two stars’ is your name. I am casting fury against you today; NPHALAM BALLABALKHA IOPHPHE, in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the large intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of NN, whom NN bore, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is.”

655
[XXI, 29]

[The spell] which you should recite to it in the wine:

“O scarab, O scarab, you are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli; you are the eye of Pre; you are the eye of Atum, the finger of Shu, the little finger of Osiris. You are the black bull, the foremost one, who came forth from Nun, / the beauty of Isis being with you. You are RAKS RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar which they brought from the land of Syria to Egypt.”

660
[XXI, 34]

From outside to the wine: “I shall send you. Will you go on my business? Will you do it? May you say, ‘Send me to the thirsty so that his thirst may be quenched, to the canal that it may be dried up, to the sand of the . . . that it may be scattered without wind, to the papyrus of Buto that the copper [blade] may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for Isis from the great destructions for those of Egypt, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst,’ while I send you. Do the like of these while I am sending you down to the heart of NN, whom NN bore; make a flame in her body, flame in her intestines. Put madness after her heart, fever after her flesh. Let her make the travels of the Shoulder constellation⁴⁶⁸ after the ‘Hippopotamus’ constellation.⁴⁶⁹ Let her make / the movements of the sunshine after the shadow while she is searching after NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night! Give her grief and anxiety by day! Do not let her eat! Do not let her drink! Do not let her lie down! Do not let her sit in the shadow of her house until she goes to him at every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glances turned upside down, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is, until she sees him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every. . . . Let [her] put the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times, without a time changed. Quickly, quickly! Hurry, hurry!”

665
[XXI, 39]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/10–43.

465. The god of air, whose hands/fingers supported the sky.

466. I.e., drowned, as Osiris.

467. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 141, n. to l. XXI. 29.

468. I.e., the Big Dipper.

469. See the references in Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 142, n. to l. XXI. 38.

PDM xiv. 670–74

670 ***Here is** [the spell ?] of the name of the Great One of Five⁴⁷⁰ which should be
[col. recited to every spirit, there being nothing which is stronger than it in the books: if
XXII, 1] you recite these spells to any vessel, the gods never go away without your having
questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven,
earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water, and fields. [It is] a writing which is
in the power⁴⁷¹ of a man to recite.⁴⁷²

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXII/1–5.

PDM xiv. 675–94 [PGM XIVc. 15–27]

675 ***A spell** to cause “evil sleep”⁴⁷³ to fall. **Formula:** You bring a donkey’s head; you
[col. place it between your feet opposite the sun at dawn when it is about to rise, op-
XXIII, 1] posite it again in the evening when it is going to set; you anoint your right foot
with yellow ocher⁴⁷⁴ of Syria, your left foot with clay, the soles of your feet also; you
place your right hand in front and your left hand behind, the head being between
680 them; you anoint one of your two hands with donkey’s blood, / and the two cor-
[XXIII, 6] ners (?) of your mouth; and you recite these writings before the sun at dawn and in
the evening for four days. He sleeps.

If you wish to make him die, you should do it for seven days. If you do its magic,
you should bind a thread of palm fiber to your hand, a piece of male palm fiber to
your phallus and your head. It is very good.

This spell which you should recite before the sun:

(15) / “I call upon you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, al-
mighty, a god of gods, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a
685 stable / household, you who were driven out of Egypt and have roamed foreign
[XXIII, lands, you who shatter everything and are not defeated. / I call upon you, Typhon
11] Seth; I command your prophetic powers because I call upon your authoritative
(PGM name to which you cannot refuse to listen, IÔ ERBÊTH IÔ PAKERBÊTH IÔ BOLCHÔ-
XIVc. 17) SÊTH IÔ PATATHNAX / IÔ SÔRÔ IÔ NEBOUTOSOUALÊTH AKTIÔPHI ERESCHI-
(20) GAL NEBOUTOSOUALÊTH ABERAMENTHÔOULERTHEXANAXETHRELUÔTHENEMA-
690 REBA AEMINA / (the whole formula). Come to me and go and strike down him, NN
[XXIII, (or her, NN) with chills and fever. That very person has wronged me and he (or she)
16] has spilled the blood of Typhon in his own (or her own) house. For this reason I am
(PGM doing this” (add the usual).

XIVc. 23) *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-
(25) motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/1–20; and R. F. Hock, following the edition of
Preisendanz.

PDM xiv. 695–700

695 ***To inquire** opposite the moon: you should do it as a vessel inquiry alone or [with]
[col. a youth. If you are the one who is going to inquire, you should equip your eye with
XXIII, 21] green eyepaint and black eyepaint. You should stand on a high place on the top of

470. See n. 36 above.

471. Literally, “hand.”

472. As Griffith and Thompson note, *The Leyden Papyrus* 144, n. to l. XXII. 5, the remainder of the column, where the spell would have been written, was left blank.

473. Reading *nktk bin*. [R.K.R.] Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to l. XXIII. 1, suggest “catalepsy.”

474. See Harris, *Minerals* 151.

your house. You should speak to the moon when it fills⁴⁷⁵ the sound-eye⁴⁷⁶ on the 15th day, you being pure for three days. You should recite this spell opposite the moon seven or nine times until he appears to you and speaks to you: “Hail, [†]SAKS [†]Amoun [†]SAKS [†]ABRASAKS, for you are the moon, the great one of the stars, he who formed them! Listen to these things which I said! Walk in accordance with the [words] of my mouth! Reveal yourself to me, [†]THAN / [†]THANA [†]THANATHA” (another [manuscript] says “THEI”); “this is my correct name.” Nine [times] of saying it until she⁴⁷⁷ reveals herself to you.

700
[XXIII,
26]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/21–26. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 701–5

* Another form of it again, to be recited opposite the moon: You should paint your eye with this paint, you [going] up before the moon. When it fills the sound-eye⁴⁷⁸ you see the figure of the god in sound-eye speaking to you:

“I am flame, high, AMRO⁴⁷⁹ MAAMT, true is my name, for I am . . . soul so [†]AGANAGYP Mars⁴⁸⁰ spirit, spirit, joy-Mars⁴⁸¹ is my real, true name . . . eternity. I am KHELBAI⁴⁸² SETET, HEN EM-NEFER⁴⁸³ is my name; SRO OSHENBET⁴⁸⁴ is my correct name.” Say [it] nine times, while you are standing opposite the moon, your eye equipped with this ointment: green and black eyepaint. Grind with Syrian honey; put the gall of a / full-grown chick to it; put it on a glass object; and leave it for yourself in a hidden place until the time in which you will need it. You do it also according to what is above.

705
[col.
XXIII, 31]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/27–31. The word preceded by [†] is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 706–10

* Against “evil sleep”⁴⁸⁵—another: flour of wild dates which has been beaten with milk⁴⁸⁶ . . . ; / you should make them together into a ball. Put in the wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1a–5a.

710
[col.
XXIV, 5a]

PDM xiv. 711–15

* A tested **prescription** if you wish to “evil sleep”⁴⁸⁷ a man: scammony root, 1 dram; opium, 1 dram; pound with milk; make it into a ball, and put it in some food (?) / which is cooked so that he eats it. He is upset.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1–5.

715
[col.
XXIV, 5]

475. See PDM xiv. 295 and n. 239 therewith.

476. See n. 192 above.

477. The moon, which is feminine in Greek although masculine in Egyptian.

478. See n. 192 above.

479. Written *m*, “to swallow” or “to know” plus *r*, “mouth.”

480. The planet; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954) 170.

481. See n. 480 above.

482. Written *hl*, “young” (?), plus *by*, “soul.”

483. Written *lm*, “to approach,” plus preposition *m*, “in,” plus *nfr*, “good.”

484. Or, perhaps, “prince, great of throat.” [R.K.R.]

485. See n. 473 above.

486. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, vol. III, p. 109, suggest that this might be *gyr*, “rush/reed.”

487. See n. 473 above.

PDM xiv. 716–24

720 **Another*, if you wish to make a man sleep for *two* days: mandrake root, 1 ounce;
[col. water and honey,⁴⁸⁸ 1 ounce; henbane,⁴⁸⁹ 1 ounce / ivy, 1 ounce. You should grind
XXIV, 10] them with⁴⁹⁰ a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly, you should put
four portions to each one of them with a glass of wine; you should moisten them
from morning to evening; you should clarify them; and you should make them
drink it. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniac Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/6–14.

PDM xiv. 724–26

725 **Another*, the third: apple / seeds, 1 stater, 1 kite; pound with flour; make it into a
[col. cake, and make the man whom you wish eat it.

XXIV] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniac Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/14–16.

PDM xiv. 727–36

730 **A prescription* to cause a man to sleep; [it is] very good: apple seeds, 1 stater,
[col. 1 dram; mandrake root, 4 drams; ivy, 4 drams; pound together; add fifteen /
XXIV, 20] measures of wine to it; put it in a glass vessel and guard it! When you wish to give
it, you should put a little in a cup of wine, and you should give it to the man. The
735 ivy—it grows in gardens; its leaf is like the leaf of a shekam plant, being divided
[XXIV, into three lobes like a grape leaf. It is one palm in measurement; its blossom / is like
silver (another [manuscript] says gold).

25] **Another*: Gall of an Alexandrian weasel; you should add [it] to any food.

**Another*: A two-tailed lizard.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniac Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/17–26.

PDM xiv. 737–38

**A prescription* for “evil sleep”:⁴⁹¹ gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples,
poisonous herb; pound them together; make into a ball and put [it] into the food!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniac Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/27–28.

PDM xiv. 739–40

740 **Another*: If you put camel’s blood and the blood of a dead man / into the wine
[col. XXV, and you make the man drink it, he dies.

30] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniac Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/29–30.

PDM xiv. 741

**Another*: If you put a nightjar’s blood to his eye, he is blinded.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demoniac Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/3.

488. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 149–50, n. to l. XXIV. 8.

489. *Ibid.*, 150, n. to l. XXIV. 9.

490. Literally, *r-h.t.*, “according to.”

491. See n. 473 above; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 917–19.

PDM xiv. 742

**Another*: If you put bat's blood, it is [in] this manner again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

PDM xiv. 743–49

**Another*: If you drown a hawk in wine and you make the man drink it, it does its work. A shrew-mouse in this manner again; it does / its work also. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its work very well. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel on any food, it does its work. If you put a two-tailed lizard in the oil and cook it with it and anoint the man with it, it does its work.

745
[col.
XXIV, 35]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and edition of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/33–39.

PDM xiv. 750–71

*The words of the lamp to question the youth: *Formula*: “[†]TE [†]TE [†]IG [†]TATAK THETHE SATI [†]SAN-TASKL [†]KROMAKAT [†]PATAKSYRAI [†]KALEY-PANKT [†]A-A-TSIEYI⁴⁹² MAKI-SITAKAT HATI⁴⁹³ HAT [†]RO-I⁴⁹⁴ O-I [†]HAY⁴⁹⁵ (?) [†]I; may they say to me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, for I am Harpokrates⁴⁹⁶ in Mendes, for I am Isis the wise; the sayings of my mouth come to pass” (*say seven times*).

750
[col. XXV,
1]
755
[XXV, 6]

You bring a new lamp; you put a clean cloth wick into it brought from a temple; you set it on a new clean brick brought from the brick mold on which / no man has mounted; you set it upright; you place the lamp on it; you put genuine oil in it, or oasis oil; you set two new bricks under yourself; you place the youth between your feet; you recite the aforementioned spells down into the youth's head, your hand being over his eyes; and you offer up myrrh and willow leaf / before the lamp. You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south and under which there is no cellar. You let no light come in to the aforementioned place; you purify the said place beforehand; you put the youth's back to the opening of the room. When you finish reciting the spell, you should take your hand from his eyes—a youth who has not yet gone with a woman, / [is he] whom you should send before it⁴⁹⁷—and you should question him, saying, “What do you see?” He speaks with you of everything about which you will ask him.

760
[XXV, 6]

765
[XXV, 16]

770
[XXV, 21]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXV/1–22. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 772–804

**A method* to put the heart of a woman after a man: Done in one moment (?) and it comes to pass instantly. You bring a live swallow and a live hoopoe.

Ointment made for them: Blood of a male donkey, blood of the tick of a black cow. You should anoint / *their* heads with lotus ointment and cry out before the sun in his moment of rising. You should cut off the heads of the two; you should

775
[col. XXV,

492. See n. 30 above.

493. Written *h3t.y*, “my heart.”

494. Written *h3t r.y*, “heart of my mouth.”

495. Demotic apparently written *b.w*, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 153, n. to l. XXV. 6.

496. Horus the Child, son of Isis and Osiris.

497. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 155, n. to l. XXV. 21.

26] bring their hearts out from their right ribs [of the two] and anoint them with the donkey's blood and the blood of the tick of a black cow, above. You should put them into donkey's skin and leave them in the sun until they dry up in four days. When
 780 the four days have passed, you should pound them, put them into a / box, and leave
 [XXV, 31] it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you should take the piece⁴⁹⁸ of "pleasure wood,"⁴⁹⁹ recite these⁵⁰⁰ true names before them, put it in a cup of wine or beer, and give it to the woman so that she drinks it: "I am †BIRA-AQHL †LA-AQH
 785 †SASMRIALO †PLS-PLYN. I am †IOANE⁵⁰¹ †SABAATHL †SASYPY / †NITHI. Put the
 [XXV, 36] heart of NN, whom NN bore, after NN, whom NN bore, in these hours today!" ([Say] seven times). You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. [it is] very good.

790 / Another spell again for this cup of wine: "†BIRAGETHT †SAMARA †PILPIYN
 [XXVI, 1] †IAHYT †SABAYTH †SAIPYNITHAS."

Another spell belonging to it again, on another papyrus: "I am †BIRAGATHT
 795 †LATHT †SASMIRA †PLIPRN / †IAHY⁵⁰² †SABAQHT SASYPYNITHA. Put the heart of
 [XXVI, 4] NN after SASYPYNITHAS."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, col. XXV/23–XXVI/18. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 805–40

805 *Another vessel inquiry,⁵⁰³ [the magician being] alone⁵⁰⁴ in order to see the bark of
 [col. Pre: *The spell which you should recite:* "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods!
 XXVII, 1] Let me see the bark of Pre, he going up and going down in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods; praying is what I am doing before Pre, my father, on account of the thing which went forth from me. O great Heknet,⁵⁰⁵ lady of the shrine, the Rishtret⁵⁰⁶ (?), open to me, mistress of spirits! Open to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, for I am Geb, heir of the gods! O, you seven⁵⁰⁷ kings; O, you seven Montus, bull who engenders, lord of awe, who illuminates the earth; soul of the primeval waters; hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of the darkness!
 810 / Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,⁵⁰⁸ great one, lofty one! Hail,
 [XXVII, soul of the ram, sould of the people of the west! Hail, soul of souls, bull of darkness,
 6] bull of [two] bulls, son of Nut! Open to me; I am the opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! I am †I-I-I †E-E-E †HE-HE-HE †HO-HO-HO. I am ANEPO⁵⁰⁹
 MIRI-PO-RE MAAT IB great THIBAI, †ARYI⁵¹⁰ †YOY †IAHO."

*The preparation:*⁵¹¹ Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-

498. Literally, "measure."

499. See n. 253 above.

500. PDM xiv. 783–86.

501. Written '3, "donkey"; 'n, "again"; n3, "these."

502. Beginning written '3, "donkey."

503. This same vessel inquiry occurs in PDM xiv. 295–308.

504. I.e., without using a youth.

505. See n. 243 above.

506. See n. 244 above.

507. See n. 245 above.

508. Primeval waters.

509. Great Anubis.

510. See n. 249 above.

511. See n. 50 above.

jar, “live-on-them” plant, mustard,⁵¹² “Great-of-Amoun” plant, *qs-^cnh* stone,⁵¹³ genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis” plant. Pound, make into a ball, and paint / your eyes with it. Put a goat’s tear in a “pleasure-wood”⁵¹⁴ of juniper or ebony, and tie around you a strip of male palm fiber.

The way of making the vessel inquiry of the lamp: You should bring a clean, white lamp without putting red lead⁵¹⁵ or gum water in it, its wick being of byssus; you should fill it with genuine oil or oil of dew; you should tie it with four linen threads which have not been burned,⁵¹⁶ you should hang in on an eastern wall [on] a peg of laurel wood; you should make the youth stand before it, he being pure, he not having gone with a woman; you should cover his eyes with your hand; / you should light the lamp; you should recite down into his head,⁵¹⁷ *seven* times; you should make him open his eyes; and you should ask him, saying, “What are the things which you have seen?” If he says, “I have [already] seen the gods near the lamp,” they tell him an answer concerning that which they will be asked.

If you wish to do it by yourself alone, you should fill your eyes with the aforementioned ointment. You should stand up opposite the lamp while it is lit and recite to it *seven* times while your eyes are shut. When you have finished, you should open your eyes. You see the gods behind you and you speak with them concerning that which you desire, you regularly doing it in a dark place.

The spell which you should recite: Formula: “I am MANEBAI⁵¹⁸ †GHTHE-THONI KHA-BA-KHEL; let me worship you, the child of ARPHITNA / PIRA PILE-ASA †GNYRIPH-ARISA †TENI-IRISSA †PSI⁵¹⁹ †PSI †IRIS-SA †GIMITHYRY-PHYS-SA OQMAT-SISA OREOBAGRA PERTAOOMEKH PERAGOMEKH SAKMEPH.⁵²⁰ Come in to me and inquire for me about the question about which I am inquiring, truthfully, without falsehood.”

*Its preparation:*⁵²¹ The ointment⁵²² which you should put on your eyes when you are going to make any “god’s arrival”⁵²³ with the lamp. You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.⁵²⁴ You find them in the place of the lupine sellers. You should bring them while they are tender / and put them into a glass vessel. You should seal its mouth very carefully for *twenty* days in a dark, hidden place. After *twenty* days, if you take it up and open it, you find testicles and a phallus in it. If you leave it for *forty* days and bring it up and open it, you find it having [already] become bloody. In something of glass, you put it and you put the glass object in a pottery object in a place hidden at all times.

When you wish to make a “god’s arrival” of the lamp with it, you should fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, while you are going to sleep. Or you should stand

815
[XXVII,
11]

820
[XXVII,
16]

825
[XXVII,
21]

830
[XXVII,
26]

512. Literally, “bread-of-heaven” plant; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 10, suggest an identification with *σινάπι*, “mustard.”

513. See n. 65 above.

514. See n. 253 above.

515. See n. 73 above.

516. Or see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 14.

517. PDM xiv. 823–28.

518. Ending written *by*, “soul.”

519. PSI for “Agathodaimon”? Cf. PGM IV. 1644.

520. SAKMEPH is “son of Kneph (Agathodaimon)”; see PGM I. 27.

521. See n. 50 above.

522. See the parallel in PDM xiv. 140–46.

523. See n. 62 above.

524. See n. 95 above.

- opposite the lamp, reciting this spell aforesaid. You see the god beyond you while
 835 you are standing or sleeping. [It is] very good, proven. / You write this name on the
 [XXVII, strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink: “BAKHYKH-SIKHYKH”⁵²⁵ (what another
 31] papyrus said: “KIMITHORO PHOSSE”). This method which is written above is the
 method of the “god’s arrival” of MANEBAI.⁵²⁶ If you wish to do it by questioning the
 lamp, it is this form again. It is also profitable for a “god’s arrival” of MYRIBAI.⁵²⁷ If
 you will do it by vessel inquiry of the lamp, you should fill the lamp aforesaid on a
 new brick; you should make the youth stand up before the lamp while his face is
 covered; and you should recite to his head this spell in Greek while you are standing
 840 over him. When you have finished, you should uncover / his face. He answers you
 [XXVII, truthfully.
 26] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
motomic Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XXVII/13–36. Words preceded by † are written in the text
 in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 841–50

- **Another method* of vessel inquiry [the magician being] alone: *Formula*: “I am
 † the † lord † of † Spirits, † ORITSIMBAI⁵²⁸ SONATSIR EPISGHES⁵²⁹ EMMIME; THO-GOM-
 PHRYR PHIRIM-PHYNI is your name; MIMI soul of souls soul of souls GTHETHO-NI, I
 am Bastet PTHO⁵³⁰ BALKHAM whom BINYI SPHE PHAS bore. I am BAPTHO,⁵³¹ GAM-
 MI-SATRA is your name, MI-MEO, IANYME.”
 † Its *preparation*:⁵³² you go to a clean place; you bring a copper vessel; you wash it
 845 with natron water; you put a *lok*-measure / of oil in it; you place it on the ground;
 you light a copper lamp; you put it on the ground near the copper vessel; you cover
 yourself with a clean robe, you and the vessel; and you recite into the vessel, your
 [col. eyes being shut, *seven* times. / You should open your eyes and ask it concerning
 XXVIII] what you wish. If you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their
 mouths opposite your mouth, *you should recite*: “IAHO IPH † EOE † GINNTETHYR
 † NEPHAR † APHOE.” They give you an answer concerning everything about which
 you will ask also.
 If they do not tell you an answer, you should *recite* this other name “† NGO-
 NGETHIGS † MANTYNOBOE † GOKSHIR-HRONTOR⁵³³ † NTONTROMA † LEPHOGER
 850 / † GEPHAER-SORE.” If you recite these, they inquire for you truthfully.
 [XXVIII, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
 10] *motomic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic
 in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 851–55

**Another* vessel inquiry to which you add vegetable oil, you doing it according to
 what is above: *Formula*: “Speak to me, speak to me, HAMST, god of the gods of
 darkness, every spirit, every shadow which is in the west and the east! Do it, O he

525. See n. 76 above.

526. I.e., the formula beginning with MANEBAI in PDM xiv. 824.

527. I.e., the formula beginning with MYRAI MYRIBI in PDM xiv. 125.

528. Ending written *by*, “soul”: see also n. 30 above.

529. For a possible translation of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 163, n. to l. XXVIII. l.

530. Pthah? [R.K.R.]

531. Spirit of Pthah? [R.K.R.]

532. See n. 50 above.

533. See nn. 8 and 30 above.

who has died! Awaken to me, awaken to me, O soul of life, O soul of breath! Let my vessel, my bandage go forth here today, because of the vessel of great Isis seeking her husband, searching for her brother; MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF MNANF.” Say, “MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF PHONI PHONI” a multitude of times, and say to the youth, “Say, / ‘Go away, O darkness! Come to me, O light!’ and open your eyes at once.” The gods come in and tell you an answer to everything.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/11–15.

855

[col.

XXVII,

15]

PDM xiv. 856–75

*Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said that it is well tested: *Its preparation*:⁵³⁴ you bring a pure youth; you do the spirit formula which is written for it; you bring him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment in which the sun is going to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the disk; you draw a new linen curtain⁵³⁵ (?) around him; you make him shut his eyes; you stand up over him, reciting down into his head and striking down on / his head with your sun-finger⁵³⁶ of your right hand, after filling his eyes with the paint which you made before: “NASIRA †OAPKIS †SHFE †SHFE soul of †souls; soul of souls is your true name, truly. †O †Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and height! Bring me the light which is pure! Let the god in whose hand command⁵³⁷ is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, in truth without falsehood therein. †Chief †god,⁵³⁸ †ETALE †TAL †NASIRA †IARMEKH †NASERA †AMPHY †CHO †AMAMARKAR †TEL IAAO / †NASIRA †HAKIA lotus †CHDJISIPHTH †AHO †ATONE⁵³⁹ †I †I †E †O †BALBEL, let the pure light come to me. Let the youth *enchant*; let him tell me an answer. Let the god in whose hand command is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I shall *ask*, in truth, without falsehood therein.”

860

[col.

XXIX, 5]

865

[XXIX,

10]

Afterwards you should recite his compulsion *another seven times*, his eyes being shut. *Formula*: “†SI †SI †PI †TSIRIPI⁵⁴⁰ †SA-AO-NKHAB †HRABAOT †PHAKTHIOP †ANASAN †KRAANA †KRATRIS TMA-/PTARA- †PHNE †ARAPHNY, come to the youth! Let the god in whose hand command is come to him and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

870

[XXIX,

20]

If the light is slow to come within, you should say, “†KE †KE †SALSOATHA †IPPEL †SIRBA” *seven times*. You should put frankincense on the brazier; you should utter this great name after all these; you should utter it from beginning to end and vice versa, *four times*: “†AYEBOTH-†LABATHABAITHOBEYA.” You should say, “Let the youth see the light; let the god in whose hand command is come in and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking / here today, in truth, without falsehood therein.”

875

[XXIX,

15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

534. See n. 50 above.

535. Suggested by Sir Herbert Thompson.

536. For a possible explanation of this term, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 166, n. to l. XXIX. 5.

537. See n. 107 above.

538. A phonetic rendering of the combination of Greek ἀρχός, “chief,” and Egyptian *ntr* (Coptic *noute*), “god.”

539. Adonai?

540. See n. 30 above. TSIRIPI is Thriphis; cf. *PGM* XI. 232.

PDM xiv. 875–85

**Here is another* form of it again: You should take the youth to a high, upper place. You should make him stand up in a place which has a large window in its presence, whose door opens to the east, and inside which the sun shines; you should paint the youth's eyes with the paint which is prescribed for it; you should recite to him 8 times (another [manuscript] says seven times) while you are standing over him; and you should make him look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye,⁵⁴¹ he standing up on a new brick, there being a new linen robe over him, and his eyes being closed. You should recite down into his head while striking his head with your finger which is written above⁵⁴² also. You should offer up frankincense before him. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes. / He sees the gods beyond him, speaking with him.

880 [col. XXIX, 25] [*The ointment*] which you put in the youth's eyes when he goes to any vessel inquiry of the sun: you bring two *buri* fish⁵⁴³ of the river, both being alive; you burn one of them with vinewood before the sun; you add the blood of the other to it; you make it smooth with it and myrrh; and you make them into balls which measure one finger [in length]. You should spread (?) [it] in his eyes. You should bring a vessel of vine wood (?) and a "pleasure-wood"⁵⁴⁴ of vine wood (?) also; you should grind this drug with a little yellow ochre⁵⁴⁵ of Nubia and juice of Egyptian grapes; and you should fill your eyes with it. If you fill your eyes with this drug and look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye, your eyes being open toward it, he reveals himself to you and tells you an answer / to everything. Its chief factor is purity. It is more profitable than the youth; it is profitable for you yourself as a person [acting] alone.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/20–30.

PDM xiv. 886–96

890 [v. col. i, 5] *Eyebrow of the sun.⁵⁴⁶ Eyebrow of the moon.⁵⁴⁷ (These are herbs.) Heliogonon.⁵⁴⁸ / Selenogonon.⁵⁴⁹ (These are herbs.) Spurge,⁵⁵⁰ which is this small herb which is in the gardens and which exudes milk. / If you put its milk on a man's skin, it cures.⁵⁵¹

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. i/1–11.

541. See n. 192 above. The summer solstice.

542. PDM xiv. 860 and n. 536 above.

543. Assuming cipher *uḏ* is for *d*.

544. See n. 253 above; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 169, translate "kohl-pot" and "kohl-stick" (?).

545. See PDM xiv. 677 and n. 474 above.

546. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

547. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

548. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. I. I. 4, suggest this is a synonym for *gouč*, "safflower, cardamom," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 840b.

549. Peonies, according to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. I. I. 5.

550. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

551. Suggested by W. F. Edgerton; Coptic *bolbl* means "burrow, dig," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 37a–b.

PDM xiv. 897–910

*Camomile: “Clean straw” is its name.

“White flower”: “...-horse”⁵⁵² is its name.

Martagon lily:⁵⁵³ “There is none better than I” is its name.

/ Chrysanthemum: “Beautiful of face” is its name (another [manuscript] says, “the golden flower” of the wreath seller). Its leaf is strong; its stem is cold; its flower is of gold; its leaf is like martagon lily.

Magnesium:⁵⁵⁴ / A stone of stone which is black like galena. You should grind it while it is black.

Magnetite;⁵⁵⁵ it is brought. You should scrape it while it is black.

Human magnesium:⁵⁵⁶ It is brought / from the land of India. If you scrape it, it sends out blood.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/1–15.

900
[v. col. ii,
4]
905
[v. ii, 7]

910
[v. ii, 14]

PDM xiv. 911–16

*To “evil sleep”⁵⁵⁷ your enemy: A beetle: you should burn it with styrax (?), you should pound it together with one drachma of apples / and a . . . ; you should . . . ; and you should put a . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/16–20.

915
[v. col. ii,
20]

PDM xiv. 917–19

**Prescription* for “evil sleep”:⁵⁵⁸ Gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, and poisonous herbs. Grind them together, make into a ball, and put [it] in wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/1–3.

PDM xiv. 920–29

**Lees of wine*: It is a white stone like galbanum. There is another one which is made into lime. (This is) the way to know about it, whether it is genuine. If you grind a little / with water and apply it to the skin of a man for a short time, it cuts the skin. Its name in Greek [is] “foam of the moon.”⁵⁵⁹ It is a white stone.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/4–13.

920
[v. col. iii,
4]
925
[v. iii, 9]

PDM xiv. 930–32

**A prescription*⁵⁶⁰ to cause a woman to love a man: Fruit of acacia; grind with honey; anoint his⁵⁶¹ phallus with it; and lie with the woman!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/14–16.

930
[v. col. iii,
14]

552. The Egyptian word may be from the root *sq*, “to dig.”

553. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 171, n. to V. I. II. 3.

554. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

555. Glossed twice in Greek. Demotic says lit., “living iron”; see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 170, who suggests that it is being confused with hematite.

556. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 173, n. to V. I. II. 13, and n. 555 above.

557. See PDM xiv. 675 and n. 473 thereto.

558. See PDM xiv. 675 and n.; there is a parallel in PDM xiv. 737–38.

559. Written in both Greek and Egyptian.

560. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 1046–47.

561. *Sic*, for “your.”

PDM xiv. 933–34

*“Foam of the moon”: It is a white stone like glass, which is rubbed into tiny fragments like orpiment.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/17–18.

PDM xiv. 935–39

935 *Prescription for an ear which is watery: Salt; heat with good wine and apply to it
[v. col. iv, after first cleaning it. You [should] rub copper salt,⁵⁶² heat with wine, and apply to it
1] for four days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/1–5.

PDM xiv. 940–52

940 *Salamander, a small lizard which is blue-green⁵⁶³ in color and which has no feet.
[v. col. iv, “Ram’s-horn”⁵⁶⁴ is its name, / an herb which is like a wile fennel bush. Its leaf
6] and its stem are incised like the “love-man” plant. You should pound it when it is
945 dry, sift⁵⁶⁵ it, make it into a dry powder, and apply it to any wound. It stops.

[v. iv, 11]

950 Styra; it grows like . . . / with regard to its leaf. Its seeds are twisted like a
[v. iv, 17] “ram’s-horn” plant which has a small thorn at its end.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/6–19.

PDM xiv. 953–55

955 *A prescription to stop blood: Juice of “Great-Nile” plant together with beer; you
should make the woman drink it at dawn / before she has eaten. It stops.

[v. col. v, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
3] *motiic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/1–3.

PDM xiv. 956–60

*The way to know it of a woman whether she will be pregnant: You should make
the woman urinate on this plant, above, again, at night. When morning comes, if
960 you find the plant scorched, she will not conceive. If you find it / green, she will
[v. col. v, conceive.

8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
motiic Magical Papyrus, verso, col. v/4–8.

PDM xiv. 961–65

*A prescription to stop blood: Leaf of † . . . , leaf of fresh “copper-fly” plant.
Pound, put [it] on yourself while you lie with the woman. Another: Myrrh, garlic,
965 gall of a gazelle; pound with / old scented wine; put [it] on yourself while you lie
[v. col. v, with her.

13] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
motiic Magical Papyrus, verso. col. v/9–13. The word preceded by † is written in Demotic
with Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

562. Reading *hm3 hmt*, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 175, n. to V. I. IV. 7. Copper-based medicines were common in Pharaonic medicine, presumably since the copper helped kill bacteria.

563. See PGM IV. 1090.

564. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

565. Coptic *šolšl*, “sift,” Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 561b.

PDM xiv. 966–69

**Asphodel*, also called wild onion.⁵⁶⁶

Garlic, also called wild garlic.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/14–17.

PDM xiv. 970–77

***A prescription** to stop liquid in a woman: The first prescription: salt and oil; pound; . . .⁵⁶⁷ two days, after the two days.

970

[v. col. vi,

2]

The second **prescription**: White lead; you should pound it with a little salt paste⁵⁶⁸ of an oil dealer very carefully; you should put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg; you should pound them; you should bring a strip of fine-woven linen; you should dye it in this medicine (she should wash in the bath and wash in good wine); you should put the medicated strip up in her; you should push it in and / out in her womb for a short time, in the manner of a man's phallus, until the medication permeates; you should remove it; and you should leave her until evening. When evening comes, you should dye a bandage in genuine honey and put it up in her until dawn, for *three* (another [manuscript] says, four) days.

975

[v. vi, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vi/1–8.

PDM xiv. 978–80

**Another*, after it: Juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed, one measure; water of the ear of a . . . animal, one measure, in accordance with the measure of a wine cup; you should add a measure of good wine to them and she should drink it at midday without having / eaten anything at all after bathing in the bath, which she did beforehand. When evening comes, you should put the rag with honey up in her as above for seven days.

980

[v. col.

vii, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/1–4.

PDM xiv. 981–84

**Another*, after it: You should bring a new dish; you should put ten measure of old sweet wine in it; and you should put a drachma of fresh rue in it from dawn until midday. She should wash in the bath, come out, and drink it. When evening comes, you should put honey up in her as above again for seven days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/4–7.

PDM xiv. 985–92

**Gout*: You should make the man sit down, place clay under the man's feet, and place . . . after it⁵⁶⁹ while his feet are on it. You should ask the man, "Has it [already] heard?"⁵⁷⁰ for three days. Afterwards you should bring an ant; you should cook it in henna oil; and you should anoint his foot / with it. When you have finished, you should bring Alexandrian figs, dried grapes, and *potentilla*.⁵⁷¹ You

985

[v. col.

viii, 1]

990

[v. viii, 6]

566. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 177, n. to verso col. V, l. 15.

567. See *ibid.*, 178, n. to V. VI. 1, for a discussion of the passage omitted.

568. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 781a.

569. Or "him."

570. Or "whether he has (already) heard."

571. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 180, n. to V. l. VIII. 7.

should pound them with wine and anoint him. In addition to this, you should breathe at him with your mouth.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. viii/1–8. The word preceded by [†] is written in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

995 **PDM xiv. 993–1002**

[v. col. ix, 3] *Another: 1 dram of spurge; / 1 drachma of pepper; 1 stater of pyrethrum; 1 stater of adarces;⁵⁷² 1 stater of native sulfur; 6 staters of [any] wine; / 8 [measures] of genuine oil. You should pound them and make them into a poultice. Apply to the place which pains the man.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ix/1–10.

PDM xiv. 1003–14

1005 *Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man: You should write these names on a strip / of silver or tin. You should put it on a deerskin⁵⁷³ and bind it to the foot of the man named, on his two feet: “THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUIPE / AIOX-THOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIIOU, let NN, whom NN bore, recover from every pain which is in his knees and two feet.” You do it when the moon is [in the constellation] Leo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. x/1–12.

1015 **PDM xiv. 1015–20**

[v. col. xi, 1] *Prescription for a . . . : Garlic, frankincense, old . . . , genuine oil. Pound them; anoint him with it. When it is dry, you should wash it / with cold water. It stops.

1020 *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1021–23

*Prescription for a foot which is very stiff: [It is] very good. You should wash his foot with cucumber juice and rub it on his foot very well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/7–9.

PDM xiv. 1024–25

1025 *Another: Sycamore figs of . . . ; fruit of acacia, / persea fruit. Pound [them]; ap-
[v. col. xi, 11] ply [it] to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/10–11.

PDM xiv. 1026–45

*“I am this great one, SHAEI”⁵⁷⁴ (another [manuscript] says, “the great one, SHE-ray”), “who makes magic against the great Triphis,⁵⁷⁵ the lady of Koou, [†]LL MYLL. The water of Mut⁵⁷⁶ is what is in my mouth; the fat⁵⁷⁷ of Hathor, worthy of love, is

572. See *ibid.*, 181, n. to V. I. IX. 5.

573. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

574. Ending written ‘3, “linen.”

575. See n. 399 above.

576. Thus R.K.R.

577. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 184, n. to V. I. XII. 3.

what is in my heart. My heart yearns, my heart loves with (?) a longing which a she-cat / feels for a tomcat, a longing which a she-wolf feels for a wolf, a longing which a bitch feels for a dog, the longing the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moses while he was going to the hill of NINARETOS to offer water to his god, his lord, his [†]IAHO sabaho, his GLEMYRA MYSE PLERYBE S MI ABRASAKS SENKLAI. Let NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore. Let her feel a yearning, a love, a great madness . . . , she seeking after him everywhere. O fury / of IAHO SABAHY HORION (?) all-mighty ANTOGRATOR ⁵⁷⁸ ARBANTHALA THALO THALAKS, 'I cast fury against you ⁵⁷⁹ of the great gods of Egypt. Fill your hands with flames and fire! Use it! Cast it on the heart of NN, whom NN bore! Wither her, O spirit! Take her sleep, O man of the west! ⁵⁸⁰ Let the house of her father and her mother, the places where she is. . . . Call out while the flame of fire / is against her, while she speaks, saying, "mercy," she standing outside murmuring "mercy," for I am an agent (?) of Geb, Horus RON. Pre is my name. Tear her name out of Egypt for 40 days, 33 months, 175 days, the complement of six months, O GIRE [†]THEE PISITY EKOIMI ATAM! ⁵⁸¹ ([Say] seven times.)

1030

[v. col.

xii, 5]

1035

[v. xii, 10]

1040

[v. xiii, 4]

Crocodile dung, a little donkey placenta, and sisymbrium, 7 *oipe* of antelope dung, gall of a male goat, and first fruits of oil. You should heat them with flax stalks; you should recite to it seven times for seven days; you should anoint your phallus / with it; and you should lie with the woman; and you should anoint the woman's heart ⁵⁸² also.

1045

[v. xiii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xii/1–xiii/9. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1046–47

*[A prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband: ⁵⁸³ Acacia, fruit. Pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1047–48

*To make a woman love copulating with her: Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1049–55

*To make [a woman love copulating with her (?)] / Alum, 1 dram; pepper, 1 dram; dry *mhnknwt* plant, 4 drams; orchid, 4 drams. Pound into a dry medication! Do [your] business with / it in accordance with what you know with any woman.

1050

[v. col.

xiv, 2]

1055

[v. xiv, 7]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiv/1–7.

578. Is this the preceding with the initial *p* interpreted as the Egyptian masculine singular definite article and omitted?

579. Plural.

580. See n. 33 above.

581. Perhaps "O divine faithful lord, I cast out Adam," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 186–87, n. to V. I. XIII. 6.

582. Or "breast" (?), as Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, 187.

583. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 930–32.

PDM xiv. 1056–62

*The names of the gods whom you seek when you are going to bring in a thief [by vase questioning]:⁵⁸⁴ “[†]MASKELLI [†]MASKELLO [†]PHNYGENTABAO [†]HREKSIGTHO [†]PERIGTHEON [†]PERIPEGANEKS [†]AREOBASAGRA” (also called [†]OBASAGRA).

1060 / This name, you say it before a ship which is about to founder on account of the
[v. col. xv, names of Dioscorus,⁵⁸⁵ which are within, so that it is safe.

5] If you recite them to the beaker of Adonai,⁵⁸⁶ which is inscribed outside, it will do a great work which will bring in a thief.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1063–69

*“[†]ARMIOYT⁵⁸⁷ [†]SITHANI [†]YTHANI [†]ARIAMYSI [†]SOBRTAT⁵⁸⁸ [†]BIRBAT [†]MISIRITHAT / [†]AMSIETHARMITHAT,⁵⁸⁹ bring NN, whom NN bore, out of her abodes in which she is, to any house, any place in which NN, whom NN bore, is while she loves him and craves him, she making the gift of his heart at every moment!”

1065
[v. col.
xvi, 3]

You should write this in myrrh ink on a strip of clean byssus and put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, in your house from evening until dawn. If you find the hair of the woman, put it in the wick! It is good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1070–77

*A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams (another [manuscript] says, to dream dreams) again: [[A line of symbols of secret signs.]] You should write this on a reed leaf and put [it] under your head while you sleep. It makes dreams and sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you should put it on the mouth of a mummy. It brings a woman also. You should write this name on the reed leaf with the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe; you should put the hair of the woman in the leaf; you should put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you should write this name on the ground, saying: “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to the house, to the sleeping-place in which is NN, the son of NN!” Now it is also a fetching charm.

1070
[v. col.
xvii, 1]

1075
[v. xvii, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xvii/1–8.

PDM xiv. 1078–89

*“ERYBITHY EKYLA / ERREPHEDI, reveal yourself to me, god NN, and speak to me concerning that about which I shall ask you, truthfully, without having told me falsehood.”

1080
[v. col.
xviii, 3]
1085
[v. xviii,
8]

Saffron, 2 [measures]; / black eye paint of Koptos, 2 [measures]; pound with blood of a lizard, make into a ball, and rub it with milk of a [woman who has born a] male child! Put [it] in his right eye and recite to it before any lamp or the Big Dipper at night!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xviii/1–12.

584. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 188, n. to V. I. XV. 1.

585. The patron gods of sailors, as Griffith and Thompson, *ibid.*, n. to V. I. XV. 6.

586. See *ibid.*, 189, n. to V. I. XV. 6.

587. Preceding this line is a line showing three scarab beetles, three falcons, and three goats. In the right margin next to this line is the addition “also called ARMIOYTH.”

588. Ending written with the hieratic *dd*-pillar.

589. Beginning written *r-ms*, “whom . . . bore.”

PDM xiv. 1090–96

* A spell for bringing a woman out of her house: You bring a . . . of a wild cat; you dry it; you take a tendon (?) [of a . . . which has been] drowned; and you fashion a ring whose body is blended with gold [in the form of two] lions whose mouths are open, the face of each being turned to the other. You should put the thing . . . it face. 1090 [v. col. xix, 1]

When you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you should place the ring in the upper part of a lamp / which is lit and you should say to it, “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to this place in which I am, quickly, in these moments of today!” 1095 [v. xix, 6]
She comes at once.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xix/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1097–1103

*To heal ophthalmia⁵⁹⁰ in a man: “O Amoun,⁵⁹¹ this †lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down from Meroe to Egypt and who found my son Horus hurrying on his feet.⁵⁹² He beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language. When he finds NN, whom NN bore, he will hurry on / his feet, and he will beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language: “GENTINI †tentina qyqybi [ak]khe akha.” 1100 [v. col. xx, 4]

[Say it] to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, anoint the man who has ophthalmia with it, also write this on a new papyrus, and make it into a papyrus roll on his body: “You are the eye of heaven,” in the writings. . . .⁵⁹³

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1104–9

* . . . / “live-on-them” plant: . . . Pound, make . . . of the river. . . . Paint your eye with it! 1105 [v. col. xxi, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1110–29

*A tested . . . : . . . *Here is* [the ointment which you] put on your eyes when you go to the vessel of inquiry alone: Green eyepaint, black eyepaint, *ges-nh* stone,⁵⁹⁴ amulet of . . . , flowers of black . . .⁵⁹⁵ which are vetch, blood of hoopoe. / Pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice of Egyptian grapes and yellow ocher⁵⁹⁶ of Nubia. You see the shadow of every god and every goddess. 1110 [v. col. xxii, 1]
1115 [v. xxii, 6]

Its . . . : “I call to you, O great gods who appear with the sun, †TSEMYKS⁵⁹⁷ †AMP

590. Or “evil eye”; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 192, n. to V. I. XX. 1.

591. See n. 189 above.

592. Or, perhaps, “as fast as his feet (could go),” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 193, with n. to V. I. XX. 3.

593. What is left blank here is written in the papyrus as the hieroglyph of an eye with rays rising up from it.

594. See n. 65 above.

595. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 194–95, n. to V. I. XXII. 4.

596. See PDM xiv. 677 and n. 474.

597. Or OEMYKS. [R.K.R.]

- 1120 . . . ⁵⁹⁸PIAM [†]ENPAIA [†]IBOTH [†]IAE SABAOTH. / Open to me, open to me, O great
 [v. xxii, gods who appear with the sun! Let my eyes open to the light, and let me see the
 11] god who inquires today. ⁵⁹⁹Hurry, hurry, for the protection . . . ABLANATHANLBA,
 the great god, [†]MARARAANTONE ⁶⁰⁰[†]ABIATH N . . . SENEN Agathodaimon NTOSA-
 TRAPERQEMAI ⁶⁰¹Osiris [†]LILAM is his name. Open to me, Open to me, O great
 1125 gods! Let my eyes open to the light, / and let me see the god who inquires today.
 [v. xxii, Open to me, open to me! I cast fury of the doubly great god . . . whose strength is
 16] great, who lives forever, against you. Give strength to the name . . . the name of the
 god. . . . Open to me, open to me, O great [gods] who appear with the sun! Let
 [my eyes] open [to the light, and let] me [see the god] who inquires today. Hurry,
 hurry⁶⁰² (. . . times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–20. Words preceded by [†] are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

1130 PDM xiv. 1130–40

- [v. col. * . . grind . . . with. . . Another: . . . NAKS . . . / juniper . . . seeds. . . An-
 xxiii, 1] other: . . . again. Dung . . . dried and burned, 2 [measures]; / pound [with oil of]
 1135 henna and honey, anoint [your phallus] with it, and lie with her!

[v. xxiii, 6] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiii/1–12.

[v. xxiii,
 11]

PDM xiv. 1141–54

- * . . . to it, and you should . . . of byssus to it, these three names being written on
 1045 it; . . . / and myrrh; you should light it; you should place it . . . your head; and you
 [v. col. should recite them to it again nine times . . . the lamp. You do it at the time of the
 xxiv, 4] third hour of night . . . alone.

1050 Formula: “[†]IOBASAYMPTHO [[†]GHROME (?) [†]LY]GHAR, instruct⁶⁰² me / in truth
 [v. xxiv, concerning any given matter about which I am praying here [today, in] truth, with-
 9] out telling you⁶⁰³ falsehood. IOBASAYMPTHOKHROMELOYKHAR, instruct me in
 truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here today.”

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiv/1–13. Words preceded by [†] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1155–62

- 1155 * . . . ⁶⁰⁴hawk's dung; salt, reed, *bele* plant. Pound together. Anoint your phallus
 [v. col. with it and lie with the woman. If it is dry, you should / pound a little of it with
 xxv, 1] wine, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxv/1–8.

598. With water determinative, presumably *p3 y'm*, “the sea.”

599. See n. 23 above.

600. For Adonai?

601. See n. 8 above.

602. Literally, “Let my eyes open out.” Cf. n. 93 above. [R.K.R.]

603. *Sic*.

604. The first line is perhaps to be restored “in order to make a woman love copulation, again,” as

PDM xiv. 1163–79

*If you [wish to make] the gods of the vessel speak with you,⁶⁰⁵ when the gods come in, you should say this name [to them], nine times: /⁶⁰⁶ LAO⁶⁰⁷ IPH⁶⁰⁸ EOE⁶⁰⁹ GINN-TATHYR⁶¹⁰ NEPHAR⁶¹¹ APHOE.” He commands to you concerning that about which you will ask him.

1165
[v. col.
xxvi, 3]

If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer, you should say this other name to them, nine times until they inquire for you truthfully: “NGONGETSIKS⁶¹² MANTY⁶¹³ NOBOE⁶¹⁴ GOGHIR⁶¹⁵ Hrontor⁶¹⁶ NTONTROMA⁶¹⁷ LEPHOGER⁶¹⁸ GEPHAERSORE” (seven times). “IAYO EIPHE ON KINDATHOYR NEPHAR APHOE.”

1170
[v. xxvi,
8]

According to what is above,⁶⁰⁸ on the recto, “I am SIT-TA-KO.⁶⁰⁹ ‘Hearing’ is my name; ‘hearing’ is my correct name. I am GANTHA GINTEY⁶¹⁰ GIRITEY, lord god, ARENOYTE⁶¹¹ LABTATHA LAPTYTHA / LAKSANTHA SARISA MARKHARAHYTEY⁶¹² AR-SINGA-GHLA” (another manuscript [says], ARSI-NGALABEL) “*Bolboel* BOEL BOEL LOTERI⁶¹³ GLO-GASANTRA. IAHO is my name; IAHO is my correct name. BALKHAM, the powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin⁶¹⁴ of the shrine of the god who stands today.”

1175
[v. xxvii,
4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxvi/1–xxvii/8. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1180–81

*You are going to send a star . . . down while the moon is [in the constellation] Scorpio.

1180
[v. col.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxviii/1–2.

xxviii, 2]

PDM xiv. 1182–87

*[Spell to] make mad any man or any woman: You should take the hair of the man whom you wish together with the hair of a dead man; you should tie them to each other; / you should tie them to the body of the hawk; and you should release it alive. If you wish to do it for some days, you should put the hawk in a place, feeding it in your house.

1185
[v. col.
xxix, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxix/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1188–89

*If you . . . dung of a Nile goose. Her body falls.⁶¹⁴

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/1–2.

Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, in the hand copy.

605. There is a parallel in PDM xiv. 847–50.

606. See n. 23 above.

607. See n. 23 above.

608. PDM xiv. 13–16.

609. See n. 7 above.

610. Ending written f3w, “wind.”

611. See n. 9 above.

612. Ending written f3w, “wind.”

613. See n. 12 above.

614. Perhaps “abortion,” as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 201, n. to V. I. XXX. 1.

PDM xiv. 1190–93

1190 *Another: You should anoint your phallus with dung of weasel⁶¹⁵ and lie with [the]
[v. col. woman. She loves you. You should pound dung of . . . with honey and anoint your
xxx, 3] phallus with it according to what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/3–6.

PDM xiv. 1194–95

1195 *Another: Dung of hyena with oil of / roses⁶¹⁶ in accordance with what is above,
[v. col. again.

xxx, 8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/7–8.

PDM xiv. 1196–98

*Another: You should fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung when the menstruation is on her. She stops. Ass's dung also—this method [of treatment].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/9–11.

PDM xiv. 1199–1205

1200 *"SISIOOYT" / (another [manuscript] says, *ARMIOYTH*), "O living god, O burning
[v. col. lamp, come in before me and tell me an answer concerning that about which I am
xxxi, 2] asking here / today."

1205 [v. xxxi, 7] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxi/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1206–18

*To make [a woman] mad after a man:⁶¹⁷ You should bring a live shrew-mouse, remove its gall and put it in one place; and remove its heart and put it in another place. You should / take its whole body. You should pound it very much while it is dry; you should take a little of what is pounded with a little blood of your second finger and the little finger⁶¹⁸ of your left hand; you should put it in a cup of wine; and you should make the woman drink it. She is mad after you.

1210 / If you put its gall into a cup of wine, she dies instantly. Or put it in meat or some food.

1215 If you put its heart in ring of gold and put it on your hand, it gives you great
[v. xxxii, praise, love, and awe.

10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxii/1–13.

PDM xiv. 1219–27

1220 *Horus . . . went up the mountain⁶¹⁹ at midday during the season of inundation, mounted on a white horse . . . on a black horse, / the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being
[v. col. on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his breast. He found all the gods seated at
xxxiii, 2] the place of judgment eating [of the produce] of the Nile, my great one. Said they, "Horus, come and eat! Horus, come! Are you going to eat?"

615. Identification suggested by R.K.R., identifying Griffith and Thompson, cipher number 22 with cipher number 83.

616. See n. 100 above.

617. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 382–86.

618. See n. 411 above.

619. For the mountain of Horus, see M. Smith's commentary to P. BM. 10507, l. 5 (not yet published).

He said, “Go away ¹ from ¹ me! I have no [way] to eat. My head hurts; my body hurts. A fever has taken hold of me; a south wind has seized me. Does Isis [stop] making magic? Does Nephthys stop curing? Are the sixteen ⁶²⁰ those of the avenger? Is my one a divine power of a god? Are [the 365] gods sitting down to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my great one, until they remove the fever / from the head of the son of Isis, from the head of NN, whom NN bore, being the fever of night, the fever of midday, headache, this burning, this heat of the fevers of those below the brow to his feet, ⁶²¹ [until they] remove [it] from the head of NN, whom NN bore?”

1225

[v. xxxiii,
7]

[Say it] over genuine oil, seven times; anoint his hand, his body, his feet; and speak to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxiii/1–9. Words preceded by ¹ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PGM XV. 1–21

*“I will bind you, Nilos, who is also [called] Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, with great evils. Neither gods nor men will procure ¹ a clean getaway ² for you! On the contrary, you will love me, Capitolina whom Peperous bore, with a divine passion, and in every way you will be for me an escort, as long as I want, that you might do for me what I wish and nothing for anyone else, and that you might obey no one save only me, Capitolina, and that you might forget your parents, / children, and friends. I also conjure you, daimons, who are in this place, ALYĒAĒL . . . 5
LIONŌ SOUAPH ALŌ LYBALOLYBĒL OIKALLISSAMAEŌ LYBALALŌNĒ LYLŌĒY LY-
OTHNOIS ODISSASON ALELADA. I, Capitolina, have the power, and, on meeting you, Nilos, will return the favors. They are releasing all who have drowned, have died unmarried, and have been carried away by the wind. I will insert this deposit, in order that you might accomplish for me what has been written on the strip of papyrus, which is why I am conjuring / you, daimons, by the force and fate that 10
constrains you. Accomplish everything for me and rush in and take away the mind of Nilos, to whom this magical material belongs, in order that he might love me, Capitolina, and that Nilos, whom Demetria bore, might be inseparable from me, every hour and every day. I conjure you daimons by your spiteful fates that hold you and by those carried by the wind, IŌ IŌĒ PHTHOUTH EIŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌ / BARBARE THIOŲH ³ LAILAMPS OSORNŌPHRI EMPHERA, the 15
only-begotten god in heaven, who shakes the deep, sending out waters and winds—discharge the spirits of the daimons where my deposit box is, in order that they, either male or female, small or great, might perform for me the things in the tablet, in order that they might come and accomplish the things in this tablet and might bind Nilos, who is also [called] / Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, to me, 20
Capitolina, whom Piperous bore, for his [whole] life. Nilos shall love me with an eternal affection; immediately, immediately; quickly, [quickly].”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

620. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 204, n. to V. l. XXXIII. 5.

621. I.e., from his head to his feet. [R.K.R.]

1. The papyrus has *εὐρωσι*, which A. Henrichs emends to *εὐρω σοι*, “I will procure.” The meaning is, however, unclear.

2. Lit., “a pure release.”

3. THIOŲH was accidentally omitted in Preisendanz’s text.

PGM XVI. 1-75

*"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the MĒTH . . . OU MACHEREMA PHACHE[LEZETHI] ALŌIA BATHABLEOUCHACHI ABAŌS OMŌCHAL ARACHRAUCH . . .
 5 OU AMERRA MACHERTHA PHACHELEZETHI; cause Sarapion to pine [and] melt away for the passion of Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi bore]. [Inflame / his] heart, cause it to melt, and [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, and pain for me, until Sarapion, whom [Pasametra] bore, [comes] to Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. [And] let him [do] all the things in my [mind] and let him [continue] loving me, [until] he [arrives] in Hades."

"I adjure you, as a daimon of the dead, by ADŌNAIOS SABAŌTH AMARACHTHEI /
 10 AXIAŌTHAZAR, god, ATHRŌA SOU . . . AMALAXA, god, . . . EN MARATA ACHŌ CHIMMI NEMEGAIPH Y . . . ACHILTHTEE [MARADTHA] THARBI APSŌCH . . . ; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra¹ bore, to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. Brand his heart, cause it to melt, and suck out his
 15 blood because of love, passion, pain, / until Sarapion, whom Pasametra [bore], comes to Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the heart of Kronos' son . . . ŌURŌNY
 20 . . . LI . . . EULAMŌSI . . . MERATHA; cause Sarapiōn, whom Pasametra bore, / to pine and melt away out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom Tikoi bore. And cause his heart to melt, [and] suck out [his] blood because of love, passion, pain, [until] Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom Takoui bore. And
 25 let him do all the things in my mind, and let him continue loving me, until / he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the one under STĒĒAALEBMOU EYA . . . NEKELA . . . TOSAN . . . AKETORIMISEPHONYMI STASACHĒ AMŌTILŌ NEBOU [TOSOUALĒTH cause] Sarapion, whom [Pasametra bore], to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. Cause [his heart] to melt [and] suck
 30 out [his] blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore]. And [let him do all the things in my mind], and let him continue loving me until [he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the M . . . MASĒ LEAI . . . MEA . . . RMŌ
 35 . . . SEGE B . . . DĒSAŌŌUA / PHESPHTOU undefiled EI, names . . . XAI BAIMEBOTĒ-SAI PHTHASIAU SAIEXEETHA CHTHETHŌ OU NEBIŌTHY LAIOUTH, cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine and melt away out of passion [for Dioskorous], whom Tikoui bore. And [cause] his [heart to melt and] suck out his blood / be-
 40 cause of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [to] Dioskorous, [whom] Tikauī [bore]. And let him do [all the things in my] mind, [and let him continue] loving me until [he arrives] in [Hades], and again I adjure you, [daimon of the dead], by the PHTHOI KI . . . ŌSE . . . AUTHEIOKRA . . . EI / APO
 45 EIRRATHEIBŌTHIMIA PROSĒMOPERNAI . . . ENE A . . . S . . . TASĒTHŌNNEBAI LEISEI; cause Sarapion, [whom Pasametra] bore, [to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. And cause his heart to melt [and suck out his blood] because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom / Pasametra
 50 bore, comes to Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoui bore. [And let him] do all [the things] in my mind, and let him continue loving [me], until he arrives [in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by SIĪA the MEGON ABAŌTH OU . . . OUOG-
 55 DOUKO . . . ĒRĒ . . . OMMA KELARO . . . ONTBELA; [cause Sarapion], / whom Pasa-

1. Cf. D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 132, who reads *πᾶσα μήτρα*, "the whole womb," here and throughout the text.

metra bore, [to pine] and melt away [out of] passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikouou bore. And cause his [heart] to melt and suck out his blood because of [love], passion, pain, unless Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [And let him do] all the things in / my mind, [and let him continue 60 loving me until he arrives in Hades].”

"I adjure you, [daimon of the] dead, by [ADONAIOS] . . . DŌ . . . EXIAKĒN NEIKAROPLĒX MIDEKLIBAIA AUKA . . . LEUEIMETH . . . EXENNE KOMMI BIOU; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine [and melt away] out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom [Tikoi bore. Brand his heart] and [cause it to melt]; / [suck 65 out his] blood because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, [comes out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. And let him do] all [the] things in my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades]."

“[I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by] the greatest MY . . . PRÔTÊSKAINO-
NEONTI ERĒ [KISISPĤĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHSISIKĒRE . . . / and inflame [his heart 70
until Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, comes] to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore.
[Cause Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, to pine and melt away] out of passion
for Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoi bore; [cause him to melt away and suck out his
blood] because of love, [passion, pain] for me, [O daimon of the dead]. Wherefore,
do [and complete] for me all the things [written on this] / [strip of papyrus]. 75

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XVIIa. 1-25

*“ $\int \partial R / \partial$ ” DAMNIPPE PĒPĒ ŌŌ $\ast \approx \times \psi \gamma = 39$

LYKYXUVHYCH NN CHYCH

XYKYL 93 4 PSCH $\equiv$ $\frac{p}{*}$ ŌŌ ĒPĒP —

ĒPP¹ INMAD, Anubis, god on earth

and under earth and heavenly;

dog, dog, dog, assume all your /

authority and all your power

against Tigerous, whom Sophia

bore. Make her cease from

her arrogance, calculation,

and her shamefulness, and attract

her to me, beneath my feet.

melting with passionate

desire / at every hour of the

day and night, always

remembering me while she is

eating, drinking, working,

conversing, sleeping / dreaming,

having an orgasm in her dreams,

until she is scourged by you and

comes desiring me, with her

hands full, with a generous

soul and graciously giving me

both herself and her possessions

and fulfilling / what is

appropriate for women in regards to men: serving both my desire and her own.

I. The *voces magicae* ΠΕΠΕ, ΕΠΕΠ, etc., may be related to the Hebrew tetragrammaton, the name for god. See *PGM* IV. 595 and n.

unhesitatingly and unabashedly, joining thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black, most pleasantly. Aye, lord, attract to me Titerous, whom Sophia bore, to me, Hermeias, whom Hermione bore, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly—driven by your scourge.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XVIIb. 1–23

*“[Hermes, lord of the world], who’re in the heart,
 [O orbit of Selene, spherical]
 [And] square, the founder of the words [of speech]
 [Pleaser of justice’s cause,] garbed in a mantle,
 [With winged sandals,] who rule [expressive] speech
 5 [Prophet to mortals] / . . .
 For he inspires . . .
 . . . within a short time . . .
 [Whene’er] the fateful [day arrives] again¹
 10 . . . [who send] some [oracle] that’s true, / you’re said
 To be [the Moirai’s thread] and [Dream divine],
 [The all-subduer, Unsub]dued, just as
 . . . may you judge . . .
 You offer good things to the good, [but grief]
 [To those who’re worthless.]² Dawn comes up for you,
 15 For you swift [night draws] near. / You lord it o’er
 The elements: fire, air, [water, and earth]³
 When you became helmsman of [all the] world;
 And you escort the souls of those you wish,
 But some you rouse again. For you’ve become
 The order of the world, for you [cure], too,
 20 Man’s [every] ailment, / [who send oracles]
 By day and night; [send] me, I pray your [form],
 For I’m a man, a pious suppliant,
 And your [soldier];⁴ and so, [while I’m asleep],
 [Send to me your unerring] mantic skill.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This badly damaged papyrus contains a spell in dactylic hexameters which is similar in part to *PGM* V. 400–421 and VII. 668–80. Heitsch (in *Preisendanz*, vol. II, p. 249) has reconstructed the passages to form Hymns 15–16.

1. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 175.

2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 24. 530–33; Rom 13:3–4.

3. Cf. *PGM* XII. 250–51.

4. Cf. *PGM* IV. 185–94, esp. 193.

PGM XVIIc. 1-14

* ⁶⁶	ABLANATHANATHANABLA	
A	XXXXX	G
BAEËIOYÖ	AAAAAAA	R
		A
L EEEEEEE	IIIIIII	M
A		A
NAKRAKAMARPITAR		CH
AKOMMÖTEU M P O		A
THNIRA . . .	IPHEL	
PETHION		
AEU.LEIË . . .	ITAPE	
AMÑNEBALESITÖT		
ATACHIT		
Q . . .	"	

5

10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This slip of papyrus was evidently used as an amulet or protective charm.

PGM XVIIIa. 1-4

*“Lord Sabaoth, repel the pain from me, the headache pain, I pray, take [from me]. . . .”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XVIIIb. 1-7

*GORGŌPHŌNAS
 ORGŌPHŌNAS
 RGŌPHŌNAS
 GOPHONAS
 ŌPHŌNAS
 PHŌNAS
 ŌNAS
 NAS
 AS
 S

“GORGŌPHŌNAS	*“I conjure you all by the
ORGŌPHŌNAS	sacred name to heal Dionysius
RGŌPHŌNAS	or Anys, whom Heraklia bore,
GŌPHŌNAS	from every shivering fit and fever,
ŌPHŌNAS	whether daily or intermittent [fever]
PHŌNAS	by night or day, or quartan fever,
ŌNAS	immediately, immediately, quickly,
NAS	quickly.”
AS	
Σ”	

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The name GORGŌPHŌNA, here apparently feminine accusative plural, may refer to the epithet of Athena, "Gorgo-slayer."

PGM XIXa. 1–54

- * “ENTHI ENTHŌ BOSOU ĒRIS ĒRIS I . . . NOUŌ OUI DE BATHAR NĒITH NĒITH¹
 ĒIAŌTH OUOR KAŌTHIS SAMI SAMIS OPHOR ANOUIPHŌ XTHETHŌNI NOUĒRIŌTH
 AŌTH OUŌR TENOCH TENOCH BIBIOU BIBIOU MOUAU MOUAU SMŌSOM THEU-
 OUTH OKEBENEUSI ENSI EIPSĒI OUŌR OUŌR OSARAMŌKS THAT THAT ENTHOUŌ
 KOMMOUŌA PHIANOCH PHIANOCH SŌPH CHTHENTHEBENCH ENTHEBECHECH ĒCH-
 THENTHEBETH YIABŌY LAILAM HARMIOŌUTH SŌN APS IPHIŌS DIAR NEBES CHI-
 NEI NOUTH I NOUTH I KOMŌA RAPHŌR HARSAMŌSI STEOBAOCH ANOCH PHRĒ
 5 PHRI CHORBAI MAI ABAŌTH IAŌ IPHI ROMBAOTH / CHAOUCH CHŌOUCH RINGCH
 SPHĒCH CHOUUCHORPHI MOUISRŌ² KAMPYCHRĒ GORGIOŌRIE LAMPIPYRSI SEI-
 ROE OMBRIME MATEORSI NAPHSISAŌTHA Ō OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSARAPI SARAPI³ Ō
 OSOR NOBĒCHIS OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSOR NŌPHRIS THŌ THŌ THŌ ITHI ITHI [ITHI]
 MOU THOURI⁴ CHAOUCH CHTHETHŌNI MAPSITHYRIMAPS TITI NYXBI AMOUN
 BLAMOUNITH BIŌTH THŌDIARAX PHORBORBABŌR CHŌSOĒTH BOLCHOSĒTH
 ERESCHIGAL HARSAMŌ HARSENOPHRĒ BIRBĒ KAPHIŌ IAŌ ĒIA IAĒ ĒI ĒAIA CHIM-
 NOUTH HARBIŌTH KARACHARAX PHRAX AX NOUMŌR TO TACHAN TO PHRĒ TAUAN
 CHOUCHE CHOUCHE CHŌX CHŌX CHOUCHOTHI MASKELLI MASKELLI PHNOU-
 CHENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HYPOCHTHŌN IŌOUTH IAŌOUTH AI AI AI OU OU
 10 OU BARBARAI BALĒMAĒTH KĒCHI ATHŌR / SENEZEZOUTH SORO ORMEA CHTH
 . . . BARMAR PHRIOUREINGX MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREO-
 BAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPEGANYX OREOPEGANYX LEPETAN
 LEPETAN PHRIX PHRŌX BIA MASTIGX ANAGKĒ MANTOUENOBOĒL THOURA KRINI
 ZOUCHE PIPPĒ BECHUCH TA NIKAKŌY . . . ĒTO KOURA SANKANTHARA SAN-
 KISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ IE ĒI EĒ KINXTABAKINX TABAKINX IŌ MOLPĒ IO KABALTH
 SAMAS SAIŌBOTHŌR . . . BAIŌŌR BAIŌR ATHARBAIŌ ZASAR THARAIŌ, guardian⁵ of
 strong Destiny, who manages my affairs, the thoughts of my soul, which no one
 can speak out against, not a god, not an angel, not a daimon: arouse yourself for
 15 me, / daimon of the dead, and do not use force but fulfill what has been inscribed
 and inserted into your mouth, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.

1. Neith is the Egyptian goddess of Sais. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. “Neith.”

2. MOUISRO is “Lion-Ram.” See l. 36 below, and *PGM* III. 659 and n.; XXXVI. 351. [R.K.R.]

3. This invocation of Sarapis is peculiar because the god is named by his two names, the older Osarapis and the common Sarapis. In addition, the three sacred bulls of Apis are named: Osor Nobecheis (Buchis), Osor Mnevis, and Osor Nophris (Onuphis). Cf. *PGM* IV. 140; XL. For bull cults in Egypt, see E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938). [R.K.R.]

4. THOURI is Egyptian Thoeris, the hippopotamus goddess. See *PGM* XII. 113 and n. [R.K.R.]

5. μελητής, “guardian,” seems to occur only here. The common term is ἐπιμελητής. [E.N.O.]

ABRASAX	IAEOBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	BAINCHOOCH	16
OYOEIEA	AEOBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	AE EIOYI DAMNAMENU	
YOIEAO	EOBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	E EIOYOA AMNAMENU	
OIEAOY	OBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	E IOYOE M NAMENU	
IEAOYO	BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	IOYOEAE NAMENU	20
EAEOYI IA	APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	OYOEAEI O AMENU	
EAOTYIE IA	PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	YOAEIEI YO MENU	
AOTYIE IOA	RENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	IAO AOI OAEIOY OYO ENU	
AIIOIAIOIAAA	ENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI		
OOPIHOOTYTOO	NEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	OIAIOIAOIAI AA IOYI NEU	25
IOA AOI AOI IOA OIA	EMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	EOOIOIOIOYTY OOO	
II AAA EEE EEEHIIHOOO	MOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	OIA IOIAIOIOIAO EIOYI EU	
O YTTY OOOOIOO	OUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	IIAAAEIEEIEEIIIOOIO EIOYI U	
ARLANATHANALBA	UNETHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	O YTY OOOOIOO AE EIOYI	
BLANATHANALBA	NOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	AKRAMACHAMARI SYKREMEI BAKERBETH PAKERBETH	30
LANATHANALBA	OTHILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	KRAMMACHAMARI ABRASAX ARSAAO ACHIOHON	
ANATHANALBA	THILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	RAMMACHAMARI ANOUPHIO AOTI ZOPI CHMOUTE	
NATHANALBA	ILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	AMMACHAMARI ACHOR ARCHITOK IATH ANTHI	
ATHANALBA	ILARIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	MMACHAMARI MORIAM RIOCH BIOCH APRHOU PHILA	
O THANALBA A	AKRIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	MACHAMARI BRAUTOPA / . . . CHOUGH EUEUNETHI	35
YO ANALBA EA	KIKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	ACHAMARI PALASOCH . . . IO MOUSIRO ROS	
OYO NALBA EEA	IKRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	CHAMARI MOUSIROK . . . BALBA . . . IAIO PAGOURE	
IOYO ALBA IEAA	KRIPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	AMARI PAAGOURE MA . . . PSYLO PARNAB	
EIOYO LBA OIEEA	RPIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	MARI LO . . . ARKABERROTH MARMARILLESA	
EIOYO RA YOIEEA	PIHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	ARI RIANYNRESON CHORITGEKE ANOCH	40
AE EIOYI A OYOEIA	PHAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	RI PRECHTINETH ASOCH NYCHEUNE	
OYOEIEI OUAIRIEL OUA IAOITHO BARRARAU	IAEYAIPIHKKIKALITHONUOMENERPHABOEAI	I CHAPEA PAICHORSARI ASSINETH	
SEMESILAM ABRASAX ORCHIRATHI BIOURA ZAZER	AEYEA	PHASORCHETH ASOCH EUNI PHIOR ANOCH	
MARE CHACHAR ZAS* CHILARATAT AOTI ARGOURA	EYF	ABAOITH DOI KOILPHMYTHI	
BLATHATH ALETH BEIGAMA CHRAEIO MEEUAAEOETH	Y	EPONCHOTH SEUEISEI SETH ROLOITH TELES	45
EIOYO EIOYO EIOYO IOYOTOY OYOOAAEAE		PHUECHA . . . ASORETERIONICH PHYGRIS SCHEIK	
AEI AEIO AEIOAE AEIOUO . . . BARA OYAMOU		PANTA PARERETHOOS . . . PHARCHELAMA	
CHMECHEMEYAK AKAKEBAICHI PHIANOCHHO		DIACHARPAULI PODRYPHORPH THORI ZORI ON	
		AO ABRASAX PHONBOBOREI IAO	

IAI IAÖ EII AII AÖEA IIII YYY, draw off, thrust away every member of this dead body and the spirit of this tent⁷ and cause him to serve / against Karosa, whom Thelo bore. Aye, lord daimon, attract, inflame, destroy, burn, cause her to swoon⁸ from love as she is being burnt, inflamed. Sting the tortured soul, the heart, of Karosa, whom Thelo bore, until she leaps forth⁹ and comes to Apalos, whom Theonilla bore, out of passion and love, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. As long as the divine mystery remains within you,¹⁰ do not allow Karosa herself, whom Thelo bore, to think of her [own] husband,¹¹ her child, drink, food, but let her come melting for passion and love and intercourse, especially¹² yearning for the intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil and R. Kotansky (ll. 16-47).

PGM XIXb, 1-3

*“ . . . may he [bring] him, NN, to her, NN” (add the usual). Write with myrrh mixed with blood on leaves of flax.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

6. On the name Zas, see *PGM* II. 117 and n.

7. For similar anthropological terms for "body," see *PGM* I. 319; IV. 448, 1951, 1970, 2141.

8. *σκόρωση* (Preisendanz: "umfinstern") refers to the Hellenistic topos of women swooning with love. See, for example, Apollonius, *Argon.* 3. 960–72 of Medea, for even a witch may swoon with love. [E.N.O.]

9. That is, from her house. Cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 71, 359 for the same expression.

10. According to A. D. Nock, *JEA* 11 (1925):158, *μυστήριον* is the magical act. So the meaning seems to be "as long as the magical spell which I have worked remains in effect on you." [E.N.O.]

11. *ἀνδρί* is strange and probably incorrect. The verb *μηνημονεύω* requires either a genitive or an accusative, and the words in parallel construction here are genitive. [E.N.O.]

12. *πλείστοι*[s], which Preisendanz has retained despite the fact that this adverbial form occurs only in a quotation by Galen from Hippocrates where the manuscripts actually have the regular form *πλείστα*. Schubart (in Preisendanz's apparatus) suggests *πλείστα*. [E.N.O.]

PGM XIXb. 4–18

- 5 *Love spell of attraction over a dog: ¹ Onto a cutting ² / of hieratic papyrus write
with myrrh and dedicate it ³ to one who has died a violent death. ⁴ “[I adjure you]
10 by the SENAKŌTHO ARPOPSYG KAMOUO ORPS THŌ OUCH PETI ANOUP PETIO-
PARIN AUT KINOTHEN CHYCH AAA ROPS UICHTHEN / KREMME SECHAXTHNE
NEOUPHTE AKĒCH CHAKE PŌPHOI KACHE ANOCH ⁵ . . . ĒTHMĒ ARI MĒS
15 THOD . . . PE; you, who are able, / [raise] your body and go [to her, NN], until she
is [willing]. . . .”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XX. 1–4

- *. . . [Spell for] head[ache]:
“ . . . for you to mortals are . . .

. . .
. . . fulfill my perfect charm.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Among the numerous studies of this papyrus, three are especially helpful: P. Maas, *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38; L. Koenen, *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 6 (1970): 193–212. The text has been restored on the basis of Pap. Berol. 7504, Pap. Amherst and Pap. Oxyr. *ined.* D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, vol. III (*L.C.L.*): *Literary Papyri Poetry*, no. 146 (pp. 604–5) has reprinted part of Wilamowitz’s text of Pap. Berol. 7504. His interpretation of the situation and translation of the text is almost comic.

PGM XX. 4–12

- 5 **[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara, / for any inflammation:*
“[The ¹ most majestic goddess’ child] was set
Aflame as an initiate ²—and on
The highest mountain peak was set aflame—
[And fire did greedily gulp] seven springs
Of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions, ³
10 But seven dark-eyed maidens ⁴ / with dark urns

1. For a love spell over a dog, see *PGM* XXXVI. 370.

2. The term *τομῖον*, found only once in *PGM*, is most likely a reference to a cutting of papyrus; cf. the technical term *ἐρατικόν*. See Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 181.

3. Preisendanz understands this as “deposit with.”

4. Preisendanz assumes that this term refers to the dog (cf. *PGM* IV. 1882–85, 2578; XXXVI. 370), but the spell is too fragmentary to be sure.

5. For the interpretation of these magical words see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. PETIANOUP is a personal name and means “He whom Anubis has given”; cf. Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen* I, 122, no. 11. CHAKE PŌPHOI KACHE ANOCH, etc., is equivalent to “Darkness, Apophis, darkness I am. . . .” [R.K.R./J.B.]

1. These lines offer some whole and partial dactylic hexameters. They have been rearranged and used as the reconstructed Hymn 28; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 265. This reconstructed hymn has been translated here. [E.N.O.]

2. L. Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknabe. Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus,” *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74, identifies the *παῖς μυστοδόκος* as the Horus child. Cf. the story of Isis and the child of the rulers of Byblos in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 15–16, 357B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 325–28. Cf. also the story of Demeter and Demophoon in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 231–55, with commentary by N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 231–34. Furthermore, see the note by J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, *LCL* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) 311–17. [E.N.O.]

3. On these springs and animals, see Koenen, “Der brennende Horusknabe,” 171–74. Cf. P. Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38, esp. 37: “I see no plausible connection of wells with wild beasts.” [E.N.O.]

Drew water and becalmed the restless fire.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM XX. 13–19

**The charm⁵ of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache:*

/ “Flee, headache, [lion] flees beneath a rock,

Wolves flee; horses flee on uncloven hoof

[And speed] beneath blows [of my perfect charm].”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

15

PGM XXI. 1–29

* “[Hear me, lord, whose secret name is unspeakable,] at whose [name, when] the daimons [hear it, even they are terrified; you of whom the sun] BAAL BNICH BAALA [AMĒN PTIDAIΟΥ ARNEBOUAT, and the moon], ASENPEMPH [THŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNĒ OSRARMEMPSECHEI], / are [tireless] eyes¹ [shining in the pupils] of men’s [eyes; you of whom heaven is the head,] air the body, [earth the feet, the water around you, ocean. You are the Good] Daimon, the lord, [the one who begets good things, nurtures and increases] the [whole] inhabited [earth and all the] / universe. Yours is the eternal [proceSSIONal way, in which is established] your name which is seven-lettered [in] harmony with the seven [vowel sounds, which are pronounced according to] the twenty-eight forms of the moon, [AEĒIOYŌ AE]ĒIOYŌ AE[Ē]IOYŌ AEĒ[I]OYŌ, / you whose good emanations from the [stars are daimons,] Fortunes and Fates by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.²

“[And] you, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower regions,³ [whose justice is not shut off,] whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [you whom the eight] / guards (Ē, Ō, CHŌ, CHOUC, [NOUN, NAUNI,] AMOUN and IO)⁴ [attend], you who possess the inerrant [truth]; many moving bodies [will not overpower] me; no spirit, no visitation, [no daimon, no evil being will oppose me, for I will have your name as a single phylactery [in my heart] /, PHIRIMNOUN [A]NOCH⁵ SOLBAI SANACHESRŌ . . . ARCHĒN SE KOPŌ⁶ K . . . OAI . . . NOUST [NOUSI SIETHŌ] SIETHŌ BENOUI.⁷ . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. See also the parallels in XII. 239–44, 252–57; XII. 765–99.

4. On the identity and role of these maidens see Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” 37–38; Kocnen, “Der brennende Horusknahe,” 169.

5. This charm seems to be a *historiola*. Cf. Maas, “The Philinna Papyrus,” 37; Kocnen, “Der brennende Horusknahe,” 169, 173–74.

1. For sun and moon as cosmic eyes, cf. the cosmic body of the deity in PGM XII. 242–45.

2. For the divine gifts, see also PGM XIII. 782–83.

3. Or “Upper and Lower Egypt”; cf. PGM XII. 256.

4. This is the “Ogdoad” of Hermopolis; see S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* 184; Nun-Naunet, Huh-Hauket, Kuk-Kauket, Amun-Amaunet. [J.B.] For these eight guards, see PGM XIII. 743–45, 788–89.

5. These words are equivalent to Egyptian and mean “I am he who came forth from Nun.” Cf. PGM XII. 345; III. 549–58. [R.K.R.]

6. These three groups of letters may be Greek words: “. . . rule. I weary you. . . .” If so, their context cannot be determined, as they are set amid magical words. [M.S.]

7. BENOUI is the Phoenix. Cf. PGM II. 104 and n. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 594–96, s.v. “Phönix.”

PGM XXIIa. 1

*“We would flee [from Trojan battle before death and ruin.]”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. This verse, probably Homer, *Iliad* 17. 714, has not preserved its title, though Preisendanz (on the basis of the following spell) believed it was a recipe for hemorrhage. The verse begins *P. Berol.* 9873, a collection of Homeric verses to be used for magico-medical purposes.

PGM XXIIa. 2–9

**Another, for bloody flux:*

“the wrath of Apollo, far-darting lord.”¹

- 5 Spoken to blood, this [verse] cures bloody flux. / But if [the patient] recovers and shows ingratitude, take a pan of coals, throw [it in the altar (?)], and place the amulets over the smoke; add a root, and write this verse in addition:

“the Far-shooter, having attained his aim, has, therefore, given pain and will give it further.”²

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 9–10

**Write [this] for pain in the breasts and uterus:*

- 10 “[him] / daughter of Zeus suckled and the wheat-bearing earth bore.”³

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 11–14

*Carried [with a magnetic] stone, or even spoken, [this verse] serves as a *contra-ceptive*:

“Would that you be fated to be unborn and to die unmarried.”⁴

Write this on a piece of new [papyrus] and tie it up with hairs of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 15–17

- 15 **[For one who suffers from elephantiasis, write this] verse and give it [to him] to wear:*

“[As when a] woman stains ivory with Phoenician purple.”⁵

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 18–27

- 20 **“Greetings, Helios; greetings, Helios; greetings, god over the heavens, with your name [being that] of the all-powerful! From the / seventh heaven [give] me [steady] favor before every race of men and all women, but especially before her, NN. Make*
- 25 *me as beautiful in her presence as IAŌ is, as rich as SABAŌTH, to be loved / like LAILAM, as great as BARBARAS, as honored as MICHAËL, as famous as GABRIËL, and [I shall be] highly favored.”*

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

1. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 75.
 2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 96.
 3. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 2. 548; also 8. 486; *Od.* 7. 332. But metaphorically *ἄρουρα* can mean the receiving of seed by a woman and bearing fruit (see, e.g., Theognis 582).
 4. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 3. 40.
 5. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4. 141.

PGM XXIIb. 1–26

***Prayer of Jacob:** “O Father of the patriarchs, Father of the All, [Father] of the [cosmic] powers, [Creator of all] . . . , Creator of angels and archangels, the Creator of the [saving] names. I summon you, Father of all powers, Father of the entire [cosmos] and of all / creation inhabited and uninhabited, to whom the [cherubim] are subjected, [who] favored Abraam by [giving the] kingdom [to him] . . . : hear me, O God of the powers, O [God] of angels [and] archangels, [King]. . . .
 LELEACH . . . ARŌACH TOU ACHABOL . . . Ō . . . YRAM TOU . . . BOACH KA . . . TH
 . . . RA . . . CHACH MARIROK . . . YRAM . . . ITHTH SESOIK, / he who sits upon [holy] Mount Sinai; . . . I . . . BO . . . ATHEM . . . he who sits upon the sea; . . . EA
 . . . BL . . . D . . . K . . . E . . . THĒS . . . PARACHTHĒ . . . , he who sits upon the
 serpentine gods; the [god who sits upon the] sun, IAŌ; he who sits [upon] . . . TA
 . . . Ō . . . I . . . CH; he [who sits] upon the . . . the . . . MA . . . SI, ABRIĒL LOUĒL
 . . . M . . . resting place of the [cherubim] . . . CHIRE . . . OZ . . . I . . . / to the ages
 of ages, God ABAŌTH ABRATHIAŌTH [SABAŌTH] ADŌNAI star . . . and BRILEŌNAI
 ADŌNAI CHA . . . AŌTH the Lord of the all.

“I call upon you who give power [over] the Abyss [to those] above, to those below, and to those under the earth; hear the one who has [this] prayer, O Lord God of the Hebrews, EPAGAĒL ALAMN, of whom is [the] eternal power, ELŌĒL SOUĒL. Maintain the one who possesses this prayer, who is from the stock of Israel and from those / who have been favored by you, O god of gods, you who have the secret name, SABAŌTH . . . I . . . CH, O god of gods, amen, amen. You who produce the snow, over the stars, beyond the ages, [and] who constantly traverse [the cosmos], and who cause the fixed and movable stars to pursue all things by your creative activity, fill me with wisdom. Strengthen me, Master; fill my heart with good, Master, as a terrestrial angel, as one who has become / immortal, as one who has received this gift from you, Amen, amen!”

Pronounce the [*Prayer of*] *Jacob* seven times facing north and east.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 27–31

***Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp:** Purify yourself before your everyday lamp, and speak [the following] to the lamplight, until it is extinguished: “Be well, O lamp, who light the way to Harsentephtha and to Harsentechtha, and to the great [father] Osiris-Michael. / [If] the petition I have made is appropriate, [show] me water [and] a grove. If otherwise, show me water and a stone.”

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 32–35

***Another request for a dream oracle:** Take your last morsel of food, and [show it to the] lamp, and while showing it, say [the invocation]. After saying [it] chew up [the morsel], drink wine on top of it, and go to sleep without speaking to anyone. If this is [performed, immediately] you will see someone speaking to you.

“ . . . OI . . . AL . . . OSMŌ . . . PRA, . . . / I am LAMPSYS, if this matter¹ has been granted to me, show a courtesan; otherwise, a soldier.”

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

1. Or “such-and-such a matter.”

PGM XXIII. 1–70

- * [But¹ when with vows] and prayers [I had appealed]
 [To them], the tribes of dead, I took [the] sheep
 And slit their throats [beside the trough, and down]
 The dark blood [flowed. From out of Ere]bos
 5 Came gathering [the spirits] of the dead: /
 (5) [New brides, unmarried youths,] toil-worn old men,
 [And] tender [maidens] with fresh-mourning hearts,
 [And many] pierced by bronze-tipped spears, [men] slain
 In battle, still in armor stained with gore.
 10 [These many] thronged from ev'ry side around
 (10) The trough / with [awful] cry. Pale fear seized me.
 [But]² having drawn the sharp sword at my thigh,
 [I sat,] allowing not the flitting heads
 Of the dead to draw nearer to [the blood],
 15 And I in conversation spoke with them.
 (He has said what must be done:) /
 (15) "O³ rivers, earth, and you below, punish
 Men done with life, whoc'er has falsely sworn;
 Be witnesses, fulfill for us this charm.
 20 I've come to ask how I may reach the land
 Of that Telemachus, my own son whom /
 (20) I left still in a nurse's arms." For in
 This fashion went the charm most excellent.
 (He tells what charms must be sung:)
 25 "[Hear]⁴ me, gracious and guardian, well-born
 [An]ubis; [hear, sly] one, O secret mate,
 Osiris' savior; come, Hermes, come, robber,
 (25) Well-trussed, infernal Zeus; / [†] Grant [my desire]^{†, 5}
 Fulfill this charm. [Come hither, Hades,] Earth,
 30 Unfailing Fire, O Titan Helios;
 [Come,] Iaweh, Phthas, Phre, guardian of laws,
 [And Neph]tho, much revered; Ablanatho,
 In blessings rich, with [fiery] serpents girded,
 (30) Earth-plowing, goddess with head high, [Abrax]as,
 35 A daimon famous by your cosmic name,
 Who rule earth's [axis], starry dance, the Bears'
 Cold light. [And come] to me, surpassing all
 In self-control, O Phren. I'm calling [you],

1. Vv. 1–10 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 34–43.

2. Vv. 11–13 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 48–50.

3. Vv. 15–17 equal Homer, *Il.* 3. 278–80 except that in v. 15 the *Iliad* has *καὶ* in place of *ὦ*. In v. 16 the *Iliad* has *τῖνοςθον* and the second hemistich of v. 17 appears in the *Iliad* as *φυλάσσετε δ' ὄρ-κια πίστα*.

4. Because of the fragmentary condition of the following lines (25–43) the reconstructed text of Hymn 24 has been used.

5. "Grant my desire": [*κύρσαι*] *δωσάμενοι*. The translation is very tentative, for the Greek is uncertain. Preisendanz translates "schenkt Gewährung"; Vieillefond (p. 286) translates "ratifiez mes vœux" but in this commentary says: "Il faut comprendre: *κύρσαι* δ—'ayant accordé de ratifier.'" Preisendanz reports that this line begins with a space for six letters, but Wünsch's *κύρσαι* fills only five spaces. Perhaps we should read *καὶ ἐπ*], i.e., *καὶ ἐπιδωσάμενοι*, "and having given freely."

O B[r]i[ar]eus and Ph[r]asios and you,
 O Ixion and Birth and youth's decline, 40
 Fair-burning Fire, / [and may you come,] Infernal (35)
 And Heav'nly One, and [you who govern] dreams,
 And Sirius, who. . . .⁶
 Standing beside the trough, I cried [these words],
 [For well] did I remember Circe's counsels,⁷ 45
 [Who] knew [all] poisons which the broad earth grows.⁸ /
 [Then came] a lofty wave of Acheron (40)
 Which fights with lions, [Cocytus] and Lethe
 And mighty Polyphlegethon.⁹ A host
 [Of dead] stood round the trough, [and first] there came 50
 The spirit of Elpenor, my comrade.¹⁰
 (And so on.)

So, since this is the situation, either the poet himself suppressed¹¹ the remainder 55
 because it was an elaboration of the spell in order to preserve the decorum of the (45)
 work, or the Peisistratides,¹² as they were assembling the other verses, withheld
 these because they considered them foreign to the passage here. [†]This is my opin-
 ion for many reasons. And so [†]¹³ I have myself inserted the lines as a rather valuable 60
 creation of epic poetry.¹⁴ / You will find this whole document on the shelves in the (50)
 archives of our former home town, the colony of Aelia Capitolina¹⁵ in Palestine,
 and in Nysa in Caria and, up to the thirteenth verse,¹⁶ in Rome near the baths of 65
 Alexander¹⁷ in the beautiful library in the Pantheon,¹⁸ whose collection of books I

6. Preisendanz's version ends here. The remaining lines are taken from Vieillefond.

7. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 15. 412.

8. V. 39 equals Homer, *Il.* 7. 741 where ἤδη instead of οἶδα is read.

9. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 513–14. In v. 41 the noun Πολυφλεγέθων is a hapax legomenon (see O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/2 [1902–9] 2713). *Od.* 10. 513 has Πυριφλεγέθων.

10. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11. 51. With this Homeric line the verse portion of the papyrus concludes. The remaining section contains Julius Africanus' own evaluation of the verses.

11. We seem to have another example here of Homeric criticism in antiquity. Interestingly enough, *Od.* 11. 38–43 were rejected by several ancient scholars, including Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus.

12. A reference to the tradition in late antiquity that Peisistratus was responsible for the earliest recension of the Homeric poems. For a discussion of the subject, see J. A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 215–33, esp. 219–20.

13. The translation is tentative. Vieillefond daggers these words, for they seem hopelessly corrupt.

14. Line 49 translates ἄτε κῆμα πολυτελέστερον ἐπιεικῆς, but this a strange and otherwise unparalleled meaning of κῆμα.

15. Aelia Capitolina is the name given by Hadrian (A.D. 131) to the rebuilt Jerusalem. The statement seems to confirm, at least partially, Jerome's claim (*De viris illustr.* 63) that Julian was born at Emmaus in Palestine. Others call him a Libyan by birth.

16. This is a strange remark, for the first thirteen verses are Homeric. Surely this collection of volumes included the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

17. The Thermae Alexandrinae were constructed by rebuilding and enlarging the Thermae Neronianae in the Campus Martinus just northeast of the Pantheon. These baths had their own water supply from the Alexandrian Aqueduct. See *Life of Severus Alexander* 20. 3–5 and 44. 4–6. Cf. *CAH* vol. 12 (1939), pp. 66 and 477.

18. Others, including Vieillefond, understood the words in ll. 53–54 to mean that Africanus built or served as the architect of the library. Yet we have no evidence that he was an architect but abundant testimony that he was a writer and intellect. It seems more probable, therefore, that Africanus here is saying that he "built the collection of books which constituted the library."

myself built for Augustus.¹⁹ /

(55)

Kestos 18²⁰ of Julius Africanus

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. P. Oxy. 412 contains an excerpt from book 18 of the *Kestoi* of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of the third century A.D. The work dealt with numerous subjects, including medicine, agriculture, natural history, military art, and, as this passage shows, with Homeric criticism and magic. Since Preisendanz prints only a part of the papyrus, the translation uses the full text as provided by Jean-René Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus. Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (Firenze: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato; Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1970) 277–91.

PGM XXIVa. 1–25

*"Great is the Lady Isis!" Copy of a holy book found in the archives of Hermes: /

5

The method is that concerning the 29 letters¹ through which letters Hermes and

10

Isis, who was seeking / Osiris,² her brother and husband, [found him].

Call upon Helios and all the gods in the deep concerning those things for which

15

you want to receive an omen. Take / 29 leaves of a male date palm and write on each

20

of the leaves the names of the gods. Pray and then pick them up two / by two. Read

the last remaining leaf and you will find your omen, how things are,³ and you will

25

be answered / clearly.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XXIVb. 1–15

*On the right . . . on the left parts of [the neck . . .] upon the right shoulder . . .

5

on the nipple of the [right breast,] / on the left [shoulder] . . . shall receive . . . on

10

the nipple of the [left breast] . . . on the breast . . . for, the . . . receiving, great . . .

15

and the woman will (?) flee outside, men on . . . drugs . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary text describes the engraving of a magic doll or similar object. The fragment may contain portions of a love charm similar to that of PGM IV. 296ff.

PGM XXV. a–d.

a. *P. Oxy.* 959, 7.2 × 13 cm, contains a text of eight lines of magical characters and letters dated to about the third century A.D. The text remains unpublished.

b. *P. Freib. inedit.* (described by Preisendanz, *P. Un. Bibl. Freiburg i. Br.*, O. Nr. 7.5 × 9 cm) is an unpublished, opisthographic text containing "characters" and a magical figure. Sixth century A.D.

c. *P. Cair.* 10434 measures 5.1 × 6.6 cm (no date provided) and contains the following text: "† Holy Lord Zabaot" (var. of SABAÖTH).

d. *PSI inedit.*, 6.5 × 5 cm, is described by Preisendanz as a tiny fragment containing a figure with a long nose, the point of which ends in what appear to be droplets. Behind it is a similar figure, and above both heads there is yet another

19. August is Severus Alexander.

20. Notice that, although the title of the work is in the plural *κεστοί*, each individual book seems to have the singular title *κεστός*.

1. According to W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1918) 369, the twenty-nine letters represent the Coptic alphabet.

2. On Isis seeking Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358 A–B; 52, 372 B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40, 499; idem, *The Isis-Book* 219.

3. Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.* 6, pp. 200–201, translate: "and you will find wherein [Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* 110–11, ". . . in what things"] your omen consists." The translation follows the punctuation of Preisendanz, who translates: "und du wirst dein Orakel finden darüber, worauf es dir [Hopfner, *OZ* II, 299 adds (αα)] ankommt." [W.C.G.]

head with a very long nose. On the reverse side appear three words of which only “PHOIBIÖN” can be made out.

PGM XXVI. 1–21

The numerically arranged oracular text, *P.Oxy.* XII. 1477, is here omitted as it has been shown to belong to the corpus known as the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, for which see Gerald M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 58 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974); see also idem, “The Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*,” *ICS* 1 (1976): 53–58; idem, “A New Papyrus Codex of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*,” in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1979) 434–39; see also *P.Oxy.* XLVII. 3330. The editor is also preparing an edition of the *Sortes* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

PGM XXVII. 1–5

*Victory charm, for Sarapammon, son of Apollonius: “***¹ Give victory and safety at the stadium and in the crowd to the above-mentioned Sarapammon. In the name of SYLIKYS Ë SYS. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7

*“OR OR¹ PHOR PHOR SABAÖTH ADÖNE SALAMA TARCHEI ABRASAX, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisia, / three-hundred and fifteen times, on the fifteenth day of Pachon. . . .” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9

*“ÖR ÖR² PHÖR PHÖR IAÖ ADÖNAEI / SABAÖTH SALAMAN TARCHCHEI, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisios, on the 13th.” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11

*“+++ ÖR ÖR³ PHÖR PHÖR [ADÖNAI] / SALAMA RTHACHI, I bind you, Artemisian scorpion, on the fourth day of Phamenoth, / PHÖR OR OR OSOA DDD RRR.” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXIX. 1–10

*“I used to command the Rhodian¹ winds

And your regions of the sea

Whenever I’d want to set sail.

Whenever I’d want to stay there,

I’d say to the regions of the sea:

‘Don’t [smite] the seas with your blows;

5

1. According to Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 12 (1916) 237, magical symbols are given in the papyrus at this point, but the editors did not provide them.

1. The name should probably be articulated HÖR, i.e., Horus, who is often invoked in Egyptian scorpion spells. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 51–85. [R.K.R.]

2. See n. 1 above.

3. See n. 1 above.

1. It seems preferable to retain the Ῥοδίοις of the papyrus rather than to follow Preisendanz in emending to Ῥοθίοις. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

- Lay smooth the brine for seafarers.⁷
 Then ev'ry fair wind² is raised;
 They shut out the blasts, and so, lord,³ grant
 10 The impassable to be passable."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This rather charming and unpretentious poem is surely not a part of the regular *PGM* material. It is rather a poem—or a fragment of a poem—which is perhaps an ancient treatment of the theme that appears in Goethe's two poems, *Meerestille* and *Glückliche Fahrt*. Because of the literary aspect, J. U. Powell included these lines among the *Lyrical Adespota* in his *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925) 195, no. 33. Despite the obvious poetic quality, no one has satisfactorily explained the meter (cf. Powell, p. 196). Grenfell thought that the verses are accentual, while Schmidt believed that they are a blend of trochaic and Cretic. For the references, see Preisendanz, ad loc. Whatever the case, the present translation uses a blend of iambic and anapaestic feet in an attempt to give in English some of the general effect of the Greek. These verses have been emended and stand as the reconstructed Hymn 29; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 265–66.

PGM XXXII. 1–19

- *"I adjure you, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes and all the rest down below;
 5 attract and bind / Sarapias whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutha-
 10 rin bore,¹ now, now; quickly, quickly. By her soul and heart / attract Sarapias her-
 self, whom [Helen] bore from her own womb,² MAEI OTE ELBÔSATOK ALA OUBÊTÔ
 15 ÔEIO . . . AËN. Attract and [bind / the soul and heart of Sarapias], whom [Helen
 bore, to this] Herais, [whom] Thermoutharin [bore] from her womb [now, now;
 quickly, quickly]."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This spell, without a title, is clearly a love spell in which one woman seeks to attract another woman. Thus it belongs to the small group of lesbian spells. In form, these lines contain one spell repeated, with slight variations, three times: 1–9, 10–14, 14–19.

PGM XXXIIa. 1–25

- *"As¹ Typhon is the adversary of Helios, so inflame the heart and soul of that²
 5 Amoncios whom / Helen bore, even from her own womb, ADÔNAI ABRASAX PI-
 NOUTI³ and SABAÔS; burn the soul and heart of that Amoncios whom Helen /
 10 bore, for [love of] this Serapiakos whom Threpte bore, now, now; quickly, quickly."
 "In this same hour and on this same day, from this [moment] on, mingle /
 15 together⁴ the souls of both and cause that Amoncios whom Helen bore to be this
 20 Serapiakos whom / Threpte bore, through every hour, every day and every night.
 25 Wherefore, ADÔNAI, loftiest of gods, whose name is the true / one, carry out the
 matter, ADÔNAI."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This section contains two spells—or one spell repeated with variations.

2. For ὄλος of the papyrus perhaps οὔρος should be read: "fair wind" is what the author seems to mean.

3. Can ἀναξ be Helios as represented by the famous Colossus Rhodius? Powell dates this poem to the period ca. A.D. 250–80, and the huge statue of Helios was complete ca. A.D. 168 and destroyed ca. A.D. 224. Yet the memory of this "wonder" continued for centuries. In any case, Helios was an important god on the island of Rhodes, and a reference to him seems appropriate.

1. Herais has a Greek name, while her mother, Thermoutarin, has an Egyptian name. [R.K.R.] The spelling of the names follows Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

2. On this formula, see D. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 131–32.

1. The opening statement is troublesome and has attracted some attention. See A. S. Hunt, "An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum," *JEA* 15 (1929): 155–57; A. D. Nock, *JEA* 16 (1931): 124; K. Preisendanz, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 50 (1930): 748–49.

2. As the pronouns indicate, this spell is concerned with homosexual attraction.

3. This is Egyptian and means "O/The god." See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

4. συγκαταμείγνυμι is a concept from friendship literature: true friends are two souls in one body, *amicus est alter ego*. The term is also erotic just as the simple μείγνυμι is regularly. [E.N.O.]

PGM XXXIII. 1–25

*“ABLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARACH
 BLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARA
 LANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMAR
 ANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMA
 NATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAM
 ATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARA
 THANABLANAMACHARAMARACHAR
 ANABLANAMACHARAMARACHA
 NABLANAMACHARAMARACH
 ABLANAMACHARAMARA
 BLANAMACHARAMAR
 LANAMACHARAMA
 ANAMACHARAM
 NAMACHARA
 AMACHAR
 MACHA
 ACH
 A

5

10

15

“O Tireless one, KOK KOUK KOUΛ, save / Tais whom [Taraus] bore from every shivering fit,¹ whether tertian² or quartan³ or quotidian fever, or an every-other-day fever,⁴ or [one] by night, or [even] a mild fever,⁵ because I am the ancestral, tireless god, KOK KOUK⁶ KOUΛ, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

25

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXIV. 1–24

*“ . . . [the sun] will stand still; and should I order the moon, it will come down; and should I wish to delay the day, the night will remain for me; and should / we¹ in turn ask for day, the light will not depart; and should I wish to sail the sea, I do not need² a ship; and should I wish to go through the air, / I will be lifted up. It is only³ an erotic drug that I do not find, not one that can cause, not one that can stop love. For the earth, in fear of the / god, does not produce one. But if anyone has it and gives it, I beg, I beseech him: ‘Give! I wish to drink, I wish to anoint myself.’”⁴
 “You⁵ say that a handsome phantom keeps appearing to your daughter, / and this seems unreasonable⁶ to you? Yet how many others have fallen in love with ‘un-

5

10

15

20

1. Cf. PGM XVIIIb. 5.

2. *τριταῖος* (*πυρετός*), as in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* 3. 21 and *Nature of Man* 1. 5, is literally “every-third-day-fever.”

3. In contrast to PGM XVIIIb. 6, the papyrus has the normal *τεταρταῖος*.

4. Pollux, *On*. 1. 65 cod. B suggests the reading *παρημέρινος*; it does not occur in the medical writers. [J.S.]

5. *λεπτοπυρετοῦ* is a textual emendation; however, the word is unattested in LSJ, s.v. Cf. LSJ, *Suppl.* s.v. “*λεπτοπυρέτιον*.”

6. KOUK is Egyptian *kky*, “darkness”; cf. PGM XIII. 788–89.

1. The sudden appearance of the person plural is strange.

2. This use of the present tense occurs in the midst of a series of future tenses. [E.N.O.]

3. Although *μόνον οὐ* regularly means “almost,” that sense does not seem to fit here. [E.N.O.]

4. The text here is uncertain. For the translation, the text of Preisendanz has been used.

5. For the following lines see, especially, the study of Dodds mentioned below.

6. The papyrus reads *παράδοξον* here and *παρ’ ἀλόγων* (*παραλόγων*) in l. 22, and so both Dodds and Preisendanz print their versions; but in a conversation it is reasonable to expect the second person to repeat the word which the first speaker has used. The translation understands *παραδόξον* in l. 22. [E.N.O.]

reasonable' bodies⁷ . . .⁸

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This fragment belongs not to a magical spell but rather to some literary piece, perhaps a Greek romance. See C. Bonner, "A Papyrus Describing Magical Powers," *TAPA* 52 (1921): 111–18; E. R. Dodds, "A Fragment of a Greek Novel (P.Mich. inv. no. 5)" in *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood, Phoenix Supp.* I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952) 133–37. Dodds's theory that this fragment is part of a lost Greek romance seems logical in light of the conversational tone throughout, but the tone of ll. 19–24 makes this theory almost certain.

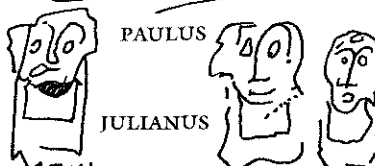
PGM XXXV. 1–42

*"I call upon you, who sit over the Abyss, BYTHATH; I also call upon the one who sits in the first heaven, MARMAR; I call upon you, who sit in the 2nd heaven,
5 RAPHAËL; I call upon you, who sit in the 3rd heaven, SOURIEL;¹ / I call upon you, who sit in the 4th heaven, IPHIAPH;² I call upon you, who sit in the 5th heaven, PITIËL; I call upon you, who sit in the [6th] heaven, MOURIATHA.

"I call upon you, who sit over the snow, TELZË; I call upon you, EDANÖTH, who sit over the sea; I call upon you, SAESECHEL, who sit over the serpents; / I call upon you, TABIYM, who sit over the rivers; I call upon you, BIMADAM; I call upon you, CHADRAOUN, who sit in the midst of CHADRALLOU, in between the two cherubim and seraphim, as they praise you, the lord of the whole host which is under heaven.

15 "I conjure you all by the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,³ that / you obey my authority completely, each one of you obeying perfectly, and that you stay beside me and give me favor, influence, victory, and strength, before all, small men and great, as well as gladiators, soldiers, civilians, women, girls, boys, and everybody,
20 quickly, quickly, because of the / power of IAÖ, the strength of SABAÖTH, the clothing of ELOË,⁴ the might of ADÖNAI, and the crown of ADÖNAI. Grant also to me favor and victory before all, as you have given good gifts to ALBANATHANALBA and AKRAMACHAMARI; and this is why, then, I am exhorting and conjuring / you
25 that you give favor, victory, power, and spirit on behalf of me, the three-crown-bearing ruler, quickly, [quickly,] because I conjure you, IAÖ SABAÖTH AÖ SABAÖTH Ö SABAÖTH SABAÖTH A ABAÖTH BAÖTH AÖTH ÖTH TH."

30  "Look above the spirits of the opponent toward the spirits of dignity [and] exaltation. I
35 I call upon / and exhort and conjure you that you obey unfailingly my every command, for

 PAULUS JULIANUS

"I conjure you by the god SARACHAEL [by] BILIAM,⁵ and [by] the god who made heaven and

7. *σωμάτων* is synonymous with *εἰδωλον*.

8. Dodds (see n. 4 above) 137 assumes the speaker is female, but the gender is not indicated in the text.

1. For the name SURIEL, see the discussion by Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 46. A number of other parallels esp. with Judaism are noted in Preisendanz's apparatus.

2. For the name IPHIAPH, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 12, n. 7.

3. The papyrus reads Abram, Isaka, Iachöb.

4. For the garment of ELOË, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 64.

5. The prophet Bileam from Pethor is known from Nm 22:5–24, 25; 31:8, 16; Dt 23:4, etc. His

my sake, the three
[crown-] bearing one,

SABATH. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The spell has a number of parallels in a Christianized Jewish silver lamella from Beirut; see A. Heron de Villefosse, *Florilegium . . . dédiés à . . . de Vogüé* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909) 287–95.

earth and
everything in
it. . . .”

PGM XXXVI. 1-34

***Charm to restrain.** Works on everything: Taking a lead lamella, hammered out while cold, draw with a bronze stylus the creature below and [write] the names, and deposit it nearby and in front [the person]: “Come Typhon, who sit on the under-[world] gate; / IÖ ERBĒTH, who killed his own brother,¹ IÖ PAKERBĒTH IÖ BOL-
CHOSĒTH IÖ APOMPS IÖ SESENRO IÖ BIMAT IAKOYMBIAI ABERRAMENTHÖOY
LERTHEXANAX ETHRELYOÖTH MEMAREBA, of Seth, BOLKOL, fear your uninhibited
son.”

[illegible]

IABERRAMENTHŌ
OULERTHEXANAX-
ETHRELUOŌTH NE- 10
MAREBA
of Seth
BOL KOL Fear
your uninhibited 15
son.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

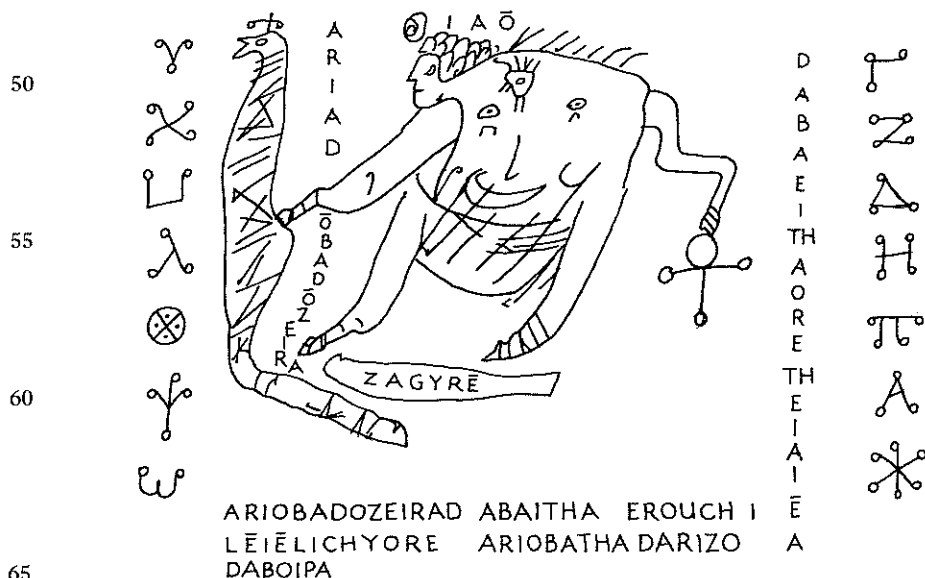
PGM XXXVI. 35–68

* **Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor and an excellent charm for gaining victory in the courts** (it works even against kings; no charm is greater): Take a silver lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following seal of the figure and the names, / and wear it under your garment, and you will have a victory.

connection with magic was proverbial. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* III, 354–82; H. Karp, “Bileam,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 262–73.

1. Cf. the denial of this deed in *PGM* VII. 964.

The names to be written are these: “IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRASAX
 ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI,² su-
 45 preme angels, give to me, / NN whom NN bore, victory, favor, reputation, advan-
 tage over all men and over all women, especially over NN, whom NN bore, for ever
 and all time.” Consecrate it.



65

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 69–101

***Love spell of attraction**, excellent divination by fire, than which none is greater.
 70 It attracts men to women and women to men / and makes virgins rush out of their
 homes. Take a pure papyrus and with blood of an ass³ write the following names
 and figure, and put in the magical material from the woman you desire. Smear the
 75 strip of papyrus with moistened vinegar gum⁴ / and glue⁵ it to the dry vaulted
 vapor room of a bath,⁶ and you will marvel. But watch yourself so that you are not
 struck.

The writing is this: “Come, Typhon, who sit on top of the gate, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ
 PAKERBĒTH IŌ BALCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOUMBIAI AB-
 80 ERRAMENTHŌ OULER- / THEXANAX ETHRELUOŌTH MEMAREBA TOU SĒTH, as you
 are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore,
 until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one,
 85 immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

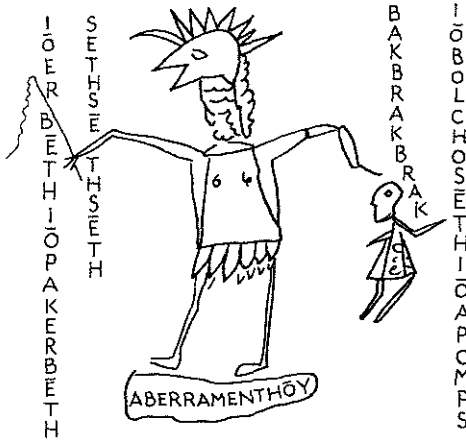
2. PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI is equivalent to Egyptian “He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss.” [R.K.R.]

3. This is to connect the spell with Typhon, invoked below. Cf. PGM IV. 2015, 2100, 2220.

4. ὀξωκόμι is from ὀξυκόμμι according to LSJ, s.v. It is also a hapax legomenon. The papyrus has ὀξωκόμη, which LSJ explains as dative of ὀξυκόμμι. See Schmidt, GGA 189 (1927):464–56, who refers to Pliny, NH 24. 3, 106; cf. also NH 13. 20, 66–67 for a discussion of Egyptian gums. [E.N.O.]

5. For the glue, cf. l. 83 below. As the operator does with the strip of papyrus, so may NN do with the operator. [E.N.O.]

6. Cf. PGM II. 51.



90

95

100

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 102–33

**Another divination by fire*: Take clean papyrus and write the following names and figure with myrrh ink and say the spell three times.

105

The names / and the figure to be written are these:

“Hear me, you who founded and destroyed and became the mighty god whom a white sow bore,⁷ ALTHAKA EIATHALLATHA SALAIOTH, who appeared in Pelousion,⁸ in Heliopolis possessing an iron staff⁹ with which you opened up the sea and passed through after you had completely / dried up all the plants. Attract to me, NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue¹⁰ her female punda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” /

110

7. The one born of the white sow is Min of Koptos, born of Isis. For discussion, see J. Bergman, “Isis auf der Sau,” *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas* 6 (1974): 81–109, esp. 91–92. [R.K.R.]

8. Pelusium was a city in Egypt, situated on the Nile. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 375E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35. Cf. PGM VII. 499 and n.

9. See for the iron staff Ex 7: 17–24; 14: 21–31. For Egyptian parallels, see W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 21. [R.K.R.]

10. Cf. above, l. 75 and n.

115 "IAEŌ
IAE
IA
I

BAPHRENDEMOUN
120 BAPHRENDEMOU
BAPHRENDEMO
BAPHRENDEM
BAPHRENDE
BAPHREND
125 BAPHREN
BAPHRE
BAPHR
BAPH
BA
130 B



/ Attract to me, NN whom

NN bore, her, NN whom NN

bore, aflame, on fire,
/ flying through the air,
loving me, NN whom NN bore, immediately,
immediately; quickly, quickly, accomplish it."

S NOTHEILARIIIAĒ
E OTHEILARIIIAĒ
S EILARIIIAĒ
E ILARIIAĒ
N LARIIAĒ
G ARIIAĒ
E RIIAĒ
N IIAĒ
B IAĒ
A AĒ
R Ē
PH PHIRKIALI
A IRKIALI
R RKIALI
A KIALI
G IALI
G ALI
Ē LI
S I

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 134–60

*Marvelous love spell of attraction, than which none is greater: Take myrrh /
135 and male frankincense, put them in a drinking cup and add an *archē*¹¹ of vinegar,
and at the third hour of the night put it into the socket of your door and say the
spell 7 times.

The spell to be spoken is this: "Arise, daimons in the dark; leap up onto the bricks
and beat your breasts after you have smeared your faces with mud. For because
140 of / her, NN whom NN bore, unlawful eggs are being sacrificed: fire, fire, un-
lawfulness, unlawfulness.¹² For Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown
into confusion. She tosses and turns on her holy bed, and its bonds and those of the
daimon world are smashed to pieces¹³ because of the enmity and impiety of her,
145 NN, whom NN bore. But you,¹⁴ Isis / and Osiris and [daimons] of the chthonic
world, ABLAMGOUNCHŌTHŌ ABRASAX, and daimons who are beneath the earth,
arise, you who are from the depth, and cause her, NN, whom NN bore, to be sleep-
less, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep,¹⁵ to love me, NN
150 whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes / and glues
her female pudenda to my male one. But if she wishes to fall asleep, spread under
her knotted leather scourges and thorns upon her temples, so that she may nod

11. ἀρχή occurs only here as a unit of measure. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 33 (1895): 46.

12. For an Egyptian parallel to this exclamation see the *historiola* in H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 14/2 (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 75, 81: "Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire!" [R.K.R.]

13. Cf. Preisendanz's translation (accepting Hopfner's reconstruction in *Archiv Orientalni* 3 [1931]: 122): "hin wandte sie sich zum heiligen Lager, gesprengt werden seine Bande und zugleich die der Dämonenwelt . . ." (she turned to the holy bed [i.e., of Osiris], smashed to pieces are his bonds and those of the daimons' world . . .).

14. Despite the appeal to several deities, the Greek has σὺ, "you," sing. here.

15. The idea of sleeplessness is repeated. Cf. l. 112 above where there is no such repetition. [E.N.O.]

agreement to a courtesan's love, because I adjure you who have been stationed over
the fire, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH / OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICH- 155
THŌN HIPPICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANAX."

"You, NN, have been bound by the fibers of the sacred palm tree, so that you may love NN forever. And may no barking dog release you, no braying ass, no cock, no priest who removes magic spells, no clash of cymbals, no whining of flute; indeed, no protective charm from heaven that works for anything; / rather, let her be possessed by the spirit." 160

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 161-77

***Charm to restrain anger and charm for success.** (No charm is greater, and it is to be performed by means of words alone:) Hold your thumbs and repeat the spell 7 times: “ERMALÖTH ARCHIMALLÖTH stop the mouths / that speak against me, because I glorify your sacred and honored names which are in heaven.” 165

To augment the words: Take papyrus and write thus: "I am / CHPHYRIS.¹⁶ I must
be successful. MICHAËL RAPHAËL ROUBËL NARIËL KATTIËL ROUMBOUTHËL
AZARIËL IOËL IOUËL EZRIËL SOURËL NARIËL METMOURIËL AZAËL AZIËL SAOU-
MIËL / ROUBOUTHËL RABIËËL RABIËËL RABCHLOU ENAEZRAËL, angels, protect
me from every bad situation that comes upon me."

*Tr.: R. E. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 178–87

* **A charm to break spells:** Take lead and draw on it a unique figure¹⁷ holding a torch in its right / hand, in its left—and at the left—a knife, and on its head three falcons, and under its legs a scarab, and under the scarab¹⁸ an ouroboros serpent.

The things to be written around / the figure are these:

⊗ K ⊖ ⋈ Ũ ⋈ □ ○ ∪ ℤ
N Y W I T A W Γ Γ ⋈ ⋈ ⋈
E F ^ † Δ



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

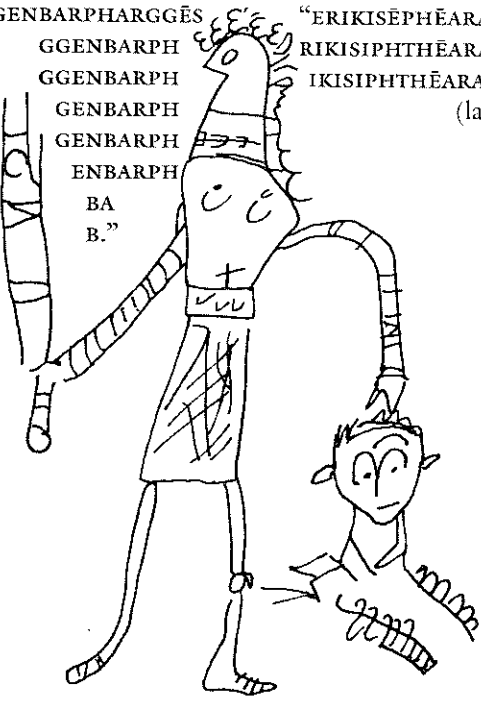
16. CHPHYRIS is the god Khepri, the scarab. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.; VII. 584 and n., and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

17. The figure drawn below on the papyrus does not correspond to the description.

18. On the scarab see n. 16 above.

fashion. / Cut open a frog and put it into its stomach. After stitching it up with Anubian thread and a bronze needle, hang it up on a reed from your property by means of hairs from the tip of the tail of a black ox, / at the east of the property near the rising of the sun.

“OUSIRI SESEGGENBARPHARGGĒS “ERIKISÉPHĒARARACHARAPHTHISIKĒRA
OUSIRIISESE GGENBARPH RIKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒR 245
SIRISESE GGENBARPH IKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒ”
IRISESE GENBARPH (ladder-like).
RISESE GENBARPH
ISESE ENBARPH
SESEG BA
ESEG B.”

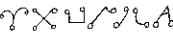


“Supreme angels, just as this frog drips with blood and dries up, so also will the body of him, NN / whom NN bore, because I conjure you, who are in command of fire MASKELLI MASKELLŌ” (add the other usual items).²⁷ 250
255

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 256–64

*Taking a three-cornered sherd from the fork of a road—pick it up with your left hand—inscribe it with myrrhed ink and hide it. [Write:] ASSTRAELOS²⁸ CHRAELOS, dissolve every enchantment against me, NN, for I conjure you / by the great and terrible names which the winds fear and the rocks split when they hear it.” 260



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XXXVI. 264–74

*Take blood from a nightowl and myrrh ink, and mix the two together, and draw the figure²⁹ as appended, with a new reed pen on a clean strip of papyrus. At the same time stare³⁰ at a clean wall and look toward the east. Fasten the figure to an all-linen handkerchief with thorns / from a male date palm and hide it and stand back from it six cubits. After hiding it, measure and step back fifty-nine paces three times, standing on the mark of the six cubits. 265
270

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The purpose of this ritual is not stated.

27. Or “(add the rest, and the usual items).”
28. On the name ASTRAELOS, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95.
29. The figure is not provided in the payrus. The preceding characters are marked off from this spell by a dividing line.
30. Preisendanz suggests that the two phrases in ll. 268–69 may be variants.

PGM XXXVI. 312–20

***Charm to open a door:** Take from a firstborn ram an umbilical cord that has not fallen to the ground, and after mixing in myrrh, apply it to the door bolts when you want to open a door, and say this spell, and you will open it immediately.

Now this is the spell: / “Open up for me, open up for me, door bolt; be opened, 315
be opened, door bolt, because I am Horos the Great, ARCHEPHRENEPSOU PHIRIGX, son of Osiris and Isis. I want the godless Typhon to flee;³⁹ immediately, immediately; quickly, / quickly.” 320

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 320–32

***A contraceptive, the only one in the world:** Take as many bittervetch seeds as you want for the number of years you wish to remain sterile. Steep them in the menses of a menstruating woman. Let them steep in her own genitals. And take a frog⁴⁰ / that is alive and throw the bittervetch seeds into its mouth so that the frog 325
swallows them, and release the frog alive at the place where you captured him. And take a seed of henbane, steep it in mare’s milk; and take the nasal mucus of a cow, with grains of barley, put these into a [piece of] leather skin made from a fawn and on the outside bind it up with mulehide skin, / and attach it as an amulet during 330
the waning of the moon [which is] in a female sign of the zodiac on a day of Kronos or Hermes.⁴¹ Mix in also with the barley grains cerumen from the ear⁴² of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXVI. 333–60

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh:**⁴³ Say the spell and [put it on the] flat stone of the bath.

The spell is this: / “Myrrh, Myrrh, who serve at the side of gods, who stir up 335
rivers and mountains, who burn up the marsh of Achalda,⁴⁴ who consume with fire the godless Typhon, who are ally of Horos, the protection of Anubis, the guide of Isis. Whenever I throw you, Myrrh, upon the *strobilos*⁴⁵ of the / flat stone of this 340
bath, as you burn, so also will you burn her, NN, because I adjure you by the strong and inexorable Destiny, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRAS REXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPAGANYX LEPETAN / LEPE- 345
TAN MANTOUNOBOË, and by the Destiny of this, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIŌYD LAKIŌYDA. Attract, burn her, NN (add the usual, whatever you wish), because I adjure you by the strong and great names, THEILŌCHNOU ITI PESKOUTH I TETOCHNOUPHI 350
SPEUSOUTI IAŌ SABAŌTH / ADŌNAI PAGOURË ZAGOURË ABRASAX ABRATHIAŌ TERËPHAËL MOUISRŌ⁴⁶ LEILAM SEMESILAM THOOU IIE ËŌ OSIR⁴⁷ ATHOM⁴⁸

39. This passage contains a *historiola* of Horus escaping from Seth/Typhon. See for a parallel Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 214–23. [R.K.R.]

40. The frog was associated with fertility, and therefore in Egypt with Heket, the goddess of birth. See Bonnet, *RARG* 198–99, s.v. “Frosch”; M. Weber, “Frosch,” *RAC* 8 (1972): 524–38, esp. 524–29. [R.K.R.]

41. That is, the planets Saturn and Mercury.

42. Also possible is “dirt from the ear,” but “ear wax” is more likely, given Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1198.

43. Cf. the parallel to the spell in *PGM* IV. 1495–1595.

44. This locality is not identified.

45. The meaning of the term is obscure; it may refer to some item having the shape of a pinecone. See LSJ, s.v. “στροβίλος.” Cf. *PGM* II. 25 and n.

46. See on this detail *PGM* III. 659 and n.

47. OSIR is Osiris. [R.K.R.]

48. ATHOM is Atum. [R.K.R.]

CHAMNEUS PHEPHAÖN PHEPHEÖPHAI PHEPHEÖPHTHA. Arouse yourself, Myrrh,
 355 and go into every place⁴⁹ and seek out her, NN, and / open her right side and enter
 like thunder, like lightning, like a burning flame, and make her thin, [pale,] weak,
 limp, incapable of [action] in [any part of her body] until she leaps forth and comes
 360 to me, [NN, son of] NN (add the usual, / whatever you wish), immediately, immediately;
 quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: É. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 361–71

***Irresistible love spell of attraction**, which works on the same day: Take the skin of an ass⁵⁰ and write the following in the blood from the womb of a silurus⁵¹ after mixing in the juice of the plant Sarapis.

365 *The writing is this*: “SISISÖTH, attract to me / her, NN on this very day, in this very hour, because I adjure you by the name CHYCHACHAMER MEROUTH⁵² CHMĒ-MINOUTH THIONTHOUTH PHIOPHAÖ⁵³ BELECHAS AAA EEE ĒĒĒ L' S' S' S' N' N' N'. Attract her, NN, to NN” (add the usual).

370 And put the magical material inside / with vetch and place it in the mouth of a dead dog, and it will attract her in the same hour.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVII. 1–26

*. . . not one of the unclean men . . . I did not have intercourse with a woman . . . [knowingly]. Whenever I swear, the [existing? . . .] relatives, that on my father's
 5 side and / [mother?], friends and my father's relatives with . . . not, and this one . . . into a container, thus taking . . . [into a] suburb, with the loud voice . . . of the prophets and pro[phetesses]. / And whenever in . . . swear, lest . . . such as heard. . . .

15 . . . / [of Theodoros?], that is, of Selenion(?), [it is not necessary] to subtract or add a thing. If . . . these . . . cast from the . . . as mentioned before; and another
 20 . . . from every rite / . . . your . . . is unlawful . . . should receive a letter . . . piously . . . receive extreme ill-luck, it is . . . lest you . . . taken . . . / the. . . .

25 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text was acquired in Egypt with the other magical papyri, PGM XXXVI and XXXVIII, and is thus presumed to contain portions of a magical spell; however, the recto (ll. 1–14) was written in a hand different from that of the verso (ll. 14–26) and seems to contain a text of a biblical or theological nature. The verso may contain a text on some type of divination.

PGM XXXVIII. 1–26

*. . . at the proper time purify [yourself for seven days and]¹ take myrrh ink and [write] on [pure] papyrus . . . of baths: “Come here to me . . . who have the power

49. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 71, 101.

50. The animal of Seth/Typhon.

51. The silurus is a large river fish which seems to have been a part of the common fare, either pickled or salted. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 9. 17, 44; Aelian, *NA* 14. 25; Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 33; 14. 132. The silurus also occurs in PGM IV. 3097, but Preisendanz there altered the text to read αἰλουρος, “cat.” Diehl, in Preisendanz's apparatus, proposes the same emendation here. [E.N.O.]

52. MEROUTH is Egyptian *mrwt*, “love.” [R.K.R.]

53. THOUTH PHIOPHAÖ is Egyptian and means “Thoth the great, the great.” [R.K.R.]

1. Eitrem reads ἀγνευσον [ἑπτα ἡμέρας καὶ . . .], which D. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1975) 72, translates with “Be purified for seven days.” The verb, however, is active and requires an object. Furthermore, the papyrus uses numerals, not words, so it is better to read ἀγνευσον [σὲ ἑπτα ἡμέρας καὶ . . .]. [E.N.O.]

... / ... and go into the house ... frightening and hiding ... of the door. For by
 the contribution(?)² of her ... by your [power, attract] to me her, NN, whose
 mother is NN, because ... / ... to find sleep and ... brain ... of sacred phan- 10
 toms ... of the sea ... / [who copulate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR,³ 15
 you are the one who are] daily visible [and who set in the northwest] of heaven,
 [and rise in the southeast. In the 1st hour] you have [the form of a cat; your name
 is PHARAKOUNĒTH. In the 2nd hour you have the form] of a dog; your name
 is / [SOUPHI. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a snake; your name is] ABERAN 20
 NEMANE [THŌUTH. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab]: [your] name
 is [SESENIPS. In the 5th hour you have the form] of an ass; [your] name is
 [ENPHANCHOU PH. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion]; your name is
 [BAISOLBAI ... who control] time. / [In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; 25
 your name is] OUMESTHŌTH. In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your
 name is [DIATI-PHĒ, who becomes invisible]. ...⁴

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is so fragmentary that the text owes more to Eitrem's ingenuity than to the copyist. Ll. 15–26 seem to be a doublet and, in part, an abridged version of IV. 1642–79. The edition of Preisendanz provides no translation; Moke offers one only of ll. 1–12.

PGM XXIX. 1–21

*"THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

RATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THAUTHŌLTHARA

AUTHŌLTHARA

UTHŌLTHARA

THŌLTHARA

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A

THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA

ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA 5

RATHAUTHŌLTHARA

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UTHŌLTHARA 10

THŌLTHARA

ŌLTHARA

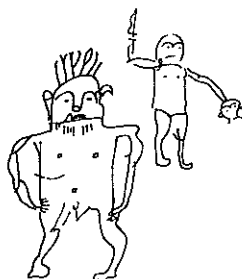
LTHARA

THARA

ARA 15

RA

A



I adjure you by the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four elements / of 20
 the world, that you attract Herakles whom Taaipis bore, to me, to Allous, whom
 Alexandria bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The figure on the left is that of the dwarf god Bes. In the Greco-Roman period the erotic associates of Bes became so pronounced that he seems to have become a patron of brothels. See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907) 12–14. [R.K.R.]

2. The papyrus has *προσδίδου*, for which Eitrem suggests *προσδίδου*, hence "by the contribution," but the papyrus is so mutilated that any translation must be tentative. [E.N.O.]

3. PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR corresponds to Egyptian "Fate, the god (of) the gods." Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45. [R.K.R.]

4. The list of forms continues at *PGM* IV. 1679. This papyrus is clearly a fragment as well as fragmentary. [E.N.O.]

PGM XL. 1–18

- *“O master Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis, I [pray] to you, I Artemisie, daughter of Amasis, against my daughter’s father, [who] robbed [her] of the funeral gifts and tomb. So if he has not acted justly toward me and his own children—as indeed he has acted unjustly toward me and his own children—let
- 5 Oserapis and the gods / grant that he not approach the grave of his children, nor that he bury his own parents. As long as my cry for help is deposited here, he and what belongs to him should be utterly destroyed badly, both on earth and on sea, by Oserapis and the gods who sit together with Oserapis, nor should he attain propitiation from Oserapis nor from the gods who sit with Oserapis.
- 10 Artemisie has deposited this supplication, supplicating / Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis to punish justly. As long as my supplication [is deposited] here, the father of this girl should not by any means attain propitiation from the gods. [Who]ever [seizes] this document [and] does an injustice to Artemisie, the god will inflict a penalty on him . . . to no one . . . except . . . Artemisie commands that . . . as . . . / not suffice . . . observed me in need of . . . and to me who lives
- 15 . . . observed . . . in need of. . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. For similar curses against desecrating a tomb, see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938) esp. 131–38; B. Boyaval, “Une malédiction pour viol de sépulture,” *ZPE* 14 (1974): 71–73.

PGM XLI. 1–9

- 5 *“CHRIA . . . BĒEI[NÖR; SOUSI[NEPHI] . . . trembles / ENTOKE KENTA[BAÖTH] . . . thence, [trembles] . . . NITHIORA BAINCHÖÖÖCH. . .”
- *Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary spell contains only a few recognizable words, mostly magical.

PGM XLII. 1–10

- *“A A A A A A
E E E E E E
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē
I I I I I I O O O O
5 Y Y Y Y Y
Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö
[“magical characters”]
. . . ARAËL SAB[AÖTH
O]URIEL ASABA . . .
10 . . . OSĒPRAK.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. The magical characters mentioned in the text are unavailable for transcription. The slip of papyrus probably served as an amulet.

PGM XLIII. 1–27

*“[ABLANA]THANALBA	EMANOUẼL	
[BLA]NATHANALBA	ASOŨEL	
LANATHANALBA	MARMAR̃EL	
ANATHANALBA	MELCHĨEL	
NATHANALBA	OURĨEL	5
ATHANALBA	THOURĨEL	
THANALBA	MARMARIŌTH	
ANALBA	ATHANÃEL	
ALBA	AŌ̃E . . .	10
LBA	SABAŌTH	
BA	ADŌNAI	
A	ELŌAI	

ABŌ . . . / SESENGEN SPHRANGĒS MICHÃEL SABAŌTH LAPAPA / . . . GABRĨEL 15/20
 SOURĨEL RAPHÃEL, protect Sophia / whom Theoneilla bore from every shivering 25
 fit and fever, immediately, quickly.”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XLIV. 1–18

*“THŌPHŌPHA. MOS . . . AMOU K . . .

A A A A A A A	. . . OUABEIO . . . S BAMERM	
	. . . L . . .	
E E E E E E E	earache EY . . . MATI unwritten	
	SYRID	
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē	partaking (?), might ascend (?)	
	driving away . . .	
I I I I I I I	fever (?), just (?) PAĒ . . .	X
O O O O O O O	TAI, burning these things	
	until	N
Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	ATHIAL PYRON MOLOS	I
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō		R
Y	MICHÃEL	ŌZ Y
Ō	ICHÃEL	YZ O
	CHÃEL	OZ
E E E E E E E	ÃEL	IZ
P	ĒL	
	L	
	MICHÃEL	. . . Z
	[ICHÃEL]	EZ
	[CHÃEL]	
CH S	ÃEL	. . . Z.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text may have served as a phylactery for earache and possibly fever. On the right side of the papyrus there is a figure holding a staff and with the letters “A” and “Ō” on either side; the representation of the figure, however, was never published.

PGM XLV. 1–8

- *“... R... RPHEË ABRAXAS IRMOUN †ACHOA BRĒPHAUTH IOU ATHĒTHAL
KATHŌLŌ... NITASPHIN BAROUCH BAROUCH DAULA ADŌNAIA CHAITA SIAMOUR
5 ERBELMŌN ELŌE ADŌNAIA MELĒ... A SESEMIE... LAMEBDO / ELŌE ACHRAI
ĒNNANAI AZAËL CHERMAIŌ B... ROBBAN J(erusa)lem... N†”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XLVI. 1–4

*... [If] *you wish the god to speak*: ... These names ... “SON LALEIKACHRI ...
KAIE. ...”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This fragmentary papyrus, which contains portions of only two spells, contains here a request for a revelation. In the series of words to be spoken or written some Greek can be read.

PGM XLVI. 4–8

- 5 ***Spell to silence and [subject]**: ... on an unbaked potsherd ... : / “IŌ SĒTH IŌ
ERBĒTH IŌ ... IŌ SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX ... IŌ [OSIRIS].”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XLVII. 1–17

- 5 ***“ĒL ĒL¹ STRAGĒL STRAKOUĒL, the god, / the SATOUCHEOS, the PSATOUCHEOS,²**
10 **protect, shelter [the wearer against fever] whether [it is] every other day, / or daily,**
15 **or equinoctial, or perpetual; purify us, ELAOTH / SABAOth ... [[two lines of**
characters]].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XLVIII. 1–21

- *“**KLE¹ [[characters]] AAAAAA KLE ANNGL ... O SESEGGESBARPHARAGGES,**
5 **help us, Atikhis; bring aid (?) / with all your powers. They must move like the one**
whom the Cherubim have led,² the Father Pantokrator, who is in heaven ... the
Cherubim. You must fly like the birds of heaven. He³ must move like a piercing
10 **wind, ... good, through / the power of these names and their saving acts and the**
phylacteries and the power of the honored (?) Place.⁴ Yes, yes! Quickly, quickly!
[[2 lines of characters]]. And a blessing upon the name SESSEGGES, together
15 **with / ... AI SACHLAS EL and MEFEJRAHIEU ... names, aid ... the place SA ...**
20 **aid (?) ... [the] whole house ... INETENEI great (?) ... IEL EŌN / ... the birds**
of great (?)⁵ [[characters]] ... OU.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer.

1. *El* is the common Hebrew word for “god” but was also the name of a particular god worshiped mostly along the Palestine-Syrian coast.

2. Perhaps the definite articles before this and the two following terms should be omitted, and they should be taken as names of gods or demons. These magical texts rarely use the definite article before the names of deities invoked, and SATOUCHEOS looks like an epithet (“loaded, burdened”?) and PSATOUCHEOS like a byform of it.

1. Or, in Greek, “etc.”

2. Or “they must lead forth,” “who move like,” or “who lead forth.”

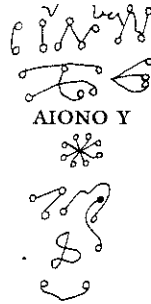
3. Or “you.”

4. In later Jewish writings, God is frequently designated as “the Place.”

5. Or “which we come” or “your fathers.”

PGM XLIX

*



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. An amulet with a series of characters and the name “Aion.”

PGM L. 1–18

*. . . out of . . . the . . . and if their principal (lots ?) should [fall] on the side of [the
lots] of “Tyche” or “Daimon” [it is good ?] for a spell (?) concerning sorcery / —the 5
same principal (tosses?) of the lot producing the same result, with a “Tyche” or
“Daimon” being an excellent toss. And the one who tosses concerning sorcery . . .
executes the same given results for the given toss. These things mentioned before
will be . . . / . . . of “Daimon.” If ever . . . it happens in your own place or even . . . 10
by malevolent ones (?), / as it testifies of an exile, it signifies either . . . or dis- 15
graceful ones; if then a benevolent one occurs, a malevolent one by the benevolent
ones is changed (?). . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. Very little sense can be made from this scrappy fragment. The text seems to deal with responses to a type of knucklebone or dice oracle.

PGM LI. 1–27

*“I exhort you, daimon of the dead [and] the necessity of death which has hap-
pened in your case, image of the gods, to hear / my request and to avenge me, 5
Neilammon, whom Tereus bore, because Etes has brought a charge against me, / or 10
against my daughter Aynchis or her children or those who might ever be [with]
me. And I exhort you not to listen to those who have brought charges against us,
either / [from] Hermes, whom . . . bore, [or] EU . . . s, who is known as [Apelles], 15
or from Harpochrates, whom Tereus bore, [who is] a wicked man and / ungodly 20
toward me, his father. I ask you, daimon of the dead, not to listen to them [but to]
listen [only] to me, Neilammon, [since I am] / pious [toward the] gods, [and to 25
cause them to be] ill for their [whole] life.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This necromantic request is directed against Neilammon’s legal opponents, one of whom appears to be his own son. The text follows the format of an Egyptian letter to the dead. Cf. Alan Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928). [R.K.R.]

PGM LII. 1–9

*. . . the formula:

“ . . . stout of heart, silver-eddyding,
And with the Graces CHŌOS EU . . .
Both Hera and Selene, thus
/ The wits, which come upon to . . .
. . . nothing, about the sea,
. . . S . . . ES . . . ES . . . however much
. . . .”

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary papyrus contains portions of two or three spells

probably dealing with love magic. The first of these, translated here, preserves a poetic incantation whose first few lines scan as dactylic hexameters.

PGM LII. 9–19

10 *Take an ichneumon / from the countryside and throw in some vinegar myrrh and
boil for 3 days . . . but. . .

15 “. . . and . . . / Peitho . . . will see a . . . with mighty . . . or might grant me
favor . . . or love me in . . . from a mighty (?). . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LII. 20–26

20 *Spell to induce insomnia: Take some . . . grasp, speak the formula . . . speak
. . . : “. . . ἑὸς mother’s, summoning Eros.”

25 Speak *the formula*: “. . . through night and day, from (?) / . . . set a flame in the
heart. . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LIII–LVI

PGM LIII and LIV correspond to the unpublished texts of the papyrus rolls cataloged together as *P. Strassb.* I. 39 (P. gr. 1769 and 1770 in F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts—und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912, 134–35). PGM LIII (no. 1769) measures 32 × 22 cm and contains fifteen lines; PGM LIV (no. 1770) measures 22 × 16 cm and contains ten lines. Both date from the Arabic period.

PGM LV and LVI correspond to the two unpublished texts, *P. Strassb.* I. 39A (P. gr. 762 and 788; Preisigke 136). They are written by the same hand and stem also from the Arabic period. PGM LV measures 28 × 22 cm and contains twelve lines; PGM LVI (17 × 11 cm) contains eight lines primarily made up of letter permutations, with SY SZ and SCH predominating.

PGM LVII. 1–37

*. . . ADŌNAI. . . *These are the words*: “[Accomplish] for him, NN, whatever I
have written on [this] for you, and I will¹ leave [the east] and the west² [which] has
been established [formerly], and [I will preserve] the flesh of Osiris³ [always] and I
5 will not break / [the] bonds with which you bound Typhon,⁴ and I will not call
those who have died a violent death but will leave them alone, and I will not pour
out the oil of Syrian cedar [but] will leave it alone, and I will save Ammon and not
kill him, and I will [not] scatter the limbs of Osiris, and I will hide you [from the]
10 giants;⁵ EI EI EI EI [EI EI] EI EI CHOIN / [APHOUTH] CHENNONEU APHOUTH
ANOU AŌTH EI EI EI PEOOE [IAKŌB] MANNOZ ARANNOUTH CHAL . . . APH KOULIX

1. For these implied threats see PGM II. 54, and Papyrus Ebers, col. 30, ll. 12–16: “If the stroke dispells itself . . . I shall not speak (the threat), I shall not repeat the statement.” [R.K.R.]

2. For this notion of the collapse of the east and west, see PGM V. 284.

3. For mythical details regarding the death of Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A–B; 35, 364F; 42, 368A; and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 340–42, 434–35, 460; Diodorus Siculus I. 11, with the commentary by Burton, *Diodorus Siculus* 60–61, 89, 95.

4. For the binding of Typhon, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 349–50.

5. For the role of the giants, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 25, 360E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 385–86; W. Speyer, “Gigant,” *RAC* 10 (1978): 1247–76, esp. 1263.

NOË N . . . K BORNATH LOUBEINE AOUËR OUEIRE ITIN LOTOL. Recite the secrets of the many-named goddess, Isis.”⁶

[The] *compulsive spell* in order to show you whether the matter has been carried out: / Burn cypress with the strip of papyrus and say: “[Isis,] holy maiden, give me a sign of the things that are going to happen, reveal your holy veil, shake your black [Tyche] and move the constellation of the bear, holy [IŌTHĒ] PNOUN GMOËRMENDOUMBA⁷ great-named [IAKŌ] / PHTHOËRI, THERMOËR, PHTHAŌ,⁸ great-named IOTHĒ [PHNOU]THOUËR BŌB HELIX, great-named IAKŌ.”

When you have said this and at the same time have opened your hands, the goddess will remove the [edge] of your hand from your breast. For you will see [a star being led] of necessity [to you], at which you are to look / [intently], as it flashes [a picture] while rushing [toward you], so that you become stricken of God. [Wear the] above picture [for protection]. [For], in the name of [the goddess], it is a [picture] of Kronos who encourages you. After you have received this sign, rejoice / at your [fortune] and say once: “CHAITHRAL.” For when you have said this, she will cooperate with you [in whatever] you pray for. And immediately say these words, [lest] there occur a removal of the stars and your lucky day: “THA . . . OUSIR⁹ PHNOUCH MELLANCHIŌ KERDŌ MELIBEU . . . KASP . . . NEBENTHTRIX GARN . . . Ō THRAŌ SAU TRAIS TRAIS / BASYM; immediately, immediately, accomplish this, within this moment. Very glorious Pronoia,¹⁰ make the one who yesterday was [unlovable] beautiful [in the sight of all], make . . . [former]. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LVIII. 1–14

*. . . [Spell to bind . . . (?)]:¹ / Take a lamella [made of lead] . . . : “I say to you, you who died prematurely and who were [called and taken] away by the wicked [Typhon. Commanding you] is / the great god who has [dominion above and rules over the lower [gods]. Take into custody this wicked [and impious] man,² because this [is the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris]³ and who [ate⁴ the sacred fish].⁵ Take into custody [him, NN, whom NN bore . . .].”⁶

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The exact purpose of this spell is not known, though it is clearly a type of curse.

6. On Isis with a myriad of names see PGM LIX. 13; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 22, p. 284, l. 9: *deae multinominis*; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53, 372E: *μυριώνυμος*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 502–3.

7. PNOUN GMOËR is equivalent to Egyptian, “Nun (the Abyss), great power.” [R.K.R.]

8. The sequence of PHTHOËRI . . . PHTHAŌ is equivalent to Egyptian *Pth wr* and *Pth ʿ3*, “Ptah the great.” [R.K.R.]

9. This is Osiris.

10. On the identification of Isis and Providence (Pronoia), see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 15, p. 277, l. 4; and on this see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 241–44, 323.

1. The full title is not preserved. The opening line may have read *κατά[δυσμος]*. Cf. Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.*

2. Or “such-and-such a wicked and impious man.” [R.D.K.]

3. The restoration is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188, reprinted in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 187. See on this point Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A, where the burning of the boat is not mentioned, however. See for further references Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40.

4. The filling of the lacuna is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188.

5. For sacred fish, see PGM V. 270–80, and J. F. Borghouts, “The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348,” *OMRM* 51 (1971): 26 (a similar sacrilege), and *Excursus III* 210–17. See Bonnet, *RARG* 191–94, s.v. “Fische, heilige.” [R.K.R.]

6. Assuming the restoration in Preisendanz as correct. However, it seems more likely to restore the parallel phrase from above, “take into custody [this wicked and impious . . . man]. [R.D.K.]

PGM LVIII. 15–39

15/20 *... when the [moon] is full . . . , make an offering of incense . . . / . . . lick clean,
SITOU LAS EK . . . KŌS, . . . [*under*] *the middle of the chest*:

“IŌ ERBĒTH
IAKOUMBIA
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
/ IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
BASAOU
KOCHLŌTA
TETOMĒ
BASSAOU
/ PATATHNAX
OŠESRŌ
IŌ IŌ PAKERBĒTH
KEACH, come
[1]O ABRASAX
/ (add the usual).

[[Remains of a magical figure]]

“[ABER]AMTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The translation differs from Preisendanz in ll. 20, 34, 35.

PGM LIX. 1–15

*“... Saioneis, whom [Sentaesis] bore. You, slave of the [glorious] god ABLANA-
THANALBA, you servant of the [good] god AKRAMMACHAMAREI, you, slave of
5 [IAEŌ] SABAŌ ABRASAX ADŌNAI, / you, servant of the [four] good [and] glorious
gods, ABERAMENTHOYLERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA AEMEINAEBAR-
RŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIEMEA ERĒKISTHPHĒARARACHARARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE IA-
EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA-
10 BŌEAI, / you, the good and glorious gods, protect the mummy and the body and
all the grave of the younger Phtheious, who is also [called] Saioneis, whom Sen-
taesis bore . . . the everlasting [punishments given by] the Lady [Isis], / goddess of
15 many names.”¹

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LX. 1–5

*“OBPHŌCHONMPOUO

AIEROĒNIONO

IBOPHA

IKON”

*Reading: Morton Smith.

**PDM lxi. 1–30**

5 *... to Truth . . . before you / incense (?) . . . to the . . . your head . . . land
[col. I, 5] . . . / look . . . above / these . . . Lady of the Flood (?) [. . . I]A IA ŌO . . . in truth
10 . . . and we come into . . . above after the . . . Teach me.¹ Show . . . Anubis of . . .
[I, 10] [Spirit of] Darkness . . . / Anubis . . . Anubis of the . . . Do not. . . Do not let
15 . . . know (?) . . . true manner [without a matter (?)] of falsehood . . . saying: “I am

1. For this epithet of Isis, see PGM LVII. 13 and n.

1. Restored [tun] *ειπ* as a parallel to *tamo*. Both mean “to instruct.” See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 73b. For the restorations by R.K.R. here and in the notes below, see his forthcoming article, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* 1985.

[OR]THOBAUBO . . . my name . . . OOO is my name. My name in [truth (?) . . .] [I, 15]
 . . . May you be exalted. Work . . . Anubis of the horizon. Anubis . . . / Anubis of 20
 the son. Do not . . . twice. The great ruler. . . It is this god who . . . face of a [II, 5]
 donkey. This . . . come . . . to me from them (?) which are before you . . . which 25
 you. . . . [II, 10]

*Tr.: Robert K. Ritner, following the edition and translation in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. I/1–16 (original translation from plate; not previously read by the editors), and col. II/1–13. Sections titles in the Demotic texts are indicated only if they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM lxi. 30–41

*. . . which . . . / seven . . . dead . . . rue seven, bone of . . . wax (?) . . . seven 31
 . . . / . . . seven, mix them all. Recite all the spells of the vessel over them at dawn, [col. III,
 midday [and] night at the beginning of the month and eat (?) seven of them each 2]
 and every month. / You find his heart.² 36

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Sir Hubert Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. III. [III, 7]
 41
 [III, 12]

PDM lxi. 42

*“. . . *you and those who are.* . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson, in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/1. This fragmentary line may be part of the rubric of col. III (see Bell et al. p. 14, ad loc.). The fact that these words are written in red ink (in the original manuscript) suggests this is the title (or subtitle) of a new spell.

PDM lxi. 43–48 [PGM LXI. i–v (not in Preisendanz)]

*. . . *remedy* for [an] ulcer (?)³ of the head . . . : one mina (?); this is what is [to be 46
 spoken?] . . . of frankincense and [celandine? . . .] / of a male ass [together with (4)
 . . .], excellently, and add . . . a little, and smear it on the. . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/2; and Roy Kotansky (Greek section), following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *ibid.*, ll. 3–7.

PDM lxi. 49–57

*. . . *head*: . . . [papyrus ?], it being broken (?) in the place / . . . oil; you should 51
 utter the name of . . . while they are not dry; you should utter the spell (?) twice . . . [col. IV,
 one grain to the name of the . . . name of palm, persea, [and] cypress⁴ / mulberry, 10]
 laurel, black poplar, pine. . . . 56

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/8–16. The spell presumably describes another [IV, 15]
 remedy for the head.

PDM lxi. 58–62 [PGM LXI. vi.x (not in Preisendanz)]

**For an erection*: Woad plant [or corn flag?] grows in the oasis in abundance; it's both female and [male]. Boil these in a pot and grind them up [in wine with] pep-

2. Or “wish.”

3. As suggested by R.K.R.

4. Written in Demotic and Greek.

- 61 per; / smear it on [your] genitals. [If you wish it] to relax again, [provide] with the
[col. IV, decoction. . . .
19] *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto
A (p. 22). For a similar spell, compare *PGM* VII. 184–85.

PDM lxi. 63–78

- *. . . *Har-Thoth*: You write on the [front of a] laurel leaf [and you light] a lamp on
50 a table and you speak to the laurel opposite the lamp. Do not look at the lamp! You
[col. V, 4] should come; you should lie down; you should place the laurel / under your head;
and you should pray to Har-Thoth. He answers you in a dream. The front of the
laurel leaf, write these [words] on it; you write it in ink of myrrh and wine:

The first: "THOYTHKH"

The second: "LABINOYTHKH."

The third: "PHRĒKH."

The fourth: "SALBANAKHA."

The fifth: "falcon."

The sixth: "ape."

The seventh: "ibis."



- 55 And say these words: "Come to me, Thoth, Eldest one, Eldest one . . . of Re,
[V, 9] who went forth from Atum, who was born / in the form . . . from the limb of
Atum! Come to me, Thoth, heart of Re, tongue⁵ of Tatenen,⁶ throat⁷ of the one
whose name is hidden!⁸ Come to me, HEFKAE HEPKA HEBIKE NEKHE-P-KAI!
60 Come to me, Lord of Truth, who loves Truth, / who reckons [lifetime?],⁹ who
[V, 14] judges Truth, who does Truth!¹⁰ Come to me in your beautiful face in this good
night and make answer to me concerning everything about which I am entreating
here today, truly without falsehood therein! Come to me in your form of excellent
one, in your [secret] image . . . ! Come to me and [tell me] an answer to every-
thing, [truly,] without falsehood therein." [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. V, 1–5a/6.

PDM lxi. 79–94

- 80 *A way of finding a thief . . . : You bring a head of a drowned man; / you carry it
[col. VI, to the fields; you bury it; you put flax seed over it until you gather the flax; you
2] gather [it] upon it when it is high and alone; you [bring] the flax to the village;
you¹¹ wash the head by itself in milk; you cover it; and you take it to the place
which you wish.

- 85 When you want to discover a thief, you should bring a small amount¹² of flax;
[VI, 7] you should utter a spell to it; you should say the name of the man twice, one by one
(?) / you should make a knot and draw it together. If he is the one who stole it,¹³ he
speaks while you tie the knot.

5. As read by R.K.R.

6. A holy place in Memphis. See Bonnet, *RARG* 769–70.

7. As read by R.K.R.

8. A pun on Amoun/hidden.

9. As read by R.K.R.

10. For these epithets, see P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979 [reprint]), appendix B. [R.K.R.]

11. Actually written "they."

12. Translation by R.K.R.

13. Literally, "carried/lifted it."

The spells which you should recite: Formula: “To me belongs the word of Khu;¹⁴ to me belongs the word of Geb; to me belongs the word of . . . of Isis; to me belongs the word of this ibis, son of Thoth; Lo, all hail! Lo, all hail! I shall gather here today my sister SAMAL[A], saying, ‘I shall give them the words / of Geb which he gave to Isis when Shu (?) concealed them in the papyrus (swamp) of Buto, she bringing the small amount of flax in her hand, she forming it into a knot, she tying these forelegs (?)¹⁵ until he was revealed to Horus in the papyrus (swamp). I will bring this small amount of flax in my own hand, I making it into a knot until NN is revealed . . . the sound-eye. After (?) answering, he will lift (?)’ [It is] very good.

90
[VI, 12]



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/1–16.

PDM lxi. 95–99

***Spell of giving praise** [and] love in Nubian: “SYMYTH KESYTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LAT, son of (?) NAPH, son of (?) BAKHA.” Say these; put gum on your hand; and kiss your shoulder twice,¹⁶ and go before the man whom you desire.

95
[col. VII,
1]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/1–5.

PDM lxi. 100–105

***The red cloth** of Nephthys: “Pre arose; he sent forth the *Seket* boat¹⁷ of heaven; the water under the bark of Pre has dried up. The gods and the two crowns (of the south and the north) complain until NN is brought to NN. If not doing it is what will be done, the gods whose names I said will bend down so that they fall into the fire. . . . I am the one who said it; she will repeat it ‘Be destroyed, impious one!’ She is the one who said it; / she is the one who heard it [and] repeated it.” [It is] very good when he says it.

100
[col. VII,
6]

105
[VII, 11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/6–11.

PDM lxi. 106–11

***Prescription** for a donkey not moving: Ruc, dung of falcon, dung of crocodile; you should apply it and you should anoint the ears or its nose or the nostril of its nose.

Formula: “He of the heart. . . . Horus [is] behind you; Geb is pursuing you, Isis being with them (?) . . . many hours. / The arrow of Horus¹⁸ will go into you in order to. . . .”

111
[col. VII,
16]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/12–16.

14. Name of the twenty-second decan. [R.K.R.]

15. That is the foreleg of Seth (as bull) when killed. [R.K.R.]

16. Translation by R.K.R.

17. The morning bark of the sun.

18. Translation by R.K.R.

PDM lxi. 112–27

*A prescription for making a [woman] love you: An image of Osiris [made] of wax—you should . . . , you bringing hair (?) and [wool] of a donkey together with a bone of a lizard. / You should [bury them under the] doorsill of her house.¹⁹ If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it . . . the image of Osiris with (?) ram's wool; you should put the lizard bone . . . ; / you should bury it again under the doorsill of her house; and you should recite . . . before Isis in the evening when the moon has risen. Listen before you bury. . . .

“O secret image of Osiris [made] of wax, O powerful one, O protection of . . . , O lord of praise, love, and respect, may you go to every house which so-and-so is [in and send so-and-so] to every house which so-and-so is in; the tips of her feet follow after his heels . . . / while her eyes are crying, while her heart longs (?) her . . . which she will do. O image of Osiris [made] of wax, if you will be stubborn [and not send so-and-so] after so-and-so, I shall go to the chest which . . . and I shall come . . . black, I shall gather it with a tooth . . . black, and I shall cause [Isis] to receive . . . after Osiris her husband and [brother . . .]. / Hail to you, O lord of time, the one whom I caused [. . .] who is in the House of the Obelisk.²⁰ Come [to me . . .].”²¹

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VIII/1–16.

PDM lxi. 128–47

* . . . You should cause a man to drink (?) . . . [tick] of a black dog in the right ear . . . [wool?]²¹ of the offspring of a black ram / . . . the face (?) of your foot on the day of immersing without blood; you should kill the tick. . . . When you finish you should sleep with the woman; [you should anoint] your phallus with it; you should wash it . . . ; you should cause her to drink; you should send the wool / . . . of olive; you should bind it to [your] right arm . . . ; [you] should cause the woman to drink . . . of the tongue of a bull . . . name . . . them in your matter / . . . your blood; you should . . . PHAMOYROYTH THTO . . . T . . . ; wash it in [sweet?] wine . . . to it / . . . to it. . . .

[v. i, 19] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. i/1–20.

PDM lxi. 148–58

151 *Here are their names:²² “ORNAI SORNIN . . . OZO RANAY SARZANA IAO / XOINAI
[v. col. ii, OOO NAO MELOI NAI ERIANA E . . . ASNAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me.”

4] Their (?) green ink: you should dye / . . . myrrh . . . ; you should burn them;
156 and you should pound them . . . of a child for drinking (?) burnt date[wine?].

[v. ii, 9] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. ii/1–12.

PDM lxi. 159–96**PGM LXI. 1–38**

*Commendable love charm: . . . take pure olive oil and a beet plant and olive branches; and take seven leaves and grind them all together and pour them into the

19. Cf. PDM xii. 55.

20. Cf. PDM xii. 34.

21. As suggested by R.K.R.

22. End of the line as read by R.K.R.

olive oil until they become like olive oil. / And put it into a jar, and go up onto a
housetop (or on the ground) facing the moon, and say the spell 7 times:

5

[A, 1,

148]

“You are the olive oil; you are not the olive oil²³ but the sweat of Good Daimon,
the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris, the favor of the
gods. / I release you against her, NN, the one NN bore. Aye,²⁴ serve me against her,
NN, before I bring the gods of compulsion against you, if you do not send her. For
otherwise I will break down iron doors²⁵ myself. No longer will I send you for these
things,²⁶ nor is there need of them, but I will send you for her, NN, whom NN
bore, so that, if she dismisses you, / you can seize her head.²⁷ Cause her to swoon.
Let her not know where she is. Become fire beneath her until she comes to me, so
that she may love me for all time; and may she not be able either to drink or eat,
until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time. I adjure you by the great
god / who is over the vault of heaven, ARBAIËTH MOUTH NOUTH PHTHÔTHÔ
PHRÊ THÔOUTH BREISON THÔTH. Hear me, greatest god, on this very day (on this
night), so that you may inflame her heart, and let her love me because I have in my
possession the power of the great god, whose name it is impossible / for anyone to
speak, except me alone because I possess his power . . . EURIÔ MOI AEETHI EÔ E
PHÊOUAB PHTHA ACHE ANOU // ESI ENES . . . E THOUL PHIMOIOU. Hear me be-
cause of Necessity, for I have spoken your name because of her, NN, whom NN
bore, so that she may love me and do whatever I wish [and] so that she may forget
her father and mother, brothers, husband, / friend, so that, except for me alone, she
may forget them all.”

10

[A, 1,

153]

15

[A, 1,

158]

20

[A, 2,

165]

25

[A, 2,

170]

30

And whenever you perform this spell, have an iron ring with yourself, // on
which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus,²⁸ and his name is ABRASAX.

[A, 2,

175]

If, however, you should wish her to stop,²⁹ take a sun scarab and place it in the
middle of her / head and say to it: “Gulp down my love charm, image of Helios; he
himself orders you to do so.” And pick up the scarab // and release it alive. Then
take the ring and give it to her to wear, and immediately she will depart.

35

[A, 2,

180]

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PDM lxi. 197–216

PGM LXI. 39–71

***Love spell of attraction:** It attracts a woman who has been wronged by her hus-
band. / Take from the place where bodies are mummified a spotted lizard³⁰ which
lives around those places, and throw the same lizard into an iron vessel, and // take
coals from the forge whenever they light the fire and put them into the vessel with
the lizard; burn it up on the coals and while doing it say:

40

[B, 185]

23. For this formula, see *PGM* VII. 644–46.

24. For this affirmation (ἤ), see *PGM* IV. 2288, 2331.

25. That is, the iron doors of Hades. See Betz, *Lukian* 82.

26. Or οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτα σὲ πέμψω may mean “no longer will I send you on these missions.”
[E.N.O.]

27. See Antoninus Liberalis 6. 3 for a similar use of πιάζω in a similar action. [E.N.O.]

28. For Harpokrates sitting on the lotus flower, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; XII. 87.

29. The language of παῦσαι and ἀπαλλαγῆσεται (l. 38) contains two meanings: the vulgar and the dismissal from the spell. See H. J. Bell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson, “Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (1931): 235–88, pp. 271–72.
[E.N.O.]

30. On the role of the lizard in magic, see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.

45 “Lizard, lizard, / as Helios and all the gods have hated you,³¹ so let her, NN, hate
[B, 190] her husband for all time and // her husband hate her.”

Now when it has been completely cooked, keep the lizard ready for use and not touching the vessel.³² Pick up the vessel in which it was burned and approach the
50 gateway itself / saying: “Lizard, lizard, let Helios and all men hate you because she,
[B, 195] NN, says that the mummy of the god // OSERONNŌPHRIOS PHAPRŌ OUSIRIS has been removed and devoured by you. Image of BIANATHRĒ . . . image of TYPHON
55 SAKTIETĒ SOGGĒTH, image of ABRASAX ANAX[IBOA], / image of [IAŌ; do not let] her, NN, come through the gateway from whatever hour Helios brightens the earth for the whole time, as long as it also increases the River out of the River,³³
[B, 200] as // long as the wild fig tree grows” ([state the usual and whatever you] wish, and depart).

60 / [*Spell written*] on papyrus . . . with [blood] of Typhon,³⁴ which is . . . : “Come, father, whom the plow . . . IAKEMBRAŌTH . . . PHLOUDOUNTAS . . . / , [separate] him, NN, from her, NN, . . . turbulence . . . OENAI SORNIN . . . ŌXŌ RANAU
70 SARKANA IAŌ LOINAI ŌŌŌ NAIŌ MELŌI NAI ERIANA / E SASTIAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXII. 1–24

*[Now let] this [lamp], not colored red, be hung. Light the lamp¹ with good oil [and] cedar oil.

“You are the fire that is unquenchable, that lies beside the great god, OSORNŌPHRI
5 OSOR[NŌPHRI];² in service to him when he was smitten with love for his own / sister Senephthys,³ you not only ran as much as sixty-six *schoeni*⁴ but you encircled as many as sixty-six mountains. In this way, too, serve me, NN, against her, NN. If
10 you do not, I will say the eight letters of Selene / which have been established in the heart of Helios. But if I am on the point of saying them and you have not set out on your way, I will go inside the seven gates around Dardaniel,⁵ and I will shake the
15 foundation of earth,⁶ and the 4 elements of the world will come together⁷ / so that nothing will be created from them. Dissolve into your own nature and mingle with the air, and go to her, NN, whom NN bore (add the usual) and attract her down to

31. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis 24. 3. [E.N.O.]

32. The sense is obscure because the text is uncertain. Hence the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

33. A reference to the Nile and its periodic overflow. [E.N.O.]

34. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see PGM IV. 2100 and n.

1. *λυχνίζω* occurs only here; *ἐνλυχνιάζω* is the regular verb. Cf. PGM I. 293; III. 585; IV. 1089; etc. [E.N.O.]

2. The repetition here, which is an Egyptian form of emphasis, has troubled Preisendanz. He omits one word and adds “(du bist es).” [E.N.O.]

3. Preisendanz takes this to be Isis-Nephthys, with reference to PGM XII. 235. [R.K.R.]

4. A measure of length which has no fixed value. Strabo (17. 1, 24) says that it varied from 30 to 120 stades (i.e., about 1,820–7,280 feet). [E.N.O.]

5. The name Dardaniel occurs only here. The city remains unidentified. The epithet *ἐπτάπυλος* (with seven gates) is usually associated with Thebes in Boiotia (see LSJ, s.v.), a city that plays a role in the sagas about the Trojan War. According to some traditions, Dardanos was the founder of Dardania (Troy); see Homer, *Il.* 20. 215–16. Whether there is a connection between these names is unclear. Cf. also PGM IV. 1716 and n.; IV. 2612; VII. 695.

6. On the threat to disrupt the cosmos, see PGM V. 284 and n.

7. The doctrine is similar to the creation myth in C. H. I. 17–19. See for further references Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 117–18. In the lines of the papyrus only three elements are named; water is omitted.

me with fire of the thunderbolt. I adjure you by the great god / lying in the
pure earth, beside whom the unquenchable fire forever lies, ATHOUIN ATHOUIN
ATHOUIN IATHAOUIN SIBELTHIOUTH LATËT ATATËT ADÏNE” (add the usual). 20

Protective spell: Wrap three peonies around your left arm and wear them.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXII. 24–46

*“Come to me, god of the gods, the only one who appears from fire and wind,⁸ / you
who have truth on your head, who disperse the darkness, you the lord of the winds⁹
LÏTH MOULÏTH¹⁰ PNOUT EI¹¹ ESIÏTH, hail, lord LAMPSOURË IAAÏ IA . . . D.” 25

Say these things many times. If, while you are reciting, the apparition delays:
“Open up, open up, Olympos; open up, Hades; open up, Abyss. Let / the darkness
be dispelled by command of the highest god and let the holy light come forth from
the infinite into the abyss.” Whenever it still delays, cry out in this way and again
close the eyes of the boy: “Hail, holy light! Hail, eye of the world! Hail, brightness
of the dawn of the world,¹² ABRA Á Ó¹³ NA BABROUTHI BIE BARACHE, god. Come
in, lord, / and reveal to me about the things I request of you.” Then ask what you
wish. . . . 30

Dismissal: “I give thanks to you because you came in accordance with the com-
mand of god. I request that you keep me healthy, free from terror and free from
demonic attacks, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHE ADÏNAI. Return to your holy places.”

[Recite these things] over a saucer, in which you will pour 1 measure of good
olive oil, and will place it on a brick, / and will carve these characters on a magnet
that is [still] “breathing.” 40

These are the characters to be made: 

Fasten the stone to the left side of the saucer, on the outside, and having em-
braced it with two hands, recite as shown to you. Cast (sink) in the saucer (a good
dish) / the afterbirth of a dog called “white” which is born of a white dog. On the
boy’s chest write with myrrh: “KARBAÏTH.” 45

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 24–38) and J. Hershbelt (ll. 39–46).

PGM LXII. 47–51

*A means to learn from a die whether a man is alive or has died, for example:
Make the inquirer throw this die in the [above] bowl. Let him fill this with water.
Add to the [cast of the] die 612, which is [the numerical value of]¹⁴ the name
of / god, i.e., “Zeus,” and subtract from the sum 353, which is [the numerical value
of] “Hermes.” If then the number [remaining] be found divisible by two, he lives;
if not, death has [him]. 50

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXII. 52–75

* (Year) 2 (of) Antoninus . . . 6th of Mecheir to the 7th; 6th hour of the night. / Sat- 55

8. Or “from fire and spirit.”

9. Or “lord of the spirits.”

10. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 534: “I am Lot Mulot.”

11. PNOUTEI is Egyptian ꜥꜣ ntr, “the god.” [R.K.R.]

12. “Hail, holy light . . . dawn on the world” is written in the margin of the papyrus in seven parts
next to ll. 34–39. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

13. The text has ABRA A/ O/ NA. . . . It may indicate abbreviations for ABRASAX, ADÏNAI.

14. Greek letters also served as numbers, so each word had a numerical value, the sum of the numbers
signified by the letters composing it. [M.S.]

urn, horoscope in Scorpio; Jupiter, (sun) in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; Venus, (moon), Mercury in Capricorn.

60 (Year) 2 of the same (reign): / Jupiter, (sun), [Mercury] in Aquarius; Mars in
65 Aries; / Venus horoscope, Mercury in Capricorn; moon in Gemini.

70 [Didymos.] Saturn in Libra; Jupiter, (moon), in Capricorn; Venus in Aries; /
(sun) in Taurus; Mercury, Mars in Gemini; horoscope in Leo.

Dionysia. (Year?) 1 (of) Philip; 8th of Epeiph; 2nd hour of the day: Saturn,
75 Mars [in Virgo]; Jupiter, Venus in Taurus; / Mercury [in Gemini, horoscope?],
(sun?) in Cancer, [moon in Libra].

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This horoscope appears on the verso, col. i of the Warren Magical Papyrus (PGM LXII) but is not included in Preisendanz's edition.

PGM LXII. 76–106

*"AR . . .

PHNOON PHEIOOUÔ ERMĒ THÔAR . . . IBARAREOUBEO . . . EA ALAÔ

ARIOUATHÔRMENERTIOUMAI SI

RIOUATHÔRMENERTIOUMAI SI

80

I

EN"

(in this manner, shaped like a heart).

"BARDĒTEIS

GARIS

85

BYX . . .

TAPH . . . Y

MAN . . .

[APH]ROÔL

. . . O . . . REN

90

BARNARAX

BR . . . NÔREI

BRAIÔCHIÔ

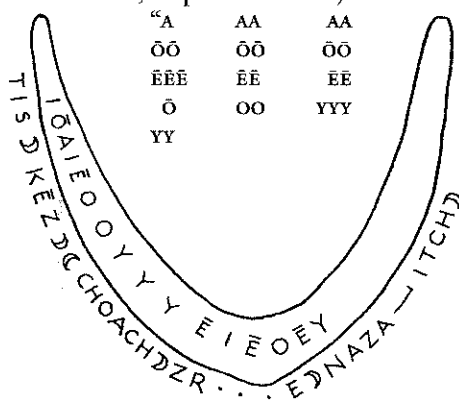
ANI . . .

SISIÔ . . .

KLYGAK . . .

95

SIBYI . . ."



"A AA AA
ÔÔ ÔÔ ÔÔ
ĒĒĒ ĒĒ ĒĒ
Ô OO YYY
YY

"ARMARE

TARERSOU

ATHRYÔ

SIBIBITH

TIÔÔX

ABRAUATH

DARYGKÔ

KASBE

ATHRAMO

ORKIE . . . R.

ORÔPOS . . .

THNAAPÔ . . .

ER . . . ÔR . . ."

"AEĒIOYÔ

EĒIOYÔ

ĒIOYÔ

IOYÔ

OYÔ

YÔ

100

Ô."

105 "Let the genitals and the womb of her, NN, be open, and let her become bloody
by night and day." And [these things must be written] in sheep's blood, and recite
before nightfall, the offerings / (?) . . . first she harmed . . . , and bury it near
sumac, or near . . . on a slip of papyrus.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 1–7

*. . . pour two quarts of salt and honey wine, thus making a drink. / And say the 5

seven letters of magicians.¹

The seven letters are: [A E Ē I O Y Ō].

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This papyrus is severely damaged, and little remains. Of necessity, the translation is tentative in several places.

PGM LXIII. 7–12

*[For a sleeping woman] to confess the name of the man she loves: Place a bird’s / [tongue] under her lip or on her heart and put your question, and she calls the name three times. 10

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXIII. 13–20

*[Put in a new basket] a peppercorn and depart, leaving / the basket behind. Many a flask . . . SARA . . . TĒ TE . . . a [useful tablet] . . . R . . . R . . . SM . . . ELA . . . 15
YO . . . ĒS. ISN / . . . ĒN MEL . . . ERĒSA. 20

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. The text is too mutilated to yield any sense in this short spell.

PGM LXIII. 21–24

*Find a [spotted lizard],² pick it up with a new³ piece of papyrus, [write] the characters on it, and then place it under the table: 𐤀𐤋 𐤒𐤕 𐤀𐤍

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. A recipe of uncertain purpose.

PGM LXIII. 24–25

*A contraceptive: Pick up a bean⁴ / that has a small bug in it, and attach it as an amulet. 25

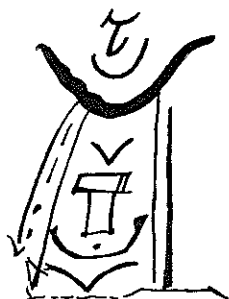
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 26–28

*A contraceptive: Take a pierced bean and attach it as an amulet after tying it up in a piece of mule hide.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIV. 1–12



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

*“Strike ill, attract, send [a dream]. I call upon you by your / sacred names, PSINA PSINA KRA- 5
DIDA PSIŌMOIPS. . . . [Make her] writhe at my / feet¹ for a short time [?].”² 10

1. μάγων is Hopfner’s logical emendation for the ματων of the papyrus. The seven vowels occur often enough to make them the logical “seven letters of the magicians.” [E.N.O.]

2. On the role of the lizard in magic see PGM VII. 628 and n.

3. Preisendanz restores the mutilated word here as καινού (cf. also PGM XXIIa. 14), but καθαροῦ is also possible because of the parallels (see PGM VII. 193, 703; XXXVI. 72, 102).

4. Cf. PGM IV. 769, 941.

1. Reading προκλινδομαι. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

2. Reading ἀ[καριαίω]. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

PGM LXV. 1–4

*To [prevent pregnancy]: “. . . OCHTHIA, protect from the archetypal daimon¹ [of pregnancy].”

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The recto of this papyrus contains fragmentary portions of household recipes. The verso, given here and in the spell to follow, gives portions of two magico-medical recipes.

PGM LXV. 4–7

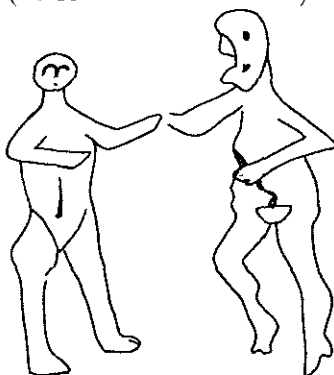
5 *For migraine headache:² ✱ ✱ ✱ / . . . I . . . NA . . . TA . . .”

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXVI. 1–11

*“CHAÖR
CHTHÖR
CHARARBA
CHOLBAS
5 CHTHRYTHYR
CHORBATH
CHTHAMNÖ
CHTHODYCHRA
10 CHYCHCHYCH

(“CHOAR”¹ to the bottom)



“I conjure you by the great names: throw Philoxenos the harpist into strife with his friend Gennadios. Throw Pelagios the elder into strife with Philoxenos the harpist.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LXVII. 1–24

*. . . The speaker of [the] spell for those dead and those alive [must write]: “AGE
. . . AOUMA . . . EB . . . THNOBAMA . . . BABOUA . . . EU DALANALAD . . . ALKOUMI
5 . . . OUTIZTAI AAAA IIIII EOYA BOUBITHA . . . CHANACH SANMACHANA / and
KECHNOU BOUZA SANMACHANA . . . SAMMACHARA SPHAMBĒS EPOKR . . . ACHTH
KAT ETA BAI KARKOPTÖ KOPTÖ KARBAR . . . AĒA PTOKOPTO KARABARBAROUTA
10 THATH . . . CHRENPSENTHAĒS BERBAL IÖ PARP . . . RPAR, I adjure you by [the
holy name of the] daimon of ĒIOY [SOU] / ŌOUS BARBARATHAM of [ADONAIÖS,
the god] SABAÖTH [ABRASAX] . . . PSE . . . TA [PHONOBOUBOËL] [of chthonic
Hermes-Thouoth, arch-subduer, PHÖKENSEPSEU AREEKTATHOU MIS[ONKTAI . . .
ĒI IAÖ] ĒÖĒÖ KA . . . ĒÖIÖ ÖIÖĒ [SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ERĒKISITHPHE]
15 ARARACHARARA [ĒPHTHISIKĒRE / IABEZEBYTH] IAÖ . . . SAM . . . [ERĒKISI-
PHTHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE . . . ĒI IAÖ [ĒÖĒ]Ö KA. By this oath I
20 adjure [you, who . . . and] the one who has been sworn . . . remaining / [. . . of
those who have died] in an [untimely] death . . . [. . . her, NN, whom] NN [bore],
. . . [him, NN, whom] NN bore . . . has spoken. . . .”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. This papyrus is made up of five separate pieces. Preisendanz has printed basically the text of L. Koenen published in *ZPE* 8 (1971):199ff. and has omitted a translation.

1. So the rendering in LSJ, s.v. “ἀντροδαίμων,” with reference to Plotinus, *Enn.* 3. 5. 6.

2. Cf. *PGM* VII. 199–201.

1. Either the *voces magicae* are to be read first or CHOAR is to be read before each word in col. 2.

PGM LXVIII. 1–20

*“As Typhon is the [adversary] of [Helios, so] also inflame [the soul] of Eutyches whom Zosime¹ / [bore], for her, [Eriea] whom [Ercheelio] bore; ABRASAX, inflame the soul and heart of him, Eutyches for him / Eutyches whom Zosime bore, now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour and on this same day. ADŌNAI, inflame the soul / and heart of Eutyches, for her Eriea [whom Ercheelio bore], now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour / and on this same day.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM LXIX. 1–3

*“PHNOUNEBEĒ (2 times), give me your strength, IŌ ABRASAX, give me your strength, for I am ABRASAX.” Say it 7 times while holding your two thumbs.¹

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM LXX. 1–4

*[This] name [is] a *favor charm*, a *charm to dissolve a spell*, a *phylactery*, and a *victory charm*: “AA EMPTŌKOM BASYM,¹ protect me.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. On this charm and others of this papyrus, see the note on PGM LXX. 4–25, below. Ll. 1–3 may contain the end of a spell now lost, or they may represent a complete spell.

PGM LXX. 4–25

***Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear² of punishment:** / If he comes forth,³ say to him: “I am Ereschigal, the one holding her thumbs,⁴ and not even one evil can befall her.”

If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel⁵ and recite the following: “Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, / serpent, wreath, key, herald’s wand, golden sandal of the Lady of Tartaros.” And you will avert him.

“ASKEI KATASKEI ERŌN OREŌN IŌR MEGA SAMNYĒR BAUI⁷ (3 times) PHOBANTIA SEMNĒ,⁸ I have been initiated, and I went down into the [underground] chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw / the other things down below, virgin, bitch, and all the rest.” Say it at the crossroad,⁹ and turn around and flee, because it is at those places that she appears. Saying it late at night, about what you wish, it will reveal it in your sleep; and if you are led away to death, say it while scattering seeds of sesame, and it will save you.

/ “PHORBA PHORBA BRIMŌ AZZIEBYA.” Take bran of first quality and sandalwood and vinegar of the sharpest sort and mold a cake. And write the name of so-and-so upon it, and inscribe it in such a way that you speak over it into the light the

1. The names seem confused here and should be corrected in accordance with ll. 16–17.

1. On this magical gesture, see PGM LXX. 6 and n.

1. For an explanation of this name, see PGM IV. 1377 and n.

2. The fear refers to punishment in the underworld.

3. This refers to a threatening approach by a punishment daimon.

4. For this magical gesture, see PGM IV. 2329; XXXVI. 163; LXIX. 3. See Betz, “Fragments,” 290, n. 14.

5. Another magical gesture, for which see PGM IV. 1054 and Betz, “Fragments,” 291, n. 18.

6. For this peculiar list of signs, see PGM IV. 2334–38; VII. 833; and Betz, “Fragments,” 291, nn. 20 and 21.

7. The Greek has BAUI, perhaps referring to the dog’s bark. Cf. PGM IV. 1911; XXXVI. 156. [W.B.]

8. This formula is usually called *Ephesia grammata*, or in PGM VII. 451 “the Orphic formula.” See Betz, “Fragments,” 291–92 with notes.

9. These instructions refer again to underworld experiences. See Betz, “Fragments,” 293–94.

name of Hekate, and this: “Take away his sleep from such-and-such a person,”
 25 and / he will be sleepless and worried.

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. Important in this spell are what appear to be liturgical remnants from the mystery cult of the Idaean Dactyls. For a more detailed commentary, see H. D. Betz, “Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus,” *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

PGM LXX. 26–51

*Against fear and to dissolve spells: Speak through [two] knives [sounding loudly] this formula; but [against] evil animals it does not work [compellingly], for
 30 . . . you . . . over the . . . [speak] . . . : “. . . E . . . PHATE . . . CHNON A . . . / GE
 35 . . . OIPS . . . SĒ . . . PSO . . . SIL . . . / MO . . . and . . . CHIL . . . PER . . . PAN
 40/45 . . . / CHIO . . . CHO . . . AB . . . POI . . . TOS . . . / IEO . . . DOI . . . ĒNE, so that
 50 (?) CHY . . . / ERE . . . TOU . . . ”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. See note to *PGM* LXX. 4–25. In this spell, the sense of ll. 30ff. cannot be recovered, though the text probably contained the invocation.

PGM LXXI. 1–8

*A phylactery: “Great [god] in heaven revolving the world, the true god, ΙΑΘ!
 5 Lord, ruler of all, ABLANATHANALBA, grant, grant me this favor, / let me have the name of the great god in this phylactery, and protect, from every evil thing, me whom NN bore, [NN] begot.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXXII. 1–36

*[Rite concerning the Bear: Prepare] an earthen [censer, and] during the 6th hour of the night [offer to the Bear] moss of a savin [in it. Do it before] three
 5 days / [after you called on] the Bear nine times from a high roof. Write [on a piece of papyrus] with a mixture of ink and myrrh [concerning everything] which you want, [add] the name, “NEB/[OUTOSOUALĒTH]” and [show] both the strip of papyrus [and] what is written on [it to the goddess . . .] within [one hour. Speak
 10 with your hands] folded / on your head, [praying in a loud voice to the Bear: “Hail,] O queen of mortals [and of gods. Hail,] heavenly ruler, [queen] of men.
 15 Depart¹ . . . / I beseech you. . . ”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell, a cryptogram from the same source as *PGM* LVII, is edited and commented upon by S. Eitrem, *Mélanges Maspéro* 2, 113–17; see also Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses*, vol. III (Oslo: Dybwad, 1936) 38–40, no. 75.

PGM LXXVII. 1–24

*If you wish to receive a revelation concerning whatever you wish, say this formula to yourself, saying nothing aloud: / “I call upon you, who are seated in the middle
 5 of a field,¹ you who with power direct the universe, at whom the daimons tremble, whom the mountains dread, / whom angels fall down to worship, whom the sun and moon fall down to worship, you who have heaven for your throne, ether
 10 as a place for your dancing place, and earth as your footstool, IOU IOU / APHARA . . . THOMARA ARABRŌ . . . IOU IOU. Holy, [holy,] boundless, boundless, star-organizer, [fire-breathing, SANTHĒNŌR, gold]-/sandaed [god], reveal.” And without causing fear or trembling he will, clearly and soberly, reveal concerning the NN thing. Do this while you are pure, and burn frankincense at the place.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

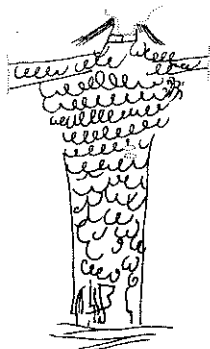
1. Text and translation are uncertain at this point. Preisendanz translates differently.

1. See on this point the parallels in *PGM* IV. 3023; XIV. 8.

PGM LXXVIII. 1–14

*[For any place], either home or workshop. [It attracts a woman] to a man. The same one [makes them steadfast] and faithful: Take a leaf [of lead] and with a nail write the figure¹ while saying [the name / that follows and]: “I shall burn up the house and the [soul of him, NN, to] cause desire for her, NN, whom NN bore, whom NN bore,² as Typhon did [not] allow Osiris to find sleep. For I am [master of] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUN[KENTABAŌTH / OREOBA]ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN [PYRIPE]GANYX. Fulfill this for me, all-brightener, august light-bringer [of gods and daimons].”

Name of the all-[powerful] god: IAŌ IAŌ IAŌ.



*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. For notes on the text, see also F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II,” *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 371–74.

PGM LXXIX. 1–7

***Charm to restrain anger**, which is to be spoken three times: “I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAËL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH.¹ Restrain the anger and / wrath [of him, NN] toward me, NN, [with] the authority of the great god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as in PGM LXXX., but by another scribe and in better condition.

PGM LXXX. 1–5

***Charm to restrain anger**, [which is to be spoken] three times: “I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAËL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH. Restrain the anger and wrath of him, NN, toward me, NN, with the authority of the great / god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as PGM LXXIX. 1–7.

PGM LXXXI. 1–10

*“Hail, Helios! Hail SAPEIPHNEP! Hail, savior! Hail, ABRASAKX! / Hail, PETKĒIERCHENEIN KAMTĒROU. Hail, ÊLOUAI. Hail, ELOUEIN. Hail, PETAIPINAKSNEUEI . . . XA . . . PETENTAETKĒPKEIEICHIN DONAIROUBI OPIANOS OPIANOS BASI[L]ISKOS / TIARKAMIKEINTEU.” Pronouncement of the name.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. According to Preisendanz (ad loc.), this list of greetings was supposed to give protection, perhaps protection for a house—an interpretation he derives from his reading of the other side of the papyrus, “defense for a house.”

1. The figure is given below, following the spell. See Preisendanz, vol. II, plate IV, figure 2. For a collection of images of Artemis *multimammaea*, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesus und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, EPRO 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

2. The apparent duplication is in the papyrus.

1. The *voces magicæ* are Coptic, written in Greek letters.

PGM LXXXII. 1–12

* . . . divide¹ . . . glue it together² . . . [the lamellae,] that is, much . . . having determined, to water . . . / weave the roots³ [from all the trees] . . . having separated, with the rain waters . . . having determined . . . from one another, / having measured out the evergreen [plants] . . . fire from the . . . and anoint the cups. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. Manteuffel, *Papyri Varsovienses* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1935) no. 4: Fragmentum libri magici, 6–7. All that can be said of this fragmentary text is that it seems to have preserved a section of a magical textbook dealing with the making of a certain ingredient.

PGM LXXXIII. 1–20

*For [fever with shivering fits]:¹ “GŌBA . . . S . . . MŌ . . . NOUSĒA . . . EIEGE . . . OSARK . . . AUSE fever with shivering fits, / I conjure you, MICHAËL, archangel of the earth; [whether] it is daily or nightly / or quartan fever; I conjure you, the Almighty SABAŌTH, that it no longer touch the soul of the one who carries [this], nor [touch] his whole body; also the dead, deliver, . . . the distress IDOT . . . YGRSBŌNŌE. . . . / ”

“He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall abide in the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say of God, ‘thou art my refuge and my help; I will put my trust in him.’”²

“Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy will; / our daily bread.”³

“Holy, holy is the Lord SABAŌTH, heaven is full of justice, holy is the one of glory.”⁴

“ANIAADA . . . IA, MIGAËL⁵ of lords, Abraham Isaac Jacob ELŌEI ELŌE Solomon(?) / SABAŌTH ŌËL. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of E. H. Kase, Jr., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 107: Gnostic Fever Amulet, 102–3. This fever amulet is of special interest because it cites several biblical verses. Despite the writer’s use of these citations, the character of the spell shows it is syncretistic rather than distinctively Christian. In fact, the incoherent manner by which the verses are quoted suggests that the writer was ignorant of their context and meaning.

PGM LXXXIV. 1–21

*“ . . . KOACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSACHE
KOACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSACH
OACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSA
ACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPS
CHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTH
AMIPHŌNCHŌŌ
MIRPHŌNCHŌ
IPHŌNCH
PHŌN
Ō.”

[magical symbols, about ten in number]

1. In accordance with our standard translation of the aorist participle λάβων, these participles are rendered as imperatives.

2. Or *συνπεριπήγνυμι* may mean “make to congeal around together.” The word is apparently attested nowhere else in Greek literature.

3. For the use of roots in magic, cf. *PGM* XXIIa. 6; XII. 103, 397, 659, etc.

1. As the editor points out, the reading of the text at this point is far from certain.

2. This is a quotation of LXX Ps 90: 1–2, with some peculiar variations.

3. This is a somewhat confused quotation of the Lord’s Prayer, Mt 6: 9–11. The papyrus may read “your father.”

4. Apparently this is an allusion to LXX Is 6: 3.

5. Read “Michael.”

“Fetch Ptolemais whom Helen bore, for Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore. / In- 15
 flame her liver and spirit and heart and soul until she leaps up and comes, that is,
 Ptolemais whom / Helena bore, to Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore; immediately, 20
 quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Edmund Harris Kasc, Jr., *Papyri in Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 76: Erotic Incantation, 73–74.

PGM LXXXV. 1–6

*“... let him marvel, all THAE . . . drive away, make the daimons (?)¹ . . .”

Let the one who has written [this] be glad, and the haunts [of spirits]² . . . he knows not, but beautifully a picture (?).³ . . . /

Another:

5

[*Another*]:

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. Enoch Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) no. 56: Magical Spells, p. 38. This text is taken from three tiny fragments which date to the first or second century A.D. Although the text is quite fragmentary, its early date makes it important. Furthermore, the recurring expression “another [spell],” shows that we are dealing with a collection from a magical handbook.

PGM LXXXVI. 1–2

*“Protect him, NN, whom [she, NN bore].” Attach [this] as an amulet around the neck.¹

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach, II* (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1940) no. 89: Formulaire magique, 32–33. This tiny fragment preserves portions of two spells; the first contains instructions for making a simple amulet. The second preserves the beginning of a magical procedure of an uncertain nature.

PGM LXXXVI. 3–7

*At sunrise,² on the 10th day of the month of Didymon . . . the next day, during the ninth hour, write . . . / of a female goat . . . XEONTA . . . DONO . . . ZOU. . . .

5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky; see the note on PGM LXXXVI. 1–2, above.

PGM LXXXVII. 1–11

*“SAMOUSOU SOUMA SOMĒ SOMĒIA MEISOUAT . . . SROUAT, my lord, ROUAT . . . [deliver ?] John from the shivering fit and fever that has (him); [cleanse?] the daily fever from this (?) shivering (?) . . . / [all] the headache, daily fevers, nightly, 5
 quartan, semitertian, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. . . . TA. ĒMŌNO . . . ARA the angel; . . . [deliver?] John from every shivering fit and fever, from this very day, from the present [hour throughout] / his entire lifetime; [grant him heal- 10
 ing?], immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the new reading of F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci. (III.),” *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 235–40 (tav. XXVI),

1. Reading *δαμόνια* instead of *δαίμονες*.

2. Reading *τὰ ἡμέρα . . . πνευμάτων*.

3. Reading *γράμμα*, “picture,” “character,” in the sequence *γραμμοσ*. . .

1. For similar instructions, cf. PGM VII. 198, 208; XIII. 669.

2. The editor restores the first letters of this word. Performing a magical ritual on a specified day is common in the PGM; see, e.g., PGM VII. 155–67; XIII. 15, 349, 1037.

PGM XCI. 1–14

*“ABLANATHANALBA
BLANATHANALB
[LA]NATHANAL
ANATHANA
NATHAN
ATHA
TH.

5

“Melt (?) . . . [NN], whom NN bore . . . / who has . . . the daily . . . reaching 10
out this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of D. S. Crawford, *Papyri Michaelidae* (Aberdeen: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1955) no. 27: Magical Charm, 49–50. The editor suggests that this fragment is a curse or a love charm; however, the mention of “daily” in l. 11, as well as “who has” in l. 10 (a typical description in the PGM for an affliction) suggests it is a fever amulet.

PGM XCII. 1–16

**Your great name, for¹ favor*: “Everyone fears your great might. Grant me the 5
good things:² the strength of AKRYSKYLOS,³ / the speech of EUŌNOS, the eyes of 5
Solomon,⁴ the voice of ABRASAX, the grace of ADŌNIOS, the god.⁵ Come to me, 10
Kypri, / every day.⁶ The hidden name bestowed to you(?) [is this]: THOATHO- 10
ĒTHATHOOTHATHĒTHOUSTHOATHITHĒTHOINTHŌ; grant me victory, / repute, 15
beauty toward all men and all women.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, and J. W. B. Barns, eds., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., II* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), no. 58: Magical Charm, 22–24 (pl. VII).

PGM XCIII. 1–6

*. . . [sacrifice and] . . . bury¹ . . . the same all [around?] . . . ; pour blood into a 5
vessel . . . / and on the outside besprinkle² . . . to Hekate. . . . [i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliaceus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 65: Magical Prescriptions (?), 45–47 (pl. III, i). The ascription of this fragment of a parchment leaf to a Greco-

1. The editors suggest the first three letters are a magical name, EIE. L. 1, they admit, makes little sense regardless of what is read; however, the photograph of the papyrus shows that one might read the preposition εἰς, “for, unto.” The sentence thus seems clearer, although the reading and translation remain tentative.

2. The language and temper of this charm show that this spell is one used to acquire favor and victory. Cf. for example PGM XII. 397–400 etc.

3. The following list of names whose powers the client is requesting suggests that each person named is recognized for his special attribute. Thus, Akryskylos is recognized for his strength, Euōnos for his speech, and so on. Neither Akryskylos nor Euōnos (*sic* for Euō[nym]os? [so the editors]) can be identified; however, each of the following personalities is recognizable. Cf. PGM VII. 1017–26.

4. Or, possibly, “the glances of Solomon,” according to the editors. Although Solomon was a popular magical figure, the mention of his “eyes” is not common. Consult the note in the original cited above, p. 23, n. 6. On the other hand, cf. the αὐγή that illumines Solomon’s mind in the *Test. Sol.*, Rec. C, Prologus, 2 (McCown, *Testament* 76).

5. Adonis is here rendered by the variant spelling Adōnios. Adonis is often associated with Kypri, a popular name for Aphrodite.

6. Or, if accusative of duration, “for the whole day,” that is, presumably for the duration of each day which the person wears the charm.

1. The command to bury something occurs in PGM IV. 2215; XII. 100, where an inscribed tablet and an egg are referred to. The context here, however, gives no hint of what is to be buried.

2. On sprinkling dove’s blood to dismiss a deity, see PGM II. 177.

Egyptian magical handbook is fairly certain. Although the two sides contain no *voces magicae*, and thus we may have a simple manual of sacrificial procedures, the presence of the name Hekate in l. 6 (side 1) suggests a magical text. Also, in the margin of l. 7 the number 43 occurs, which the editor describes as a numbering of the magical procedures.

PGM XCIII. 7–21

- 10 *43 . . . and whatever you wish³ . . . blind, on . . . / stomach (?) . . . a cock [which
[i, 10] is alive] . . . ; bring it and set it on the . . . the piglet⁴ and the / . . . carrying, out-
15 side of many (?) . . . the house; . . . and offer this . . . nine women . . . in front of
[ii, 15] the doors . . . / [it is] believed (?). . . .
20
[ii, 20]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus (see introductory note on previous spell), 46, side i, ll. 7–10; side ii, ll. 11–21. The procedure described here is of an uncertain purpose. The spell after l. 10 (side ii) may be independent of the preceding lines.

PGM XCIV. 1–6

- *“ . . . YNYEL . . . STOOU . . . M . . . SEGEIR . . . Y . . . Y ERBĒTH . . . E . . . OUCHI.”¹
5 *Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight: / KA . . . AL . . . 2 drams.*
Use a dram of boar skin which has been dried in the sun.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 66: Magico-Medical Prescriptions, 47–49. The papyrus begins with the fragments of an invocation of unknown purpose. The prescriptions are separated by paragraph marks.

PGM XCIV. 7–9

**For excellent health*:² Write on an amulet: “ABRAŌ . . . ARŌN BARA BAR . . . A . . . Ō.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 10–16

- 10 **A phylactery for [fever]*: . . . RARA . . . leather . . . seven days . . . [and] wear
15 / . . .”  S . . . S . . .  Z X . . .”
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 17–21

- 20 **For those possessed by daimons*: “. . . T . . . Y . . . depart . . . YT . . .” The things prescribed below . . . / “ATR . . . Y SOLŌMŌN . . . is washed. . . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 22–26

**For the eyes*: Make a gothic (?) [figure]³ and carve [on it the] following: one who

3. References to stating one's wish are regularly found throughout the PGM. For very similar wording, cf. PGM IV. 1907.

4. As the editor points out, the cock and the pig probably serve as sacrificial animals. For the use of a cock in magical sacrifices, see PGM IV. 237; XII. 312; XIII. 377, 437–38, and so on. Pigs are found less often as sacrificial animals in the PGM.

1. As the editors suggest, these lines may have consisted entirely of magical words. In the sequence ERBĒTH can be read.

2. Or “easy healing.” The word is a hapax legomenon, as the editors point out.

3. Following the interpretation of the editors.

[holds (?) with the left] / hand, in the middle . . . : “CHACH. . .”

25

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6. The instructions seem to describe the manufacturing of a *figura magica*.

PGM XCIV. 27–35

*[For] tumors [and] . . . : [the] following . . . / [write] on a leaf [the] following things and boil . . . the leaf . . . “⊗⊗ BB⊗⊗ . . . ΖϞϞ, flesh (?) . . .”

30

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 36–38

*[For . . .] and strangury: [write on a] tin lamella [the following]: “MARŌTHA . . . M. . .”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on PGM XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 39–60

*Another, for migraine headache:

/ “ . . . IYIŌ
. . . YAŌŌ
. . . ŌYOŌ
. . . OY.”

40

It delivers (?). And this is Neros’ (?)⁴ formula:

/ “OURBEDERAEIS OUROURBEDERAEIS OUROUROBEDERAEIS EISTHES ABRASA ELECH BELLENOURE OUNOURE BAPHAMMĒCH, to you I speak, pounding headache: don’t throb, don’t rage, / don’t shake the teeth, don’t produce mucus, don’t produce a ‘black-out’, don’t stir up convulsions. For if there is throbbing, raging, shaking of teeth, producings of mucus, producings of a ‘black-out,’ / or stirrings of a convulsion . . . BŌ . . . G . . . A . . . Χ . . . CH . . . / . . . A . . .”

45

50

55

60

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XCV. 1–6

*. . . on the left sole of one foot,¹ near (?) . . . having subjected . . . [upon?] . . . and there will a be reward for the. . . Take the skin of a mouse . . . / and have in the workshop, beneath. . .

5

[col. i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, III (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1967) no. 140: *Magico-Medical Prescriptions*, 71, Fr. (a). This portion of the formulary describes the engraving of parts of a figure, perhaps a magical doll for the purpose of subjugating someone. The description of the mouse skin either begins a new spell or introduces part of a procedure belonging to the previous charm.

PGM XCV. 7–13

*Concerning the mole[-rat]:² one (?) mole-rat that is alive . . . a remedy (?) for (?)

4. Reading perhaps a proper name here; however, the editors note that *νηρὸν* may be “fresh (water)” (cf. modern Greek *νερό*), in which case the spell is to be recited over it.

1. The prescription is describing what to engrave on a waxen or clay figure such as we find in PGM IV. 296–335, 2373–2440; and VII. 927. These references describe the function of the left sole of the foot (along with other parts of the body) in a specified magical procedure. PGM VII. 927 (a charm to subject someone) commands one to place a tablet under the left sole of the foot. The mention of subjection in the spell above suggests that we have here a “charm to subject” (*hypotaktikon*).

2. The editors point out that the blind-rat or mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*) may possibly be used as the remedy for the epilepsy.

10 epilepsy (?)³ . . . / on the first of the month . . . [altar?]. . . .

[col. ii, 4]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous spell) 71, col. ii. The editors identify this spell as a prescription for the “sacred disease.” The spell, we should note, comes under a heading apparently arranged according to the magical virtues of the animal. Such arrangements are typical for a number of magico-medical prescriptions, in which case this section would enumerate the medicinal or magical values of the blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*).

PGM XCV. 14–18

15 * . . . *This will be a remedy for you for all cases* of . . . : . . . ATHOU, given thrice,
[(b), 2] in the month it delivers, in the same manner both those afflicted by epileptic seizures and by . . . thus by our returning thanks . . . *those affected by lung disease*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous papyrus) 71, fr. (b). The formulary at this point seems to provide a remedy for epilepsy. The beginning of a new remedy seems to be given at the end.

PGM XCVI. 1–8

5 * “ . . . AS (7 times) MELI XARO ÔRO AAAAAAA BAINCHÔÔÖCH MAI ÊEI / LĒNA-GKOLI, protect him who carries [this amulet].”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised text of R. W. Daniel, “Some PHYLAKTĒRIA,” *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53 (text two). The text was originally published by J. O’Callaghan in *Chronique d’Égypte* 43 (1968): 111–13, and subsequently commented upon by M. Vandoni in *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti* 102 (1968): 532–34 and again by J. O’Callaghan in *Studia Papyrologica* 8 (1969): 115–18. It is recognized that the text is a version of ll. 7–8 of *P. Oslo* I.5 (= *PGM* 3); however, whereas *PGM* 3 is Christian, this one is not. This text, moreover, is virtually complete, save for the slightly cut-away edges which suggest the papyrus was inserted in a case to be worn as an amulet.

PGM XCVII. 1–6

* . . . [wrap it up in purple] cloth. . . .

5 [Another:] Cut out the right [eye] of a lizard and / [enclose it] in [goat skin]; attach it to [your] left [eye].

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 109–11. Extant are only a few remnants of two columns, the first of which is too fragmentary to translate here. The individual spells in this collection of recipes are divided by *paragraphi*. Wortmann thinks the spell is against eye disease because the lizard is often used to that effect in magic. See A. D. Nock, “The Lizard in Magic and Religion,” *Essays I*, 271–76. The purpose of the first recipe cannot be recovered.

PGM XCVII. 7–9

* *Another*: Grind up the heart¹ of a nightowl² [with . . .], and [anoint yourself].³

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVII. 10–13

10 / * *Another*: KR . . . ES, and TÔ . . . OS at the same time [attach as an amulet] . . . of a bull⁴ . . . with one thong of a male goat. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

3. Remedies for epilepsy are not found often in *PGM*. For literature and discussion of epilepsy in antiquity, see in particular E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, “Epilepsie,” *RAC* 5 (1965): 819–31.

1. Cf. *PGM* III. 427.

2. For the nightowl, see *PGM* I. 223; XXXVI. 264.

3. Cf. *PGM* II. 19; VIII. 185, 192; XXXVI. 291–92.

4. Cf. the reading by F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I,” *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 176.

PGM XCVII. 15-17

/ *For every [disease: Take] a scarab . . . K . . . IO . . . THEN. . .

15

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVIII. 1-7

*“A Victorious² in everything is

EE the nourisher³ of

the whole inhabited

III world, lord Sarapis;

00000 deliver⁴

5

YYYYYY Artemidora."

$$\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}\bar{0}^1$$

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1969): 107–8.

PGM XCIX. 1-3

*“God is one who heals every sickness.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 105.

PGM C. 1-7

*“A /// EE ÊÊÊ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ÔÔÔÔÔÔÔ¹ ABLANATHAMALA² . . . EÔ AKRAM-
MACHAMARI KAI CHA KAI; lord god of gods,³ heal everything with Thaēs . . . E . . .
ECHAÏMA / ÊLO . . . OYEA dissolve.⁴ The name of the father of Christ⁵ BB [BBBB]⁶ 5
X X X * * * * * N N Heal Thaēs, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 102–04.

PGM CI. 1-53

*“I bind you¹ with the indissoluble fetters of the underworld Fates and mighty Necessity, for I conjure you, daimons, who lie here² and who move about here and who keep busy here, and the boys here who have died prematurely.³

“I conjure you by the invincible god, IAΘ BARBATHIAΘ BRIMIAΘ CHERMARI, to rise up, O daimons who are lying / here, and to search for Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, [for] Theon, whom Proechia bore. During the whole night let her not find sleep, but fetch her until she comes before his feet and loves him with mad love and affection and intercourse. For I have bound her brain and her hands and her intestines and her genitals, and her heart to love me, Theon.

1. For this formation of the vowels in form of a grape, cf. *PGM* I. 13 and n.; C and n. 1.

2. For this important epithet of Sarapis, see Wortmann's commentary, 107.

3. This epithet of Sarapis also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 638–39; XII. 244; XIII. 772–73; XXI. 7–10.

4. Probably from daimons; cf. *PGM* IV. 86–87; V. 125–26.

1. This series of vowels is called *κλίμα*. See *PGM* I. 13 and n.; XIXa. 33, etc. On the whole, see C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954):910-12.

2. Misspelled for the common palindrome ABLANATHANALBA.

3. So the restoration by Wortmann on the basis of *PGM* II. 53; IV. 180.

4. Probably referring to the disease.

5. This Christian influence shows the syncretism of the spell.

6. The BBBB have been lined out in the manuscript.

1. The second-person singular, apparently referring to Euphemia; the daimons are addressed in the second person plural.

2. Cemeteries are the preferred dwelling places of the daimons.

3. The spirits of infants of premature death are preferred mediums of the magicians.

10 “But if you disobey and do not quickly / carry out what I tell you, the sun will not set under the earth, and neither Hades nor the world [will] exist.⁴ But if you fetch for me Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, for me, Theon whom Proechia bore, I shall give you Osiris Nophrioth, the brother of Isis, and he [will] bring you fresh water and he shall give rest, too, for your souls.⁵ But if you do not carry out
15 for me what I tell you, / the EÖNEBYÖTH⁶ shall burn you.

“I conjure you, daimons, who are lying here, IEÖ IIIIAIA ÊIA IAÖ IAË IAÖ ALILAMPS. I deposit [this spell] for you in this land of the dogs.⁷ Bind Euphemia to love me, Theon. O daimons, I adjure you by the stele of the gods, I adjure you by the ones in the innermost shrines, I adjure you by the names of the all-seeing god,
20 IA IA / IA IÖ IÖ IÖ IE IE IE OYÖA ADÖNAI. I conjure the one pleased in the temple,⁸ and the blood⁹ which the great god IÖTHATH¹⁰ has received. I conjure you by the one who sits upon the four pinnacles of [the] winds.¹¹

“Do not disobey me, but do [it] quickly, because ordering you is¹² AKRAM-MACHAMARI BOULOMENTOREB GENIOMOUTHIG DËMOGENËD ENKYKLIE ZËNO-BIÖTHIZ / ÊSKÖTHÖRË THÖTHOUTHÖTH IAEUÖI KORKOOUNOÖK LOULOENËL,
25 MOROTHÖPNAM NERXIARXIN XONOPHOËNAX ORNEOPHAO PYROBARYP REROUTÖER SESENMENOURES TAUROPOLIT YPEPHENOURY PHIMEMAMEPH CHENNEOPHEOCH PSYCHOMPOIAPS ÖRIÖN, the true one. May I not be compelled to say the same things again, IÖË IÖË. Fetch Euphemia, whom / Dorothea bore, for Theon, whom his mother Proechia bore, to love me with love and longing and affection and intercourse, with mad love. Burn her members, her liver, her female parts, until she comes to me, longing me and not disobeying me. For I conjure you by the mighty Necessity, MASKELLI MASKELLÖ¹³ PHENOUKENTABAÖTH OREOBAGRA
30 RËXICHTHÖN / HIPPOCHTHÖN PYRICHTHÖN PYRIPËGANIX LEPETAN LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOËL, in order that you bind for me Euphemia, for me, Theon, in affection and in love and in longing for a period of ten months¹⁴ from today, which is the 25th of Hathyr of the second year of the indiction.

“And again I conjure you by the one who rules over you, in order that you do not disobey me. And again I conjure you by the one who is in charge of the air.
40 And / again I conjure you by the seven thrones, ACHLAL LALAPHENOURPHEN

4. The operator threatens the gods with upsetting the cosmic order; see PGM IV. 185–86; XXXIV, and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

5. The dead in the netherworld suffer from thirst, while Osiris brings them the drink of life. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 94–95.

6. This name is otherwise not known. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 95.

7. Apparently referring to the desert cemetery where hynas roam about. Thus Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 96.

8. Following Wortmann’s interpretation of *ōap* as “temple” (97). (I should prefer to take *ōap* as abaton, “innermost shrine” [see I. 18] and the god as Osiris. Note that Osiris is called “he who rests in the abaton,” whereby “rest” in Egyptian is *hṯp*, which corresponds to Greek *ἐνδοκεῖν*. [J.B.]

9. The blood is that of the enemies of the gods, especially that of Seth. See D. Wortmann, “Das Blut des Seth,” *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30, who refers to Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353 B, and Rv 16:4 as parallels.

10. That is, Hermes-Thoth.

11. For the four winds, see PGM III. 496; XII. 84, 238; XIII. 761, and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 97–98.

12. The list of names contains the twenty-four names of the Greek alphabet; each name, except the first and the last, also ends with the letter of the alphabet. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 146–51; Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 98, who calls attention to the unique character of this list.

13. For the MASKELLI MASKELLÖ formula, see Glossary, s.v.

14. Ten lunar months was considered the normal period of pregnancy. See J. Bergman, “Decem illis diebus,” *Ex Orbe Religionum*. Studia Geo Widengren oblata (Leiden: Brill, 1972) I, 332–46.

BALEŌ BOLBEŌ BOLBEŌCH BOLBESRŌ YYPHTHŌ,¹⁵ and by the relentless god,
 CHMOUŌR ABRASAX IPSENTHANCHOUCHAINCHOUCHEŌCH. Seize Euphemia and
 fetch her for me, Theon, to love me with mad love, and bind her with indissoluble,
 strong, adamantine fetters / to love me, Theon; and do not let her eat, or drink, or
 find sleep, or have fun, or laugh; but make her run away from every place and from
 every house, and leave father, mother, brothers, sisters,¹⁶ until she comes to me,
 Theon, being fond of me, loving me, Theon, in unending love and mad affection.
 But if she has another one at her / bosom, move her to push him away and forget
 him and hate him, but me she shall be fond of and love with affection and grant¹⁷
 me her favors, and she shall do nothing against my will. You, these holy names and
 these powers, confirm and carry out this perfect enchantment; immediately, im-
 mediately; quickly, quickly.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 85–102. The papyrus was found folded up in a clay vessel and deposited in a cemetery. Inside the folded papyrus were found two wax figurines in erotic embrace (cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.).

PGM CII. 1–17 [frag. E, D, C]

*. . . over [the lamp] . . . your hand, and [when you are almost awake] the god [fr. E]¹
 [will come and speak to you, and . . .] / [. . . and smear the picture with the black [fr. D]²
 (?) of Isis . . .] But [the strip of cloth . . .]. Take rainwater³ . . . Speak this [formula
 over the] lamp:

[“I call upon you,] / the headless god,⁴ the one who [has his head and] his face
 [upon his feet;⁵] you who are hurling lightning [and who are thundering]; you are
 the one whose mouth [constantly pours forth] fire;⁶ [you are the one who is over]
 Necessity. I call upon you, [the headless] god . . . [the one who has his head and his
 face upon his feet,] / strong⁷ BĒSAS, [the dim-sighted one. You are the one lying on
 a coffin] and having at the side of the head . . . an elbow cushion . . . and of
 bitumen⁸ . . . , the one whom they call, ANOUTH ANOUTH, lord. . . . You are not a
 daimon, but the blood of . . . , / and of the 30 and of the 104 falcons⁹ who are also
 chattering and watching before the head of Osiris.¹⁰ . . .”

/ . . . and from impurity . . . over the lamp . . . wholly black. . . . [fr. C]¹¹

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, according to the edition by R. A. Coles et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 36 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1970), no. 2753: Magical Spells, 27–28. The papyrus, a request for a dream oracle, was cut into several pieces, all severely damaged. It is not clear whether there were one or two spells. Some of the lines can be restored on the basis of remarkably close parallels elsewhere in *PGM*.

15. The names of the seven thrones are attested here for the first time completely. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101.

16. For parallels see *PGM* IV. 2756–59; XV. 4–5; and Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101.

17. See Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 102, who refers to *PGM* IV. 2740–41, 2759–61.

1. Almost all is restored on the basis of *PGM* VII. 226–30.

2. As restored from *PGM* VII. 231–41.

3. For the association of the headless god with rainwater, see *PGM* VII. 224, 319–20; V. 152; LXI. 7.

4. For the headless god, see *PGM* II. 11; V. 98, 125, 145–46; VII. 233, 243, 442; VIII. 91; *Test. Sol.*

9. 1, and the discussion in Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110–11, 164–66.

5. Cf. *PGM* VII. 234; VIII. 91. See Bonner, *SMA* 110.

6. The fire has been omitted in *PGM* VII. 234.

7. Cf. on this epithet *PGM* V. 129.

8. Cf. *PGM* VII. 237; VIII. 98.

9. The number of falcons varies: cf. *PGM* VII. 239–40 (with Preisendanz’s note); *PGM* VIII. 100.

10. Cf. *PGM* VII. 240; VIII. 100.

11. Cf. *PGM* I. 55–60; VII. 539.

PGM CIII. 1–18

- 5 *"... TAR thus P . . . ŌTHOI and . . . from every place . . . place and every. . . / If
she lies down . . . let . . . [not] eat, if she drinks . . . B . . . SON NN and . . . and the
10 . . . most loved / . . . immediately, immediately . . . [NN, whom NN] bore . . . to
15 every place . . . but not . . . fire, and throwing / . . . RI of gain THI . . . CHIŌCH
. . . upon. . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Georgios A. Petropoulos, *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis* (P. S. A. Athen.) (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972; repr. of 1939 edition), no. 70, pp. 430–31. The ostensible purpose of this second-century magical text is the acquisition of a lover. For similar love charms that seek to disrupt the victim's eating, sleeping, and so on, compare PGM IV. 1510ff.; CVIII, etc. For further commentary, see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 169–72.

PGM CIV. 1–8

- *"AEŌ¹ . . . AEEŌ² . . . THYRINERE³ . . . ARMARINNE . . . ARI . . . OCH . . . SOZO-
CHABAI . . . ACHABOZO . . . OUEDDOUCHAI,⁴ get rid of all Althea's (?) daily
5 fever with shivering fits. Give [Althea (?)] / rest from the daily fever with shiver-
ing fits. . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of M. Amclotti and L. Z. Migliardi, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova* (PUG), vol. I (Milan: Giuffrè, 1974) no. 6: Amuleto contro la febbre, 17–18 (tav. V).

PGM CV. 1–15

- *"The one having appeared [before]¹ the universe in [accordance with your] eter-
nal nature, the untiring one, the one who . . . the one from the south . . . guard;
5 I call upon you, lord [Almighty], / the unknown one, the pure soul, I, the one . . .
having been sanctified. Be merciful to me, O Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios, IOUS . . .
SANBALCHANBAL THANŌAMA . . . CHŌCH, so that I may speak . . . of the gods
10 . . . / AŌT² ABAŌT BASYM³ ISAAC [ABRAHAM] JACŌB, hearken to me, the one . . .
ŌROU ŌROU ŌROU AE IAI A . . . SOUŌ I IYAOÈ IAŌ, [always,] the god who com-
15 mands, the god . . . / the inhabited world. . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–27. On the basis of the Zeus/Helios identification in I. 7, Brashear labels this spell *Anrufung an Sarapis*, "an invocation to Sarapis." See also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375.

PGM CVI. 1–10

*"ADŌNAI ELO[AI SA]BAŌTH ABLANATHANAB[LA AKR]AMMACHAMARI . . . SES-
ENGERBARPHARANGÈS AEËIOYŌ IAŌ PHRÈ . . . ĒAŌ IAŌ EAŌ . . .

1. There is space for a single letter here, perhaps Ē; see n. 2, below.

2. After the Ō, there is one letter to make out. It is probably an omicron. The first nine letters, then, probably contain a series of vowels, viz., AEŌÈ AEEŌŌ.

3. The editor suggests that these letters may contain the Greek for "portal of Erebos" (reading θύρην ἐρεβός). Erebos was the mythological place of nether darkness which formed a passage from Earth to Hades.

4. Supplying here an alpha before the final iota.

1. Following the likely restoration of A. Henrichs.

2. On this Aoth-logos, Brashear points the reader to PGM IV. 1376; Delatte and Derchain 416, 487; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 242. 9.

3. BASYM, in Greek letters, corresponds to Aramaic *besum*, "in the name of": see Glossary, s.v. Thus the text perhaps reads, "in the name of Isaac, [Abraham,] Jacob." In the lacuna, Brashear restores instead ". . . Isaac [Sabaŏth, Iaŏ], Jacob"; however, "Abraham" is another possible reading, as the three names form a natural, formulaic grouping in magical literature. See M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

AEËIOYŌ
OURIĒL
MICHAËL
GABRIĒL
SOURIĒL
RAPHAËL



Protect Touthous, whom
Sara bore, from every
shivering fit and fever:
tertian, quartan, quoti-
dian, daily, or every
other day [it occurs]
... ADŌNIAS, / ADŌNAEI,
protect in. . . .”

SALAMABA
ZZZ
BAM IACHA

ABLANATHANABLA
ACHRAMMACHAMARI
SESENGHBPHARAGĒS
IAŌ / SABAŌTH
ŌRIPHER LOU.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 27–30 (see note on previous papyrus).

PGM CVII. 1-19

*“U IOCHO — SIM / PHNOU¹ PHTHONTHON 2B2 ÷ L — W · Y L2 PERKMĒM² BIOU
BIOU RIRIOU³

OCHERO¹ | NOURI⁵ EPNEBAI⁶ SERPÖT' MOUISRO⁷ RINT'⁸ MÊI MÊI⁹ ËI OU OUSIRI¹⁰
 SERPHOUTH MOUISRO MÊI / MÊI. Quickly fetch here Tapias whom Demetria
 bore, for Achilles whom Helene bore, by means of the soul of the one who died
 prematurely, / BAKAXICHYCH,¹¹ by the one whom all things are entrusted to, EU-
 LAMÔ;¹² fetch Tapias for Achilles, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotarsky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 255–64 (text two). Daniel provides copious notes and parallels to the *PGM*. Only his most essential comments are noted below.

PGM CVIII. 1-12

*“THŌBARABAU TEUTHRAIAIAIĀ BAKAŌPHLEN NOPH EPHOPHTHE AMOU AMIM
BAIN BAARA AALŌ B . . . NAARA AAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒ / IIIIII OOOOOOO 5
YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, make fly through the air¹ the soul and the heart of Leontia
whom Ailia² bore in her womb. and don't allow her to eat or drink or to fall

1. PHNOU may be equated with the Coptic word *pnoun*, "the abyss." Otherwise it is the magical name for a god in *PGM* XII. 290 and is found in frequent combinations throughout the *PGM*.

2. PERKMEN, perhaps Coptic for "the Lord of darkness" or "house of darkness."

3. BIOU BIOU BIBIOU: BIOU is frequent in the *PGM* and is identical to the name of a decan. Cf. W. Gundel, "Dekane und Dekansternebilder," *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 19 (1936): 233–34.

4. In these lines there are thirty-six characters which correspond to the number of decans and their deities.

5. NOURI is Coptic for "vulture."

6. EPNEBAI may reflect the words *p nb by*, "the lord of souls," in *DMP XXVIII*, 1 (cf. Copt. *neb bai*).

7. For this Egyptian formula: lotus (*serphouth*)—lion (*moui*)—ram (*sro*), cf. *PGM* III. 659.

8. RINT' is Sahidic for "my name." Cf. *PGM* IV. 83–84.

9. **MĒI MĒI** (also in ll. 9–10) is Fayumic and Bohairic for “truth.”

10. The god Osiris.

11. This name is to be equated with BAINCHÖÖCH: both names mean "spirit of darkness." See Glossary, s.v.

12. This popular name can be equated with "eternal" and has become the subject of some etymological speculation (see Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," 264, n. 17, for literature).

1. This verb, ἀεροπετέω, is used only in magical texts, as Daniel points out, pp. 249–50.

2. Reading Ailia instead of Elia.

- 10 asleep / until she comes to me, Dioskouros whom Thekla bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” |—+—
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, “Two Love-Charms,” *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–55 (text one).

PGM CIX. 1–8

- 5 * “As Hermes turns in his marrow¹ and this strip of papyrus becomes reality,² so turn the brain³ and the / heart⁴ and search out⁵ all the mind of her who is called Kalemera, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Eric G. Turner, “The Marrow of Hermes,” in *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke . . . dicata* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1976) 169–73. The love spell from Oxyrhynchus (ca. A.D. 300) presents very difficult problems, so that the translation by necessity remains tentative. See also the different readings and interpretations by Giuseppe Giangrande, “The Marrow of Hermes: A Papyrus Love-Spell,” *Ancient Society* 9 (1978): 101–16; P. Gorissen, “Once more the Love-Spell of Hermes and the Marrow,” *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200; and J. Gwyn Griffiths, “Hermes and the Marrow in a Love-charm,” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 287–88.

PGM CX. 1–12

- 5 * . . . a voice comes to you in conversation. Lay out the stars on the board in their natural order,¹ with the exception of the sun² and the moon.³ Make the sun⁴ gold, / the moon⁵ silver, Kronos⁶ of obsidian, Ares⁷ of yellow-green onyx, Aphro-
 10 dite⁸ of lapis-lazuli streaked with gold, Hermes⁹ / of turquoise; make Zeus¹⁰ of a [dark blue] stone, but underneath of crystal. But the horoscope. . . .
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, “Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection,” *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 1: Astrological Text, 175–77 (plate). The text, constructed from two separate fragments, seems to contain instructions for a special type of astrological divination. The incomplete text at the beginning of the horoscope shows that the client participates in an auditory revelation of a god. This probably contains the end of the procedure section of the magical spell.

1. The phrase is unknown. Perhaps it is Hermes himself who “is turned around by the marrow,” the marrow referring to a magical substance used in the ritual operation. In this case the verb is construed as passive, with “marrow” as the genitive of agent. This avoids the need to emend the word to the accusative case (so P. Gorissen), or to take the genitive as “locative” (so Turner), since this normally requires the dative case. [R.D.K.]

2. Perhaps the words are an interjected “commercial”: “and this sheet really ‘works.’” The *πιττάκιον* is the sheet or piece of papyrus on which the spell itself is written; see Turner, 172; Giangrande, 107, for parallels. [R.D.K.]

3. Cf. on this notion *PGM* IV. 1544–45.

4. Cf. the parallel in *PGM* XIc. 3. For another interpretation, see Giangrande, 109.

5. Thus Turner’s translation. Gorissen takes *ζητουν*, “search out,” to be a personal name.

1. Packman translates this more literally: “Let the stars be set upon the board where (they belong) by nature. . . .” The sense may suggest that the planets and stars are to be arranged in their acknowledged order in their sphere of orbit.

2. The term for “sun” is represented in the papyrus by the symbol ☉.

3. The term for “moon” is represented by the symbol ☾.

4. That is, Helios.

5. That is, Selene.

6. That is, the planet Saturn.

7. That is, the planet Mars.

8. That is, the planet Venus.

9. That is, the planet Mercury.

10. That is, the planet Jupiter.

PGM CXI. 1–15

*. . . in Egyptian, [Kneph;]¹ . . . in Greek; and the great sculptor . . . and after forming two cows alike . . . and their sexes male and . . . / and after shaping another . . . [make] its body that of a serpent which has [no tail], but from either end [three-headed: on the right] human heads, [and on the left] geese heads, [and in the middle heads of] / golden gazelles with solar disks matching the shapes of their horns. [And after forming another] with its body, on the one hand . . . on the other hand, its appearance that of a sea falcon . . . , in Egyptian . . . / slight interpretations. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976) no. 2: Description of Magical Figures, 177–79 (plate).

PGM CXII. 1–5

*"SABAPSYRA IOEL
SEBAÖN SBAÖTH."
NAPSERNOUSOR [For] scorpion [sting].
ANAX
/ IRĒ

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 3: Amulet, 179–80 (plate). The text is presumably a charm for scorpion sting.

PGM CXIII. 1–4

*". . . PENCHIRAASARA . . . DA, drive out¹ . . . and scorpion . . . XAXAP. . . ."



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Amulett gegen Skorpionsstich," *ZPE* 22 (1976): 108 (Taf. IIIb). This spell is similar to other amulets against scorpion sting in the *PGM* (cf., e.g. *PGM* XXVIII a–c).

PGM CXIV. 1–14

*"[Protect] her, NN, O lord, [from all] evil acts [and from every] demonic visitation [and] . . . of Hekate and from . . . / attack and [from every onslaught (?)] in sleep . . . [from] mute daimons [and from every] epileptic fit [and from all] epilepsy / and . . . and. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised edition of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΑΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 145–49 (text one). Daniel greatly improved the reading of the original edition in P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974): 83–88. Daniel also offers a tentative reconstruction of the lacunae in the text. The translation above reflects Daniel's improved text, but not all of his tentative reconstructions. For further commentary see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 173–75.

1. Following the restoration suggested by R. Merkelbach.

1. The imperative is in the plural, thus suggesting that the preceding text contained a list of magical names.

PGM CXV. 1–7

- *“PHĒG GĒ . . . BALOCHRA THAMRA ZARACHTHŌ, I conjure you all by the bitter compulsion: MASKELI MASKELŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAGAR RHĒZICH-
 5 THŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN / PYRIPĒGANXX. Deliver Ammon from the fever and shivering fit that restrains him, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; today!”
 *Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the text of R. W. Daniel, “Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ,” *ZPE* 25 (1977): 153–54. The papyrus was first published with photographs and commentary by Z. Ritoók in *Antik Tanulmányok* 22 (1975): 30–43. Daniel’s text offers some changes.

PGM CXVI. 1–17

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | *“IAIŌ ERBĒTH | IŌBRAK | IŌBRAK | IŌBRAK |
| | IŌKABRA | ŌBRAK | ŌBRAK | ŌBRAK |
| 5 | ŌKABRA | BRAK | RAK | BRAK |
| | ARBA | RAK | AB | RAK |
| | ABA | AK | B | AK |
| | BA | K | | K.” |
- “IAŌ IAKOUNBATT IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX
 10 IŌ ERAPOMPS IŌ TANONO IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ABRASAX IŌ PSAAPOPSI / IŌ PHTHEA-
 POPS IŌ ISIŌR IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBIŌTH AMOUNAUEIEOUN PEITŌRE AU EN
 KTENOUATEI . . . KOX . . . OUS PSĒTAĒSEEBOLNOURTOU METHERENOUBTANOUN /
 15 TEB IMETHE . . . LENE EUINASMA, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”
 *Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary of Rosario Pintaudi, “Invocazione a Seth-Typhon,” *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48. Ll. 1–6 contain four “wing formations”; the rest seems to be an invocation using typical Seth-Typhon acclamations.

PGM CXVII

*Fr. 1 . . . [the elder?] . . . Fr. 2 . . . the house [she?] leaves, [her] husband [forgetting] . . . to sleep most sweetly by me, [her waist] . . . until earth and heaven . . . Fr. 4 . . . a cow . . . Fr. 5 . . . with black, join together . . . into a new cup . . . Fr. 6 . . . come to me . . . Fr. 7 . . . and . . . in the middle of the night, the streets . . . OSIRIS ESIĒS, to meet . . . to pour out my fruits . . . Fr. 8 . . . fulfill . . . Fr. 9 . . . [what is prescribed below]: . . . ANOUBIS, ANOUBIS, I love her [NN] . . . Fr. 10 . . . pluck two strands of her hair and [throw them] into a [new drinking vessel] . . . Fr. 11 . . . her, possessed by your . . . Fr. 12 . . . from . . . a white [thorn-apple tree] . . . speak the spell . . . Fr. 13 . . . the Dioskouroi . . . the destroyer . . . Fr. 14 . . . I conjure the gods in Hades . . . all, fetch her, [NN] . . . Fr. 18 . . . of much knowledge . . . demand starry heaven . . . and the Eternal Mistress . . . Fr. 19 . . . dreadful, everlasting [Hekate?], with grievous suffering, with . . . pains . . . Fr. 21 . . . carry out [for me this perfect] spell . . . Fr. 22 . . . AKRA . . . SO O . . . and . . . black . . . bring insomnia to her, NN . . . Fr. 23 . . . [offer] to him as a drink . . . take it, for it is . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini et al., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978) no. 34: P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216: Formulario magico, 237–66. Although this text is comprised of twenty-three tiny fragments of which little sense can be made, its importance should not be underestimated, for it is one of a few magical papyri which antedates the Christian period. This, along with the so-called Philinna Papyrus (PGM XX), dates to the first century. Fragmentary as it is, one can detect that the papyrus contains portions of a love spell. Of special importance are the occasional Egyptian deities mentioned along with the Greek, thus showing that a syncretistic influence was already at work in the magic of this early period.

PGM CXVIII

P. Palau Rib. inv. 200 another “magical scroll” similar to those published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) (= *PGM* CIII a–c.). A description and photograph of the scroll, with no transcription of the text, was published by José O’Callaghan, “Rollo mágico (PPalau Rib. inv. 200),” *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978): 85–87.

PGM CXIXa. 1–3

*“. . . fortune, I conjure. . . .”

Love spell through touch: Take milk . . . 9 *echthei*, 12 *calē*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 57: “Frammenti di Manuale Magico (PL II/52),” 34–36. This papyrus contains fragments of approximately eight short spells. The opening line preserves the end of a conjuration of uncertain purpose; portions of a love spell follow.

PGM CXIXa. 4–6

**Fetching charm:* On an ostrakon . . . : / “BOLSAK SAR . . . , the thoughts. . . .” 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. On this magical papyrus, see the introductory note above. Since this tiny, fragmentary spell has preserved its title, it can be assumed the invocation is to be engraved on a potsherd with the aim of binding the thoughts (i.e. “brains”) of a desired woman, as well as other parts of the human constitution.

PGM CXIXa. 7–11

**Charm to subject:* “. . . subject [to me] . . . CHR.” Write . . . / an aphrodisiac (?). 10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3 for the bibliographical reference to this text. The fragmentary word translated “aphrodisiac” may introduce a new spell or may simply show that the spell to subject can work as an aphrodisiac as well.

PGM CXIXb. 1–5

*“. . . A . . . EDĒS wounds . . . vain babbling, and also mingle. . . .”

[*For fever with shivering fits:*] Take an olive leaf and engrave: “. . . .” / [For 5 daily] and nightly fever. KELLIOTON. Take. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3. This portion of the magical manual deals in part with a spell for fever. The invocation preceding it serves an unknown purpose. Furthermore, it is not clear whether another formula follows the charm for fever. The editor of the papyrus suggests that *κάλλιστον* (sc. *φίλτρον*), “an excellent philtre” could be read in the letters KELLIOTON.

PGM CXX. 1–13

*“cutting the uvula
utting the uvula
tting the uvula
ting the uvula
ing the uvula
ng the uvula
g the uvula
the uvula
he uvula
e uvula
uvula
vula
ula
la
a”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III) (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 58: "Ὀνομα πτερυγοειδώς (PL III/1442) 37–38 (Tav. LIII). This "winged" formation is made up of an adjective, σταφυλότομος, attested in only one other place. According to the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, cited by Pintaudi, the adjective means *uvam incidens*, "cutting the uvula." This term contains a play on words, as words with the same root can also refer to a bunch of grapes. It is no coincidence, then, that in magical literature winged formations such as that shown above were also referred to as grape-shapes (cf. PGM III. 70). The manner in which the formation is written allows one to read "cutting the uvula" down the left margin. Conceivably, this spell served as an amulet to heal its wearer from inflammation of the uvula. For a parallel, see the gemstone published by A. Sambon, *Le Musée* 6 (1909): 111.

PGM CXXI. 1–14

*. . . [cessation]:

column 1:	column 2:
death	rudeness
darkness	evil
mental illness	the evil eye
grief	debauchery
fear	slavery
illness	indecenty
poverty	lamentation
disturbance	troublesomeness
	emptiness
	malignancy
	bitterness
	arrogance

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Giovanni Geraci, "Un'actio magica contro affezioni fisiche e morali," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979): 63–72. This magical text has no real parallel in the corpus of magical literature. It appears to be an elaborate phylactery, listing a number of ailments both physical and psychological. The initial lines of the spell probably contained a plea that the vices listed in the two columns should cease or come to an end. The entire spell is enclosed in an ouroboros figure which has not been well preserved on the papyrus.

PGM CXXII. 1–55

*An excerpt of enchantments¹ from the holy book called Hermes,² found in Heliopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple,³ written in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek. /

5 *Enchantment using apples*:⁴ "Three times I shall throw apples, . . . and thereby I
[col. I, 5] shall provide this timely love spell for both mortal people and immortal gods.
10 I . . . , I threw the apple and I hit [her] with the apple. / Setting everything aside,
[I, 10] may she fall madly in love with me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats . . . or
holds it in her bosom, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus,⁵ /
15 carry out this perfect charm. . . .

1. So according to Brashear's interpretation, p. 265.

2. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. Cf. PGM IV. 885–87.

3. This refers to the temple library.

4. Although reportedly coming from an Egyptian holy book, this love spell contains Greek magic. The importance of apples in declarations of love and in oracles is well known. See A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967): 154–55, 157.

5. That is, Aphrodite; for commentary, see Brashear, 268–69.

"I have taken your . . . eye.⁶ I, NN, have taken your soul.⁷ I, NN, have drunk [I, 15]
from your blood. I, NN, have used . . . I, NN, have devoured your liver.⁸ I, NN,
have / [put on] your [skin]. I, NN, have done it. 20

"The goddess⁹ in heaven looked down upon him, and it happened to him ac-
cording to every wish of his soul . . . NN says: From the day [and] from the hour I,
NN, [do this act] to you; you will love me, be fond of me, and value me . . . I
die. / O Lady, goddess, [Isis] . . . , carry out for me this perfect charm." 25

Having¹⁰ raised your hands toward the stars, let down . . . NN, and . . . and
black night; and standing [awake] and sleeplessness and . . . you shall use [these?]
before you see the sun. Take myrrh and chant and anoint your face: [I, 25]

"You are the myrrh with which Isis¹¹ was anointed / when she went to the 30
bosom of Osiris, her . . . brother, and gave him her favor on that day. Give me. . . ." [II, 5]

"Wake up him, NN, or her, NN, Mistress Isis, and carry out this perfect charm.
Hail,¹² Helios; hail you who rise; hail also to you, the gods who rise together with
him . . . / let rejoice . . . nor concerning a silver coin, but concerning him, NN, . . . 35
remain . . . I am running, but he is escaping me . . . to you . . . and having done the [II, 10]
sacred [acts?] . . . at sunrise . . . neither . . . nor drink nor / lie down . . . nor . . . , 40
but have me in . . . and anguished, until she [comes] to me, until . . . everlasting [II, 15]
god . . . if she leaves [me] . . . I will be with you until she comes back to me and
goes . . . / [that] you bring him, NN, O Helios . . . the ever . . . day, him, NN, . . . 45
a coin . . . ; / O goddess born on Cyprus,¹³ carry out this perfect charm." [II, 20]

For headache:¹⁴ "Osiris has a headache; Ammon has a headache at the temples of
his head; Esenephthys¹⁵ has a headache all over her head. May Osiris' headache not
stop, may Ammon's headache at the temples of his head not stop, until / first he, 55
NN, stops all. . . ." [II, 30]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner
Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78. The love spell is one of the oldest Greek magical
papyri; it was found in Abusir el Melek, Egypt (first c. A.D.). For further notes see F. Mal-
tomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1
(1980): 375–76.

6. Apparently, the lines refer to some sort of cannibalistic ceremony done for the purpose of erotic
magic. See Brashear, 269–71, who refers to *PGM* IV. 296–335, and A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des*
Lollianos, Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 14 (Bonn:
Habelt, 1972) 70, n. 77.

7. The term may be a euphemism for the sexual organs (see Glossary, s.v. "Soul"). See Brashear, 272.

8. The liver plays a special role in erotic magic. See Brashear, 272.

9. A reference to some mythical detail.

10. Apparently some kind of nocturnal ceremony is described. See Brashear, 273.

11. The second column contains Egyptian magic. The mythical love of Isis is imitated here; cf. *PGM*
XXXVI. 288–89 and Brashear, 274–75.

12. Apparently the beginning of a hymnic passage, addressed to Helios.

13. See n. 5 above.

14. A charm against headache, using a threat against the gods that they will not stop suffering head-
aches until they have healed the operator. See Brashear, 276, for parallels.

15. That is, Isis-Nephthys; cf. *PGM* XII. 234.

PGM CXXIII a–f

a.

*“MARMARITHI // MARMARITHE¹

AMCHĒ

AMICH

BAROU

RCHOBIÖCH

LOU

LOU

CHA

5

... SE



B ...

BLA

... KO ... ÖT

10



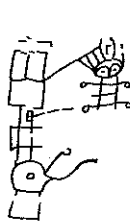
KAICH ...

SABAHÖ

MOUSĒTH³SISĒTH⁴NEMOUËL⁵A, NN, NN⁶

15

20

EULAMMÖN²

PHANEMOU

LACHAM

CHAMRI

CHÖTH

HTHÖCH

CHARIÖTH

AMËITËL

AI

NEÖTTASIA

ETHOOU.⁷25 Write on tin:⁸ onion, rue, frankincense. *Erōtylos*:⁹ / “Born of blood,¹⁰ shedding

1. A variation of the common magical name MARMARIÖTH, on which see K. Preisendanz, *PRE* 14 (1930): 1881; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* IV sec. 3206; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 746.

2. A form of the magical word EULAMÖ. For literature and additional occurrences of the term outside the *PGM*, consult Maltomini, 71–72, n. 11.

3. This name may be a conflation of the names “Moses” and “Seth.” Alternatively, the name may be explained from Coptic and Demotic as “lion-Seth.” See Maltomini, 72–73, n. 15.

4. Possibly Coptic for “Offspring of Seth”; see Maltomini, 73–74, n. 16.

5. An angelic name meaning “God has spoken.” See Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angéologie* 299. Cf. Nm 26:12.

6. In the papyrus we have † †, the usual symbols for “so-and-so” (NN).

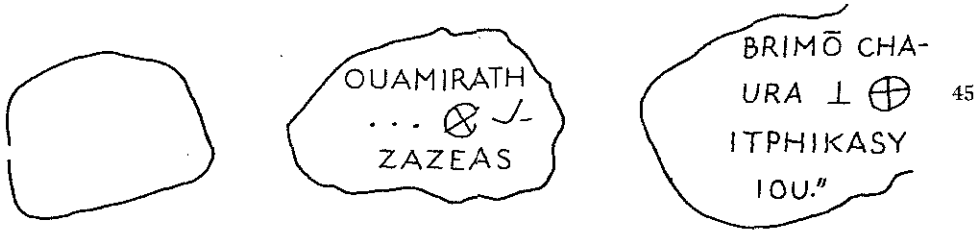
7. Perhaps Coptic *ethoou*, “evil,” thus Maltomini, 75, n. 22.

8. The reference is probably to writing the words on a tin plate. Cf. *PGM* VII. 459, 462; *PGM* XCIV. 37.

9. This word also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 946; VII. 478. According to *LSJ*, this Doric term can mean the following: (1) “a darling, sweetheart”; (2) as an adjective, it refers to singing love songs; (3) a name of a small star; and (4) the name of a gem. In the *PGM*, both the context and the etymology suggest the term means “a love charm.”

10. Reading *αἱμοφνῆ*, an apparent neologism in the *PGM*. Such formations of new words—usually epithets—abound in the magical papyri. Many of the new formations in the list that follows represent appropriate designations for Hekate and other chthonic deities. For parallels in each case, consult Maltomini, ad loc.

blood,¹¹ putting out roots,¹² androgynous,¹³ manly,¹⁴ / born with blood,¹⁵ saffron-
dyed,¹⁶ with golden arrows,¹⁷ golden-haired,¹⁸ like a white onion,¹⁹ / MENOU-
LATH, CHARBATHA, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA, CHŌNOUTHĀ, / MENOUBA, BELER-
THI, ZACHTHAĒR, CHALIOUBĒ



For childbearing: “Come out of your tomb, Christ is calling you.”²⁰ / [Place] a
potsherd on the right thigh. **For sleep:** on a bay leaf [write]: “ THARA
THARŌ.” **For strangury:** “MŌGIB  T  T  T  T THTHYS   / **For a shiver-**
ing fit: on a piece of papyrus: “[A]BLANATHANAPAMBALANATHANATH . . .
NATHANAMATHANATHANATHA             Raphaēl, EI . . .
ŌI  THNĒ,” / Take a marble statuette, scratch with the right hand the right side of
a penis. Pound it on a table with wax. Take the wood from the heart of a plum tree,
the stock of a cabbage plant, chickpea; boil some garlic and give it as / a before-
dinner drink. Pellitory, pepper, grain, 23 parts kohl . . . bay leaf. Pound two pepper
grains and mix it with gum of “Hercules’ woundwort.”
For a victory: / [Wear] a tooth of a hyena, from the right side of the jaw . . . one of
the upper ones. . . .

11. Reading *αἰμωχνη*. Apparently a new formation from *αἷμα*, “blood” and *χέω*, “to pour out, shed.” Related epithets having to do with blood and applying to Hekate are listed by Maltomini, 77, n. 26.

12. Reading perhaps *ρίζοποιε* for *ρίζοποιε*. The expression is problematic and the restoration very tentative; nevertheless the association of roots with both Selene and Hekate is attested. Consult the references in Maltomini, 78, n. 27.

13. Reading *ἀνδρογύνη* for *ἀνδρωγενή* (cf. the variant spelling of the Greek in PGM CXXIII f, fr. A., 5). In PGM IV. 2610, Hekate is coupled with Hermes as an androgynous being.

14. The meaning of this unattested word *ἀνδρως* is at best very speculative; however, there is no question that the word originally formed a meaningful Greek epithet having to do with *ἀνήρ*, “man.” For similar, anomalous formations, consult the occurrences in PGM as cited by Maltomini, 78, n. 29. In addition to his philological parallels, compare the term *ἀνήνωρ*, “unmanly.”

15. The word *αἰμογενής* is now attested on a second-century inscription from Egypt, SEG 8. 374. Although LSJ, Supplement, s.v., p. 5, translates this “related by blood,” Maltomini is correct in suggesting here “born of/with blood.”

16. Reading *κροκοβαφή* for *κροκοβανη*? [R.D.K.] Maltomini suggests perhaps *κροκοφανη* (unattested). Saffron is associated with Hekate in Orphic Hymn 1. 2; 71. 1, and elsewhere with Demeter and Persephone.

17. The word is attested in Tzetzes, *Alleg. II*. XX. 226, p. 132, Matranga. A similar epithet is used of Hekate in Lydus, *De mens.* 3. 10.

18. An appropriate epithet of Hekate (-Selene), thus Maltomini, 79, n. 33.

19. Reading *κρονον*(ον) *λευκον*.

20. Parallels adduced by Maltomini, 82–83, show that in Christian magic a *historiola* was used, according to which Elizabeth says to John the Baptist in her womb: “Come out, child, Christ is calling you. . . .” In our papyrus this *historiola* appears to have been confused with the account of Lazarus in the tomb, thus attesting the analogy of womb and tomb.

(pap. 2) *b*.

"KAICHABŌ, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL."

(Pap. 3) *c*.5 *Fr. A*: "KAICHABO, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL, A, NN, NN . . ." *Fr. B*
". . . CHAR . . . AMĒI . . . NEŌT . . . ETHOO . . ."*d*. ". . . ATH . . . PHAĒL EL . . ."*e*.5 "Born of blood, shedding blood, putting out roots, androgynous, manly, [born
with blood, saffron-dyed, with golden arrows]. . . E . . . THCHARBATH, STHŌM-
BAULĒ, ZANXMNA // CHŌNOUTH // MENOUBA // BELERTHI // ZACHTHAĒR [//
CHALIOUBĒ]

10

OUAMIRATH
AUT ⊗ ⊥
ZAZĒAS

BRIMŌ CHA-
URA ⊥ ⊗
. . . K . . . " /

f.5 *Fr. A*: ". . . YBĒ . . . A . . . ROS. Born of blood, shedding blood, / putting out roots,
androgynous, ANTHROROC²¹, born with blood, saffron-dyed, with gold arrows,
golden-haired, dog-faced baboon. . ."

10

15

" . . . SAI
 . . . AS
 . . . GOBAS
 E . . . NO . . .
 ADONAEI
 ELOEI."

Fr. B.

" . . .
ZANXMNA
MENOUBA
[ZACHTHAĒR]
 . . .



. . .
 . . .
MARMOUR
SABAŌTH
ADONAEI."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition and notes of Franco Maltomini, "I Papiri greci," in G. Arrighetti et al., "Nuovi papiri magici in copto, greco e aramaico," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), section II, pp. 55–124. The six papyrus fragments translated here correspond to those numbered 1–6 consecutively by Maltomini. They have been grouped here under the same Roman numeral because they represent duplications (with some variations) of the same magical text. The text, which contains a series of peculiar and difficult epithets, preserves portions of a magico-medical handbook. Unless otherwise stated, the notes that follow are summarized from those of the editor. For a full discussion of each of the terms and of the *voces magicæ*, one should consult the edition of Maltomini.

21. Cf. n. 14. Something peculiar has occurred in the transmission of this epithet.

SALAKALOU, KERKĒBI, and KAULYOUKAU. Fragment B contains only a handful of letters, whereas fragment C preserves an elaborate magical figure.

b. Papyrus no. 9 (Tav. XII) 116–17, contains nine lines of which only a few words can be positively identified: ALLELOUIA, SABAŌTH, and ADONAI. The other side of the papyrus preserves portions of an Aramaic magical text published by Marrassini in the same journal, p. 128.

c. Papyrus 10 (Tav. VIII) 117–18 dates to the fifth century and is made up of two tiny fragments which cannot be read. Fragment B contains portions of a Coptic formula.

d. Papyrus 11 (Tav. XII) 118, is made up of two fragments that are too small even to assign a date.

e. Papyrus 12 (Tav. XII) 119, is paleographically akin to Papyrus 6 (PGM CXXIII f.). Only the names ADONAI and SABAŌTH can be recognized.

f. Papyrus 13 (Tav. XI) 119–20, assigned to the end of the fifth century, also contains an Aramaic text on the other side (see Marrassini, pap. no. 3, p. 129). The text preserves portions of a formula which reads, “I conjure you by your holy name . . . BAROCH SĒMO. . . .”

PGM CXXVIa. 1–21

- 5 *“. . . ATĒS . . . [sweet wine?] . . . / ATA . . . ASSA . . . NN [add the usual] . . . K
 10 . . . B . . . BRIAPS . . . [IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCH[OSĒTH BASDOUMA] /
 15 OSESRŌ APOMPS P[ATATHNAX KOKKO]LOPTOLIN CH . . . K . . . [. . . IŌ THATHTHA]
 20 BRABO, without violence . . . [spell of Typhon] Seth [carrying] out the whole
 magic [procedure and] separate her, NN, from him, NN. ABERAMENTHŌ /
 OUTHLERTHEXANAX [ETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMA]REBA, and say, ‘Mustard, [you are
 not Mustard,] but the eye . . . the inner parts of the bull of Apis’” / (add the usual)
 . . . “from Osiris . . . and separate. . . .”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini, “Frammento di formulario magico (PL III/472),” in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P. Laur. IV), Papyrologica Florentina* vol. 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983) 46–53. Cf. the earlier edition by Rosario Pintaudi, “PL III/472: Frammento magico,” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 261–64, and the new readings by F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, (III.),” *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 239–40. The poorly preserved text appears to be a spell for separation. L. 20 may begin another such spell, as it is separated by a paragraph mark. For parallel texts and commentary, see Maltomini’s notes.

PGM CXXVIb. 1–17

- 5 *“. . . O . . . [add the usual] . . . but the sight . . . the power of ADŌNAI . . . / of
 10 the great god . . . [Mustard], in order to separate . . . enmity until [death] . . . [in
 15 order that] you might enter into the . . . them as the . . . / having heard about . . .
 of Osiris ANE . . . and frightful and . . . having burnt . . . / and you, Mustard
 . . . / [the] house of her, NN . . . passageway. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini (see note on the previous papyrus). This piece also appears to be from a spell for separation.

PGM CXXVII. 1–12

**To make one bend down and not get up*: Anoint the loins with the brain of an electric eel.

- 5 *To get a certain [lover] at the baths*: Rub a tick from a dead dog on the loins. /
To “play” with a woman: Anoint the phallus with the juice of the deadly carrot.

*To cause a fight*¹ *at a banquet*: Throw a dog-bitten stone into the middle.

To make wine sour: Throw burning / pebbles into it.

10

In order “to screw” many times: Drink beforehand seed of celery and of rocket.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. M. Parássoglou, “Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt,” *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53, no. 9: “Magico-Medical Prescriptions.” Note also F. Maltomini, “Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II,” *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 374.

PGM CXXVIII. 1–11

**A phylactery for fever*:

“SARICH “Of Jesus Christ, son of IAŌ (?),
AORKACH quickly, quickly,
/ ROUGACH heal!
CHIOSNĒCH John,
KOCH.” / Son,
 Life.”

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, “Due papiri magici inediti,” *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 111–14: *P. Heid. G. 1386*.

PGM CXXIX. 1–7

*“... [concerning] the certain matter . . . [a tin?] lamella from a certain . . . and tie it up in a cloth . . . / of a black wolf from . . . and . . . it in a little case . . . again and again it will be of service to you. 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, “Due papiri magici inediti,” *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 115–17: *P. Berol. 21260*.

PGM CXXX

*[IA]RBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHŌĒMEŌ
[A E]E ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌ[Ō]
Lord gods, heal Helene, whom [NN] bore, from every
illness and every fit of shivering [fever].
/ daily, daylong, tertian, quartan. 5

IARBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHNĒMEŌ

AEĒIOYŌŌYOIĒEA

EĒIOYŌŌYOIĒE

ĒIOYŌŌYOIĒ

*²⁾

YYY

IOYŌŌYOI

10

OYŌŌYO

YŌŌY

YYYYY

ŌŌ

[traces]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by R. W. Daniel, “P. Mich. inv. 6666: Magic,” *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54. For a parallel to this spell, see *PGM* XVIII b; for the stellar and lunar symbols, see the parallels in Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, nos. 296, 301.

PDM Suppl. 1–6

*[Another spell for] *sending a dream*: [. . . I] am the youth without . . . scarab of . . . soul of the four faces (?) and I . . . you . . . complete. . . .

/ *Formula*: On a leaf . . . , and you put a . . . it, and you write . . . embalming house. 5

1. Reading, with Maltomini (see introductory note above), $\mu\acute{\alpha}\{\chi\}\eta\nu$ for $\mu\acute{\alpha}\{\nu\}\eta\nu$.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, col. 1/1–6. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic text only when they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM Suppl. 7–18

10 **[Another spell]* for sending a dream: “. . . Come to me in your [form] . . . you . . . before I have gone to the . . . which is therein / . . . without a skin of . . . they took it . . . your town . . . and I know . . . [in] your secret form . . . power (?) . . . while it . . . is bearing witness what I did . . . noble mummy . . . face of a lion
15 which . . . is your name, I having done / . . . you . . . so-and-so guard his hand.”

Formula: “. . . [body] of a white donkey . . . cow’s fat . . . again; “great-of-love” plant, tear apart . . . gather . . . skin of a donkey. . . . It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, col. 1/7–18.

PDM Suppl. 19–27

20 **[Another] spell* for sending a dream: “. . . anger / . . . great . . . of the sea . . . Nun¹ at night . . . anger of the one who is in the water . . . the mountains. . . . Let the . . . speak to me . . . under me . . . in them. If not doing it . . . enemy of the praised one . . . me in the water at [night], in the day at [any time] . . . him.”

25 *Formula*: “. . . reed leaf and you write an image of . . . the ear . . . drowned, and you should recite these writings . . . *four* times . . . [wreath] to it and you say the thing [in the ear (?)]. . . . It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, col. 1/19–27.

PDM Suppl. 28–40

30[1] **[Another spell]* for sending a dream: *Formula*: You bring . . . and you do it . . . in an oil of lotus² and [you] . . . wick / . . . and you protect it and you . . . [write?] these names in . . . falcon (?) with (?) its claw (?) and you write . . . of the . . . wick on (?) a new lamp of . . . of . . . which is above and you bring a new brick . . . the
35 [5] [lamp] . . . leave the lizard before the lamp . . . , / these again which you should write on the strip of the wick [of] the [lamp] . . .]

Formula: “. . . BAH[E (?)] P[A]IRE PSIR PAH[. . .]BPS [. . .] A BAT LA BATL-[A]ATE,³ come [to] me tonight and tell [me] an answer to [everything] about [which] I am praying (another [manuscript] says: . . . it goes in the place under the head of . . .) [stand?]⁴ before him in the form of his god who is great in his heart
40 [10] and make him dream a dream [about such-and-such] / a thing which I shall tell him today.”

Formula: 7 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 67, col. 1/28–30; col. 2/1–10.

PDM Suppl. 40–60

40 [10] **Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “Listen to my voice, O noble mummy-spirit of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms; come to me and do for me such-and-such a thing today because I am calling you in your (?)

1. Primeval waters.
2. Scented with lotus.
3. Written ‘te, “limb.”
4. See PDM Suppl. 120.

name . . . in Abydos who rests in the house of the official⁵ whose name is 'this [one] who rests in truth' (another [manuscript] says, 'who . . . in truth'). Nun⁶ . . . oath (?), 'great image of Nun' is your true name; / SHLBI NYH[R] is your true name, truly; Nun, NEO soul of Ha[. . .] 'very great one of Nun' is your true [name]. Soul of souls (another papyrus says, 'soul of a bull [?])' . . . of Nun is your true name. Soul of souls SHLBI NYHR is your true name. NEO soul of H[A . . .] Nun NEO great one of Nun [is your] true [name]. May you listen to the voice . . . in all his forms [of a spirit, noble mummy] of a man of the necropolis because [I] am [calling to you] / in your name of s . . . ISIRA SIRATHMA, saying, 'I am . . . land.' O SYAL[. . .] NEBOY[TOSYALTH SIRATHMA saying, 'I am . . . s.' O SY[. . .] NEBOYTOS]YALTH, let the [soul of the] noble spirit awaken to me; let him go [to the place] in which such-and-such is; let him greet (?) . . . have him do for me such-and-such a [thing] about [which I am] asking. . . .

*Its preparation:*⁷ . . . / these names with blood of . . . reed leaf; you put it . . . of a dead man; you leave . . . of clay under the head . . . on (?) it; and you recite them to him again. You do . . . lunar month and it is left in a place. . . . If stubbornness occurs, you should [put] the hoof . . . of a male donkey and myrrh . . . on it and you should beat on the ground until it stops. . . . If you [will act against a man / you should . . .] of a male. If you will act against a woman, you should [. . . of a] woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 67–68, col. 2/10–29; col. 3/1. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 60–101

**Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula*: "[O] noble divine spirit [whose soul is in heaven] whose body is in the underworld, whose mummy [is among the living,] O good messenger of Osiris, O great follower of 'he who is in his bed,' the god . . . him (?). O guardian of the one who is in Alkhah,⁸ I am the soul of . . . the one who is in his [two sound] eyes, who protected his limbs in the soundness daily . . . / I am the offspring of khepri⁹ [whose] name is the divine [son?] of Amoun . . . scarab . . . body of the noble mummy in the sarcophagus which rests in the underworld . . . true, of the house of embalming. . . . I am the bull of the . . . ; I am the lion; I am the lion; I am . . . ; I am the soul of Pre, the breast of Shu; I am the egg of the snake; [I am] the dung ball of the beetle.¹⁰ I am the lord of the Amhet-underworld;¹¹ I am the divine fluid / of the living . . . ; I am the noble head which is in Abydos.¹² Come to me at night, quickly, quickly; hurry [hurry, O] soul

5. Perhaps one of the liked-named chapels listed in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. IV (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1927), 127–28.

6. Nun here and throughout this spell is the primeval waters.

7. Literally, "gathering of things"; the same term is used in PDM xii as a label for the directions.

8. See PGM IV. 124 and n.; cf. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to I. 3.

9. A sun god in the shape of the scarab beetle, whose dung ball represents the sun rolled across the sky. See PGM IV. 943 and n.

10. See n. 9 above.

11. I.e., the "upper" part of the underworld in contrast to *tph.t*, the "lower" part. See E. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, vol. II (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1968), par. 33, especially p. 622.

12. Osiris; see PDM xii. 628. On the dismemberment and burial of Osiris, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to Numen)* 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 24–25, 27, 51–52.

- without the body, dead one without the noble mummy, the noble mummy without the netherworld, [the] netherworld without the funerary bed, without the sarcophagus without . . . shrine (?) . . . born of Horus . . . Seth acts . . . against Apophis, the slaughter (?) against the evil one¹³ again. The brazier is in your hand . . .¹⁴
- 75 [16] morning bark / [at?] dawn, the evening bark greets heaven and earth with (?) a great fire. Woe, woe . . . until you send to him, NN, whom she, NN, bore, and you send his heart after NN . . . thing . . . at night, in the daytime, at any time, every day, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry . . . I [will ?] say them and I [will? . . .] specification (?) of saying them.¹⁵ *Formula: 7 times.*
- 80 [21] *Its preparation:*¹⁶ . . . kill it. You should bring it at the lunar month; / [you should] wash it in cow's [milk] . . . ; you [should] anoint it with oil of lotus¹⁶ . . . of the leaf . . . reed; you should put [them?] at the seven(?) openings of the head and and bind them [with] linen . . . made by the hand of . . . bind them to its head; you should put its head . . . before the sun at dawn in the lunar month . . . to yourself barley and grain; you should leave them . . . you should put water of the divine lake
- 85 [26] . . . after them for 7 days until they grow; / [you should] bring them up; you should dry them until the 15th of the month; you [should] pound them with myrrh, green eyepaint, [black] eyepaint (?), *qs-nb* stone,¹⁷ "live-thereby" plant, mustard . . . 7 reed leaves which are above.
- [col. 4] Afterwards, [you should put] a scarab into [fat?] of a bull; you should put [it?] in a vessel of copper which is full of cow's [milk] . . . until it . . . ; you should bring it up; you should put the . . . to the head of the . . . ; you should put blood of your
- 90 [4] left thigh and your [right] thigh / on them; you should . . . the time; you should [shape them] into a mummy of the foremost of the westerners¹⁸ which amounts to 7 fingers [in length]; you should embalm it with myrrh, with ointment [and a covering of] byssus. Afterwards you should [sprinkle] pure sand; you should make a layer of sand under it in your . . . ; you should set the image on the layer of sand; you should leave the scarab on the body of the . . . after the embalming (it) which you did first with myrrh, with ointment and a covering of byssus itself (?); you should write the things which you desire on a new papyrus with carob tree (?) /
- 95 [9] water; you should leave it before the image; you should cause the head which is on it to bend down; you should put a bandage of 4 [colors] on it, blue, red, white, black, on the head; you should leave it in a hidden place; you should put frankincense (?),¹ barley, a great recipe to the brazier before it; you should offer to it bread, beer, and milk, in its midst; you should have blood fall from you on the brazier; you
- 100 [14] should put a piece of a red lizard / before it; you should recite these writings to it up to 7 times at night while you are in a [hidden] place which is clean; and you should make . . . settle (?)¹⁹ before it. It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 68–70, col. 3/1–27; col. 4/1–15. The word preceded by ¹ is written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic inserted above.

13. Identical with *nk* of Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 205, 14–15, as suggested by Mr. Mark Smith.

14. The section left untranslated is glossed *KN* in old Coptic.

15. See n. 7 above.

16. Scented with lotus.

17. See *PDM* xiv. 98 and n.

18. An epithet of Osiris.

19. Literally, "lie down."

PDM Suppl. 101–16

**Another spell* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “O Anubis, the high one of heaven, go to the underworld! Let the head of Osiris stop being far from him.²⁰ Give praise, love, and respect to NN before NN. Let him do everything which he will write for him, entirely. Move him! Give your iron staff / which is in your hand to the spirit! . . . Let him go to NN, whom NN bore. Let him stand before the image of the god who is great in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he seeking after him. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN so that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart, and may you say, ‘Give every good . . . thing to NN. . . .’”

Hear everything which he will say to you, entirely, while the crocodile of Isis, the great goddess, / is therein. [Let?] it be commanded before the gods to happen or you will delay because of it: “Is steadfastness [of] heart against me what you will do, so that you scorn (?) the blood of Osiris the moon, Thoth,²¹ at night at mid-month?”

Its preparation:²² On a new papyrus: you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it; you should write these writings under it; you should put it to the mouth of black dog of the embalming house; you should make great offerings before it; you should put frankincense on the brazier before him; / you should do it as a libation of milk of a black cow or a spirit whose face . . . ; and you should put its recitation in its mouth. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 70–71; col. 4/15–30.

PDM Suppl. 117–30

**Another form* for sending a dream: *Formula*: “O praised one, call to heaven! Speak to the underworld; Let Osiris stop sleeping while his head is far from him²³ until a forceful spirit which does not sleep at night is sent / so that he stand above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart, so that he say to him, ‘Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!’ Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN, saying, ‘Do the every command which NN will desire!’ Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit? Your soul will not be allowed to rise up to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation to dawn of day 26, while the excellent spirits are awake.”

Formula: / On a jackal of clean clay which is lying down, its body moistened with milk and fluid of a jackal of the embalming house with a . . . ²⁴ on its foot. You should write your words on a new papyrus; you should put it in the jackal’s mouth; and you should leave the jackal on a copper lamp which a brazier is heating. You should recite these writings to it at night; you should stamp / on the ground with your foot.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71, col. 5/1–14.

20. See n. 12 above.

21. For the association Osiris-moon-Thoth, see J. G. Griffiths, “Osiris and the Moon in Iconography,” *JEA* 62 (1976): 153–59, although this Demotic evidence shows that the ibis in the hieroglyphic examples is not just a determinative, as he thought (noted by Dr. Mark Smith).

22. See n. 7 above.

23. See n. 12 above.

24. Perhaps “sound-eye” of Horus.

PDM Suppl. 130–38

- 130 [14] *A “god’s arrival”²⁵ of Osiris: “O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble soul of Osiris Wen-nefer, come to me! I am your beloved son, Horus. O gods who are in heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the primeval waters, O gods who are in the south, O gods who are in the north, O gods who are in the west, O gods who are in the east, come to me tonight! Teach me about such and such a thing / about which I am asking; quickly, quickly; hurry, hurry.”

Formula: On a phoenix written with myrrh water and juniper water. Put a pellet (?) of gum on your right hand; recite these writings to it in the evening while your hand is stretched out to the moon, while you are going to sleep; and leave your hand before you. (It is) very good. 4 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71–72, col. 5/15–22.

PDM Suppl. 138–49

- 140 [24] *A spell for ———.²⁶ **Formula:** “The copper is bent down. The *neshmet* bark²⁷ will not stop sinking. The great / river draws blood. Isis is ill. [Neph]thys. . . . The copper will not stop bending. The *neshmet* bark will not stop sinking. The great river will not stop drawing blood. Isis will not stop being sick. Nephthys will not stop. . . . The copper is bent toward the one who is (?) in the sun bark. Re²⁸ is bent toward him while Amun is bent after him until sleep is taken from NN, whom NN bore, at night and care is given by day . . . until they [make] him do the thing which NN desires from him.”

- 145 [2] **Formula:** A / vessel of copper [in] which an image [of] Osiris is drawn with human blood; you should bend [it] down before a lamp with an [image] of Anubis drawn on the wick with blood of a black dog; you should put cedar oil in it out of a new vessel, it being established on a brick standing on its (?) . . . ; you should recite these writings to it up to 4 times. (It is) very good. There is not its like . . . in her (?) hand. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72, col. 5/22–28; col. 6/1–6.

PDM Suppl. 149–62

- 150 [7] *A “god’s arrival”²⁹ of Thoth according to what is outside,³⁰ also, *saying* / **Formula:** “I call to you, O Thoth, the hearing-ear,³¹ who listens to everything. I call to you in your names which are great, which are divine: ‘ALIPS THABLIPS STSILIPS †GAGARPAOTHAR THANASIMA QHAH †ORTHÖMENKH-ROÖN †BALSA †ALABAKHABEL.’ Awaken to me, O lord of truth! Tell me an answer in truth to the “god’s arrival” / concerning such-and-such a thing, in truth, without falsehood therein, so that I may awaken and find it (out).”

- 155 [12] **Its preparations:**³² A new lamp whose wick is of byssus cloth which is very clean; you should fill it with genuine oil; you should burn (it); you should write your command on a new papyrus; you should put it under the lamp; you should put a

25. See PDM xiv. 93–114.

26. Erased.

27. Sacred bark of Osiris.

28. The sun god, more commonly written Prē.

29. See n. 25 above.

30. On the other side of the papyrus?

31. I.e., who listens to the petitions of the average man.

32. See n. 7 above.

lobe of “great-of-love” plant under the lamp’s mouth; and you should recite these names above to it 8 times. / It comes to you.

160 [17]

Here is the ink with which you should write your command on the bookroll: “Great-of-love” plant, a leaf of olive tree; you should cook them, make them into myrrh ink and write with it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72–73, col. 6/1–19. Words preceded by are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 162–68

**Another spell for finding your house of life. Formula:* “Open to me! I am the noble ibis; I am the ape of Edfu,³³ I am the great male, the scarab; I am the guardian of the great body; I am the snake of the 4 gods / who were with Isis while she was searching for the good [one].³⁴ SHAPL is [my] name as Sothis.³⁵ The Ethiopian is [my] name. Osiris the bull of magic is [my] name. The divine Ra-Shu is my name, I going to all the gods in order to cause that I find my house in which I shall live.”

165 [22]

Formula: On an ibis written with black ink on the left hand of a man when he sees that house of life.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73, col. 6/19–25.

PDM Suppl. 168–84

**A spell for reciting* a document which is. . . . It is a “god’s arrival”³⁶ of Iymhotep to whom the tenth belong also.

Formula: “Awaken! / Awaken in the underworld, Osiris Wennefer, 1 p h,³⁷ Iymhotep the great, son of Ptah! . . . I am [. . . is] my name; I gather a box [. . . the sound-] eye is [my] name (?) . . . ; the moon, Thoth . . . [Iymhotep the great], the son of [Ptah . . .], excellent mother, fashioner of the underworld, go forth. . . . They will not stand in / their box . . . [moisten ?] their box. You should awaken before Iymhotep the great, son of [Ptah . . .] son, daughter, that I might live, and you should tell [me] an answer [to] the thing which is on . . . bookroll . . . every voice. Come to me, Thoth the great, the lord of Hermopolis . . . him. Give watch to the head for [the] day.”

170 [27]

175 [5]

Formula: write . . . on (?) it [with] your hand with / myrrh ink; likewise under . . . lick it; you should open your mouth to the ground in a cry, saying, “. . . the sound-eye; the sound-eye is what I ate.” You should open your mouth to it in order to lick it. Awaken at dawn; you should say: “Horus is my name; I am Horus, the triumphant.”

180 [10]

. . . day on which you will do the “god’s arrival” while the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, or Virgo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73–74, col. 6/25–27; col. 7/1–14.

PDM Suppl. 185–208

*“Face . . . which is at rest . . . except you also; my magical speech. I will take the

185 [1]

33. Presumably Thoth.

34. Osiris.

35. The star Sirius, by whose helical rising the beginning of the year is marked.

36. See n. 25 above.

37. “Life, prosperity, health.”

... Ō MITHRA A ... BARSA ... THŌMI, the great one who is pure, the one who
 [grows ...] I putting them in your hand, NN, whom NN bore. [I cast] anger
 190 [6] against you in the head (?), NĒ[... stand]ing (?) without listening to your mes-
 sengers, saying ... them in [the] hand saying ... concerning these things, /
 standing [without] listening to my prayer, my magical speech (?) ... it."

Its preparations:³⁸ ... draw ... of a crocodile ... of a snake ... make your hand
 stand (?) on ... which belongs to you (?).

Formula: TERETA TABE KR ... N [ĒN?]Ē ... (another [manuscript] says N[?]
 ELATS ... BATSY ...) *YO YAO SABATK M ... hand."

195 [11] Formula: "... O NĒNĒBR ... / —————
 dog. The one who is in bandages removes bandages; the one who is above ...
 saying, 'I am Anubis, the ... of the underworld ... , Isis, the great goddess,
 Osiris, the one who is in your hand, the lord of the gods ... against me in the ...
 the dog ... the ... dog, the red dog, the red dog ... every ... You should ... at
 night. Here is the ... of your tongue in the ... I am Anubis, the master of secrets.

200 [16] ... You should ... / to me at night, during the day. [I] will give you the greetings
 of my mouth ... I am Anubis the master of secrets. ... Formula: 4 times ...

worm (?) saying "I am Isis ... , " saying, "I am Osiris ... saying, "I am ... I am
 the lord who came before the ruler ... wick. ... I ... you will stand, you will
 ... , while he will go (?) [to? Horus?] the son of Isis, the [son of Osiris] ... of this
 205 [21] ... will do it to a young bird ... will do it to a young bird ... / saying ... of the
 harem, son of the harem, ... 7 times ... heart. Be deaf, head! Come ... ! Come
 ... head of. ... Open (your) mouth to me for I am Isis ... , I am Osiris, I am
 Harsiese. ... " 2 palm trees. ...

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 74–75,
 verso, ll. 1–24. Words preceded by * are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic
 glosses inserted above.

38. See n. 7 above.

Glossary

The glossary provides explanations for some of the more difficult technical terms and names occurring in the *PGM*. Bibliographical data have been added for further study. More common terminology and names have not been explained since they can be found in easily available dictionaries.

ABERAMEN formula: The abbreviated formula stands for the long palindrome ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTUOŌTHENEMAREBA, a magical name occurring several times in the *PGM* (see I. 294; II. 125–26; III. 67–68, 116–17; IV. 181; V. 180; XIV. 25; CXXVIa. 13–15, etc.). In it the name of the god Thoth can be read, although no meaningful decipherment of the word has been put forward. See K. Preisendanz, “Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, 3,” *WSt* 41 (1919): 11–12; M. Tardieu, “Aberamenthō,” in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Presented to G. Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 412–18.

ABLANATHANALBA: This palindrome, perhaps the most common in magic literature, often occurs in company with SESENGENBARPHARANGES. Usually invoked for beneficent results, this magical name has not been adequately explained although it has been suggested that the name contains Hebrew.

ABRASAX: This popular deity in magic (also spelled ABRAXAS) is identified with a variety of other names of gods and was explained by *gematria* (assigning the numerical value to the letters of the name) as the magic number 365 (see *PGM* IV. 331–32; VIII. 49, 611; XIII. 156, 466, etc.). Accordingly the deity is recognized as a solar god and is pictured on amulets as a snake-footed creature (the so-called *anguipede*), armored, and with the head of a cock. See Bonner, *SMA* 162–63; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 24–42; Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” *Hommages à W. Deonna, Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 67–86; C. Colpe, “Geister (Dämonen),” *RAC* 9 (1974): 618–19; Marcel Le Glay, “Abraxas,” *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 2–7, pls. 1–63.

ADŌNAI: An important angelic figure in gnosticism and in magic. The name originally came from the Old Testament designation “my Lord,” although this meaning had been long lost to the practitioners of the Roman Empire. See J. Michl, “Engelnamen,” *RAC* 5 (1965): 202. For the variant angel forms Adonael, Adonail, Adoniel, Adonaiel, see E. Peterson, “Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara,” *RhM* 75 (1926): 394.

ADONAIOS: Adonaios (an alternative reading of Adonai; note the Greek termination) is regarded in *PGM* as a name of the deity rather than as an epithet meaning “Lord” (cf. *PGM* I. 305). The Jewish origin, however, is still recognized (see *PGM* XII. 264). See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 203.

Agathos Daimon: “The good genius” was originally an epithet of a god invoked at Greek banquets. In the *PGM* the name has become a designation for a god—one, however, who can be identified with a number of different deities. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 264, 294–95; R. Ganschinietz, “Agathodaimon,” *PRE.S* 3 (1918): 37–59; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 213ff.; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619–20; W. Fauth, “Agathos Daimon,” *KP* 1 (1979): 121–22.

Aion: The god Aion, whose name signifies “long period of time,” “eon,” “eternity,” plays an important role in the *PGM*. For the complicated history of the god, see A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 4 (Paris: Les belles lettres, ³1954) 182–99; W. Bousset,

"Der Gott Aion," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 192–230; Fauth, *KP* 1 (1979): 185–88; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 146–48; Marcel Le Glay, "Aion," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 405.

AKRAMMACHAMAREI: This magical name, with variant spellings, occurs frequently in beneficent magical incantations in company with **ABLANATHANALBA** and **SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS**. For a possible explanation of the name from Hebrew, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965) 94–100.

Aktiophi(s): Hopfner has suggested that this name is an epithet of Selene, goddess of the moon, a name which occurs elsewhere in *PGM* (see IV. 2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913; VII. 317, 984; XVI. 23).

Ammon/Parammon: Hermes Parammon was honored as an Olympian god alongside Zeus Ammon and Hera Ammonia. The epithet Parammon probably means "he next to Ammon."

Amon (Amoun): The Egyptian god Amon. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 31–37, s.v. "Amun"; E. Otto, "Amun," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 237–48.

Anoch (Anog, anok): These letters, occurring often at the beginning of an invocation, correspond to the Egyptian *ink* (Coptic *anok*), "I am." See S. Sauneron, "Le Monde du Magicien Egyptien," *Le Monde du Sorcier* (Paris 1966) 36–39.

Anouth: Name of Osiris (see VII. 238, 243, 247; VIII. 83, 98–99, 102).

Anubis: Anubis is the jackal god of mummification, the son of Osiris and Nephthys. On Anubis as key holder and guard (*PGM* IV. 1465), see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln: Bohlau, 1975) 510–20; J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Jean Leclant, "Anubis," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 862–73 and plates.

Aphrodite Ourania: "Heavenly Aphrodite," whose city is Aphroditopolis (Dendera), refers to Hathor; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 277–82, s.v. "Hathor."

Apollonius of Tyana: This famous first-century philosopher/magician is the subject of an extant biography by Philostratus. The attribution of a spell to him at *PGM* XIa. 1 is unique in ancient magical literature. For a survey of the problems and bibliography, consult E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II. 16. 2 (1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686.

Apophis (Aphyphis): The "unseen serpent" (see *PGM* IV. 190–91; cf. *PGM* III. 87) is Apophis, who is slain daily by Seth/Typhon in the barge of Ra. See E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–52; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51–53, s.v. "Apophis."

Archentechtha (Harchentechtha): This is the Egyptian god Har-Khenty-Khet; cf. *PGM* III. 170. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai"; U. Rössler-Köhler, "Horus-Chentechtai," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 27–33. [R.K.R.]

Arsenophre: The Egyptian god Arsenouphis (note also *PGM* II. 117; IV. 1629; XII. 183; XIXa. 7). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 54–55, s.v. "Arsnuphis"; E. Winter, "Arsenuphis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 424–25. [R.K.R.]

Arsentechtha (Harsentechtha): Perhaps the Egyptian name can be read Harsennechtha, "Horus, child of the strong one." [J.B.]

Arsentephtha: The name is probably Egyptian, "Horus, child of Ptah." [J.B.]

Artemis: In the *PGM* the goddess Artemis is identical with Selene, Hekate, and Persephone (see also IV. 2523, 2720–21, 2816ff.; LXXVIII. 11–12, with a drawing of Artemis Multimamma). The invocations to Artemis, however, do contain archaic elements of her original cult. See T. Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," *Pisciculi, Festschrift F. J. Dölger* (Münster: Aschen-dorff, 1939) 125–45.

Assistant Daimon (paredros): Hellenistic magic knows of a special type of daimon called *paredros* ("assistant" or "attendant spirit"). The name refers to a deity who has been summoned as a servant to carry out any number of specified magical tasks. Cf. also *PGM* IV.

1348, 1841, 1851 (with *parastatēs*), 2083, 2109, 2145 (note); VII. 884; XII. 14ff. and surrounding contexts. See M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series 76 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) 88–95; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 1ff.; C. Colpe, “Geister (*Dämonen*),” *RAC* 10 (1974): 621ff.; C. Zintzen, “Paredros (*paredros*),” *KP* 4 (1972): 510–11.

Astrapsouchos: According to Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several magicians; see E. Ricss, “Astrampsychos,” *PRE* 2 (1896): 179–80.

author: See **Hathor**.

BAINCHŌŌŌCH: This formula, which invokes the god whose name corresponds to “spirit (soul) of darkness” (*b3 n kky*), occurs regularly in magical papyri and on curse tablets. [R.K.R.] See Bonner, *SMA* 26, 146; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 224 and n. 23.

Balsames: This angelic name served originally as the name of a Phoenician sun god, but in *PGM* IV. 1019 the god plays the role of a light divinity from heaven. Cf. XII. 494. See A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 149–51, 185–86.

Basym: This magical name may have originally come from the Aramaic words meaning, “In the name of. . .” For the magician, however, the word serves as a magical name. See G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 235–51.

Baubo: Baubo may have originally come as an independent deity from Asia Minor, where Hekate also came from; she then entered into the circle of Demeter and the mysteries of Eleusis. See W. Fauth, *KP* 1, s.v. “Baubo.”

Bear constellation: The identification of the constellation of the Bear with Artemis occurs at *PGM* VII. 687. The Great Bear was believed to be Callisto, Artemis’ fellow huntress, who was transformed into a constellation. Callisto was a manifestation of Artemis herself, who played an important role as a she-bear, especially at Brauronia. See also *PGM* IV. 1302; VII. 862; XII. 190; XIII. 26; LXXII. See W. Sale, “The Temple Legends of the Arkteia,” *RhM* 118 (1975): 265–84; L. Kahl, “L’Artemis de Brauron. Rites et mystères,” *Antike Kunst* (1977): 86–98; W. Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57 (1984): 93–99.

Bes (Besa, Besas): Ancient Egyptian religion knew of an entire class of so-called Bes-demons (in Greek, Besas), distinguished by their dwarf-sized ugliness, who served as protectors of sleep and childbirth. In Hellenistic Egypt, Bes became a pantheistic deity, and in this form he appears in *PGM* VII. 222–49 and VIII. 64–110 (see also LXXXVIII: his plant, IV. 807). His role as an oracle giver was popular at Abydos (Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 12). In *PGM* the god was identified also with the Headless One (see n. on *PGM* II. 11). On Bes, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 101–9; H. Altenmüller, *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 720–24, with bibliography.

Biaiothanatos Daimon: The *biaiothanatoi*, those who died violent deaths, were unable to enter the underworld because their time on earth had not been completed. After death, they lingered as evil spirits and were subject to magical compulsion. See J. H. Waszink, “Biothanati,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 391–92.

Breathing stone: The magnet. Magnetism fascinated ancient philosophers and scientists, who explained the phenomenon in a variety of ways. Already Thales explained it in magical terms when he stated that “life” (*psychē*) is in a magnet. Magnetic stones, not surprisingly, played a great role in the magic of all periods. See A. Barb, “Lapis Adamas,” *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, I (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1969) 67ff.

Brimo: For this epithet of Artemis of Pherai in Thessaly, see *PGM* IV. 2270, 2291, 2611, 2964; VII. 692; LXX. 20, where the epithet is attributed to Hekate, Selene, Persephone. Etymologically, she is the “snorting” and “angry” and therefore “terrible” goddess of the netherworld; cf. the command in *PGM* IV. 2247; Lucian, *Necyom.* 20. See O. Kern, “Brimo,” *PRE* 3 (1887): 853–54.

Chnouph (Chnoubis): The lion-headed serpent was popular in magic and is often found pictured on amulets. The daimon is a syncretistic combination of the Egyptian creator god Chnoum, the serpent Kneph, and the star *Knm*. In the *PGM* the name occurs mostly in *voces magicæ*, especially in the Harpon-Knouphi formula (see, e.g., *PGM* III. 435–36, 560–63;

IV. 2433; VII. 1023–25; XXXVI. 219–20; *DMP* 16, 6–9). For the amulets, see Bonner, *SMA* 54–60; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 54–73; for references, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. “Chnum”; E. Otto, “Chnum,” *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619.

Daimon, pl. daimons: In the *PGM*, as often in Greek literature, this term is used of deities and lesser spirits whose influential control is sought. In the New Testament, the word is used of an evil spirit, “demon,” a sense not generally used in the *PGM*.

Decans: The Decans are the thirty-six deities each of whom presides over ten degrees of the zodiac. See in general, Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder*; cf. also G. J. Turner, “Mathematics and Astronomy,” in J. R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 46–53; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, I (Providence and London: Brown University Press, 1960) 95–121. [R.K.R.]

Demokritos: Strangely, the philosopher of Abdera (fifth century B.C.) was thought in antiquity to have been involved in magic. See E. Wellmann, “Demokritos (6),” *PRE* 5 (1903): 135–40; I. Hammer-Jensen, *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 219–23; H. Steckle, *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 191–223, esp. 193–94, 199–200. See also **Ostanes**.

EI LANCHYCH formula: For this magical formula, see *PGM* III. 131ff.; IV. 1625, 1630 (with corrupt or variant spellings). **EI** is perhaps Coptic for “house.” [R.K.R.]

Eloaios: Eloaios occurs in *PGM* in various forms (*Eloe*, *Elouein*, *Elouai*) as a name for the Jewish god (see *PGM* I. 311; IV. 1577; VII. 564; XXXVI. 42). In Gnosticism he is one of the light-acons and is described as having a donkey’s face. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965) 212, no. 73: Eloaios.

ERBETH formula: The formula “IÖ ERBETH, IÖ PAKERBETH, IÖ BOLCHOSETH, IÖ APOMPS” occurs quite often in magical texts, especially in malicious invocations. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 142–43.

Erebos: An old Greek expression for the dark underworld, the place of the dead. Sometimes in literature it describes a place for the impious only, other times for the good before they are admitted to the Elysian fields. See O. Waser, “Erebos,” *PRE* 6 (1907): 403–4.

Ereschigal: This name of the Babylonian underworld goddess is regularly associated with the Greek Hekate. The deity already occurs in the lead curse tablets of the fourth century B.C.

Erotylos: A writer of Orphica (see *PGM* XIII. 945) by this name is not otherwise known but may be the person mentioned by Zosimus in Bertholet and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecques* II (1888) 144, 7. See Kern, *Orph. Fr.* p. 71, no. 235; idem, “Erotylos,” *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 386. For the possible Greek meaning of the word, consult LSJ s.v.; cf. also *PGM* VII. 478; CXXIIIa. 24 and comments by F. Maltomini, *Studi classici e orientali* 29 (1979): 76–77.

Esies: Esies (Egyptian *hwy*, “praised”) is an epithet of the sacred dead often applied to Osiris who was drowned and restored to life. See S. Eitrem, “Tertullian *de Bapt.* 5. Sanctified by Drowning,” *ClR* 38 (1924): 69; A. Hermann, “Ertrinken/Ertränken,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; C. Strauss, *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19.

Eulamo: For literature and a possible interpretation of this magical name, see H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, “Two Curse Tablets from Beisan,” *TAPA* 68 (1937): 62; cf. *PGM* III. 57; VII. 401; IX. 8; XVI. 18.

Faïence: Faïence is a blue-green earthenware material popularly used in ancient Egypt for jewelry and other objects.

Good Daimon. See **Agathos Daimon**.

Hapi and Mnevis: The Apis (Hapi) and Mnevis bulls were incarnations of Ptah, Osiris, and Ra, respectively. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 46–51, s.v. “Apis”; 468–470, s.v. “Mnevis.”

Harpocrates: Harpokrates (“Horus the child”) typically is portrayed with a finger of his right hand to his mouth, and he also may hold a crook and flail in his left hand. Harpokrates is the son of Isis and Osiris and is identified with the rising sun. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 273–75, s.v. “Harpokrates”; D. Meek, “Harpokrates,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1003–11.

Harpon-Knouphi formula: This is Horus Knephis. On “Knephis” (*Km-3t.f*) as the

Agathos Daimon, see *LdÄ* I, 94; II. 1011–12. For this as Horus Khnum (and on the formula in general), see P. Pedrizet, “BRINTATĒNŌPHRIS: l’ un des noms magiques du dieu Chnoum,” *Mélanges Maspero, II: Orient grec, romain et byzantin* 137–44; G. M. El-Khachab, “Some Gem Amulets Depicting Harpocrates,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–33; D. Meeks, “Harpoknuphi,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1011–12. [R.K.R.]

Harsamosi: According to W. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 452, the name is Egyptian *Hr-smw*, “Horus the Firstborn.” See also *PGM* II. 155; XI. 91–92; XIII. 626; cf. I. 240–41. See D. Jankuhn, “Horsemsu,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 13.

Hathor: The Egyptian goddess of love; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 22–105; F. Daumas, “Hathor,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1024–33.

Headless One (Greek Akephalos): The Headless God is one of the most peculiar deities of the *PGM*. His origin seems to be in the older Egyptian religion, but he became very popular in Hellenistic Egypt, where he could be identified with Osiris (as in *PGM* II. 98–117) and Besas (as in *PGM* VII. 222–49; VIII. 64–110). Headless deities are also known outside Egypt. Plutarch tells about the headless Molos in Crete (*Def. orac.* 417E), Pausanias of the headless Triton in the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra (9. 20. 5); see A. Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque V,” *BCH* 38 (1914): 189–249; K. Preisendanz, “Akephalos,” *RAC* 1 (1950): 211–16; K. Abel, “Akephalos,” *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 9–14, with bibliography. For depictions of the god, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, plate I, 2; Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110, 164–66, 178, 243; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 42–54.

Helios: The Greek word for the sun (Helios) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Helios is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as “sun,” unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of a deity.

Helios-Osiris: Although this link is possible through the fusion with Sarapis, for the older link of Osiris and Re, see A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21.

Hephaistos: The important connection of Hephaistos, the Greek god of the hearth and of fire, with magic is reflected a few times in *PGM* (see VII. 379; XII. 177, 417, 439). Since Herodotus, Hephaistos was the Greek interpretation of Ptah. See M. Delcourt, *Hephaistos ou la légende du magicien* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1957).

Hermopolis: Hermopolis is “the city of Hermes,” the cult center of Thoth in upper Egypt, the modern Ashmuncin; cf. *PGM* III. 664; 670. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 293–95, s.v. “Hermopolis.”

Hesies: See *Esies*.

Horus: The great Egyptian god, son of Osiris and Isis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 307–15, s.v. “Horus”; W. Schenkel, “Horus,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 14–25.

Iabas (Iabo, Iabai, Iapos): This is apparently the Samaritan enunciation of the tetragrammaton YHWH (Yahweh), elsewhere rendered *Iabe* or *Iabai*; cf. *PGM* V. 102; XIc. 1; XII. 4 and S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 273–74 and passim. See also *IAÖ*.

IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN formula: This magical formula (often abbreviated) is intended to read as the long palindrome IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIAEYEAIPIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABÖEAI; see *PGM* I. 140, 195; III. 60–61 (var.), 77, 268, etc.

IAÖ: Iaö, originally derived from the name of the Hebrew god YHWH, became an important deity in magical literature. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 215, no. 102; R. Ganschinietz, “IAÖ,” *PRE* 9 (1914): 698–721. In addition to being attested in the Nag Hammadi Library (see Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index), Iaö is also found at Qumran, 4Q Lev^b LXX; cf. H. Stegemann, “Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten,” in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978) 195–217.

IARBATHA formula: A common magical name, which, when spelled out fully and with allowance for variant spellings, reads IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAÖCHNĒMEÖ (see *PGM* I. 142, 195; III. 472, 535; XII. 94–95). PHIBAÖCHNĒMEÖ may be equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 hib* ʕ3 *Hnm* ʕ3, “the great lamb, Khnum the great.” [R.K.R.]

Ieu (Jeu): The scribe Jeu is mentioned only in *PGM* V. 97 (cf. also l. 141) in *PGM*, but the

name is known in Gnostic literature. Elsewhere in *PGM* the name occurs rather frequently as a god or magical name. See C. Schmidt, ed., and V. MacDermot, trans., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, *NHSt* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

Isis band: Cloth or material taken from the dresses of statues of the gods, especially of Isis, was considered magically potent. Isis is a widow of Osiris and thus identified with the color black. See *PGM* I. 59; VII. 227, 231; VIII. 67; see Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 90, 451; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 678. [R.K.R.]

Jacob: The patriarch Jacob named at *PGM* XXIb. 1, together with Abraham and Isaac in XIII. 817, XXV. 14, occurs frequently in the context of magic. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 349–58; M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

Khnum (Chnum): The Egyptian ram god; see *PGM* I. 27–28; IV. 327. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otto, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54.

Kmeph: The Egyptian serpent god Kmeph or Kneph occurs in *PGM* IV. 1705; III. 142; IV. 2094; VII col. 17 with picture. See Bonner, *RÄRG* 378–79, s.v. "Kneph."

Kommes: The name Kommes is still unexplained (see also II. 122; cf. "Kommi" in XVI. 63; Kom-Re in *DMP* xii, xv). See Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* 233–34.

Lamella, pl. lamellae: From the Latin for a thin, metal plate. The word is used to translate a number of Greek terms for tablets of thin gold, silver, iron, or lead. The lamellae are usually engraved and worn as amulets or talismans (phylacteries). If lead is described, the tablets usually intend malicious or harmful magic.

Lamps, not painted red: In the *PGM* we find frequent references to the use of lamps with no red coloring (see I. 277, 293; II. 57; IV. 2372, 3191; VII. 542, 594; VIII. 87; XII. 27, 131; LXII. 1). Dipping the clay into red ocher (*milto*) or painting it on before the firing, as customarily done, would give the lamp a reddish color. In lamp divination, however, the red color had to be avoided because of its association with Seth-Typhon. See W. Kroll, "Minium," *PRE* 15 (1932): 1848–54; R. Ganszyniec, "Lychnomanteia," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2115–19. Cf. also *DMP* col. V, 4, pp. 44–45 (with note), where the lamp is said to be white, without the application of red lead (*pr̄s*). On the significance of red, cf. G. Posener, "Les signes noirs dans les rubriques," *JEA* 35 (1949): 77–81. [R.K.R.]

MASKELLI-MASKELLÖ formula: This well-known formula, written fully as MASKELLI MASKELLÖ PHNOUKENTABAO OREOBAGRA RHËXICHTHÖN HIPPOCHTHÖN PYRIPĒGANYX, occurs often in magical literature (note *PGM* VII. 302; IX. 10; XXXVI. 342–46; *DMP* xv. 2; *Pistis Sophia* IV, chap. 140 [MacDermot 365]). On the meaning see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 747; Preisendanz, "Maskelli Maskellö," *PRE* 14 (1930): 2120. Within this formula, among other things, occur four words which may be old Greek epithets: *Oreobazagra*, perhaps an epithet of Hekate or of the moon goddess (thus *LSJ*, but of uncertain meaning); *Rhëxichthôn*, a word which may be translated "bursting forth from the earth" (thus *LSJ*; see Cook, *Zeus*, III 4–5 for parallels and discussion. See also Bonner, *SMA* 170; *Orph. H.* 52. 9); *Hippochthôn* (meaning unexplained, thus *LSJ*: Audollent, *Tab. Def.* 38129; cf. Hermann, "Erdbeben," *RAC* 5 [1965]: 1082ff.); *Pyripēganyx*, perhaps "lord of the fount of fire" (*LSJ* s.v.; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 29).

Material, magical: "Material" (*ousia*; see *PGM* I. 99, IV. 2336, etc.) is the magical substance such as hair, thread from clothing, etc., which is often necessary to make sympathetic magic effective. See K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, I," *WSt* 40 (1918): 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 667–77.

Meliouchos: The meaning of this epithet is still unexplained. In the magical texts it can be attributed to various deities. See *PGM* III. 45–46, 99; V. 4; VI. 33; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 22. 32; 38. 12; see P. E. Göbel, "Meliuchos," *PRE* 15 (1931): 554–55.

Mene: This is an epithet of the moon goddess, Selene; see *Hymn. Hom.* 32. 1; *Hymn. Orph.* 9. 3, 4; *PGM* IV. 2264, 2546, 2815; VII. 758.

Mithras: The Persian god is mentioned only a few times in *PGM* (note III. 100, 462; IV. 482) and each time as being identical with Helios or with Zeus-Helios-Sarapis (see *PGM* V. 4). See Nilsson, *GGR* II, 668–72; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 67ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, "Mithras

in der Römerzeit," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen in Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 96–120, with bibliography.

Moses: In Greco-Roman antiquity, Moses was widely recognized as a great magician. See Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 134–61.

Myrrh(ed) ink: This ingredient used for writing on papyrus occurs throughout the *PGM*. Cf. the note on the Demotic equivalent *r' w hl* in *DMP* v. 5.

Nature (Greek *Physis*): *Physis* appears from early times as a deified conception of nature's powers of creation and creativity. As such, *Physis* has an important role in most philosophical schools, especially where the concept of *kata physin* ("in accordance with nature") seems at times to rise almost to the level of a religious credo (so in Seneca, *De Prov.* IV. 15 and often). *Physis* appears often elsewhere as a goddess: cf., for example, *Hymn. Orph.* 10 which is addressed to *Physis*. Much of its language closely resembles that in the *PGM* hymns to the moon (to whom *Hymn. Orph.* 9 is addressed). In *PGM* *Physis* the goddess appears elsewhere at IV. 2883, 2917; see also IV. 939 and n. The surprising thing is that she does not appear more often in *PGM*. See K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86.

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH: The name occurs frequently in magical literature and is often connected with Aktiophis and Ereschigal. In *PGM* the triad is often attributed to deities of the underworld, especially Hekate. The name Nebutosoualēth may be derived from the Babylonian god Nebo, but the origin is not clear. See K. Preisendanz, "Nebutosualeth," *PRE* 16 (1935): 2158–60; Bonner, *SMA* 30, 197–98.

Nephotes: The name appears to be a hellenized form of the Egyptian Nefer-hotep (*Nfr-htp*), but it is uncertain to whom it refers. Originally, it was the name of an Egyptian deity. See A. Rusch, "Nephotes" *PRE* 16 (1935): 2493–94; cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 518–19, s.v. "Nephotes." [R.K.R.]

(On)nophris: An epithet of Osiris, "The Beautiful Being." For the common proper name Onnophris, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 242. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078; IV. 128. [R.K.R.]

Oserapis: The occurrence of the old name Oserapis (cf. *PGM* XL. 1) for Serapis on the fourth century B.C. curse found in the Serapeum of Memphis is important for the origins of this cult. See on this issue Nilsson, *GGR* II, 156. Cf. also the note on *PGM* XIXa. 6.

Osoronophris: This is equivalent to the Egyptian *Wsir Wn-nfr*, "Osiris the Beautiful Being"; cf. *PGM* V. 101 and IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

Ostanes (Osthanes): The historical Ostanes was a theologian at the court of Xerxes, with whom he went to Greece. He is said to have taught Demokritos the philosopher (who is also mentioned in *PGM* IV. 2006; VII. 167, 795; XII. 122, 351) and to have introduced magic to Greece (Pliny *NH* 30. 8). Later, many different writings were transmitted under the name of Ostanes. See J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès, et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1938), vol. II, 267–356; K. Preisendanz, "Ostanes," *PRE* 18 (1942): 1610–42.

Ouroboros: The serpent who swallows its own tail is a widely used figure in magic. See W. Deonna, "Ouroboros," *Artibus Asiae* 15 (1952): 163–70; K. Preisendanz, "Aus der Geschichte des Uroboros," in *Brauch und Sinnbild. Eugen Fehrle zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern und Freunden* (Karlsruhe: Kommissionsverlag Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1940) 194–209. For examples of the figure on Egyptian monuments, see A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1955) pl. 48; idem, *Mythological Papyri* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1957) 22, fig. 3; 174, fig. 74; papyri 20, 27. [R.K.R.] See *PGM* I. 145–46; XII. 203–4, 274–75; VII. 58–59; XXXVI. 184.

Ouserannophthi: This is Egyptian *Wsir-rn-nfr*, "Osiris of the good name." [R.K.R.]

Palindrome: Palindrome (lit. "running back again") refers to magical words, usually of no recognizable sense, which can be read and pronounced the same forward as backwards.

Persian: The epithet "Persia," used of Artemis-Hekate (cf. *PGM* IV. 2271, 2715, 2781) shows evidence of the identification of the goddess with the Persian goddess Anahita. See Diod. V. 77 and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 672ff.

Pitys: W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* ([Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907] 192, n. 1; cf. *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 59, 105, 157, 210) has suggested that the Thessalian Pitys named in *PGM* IV. 1928, 2006, 2140 is in fact identical with the Egyptian priest and prophet Bitys (Iamblichus, *De myst.* 8. 5; 10. 7), the Bitos named in Zosimos' *On the Letter Omega*, and Bithus of Dyrhachium mentioned in Pliny, *NH* 28. 82. See Festugière, *La Révélation* I, 268; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 610; K. Preisendanz, "Pitys (3)," *PRE* 20 (1950): 1882–83.

Phre: See **Ra**.

Phtha: See **Ptah**.

Phylactery: A phylactery (Greek *phylaktērion*) in the *PGM* refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet, or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which is worn about the person for protection. The term should not be confused with the Jewish technical term referring to the *tefillin* cases with Scripture verses.

Pnouthis: Pnouthis, or Pnythios, is an Egyptian name and means "He of God." See K. Preisendanz, "Pnouthis," *PRE* 41 (1951): 1104.

Priestly papyrus: Or "hieratic papyrus" refers to the best quality of paper for the writing of magical spells (cf. for example, *PGM* I. 233; IV. 2363, 2512–13; VII. 412). For this technical distinction on the quality of papyrus, see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 43–45. [R.K.R.]

Processional way (Greek *kōmastērion*): Ordinarily refers to the meeting place of the revelers of Dionysos, but in *PGM* it is used several times as a metaphor describing heaven as a place of procession of the stars (see also *PGM* IV. 1608–9; XII. 184, 252; XIII. 774; XXI. 10; LXXVII. 13).

Psammetichos: The name is the hellenized form of the Egyptian name *Psmtk*. A legendary figure, Psammetichos I (663–609 B.C.) was the first king of the twenty-sixth Dynasty, but other figures also bore this name. See W. Helck, "Psammetichos," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1305–8.

Psychē: See **Soul**.

Punishments, the (Greek *hai Timōriai*): These are the Greek deities responsible for retributive punishment and hence appropriately cited in spells dealing with malicious magic. See *PGM* VII. 303; XIII. 149, 291, 457; and K. Ziegler, "Timoros," *PRE* 2nd ser. 6 (1937): 1308–9.

Ptah: This is the Egyptian creator god, for which see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Ptah."

Pythagoras: Because of his interest in the mysticism of numbers, this philosopher's name became attached to late texts associated with mantic and magic. See W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 109ff.; idem, *Griechische Religion* 445–47.

Ra (Re, Phre): The Egyptian god of the sun (*P*)rē, without the definite article. Re means simply "sun," while Prē, the form of the god's name from the New Kingdom onward, means "the Sun." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 626–30, s.v. "Re."

Sarapis (Serapis): The god Sarapis, closely associated with Osiris in *PGM* IV. 226, appears mostly in the *PGM* as identical with Zeus and Helios (see, e.g., IV. 1715; V. 4–5; LXXIV. 4–5, 14, and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 513), but not with Dionysos, with whom the Greeks identified Osiris (Herod. 2. 42; Plut. *Is. et Os.* 356C). See G. Roeder, "Sarapis," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1920) 2394–2496; John E. Strambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, *EPRO* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); G. Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Sarapis," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, *EPRO* 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 188–214; L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis," in *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* 121–56. See *PGM* XIXa. 6 and n.

Sachmou: This is the Egyptian goddess of war and plague (*PGM* VII. 300), Sakhmet; see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet." [R.K.R.]

Scarab: The beetle (*Ateuchus sacer*) regarded as holy by the Egyptians and associated with various deities. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 720–22, s.v. "Skarabäus"; J. Assmann, "Chepre." *LdÄ* I (1975): 934–40; J. Bergman, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

Selene: The Greek word for the moon (*selēnē*) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Selene is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "moon" unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of deity.

SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS: A magical name very common in the *PGM*. It is often found together with *ABLANATHANALBA*. For possible derivations of the name and further references, see W. Fauth, "SSM PDRŠŠA," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 120 (1970): 229–56, esp. 254–55.

Seth: See Typhon/Seth.

Soul: The word *psychē* occurs frequently in *PGM* where it usually means "soul," "mind," etc., and "spirits of the dead." But in several passages (VI. 277, 2488; VII. 414, 472; XVIIa. 18) *psychē* means female pudendum, i.e., a synonym of *physis*, another regular term for the pudendum both in *PGM* and elsewhere. In addition, there are other places (i.e., IV. 1040, 1526, 1752, etc.) where *psychē* is translated "soul," but the erotic context also suggests the added meaning of pudendum. Indeed, it is entirely possible that such a double entendre was the origin of the extended meaning (see esp. IV. 1752, 2924; XXXII. 9, 15; XXXIIa. 15). This meaning of *psychē* occurs also outside of *PGM*. See, e.g., Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 193–99, esp. 195; Martial, *Epigr.* 68. 5–12, esp. 5–7; and also Sophocles, *El.* 775. [E.N.O.]

Systasis: "Divine encounter," *vel sim.* is a technical term for a rite (*PGM* IV. 778–79; VII. 505ff.) or prayer (*PGM* III. 197–98, 494ff.; IV. 260ff.) to establish an association between a god and a person. Sometimes the association is really only a meeting between the god and the human in order for the human to receive a revelation (*PGM* III. 197ff.; see II. 192–96; cf. also II. 43, 73; III. 698–99) or a blessing (see II. 576ff. in *PGM* III. 494ff., and in IV. 260ff., II. 272 and 284–85). At other times, the association is to be more long-lasting, and the god is to ally himself with the human (*PGM* I. 57, 79–80, 177–81) even to the point of some real sort of union (*PGM* IV. 209, 219–21; cf. II. 215–17; XIII. 927–31). There is no single English word to encompass this variety of meanings, and therefore *systasis* and cognate words are translated in a variety of ways throughout this volume. For a different interpretation of *systasis*, see K. Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 40 (1913): 2–5.

THERNOPSIS formula: This formula in *PGM* III. 186, IV. 828–29, VII. 316 (with corruptions or variant readings) refers to the magical incantation "PSINÖTHER NÖPSITHER THERNÖPSI." For possible Egyptian meaning, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 750. Note, however, that the three words form rearranged groupings of the syllables PSI, NÖ, and THER. [R.D.K.]

Thoth (Thouth, Thoouth, Theouth, Thooth): The Egyptian god of wisdom and magic, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. See Bonnet, *RARG* 805–12, s.v. "Thot"; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Aris, 1979), esp. 124ff.; G. Mussics, "The Interpretatio Judaica of Thot-Hermes," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 89–120.

Typhon/Seth: The identification of the Egyptian god Seth with the Greek Typhos or Typhos was already made by the Greeks of the Classical period (Hesiod, *Theog.* 820ff.) and was common in the Greco-Roman Period (see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F and often), a fact reflected also in the *PGM* (see, e.g., VII. 964; XII. 138; XIV. 20). For references, see Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 556–57, 620–21. Because the figure of Seth was believed to be donkey-headed, Typhon in *PGM* IV. 3260 and elsewhere (cf. XIa. 1–2; IV. 2220) probably means "ass." See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

YESSIMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula: For this formula (with variants) see *PGM* II. 32; IV. 2771ff. (cf. IV. 337); V. 424ff.; VII. 680ff.; 895ff.; XIII. 923ff.; XIXa. 12; *DMP* vii. 25–26. In this formula, AKROUROBORE is believed to mean in Greek "eater of the tip of your tail" (thus *LSJ*), a reference to the ouroboros (see Glossary, s.v.). On the formula, see Drexler in Roscher, I, 2. 2771; J. M. R. Cormack, "A *Tabella Defixionis* in the Museum of the University of Reading, England," *HTR* 44 (1951): 25–34, esp. 31–32.

The Mithras Liturgy (*PGM IV.475-820*)

A new translation

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The Mithras Liturgy is a magical ritual written in Greek which comes from ancient Egypt. It claims that the person who performs it will temporarily attain to godhood; that they will meet with the supreme god, Mithras; and that they will receive an oracle from him.

The ritual is contained in the document known as the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris. This papyrus appears to have been discovered in Thebes, and it dates from the early fourth century CE. The ritual itself is considerably older, perhaps by around two centuries.

The Mithras Liturgy is the product of both Egyptian and Greek influences. It has been argued that it may be seen as a text of the Hermetic movement, although this is subject to doubt. The Liturgy refers to Iaó, the Greek transliteration of Yahweh; but this is not unusual in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, and it does not attest to direct Jewish or Christian influence.

The author of the Liturgy claims to have received it by revelation from the god Helios Mithras. It is supposedly a private document written by the author for his own child, although he seems to have been operating in the context of a group of initiates. The claim that the text is for a child is perhaps not to be taken literally; or “child” may refer to a pupil. In any event, by the time the ritual was written down on the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, it had come to be widely circulated and copied, to the extent that the text notes variant wordings that the copyist had found in different versions. It had also accumulated additions and annotations.

The conventional title of the ritual was formulated by Albrecht Dieterich, who published *Eine Mithrasliturgie* in 1903. Franz Cumont responded that the text was neither Mithraic nor a liturgy. Dieterich thought that it originated from the Mithraic movement. It is unlikely to have come from mainstream Mithraic circles, but it is possible that it was in use within an offshoot of Mithraism that was experimenting with magic.

The ritual presupposes a universe consisting of three levels. At the lowest level, there is earth. The second level comprises the realm of the visible deities (the planets and stars). The third and highest level is the divine world, which the ritualist can see into but not enter.

Two principal deities appear in the ritual: Helios, at the second level of the cosmos; and an unnamed supreme god at the third level. The description of the supreme god indicates that he is Mithras. Both Helios and Mithras were sun gods; and it appears that they were meant to be envisaged as being in some sense the same god. Implicit in the rite is a theology in which a polytheistic pantheon of deities exists with a single supreme god above or behind them. This kind of theology is sometimes referred to, perhaps misleadingly, as *henotheism*.

There is a view that the ritual involved consuming psychoactive substances, and that its effects were due to the action of those substances on the ritualist's brain.¹ This is somewhat speculative and difficult to prove. An alternative view is that the heavenly journey described

¹ See Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Hermetic Spirituality and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 36-42.

in the ritual is entirely symbolic and was never enacted in a real-life operation: it is imaginative literature, comparable to the Book of Revelation and other apocalyptic texts. This must be regarded as doubtful.

The Liturgy may be subdivided into the following sections:

I. **Text of the ritual** (lines 475-732)

1. Introduction (475-485)
2. The invocation prayer (485-537). The ritualist invokes the four classical elements (air, fire, water and earth). They pray for a transcendent experience in which they temporarily become immortal, and they pray to be received safely back into their mortal body when the experience is over.
3. Ascent to the astral realm (537-565). The ritualist inhales sunlight and rises up to the astral realm. They see the gods of the planets and the stars, who perceive the ritualist as an intruder in their realm and rush towards them. The ritualist speaks a second prayer in order to allay the gods' hostility.
4. Journey to the gates of the sun (565-587). The ritualist repeats the second prayer and the disc of the sun expands. The ritualist repeats the prayer again; the disc opens, and the ritualist sees the gates of the sun, which are closed.
5. The third prayer (587-620). The ritualist calls on Helios using a litany of titles.
6. Appearance of Helios (620-638). The ritualist repeats the second prayer again. The gates of the sun open and the theurgist sees the divine world within them. The ritualist invokes Helios again, and the god appears.
7. The greeting of fire (639-661). The ritualist salutes Helios and asks him to announce his arrival to the greatest god.
8. The Fates and the Pole Lords (661-692). The seven (female) Fates and the seven (male) Pole Lords emerge from the gates of the sun. The ritualist greets them.
9. Appearance of Mithras (692-732). The ritualist hails the god. The god grants them an oracle.

II. **Instructions and other supplementary material** (732-820)

1. Performing the ritual with and without another person (732-746)
2. Additional instructions (746-750)
3. Consecration of oil (750-771)
4. Performing the ritual with another person (772-778)
5. Spell for meeting the great god (778-792). This is probably a separate spell which has found its way into the text of the Liturgy because it (apparently) relates to the sun god.

6. Further instructions from the god (792-798)
7. Notes on the herb kentritis (798-813)
8. Making phylacteries (813-820)

Sources

In translating the Liturgy, I worked from the Greek texts of Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928) and Hans Dieter Betz, *The “Mithras Liturgy”* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

I also consulted the English translations by Betz in *The “Mithras Liturgy”* and by Marvin Meyer in Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

The text

In what follows, my annotations are in *italics*.

I. Text of the ritual

I.1. Introduction

[Line 475] Be favourable to me, Providence and Soul,² as I write out these mysteries which have been handed down to me and which are not to be trafficked.

I pray with confidence for my only child to be granted immortality, as an initiate who shares in this power of ours – the power that the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be made known to me through his archangel, so that I might travel in person to explore the heavens and look upon all things.

(It is necessary for you, my daughter, to gather the juices of the herbs and spices which I will specify to you at the end of this sacred document.)³

I.2. The invocation prayer

[Line 485] This is the invocation prayer:

“First birth of my birth A E É I O U Ó, first beginning of my beginning. (Popping) (Hissing)⁴ PHR[E]

² This may possibly be “Fate” or “Fortune” (*Tyché*) rather than “Soul” (*Psyché*). If it is “Soul”, it may be a reference to the Soul of the World, a concept in Greek Platonist and Stoic philosophy.

³ This is a secondary addition to the text. It is only this passage that specifies that the child is a daughter. Male linguistic forms are used in the rest of the text for the ritualist.

⁴ This may be intended to replicate the sounds made by snakes and crocodiles; it has been suggested that there is a connection with the god Harpocrates, with whom these animals were associated. An

Breath of breath, first breath of the breath in me. (Bellowing)⁵

Fire, placed by God in the mixture of mixtures that I have in me, first fire of the fire in me. ÉU ÉIA EÉ

Water of water, first water of the water in me. ÓÓÓ AAA EEE

Earth, first earth of the earth in me. UÉ UÓÉ

Perfected body belonging to me - N., whose mother is N. - which was fashioned by an honourable arm and a deathless right hand in a cosmos which is dark and shining, and soulless and ensouled. UÉI AUI EUÓIE

If it seems good to you METERTA PHÓTH⁶ IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth, and then to my underlying nature – so that, beyond the present necessity which is pressing on me hard:

I may look upon the immortal first principle with the immortal spirit
ANCHREPHRENESOUPIRINCH,

the immortal water ERONOU PARAKOUNÉTH,

and the most solid air EIOAÉ PSENABÓTH;

I may be born again in mind KRAOCHRAX R OIM ENARCHOMAI

and the sacred spirit may breathe in me NECHTHEN APOTOU NECHTHIN
ARPI ÉTH;

I may marvel at the holy fire KUPHE;

I may look upon the abyss of the awful water of the dawn NUÓ THESÓ ECHÓ
OUCHIECHÓA

and the life-giving and surrounding aether may hear me. ARNOMÉTHPH

For today, I – who was born a mortal from a mortal womb, but who have been raised up by mighty power and a deathless right hand, with an immortal spirit – I am going to see with immortal eyes the immortal Aion and master of the fiery crowns – I, a holy one made holy by the holy rites of holiness.

The power of my human soul is receding from me for a short time, and I will receive it again in accordance with the present necessity which is pressing on me bitterly and relentlessly – I, N., whose mother is N. – according to the unchangeable decree of God. EUÉ UIA EÉI AÓ EIAU IUA IEÓ Since it is not possible for me, who am born mortal, to rise with the golden flashes of the immortal light ÓÉU AEÓ ÉUA EÓÉ UAE IAE, stand in place, my death-bound mortal nature, and receive me again safe into the inexorable and pressing necessity. For I am

alternative view is that the popping represents thunder. It appears that the popping sound was made by a smacking of the lips.

⁵ This sound may relate to the Egyptian bull god Apis.

⁶ The writer notes that there was a variant reading here: “METHARTHA PHÉRIÉ”.

the son of PSYCHÓN DEMOU PROCHÓ PRÓA, I am MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRÓPSUCHÓN PRÓE.⁷”

I.3. Ascent to the astral realm

[Line 537] Draw in breath from the rays *of the sun*, inhaling as much as you can three times. You will see yourself being lifted up and ascending, so that you appear to be in mid-air. You will hear nothing, neither any human being nor any other living thing. Nor will you see anything of mortal life on earth at this time: instead, you will see the whole of the immortal world. You will see the divine *astrological* order as it stands on this day and at this hour: the planetary gods, some rising into heaven and others setting. The course of the rising gods will be visible through the disc of the *sun* god, my father, as also will be what is called the flute, which is the source of the winds that give service to us: you will see it hanging from the *sun's* disc like a flute. You will see the current of wind flowing unstoppably from this object to the regions of the west, in the manner of the east wind, insofar as it is assigned to serve as the east wind; and you will see the other winds flowing in the same way to their own regions. You will see the gods looking intently at you and rushing towards you. You are to immediately put your right finger to your mouth⁸ and say:

(*Second prayer*) “Silence, silence, silence – symbol of the deathless living God – guard me, silence NECHTHEIR THENMELOU.”

Then give a long hiss, make a popping sound, and say:

“PROPROPHENGÉ MORIOS PROPHUR PROPHENGÉ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN
PITÉTMI MEÓU ENARTH PHURKECHÓ PSURIDARIÓ TURÉ PHILBA”

I.4. Journey to the gates of the sun

[Line 565] Then you will see the gods looking at you benignly and no longer rushing towards you, but rather proceeding with their own functions in an orderly way. When you see that the world above is clear and in motion, and that none of the gods or angels is rushing towards you, expect to hear a roar of great thunder that will shock you. You are to say again:

“Silence, silence. (The *second* prayer.) I am a star, wandering about with you, shining forth out of the depths. OXU O XERTHEUTH”

When you have said the foregoing words, the disc *of the sun* will immediately expand. After you have spoken the second prayer (“Silence, silence” and what follows), hiss twice and make a popping sound twice. You will immediately see numerous five-pointed stars coming forth from the disc *of the sun* and filling the whole of the air. You are to say again: “Silence, silence”. The disc will open and you will see the boundless circle and the fiery gates, which will be shut. Immediately make the following prayer with your eyes closed.

⁷ These last two formulas may be alternative versions of the same formula.

⁸ This gesture may be connected with the god Harpocrates.

I.5. The third prayer

[Line 587] (Third prayer) “Listen to me, hear me – N., whose mother is N.:

Lord,
You who have bound together with your spirit the fiery bars of the four roots,⁹
You who are burning with fire PENTITEROUNI,
Creator¹⁰ of light SEMESILAM,
Fire-breather PSURINPHEU,
You who have a soul of fire IAÓ,
You who have a breath of light ÓAI,
You who delight in fire ELOURE,
Beautifully shining one AZAI,
Aión ACHBA,
Master of light PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,
You who have a body of fire PHNOUÉNIOCH,
Light-giving one,
Fire-sowing one AREI EIKITA,
Lord of fiery turbulence GALLABALBA,
Might of light IAIAIÓ,
Fire-whirling one PURICHI BOOSÉIA,
Light-moving one SANCHERÓB,
You who make the din of the thunderbolt IÉ ÓÉ IÓÉIÓ,
Glorious light BEEGENÉTE,
Increaser of light SOUSINEPHIEN,
You who sustain light by fire SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
Tamer of stars:

Open to me PROPROPHENGÉ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTURÉPHILBA – for, because of the pressing, bitter and inexorable necessity, I am invoking the immortal, living and honoured names which have never yet passed into the mortal realm, nor are they spoken in speech by human tongue or mortal voice or mortal sound. ÉEÓ OÉEÓ IÓÓ OÉ ÉEÓ ÉEÓ OÉ EÓ IÓÓ OÉÉÉ OÉE ÓOÉ IÉ ÉÓ OÓ OÉ IEÓ OÉ IEEÓ EÉ IÓ OÉ IOÉ ÓÉÓ EOÉ OEÓ ÓIÉ ÓIÉ

⁹ The Greek here is inescapably obscure.

¹⁰ The writer notes that there was a variant reading here: “Encloser”.

ΕΟ ΟΙ ΙΙΙ ΕΟΕ ΟΥΕ ΕΟΟΕΕ ΕΟ ΕΙΑ ΑΕΑ ΕΕΑ ΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕ ΕΕΕ ΙΕΟ ΕΕΟ ΟΕΕΕΟΕ ΕΕΟ
ΕΥΟ ΟΕ ΕΙΟ ΕΟ ΟΕ ΟΕ ΕΕ ΟΟΟ ΥΙΟΕ”

Say all these things with fire and spirit as you complete the invocation for the first time. Then begin it again likewise a second time, *and continue* until you have completed *it for* the seven immortal gods of the cosmos.¹¹

I.6. Appearance of Helios

[Line 620] When you have said these things, you will hear thunder and tumult in the surrounding area. You will likewise feel yourself being shaken. You are to say again:

“Silence.... (the [second] prayer)”

Then open your eyes and you will see the gates open, and the world of the gods which is inside the gates, so that your spirit will rush upwards in pleasure and joy at the sight. Stand still, look intently, and immediately draw breath from the divine into yourself. When your soul is restored, say:

“Come, lord ARCHANDARA PHÓTAZA PURIPHÓTA ZABUTHIX ETIMENMERO
PHORATHÉN ERIÉ PROTHRI PHORATHI.”

When you have said this, the rays of *the sun* will turn towards you. Look towards the centre of them. When you do this, you will see a youthful, handsome god with fiery hair, dressed in a white tunic and a red cloak and wearing a fiery crown. Greet him immediately with the greeting of fire.

I.7. The greeting of fire

[Line 639] “Hail, lord, great in power, great in might, king, greatest of gods, Helios, lord of heaven and earth, god of gods. Your spirit is mighty, lord, and your power is mighty. If it pleases you, announce me to the greatest god, to the god who begat you and made you. Announce that a human being – I, N., whose mother is N., who was born from the mortal womb of N. and from seminal fluid – has been born again from you¹² today and, out of so many myriads, has been made immortal at this hour in accordance with the decree of God, who is surpassingly good. He thinks it right to worship you and he prays with all his human strength that *the god* may appear and give an oracle at this auspicious time ΕÓΡΟ ΡÓΡΕ ΙΥΡΡΙ ÓΡΙÓΡ ΡÓΡ ΡÓΙ ÓΡ ΡΕÓΡÓΡΙ ΕÓΡ ΕÓΡ ΕÓΡ ΕÓΡΕ.¹³” (Take with you the

¹¹ This appears to mean that the ritualist should repeat the litany seven times. Seven is often regarded as a sacred number; but who are the “immortal gods” who are referred to? Perhaps they are the seven classical planets (Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn). But the litany refers quite specifically to the Sun and does not fit well with the other planetary deities. An alternative possibility is that the reference is to the seven main stars of Ursa Major, which never appear to set in the northern hemisphere.

¹² It is not clear whether “you” here is Helios, Mithras or in some sense both gods. Nor is it entirely clear what to make of the reference to “God” that follows.

¹³ These twelve *voces magicae* may correspond to the twelve daylight hours of the day.

horoscope of the current day and hour, the ruler of which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK.¹⁴)

When you have said this, he will go towards the *celestial* pole and you will see him proceeding on his way as if on a road. Look intently at him and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, expelling all your breath and straining your sides. Kiss the phylacteries and say, turning first to the right:

“Keep me safe, PROSUMÉRI.”¹⁵

1.8. The Fates and the Pole Lords

[Line 661] When you have said this, you will see the gates open and seven virgins coming out of the depths of *the divine world*, dressed in linen and having the faces of asps.¹⁶ These beings are called the Fates of heaven, and they hold golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this way:

“Hail to you, seven Fates of heaven, good and holy virgins, sacred ones, companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, most hallowed guardians of the four pillars.

Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAÉS.

Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEÉS.

Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN.

Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHÉS.

Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIÉ.

Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAÉS.

Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIÉS.”

A further seven gods will also come forth. They will have the faces of black bulls, and they will be wearing linen garments around their waists and seven golden crowns. These are the beings who are called the Pole Lords of heaven. You must greet each of them in the same way, calling them by their individual names:

“Hail to you, guardians of the pivot, sacred and mighty youths, you who turn at one command the rotating axis of the circle of heaven, and who send out thunder and lightning and earthquakes and thunderbolts to impious peoples; but to me – who am pious and god-fearing – *you send* health and soundness of body, sharpness of hearing and sight, and serenity in the favourable hours of this day today, my lords and mighty gods.

¹⁴ This seems to be an editorial note addressed to the ritualist: they are to take a horoscope chart with them to the ritual.

¹⁵ At line 819, it is stated that the magical word associated with the left phylactery is PROSTHUMÉRI.

¹⁶ These beings may be related to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion, the Pleiades and/or Ursa Major. The Pole Lords may likewise be connected with Ursa Minor.

Hail to you, the first, AIERÓNTHI.
Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS.
Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR.
Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTÓ.
Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRÓALITHÓ.
Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHÓPS.
Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHÉ.”

I.9. The appearance of Mithras

[Line 692] When they take up their positions in the appropriate order, each in their respective place, look intently into the air and you will see bolts of lightning falling, lights shining, the earth shaking, and the supreme god descending. He will be brilliant in appearance; youthful and golden-haired; wearing a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers; and holding in his right hand the golden shoulder of a young bull (this is the Bear¹⁷ who sets the vault of heaven in motion and turns it in a contrary direction, moving it up and down as appropriate to the time). Then you will see bolts of lightning leaping from his eyes and stars leaping from his body. You are to immediately make a long bellow, straining your stomach, so that you arouse your five senses. Make a long bellow until your breath is exhausted, kiss the phylacteries again, and say:

“MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI You are the life of me, N. – stay, dwell in my soul, do not leave me, because ENTHO PHENEN THROPIÓTH so bids you.”

Look intently at the god, making a long bellow, and greet him in this way:

“Hail, lord, master of water. Hail, chief of earth. Hail, mighty one of air. Bright-shining one PROPHENGÉ, EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI. THÉTH. MIMEÓ UENARÓ PHURCHECHÓ PHÉRI DARIÓ. PHRÉ PHRÉLBA. Grant me an oracle, lord, on (the matter in question). Lord, I am being born again and passing away. I am growing, I have grown, and I am coming to my end. I have been born from a life-giving birth, I have been released and I am journeying to death. This is what you have established; this is the law that you have set up and the mystery that you have made. I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

Immediately after you have said this, he will give you an oracle. You will be weak in soul and you will not be in yourself when he answers you. He will speak the oracle to you in lines of verse, and after doing so he will depart. But you are to stay where you are in silence, and you will take everything in by yourself. Afterwards, you will remember what was spoken by the great god in its entirety, even if the oracle consisted of thousands of lines.

II. Instructions and other supplementary material

¹⁷ It is not clear whether Ursa Major or Ursa Minor is meant.

II.1. Performing the ritual with and without another person

[Line 732] If you wish to use a fellow initiate so that he (and he alone) hears with you what is said, let him purify himself with you for *seven* days and refrain from eating meat and bathing.

If you are alone when you are engaged with what is spoken by the god, you will speak as if you are inspired and in ecstasy.

If you wish to show *the vision to another person*, make a judgement as to whether you can be confident that he is worthy as a human being. Treat him in the way in which you would be judged in his place as regards immortalisation. Whisper to him the first prayer that begins “First birth of my birth A E É I O U Ó”. Speak what follows as an initiate upon his head, in a soft voice, so that he does not hear it, while you anoint his face with the *oil called* Mystery.

II.2. Additional instructions

[Line 746] This immortalisation is to take place three times a year.

If anyone wishes to disobey the instruction after he has received it, my child, it will no longer apply to him.

II.3. Consecration of oil

[Line 750] Instructions for the operation.

Take a sun scarab with twelve rays and make it fall into a deep, blue-green cup during the dark period of the moon. Put in with it honey and the seed of the fruit-pulp of the lotus: grind these ingredients and make a small cake. You will immediately see *the scarab* move forward and eat the cake. When it has eaten it, it will immediately die. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of finest rose oil (as much as you wish). Spread out some sacred sand, keeping the requirements of purity; put the vessel on it; and speak this formula over the vessel for seven days while the sun is in midheaven:

“I have consecrated you so that your essence may be useful to me – to me, N., alone IE IA É EÉ OU EIA – so that you may be useful to me alone. For I am PHÓR PHORA PHÓS PHOTIZAAS.¹⁸”

On the seventh day, pick up the scarab. Bury it with myrrh, Mendesian wine¹⁹ and fine linen: put it out in a field where beans are growing vigorously. After you have feasted and banqueted together *with the scarab*[], put the oil away, keeping the requirements of purity, in preparation for the immortalisation.

II.4. Performing the ritual with another person

¹⁸ The writer notes that there was a variant reading here: “PHÓR PHÓR OPHOTHEI XAAS”.

¹⁹ Wine from Mendes in Egypt.

[Line 772] If you want to show *the vision* to another person, take the juice of the herb which is called kentritis²⁰ and smear it around the face of the person to whom you want to show *the vision*, together with rose oil. He will see so clearly that he will amaze you.

I have not found a better operation in the world than this. Ask the god for whatever you want and he will give it to you.

II.5. Spell for meeting the great god

[Line 778] The spell for meeting the great god is as follows.

When you have picked the aforementioned herb kentritis while a conjunction of *the sun and the moon* is taking place in Leo, take the juice, mix it with honey and myrrh, and write on a leaf of the persea tree the name of eight letters given below. Purify yourself for three days beforehand, go in the morning before sunrise, lick the leaf clean while you show it to the sun, and as a result he will listen to you with complete attention. Begin the preparation on the new moon in Leo, in accordance with the god's will. The formula is as follows: "I EE OO IAI." Lick this up, so that you may be protected. Roll up the leaf and throw it into rose oil. Many times when I have conducted this operation I have been greatly astonished.

II.6. Further instructions from the god

[Line 792] The god said to me: "Do not use the oil any longer, but throw it into the river. You must work while wearing the great mystery of the scarab which is regenerated through the 25 living birds. You must work once a month, at the time of the full moon, instead of three times a year."

II.7. Notes on the herb kentritis

[Line 798] The herb kentritis grows from the month of Pauni in places which have black earth, and it is similar to upright dove-cote. You will know it this way: if the juice is applied to the wing of an ibis by putting it on the black tip, the feathers will fall off as soon as they are touched. After the lord revealed this, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, by the river banks, near the herb besas. It has a single stem and is red-coloured down to the root; the leaves are somewhat crinkled and have fruit similar to the tip of wild asparagus. It is just like what is called talape; it is like wild beet.

II.8. Making phylacteries

[Line 813] The phylacteries are to be dealt with in this way. Inscribe the right one with a mixture of myrrh and ink on the skin of a black sheep; tie it with the sinews of the same

²⁰ It is not known what this plant was.

animal; and bind it to yourself. Inscribe the left one on the skin of a white sheep and do the same with it. The *magical word for the* left one is PROSTHUMÉRI.²¹

This document is now entirely complete.

²¹ At line 661, it has been stated that the magical word associated with the right phylactery is PROSUMÉRI.

THE DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF LONDON AND LEIDEN

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THE
DEMOTIC MAGICAL PAPYRUS
OF
LONDON AND LEIDEN

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PREFACE

THE MS., dating from the third century A.D., which is here edited for the first time in a single whole, has long been known to scholars. Its subject-matter—magic and medicine—is not destitute of interest. It is closely connected with the Greek magical papyri from Egypt of the same period, but, being written in demotic, naturally does not reproduce the Greek hymns which are so important a feature of those papyri. The influence of purely Greek mythology also is here by comparison very slight—hardly greater than that of the Alexandrian Judaism which has supplied a number of names of Hellenistic form to the demotic magician. Mithraism has apparently contributed nothing at all: Christianity probably only a deformed reference to the Father in Heaven. On the other hand, as might have been expected, Egyptian mythology has an overwhelmingly strong position, and whereas the Greek papyri scarcely go beyond Hermes, Anubis, and the Osiris legend, the demotic magician introduces Khons, Amon, and many other Egyptian gods. Also, whereas the former assume a knowledge of the *modus operandi* in divination by the lamp and bowl, the latter describes it in great detail.

But the papyrus is especially interesting for the language in which it is written. It is probably the

latest Egyptian MS. which we possess written in the demotic script, and it presents us with the form of the language as written—almost as spoken—by the pagans at the time when the Greek alphabet was being adopted by the Christians. It must not be forgotten, too, that this is the document which contributed perhaps more than any other to the decipherment of demotic, partly through its numerous Greek glosses.

We have therefore thought that a complete edition, with special reference to its philological importance, would be useful. The vocabulary is extensive, comprising about a thousand words. The present volume, containing the introduction, the transliteration, translation, and notes, will be followed by a complete glossary, with separate indices of Greek words, invocation names, names of animals, plants, and minerals, and a list of the glosses, &c., besides a chapter dealing with the principal grammatical forms met with in the MS., and a hand-copy of the text; the photographic reproduction by Hess of the pages in the British Museum and Leemans' facsimile of those at Leiden will of course preserve their independent value for reference, as, for instance, in judging the condition of the MS. and the precise forms of the signs in particular passages.

There is considerable inconsistency in the spelling of words in the papyrus itself. So much having to be rendered more or less conventionally, while fresh light is thrown daily on the intricacies of demotic, it is probable that there are a good many inconsistencies in our transliterations, translations, and notes, in spite of the watchfulness of the excellent reader at the Clarendon

Press. Those, however, who have dealt with the subject at all will probably not judge these too hardly.

In conclusion, we have to record our gratitude, first, to our predecessors in publication and decipherment of the papyrus—to Reuvens, Leemans, and Hess, to Brugsch, Maspero, Revillout, and W. Max Müller—but for whose varied contributions our task would have been infinitely more laborious even in the present advanced state of the study: and secondly, to the authorities of the Egyptian department in the British Museum, and of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, for their courtesy in affording every facility for studying the original MS., and more especially to Dr. Boeser of the Leiden Museum for much kindness and assistance.

F. LL. G.

H. T.

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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE MS.

THE demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden was discovered at Thebes with other papyri, principally Greek but dealing with subjects of a like nature, in the early part of the last century, and was bought by Anastasi, who was at that time Swedish consul at Alexandria, and made a large collection of Egyptian MSS. When Anastasi obtained the MS. it must already have been torn into two parts, and it is even probable that he obtained the two parts at different times, since he sold his Egyptian collections, including the Leiden MS., to the Dutch government in 1828, while the London portion was bought at the sale of his later collections at Paris in 1857 for the British Museum (No. 1072 in Lenormant's Catalogue).

The Leiden fragment was made known to the world much earlier than that in the British Museum. Its importance for the deciphering of the demotic script by the help of the numerous glosses in Graeco-Coptic characters was at once perceived by the distinguished scholar Reuvens, at that time Director of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, who proceeded to study it carefully, and in 1830 published an admirable essay¹ in which he sketched the principal contents of the MS. and indicated its value for the progress of demotic

¹ Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs, par C. J. C. REUVENS. Leide, 1830. (Première lettre, Papyrus bilingues.)

studies. He then took in hand its reproduction, and the MS. was lithographed in facsimile under his direction, and he had corrected the proofs of the first plate when he was cut off by a premature death in 1835; his work was carried to completion and published by his successor in the Directorship of the Museum, Leemans, in 1839¹. Heinrich Brugsch studied it closely, and drew from it most of the examples quoted in his Demotic Grammar published in 1855; but, although later scholars have frequently quoted from it and translated fragments of it, the MS. has hitherto remained without complete translation, commentary, or glossary.

The London MS., however, lay from 1857 onwards almost unnoticed in the British Museum. To the late Dr. Pleyte, Leemans' successor at Leiden, belongs the credit of discovering that the two MSS. originally formed one. He had studied the Leiden portion, and at once recognized the handwriting of its fellow in London. Without publishing the fact, he communicated it to Professor Hess of Freiburg, when the latter was working in Leiden on the MS. there. Professor Hess went on to London, and, having fully confirmed Dr. Pleyte's statement, published in 1892 a reproduction of the British Museum MS. with an introduction, including the translation of one column, and a glossary².

Reuvens in his essay dwelt at some length on the 'gnostic' character of the MS. He devoted his attention mainly to the parts which contain the glosses, and those are almost exclusively magical invocations, among which occur the names of gods, spirits, and demons, Egyptian, Syrian, Jewish, &c., strung together in a manner similar

¹ *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide: papyrus égyptien démotique à transcriptions grecques I. 383, publié par le Dr. CONRAD LEEEMANS. Leide, 1839.*

² *Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar von J. J. Hess. Freiburg, 1892.*

to those found in gnostic writings and on gnostic gems. He even went so far as to associate them with the name of a particular gnostic leader, Marcus, of the second century, chiefly on the ground of his recorded use of Hebrew and Syriac names in his invocations and the combinations of vowels. In consequence the MS. has acquired the name of the 'Leiden Gnostic,' and the term 'Gnostic' has been passed on to the London MS. But as will be seen from the complete translation here published, there is nothing in the work relating to the gnostic systems—it deals with magic and medicine, and it seems a misnomer to call the MS. gnostic merely because part of the stock-in-trade of the magician and medicine-man were a number of invocation names which he either picked up from the gnostics or derived from sources common to him and them. Hence it has been thought desirable to abandon the epithet 'gnostic,' and to call the work the 'Magical papyrus of London and Leiden' (Pap. mag. LL.).

II. CONDITION OF THE MS.

The London portion is in far better condition than the Leiden portion. The papyrus is pale in colour and the ink very black; consequently where the MS. has not suffered material damage it is easy to read, as the scribe wrote a beautiful and regular hand.

The Leiden papyrus, on the other hand, has unfortunately suffered much, as Leemans, with a view to protecting the surface, covered both recto and verso with 'vegetable' paper, which probably could not be removed now without serious injury to the MS.; but either the paper or the adhesive matter employed with it has darkened and decayed, rendering the writing illegible in places.

In 1829, while the MS. was still in charge of Reuvens and before it had been subjected to the operation above described, he took a tracing of it which has been preserved, and which, though of little assistance in points of minute detail, may be relied on for filling up with certainty many groups which are now wholly lost in the original.

The main body of the writing is on the recto (horizontal fibres) of the papyrus, while on the verso are written memoranda, medical prescriptions, and short invocations.

The London MS. is Pap. No. 10070 of the British Museum (formerly Anast. 1072).

The Leiden MS. is known as I. 383 (reckoned among the Anastasi MSS. as A. 65).

The London portion forms the initial part of the MS. and joins on to the Leiden portion without a break, the tenth and last column of the London MS. and the first of the Leiden forming one column.

The first London column is imperfect, and it is not possible to say with certainty whether the MS. began with it or whether there was an anterior part now lost. It is quite possible that it began here. On the other hand, it is certain that the MS. is imperfect at the end, since the broken edge of the papyrus at Leiden shows traces of a column of writing succeeding the present final column.

It is impossible to estimate how much is lost, as the MS. is not an original composition on a definite plan, but a compilation of heterogeneous material collected together without any logical order.

The two portions, if joined together, would measure, roughly speaking, some 5 m. (about 16½ feet) in length. In height it averages nearly 25 cm. (10 in.). The writing is in columns, of which there are twenty-nine on the

recto, while on the verso are thirty-three small columns or portions of columns; but these are not marked off, as are the recto columns, by vertical and horizontal framing lines¹, nor are they written continuously, but they seem to have been jotted down there on account of their brevity and discontinuous character.

The recto columns vary somewhat in size, but average 20 × 20 cm. (8 in. square). The writing is frequently carried beyond the framing lines.

In each column of the recto the number of lines is on the average about thirty to thirty-three; but the number is very irregular, ranging from forty-three in one column to five in another.

III. CONTENTS.

As has been stated above, the MS. is a compilation. An analysis of the contents will be found on page 14. From this it will be seen to consist mainly of directions for divination processes involving numerous invocations, together with erotica and medical prescriptions, in which, however, magic plays as large a part as medicine.

The MS. is far from being unique in regard to its contents. Fragments of similar works in demotic exist at Paris (Louvre, No. 3229, published by Maspero, *Quelques papyrus du Louvre*, 1875), and at Leiden (I. 384 verso, Anast. 75, published by Leemans, *Mons. du musée de Leide*, 1842, pl. ccxxvi-vii) a MS. partly demotic and partly Greek, the latter portion being published by Leemans in *Pap. graeci mus. lugd. bat.* 1885, ii. *Pap. V*, and re-edited by Dieterich, *Pap. Mag. Mus. Lugd. Bat.* The Greek papyri containing similar texts are numerous, many examples having been pub-

¹ The horizontal lines on the recto are continuous for the whole length of the papyrus.

lished from the museums of Berlin, Leiden, London, and Paris by Goodwin, Parthey, Leemans, Wessely, and Kenyon.

The well-known codex of the Bibliothèque Nationale published by Wessely, *Denkschr. Kais. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, xxxvi. 1888, contains a few invocations in Old Coptic along with the Greek (cf. Griffith, *A. Z.* 1901, p. 85, and bibliography, *ibid.* p. 72).

Magic was from the earliest times largely developed by the Egyptians in relation both to the dead and the living. Under the former head fall both the pyramid texts and other texts found in the tombs, including most of the Book of the Dead, which consists mainly of magical invocations intended to make smooth the path of the deceased in the next world.

Magical texts for the use of the living are found in the Harris magical papyrus (ed. Chabas, 1860), the Metternich stela (ed. Golenischeff, 1877) and kindred stones, the Berlin papyrus edited by Erman (*Zaubersprüche für Mutter u. Kind*, 1901), &c. Reference may be made to the volume on Egyptian magic by Dr. Wallis Budge, 1899, and to a special study on vessel-divination by E. Lefébure, 'Le vase divinatoire,' in *Sphinx*, 1902, VI. 61 seq. Cf. also Dieterich, 'Abraxas'; Kenyon in *Cat. Greek Pap. in B. M.*, I. 62 seq.; Miss Macdonald in *P. S. B. A.*, xiii. 160 seq.; Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, &c.

In the closely allied department of medicine, it is sufficient to refer to the Ebers papyrus, the Kahun papyri, and the Berlin medical papyrus (ed. Brugsch, *Rec. Mon.* pl. 87-107), which offer many parallels. Among the Greek medical writers it is noticeable that Alexander of Tralles seems much more closely allied to the Egyptian school, if that be represented by our MS., than Galen.

But though the subject-matter of the MS. is not without its interest for the history of magic and medicine, its chief claim to publication lies in its philological interest. From the first its numerous glosses have attracted the attention of scholars, and have been the means of fixing the value of a large number of demotic groups. Further it is in date probably the latest known papyrus written in the demotic script; most of the glosses are really Coptic transcriptions, and under this head may likewise be included all the Egyptian words written in cipher; so that the MS. in these furnishes us with a series of very early Coptic words, including several grammatical forms of great interest. Possibly too the text may be of importance in relation to the question of dialects in pagan Egypt; but that is a subject too little worked out at present to allow of definite statements. The vocabulary is very extensive, and includes a number of Greek words, the names of over 100 plants, besides numerous animals and minerals.

IV. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE MS.

It may be useful to record here the names of those who have dealt with the MS. at greater length than a mere passing reference or quotation, and to whom we are indebted for many suggestions:—

REUVENS. *Supra*, p. 1.

LEEMANS. *Mons. &c., texte; Aegyptische Papyrus in demotischer Schrift, &c.* 1839.

MASPERO. *Rec. trav.*, i. 18-40 (1870).

REVILLOUT. *Setna*, introd. pp. 3-48 (1877); *Rev. Égypt.*, i. 163-172 (1880), ii. 10-15, 270-2 (1881); *Poème satyrique* (1885).

PLEYTE. *P. S. B. A.*, 1883, 149.

BRUGSCH. *Wtb. pass.*, *A. Z.*, 1884, 18 seq.

MAX MÜLLER. *Rec. tr.*, viii. 172 (1886), xiii. 149 (1890).

HESS. Setna pass. (1888), Zur Aussprache des Griechischen, in the *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, vi. 123; Der gnostische Papyrus von London, Einleitung, Text u. Demotisch-deutsches Glossar, 1892.

GROFF. Mém. de l'Institut Égypt. iii. 337 seq. (1897), and Bulletin du même, 1897, 1898.

As the London portion of the MS., which in the order of contents is the first part, was published fifty years later than the second part at Leiden, it follows that each publication has an independent numbering of the columns, starting from I. In view of the fact that there are many references in demotic literature already to the columns by their numbers as established by the publications of Leemans and Hess, it would have been desirable to retain the existing numbering if possible. But, as will be seen by comparison of the hand copy of the whole MS. which accompanies this edition with the former publications, the changes in the way of consolidation of the columns, and in some cases necessary re-numbering of the lines, have made it compulsory to introduce a new and continuous numbering of the columns. For instance, Hess col. X and Leemans col. I form a single column, and the same is the case with Leemans cols. II and III and cols. IV and V, and with verso, cols. XVI and XVII, XXII and XXIII. A comparative table of the old and new numbers will be found at the end.

V. THE GLOSSES.

There are about 640 words with transcriptions in Coptic characters in addition to a few inserted in the text.

Besides all the letters of the Greek alphabet we find the following used:—

ft (= R 26/15).	6 (= t: w 9/11).
z (= R 7/33, 25/34).	y (= q 2/10, 9/14).
h (= λ 25/34, 35 text).	^ (= 2 9/14, 25/34).
⌘ (= ω 2/13, 5/23, 8/8).	9 (= 2 2/4).
3 (= w 1/25, 8/9, 13, V. 5/9).	5 (= s 9/6, 29/10).
λ (= w 2/18).	♣ (= x 2/26, 29/10).

The glosses were undoubtedly written by the same scribe who wrote the demotic text. And it seems that he wrote the glosses before he filled in the rubrics. For the handwriting of the demotic text and of the rubrics is unquestionably the same; and in filling up in red the empty spaces he had left for rubrication, the scribe took occasion to fill in with his red ink occasional lapses in the black writing. In the text this can be observed in e.g. 24/1, the omitted — of the second *str* (?) has been filled up in red, and also the omitted determinative in the last word of 28/8, an omitted letter in *phr* 29/11, an omitted word *sn* interlineated in 29/12, and a plural sign in 25/26; and so too the gloss *ewē* in 28/8, overlooked when the glosses were originally inserted in black ink.

It is a fact that there is often a considerable difference between the Greek letters in the passages written in Greek and in the glosses (e.g. *παπιπετον* in 15/25 and 15/29), but this may be accounted for by the fact that the former are written in a cursive hand with ligatures, while the glosses are carefully written with separately formed letters without ligatures for distinctness' sake in the narrow space between the lines.

The above considerations, however, only show that the text and glosses were written by the same hand in our existing MS. It does not follow that they were written by the original compiler. Max Müller has argued (Rec. tr., viii. 175) that they must be due to another individual since they are mostly in the Fayumic

dialect, while the dialect of the demotic text is 'Untersahidisch' (i. e. Achmimic, so called by Stern). In Rec. tr., xiii. 152 *n.*, he replaces the latter term by a more precise definition: 'Die Mundart steht zwischen Fayumisch u. dem Mittel-ägyptischen von Akhmim, letzterem näher.' But it is very doubtful whether this distinction between the text and the glosses can be maintained. The only example quoted by Max Müller that distinctly suggests Fayumic is the gloss $\lambda\omega$ and λ over a group in 16/5 and 25/34, which he reads as = (ε)ροοτ, regarding the interchange of ρ and λ as evidence of Fayumic dialect. But the demotic group in question does not read *er-w*, but *mr* as in *mr-ḥ* (1/17, 2/7, 14/6, 28), and the gloss $\lambda\omega$ represents the absolute form of the late Egyptian word which we see in its construct form in Sahidic $\lambda\epsilon\alpha\alpha\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ and in $\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omega\nu\iota\varsigma$. From the detailed examination of the dialect (in vol. ii) it appears probable that the dialect of the text does not show any distinction from that of the glosses, and it is not necessary to go behind the scribe of the present MS. and place the compiler earlier. He may well have been one and the same.

VI. DATE.

Reuvers (u. s. p. 151) placed the date of the MS. in the first half of the third century A. D., and this was repeated by Leemans.

Groff and Hess attributed it on palaeographical grounds to the second century; but in the light of recent additions to the knowledge of Greek palaeography, and the opinions based on them of Kenyon, Grenfell, and Hunt (see A. Z., xxxix. (1901) p. 78), the third century must be accepted as the date of the MS. But this, of course,

is the date at which the papyrus was written, and merely furnishes a *terminus ad quem* for deciding as to the date of the contents.

That the whole of the papyrus, in its present state, was written by one and the same scribe—with the possible exception of verso XXVIII—can scarcely be a matter of doubt to any one who has studied closely the handwriting of the original MSS. It must be stated, however, that Reuvens and Leemans were of opinion that the glosses were written by a later hand than that of the body of the text: but this question has been discussed above (p. 9), and apart from the identity of ink, and the material proof given there, it may be added that the hieratic glosses in 27/8 are certainly written by the same hand as the numerous hieratic passages scattered through the text.

The date of the contents is a much more complicated question. Written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic, and partly in Greek, they wear the aspect of a compilation, which is borne out by the varied and disconnected nature of the subject-matter.

It has been suggested that the work is a translation into demotic of a Greek original, and perhaps this is the first question demanding discussion. *Prima facie* it may be said to be likely, as so many similar works exist in Greek. The introduction of three invocations of considerable length written in Greek characters almost compels us to accept that origin for those particular sections, viz. 4/1-19, 15/24-31, 23/7-20. It seems probable that the translator felt he could transfer to Egyptian the prescriptions and preparations, while the formula of incantation had to be left in the original language. Had these sections been written in Egyptian originally, it is not likely that an incantation in a foreign tongue would be inserted in the place presumably of an Egyptian one.

And in the first named instance there is the additional evidence of two true Greek glosses, i.e. not *Coptic transcriptions* of the demotic words, but Greek equivalents of the two words 'table' and 'goose,' which seem to be inserted clearly to prevent a misunderstanding of the original terms. In the second instance 15/24-31, the original Greek lines 25-28 are immediately followed by a demotic translation of the same passage (ll. 29-31), which points in the same direction. Translation from the Greek is rendered probable, outside the passages already referred to, by the transcription of Greek prescriptions and substances in 24/1-25, and verso I, II, VIII, IX. According to an ingenious suggestion of Max Müller, in verso II the otherwise unintelligible phrase *m^cnes n rm* is almost certainly a mistranslation of *μαγνησία ἀνδρεία*. Max Müller has also (Rec. tr., viii. 175-6) given strong reasons for regarding the passage 25/23-37 as being translated from a Greek original. However, even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian—certainly so in the case of the Greek passage in 15/25-28, which has itself clearly an Egyptian origin.

On the other hand, some of the chief sections of the MS. show no traces of Greek influence, e.g. cols. VI and XV. 1-20; but it would be rash to say that they are older; they may well represent only a purer Egyptian source. Max Müller (Rec. tr., viii. 172) has suggested that some of the magic formulae go back to the period from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty. This cannot be true of more than a few phrases. The language indeed is not entirely uniform, but throughout the papyrus the vocabulary and grammar are distinctly not 'Late Egyptian'; they are 'demotic,' and that too

of a kind which approaches Coptic much more closely than in any other known papyrus. Certain passages, such as the spell in 13/1-10, show more or less archaism, but in all cases it is mixed with late forms.

The use of hieratic might be thought to indicate some antiquity where it occurs. But the writing is a strange jumble; the hieratic is inextricably though sparingly mixed with the demotic, a single word being often written partly in hieratic, partly in demotic. Where hieratic signs occur the language is not generally more archaic than when the demotic is pure. In 23/24 the word *Abrasax* is written in hieratic. Now *Abrasax* is usually regarded as a typical gnostic invocation name, Irenaeus having stated that it was invented by Basilides (fl. 125 A.D.). This statement is now generally regarded as an error, and the name may be earlier; but there is no authority for placing it in pre-Christian times (cf. Hort, s.v. *Abrasax*, in Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; Dieterich, *Abrasax*, p. 46; C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Kopt. Spr.*, 1892, p. 562).

Not many documents written in hieratic have been ascertained to be later than the first century A.D.; but they were plentiful at Tanis amongst the burnt papyri found by Professor Petrie in the house of 'Bakakhuiu' (Asychis), the destruction of which Mr. Petrie was disposed to date to 174 A.D. (Tanis, i. p. 41); and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. v. 237) mentions hieratic as still taught in the schools (circa A.D. 160-220). Hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the name of Decius (249-251), are found in the temple of Esneh, and the existence of hieroglyphic almost implies that of hieratic.

Judging by the language, it is difficult to believe that any part of the work in its present redaction is more than a century or two older than the papyrus itself.

The contents of the papyrus may be classified as follows :—

1. Divination—

- (a) by the vessel of oil I-III, IX-X. 22, XIV, XVIII. 7-33, XXI. 1-9, XXII (?), XXVIII, verso XXII, verso XXVI.
- (b) by a lamp V, VI-VII, VIII. 1-12, XVI, XVII-XVIII. 6, XXV. 1-22, XXVII. 13-36, verso XVIII, verso XXIV, verso XXXI.
- (c) by the sun X. 22-end, XXVII. 1-12, XXIX.
- (d) by moon XXIII. 21-31.
- (e) by the Foreleg constellation (Great Bear) verso XVIII.
- (f) by stars ? IV. 23-4.
- (g) through the priest Psash (?) VIII. 12-end.
- (h) through Imuthes IV. 1-22.
- (i) by dreams verso XVII, eye-paint XXI, invocation XXVII ? XXVIII.
- (k) for thief-catching III. 29, or shipwreck (?) verso XV.

2. to obtain favour and respect XI, verso XXXII.
to avert anger of superior XV. 24-31.

3. Erotica—

- by potions XV. 1-21, XXI. 10-43, XXV. 23-XXVI.
- by salves XII, verso III. 14-16, XII-XIII. 9, XIII. 10-11, XIV, XXIII, XXV, XXX, XXXII.
- αγωγιμον* verso XVI, XVII, XIX.
- διακοπη* XIII. 1-10.

4. Poisons, &c.—

- blinding XIII. 11, XXIV. 30.
- soporifics XXIII. 1-20, XXIV, verso II. 16-III. 3.
- maddening (magic) verso XXIX.
- slaying XXIII. 7, XXIV. 28, verso XXXII.
- uses of the shrew-mouse, &c. (chiefly in erotica) XIII. 11-end and verso XXXII.

5. Healing—

- poison XIX. 10-21.
- sting XX. 1-27.
- dog's bite XIX. 9, 32-40.
- bone in throat XIX. 21-32, XX. 27-33.
- gout and other affections of feet verso VIII-X, XI.
- water in ears verso IV. 1-5.
- ophthalmia (?) verso XX.
- fever verso XXXIII.
- haemorrhage, &c. in woman verso V. 1-3, 9-13, V. 4-8.
- to ascertain pregnancy verso V. 4-8.

6. names or descriptions of plants, drugs, &c. verso I-II. 15,
III. 4-13, 17-18, IV. 6-19, V. 14-17.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

COLUMN I-III. Divination by vessel with medium.

1/2-3/5 invocation ; 3/5-3/35 directions.

IV. 1-19. Process employed by Imuthes.

1-8 directions ; 9-19 Greek invocation.

IV. 20-22. For a horoscope (?).

IV. 23-24. Eye-paints.

V. 1-2. fragmentary.

3-32. Divination by lamp without medium.

3-8 directions ; 9-23 invocations ; 24-32
prescription for eye-paint and further
directions.

VI-VIII. 11. Divination by lamp, with medium and alone.

6/1-11 directions ; 6/11-8/11 invocations.

VIII. 12-18. Divination alone, according to the priest
Psash (?).

12-16 invocation ; 16-18 directions.

IX-X. 22. Divination of Chons by vessel.

9/1-10/9 invocation ; 10/9-10/19 directions
for use with medium ; 10/20-10/22 for
use alone.

X. 22-35. Divination by vessel to see the bark of Ra, alone.

23-30 invocation ; 30-35 directions.

XI. Formula for acquiring praise and honour.

1-21 invocation ; 21-26 directions.

XII. Eroticon.

1-14 directions ; 15-18 invocation ; 18-27
alternative invocation ; 27-31 further
directions.

XIII. To separate a man from a woman.

2-9 invocation ; 9-10 directions (? incom-
plete) ; 11-29 uses of shrew-mouse (?) and
other animals, &c., for removing the man
and procuring the woman.

XIV. Divination by vessel with medium.

2-16 invocation ; 17-32 directions.

COLUMN XV. 1-20. Eroticon.

1-8 directions; 8-20 invocation.

XV. 21-23. Another eroticon.

XV. 24-31. Formula for averting anger of a superior.

25-28 Greek invocation; 29-31 demotic translation of the same.

XVI. 1-14. Divination by lamp; invocation.

XVI. 15-17. Invocation before the sun for success generally.

XVI. 18-30. Divination by lamp with a medium.

18-19 directions; 20-22 invocation; 22-30 further directions.

XVII. 1-21. Another method of divination by lamp with medium.

1-11 invocation; 11-21 directions.

XVII. 21-23. Another method of the same.

XVII. 24-26. Another method of the same.

XVII. 27-XVIII. 6. Another method of the same.

XVIII. 7-33. Divination by vessel with medium or alone.

8-23 invocation; 24-33 directions.

XIX. 1-9. Formula for the bite of a dog.

1-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XIX. 10-21. Formula for extracting poison from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a philtre.

11-19 invocation; 19-21 directions.

XIX. 21-32. Formula for a bone in the throat.

22-28 invocation; 28-32 directions.

XIX. 32-40. Formula for the bite of a dog.

33-39 invocation; 39-40 directions.

XX. 1-27. Formula for the sting of a scorpion (?).

2-13 invocation; 14-27 directions and invocation to the oil.

XX. 27-33. Formula for a bone in the throat.

XXI. 1-9. Divination by vessel through Osiris.

2-8 invocation; 8-9 directions.

XXI. 10-43. Eroticon (a scarab in wine).

10-20 directions; 20-43 invocations.

XXII. 1-5. Divination by vessel for spirit summoning (incomplete).

XXIII. 1-20. Formula to inflict catalepsy and death.

2-8 directions; 9-20 Greek invocation.

COLUMN

- XXIII. 21-26. Vessel-divination by the moon.
21-24 directions ; 24-26 invocation.
- XXIII. 27-31. Another method of the same.
- XXIV. Various prescriptions for producing sleep,
catalepsy, death, &c.
- XXV. 1-22. Divination by lamp with a medium.
2-8 invocation ; 9-22 directions.
- XXV. 23-31. Eroticon.
- XXV. 31-XXVI. 18. Eroticon.
25/31-33 directions ; 25/34-37 invocation ; 26/1-18 alternative invocation.
- XXVII. 1-12. Divination by vessel with medium, for
seeing the bark of Ra.
1/9 invocation ; 9-12 directions.
- XXVII. 13-36. Divination by lamp with medium.
13-19 directions ; 20-24 invocation ;
24-36 prescription for eye-paint and
further directions.
- XXVIII. 1-9. Divination by vessel, alone.
1-4 invocation ; 4-9 directions.
- XXVIII. 10-15. Another method of the same.
- XXIX. 1-20. Divination by the sun with medium.
1-4 directions ; 5-12 invocation ; 12-
17 alternative invocation ; 17-20
further directions.
- XXIX. 20-30. Another method of the same.

VERSO.

- I. Names of plants.
- II. 1-15. Names of plants and minerals.
- II. 16-20. Prescription for sleeping draught.
- III. 1-3. Another.
- III. 4-13, 17-18. Names of minerals.
- III. 14-16. Eroticon.
- IV. 1-5. Prescription for the ears.
- IV. 6-19. Names of animals and plants.
- V. 1-3, 9-13. Prescriptions for hæmorrhage in women.
- V. 4-8. Prescription for ascertaining pregnancy.
- V. 14-17. Names of plants.

- VI-VII. Prescriptions for ailments of women.
- VIII-X. Prescriptions for gout.
 - XI. Prescriptions for ailments of the feet.
- XII-XIV. Erotica.
- XV. Formula for thief-catching and against shipwreck (?).
- XVI. Eroticon.
- XVII. Formula for dreams.
- XVIII. Divination by lamp, or by the Fore-leg (Great Bear)
Constellation.
 - XIX. Formula for summoning a woman.
 - XX. Prescription for ophthalmia (?).
 - XXI. Formula for an eye-paint (?).
- XXII. Vessel-divination, alone.
- XXIII. Eroticon.
- XXIV. Lamp-divination.
- XXV. Eroticon.
- XXVI. Invocation for use in vessel-divination.
- XXVII. Invocation for the same (?).
- XXVIII. Directions for spirit-summoning (?).
- XXIX. Formula to produce madness.
- XXX. Erotica.
- XXXI. Invocation for use in lamp-divination.
- XXXII. Formula for producing love or death of a woman, and
acquiring praise.
- XXXIII. Formula for removing fever.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

TRANSLATION.

RESTORATIONS are placed in *square* brackets []. Lacunae in the original, for which no restoration is suggested, are represented by dots. Words in *round* brackets () are not in the original, but are added by the translators; those between angular brackets < > are intended to be omitted.

The second person singular has been rendered by 'thou, thee' in invocations, by 'you' elsewhere. In the very few instances in which the second person plural occurs, it is indicated by the use of 'ye' or 'you' (plur.); (*bis*) following a word indicates that the word is followed in the original by the sign *sp sn*, implying that the word or phrase is to be repeated.

An accurate transcription of the magic names is given in the transliteration; in the translation we have rendered the sound approximately without strict adherence to any one system, generally following the glosses where they exist, as it was thought that this would be the most useful course for such readers as are not Egyptian scholars.

TRANSLITERATION.

For the system, see note preceding the demotic glossary. Words transliterated with Coptic letters *between asterisks* are written in *cipher* in the original.

REFERENCES.

In referring to the plates of the papyrus in vol. ii, Col. I. l. 1 is quoted as 1/1 and verso, Col. II. l. 3 as V. 2/3, &c.

TRANSLITERATION

COL. I.

1. ḥn p tš n Pr-mze z-mt
2. štte n pe-f ryt ḥtp n Pr- . . . e ḥr-f mw tylk
3. n 'm t(?) e ne-f(?) šh(?)n 're-t 'nh't
4. tkr my p wyn p wstn ḥn pe hn
5. a'wn n-y p t a'wn n-y t ty't a'wn n-y p nwn
6. 'ot n ḥmt n 'rq-ḥḥ n ntr-w nt n t p't nt θsc
'm-n
7. wyn p wstn ḥn pe hne pe
8. ḥm-ḥl nte ḥr-f pḥt a py hne (nhē) my wz

COL. I.

l. 1. Restore from 18/7. The parallel text to ll. 13-17 shows that more than half of the page is lost, but the heading line was probably not of full length. *Pr-mze* is *πεμζε* (Oxyrhynchus), capital of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

l. 2. *Pr- . . . e (?)*. The group suggests a reading *Pr-'r-'mn* for *περρμον* (Pelusium), but the 'r (?) sign is perhaps too upright, and it is more likely that the two signs following *Pr* are a special group for some divine name. Nothing is known of the religious importance of Pelusium, or even of its name in Egyptian, but the city is mentioned in a Greek invocation quoted below at l. 12.

l. 3. *sh (?)*. This group, here in the plural, may represent  *sh*, 'toes' (LANGE, A. Z., 1896, 76). Cf. LEPSIUS, Todtenb., c. 42, l. 9 *kw sh-w-i sh-w-i m 'r/w (sic) 'nh-w*, 'my fingers and toes are as rearing serpents.' But the same group recurs in 7/2 as a masc. sing. subst. where the context rather suggests the meaning 'testicles.'

'nh-i, of a serpent, cf. 12/17; in Egyptian *PLEYTE*, Pap. Tur., cxxxii. 4 and (very late) Mar. Pap. Boul., I. Pl. 9, ll. 5-6. It seems to mean 'darting forward for attack.' Similar meanings, 'rise,' &c., are common, esp. in late texts, Br., Wtb., 198-9; cf. also 9/16, 10/7. But in GRIFFITH, Tell el Yahudiyeh, xxv. 15, an enraged serpent *'nh nf-w-f* 'breathed its vapour' at a god, *'nh* being there a transitive verb surviving in Sah. *anw-tnw* 'breathe,' BSCIAI, Rec. tr., vii. 25 (Job ix. 18).

TRANSLATION

COL. I.

(1) [A vessel-divination which a physician?] of the nome of Pemze [gave to me]. Formula: (2) '[O god N.] the border of whose girdle (?) rests in Peremoun (?), whose face is like a spark (3) of (?) an obscene (?) cat, whose toes (?) are a rearing uraeus (4) quick[-ly?]; put light and spaciousness in my vessel (5) Open to me the earth, open to me the Underworld, open to me the abyss, (6) great of bronze of Alkhah, ye gods that are in heaven, that are exalted, come ye (7) [put?] light and spaciousness in my vessel, my (8) [this] boy, whose face is bent over this vessel

l. 4. *p wynn p wstn*, cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. v. 17 (ed. DIETERICH) γευσθω βα(θυσ) πλα(τος) μη(κος) αυγη in an ονειρου αυτησις.

l. 5. Or perhaps '[Open to me, O heaven!], open to me, O earth!' &c. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1180 ανοιγητι (sic) ουρανε.

ty.t transcribed ΤΗΙ in Gloss. 17/20, O. C. Par. ΤΗ (A. Z., 1883, 94). In II Kham. ii. 10, &c., the judgement of the dead takes place in Tei, which seems convertible with Amenti.

p nwn. It is a question whether this is the hieroglyphic . The latter occurs only twice in this papyrus, but in one of the instances it is clearly parallel to *nwn*. Cf. xxi. 33 *nte-k py k km hyt 'r pyr n p*  with ix. 15 *'nk p hf 'r pyr n p nwn*.

l. 6. *'rg-hh*. BRUGSCH, Dict. Geog., 130, 1121 = [a]λχα 15/27, O. C. Par. αλχδδ (A. Z., 1883, 104), the necropolis at Abydos where the head of Osiris was preserved. It is spelt with *l*, *'lg-hh* only once in 15/30, cf. the converse in *gh'ikter* = χαρακτηρ 5/5.

'm-n. αμωνι, cf. MÜLLER, A. Z., 1893, 50, who suggests that it is cohortative 1st plur. 'let us come,' or for *'m-w n-y*, 'come ye unto me,' with the *n-y* unaccented being reduced to an enclitic, but cf. 11/16 *'m-n n-y*.

l. 8. *nhe*, 'oil,' and *hne*, 'vessel,' confused in the writing. Parallel passages authorize either.

9. e ze py šn-hne p šn-hne n ʾS:t pe e-s qte
 10. ʾm n-y a hn . . . pe ḥtr ze hb nb . . .
 11. . . . [nte-]k t wn yr:t-f n py ʿlw a bl ar-w tre-w
 12. z ʾnk pe p pr-ʿo my-sr sr-my-srpt rn-yt
 13. [a]r-k ty n p-hw z ʾnk pe syt-tʿ-k stm rn-yt stm
 14. hrenwte lʿppt-t-thʿ lʿksnthʿ sʿ
 15. l bwel sp-sn lwtery gʿsʿntrʿ yʿh-ʿo
 16. [p]šft n t p:t ʾblʿnʿthʿnʿlbʿ p srff
 17. [eʿr-k] zt-f eʿr-k sq n ḥrw-k p mr-ʿh-nfr pe ḥtr

l. 10. *ḥtr* here and elsewhere perhaps 'compeller,' meaning him (here Anubis) who compels the gods to do the magician's will.

l. 11. *aa*. Note this gloss as a variant or correction of *nte-k ty*, also in l. 18.

l. 12. *z ʾnk*. For the essentially Egyptian identification of the utterer of the spell with his god see DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 136 note, and cf. *Iambl. de Myst.* vi. 6.

p pr-ʿo my-sr, cf. the corrupt *τον μουισδρω τον αναξ* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. ix. 11-12.

sr-my-srpt. The same signs recur grouped together in varying order as a divine appellative in 9/6 and 11/8. The knife  and hide  are the zodiacal signs of Leo and Aries (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22); the flower or seed-head is the peculiar determinative of the *καρπוט* throughout this papyrus. The same divine name, composed of a lotus bud (?)  with lion and spelt-out name of ram (*srw*), occurs in LEPS., *Todt.*, cap. 162, l. 5, variants giving *srpḏ* for the lotus bud (?) (Br., *Wtb.*, 1265) and *mʿy* for the lion (Leyd. *Lijkpap.*, No. 16). Cf. also PLEYTE, *Chapitres Suppl.*, Pl. 14 and 131. The group of a lotus leaf, lion, and ram is figured on several hypocephali, the best example being in BUDGE, *Lady Meux Cat.*, 2nd ed., Pl. VI. Cf. PLEYTE, *ib. text*, Pl. opp. p. 60. Probably none of these instances are earlier than the Persian invasion. Outside our papyrus the normal order is evidently lotus-lion-ram, and Greek versions agree with this: *Brit. Mus. Pap.* CXXI. l. 499 *εγω ειμι ο εν τω Πηλουσιω καθιδρυμενος Σερφουθ: μονισρω:* (so facs.), similarly l. 557; in Leyd. Pap. V. col. 3 a, l. 6, the spelling is varied and corrupt. In each case *σερφουθ* is marked off from *μουισρω*, the latter appearing as one word. On a gnostic gem in the Wilson Collection belonging to Aberdeen University is the legend:—*σερφουθ μουισρω λαλαμ dos μοι χαριν πραξιν νεικην*. In this combination the lotus (*καρπוט*, see below, 2/17), the lion (*μοσι*, see below, 5/11), and the ram (*ερω*, see below, 11/8 and 14/13, and decan names in Br., *Wtb. Suppl.*, 995) probably all represent solar attributes.

rn-yt. This abnormal spelling apparently arises from a combination

(oil); cause to succeed (9) for this vessel-divination is the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought (10) come in to me, O my compeller (?), for everything (11) and cause the eyes of this child to be opened to them all, (12) for I am the Pharaoh Lion-ram; Ram-lion-lotus is my name (13) to thee here to-day, for I am Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, Setem (14) [is my true name, &c.] Hrenoutê, Lapptotha, Laxantha, Sa-(15)[risa, &c.] Bolbouel (*bis*), Louteri, (Klo-)Kasantra, Iaho (16) [is my name, &c., Balkam the] dread(?) one of heaven, Ablanathanalba, the gryphon (17) [of the shrine of God, &c.]. [You] say it, drawling(?) with your

of the earlier *rn-y* and the later form found in O. C. Par. **ερεντ** (A. Z., 1900, 89, cf. Boh. **ερενκ** **Ηνν**. Actes, 108). Cf. 14/2 *yrt-yl*.

l. 13. Lines 13-17 are repeated with the missing passages complete in verso XXVII, which is written on the back of this and the following column.

syt-p-k. The first element is written as the 'serpent' **επ** in the parallel text and *k* is bull (**κρ**, 7/33), but *p* seems meaningless. It may possibly be 'the impregnator of the cow,' cf. BUDGE, *Nesiamsu*, iii. 6, *p k sty m k-wt*. In PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, i. 252, we have practically the same phrase introduced into an O. C. context which gives an entirely different meaning, 'I am Osiris whom Set destroyed,' **ΠΕΝΤΑΣΤΗ ΤΑΡΟ(ς)**; see ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 109 note.

stm, i.e. 'hearing,' or perhaps 'hearer,' but the personal determinative is absent.

l. 15. *Kasantra* alone without **κλο** appears in the demotic of both texts, suggesting a reminiscence of the prophetess Cassandra.

l. 16. *srrf* the hieroglyphic *sfr* of II Beni Hasan, Pl. IV, a winged quadruped with raptorial beak. The *srrf* is described in Kufi, xv. 1 seq., as 'the image (?) of god (?), the king (?) of all that is in the world, the avenger that cannot (himself) be punished; his beak is that of the falcon, his eyes those of a man, his limbs of a lion, his ears of a . . . , his scales of a water- . . . , his tail a serpent's.' Further, he is the mightiest of beings next to God, has authority over everything on earth like Death, and is the instrument of God's vengeance.

l. 17. *sq*, cf. 6/19 for the complete phrase. The meaning 'drawl' is not quite certain. It must be some artificial way of speaking, such as whining or muttering, cf. 7/32 and Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 1, l. 38, col. 3. l. 2, and *φθογγος αναγκαστικός*, &c., Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. 765 seq.

18. a šnt-k ar-f ty n p-hw nte-k t wn yr't-f n
py [lw]

19. nb nte-k nhm py 'lw nte hr-f ph[t a py]

20. n ntr hry-t p-sepe-n-p-t hry-t

21. ank pe Hr 'Mn nt hms a py šn-hne ty n
p[hw]

22. py šn-hne ty n p-hw m'rygh'ry e'r-k

23. nte-w z pe šn n-y z n-w sp-sn n ntr-w nt w'eb
n p nwn

24. n t n rn nte n ntr-w n Kmy h' hr n gpe-w

25. th'r z ank t'py-šteh-ty n t n rn

26. t wz-k p pr-'o peš'm-ty nt htp hr r

27. ny hpš-w n nb n m't t m't n r-y p 'bye

28. th' z ank pe stel y'h-'o wn-t

COL. II.

1. e'r-k z n p hm-hl z a-wn n yr't-k e-f wn yr't-f nte-f
nw a p wyn e'r-k t 'r-f 'š

2. z 'w sp-sn p wyn pyr sp-sn p wyn θse sp-sn p wyn
hy sp-sn p wyn p nt n bl

3. 'm a hn e-f hp nte-f wn yr't-f nte-f tm nw a p wyn
e'r-k t 'r-f htm yr't-f

p-mr-'h pronounced *p-le-che*, produces the common Ptolemaic proper name Πελαίας, as is proved by a bilingual (SPIEGELBERG, Strassb. Pap. No. 21, text, pp. 21-2, the reading *P-ers* to be corrected to *p-mr-'h*; the Greek nominative shown in GRENF. Amh. Pap. LI. 5). The religious significance of this appellation, 'the good oxherd,' is not clear, nor has it been traced in early texts; from 2/7 it is clearly applied to Anubis, and perhaps dogs were used for herding cattle in Ancient Egypt? It is probably equivalent to Gk. ποιμην, for which see GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 26, B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 31. If the Good Shepherd is the meaning, we may note the Χριστός Ανοβίς of Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. vi. 17.

1. 19. *nhm* written with the lotus bud, cf. BR., Wtb., 796-7.

1. 20. *pet*. In the writing of the glosses the aspirate is suppressed before *p*, even in 19/19 *npat* for *p-hrt*, so also 16/7 *napph*, 28/9 *poaoop* 29/14 *paētwt*, V. 33/3 *apaet*. The initial demotic group *hry* is seen in

voice: 'O beautiful oxherd, my compeller, (18)
 ask thee about here to-day; and do thou cause
 the eyes of this boy to be opened (19)
 and do thou protect this boy whose face is bent down
 [over this (20) vessel] of god, lord of earth, the
 survivor(?) of the earth, lord of earth (21)
 I am Hor-Amon that sitteth at this vessel-divina-
 tion here to-day (22) this vessel-divination
 here to-day; Marikhari, thou (23)
 and that they tell me my inquiry. Say to them (*bis*)
 "O holy gods of the abyss (24) [I am] of
 earth by name, under the soles [of] whose [feet?] the
 gods of Egypt are placed (25) thar, for I am
 Ta-pishtehei of earth by name (26) preserve
 thee, O Pharaoh, Pashamei that resteth at the mouth (?)
 (27) these shoulders of real gold.
 Truth is in (?) my mouth, honey (28) [is in my lips?]
 Ma . . . tha for I am Stel, Iaho, Earth-opener."

COL. II.

(1) You say to the boy 'Open your eyes'; when he
 opens his eyes and sees the light, you make him cry out,
 (2) saying 'Grow (*bis*), O light, come forth (*bis*) O light,
 rise (*bis*) O light, ascend (*bis*) O light, thou who art
 without, (3) come in.' If he opens his eyes and does

Ptolemaic proper names commencing with $\Phi\rho\iota$ - 'sheikh' = *p-hry*-. The
 pronunciation here would be *hri-to* rather than *pert*, unless the spelling is
 fanciful.

l. 21. Hor-Amon is known in figures of glazed pottery (LANZONE, Diz.
 Mit., 601).

l. 23. *sp-sn*. It seems probable that this group may be used simply as
 a mark of emphasis, e.g. after *m šs*, 'exceedingly,' and here after the
 imperative 'say to them!' It can hardly mean 'say to them twice.'

l. 26. *hr r*, or 'opposite,' as in Coptic *gipen*-.

l. 27. 'bye, cf. 9/16: or perhaps, 'The truth of my mouth [is] the honey
 [of my lips].'

4. e·r-k š ar-f n whm z-mt-t p kke a·l-k n h·t-f p wyn a·ny p wyn n-y a hn
5. p š·y nt hn p nwn a·ny p wyn n-y a hn Wsr nt hr nšme·t a·ny p wyn n-y
6. a hn py IV tw nt n bl a·ny p wyn n-y a hn p nte p šp pa ny wne·t-w n t·t-f a (*sic*)
7. a·ny p wyn n-y a hn Ḳp p-mr·h nfr a·ny p wyn n-y a hn z e·r-k
8. a t s·o ar-y ty n p-hw z Ḳk Hr s Ḳt p s nfr n Wsr e·r-k a Ḳny n ntr-w n t s·t
9. wype e·r-k a t Ḳ-r-w Ḳr n pe hb n-se t mš·e(?) te·t yp·t Ne-tbew e·r-k a ty Ḳ-r-w Ḳr n·m-s
10. z(?) twr·m-ne Ḳm-ne Ḳ· mes sp-sn Ḳo-rnw-Ḳo-rf sp-sn Ḳo-rnw-Ḳo-rf sp-sn pḥ-Ḳo-r-f
11. pḥ-r-f y·Ḳo qwy n stn tw-hr my wz py Ḳlw nte hr-f pḥte a py
12. nh[e nte-k(?)] t ph(?) n-y Sbk š· nte-f pyr stm rn-yt stm pe pe rn n mt z Ḳnk
13. l . . [m] t twlot tḥt pynt·t pe rn n mt p ntr Ḳo nte ne·w rn-f

COL. II.

l. 4. *a·l-k*. The *a* is an addition above the line. *l-k* would be $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\kappa$, but the *a* prefixed suggests * $\alpha\lambda\iota\epsilon\kappa$ on the analogy of $\alpha\lambda\iota$, hardly $\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon\kappa$ 'cease,' cf. St., § 384. The gloss may of course be incomplete, like some others.

a·ny, the same formula in O. C. Par. $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\omega\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\iota$ A. Z., 1900, p. 87.

l. 5. *p š·y* O. C. Par. $\pi\sigma\omicron\iota$ A. Z., 1883, p. 105: 1900, 92 and $\Psi\omicron\iota$ ib. 93 from Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1643. A god whose name often occurs in Graeco-Egyptian names, $\Sigma\epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, &c. (cf. SPIEGELBERG, Demot. Stud., i. p. 57*), and in the titles of Antoninus Pius was translated $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$. In the older texts (*š·y*) he seems to be mainly a god of destiny (LANZ., Diz. Mit., 1185).

p š·y nt hn p nwn = $\sigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu\ \sigma\ \phi\eta\nu\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\theta\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 239.

nšme·t, the bark of Osiris: see Rec. trav., xvi. 105 seq., esp. p. 121.

l. 6. *šp*. The meaning is very uncertain. It might be 'the ruling star,' cf. Leyd. Pap. Gr. W. col. 9, l. 36 $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

not see the light, you make him close his eyes, (4) you call to him again; formula: 'O darkness, remove thyself from before him (*sic*)! O light, bring the light in to me! (5) Pshoi that is in the abyss, bring in the light to me! O Osiris, who is in the Nesheme-boat, bring in the light to me! (6) these four winds that are without, bring in the light to me! O thou in whose hand is the moment(?) that belongeth to these hours (7) bring in the light to me! Anubis, the good oxherd, bring in the light to me! for thou (8) shalt give protection(?) to me here to-day. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of Osiris; thou shalt bring the gods of the place (9) of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do my business, and they shall make my affair proceed; Netbeou, thou shalt cause them to do it. (10) For [I am?] Touramnei, Amnei, A-a, Mes (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Ornouorf (*bis*), Pahorof, (11) Pahrof, Io, a little(?) king, Touhor; let this child prosper, whose face is bent down to this (12) oil [and thou shalt] escort(?) Souchos to me until he come forth. Setem is my name, Setem is my correct name. For I am (13) L[ot], M[oulo]t, Toulot, Tat,

l. 8. *co* may be only magical gibberish, but suggests the word for 'protection,' 'amulet.'

l. 9. *wyfe*, the gods of the place of judgement are presumably the numerous gods of Egypt who assisted at the judgement of the dead. Cf. V. 33/2.

Ne-ibew, a deity (?) unknown except in the proper name *Πανετβεus*, GRENF. Pap. Tebt. No. 88, l. 20 (B.C. 115-4). There are said to be sixteen of them in V. 33/5 q. v.

mšc, of an inanimate object in a transferred sense.

l. 11. *qwy n sm*, perhaps only gibberish, to be pronounced *kouiens* (?).

l. 12. *ph* or perhaps *še*.

Sšk. It seems curious that the very well-defined god Souchos should be asked for when Anubis is the one really required: doubtless he might be supposed to dwell in the liquid oil.

rn-yt, &c. Cf. O. C. Par. *ερεντ . . . πε πα ρεν η λιπτ* (A. Z., 1884, pp. 23-4, 1900, p. 89). το ονομα το αληθινον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 115.

l. 13. Lot Moulot may perhaps be the missing words, cf. 18/13.

14. wnh a py 'lw aph-^o-b-^o-s 'psewst-^o-s ep^oletsy^o
e-^r-k 'š ny

15. šh-w n sp VII e-^r-k t 'r-f wn yr-t-f nte p wyn a^{ny}
nte-f z 'Np 'y a hn e-^r-k 'š h-t-f

16. z-mt-t 'y ryz mw ryz 'y t wr t 'y py hwt nfr a-ms
heryew t šr-t n t neme-t

17. 'm n-y z nte-k py sšn 'r pyr hn t srpt n p nws-t-r
nt 'r wyn a p t tre-f

18. hy 'Np 'm n-y p hy p zr p hry-sšt n na t ty-t p
pr-^o n na 'mnt p wr syn

19. . . nfr n Wsr p nht hr-f 'wt n ntr-w e-^r-k h^o n t ty-t
ne-hr t-t-f n Wsr e-^r-k šms

20. [n] by n 'Bt z e-w 'nh n'm-k tre-w ny by-w na ty-t
tsre-t 'm a p t wnh-k ar-y

1. 14. *aph-^o-b-^o-s*, &c. As the glosses show this is merely a transcription of the Greek words ἀφόβως ἀψεύστως ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ, and to mark this the determinative of that which is foreign is placed at the end of each word. It is interesting to find the initial letter /, here and in 10/30, representing the Gk. α, and so indicating that that was its normal pronunciation. In Achm. it corresponds to α, rarely ε, in Sah. and Boh. to ε, rarely α. ε is probably a wearing down or shortening of the earlier α.

1. 15. *a^{ny}*, a peculiar writing (as if *a-n-y*) for αἱ, occurring also in I Kham. v. 14*.

16. *y*. The sign represents  and is transcribed *ny* twice 7/24, 16/9. This can hardly be the pronunciation of the interjection . The usual interjection in religious texts is   which occurs here frequently spelt    , but we consider  to be distinct from *hy*.

ryz mw ryz, cf. 18/13 *lot mw lot*, 27/5 *rw my rw*, V. 12/3 *lyl mw lyl*.
neme-t apparently a goddess, perhaps of destruction: usually this

* The group for *ny* is that which spells *ne-ne* (ἡνε) in ordinary texts, but here the *ne* is superfluous, and in this papyrus a false *ne* is always written before *ne*, so that ἡνε has to be written out *ne(-ne)-ne*. In other texts as well as this we find *ne-nfr* with a false *ne*, probably due to the initial sound of *nfr*, and this may have led to the otiose *ne* before *ne* in the present text.

Peintat is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, (14) appear to this child without alarming or deceiving, truthfully.' You utter these (15) charms seven times, you make him open his eyes. If the light is good and he says 'Anubis is coming in,' you call before him (Anubis). (16) Formula: 'O Riz Muriz, O To-ur-to, O this beautiful male born of Herieou, the daughter of the Neme, (17) Come to me, for thou art this lotus-flower that came forth from in the lotus of Pnastor, and that illuminates the whole earth; (18) hail! Anubis, come to me, the High, the Mighty, the Chief over the mysteries of those in the Underworld, the Pharaoh of those in Amenti, the Chief Physician, (19) the fair [son?] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, thou manifestest thyself in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. Thou servest (20) the souls of Abydos, for they all live by thee, these souls (namely) those of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth, show thyself to me

name is attached to the execution-block, but here it has the determinative of fire.

l. 17. Cf. Horus on the lotus at Erment L. D. iv. 61, g. 65; and in Greek papyri, *χειρ μορφην νηπιου παιδος επι λωτω καθημενος* PARTHEY, *Zwei gr. Zauberpap.*, ii. 106; *ο επι του λωτου καθημενος και λαμπυριδων την ολην οικουμενην* Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. iii. 15.

ssn, *srpt*, see LORET, *Rec. trav.*, i. 190, for a useful but by no means final discussion of the Egyptian names of the lotus. *srpt* (see 1/12) is a name apparently of late introduction, *ssn* is very ancient, and both words are to be paralleled, with varied meaning, in Semitic languages. From this passage one may conjecture that *srpt* is the lotus bud and *ssn* the flower.

l. 18. *wr syn*, 'chief physician,' an old Egyptian official title (O. K. in P. S. B. A., xi. 306, Persian period BRUGSCH., *Thes.*, 639), but amongst the gods most applicable to Thoth. Apparently Thoth and Anubis are here united, cf. the name Hermanubis and l. 21. *hry-ssn*, 'chief over the mysteries,' is another old title appropriate enough for either Thoth or Anubis.

l. 20. 'For they all live by thee.' Apparently Anubis was responsible for the provision of food and attendance on the souls.

21. ty n p-hw nte-k Thwt nte-k p e-r pyr n ht-f n p š'y
 ʿo p yt-w sp-sn n n ntr-w tre-w ʿm a r n r-w.

22. n pe hne n p-hw nte-k z n-y wh n mt-t mʿt hr mt-t
 nb nt e-y šn hr-w e-mn mt-t n ʿze nʿm-w z ʿnk ʿS-t

23. t rħe-t nte n z n r-y hp z-mt sp VII e-r-k z n
 p hm-hl ze a-zy-s n ʿNp z

24. mšʿ a bl aʿny n ntr-w a hn e-f mšʿ m-s-w nte-f
 ʿnyt-w a hn e-r-k šn p ʿlw z hr n ntr-w

25. ʿy a hn e-f z hr-w ʿy nte-k nw ar-w e-r-k ʿš h-t-w
 z-mt-t nhe-k n-y sp-sn p š'y nhs-t-k merʿ

26. p wr-ty tsytsyw tnnzyw aʿry mt ar-y Thwt my ʿre
 qme mh p t n wyn hb

27. m hr-f šps šps ʿq a p ht my t hp t mʿt p ntr ʿo nte
 ne-ʿw rn-f z sp VII

28. e-r-k z n p hm-hl z a-zy-s n ʿNp z aʿny wʿ tks a
 hn hr n ntr-w my hms-w e-w

l. 21. *p yt-w sp-sn* is intended to be read *p yt yt-w* as 8/2. Cf. the common appellation *προπατωρ* in the Gk. papyri. 'Father of the fathers of all the gods' occurs perhaps as early as the N. K. in Boul. Pap. No. 17, p. 7, l. 6 (Hymn to Amon-Re).

l. 22. *nte-k z n-y wh*. For this formula cf. O. C. Par. *ἵκεαι οὐω πατ* *αδωα εἰρηνοῦ αἰουοῦ ερω* (*sic*) (A. Z., 1900, 89). *εἰσελθε και χρηματι* *σον* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 445. *šn*, lit. 'inquire,' is used vaguely, both of the inquiry and of the answer in this papyrus, as *χρηματίζω* in Greek. *ὑμν* *ᾠδ* in Copt. is 'beg for,' not 'ask a question'; possibly it has such a meaning here.

l. 24. *hr n ntr-w ʿy*, &c. = **(ḡ)αηητηρ ει . . . *(ḡ)ατ ει* (see chapter on grammar in vol. ii).

l. 25. 'And you see them' is an addition above the line which does not seem appropriate, as the boy, not the magician, is to see them.

nhe-k . . . nhs-t-k: the defective spelling *nhe* is found again in the papyrus, leaving no doubt that it represents *nhse*, 'waken,' 'raise.' The verb is 'ivtae infirmae' according to SETHE, and the suffix form, lost in Coptic, shows here a curious uncertainty as to the retention of the *t*.

l. 26. *wr-ty*. Originally the title of the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna (Khmun), it was perhaps applied later to the ibis-god himself (e.g. LEGRAIN, *Livre des transf.*, iv. 5). Evidently in connexion with this, Thoth is called 'the god five times great' (ʿḡ), the mighty (*wr*) lord of Khmun' (II MAHAFFY, *Petrie Pap. Pl.* 13, II Kham.

(21) here to-day. Thou art Thoth, thou art he that came forth from the heart of the great Agathodaemon, the father of the fathers of all the gods; come to the mouths (22) of my vessel to-day and do thou tell me answer in truth to everything that I shall inquire about, without falsehood therein; for I am Isis (23) the Wise, the words of whose mouth of mine (*sic*) come to pass.' Formula: seven times. You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying (24) "Go forth, bring in the gods."' When he goes after them and brings them in, you ask the boy, saying 'Have the gods (25) come in?' If he says 'They have come' and you (*sic*) see them, you cry before them. Formula: 'Raise thyself for me (*bis*), Pshoi; raise thyself, Mera (26), the Great of Five, Didiou, Tenziou, do justice to me. Thoth, let creation (?) fill the earth with light; O (thou who art an) ibis in (27) his noble countenance, thou noble one that enters the heart, let truth be brought forth, thou great god whose name is great.' Say seven times. (28) You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying "Bring in a table for the

5, 7). The common Ptolemaic name Πορτις (cf. GRENFELL, Gk. Pap. I, II; Amherst Pap.; WILCKEN, Gr. Ostr.) in the witnesses of the Grey antigraph (Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. I. Pl. 27) is *P-wr-ty* in the corresponding Berlin demotic Pap. 3119 verso (Berl. Dem. Pap. Pl. 16). Πορτις is no doubt founded on an abbreviated pronunciation of the name which we have here with its full value *P-wer-tiu*. In V. 33/2 we have the normal orthography of the title, varied here and in 22/1.

my're qme. Meaning very uncertain; if the dot after *qme* be taken as closing the phrase, the *'r* must be regarded as passive in meaning 'let a creation (?) be made,' cf. 5/22 *my wn yr-t* and GRIFF., High Priests, p. 87, n. to l. 6, and SETHE, Verb., ii. § 247, and *mḥ* following the dot suggests an imperative. Perhaps *Mareqom* (?) is to be taken as a magical name.

l. 27. '*q a p ḥt*, perhaps may be participial rather than imperative. '*q r ḥt*, lit. 'enter the heart,' is common in early demotic in the sense of 'please.' Cf. ΔΡΩΤΗ= (SPIEGELB., Rec. trav., xxiii. 201) ΩΡ Π ΖΗΤ (BSCIAI, ib., vii. 27).

29. hms eʾr-k z aʾny wʾrp a hn klp-f a n ntr-w aʾny
hyn-w t a hn my wm-w my swr-w

COL. III.

1. my wm-w my swr-w my ʾr-w hw nfr e-w wh eʾr-k z
n ʾNp z ʿnn (*sic*) eʾr-k šn n-y e-f z t ḥ-t eʾr-k z n-f z p
ntr nt ne ʾr pe šn

2. n p-hw my ʾr-f ḥ e rt-f e-f z ḥ-f eʾr-k z n-f z a-zy-s
n ʾNp z fy n nk n t mte eʾr-k ʿš

3. ḥ-t-f ty hte-t z p šy n p-hw p nb n p-hw p nte pe-f
pe ny wne-t-w eʾr-k t ʾr-f zt-s

4. n ʾNp z p ntr nt ne šn n-y n p-hw my ʾr-f z n-y rn-f
e-f ḥ a rt-f nte-f z rn-f eʾr-k šn-t-f

5. a mt-t nb nt eʾr-k wh-f pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr ʾny-k tbe VII
nmy e bʾr te-w qym nʾm-w a pnʿ-w

6. a p ke ḥr eʾr-k fy-t-w eʾr-k wʿb n wš n zh-w a
nte(?) nb n p t nte-k smne-t-w n pe-w ky e-wne-w

7. smne-t nʾm-f ʿn nte-k smne tbe III ḥr p nḥe t k-t
tbe-t IV nte-k sʿr-w n p qt n p ḥm-ḥl(?) n wš n

8. zh ʿe-t nte-f a p ʾytn nge bʿe VII nte-k ʾr-w n py
smte ʿn nte-k ʾny t VII e-w wʿb

9. nte-k sʿr-w n p qte n p nḥe erme tyk VII n ḥm
nte-k ʾny wʿt bʾt-ne-t nmy nte-k mḥ-s n

1. 29. *wʾrp*, 'a (vessel of) wine,' probably the *κεραμιον* of the Rosetta
stone: cf. the use of *ḥt*, 'silver,' in contracts = *ṭbn*.

COL. III.

1. 1. *ʾr hw nfr*: from this and other passages it is clear that the actual
meaning of this common expression is not to pass a day of pleasure, but
simply 'enjoy oneself.'

ʾNp would seem to be an error for *p ḥm-ḥl*, 'the boy.'

t ḥ-t, probably as we say 'the first thing,' 'at once.'

1. 2. *n t mte*, 'from the midst,' i. e. of the gods seated at the meal.

1. 3. *p-hw . . . ny wne-t-w*, cf. note on 2/6.

1. 5. *swḥ-yḥ*, lit. 'spirit-gathering,' is the title for the material arrange-
ments for divination as to locality, censing, salves, &c., to be employed,
not the invocations.

Egyptian bricks are crude. The use of burnt brick was introduced by
the Romans and increased to Byzantine times, but crude brick remained
throughout the principal building material.

gods, and let them sit.” When they (29) are seated, you say ‘Bring in a (jar of) wine, broach it for the gods; bring in some bread, let them eat, let them drink,’

COL. III.

(1) ‘let them eat, let them drink, let them pass a festal day.’ When they have finished, you speak to Anubis (*sic*) saying ‘Dost thou make inquiry for me?’ If he says ‘At once,’ you say to him ‘The god who will make my inquiry (2) to-day, let him stand up.’ If he says ‘He has stood up,’ you say to him (i. e. the child) ‘Say to Anubis “Carry off the things from the midst”’; you cry (3) before him (i. e. the god) instantly saying ‘O Agathodaemon of to-day, lord of to-day, O thou whose (possession) these moments are!’ You cause him (the boy) to say (4) to Anubis ‘The god who will inquire for me to-day, let him tell me his name.’ When he stands up and tells his name, you ask him (5) concerning everything that you wish.

Its spirit-gathering. You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them (6) to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you place them in their manner in which they were (7) placed, again; and you place three tiles under the oil; and the other four tiles, you arrange them about the child without (8) touching any part of him against the ground; or seven palm-sticks, you treat them in this fashion also. And you take seven clean loaves (9) and arrange them around the oil, with seven lumps of salt,

1. 6. *nte nb.* The reading not quite certain, but extremely probable.

1. 7. *p qt.* The usual group for *qt* is very much abbreviated, and is thus identical with that for *wh*, ‘wish,’ but there can be little doubt of the reading. The meaning must be that the bricks are laid about the boy so that he can stand or sit on them without touching the ground.

1. 9. *tyk* can scarcely be other than Sah. *τασ*. The otiose *y* may be

10. nḥe n whe e-f w^cb nte-k t a t b^ct^cne-t ḥm sp-sn n wš n t ḥp ḥy^cse nte-f ḥp c-f stf

11. m šs sp-sn nte-k ny w^c ḥm-ḥl e-f w^cb e b-r te-f še erme s-ḥm-t e-r-k sze a ḥry ḥn zz-f

12. e-f ḥ a rt-f a t ḥ-t z n e-f a r šw n še a p hne e-f ḥp e-f r šw e-r-k t str-f a ḥr ḥe-t-f

13. e-r-k ḥbs-f n w^ct šnt-t n yw^ct e-s w^cb e-r-k š a ḥry ḥn zz-f e wn w^c ryt n t ry-t ḥry-f (*sic*?)

14. n t šnt-t e-r-k š py š nt ḥry a ḥry ḥn zz-f c-f kšp a ḥry nw a ḥn p nḥe š^c sp VII e yr-t-f

15. ḥtm e-r-k wḥ e-r-k t r-f wn yr-t-f e-r-k šn-t-f a p nte r-k wḥ-f ḥr r-k-f š^c p nw n p θ VII n p hw

16. p š nte r-k š-w (*sic*) a ḥry ḥn zz-f n ḥ-t a znt-f n ne-f msz-w z n e-f a r šw n še ḥr

17. p hne z-mt-t hb šps nšr bk šps apḥte-t my w^cb-y mw ky hb šps nšr

18. bk šps apḥte-t e-r-k š n-y a ḥry ḥn zz-f š^c sp VII e-r-k t w ny ḥr

19. mt-t ne-f msz-w e-ḥp nte pe-f msz II mt-t (ne)nfr-f m šs sp-sn e-f ḥp e pc-f msz n

20. wnm(?) pe (ne)nfr-f e-f ḥp e p . . . pe ne-bn-f phre-t n phr p hne n gtg nte n ntr-w y a ḥn nte-w z

compared with that in *hyl* for *ḥal* 13/12, *P-šylem* (21/3) = O. C. *πασαλωα*, and is brought about by such forms as *ny-t-k* (root *ny*) for *n-t-k*, *my* (1101) *αα*, *rn-yl* for *rn-t* (1/12).

1. 10. Oasis oil, cf. 6/2, not mentioned elsewhere; a kind of 'real oil,' but not identical with it 25/12.

ḥm sp-sn must be read *ḥmḥm*, C. *ἡμῆμ*, cf. 2/21, 18/13, 24/12.

ḥy^cse, meaning quite uncertain: cf. perhaps *ḥy^cse* in I Kham. 6/19, II Kham. 6/16.

1. 12. *a ḥr ḥe-t-f*, a curious expression, 'on the face of (?) his belly,' cf. the use of *ḥr* in l. 6.

1. 13. *šnt-t n yw^ct*: Boh. *πεντω πια* (PEYRON), cf. *συνδων βυσσινη* Hdt. ii. 86. The Egyptian *šnt-t* was the loin-cloth or tunic, and in this papyrus it still seems to signify a dress, though in Coptic it can be used simply for 'cloth.' Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 88 (A. Z., 1883, 99) and Brit. Mus. Pap. Gr. No. XLVI. l. 206, for the use of *συνδων* in magic.

Omit the words 'you call down into his head.'

and you take a new dish and fill it with (10) clean Oasis oil and add to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness (?) so that it becomes clear (11) exceedingly; and you take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman, you speak down into his head (12) while he stands, previously, (to learn) whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel. If he is profitable, you make him lie on (?) his belly; (13) you clothe (?) him with a clean linen tunic (?), (you call down into his head), there being a girdle on the upper part (14) of the tunic; you utter this invocation that is above, down into his head, he gazing downwards (looking) into the oil, for seven times, his eyes being (15) closed. When you have finished, you make him open his eyes, you ask him about what you desire; you do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

(16) The invocation that you utter down into his head previously to test him in his ears as to whether he will be profitable in going to (17) the vessel. Formula: 'Noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, (18) hawk, noble and mighty.' You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this, then (19) his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it be his right ear, (20) he is good; if it be his left ear, he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that

l. 14. Omit 'looking' as corrected by the addition above the line.

l. 15. *n p θ VII*: for the reading *θ*, rather than *θ zonet*, compare V. 24/6. The phrase is evidently to be connected with the Coptic idiom *πνδθ π αἰψιτε*, 'the ninth hour.' *αἰψαἰ* are feminine.

l. 19. *e-ḥp*, probably an unique spelling in demotic instead of the usual *e-f ḥp*, for *εἴπω*.

l. 20. The word for left (sinister) cannot yet be transliterated. In Egyptian we have *lhy* and *smh*, in Sah. *gḥotp* and Boh. *ααση*: in several passages we have *gbyr*, the Achmim. *σῆip* (Zach. xii. 6, in

21. n-k wh n mt-t m't e'r-k t qwqe n swht n **meeg**
nge p nt hn-s a t st-t hr phre-f ty hte-t phre-t a t r-w

22. sze e'r-k t tp n **κρορ** a p 'h hr r-w sze phre-t
a ny n ntr-w a hn n kns e'r-k t shy

23. n msh hr 'nte sq a p 'h e'r-k wh a t r-w y a hn n
tkr 'n e'r-k t h n **eme** e p 'h erme t qwqe

24. n swht nt hry hr phr-f ty hte e'r-k wh a ny rm
e-f 'n' a hn e'r-k t g'l'g'ntsy a p 'h hr w-f a hn

25. e'r-k wh a ny y'h a hn e'r-k t s-wr hr ny(?) n ylh
a p 'h hr w p y'h a hn e'r-k t ht

26. n hyt-t nge wn-t(?) nfr sp-sn e'r-k wh a ny hsy a
hn e'r-k t g'eb n y'm a p 'h

27. e'r-k wh a ny rm e-f mwt a hn e'r-k t hs n **eo**
hr s Nb-t-h-t a p 'h hr w-f a hn e'r-k

28. wh a t še(-w) n-w tre-w e'r-k t hs n **en** a p 'h hr
r-w še n-w a pe-w m' tre-w ntc-k 'š pe-w r n wt-w 'n(?)

Pap. Rain. Mith. ii. 266); *gbyr* may possibly be connected with *gbyr* and with the demotic ligature here; or *hmr* may be the reading of the latter.

l. 22. *tp*. Two portions of the body are written *tp* in the demotic of this papyrus. One has the det. of bone as well as that of flesh, and is undoubtedly *tan*, 'horn,' Eg.  Without the det. of bone we have the *tp* of an ass or a hoopoe, which presumably means the head or skull; in other cases, e.g. 19/26, one may doubt whether horn *tan* is not intended by the same group.

l. 23. *sq*, written with the crocodile, presumably = *cire*; see the verb in BRUGSCH, Rec., iv. Pl. 97, l. 16, and as a participle attached to a word meaning incense, ib., Pl. 85 A, ll. 3, 7, and 11; Pl. 96, l. 6.

eme suggests *emice*: *amici*, i.e. 'anise,' or according to some MSS. 'mint,' LOKER, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. pp. 53, 71; and it seems possible that the tall dry stalks of the anise (as opposed to the commonly prescribed seeds) should be denoted by *h*, lit. 'wood.'

l. 24. *g'l'g'ntsy* with gloss *καλακανθαι* suggests *κολοκύνθης*; but as the determinative here indicates a mineral and not a plant, it must be intended for *χαλκάνθη*, 'sulphate of copper,' which is written *χαλκάνθον* in Leyd. Pap. X. 1, 3.

l. 25. *y'h*, 'spirit' of a dead person, or a 'demon': the Gk. *δαίμων*, which may be good or bad (Pap. Bibl. Nat. passim). On the Bentresh Stela the demon possessing the princess is *h*.

the gods enter and tell (21) you answer truthfully. You put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame; it will be enchanted instantly.

Prescription to make them (22) speak: you put a frog's head on the brazier, then they speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: you put the bile (23) of a crocodile with pounded frankincense on the brazier.

If you wish to make them come in quickly again, you put stalks (?) of anise (?) on the brazier together with the (24) egg-shell as above, then the charm works at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man, you put sulphate of copper on the brazier, then he comes in.

(25) If you wish to bring in a spirit, you put *sa-wr* stone with stone of *ilkh* on the brazier, then the spirit comes in. You put the heart (26) of a hyaena or a hare, excellent (*bis*).

If you wish to bring in a drowned man, you put sea-*karab*-stone (?) on the brazier.

(27) If you wish to bring in a murdered (?) man, you put ass's dung with an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier, then he comes in.

If you (28) wish to make (them) all depart, you put ape's dung on the brazier, then they all depart to their place, and you utter their spell of dismissal also.

ylh. The *h* is written by a sign common enough in other texts, but in this MS. found only here, and in 6/20 *htn* and 23/29 *hlby*.

l. 26. *hsy*, 'approved,' 'deified,' as an expression for one drowned or devoured by a crocodile (19/24), cf. Hdt. ii. 90, and note to l. 31.

gr'b n y'm, 'sea-*karab*,' determined as a mineral can scarcely be *καραβος* = 'palinurus vulgaris,' unless its shell be treated as such. Cf. *καρκινος ποταμιος* in Pap. Bibl. Nat. 2458, 2687. In favour of the sense 'crab' or 'crayfish' we might suppose that it was called 'sea-*karab*' to distinguish it from the *καραβος*, 'beetle.'

l. 27. *rm e-f mwt*, *πεφωτο*, but perhaps meaning 'murdered man,' not merely a 'dead' man.

l. 28. *še n-w*: this ethical dative adds a certain force to the word, of

29. e·r-k wh a ʔny ʔze a hn e·r-k t hqe n grwgws hr
ʔbn t a p ʔh n sh nte ʔr-k š e·r-k šʔne

30. wt-w e pe-w(?) mʔ wt nfr wt rše

31. e·r-k wh a t ʔre n ntr·w ʔy n-k a hn nte p hn phr
n tkr e·r-k ʔny wʔ mhrr nte-k t še-f n hsy hn p(?) ʔrt n
ʔh·t km·t

32. nte-k ty-f a p ʔh hr phre-f n t wne·t n rn-s nte p
wyn hp

33. wʔ s a mr-f a h·t-f n p nt hr hne a t ʔr-f phr n tktk
e·r-k ʔny wʔ swt n ʔyw n ʔy XVI IV·t n ht IV·t n [wt ?]

34. IV·t sšt IV·t n ʔtme·t nte-k ʔr-w n wʔ swt nte-k
sp-w n snf n qwqwpt nte-k mr-f n wʔ mhrr n ʔh-f n p rʔ

35. hsy e-f qs n hbs(?) n š-stn nte-k mr-f a h·t-f n p
hm-hl nt hr p hn hr phr-f n tkr e [mn mt·t ?] n p [t . . .]
nʔm-f(?)

COL. IV.

1. wʔ sš-(?)mšt e·hr ʔr-s p ntr ʔo ʔy-m-htp pe-f swh·y·h hr
ʔny-k wʔ tks n h n zyt

withdrawal into or to oneself, an idea naturally associated with sleeping or lying down (*str n-k* 4/8) and best seen with the verb *še*, which by itself means 'go,' while *še n-f* (*ⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲥ*) means 'go away,' 'go home,' 'withdraw.'

1. 29. ʔny ʔze a hn, probably = *κλεπτην πιασαι* B. M. Pap. XLVI. 172.

e·r-k šʔne = *εκψαν*, an isolated instance at present. The following is the *απολυσις* of the Gk. papyri, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 333.

1. 31. *t še-f n hsy* = *ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ*, cf. Sah. *ⲁⲩⲩⲉ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲁⲩⲁⲛ* 1 Tim. i. 19, and *ⲁⲱⲕ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲓⲉ* 'be drowned' (PEYRON). The literal meaning is 'thou shalt cause him to go as one praised (pleasing).' Similarly in I Kham. iv. 9, 14, 20 drowning is expressed by *ʔr-f h·s·t p Rʔ*, 'He did that which pleased Re (the sun god).' *hsy* has det. of sun and in some cases the divine det. ʔ prefixed to the word-sign, cf. 15/12. In Gk. our expression is rendered by *ἐκθέωσον*, 'deify,' or possibly 'consecrate,' which proves that the meaning 'blessed dead,' i.e. 'divinised,' was not yet forgotten: *λαβων μυγαλον εκθεωσον πηγαιω υδατι, και λαβων καθαρους σεληνιακους δυο εκθεωσον υδατι ποταμιω* Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 2455; *εασον καλαβωτην εις κρινων εως αν αποθεωθη* B. M. Pap. CXXI. 629; *αποθωσον εις* [γαλα, &c.] Berl. Pap. I. 5.

hsy—as a proper name = *ⲁⲩⲩⲉ* (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 7*), lit. 'praised' or 'blessed'—is an euphemism for 'drowned.' No other meaning is ascertained in demotic for the word as subst.; and that it

(29) If you wish to bring in a thief, you put crocus powder with alum on the brazier.

The charm which you pronounce when you (30) dismiss them to their place: 'Good dispatch, joyful dispatch!'

(31) If you wish to make the gods come in to you and that the vessel work its magic quickly, you take a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow (32) and put it on the brazier; then it works magic in the moment named and the light comes.

(33) An amulet to be bound to the body of him who has the vessel, to cause it to work magic quickly. You take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], (34) four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe, and you bind it with a scarab in its attitude of the sun-god, (35) drowned, being wrapped in byssus, and you bind it to the body of the boy who has the vessel and it will work magic quickly; there being nothing [in the world better (?)] than it (?).

COL. IV.

(1) A scout-spreader (?), which the great god Imuthes makes. Its spirit-gathering. You bring a table of olive-

implies that condition is shown by the determinative of water added to the name on mummy tickets (SPIEGELBERG, l. c.). We may thus be sure of its meaning in l. 26 q. v. and in l. 35, as well as in the numerous parallels to the passage here under discussion. Applied to Osiris, also, the word 'drowned' is quite appropriate, see 6/12.

l. 33. See the same list of the colours in BR., Wtb. Suppl., p. 173.

l. 34. *n ḥf n p r*, the *καθαρον ηλιακον τον τας ιβ ακτινας εχοντα* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 751: i.e. true scarab with front tarsi drawn to edge of thorax, so displaying 12 spines (4 on head and each leg), fancifully compared to sun's rays; cf. hieroglyph of the sun's glory ☀.

l. 35. The reading at the end is very uncertain: perhaps *ar-f*.

COL. IV.

l. 1. Imuthes, cf. *SETHE*, *Untersuch. II*, Imhotep. In B. M. Pap. CXXI. 630 he appears as *τον εν Μεμφει Ασκληπιον*; and in the demotic of Leyd. I.

2. e-f θ rt-t IV e bnp rm nb n p t hms hr ʾt-f a nhe nte-k hʿf e-f wʿb a te-k-t qts(?) eʾr-k wh

3. a ʾr whe(?) nʾm-f n mt-t mʿt n wš n mt-t n ʿze tey-s pe-f smte eʾr-k hʿ p tks hn wʿ . . . e-f wʿb

4. n t mt-t n p mʿ e-f hn a zz-k nte-k hbs-f n wʿt šnt-t n zz-f a rt-f nte-k hʿ tbe-t

5. IV hr rt-f n p tks ne-hr-f e t wʿt n t rʿt hry-t n t wʿt nʾm-w e wn wʿt hw-t n sʿn ne-hr-f nte-k t zbe-t

6. n h n zyt ar-s nte-k t ʿt n sre-t e-f nt-yt hr hl hr qs-ʿnh(?) nte-k ʾr-w n bnn-t

7. nte-k t wʿt a p ʿh nte-k hʿ p sp a te-k-t qts(?) nte-k ʿš py ʿš n mt-t wyenn(?) ar-f z-mt-t nte-k str n wš n szy

8. wbe rm nb n p t nte-k str n-k hr nw-k a p ntr e-f n p smte n wʿ wʿb e-f θ hbs(?) n š-stn hr ʾt-f e-f θ še a rt-f

9. *επεικαλουμαι σε τον εν τω αορατω σκοτει καθημενον και ανα μεσον*

10. *οντα των μεγαλων θεων δυνοντα και παραλαμβανοντα τας ηλιακας*

11. *ακτεινας και αναπεμποντα την φαεσφορον θεαν νεβουτο-σουαληθ*

384, verso I* he is invoked as 'Imhotp-wer (the Great), son of Ptah and Khretankh,' as at Deir el Medineh, SETHE, *ib.*, 24.

*tk*s, elsewhere a 'boat,' but the gloss *τραπαισεν* defines it as a 'table.' TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 23, mentions oracles from tables. *hms hr ʾt* in l. 2 can hardly mean anything but 'sit upon,' which rather implies a 'bench,' cf. B. M. Pap. XLVI. 3 *βαθρον*.

l. 2. *a te-k qt (?)*-s, cf. *κοτε*, 'circulus,' but *wḥ-s* is a possible reading, and it may be conjectured to mean 'at your convenience,' also in l. 7.

l. 3. *wḥe* with prefixed *ʿ*(?), the reading doubtful. For a word *wḥ*, 'letter,' see II Kham. ii. 28, &c. The meaning here seems always to be a *direct* divination without medium. We have *wḥe (?) n p ḥbs*, 'lamp divination,' 27/29; *wḥe (?) n Manebai*, 'a divination named Manebai,' 27/32; *wḥe (?) a ḥrw Pe-sḥ*, 'divination for the voice of Pasash,' 8/12.

ike for *tk*s, like *nhe* for *nhs* cf. 2/25.

'room (?)', the reading and meaning very uncertain.

l. 5. Or 'one by each of them (the feet),' but the expression hardly admits of this.

l. 6. *sre-t* with gloss *χρηναυριον*, perhaps a wild goose, cf. Br., Wtb. Suppl., 1082. Note the fem. gender, which apparently distinguishes it

wood (2) having four feet, upon (?) which no man on earth has ever sat, and put it, it being clean, beside (?) you. When you wish (3) to make an inquiry-of-god (?) with it truthfully without falsehood, behold (this is) the manner of it. You put the table in a clean room (?) (4) in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you cover it with a tunic (?) from its head to its feet, and you put four bricks (5) under the table before it, one above another (?), there being a censer of clay before it (the table); and you put charcoal (6) of olive-wood on it (the censer) and put wild-goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ankh*, and make them into balls (7) and put one on the brazier, and lay the remainder at your side (?), and pronounce this spell in Greek (?) speech to it—Formula—and you spend the night without speaking (8) to any one on earth, and you lie down and you see the god in the likeness of a priest wearing fine linen and wearing (a) nose at his feet.

(9) 'I invoke thee who art seated in the invisible darkness and who art in the midst (10) of the great gods sinking and receiving the sun's (11) rays and sending forth the luminous goddess Neboutosoualeth,

from the domesticated duck called *sr*, found from the O. K. onwards, which is masc.

l. 7. *wynn*(?), cf. V. 3/12. There as well as here the 'foreign' sign after *mt-t* refers to Greek words. In 27/35 the word is spelt out strangely *wy'ny*; *wynn* is the usual demotic spelling, *σρενιν* the Coptic, but *σρεien* is quoted by PEYRON in Sah., and perhaps this is the form indicated in 27/35. In 12/25 we have *wy'nyne-t* for the fem.

sr n-k, ethical dative: see note to *še n-w* 3/28.

szu wbe, cf. the common phrase in Greek magic *κοιμω μηδενι δους αποκρισιν* B. M. Pap. XLVI. l. 398, CXXI. l. 748, CXXII. 67; *κοιμω αναποκριτος* XLVI. l. 458.

l. 8. *ef θ še*, apparently as seen in very late sculpture in figures of gods, &c., with jackals' heads on their feet indicating wariness and swiftness (?). Cf. MASPERO, *Les Origines*, p. 149; PLEYTE, Chap. Supplem., i. p. 133; in Greek papyri *εν τοις ποσιν έχων την ορασιν* (?).

12. θεον μεγαν βαρξαν βουβαρξαν ναρξαζουσαν βαρξαβουξαθ
 13. ηλιον αναπεμτον μοι εν τη νυκτι ταυτη τον αρχαγγε-
 λον σου
 14. ζεβουρθαννην· χρηματισον επ' αληθειας αληθως αφευ-
 δως αν-
 15. αμφιλογως περι τουδε πραγματος οτι εξορκιζω σε κατα του
 εν τη
 16. πυρινη χλαμυδι καθημενου επι της αρουρεας κεφαλης του
 αγα-
 17. θου δαιμονος παντοκρατορος τετραπροσωπου δαιμονος υψι-
 στου σκο-
 18. τιου και ψυχαουγεου φωξ μη μου παρακουσης αλλα ανα-
 πεμψον
 19. ταχος τη νυκτι ταυτη επιτα . αιην του θεου τουτο ειπας γ'
 20. hr 'r-f sze wbe-k n r-f wbe r-k n mt:t m'c:t hr hb nb
 e'r-k wh-f e-f wh e-f še n-f 'n
 21. hr 'r-k wh w'c pyngs n 'š wne:t(?) hr n tbe:tw(?)
 nte-k wh n syw·w hr 't-f nte-k sh pe-k 's-shne a w'c z'm
 nmy
 22. nte-k wh-f hr p pyn'ks hr 'r-f t 'w ne-k syw·w n-k
 e-w wz hr pe-k 's-shne
 23. n wz hyb e-f znt swh n *hes* hr hl hy t a
 yr:t-k n'm-f hr 'r-k wz hyb:t
 24. k:t 'n tpe hn'c snf n *roθroθn(?)er* θ-h-w(?) nte-k
 'r-w n phre šwy smt yr:t-k n'm-f hr nw-k ar-w 'n

l. 16. *αρουρεας*. Mr. Kenyon suggests that this may possibly be a corruption of *αργυρεας*.

l. 18. *ψυχαουγεου*. Mr. Kenyon, who has kindly looked at this passage in the original MS., writes: 'I think the fourth letter is *a*, not *λ*, . . . and the only thing I can think of is *ψυγαγωγου*. In this case we should again have *γ* and *ο* confused (as in *αρουρεας* = *αργυρεας*?). This leaves *φωξ* unaccounted for, but a nominative (and from its termination it could be nothing else) is out of place here, so that the corruption must in any case be rather extensive. I do not think anything but *επιταγαιην* can be read in l. 19. Probably *επιταγη* is meant.' The word *ψυγαγωγου* is probably to be taken as associated with the idea of necromancy.

(12) the great god Barzan Boubarzan Narzazouzan Barzabouzath, (13) the sun; send up to me this night thy archangel (14) Zebourthaunen; answer with truth, truthfully, without falsehood, without (15) ambiguity concerning this matter, for I conjure thee by him (16) who is seated in the flaming vesture on the silver(?) head of the (17) Agathodaemon, the almighty four-faced daemon, the highest (18) darkling and soul-bringing(?) Phox; do not disregard me, but send up (19) speedily in this night an injunction(?) of the god.' Say this three times.

(20) Then he speaks with you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning everything that you wish. When he has finished, and goes away again, (21) you place a tablet of reading(?) the hours upon the bricks and you place the stars upon it and write your purpose(?) on a new roll (22) and place it on the tablet; then he(?) makes your stars appear which are favourable for your purpose(?).

(23) [A method] of lucky-shadows(?), that is tested: a hawk's egg with myrrh, pound(?), put on your eyes of it, then it makes lucky-shadows(?). (24) Another again: head and blood of a hoopoe; cook(?) them and make them into a dry medicament and paint your eyes with it; then you see them, again.

$\phi\omega\xi$ may be an indeclinable magic name, though the customary line has not been drawn over it. Cf. *ο μεγας και ισχυρος θεος φους* . . . B. M. Pap. CXXIV. 20 and $\phi\nu\xi$ below 7/22.

l. 20. *r-f wbe r-k*: *στομα προς στομα* Berl. Pap. I. 39.

l. 23. *wz h-yb*. The shadow is probably that of the god appearing in the lamp. Cf. 6/6.

l. 24. *θ-h-w*, probably the imperative of some verb *θh* (?) followed by the suffix of the object, meaning e. g. 'cook them,' so also Louvre Dem. Mag. vi. 18 *nte-k θ-h-w*.

1. nte-k ty ʰ pe-k(?) nte-k qlhe a p ʔytn n(?) rt-k
n sp VII nte-k ʃ ny sh·w a p hps̥ [e hr(?)]-k st a mhty n
sp VII

3. w^c e-f znt nte-k še-k (*sic*) a w^c-t ry't n kke
e-s w^b e hr-s wn a p-rs nte-k t w^b-s n mw

5. e-f w^b ar-f nte-k m^h-f n n^he n m^ct bn-s sh py rn
hn^c ny gh^lgter a p š^l n r^w hl n h^t

6. nte-k wḥ-f ḥr wṯ-t tbe-t nmy ne-zz-k e ḥr-f prḥ n š
nte-k š ny šḥ a p ḥbs ṯn n ke sp VII e-r-k t ṯlbwnt a ḥry
ne-hr

7. p h̥bs eʔr-k nw m-s p h̥bs hr nw-k a p ntr n p qte n
p h̥bs nte-k str n-k hr wʔt tme:t n qme e bnp-k sze

8. wbe rm nb n p t hr z-f n-k wh n rswet tey-s pe-f 'š
z-mt:t (tey-s sh-w nt e'r-k sh a p šl hbs **haxoxoxoxox**)

l. 1. There seem to be traces of writing above this line, at least towards the left end: compare the top line in Col. VIII. Lines 1 and 2 are probably to be read in l. 3, before 'thou goest to a dark niche,' the phrase with which l. 2 ends.

Read *e-hr-k* (or *e zz-k* as in l. 32?) *st e mhty*.

mḥty, a word occurring as early as the time of Darius, possibly arising from a confusion of the words *mḥt*, 'north,' and *ḥty*, 'go north.' An instance of careless confusion of *ḥ* and *ḥ* by our scribe, due to both being 𐎡, e. g. in *Sah.*, occurs in 21/12, but is on a different footing.

ḥpš, lit. the 'foreleg' = the Great Bear. *ḥpš* : *ḥpš* corresponds to *ἀρκτοῦρος* in Job ix. 9 (cf. also ZÖEGA, 650). But in the astronomical texts *ḥpš* as consisting of seven stars evidently is *ἀρκτος* itself (BRUGSCH, Thes., 123, Aegyptol., 343).

1. 3. *n̄te-k še-k* should be either *n̄te-k še* in continuation of other directions (cf. ll. 1-2), or *h̄r še-k*.

l. 4. *pr*^χ, *πῆρυ*, either red earth or red lead. The requirement that the lamp used for divination shall be free from red colour (*ἀμύλωτος*) is found in Leiden Pap. Gr. V, col. 1, l. 22, and col. 4, l. 25; PARTHEY, *Zwei*

COL. V.

(1) And you set up your [planisphere?] and you stamp on the ground with your foot seven times and recite these charms to the Foreleg, turning(?) to the North seven times (2) and you return down and go to a dark recess.

(3) A question-form, tested. You go to a dark clean recess with its face open to the south and you purify it with (4) natron-water, and you take a new white lamp in which no red earth or gum-water has been put and place a clean wick (5) in it and fill it with real oil after writing this name and these figures on the wick with ink of myrrh beforehand; (6) and you lay it on a new brick before you, its underside being spread with sand; and you pronounce these spells over the lamp again another seven times. You display frankincense in front of (7) the lamp and you look at the lamp; then you see the god about the lamp and you lie down on a rush mat without speaking (8) to any one on earth. Then he makes answer to you by dream. Behold its invocation. Formula: (*In margin*: Behold the spells which you write on the wick: Bakhukhsikhukh, and figures)

gr. Zauberpap., I. l. 277. As to the use of red earth and gum with pottery cf. the quotation from SACY, s.v. $\alpha\omega\iota$, in PEYRON, p. 380 a.

1. 5. $r'w \dot{h}l$, 'myrrh ink,' $\sigma\mu\upsilon\rho\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$, probably somewhat after the recipe given in PARTHEY, u. s. II. 34^a.

$gh'lgter$ = $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\rho\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, a term. techn. for mystic symbols: cf. WÜNSCH, Sethian. Verfluchungstafeln, p. 98; SCHMIDT, Gnostische Schriften, p. 54 seq.

1. 6. $ne-zz-h$. It seems probable that 𐤎𐤕𐤔 reads zz , for apart from any other correspondences we have this compound preposition written out as $ne-zz$ in 14/6 and Louvre Dem. Mag. iv. 19. 22.

$\dot{w}bwni$, * $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\sigma\eta\omicron\sigma\tau$ * 22/17, evidently = $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\nu\omicron\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

1. 8. 𐤁𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 looks like 'Soul of Khukh, son of Khukh.' The magic-name compounds with $\chi\omicron\nu\chi$, $\chi\nu\chi$, $\chi\omega\omega\chi$ are very numerous; cf. P. Sophia, § 361, 𐤁𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 and elsewhere often $\beta\alpha\iota\chi\nu\chi$. SETHE, Verbum, i. § 417, suggests that the 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 is the elemental god KK , 'darkness.'

9. hy ank mwr'y mwryby b'bel b'-o-th b'-my p š'y
 10. 'o mwr'th-'o p . . . ḥbr n by nt ḥtp n ḥry ḥn n
 p't n p't-w (*sic*)
 11. t'tot sp-sn bwl'y sp-sn my-ḥr . . . sp-sn ḥhy sp-sn
 b-'o-lbwel y sp-sn 'x tt sp-sn bwel sp-sn y-'o-hel sp-sn p
 šmsy ḥyt
 12. n p ntr 'o p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t st:t p
 nte t st:t n r-f nte b-'re-s ḥm p ntr 'o nt ḥms
 13. ḥn t st:t p nt n t mt:t n t st:t nt n p šy n t p't nte
 p 'w erme p n'š n p ntr n t:t-f wnh-k ar-y
 14. ty n p-hw mw ky p ky n wnh-k a mwses nta e'r-k
 r-f ḥr p tw nte ḥr-k t ḥp p kke p wyn ne-ḥr-f
 15. tg(?)a te-y tbḥ n'm-k nte-k wnh-k ar-y ty n py grḥ
 nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n
 'ze z e-y a š'š-k
 16. n 'Bt e-y a š'š-k n t p't ne-ḥr p r' e-y a š'š-k ne-ḥr
 ḥ e-y a š'š-k
 17. ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-'r-f thm pe p š'š' 'o
 petery sp-sn p'ter enphe sp-sn **enpe ḥ**
 18. p ntr nt n t r' ḥry:t n t p't nte p šbt nt (ne)'ne-f n
 t:t-f 'r t ḥp ntr e bnp ntr t ḥp-f 'm n-y
 19. a ḥry a ḥn n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty ḥ-t-k pa bwel
 sp-sn nte-k t m'y p 'š-šḥne [nt] e-y šll ḥrr-f
 20. n py grḥ n mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze my m's my
 stm-s p ntr 'o sysyhowt sp-sn ke-z **apawoto** 'm
 21. a ḥn ḥr zz-y nte-k z n-y wḥ n p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f n
 mt:t m't n wš n mt:t n 'ze p ntr 'o nt ḥr p tw

l. 10. Read *ḥn t p't n n p'tw* or *ḥn p't p'tw*.

l. 11. In the demotic there is one uncertain sign that may correspond to **ṯṯ** of the gloss.

l. 12. Lines 12-22 are parallel to 7/8-18, 17/1-10, 17/27-32.

l. 14. Moses was a popular hero with many legends in Jewish circles, both before and after Christ (WIEDEMANN in P. S. B. A. xi. 29, 267). Note that the form of the name employed is Greek and not Hebrew; cf. V. 12/6.

nla e'r-k: cf. note to 15/13.

(9) 'Ho! I am Murai, Muribi, Babel, Baoth, Bamui, the great Agathodaemon, (10) Muratho, the . . . form of soul that resteth above in the heaven of heavens, (11) Tatot (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Mouihtahi(?) (*bis*), Lahi (*bis*), Bolboel, I (*bis*), Aa, Tat (*bis*), Bouel (*bis*), Yohel (*bis*), the first servant (12) of the great god, he who giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god who is seated (13) in the fire, he who is in the midst of the fire which is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and the power of god; reveal thyself to me (14) here to-day in the fashion of thy revelation to Moses which thou didst make upon the mountain, before whom thou thyself didst create darkness and light, (15)—*insertion*—I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer in truth without falsehood; for I will glorify thee (16) in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee (17) before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he (=thou) of the great glory, Peteri (*bis*), Pater, Enphe (*bis*), (18) O god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him. Come down (in) to me (19) into the midst of this flame that is here before thee, thou of Boel (*bis*), and let me see the business that I ask about (20) to-night truly without falsehood. Let it be seen (?), let it be heard (?), O great god Sisihoout, otherwise said Armioouth, come (21) in before me and give me answer to that which

l. 15. The pointer at the beginning of the line refers to the similar sign at the beginning of ll. 33-4, which offer a variant version of l. 15. One may conjecture that the pointer represents the Eg. *dg*, Copt. *ⲧⲟⲩ*: *ⲧⲟⲩ*, 'plant,' 'insert,' 'join.'

l. 17. *thm*, a mistake or metathesis for *htm*; cf. 7/12, 17/5, 30. *petery*, &c. See vol. ii, Mythological Index.

22. n 'twgy (ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲃⲁⲱⲛ) gh'bh-ʿo 'm n-y a ḥn my wn yr't
a bl n py grḥ ḥr t mn t mt't

23. nt e-y šn ḥrr-s n mt't m't n wš n mt't n 'ze a
... ḥrw (?) n p le'sphwt nb-lot . . lyl's sp VII nte-k str n-k

24. n wš n sze p kys nt e'r-k ty-s a yr't-k e'r-k 'nn'y a
šn n p ḥbs n šn nb n ḥbs ḥr 'ny-k hyn-w ḥrre n *ḥʿλ*

25. n *ḥʿωk* ḥr gm-k-ysw n p m' n p s-qlm ke-z p
s-trmws e'r-k 'ny't-w e-w knn e'r-k ty-sw

26. e w' lq n yl e'r-k 'm r-f m šs sp-sn š' hw XX n w'
m' e-f hep e-f n kke bn-s hw XX e'r-k

27. 'ny't-f a ḥry nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k hyn-w ḥry-w
ḥn-f erme w' mz e'r-k ḥ'f š' hw XL nte-k 'ny't-f a
ḥry

28. nte-k wn ar-f ḥr gm-k-f e-ḥr-f 'r snf e're ḥr 'r-k ty-f
a w' nk n yl nte-k t p nk n yl a ḥn w' nk

29. n blz n w' m' e-f hep n nw nb e'r-k wh a 'r
n p ḥbs n'm-f n nw nb e'r-k mh yr't-k n py

30. snf nt ḥry e'r-k 'nn'y a ḥn a 'š sh a p ḥbs ḥr nw-k
a w' sšt n ntr e-f 'ḥ n p bl n p ḥbs nte-f sze

31. wbe-k ḥr p šn nt e'r-k wh-f nge nte-k str ḥr 'w-f
n-k a 'r-f tm 'y n-k e'r-k nhs e'r-k 'š pe-f thm

l. 22. Atugi with gloss Gabaon: cf. 7/17.

l. 24. Lines 24-30 are repeated in 27/24-29.

l. 25. ḥʿλ n ḥʿωk = ḥʿλḥʿωk, 'raven's eye,' the Greek bean.

gm-k-ysw, an extraordinary form; but, it is to be feared, no guide to the real pronunciation, which was probably *gemyoks* or *gemyoksu*; the written *y* is thus superfluous, cf. 3/9 note, or at least misplaced.

s-qlm, see note in glossary. 'The place of the garland-seller': does this mean his shop or his garden?

ty-sw: the regular form in this papyrus, as it were, *ⲧⲏⲥⲱ. In *gm-k-ysw*, above, the *sw* = Eg. *st*, plur. of the absolute object-pronoun. Here, after the infinitive, it is abnormal, the *s* being inserted before the proper suffix *-w* on false analogy. In Coptic (St., § 342, p. 169, and PIEHL, A. Z., 95. 42) the only clear instance of this false form seems to be Sah. ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲥⲱ. The similar ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲱⲟⲩⲥⲉ, ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲱⲟⲩⲥⲱ, &c., are also etymologically wrong, but they seem to be helped by the causative with *stm-f*: see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 85.

l. 26. *y'*: ⲓⲁⲗ: ⲉⲓⲁⲗ probably to be connected with *iaλos*.

I shall ask about, truly without falsehood. O great god that is on the mountain (22) of Atuki (of Gabaon), Khabaho, Takrtat, come in to me, let my eyes be opened to-night for any given thing (23) that I shall ask about, truly without falsehood . . . the voice (?) of the Leasphot, Neblot . . . lilas.' Seven times: and you lie down (24) without speaking.

The ointment which you put on your eyes when you are about to inquire of the lamp in any lamp-divination: you take some flowers (25) of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the garland-seller, otherwise said of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh and put them (26) in a *lok*-vessel of glass and stop its mouth very well for twenty days in a secret dark place. After twenty days, if you (27) take it out and open it, you find a pair (?) of testicles in it with a phallus. You leave it for forty days and when you take it out (28) and open it, you find that it has become bloody; then you put it on a glass thing and put the glass thing into a pottery thing (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you desire to make inquiry of the lamp with it at any time if you fill your eyes with this (30) blood aforesaid, and if you go in to pronounce a spell over the lamp you see a figure of a god standing behind (?) the lamp, and he speaks (31) with you concerning the question which you wish; or you lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to

m. This group cannot be read *tm*, τωμ. It must be connected with *ομμ*, 'clay.'

l. 27. *hyn-w*, 'some,' here and elsewhere suggests the meaning of 'a pair' (Hess, *Setne*, p. 30).

1. 28. **ε(ρ)αυρ̄ρνοϋ**, see the chapter on Grammar.

e're: probably the Eg. emphasizing particle $\left\{ \bigcirc \right.$, cf. 7/1.

The meaning of *hr' r-k, yarak*, here is not merely consuetudinal but injunctional, equivalent to the old *sdmhrf*, as used e. g. in Pap. Ebers (ERMAN, Grammar, 2nd ed. § 221).

E

32. e-re hr r-k str hr qme wt e-r-k w'b a s-hm-t e zz-k
st a rs e hr-k st a mhty [e] hr-f n p hbs st a mhty h-f

33. tg(?) a hry te-y tbh n'm-k nte-k wn-h-k ar-y ty n
py grh nte-k sze erme-y nte-k z n-y wh n mt-t m't hr
t mn t mt-t

34. nt e-y šn n'm-k e-tbe-t[-s ?]

COL. VI.

1. w' šn n p hbs hr še-k a w't ry-t n kke e-s w'b 't
wyn nte-k šte w' qel nmy hr w't z'e-t

2. ybt nte-k 'ny w' hbs ht c bnp-w t prš mw n qme
ar-f e pe-f s'l w'b nte-k mh-f n nhe n m't e-f w'b n whe

3. nte-k 'š n sh-w n t'w R' tp twe m h'f nte-k 'ny p
hbs wbe p r' e-f mh nte-k 'š n sh-w nt hry ar-f n sp IV

4. nte-k θy-t-f a hn a t ry-t e-r-k w'b erme p 'lw nte-k
'š n sh-w a p 'lw e-bnn-f nw m-s p hbs 'n e yr-t-f

5. htm š' sp VII e-r-k t 'lbwnt a p 'h e-f w'b e-r-k t t
n pe-k tb' a zz-f n p 'lw e yr-t-f htm

6. e-r-k wh e-r-k t r-f wn yr-t-f a hr p hbs hr nw-f a t
hyb-t n p ntr n p qte n p hbs nte-f šn n-k

7. a p nt e-r-k wh-f e-re hr r-k-f n mre-t n w' m' e
mn-te-f wyn e-f hp e-r-k šn hr 'yh š're w' s'l n ht

8. n zy p nt e-r-k ty-f a p hbs nte-k mh-f n syr e-f w'b
e-f hp e ge 'š-shne pe s'l e-f w'b hr nhe n m't e-f w'b

9. p nt e-r-k ty-f a p hbs e-f hp e-r-k a r-f a 'ny
s-hm-t n hwt skne n wrt p nt e-r-k ty-f a p hbs e-re
hr wh-k p hbs

1. 34. *e-tbe-t-s* must be the reading.

COL. VI.

1. 1. A niche in a wall with special orientation for magic utensils, &c., occurs in the nineteenth dynasty; see NAVILLE, *Quatre stèles*.

1. 3. *p'w R'*, &c. Perhaps the title of some specific religious work, like the hymns to the rising sun prefixed to the New-Kingdom Books of the Dead: or an invocation in an earlier part of the papyrus now lost.

1. 7. *'yh š're*. The meaning is not quite clear. In II Kham, ii. 26

you, you rise and pronounce his compulsion. (32) You must lie down on green reeds, being pure from a woman, your head being turned to the south and your face being turned to the north and the face of the lamp being turned northwards likewise.

(33) *insert above*—‘I pray thee to reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer truly concerning the given matter which I ask thee about.’

COL. VI.

(1) An inquiry of the lamp. You go to a clean dark cell without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall (2) and you take a white lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean, and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, (3) and you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn in his rising and you bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times, (4) and you take it into the cell, you being pure, and the boy also, and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being (5) closed, seven times. You put pure frankincense on the brazier. You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. (6) When you have finished you make him open his eyes towards the lamp; then he sees the shadow of the god about the lamp, and he inquires for you (7) concerning that which you desire. You must do it at midday in a place without light. If it be that you are inquiring for a spirit damned, a wick of sail-cloth (?) (8) is what you put in the lamp and you fill it with clean butter. If it is some other business, a clean wick with pure genuine oil (9) is that which you put in the lamp; if you will do it to bring

there is mentioned a book for *sh̄r 'hy*, ‘overthrowing (or laying) demons’; cf. note 3/25.

1. 9. *skne n wrt*, *ροδιον ελαιον*, DIOSC. i. 53.

10. hr w't tbe't nmy nte p 'lw hms h-f hr ke tbe't
e yr-t-f htm e'r-k 'š a hry hn zz-f š' sp IV

11. n sh-w nt e'r-k 'š-w a p s'l a p hbs a t h't
e b-r te-k 'š a p 'lw z-mt-t 'n nte-k p s'l w't 'o n t
mh't n Thwt

12. 'n nte-k p hbs n š-stn n Wsr p hsy ntr n sšne
n t't 'S't n msne n t't Nb-t-h't

13. 'n nte-k p hrt tp a'r-w n Wsr hnt 'mnt 'n nte-k
p snb 'o a-fy 'Np t-t-f erme-f a t h'e't n Wsr p ntr wr

14. a'r-y 'ny n'm-k n p-hw 'y p s'l a t nw p 'lw a
hn-k nte-k 'r wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn hrr-w ty n
p-hw 'n

15. tm 'r-y-s p nt e'r-k 'r-f 'y p s'l a'r-y t n'm-k a
t gyzt n t 'h't kme't a'r-y t mh' n'm-k hn t gyzt

16. n t 'h't s-hm-t snf n p hsy p nt e-y t n'm-f m-s-k
hr nhe t kyz n 'Np t nt wh ar-k n sh-w

17. n p wr hyq n nt e-y 'š n-k n'm-w nte-k 'ny n-y
p ntr nte p wh-shne n t-t-f n p-hw nte-f z n-y wh a
mt-t nb nt e-y šn

18. hrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t m't n wš n mt-t n 'ze
'y Nwt mw-t mw hy 'P-t mw-t st-t

l. 12. *p hsy*, cf. l. 16, and above, note to 3/31. 'Approved,' 'praised' would be a rather unexpected term to apply to Osiris himself, though it could be explained as equivalent to *m' hrrw* and 'deified.' The sense 'drowned' is quite applicable, as Osiris' body was at least sunk in the waters, cf. the text of Ptah published by BREASTED, A. Z., 1901, Pl. II, ll. 19, 62; and this sense is implied in Brit. Mus. Pap. XLVI. 259-63 *οστα Οσιριους του Εσιρ (Θασιε) του ενεχθεντα εν τω ρευματι του ποταμου* for three days and three nights. Plutarch's account, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 13 et seqq., hardly needs quotation.

sšne, &c. Cf. similar passage in Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 12, l. 1.

t't 'S't . . . t't Nb-t-h't. In both cases the strong *t* is written at the end of the word for 'hand.' Presumably it is an old dual form.

l. 13. *snb a-fy*, &c., the linen used by Anubis in wrapping the mummy of Osiris.

l. 14. *a'r-y 'ny*, *Δεμε*, rather than past relative, which would have taken *n'm-f* instead of *n'm-k*; so also in l. 15, &c.

a t. This is hardly an imperative *a t*.

a woman to a man, ointment of roses is that which you put in the lamp. You must lay the lamp (10) on a new brick and the boy also must sit on another brick with his eyes closed. You cry down into his head four times. (11) The spells which you recite <to the lamp> to the wick previously before you recite to the boy: formula: 'Art thou the unique great wick of the linen of Thoth? (12) Art thou the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? (13) Art thou the original band that was made for Osiris Khentamente? Art thou the great bandage with which Anubis put forth his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god? (14) I have brought thee to-day—ho! thou wick—to cause the boy to look into thee, that thou mayest make reply to every matter concerning which I ask here to-day. (15) Is it that you will (?) not do it? O wick, I have put thee in the hand of the black cow, I have lighted thee in the hand (16) of the female cow. Blood of the Drowned one is that which I put to thee for oil; the hand of Anubis is that which is laid on thee. The spells (17) of the great Sorcerer are those which I recite to thee. Do thou bring me the god in whose hand is the command to-day and let him give me answer as to everything about which (18) I inquire here to-day truly without falsehood. Ho! Nut, mother of water, ho! Apet, mother of fire,

l. 15. *an* **taac*, lit. 'Is not-doing-it that which you will (?) do?' Cf. l. 37.

'h-t kme-t, black animals are generally prescribed in both Greek and demotic magic. Cf. B. M. Gk. Pap. CXXI. l. 301, &c., &c.

l. 16. *t 'h-t s-hm-t*, 'the female cow,' seems curious, but is quite correct, being due to the fact that, except for the gender of the article, there is no distinction in sound between the words for 'ox' and 'cow.' Cf. 7/1, 2.

l. 17. *p wh-s/ine*. The 365 gods are mentioned V. 33/6. Probably one of these presided over the course of each day.

l. 18. Nut, goddess of the sky, wife of Geb and mother of Osiris; Apt, probably the birth-goddess, worshipped in a small temple at Karnak, in

19. ʾw(?)n-y Nw·t mw·t mw ʾm·t ʾP·t mw·t st·t ʾw(?)n-y
yḥ-ʿo e·r-k zt-f e·r-k sq n ḥrw-k m šs sp-sn

20. e·r-k z ʿn eseks p-ʿo-e e-f ḥtn(?) ke-z ḥt-ʾN sp
VII e-f ḥp e pe ny n nt e·r-k ʿš-w

21. wṯt-w a p ḥbs nte-k str n-k n wš n sze ʾnn-e ʿw
n ḥt ḥp e·r-k nhe e·r-k ʿš

22. pe-f thm nte pe-f ḥtr pe z-mt·t ʾnk p ḥr n srʾw
ḥwnw rn-y a·r-w ms·t ḥr p ʾšte šps

23. n ʾBt ʾnk p by n p sr wr nt m ʾBt ank p sʾwte
n t ḥet ʿo·t nt m ww-pq

24. ank p nte yr·t-f n yr·t n ʿhm e-f rs a Wsr n grḥ
ank tp tw-f ḥr ḥst n ʾBt

25. ank nt rs a t ḥet ʿo·t nt m tt ʾnk nt rs n
n sh·w nt e·r-k sh·w a p ḥbs 

26. nt ʾw rn-f ḥep ḥn ḥt-y by by·w rn-f z-mt·t sp VII
e-f ḥp e pe

27. ny wṯet-w n nt e·r-k ʿš-w e-f ḥp e šn n p ʿlw p
nt e·r-k ʾr-f e·r-k ʿš n·y nt ḥry a p ḥbs

28. e b·r te-k ʿš a ḥry ḥn a (*šic*) zz-f n p ʿlw e·r-k
st-k e·r-k ʿš py ke ʿš a p ḥbs ʿn z-mt·t ʾy Wsr p ḥbs

29. e-f t nw n·w hw·w ḥr-w ʾw-f t nw n·w ḥr-w

the inscriptions of which she is often identified with Nut. ROCHEMENTEIX, *Œuvres*, pp. 261, 302.

l. 20. *e-f ḥtn*, &c. The pronunciation of both groups was probably almost identical *ḥetón*.

l. 23. *wv-pq*, a sacred place at Abydos, cf. BRUGSCH, *Dict. Geog.*, 226.

l. 24. *ʿhm*. Perhaps, according to its ancient significance, meaning one of the mummied hawk-figures placed watching at the corners of the coffin, but in Coptic the word  has acquired the meaning 'eagle.'

n grḥ: the gloss  over the *n* is strange, as the group evidently corresponds to Boh. .

tp tw-f. The old title of Anubis.

'desert,' probably in the sense of 'necropolis.'

l. 25. The name written with three hieratic signs  cf. 11/9, 16, is quite uncertain. The first sign probably reads ʾḥ, 'spirit,' but might read *wyn*, 'light,' *wbn*, 'shine' or 'rise,' or possibly *šw*, 'light,' or the god 'Shu.' The scarab may read *ḥpr*, 'scarab,' 'become,' the god Khepera, but hardly *ʾt*, 'land': and the last sign *wr*, 'great,' ʿo, 'great,' *sr*,

(19) come unto me, Nut, mother of water, come Apet, mother of fire, come unto me Yaho.' You say it drawling (?) with your voice exceedingly. You say again: 'Esex, Poe, Ef-khe-ton,' otherwise said, 'Khet-on,' seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, these alone are the things that you recite (21) to the lamp, and you lie down without speaking. But if obduracy take place, you rise, you recite (22) his summons, which is his compulsion. Formula: 'I am the Ram's face, Youth is my name; I was born under the venerable persea (23) in Abydos, I am the soul of the great chief who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse that is in U-pek; (24) I am he whose eyes are as the eyes of Akhom when he watcheth Osiris by night; I am Teptuf upon the desert of Abydos; (25) I am he that watcheth the great corpse which is in Busiris; I am he who watcheth for Light-scarab-noble (?).' (*In margin*) The spells that you write on the lamp, Bakhukhsikhukh (*and figures*) (26) 'whose name is hidden in my heart; Bibiou (Soul of souls) is his name.' Formula, seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, (27) these things alone are what you recite. If it is an inquiry by the boy that you are about, you recite these aforesaid to the lamp (28) before calling down into the head of the boy, you turn round (?), you recite this other invocation to the lamp also. Formula: 'O Osiris, O lamp (29) that giveth vision

'magnate,' *pw*, 'old.' It is no doubt a solar name (here for Osiris?), and it occurs in ch. 162 of the Book of the Dead, but unfortunately without variants (PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 21, 130)*.

l. 29. *hw-w*. This has evidently been written by mistake for *hry-w*, which has been inserted above. The mistake is important as indicating that the *r* of *hrw*, *hw*, 'day,' was retained in the plural (sing. *goot*).

* Cf. perhaps the inscription on a hypocephalus at Cairo  , DARESSY, *Textes Mag.*, p. 56, and    , *ib.*, p. 15 =   METT., *St.*, l. 39.

θs-phr ʔy p ḥbs sp-sn ʔMn mne nʔm-k ʔy p ḥbs sp-sn
te-y

30. ʔš n-k eʔr-k ʔnnʔ a ḥry ḥr zz p yʔm ʔo p yʔm
n [h]r p yʔm n Wsr ʔn e-y z

31. n-k ʔn eʔr-k ʔy ḥb-yt-k ʔy p ḥbs mtr ar-k n-t
gm-k Wsr ḥr pe-f rms n zwf tḥn

32. e ʔS-t ne-zz-f e Nb-t-h-t ne-rt-f e n [ntr·w] ḥwt-w
n ntr-w s-ḥm-tw n pe-f qte a-zy-s ʔS-t my z-w-s

33. n Wsr e-tbe n mt-tw nt e-y šn ḥrr-w a t ʔw p
ntr nte p wh-šḥne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb nt
e-y šn ḥrr-w

34. ty n p-hw e ʔS-t z my ʔš-w n-y a wʔ ntr ḥb-y-s
e n(?) šq-f a n mt-tw nt e-f a še nʔm-s nte-f mnq-s

35. šm-w ʔny-w n-s nte-k p ḥbs p-eʔny-w n-s p ḥyt
n Šm-t te-k.t mw.t erme Ḥke pe-k yt

36. ḥwy ar-k bnn-k mḥ a Wsr erme ʔS-t bnn-k mḥ
ʔNp e bnp-k z n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn

37. ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t mʔt n wš n z n-y mt-t
n ʔze ʔn tm ʔry-s p nt eʔr-k a ʔr-f bn e-y a t n-k nḥe

COL. VII.

1. bn e-y a t n-k nḥe bn e-y a t n-k ʔt ʔy p ḥbs
eʔry e-y a t n-k n t ḥe-t n t ʔḥ-t s-ḥm-t nte-y t-t snf

1. 31. *ḥb-yt-k*, note the final *stm-f*, especially common in the 1 pers. sing. Cf. l. 34.

n-t with *stm-f* = πτερε, cf. I Kham. 5/35, II Kham. 6/3 (GRIFF., High Priests, p. 193).

rms, see GRIFF., High Priests, p. 100. Evidently the πλοιον παπυρινον ο καλειται αιγυπτιστι ρωψ of Leyd. Pap. U. col. 2, l. 6, 7; an *m* before *s* would naturally become *p* in the mouth of a Greek.

1. 32. *n ntr-w ḥwt-w . . . s-ḥm-tw*, O. C. Par. πτερ ζσιμε . . . πτερ ζοοτικ A. Z., 1900, p. 88. Cf. the same expression in the Hittite treaty, L. D. III. 146, ll. 26, 30.

1. 34. *e n(?) šq-f*. Perhaps an adjectival verb of the form παποψ 'he being clever' (or discreet, or swift, &c.).

1. 35. *p ḥyt n . . . ḥwy* seems to be equivalent to ἐξορκίζω σε κατα *Ḥke*, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 851, 859. As a form of the god Shu

of the things <of days> above, that giveth vision of the things below and vice versa; O lamp (*bis*), Amen is moored in thee; O lamp (*bis*) I (30) invoke thee, thou goest up to the shore of the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Do I speak (31) to thee? Dost thou come that I may send thee? Ho, lamp, witness (?) to thyself, since thou hast found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and *tehen*, (32) Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female gods about him. Speak, Isis, let it be told (33) to Osiris concerning the things which I ask about, to cause the god to come in whose hand is the command, and give me answer to everything about which I shall inquire (34) here to-day. When Isis said "Let a god be summoned to me that I may send him, he being discreet (?) as to the business on which he will go and he accomplish it," (35) they went and they brought to her; thou art the lamp that was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet thy mother and of Heke thy father is (36) cast at thee, thou shalt not be lighted for Osiris and Isis, thou shalt not be lighted for Anubis until thou hast given me an answer to everything which I ask (37) about here to-day truly without telling me falsehood. If thou wilt not do it, I will not give thee oil.

COL. VII.

(1) 'I will not give thee oil, I will not give thee fat, O lamp; verily I will give thee the body of the female

he would be connected with the lion-headed goddess Tefnut, here perhaps assimilated to the lion-goddess Sochmet.

l. 37. *bn e-y a* (sic) *t*. The *a* is false with neg. fut., but occurs commonly in this papyrus. See 7/1, &c.

COL. VII.

l. 1. *e-ry* with gloss **epe**, apparently = Eg. , as *e-re* in 5/28: here 'verily' or 'but.'

2. n p ḥ hwt m-s-k nte-y t t-t-k n p ḥswe(?) n ḥft
Ḥr a·wn n-y ḥy na t ty·t t tb·t n ḥl nt n t-t-y

3. šp·t a ḥr·tn ḥy n by·w ḥqr·w(?) na bywkm t tyb·t n
ḥnte nt ḥr qh IV ḥy p ḥe nt e-w

4. z n-f ḥNp n rn nt ḥtp ḥr t tybe·t n ḥl e rt-f
smn·t ḥr t tybe·t n ḥnte my ḥw n-y

5. p kys m-s p šre ḥbs nte-f z n-y wh ḥr mt·t nb
nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt·t m·t e mn mt·t n ḥze
nḥm-w

6. y-ḥo tḥb·ḥo swg·m·mw ḥkh·kh·nbw s·n·w·ny etsie
qm·t

7. geth·ḥo-s b·s·e·th·ḥo-ry thmyl·ḥkh·khw a·ry n-y wh
a mt·t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw sp VII

8. n sh·w n p ḥlw b·ḥo-el b·ḥo-el sp-sn y·y sp-sn ḥḥ
sp-sn tt tt sp-sn p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p ḥber n t
st·t

9. p nte t st·t n r-f nte b·r-s ḥm p ntr ḥo nt ḥms
ḥn t st·t p nt n t mt·t n t st·t p nt n p šy n t p·t

10. nte p ḥw erme p n·š n p ntr n t-t-f wnḥ-k a py
ḥlw nt ḥr pe hne n p-hw nte-f z n-y wh n mt·t

11. m·t n wš n mt·t n ḥze e-y a ty ḥy-k n ḥBt e-y a
š·š·k n t p·t ne-ḥr p r· e-y a š·š·k

12. ne-ḥr ḥ e-y a š·š·k n p t e-y a š·š·k ne-ḥr p
nt ḥr p bḥt nte b·r-f htm pe p š·š·

13. ḥo petery petery p·ter enphe enphe p ntr nt n t
ry·t ḥry·t n t p·t nte p šbt nt (ne)-

1. 2. Referring to the contest between Horus and Set when Horus injured the testicles of Set, and Set, at the same time, put out the eye of Horus. The eye of Horus symbolizes light—hence the threat to the lamp. But the reading and meaning are uncertain. Cf. note to 1/3.

t tb·t n ḥl seems to be in apposition to *ty·t*; a similar construction in l. 3.

1. 3. *ḥqr*. The double figure in the underworld formed of the foreparts of two lions or of a lion and a bull. LANZONI, *Diz. Mit.*, p. 5.

bywkm seems to be the name of the Arabian desert at the latitude of El Kab, according to BRUGSCH, *D. Geogr.*, 211, 1154, where the lion-

cow and put blood (2) of the male bull into (?) thee and put thy hand to the testicles (?) of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, O ye of the underworld, the box of myrrh that is in my hand; (3) receive me before you, O ye souls of Aker belonging to Bi-wekem, the box of frankincense that hath four corners. O dog, which is (4) called Anubis by name, who resteth on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of frankincense, let there come to me (5) the ointment for the son of the lamp that he (?) may give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood therein. (6) Io, Tabao, Soukhamamou, Akhakhanbou, Sanauani, Ethie, Komto, (7) Kethos, Basaethori, Thmila, Akhkhon, give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day.' Seven times. (8) The spells of the boy: 'Boel, Boel (*bis*), Ii (*bis*), Aa (*bis*), Tattat (*bis*), he that giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, (9) he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great god that sitteth in the fire, he that is in the midst of the fire, he that is in the lake of heaven, (10) in whose hand is the greatness and might of God, reveal thyself to this boy who hath my vessel to-day, and let him give me answer truly (11) without falsehood. I will glorify thee in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before Phre, I will glorify thee (12) before the moon, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he of the great glory, (13) Pterri, Peteri, Pater, Enphe, Enphe, the god who is above heaven, in

pair Shu and Tefnut were worshipped. Possibly the latter were identified with Aker.

The animal of Anubis was strictly a fox according to its shape, but coloured black.

l. 5. *p šre hbs*. Is this an expression for the wick, or for the boy-medium, or for the god?

l. 8. Lines 8-18, cf. 5/12-22.

14. 'ne-f n t:t-f 'r t hp ntr e bnp ntr t hp-f 'm a hn
n t mt:t n ty st:t nt ty h:t-k pa bwel (анил)

15. nte-k t { m'y p 'š-shne nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw

16. { p zr n n bel-w n p 'lw nt hr pe hne a t

my m's my stm-s p ntr 'o
m'-f-s erme msz-f a t stm-f p ntr 'o } s-y-s-y-hwt sp-sn

17. (αχρεωτω) 'm a hn { hr zz-y n p-hw nte-k t wn

18. { n t mt:t n ty st:t

yr't a bl n mt:t nb nt e-y šll hrr-w ty n p-hw } p ntr 'o nt

hr p tw n g'b'wn gh'b'h-'o (такартат) e'r-k 'š ny

19. š' nte p wyn hp a're p wyn hp e'r-k st e'r-k
'š ty h:t(?) sh n w'hm 'n tey-s t h:t n p thm

20. h-s nt e'r-k 'š-s 'y a:z(?) n-y sp-sn ths ten-'o-r p
yt n nhe z:t p ntr nt hr p t tre-f s'lk-m-'o

21. b'lk-m-'o br'k nephr-'o-b-'n-p-r' bry's s'ry-ntr-w
melykhryphs

22. l'rnkn'nes herephes mephr-'o-bry's phrg' phkse
ntsywpšy'

23. m'rm'reke-t l-'o-re-grepšye my nw-y a p wh n p
šn nt e-y ty e-tbe't-f my 'r-w n-y wh

24. a mt:t nb nt e-y šn hrr-w ty n p-hw n mt:t m't
n wš n mt:t n 'ze 'y 't'el 'pthe gh-'o-gh-'o-m-'o-le

25. hesen-myng'nt-'o-n 'o-rth-'o-b'wb-'o n-'o-ere sere
sere sn-g'th'r'

26. eresgšyng'l s'kgyste n-t-te-g'gyste 'krwr-'o-b-'o-re
g-'o-ntere

ll. 15, 17. These interlineations are words to be substituted in the case of no medium being employed.

l. 19. *ty k-t* was first written before *sh*, and then *h* written upon the *k*: see the Glossary.

l. 20. *y*: after this word the name of the deity invoked would be expected: a vertical line following may indicate an omission. *z n-y sp-sn* would seem to be an imperative with emphasis.

l. 22. *ntsywpšy'*. *nt* represents *δ* and *ts* *θ*, so *nts* probably represents an aspirated *d*, i. e. *dh*, which is transcribed in the Greek by *Δ* alone; but *ts* also represents *Δ* in 2/26.

l. 25: Hesemigadon, &c. A similar string of names occurs in Brit.

whose hand is the beautiful staff, (14) who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this fire that is here before thee, he of Boel, Aniel

(15) { cause me to see the business about
(16) and do thou { give strength to the eyes of the boy
{ which I am inquiring here to-day, let it be seen, let
{ who has my vessel, to cause him to see it, and to his
{ it be heard
{ ears to cause him to hear it, } O great god Sisihout,

(17) { before me and cause my eyes
(18) Akhremto, come in { into the midst of this flame,
(17) to be opened to everything for which I pray here to-day,
(18) O great god that is upon the hill of (Atugi) Gabaon, Khabaho, Takrtat.' You recite this (19) until the light appear. When the light appears, you turn round (?), you recite this spell-copy a second time again. Behold the spell-copy also (?) of the summons (20) that you recite: 'Ho! speak to me (*bis*) Thes, Tenor, the father of eternity without end, the god who is over the whole earth, Salkmo, (21) Balkmo, Brak, Nephro, Bampre, Brias, Sarinter, Melikhriphs, (22) Largnanes, Herephes, Mephrobrias, Pherka, Phexe, Diouphia, (23) Marmareke, Laore-Krephie, may I see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here, may answer be made to me (24) to everything about which I ask here to-day, truly without falsehood. Ho! Adael, Aphthe, Khokhomole, (25) Hesenmigadon, Orthobaubo, Noere, Sere, Sere, San-kathara, (26) Ereskhigal, Saggiste, Dodeka-

Mus. Gr. Pap. No. XLVI. l. 424, et seq.; WESSELY, *Ephes. Gram.*, 36, 244-5, 341, 377.

l. 26. Ereskhigal is the Sumerian goddess of the Underworld, cf. LEGGE, *P. S. B. A.*, xxii. 121, lit. 'mistress of the Great Land,' i. e. the infernal regions; see the myth in BUDGE and BEZOLD, *Tel-el-amarna Tablets*, No. 82, p. 140; the name is found also in an Assyrian text in R. C. THOMPSON, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 267 (from

27. e·r-k t ʔr-f wn yr-t-f nte-f nw m-s p ḥbs nte-k
šn-t-f a p nt e·r-k wh-f a·re ʔw n ḥt ḥp e bnp-f nw a
p ntr e·r-k st-k

28. e·r-k ʕš pe-f ḥtr z-mt-t seme·g·n-tw gen-tw
g·o-n-tw geryn-tw nt·reng·o lek·wks

29. ʔm n-y g·n·b a·ry k·t·y b·ryk·t·y ʔtn ḥ n n
ntr-w ʔtn stm ḥrw-y my z-w n-y wh

30. a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw ʔy p ste
ns·l·b·ḥ·o n·syr· h·ke tw·f p my sr·w

31. my nw-y a p wyn n p-hw erme n ntr-w nte-w z
n-y wh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t
m·t n·n·n·n·n rn-k

32. n·n· pe-k rn n mte e·r-k ʕš šmšeke n ḥrw-k e-f
ʔy e·r-k ʕš z ʔm n-y y·h·o y·w

33. y·h·o ʔwh·o y·h·o h·y k hw q' n·šbt ʔr-py-hpe
ḥl·ḥl·n·bk

34. ḥr n bk ny·by·t th·tl·t my·ry·bl

COL. VIII.

1. a [ʔre p ntr(?)] ʔsq a tm ʔy a(?) ḥn e·r-k ʕš

2. my·ry·bl·qml·kykh p-yt-yt-w n n ntr-w pḥr w·t
yr·t rym k·t sby y·ḥ sp·sn sp·sn ḥ·ḥ·he

3. st·st·st·st yḥ y·h·o ḥḥ my ʔw n-y p ntr nte p
wh·sh·ne n p-hw n t·t·f nte-f z n-y wh a mt-t nb

4. nt e-y šn ḥrr-w ty n p-hw e·r-k z pf-ntr(?) n r-k
tne sp nb n e·r-k ʕš te-y ḥwy ḥyt ar-k n p nt ḥt
n·m·k n p nt ʕme n·m·k

information kindly supplied by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Hall, of the
British Museum).

1. 28. The names in this line are found in Pap. XLVI above, l. 428,
and also on a Gnostic gem described by GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays,
1853, p. 54.

1. 30. *ʔwn-f*, 'raise him up!' or with reflexive masc. suffix 'arise!' instead of fem. as in Coptic *ʔornoc*, 'arise!'

COL. VIII.

1. 1. The short heading seems only intended to remind the reader of
the subject in hand (see 6/27), and is not a new heading.

kiste, Akrourobore, Kodere.' (27) You make him open his eyes and look at the lamp, and ask him as to that which you wish. If obstinacy appear, he not having seen the god, you turn round (?), (28) you pronounce his compulsion. Formula: 'Semea-kanteu, Kenteu, Konteu, Kerideu, Darenko, Lekaux, (29) come to me, Kanab, Ari-katei, Bari-katei, disk, moon of the gods, disk, hear my voice, let answer be given me (30) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. O perfume of Zalabaho, Nasira, Hake, arise (?) O Lion-ram, (31) let me see the light to-day, and the gods; and let them give me answer as to everything about which I ask here to-day truly. Na, Na, Na, Na, is thy name, (32) Na, Na, is thy true name.' You utter a whisper (?) with your voice loudly; you recite saying, 'Come to me Iaho, Iacu, (33) Iaho, Auho, Iaho, Hai, Ko, Hoou, Ko, Nashbot, Arpi-Hap (?), Abla, Balbok, (34) Honbek (Hawk-face), Ni, Abit, Thatlat, Maribal.'

COL. VIII.

(1) If [the god (?)] delay so as not to come in, you cry: (2) 'Maribal, Kmla, Kikh, Father of the fathers of the gods, go round (?), one Eye weeps, the other laughs. Ioh (*bis, bis*), Ha, Ha, He, (3) St, St, St, St, Ihe, Iaho, seek (?); let there come to me the god in whose hand is the command to-day, and let him give me reply to everything (4) about which I ask here to-day.' You say, 'Pef-nuti (?)' with your mouth each

l. 2. This continues from 6/34, which is short because of meeting the ruling: v. the facsimile.

my ʔr-y bl is repeated from the end of 6/34. Such repetition is usual where a page ends in the middle of a paragraph (e.g. in Cols. II-III, VI-VII), but there are exceptions as in Cols. IX-X. The sign over *bl* is hieratic for $\overline{\text{bl}}$ (= *bl*), as in 11/12.

l. 4. *pf-ntr* (?): possibly an archaic expression, 'that god,' but this and

5. my 're p kke prze a p wyn ne-ħr-y 'y p ntr ħw-ħs
r' t ħtm sy sp-sn 'w ħw 'w ħ t b-r-y

6. gh' 't r' t šfe bybyw y'h-ŋo 'ry'ħ' sp-sn a'ry n-s
e-w a st ħr bks gs:gs:gs:gs

7. y'ny'n e'r-n e-y bs ks:ks:ks:ks my 'w n-y p ntr
nte p wħ-shne n t't-f nte-f z n-y wħ a mt:t nb nt
e-y

8. šn ħrr-w ty n p-hw 'm a ħn py't-w ħy-tre:t 'y
ħp ħpe ħp 'br'ħme p zf n t yr:t n t wz

9. qmr-qmr-qmr-qmr qm-r a't ħp qm:qm wr wt š . .
knwš pe-k rn n mte my z-w n-y wħ

10. a mt:t nb nt e-y šn ħrr-w ty n p-hw 'm n-y
b'k'ksykhekħ a-zy n-y wħ a mt:t nb nt e-y šn ħrr-w
ty n p-hw n mt:t m' t

11. n wš n z n-y mt:t n 'ze z-mt:t sp VII

12. w' a ħrw pe-sh p w'b n ks e-f z n'm-f z
e-f znt n sp IX

13. ank r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw:t-f
ta p šw e-f ħp

14. e t mn t mt:t ne ħp mpr 'y n-y n pe-k ħr n pħe:t
e'r-k a 'y n-y n pe-k ħbr n w'b

15. n pe-k sšt n rm ħ-t-nt e-f ħp e bn-e-s a ħp
e'r-k 'y n-y n pe-k smte n g'šyre

16. z 'nk r-mšw šw r-mšw p šre n ta p šw n mw:t-f
ta p šw a ħr

other expressions that seem to have a meaning, such as 'do for her'
araimas, 'they shall return' *euesōl*, in l. 6, are likely to be only gibberish
ejaculations; cf. δωδεκαίστη in Greek magic.

ne'r-k = conjunctive *nt*, usually written *nte-k* as Boh. *ntek*.

1. 8. *wz*. The  eye is named *ous* (cf. gen. *ouat-os*), *ouaton* B. M.
Pap. XLVI. 75 and 92, pointing to the pronunciation *otaxe*, *otaxe* (?),
cf. *taouaris*, 'she of the sacred eye,' in SPIEGELB., *Eigenn.*, p. 51*.

1. 12. *pe-sh*. There is no determinative to prove that this is a proper
name. The previous sign instead of *ħrw*, 'voice,' might be read as
'foreigner,' or 'Greek,' cf. 4/7, V. 3/12.

time, and you cry, 'I cast fury at thee of him who cutteth thee, of him who devoureth thee. (5) Let the darkness separate from the light before me. Ho! god, Hu-hos, Ri-khetem, Si (*bis*), Aho (?), Ah, Mai (?) ("I do not" ?), (6) Kha, Ait, Ri-shfe, Bibiu, Iaho, Ariaaha (*bis*), Arainas ("do for her"), Euesetho ("they will turn the face"), Bekes, Gs, Gs, Gs, Gs, (7) Ianian, Eren, Eibs, Ks, Ks, Ks, Ks, let the god come to me in whose hand is the command and give me answer as to everything about which I (8) inquire here to-day. Come in, Piatouu, Khitore; ho! Shop, Shope, Shop, Abraham, the apple (?) of the Eye of the Uzat, (9) Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmr, Kmro, so as to create, Kom, Kom-wer-wot, Sheknush (?) is thy real name, let answer be told to me (10) as to everything about which I ask here to-day. Come to me Bakaxikhekh, tell me answer to everything which I ask about here to-day truly (11) without telling me falsehood.' Formula. Seven times.

(12) A direct (?) inquiry by (?) the voice of Pasash (?) the priest of Kes; he (the informant) tells it, saying it is tested, nine times: (13) 'I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau son of Tapshau, of his mother Tapshau, if it be that (14) any given thing shall happen, do not come to me with thy face of Pekhe; thou shalt come to me in thy form of a priest, (15) in thy figure of a servant of the temple. (But) if it shall not come to pass, thou (shalt) come to me in thy form of a Kalashire, (16) for I am Ramshau, Shau, Ramshau, the son of Tapshau, of his

Ks may be Cusae, or Cynopolis (El Qais), or some other town in Middle Egypt.

'Nine times tried' seems proverbial, cf. 14/31; and for the whole sentence, 29/1.

1. 14. *Phe-t*, a feline goddess worshipped at Speos Artemidos near Beni-Hasan in Middle Egypt. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 234.

1. 15. *g^hšyre*, see the Glossary.

F

17. p ḥpš n p mḥ III n p wrš e wn w^c yb n mzwł
ḥt n ḥlpe III e wn mḥ-n-tp III

18. n b^cnyp tks n^m-f nte-k š n-y ar-f n sp VII
nte-k ḥ^c-f ne-zz-k ḥr nw-f n-k nte-f sze erme-k

COL. IX.

1. p šn-hne n Ḥns . . . ḥr-k Ḥns m ws-t nfr ḥtp
p syf šps ʾr pyr n p sšn Ḥr nb nw w^c pw . . .

2. ʾy ḥt nb ḥt ʾy šn-ty-t nb šn-ty-t nb ʾtn p ntr ʿo
p k wt p šre n p ʾkš ʾm n-y p syf šps p ntr ʿo nt [ḥn]

3. p ʾtn nte ḥn-w . . . p-ʿo-m-ʿo nt e-w z n-f p k
sp-sn wr p ntr ʿo nt ḥn t wz-t ʾr pyr a bl ḥn p IV [ḥn]

4. n z-t p tbe n n ef-w nt e b ʾr-rḥ-w rn-f b ʾr-rḥ-w
ky-f b rḥ-w smte-f te-y ʾr-rḥ(-w) rn-k te-y ʾr-rḥ(-w) ky-k
te-y [ʾr-rḥ(-w)]

5. smte-k ʿo rn-k ʾw rn-k ʾḥ rn-yk ʾmn rn-k wr ntr-w
rn-yk ʾmn rn-f a ntr-w nb rn-yk ʿo-m

6. wr ʿm rn-k ntr-w nb rn-yk srpt-my-sr rn-yk l-ʿo-w
ʾy nb t-w sp-sn rn-yk ʾmḥr n p-t rn-k sšn n syw . . .

l. 17. *τριταῖος οὐσῆς τῆς σεληνῆς* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 170.

yḥ, lit. 'tooth.' Cf. Lat. 'spica allii.'

COL. IX.

l. 1. *Ḥns-m-ws-t-nfr-ḥtp*, the title of the principal form of Khons at Thebes, see the Bekhten stela. Khons was a moon-god, son of Amen and Mut. He is here identified with Horus and other gods.

For Horus rising from the lotus-flower see LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.*, ccxiv. 'Lord of time,' as the moon regulating seasons.

l. 2. *ḥt*, 'silver,' the moon-colour.

šn-ty-t, 'circuit of the underworld (?)'

p k wt, cf. his title 'ein feuriger Stier' in an inscription translated by BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 360; *wt* is evidently the Eg. *wz*.

p ʾkš, the Ethiopian, i. e. Amen, who at this time was popularly considered as, above all, the god of Meroe: see V. 20/1 and note.

l. 3. *nte ḥn-w* . . . Cf. *ḡne-ḡna* and below l. 10, and with the idea cf. Khons' title *nb ʾw-t ḥ*, 'lord of joy.'

p IV ḥn n z-t, cf. l. 13 with gloss. *ḡnae*. *ḥn* is a vessel below 12/29. Here it may be a 'space' referring to the 'four quarters.' *z-t* may perhaps refer to 'space,' not time. One may also suggest the meaning of 'four boundaries' or 'four seasons,' and in l. 8 *ḥn* seems to mean

mother Tapshau.' [Say it] opposite (17) the Shoulder constellation on the third day of the month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic and there being three needles (18) of iron piercing it, and recite this to it seven times; and put it at thy head. Then he attends to you and speaks with you.

COL. IX.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Chons. '[Homage ?] to thee, Chons-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, the noble child that came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time (?), one he is . . . (2) Ho! silver, lord of silver, Shentei, lord of Shentei, lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian, come to me, noble child, the great god that is in (3) the disk, who pleaseth men (?), Pomo, who is called the mighty bull (*bis*), the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four [boundaries?] (4) of eternity, the punisher of the flesh (?), whose name is not known, nor his nature, nor his likeness (?). I know thy name, I know thy nature, I [know] (5) thy likeness. Great is thy name, Heir is thy name, Excellent is thy name, Hidden is thy name. Mighty one of the gods is thy name, "He whose name is hidden from all the gods" is thy name, Om, (6) Mighty Am is thy name, "All the gods" is thy name, Lotus-lion-ram is thy name, "Loou comes, lord of the lands" (*bis*) is thy name, Amakhr of heaven is thy name, "Lotus-flower of stars (?)

a 'cycle.' Cf. τα τεσσαρα μέρη του ουρανου και τα τεσσαρα θεμελια της γης, B. M. Pap. CXXI. 552.

l. 4. *p the*, cf. note on Petbe in P. S. B. A. xxii. 162.

te-y 'r-rhw: the written *w* seems meaningless, for *rh* is not here in *stm-f* dependent on *te-y*. The latter is the pron. 1st sing. *ḏ* followed by inf. or pseudo-part. For *'r-rh* see GRIFFITH, High Priests, p. 106.

l. 5. *'h* with gloss *as* and therefore not 'spirit,' which would be *is*. Perhaps it is the adjective 'beneficial.'

'He whose name is hidden from all the gods,' a phrase current in the New Kingdom for Amenra.

7. 'y 'y-y-^o ne-'y-^o rn-yk pe-k sšt mhrr n hr n sre
e st-f n bk e bs II hrr-f pe-k [hfe hfe]

8. n z-t pe-k hn n wrš pe-k h n h n elle 'št pe-k sym
n sym n 'Mn pe-k 'rw n t p-t byn pe-k rym n [p mty?]

9. lbs km st smn-t hr p t yb rn-k n te-k-t hē-t n p
y'm pe-k sšt n 'ny a-pyr-k n'm-f . . .

10. t p-t te-k-t qnh-t p t te-k-t hyw-t wn-ne p hny a
mht n'm-k ty n p-hw z 'nk h(?) mne nw . . . y

11. 'e e bnp-y 'r-f hr 'sq e bnp-y gm rn-yk p ntr 'o
nte (ne-)y rn-f p hry hte-t n t p-t a-'r-y 'r-f 'r [p hkr?]

12. n p t p 'yb n p mw nte-k nht nte-k t wz-y nte-k
t n-y hst mr-t šfe-t a hr rm nb z 'nk pe p k . . .

13. p ntr 'o nt hn t wz-t 'r pyr a bl hn p IV hn n
z-t 'nk hwnē p rn 'o nt n t p-t nt e-w z n-f . . .

14. 'm-ph-^o-w sp-sn n m't sp-sn hš-f a 'Bt R^c Hr
hnn(?) pe pe rn hry ntr-w rn-t n mte nht my wz-y my
hpe pe hne . . .

15. a'wn n-y n 'rq-hh a hr ntr nb rm nb 'r pyr

l. 7. The figure described may be compared with the ram-headed scarabs having hawk's wings which are common on late coffins, on the breast of the figure upon the inner coffins. What *bs* is is not evident. These scarabs often hold two Shen rings, or two sceptres with Maat feathers on the end.

pe-k [hfe hfe] n z-t. There seems to be space in the lacuna for the whole groups spelled out, as in l. 20. The extent of the lacuna, about 2 cm., can be judged by l. 12, where *k[wr]* has to be read. For the *hf* n z-t, cf. I Kham. iii. 31; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 22; and τὸν αἰζῶον οφῶν Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1323.

l. 8. 'šl. The identity of this fruit-tree is very uncertain, v. LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 102.

rym n [p mty?]. Cf. I Kham. iii. 13, but the precise wording required is quite uncertain.

l. 9. *lbs*. There is a fish called λεβίας; and there is the modern لبیس. On the latter Mr. G. A. BOULENGER kindly furnishes a note, 'the lebis is the Arabic name of Labeo Niloticus, a fish allied to and not unlike our carp. Like the latter, without being absolutely black, it may be of a very dark olive brown above.'

jb probably has a definite meaning, but as yet it is obscure.

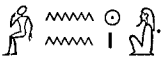
l. 10. e hn-y. This reading is possible, see the facsimile.

(7) cometh," Ei-io Ne-ei-o is thy name. Thy form is a scarab with the face of a ram; its tail a hawk's, it wearing (?) two panther-skins (?). Thy [serpent is a serpent ?] (8) of eternity, thine orbit (?) a lunar month, thy tree a vine-tree and persea (?), thy herb the herb of Amen, thy fowl of heaven a heron, thy fish of [the deep (?)] (9) a black *lebes*. They are established on earth. Yb is thy name in thy body in (?) the sea, thy figure of stone in which thou camest forth is a . . . ; (10) heaven is thy shrine, the Earth thy fore-court; it was my will (?) to seize thee here to-day, for I am one shining, enduring: my . . . (11) faileth (?) if I have not done it through (?) the delay, I not having discovered thy name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor (?) of heaven. (But) I have done it, [enduring ?] hunger (12) for bread, and thirst for water; and do thou rescue (?) me and make me prosper and give me praise, love, and reverence before every man. For I am (?) the [mighty] bull, (13) the great god that is in the *Uzat*, that came forth from the four regions (?) of space (?). I am *Hune* (youth), the great name that is in heaven, whom they call . . . (14) Amphoo (*bis*), "True" (*bis*), "He is praised to (?) Abydos," "Ra," "Horus the boy" is my name, "Chief of the gods" is my correct name, preserve me, make me to prosper, make my vessel to become [successful ?]. (15) Open to

l. 11. *a·r-y*. The translation is uncertain owing to the lacuna.

l. 12. *·nk pe p k* might mean 'I am he of the [mighty] bull'; if not, the magician identifies himself with Khons, see l. 3.

l. 14. *hs-f a ·Bt*. The *a* as a separate letter seems certain, v. the facs. The gloss *hsf* has the appearance of a construct form, but it may well be for *hsaf*. Even so it is difficult to find a meaning for the phrase.

The reading of the group following *R·-Hr* is not certain. The signs are .

l. 15. The 'stone of Ptah' is not otherwise known. For Ptah as a creator see BRUGSCH, *Religion*, p. 110; BREASTED, *A. Z.*, 1901, 51.

a bl ḥn p ʿny n Pth z ank p ḥf ʿr pyr n p nwn
ʿnk . . .

16. bre n ʿkš ʿnh n ḥf n nb n mʿt aʿre ʿbye n sp-t
p nt e-y a z-t-f ḥr ḥpe-f tw n hy . . .

17. apḥte z ʿnk ʿNp p sst (*šic*) nhne ʿnk ʿS-t e-y a
mr-f ank Wsr e-y a mr-f ank ʿNp [e-y a mr]-f eʿr-k a
nhm-t a . . . nb

18. s-t thth nb lsmt nwt lsmʿtot nḥt my wz-y my n-y
ḥs-t mr-t šfe-t ḥn pe hne . . .

19. pe swt ty n p-hw ʿm-t n-y ʿS-t t nb ḥyq t wr
ḥyq n n ntr-w tre-w Ḥr ḥ-t ʿS-t m-s-y Nb-t-ḥ-t n te
grpe

20. wʿ ḥf n šre ʿTm p nt . . . n ʿre-t a zz-y ze p nt
e-f a myšt e-f a myš stn Mnt ty n p-hw(?) n wʿ(?) . . .

21. a my-ḥs apḥte a t še a wʿ my n šr my-ḥs a bl
e-f qby aʿn-t-w n-y sp-sn n by n ntr n by

22. n rm n by n t ty-t n by n t ʿhy-t n ʿyh-w n
n-mw-t-w nte-w (my ʿr-w) z n-y n t mʿt n p-hw a p
nt e-y šn m-s-f z ʿ[nk]

The snake as word-sign has six loops here and in 21/4, four loops in l. 16. This agrees with the snake determinative of šy which has usually four loops, once (19/12) six loops, and twice (3/3, 5/9) two loops, and Shoi is said to be 'in Nun' 2/5. It is thus the snake of Shay. But the sign, meaning distinctly a (sacred) snake, cannot read šy, which always means distinctly a divinity. *Hfe* is perhaps the most probable reading, see esp. 21/4; the det. of that word in 9/20 has only two loops, but in Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 9 five or six loops. *Syt* 14/3, V. 27/1 has four loops, but the head seems to be raised high; *syt* is derived from Eg. sʿ-t which is represented by  in late texts, Br., Dict. Geogr., 762.

l. 16. *bre*: cf. *ḥwpe*, 'intumescere,' *ḥope*, 'fastuose se gerere,' or better *ḥepi*, 'juvenis.'

nh is evidently the serpent word met with in 1/3. Possibly both *bre* and *nh* are adjectives, and the construction may resemble the familiar Coptic construction with adjectives, St., § 187.

t-w n, apparently an unetymological spelling for *ntwt*: cf. 18/21.

l. 17. *sst*, error for *snt*: cf. 18/22.

l. 20. *wʿ ḥf n šre ʿTm*. Atum being a form of Ra, this may refer to the

me Arkhah before every god and every man that hath come forth from the stone of Ptah. For I am the serpent that came forth from Nun, I am a (16) proud (?) Ethiopian, a rearing serpent of real gold, there being honey in my (?) lips; that which I shall say cometh to pass at once. Ho! . . . (17) mighty one, for I am Anubis, the baby creature (?); I am Isis and I will bind him, I am Osiris and I will bind him, I am Anubis [and I will bind] him. Thou wilt save me from every . . . (18) and every place of confusion (?). Lasmalnout, Lesmatot, protect me, heal me, give me love, praise and reverence in my vessel (19), my bandage (?) here to-day. Come to me, Isis, mistress of magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem, (20) a snake of the son(s) of Atum is that which . . . a uraeus-diadem at my head; for he that shall strike (?) me (?) shall strike (?) King Mont here to-day . . . (21) Mihos, mighty one shall send out a lion of the sons of Mihos under compulsion to fetch them to me (*bis*) the souls of god, the souls (22) of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead, so that they tell me the truth to-day concerning that

poisonous serpent formed by Isis from the spittle of Ra, to bite him and make him reveal his secret name (texts of New Kingdom). With the construction compare l. 21 *w^c my n šr my-šs*, 10/13 *lbe.t III n lbe.t nmy*, and 10/10 *š^c n ny*.

l. 21. *My-šs*, a lion-god, son of Bubastis. For the pronunciation of the name see SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 4*.

i še a: the *a* is quite certain, but is very puzzling.

a·n-t-w n-y sp-sn. This should be an imperative: see also the parallel l. 35. Possibly *sp-sn* is falsely written here.

n by, gloss. *ḥḥar*. The plural sign is often omitted with *by*, and here we see the reason, viz. that the plural had no special form.

l. 22. *n-mw-t-w*, cf. l. 25. The prefixed *n* seems to represent a reduplication of the initial *m*, *n* being regularly assimilated to a following *m*.

Here we have *verves kai oi daimones* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1453.

23. Hr s 'S·t e-f 'nn^c a mr n 'rq-ḥḥ a hwy qst a hr
n s·w a t mnḥ·t n p ḥsy

24. p ḥsy nfr n n ḥsy·w e·r-k nhs e·r-k a rpy hr r
n r·w n pe hne pe swt pe z^l mt·t . . .

25. nhs n'm-w n-y [n] 'yh·w n mt·w nhs pe-w by
pe-w sst n n r·w n pe hne nhs-w n'm-w n-y . . .

26. erme n mt·w nhs n'm-w n-y sp-sn nhse(?) pe-w
by erme pe-w sst p ḥyt n py-s s wnte ta 'rb . . .

27. nhs n'm-w n-y sp-sn [n wn]te-w n ne-w s·t tbe
my 'r-w sze n r·w my 'r-w mt·t n spe-w my 'r-w z
p-e-z-y [a p nt]

28. e-y šn ḥrr-f ty n p-hw my 'r-w mt·t n . . . my
're mt·t m·t ḥp n-y mpr t hr hr hr rn hr rn n m·t
sp-sn(?) [e mn]

29. mt·t n 'ze n'm-w(?) [y] p mḥrr n ḥstb n m·t nt
ḥms hr zz p šy n p pr·o Wsr wn-nfr . . .

30. mḥ r-k n mw n(?) . . . kš-f a zz-y erme p nt
ne-t·t my wz-y my wz-f θs-phr š^c nte p-e-z-[y ḥp m]y
're

31. p-e-z-y ḥp z e·re tm te(?) p-e-z-y ḥp e-y a t qte
t st·t n p qte n ty sewe š^c nte p-e-z-y ḥp z . . .

32. a p t stm-w n-y . . . z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
'nk 'Tm n p wtn n p r^c ank 'ry'ttw t št·o-t n(?) . . .

l. 23. *a mr·t* in the Khamuas stories means 'on board ship' (High Priests, p. 98), but **ⲉⲙⲙⲣ** in Coptic is 'across,' 'to the other side,' 'beyond.' *a mr n* may be 'beyond' as a preposition; the same word is used in 15/12 in the same connexion (with the tomb of Osiris at Abydos).

l. 24. *e·r-k*. The gloss is certainly **ⲉⲣ**, and must be a correction.
swt is difficult to understand. The idea must be founded on the use of knots in magic, Lat. 'ligatura.'

z^l-mt·t probably = 'word-seeking,' from Eg. *z^r*, preserved also in **ⲁⲙⲣ**, &c. Were all these used at once, or were they alternatives?

l. 26. *wnte*: cf. LANZ., Diz. Mit., 165, or better BRUGSCH, Wtb. Suppl., 322. It would be possible to read *ḥwnte*. From the next line the *wnte* would seem to be souls in torment or else punishing demons.

l. 27. *spe-w*, see Glossary, s. v. *sp^l*.

after which I am inquiring: for I am (23) Horus son of Isis who goeth on board at Arkhah to put wrappings on the amulets, to put linen on the Drowned one, (24) the fair Drowned one of the drowned (?). They shall rise, they shall flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), my word-seeking (?). (25) Arouse them for me (*bis*), the spirits, the dead; rouse their souls and forms at (?) the mouths of my vessel; rouse them for me (26) with the dead; rouse [them] for me (*bis*); rouse their souls and their forms. The fury of Pessiwont ("Her (whose) son is Wont"), the daughter of Ar . . . (27) rouse them for me (*bis*), the Unti from their places of punishment, let them talk with their mouths, let them speak with their lips, let them say that which I have said, [about that which] (28) I am asking them here to-day; let them speak before (?) me, let truth happen to me; do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true (*bis*) name [without] (29) falsehood in it. [Ho?] scarab of true lapislazuli that sitteth at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer! (30) fill thy mouth with the water of [the pool?], pour it on my head together with him who is at my hand; make me prosper, make him prosper, and conversely, until my words [happen?], let (31) that which I say come to pass; for if that which I have said do not come to pass, I will cause fire to go round about this *Seoue* until that which I have said do come to pass; for [they came] (32) to the earth, they listened to me . . . they said to me, "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am Atum in the sun-boat of Phre;

1. 28. *n hr(?) t-y(?)*. Perhaps a very incorrect writing for *n h-t-y*, 'before me.'

1. 29. *p šy*. Perhaps the 'lake of U-Peke' in 12/17.

1. 31. *e-re tm te, eperw*, but the *te* is inexplicable.

sewe. This seems a threat to burn the bandages or even the mummy of Osiris.

1. 32. *št-v-t*, probably the chest, Eg. *šy-t*, of Osiris, BR., Wtb., 1410.

33. a·e-y kšp a bl ḥ[t-k?] a nw m-s Wsr p ʾkš e-f
ʾn·ʾw a ḥn a zz-y e wn šr ʾNp II ḥ-t-f šr Wpy [II m-s-f]

34. šr rr·t II mne [nʾm-]f z-w n-y nte-k nym sp-sn
ank w· n py bk II nt rsy a ʾS·t erme Wsr t gr·p·t t . . .

35. erme py-s ʿw . . . a·ny·t-w n-y sp-sn n by n
ntr n by n rm by n t ty·t n by n t ḥy·t

COL. X.

1. n ʾyḥ·w n mt·w my ʾr-w z n-y t m·t n p-hw ḥr p
nt e-y šn ḥrr-f z ʾnk ʾrtemy(?) . . . mw·t e-f ḥ· ḥr ybt

2. ʾm n-y a ḥn ʾNp n pe-k ḥr nfr a·r-y ʾy a wšte-k
. . . sp-sn ḥ·t sp-sn . . . [rs mḥ]t ʾmnt ybt

3. tw n ʾmnt nb my ʾr-w ḥp e-w šs sp-sn e-w smn·t
e-w swtn e-w pḥr e ḥ p ḥyt [n p wr?] šfe z ʾnk

4. y·e y·o y·e y·o s·b·o-th ʿt-ne z te-y ḥwy [ḥyt]
ar-k tsye gl·te

5. ʾrkhe y·o- ʾphlekmy y·o m·kh·h·y yee kh·o . . . n
kh·o-khrekhy ee·o-th

6. s·rby·qw ygr· pšybyeg m·o-mw mwnekh stsyth·o
s·o-th·o-n n·o-n kh·rm·y

7. p ḥyt n ny ntr·w tre-w a·z-y rn-w ty n p-hw nhs
nʾm-w n-y sp-sn n ḥsy·w n mt·w ʿnḥe(?) pe·tn by pe·tn
sšt n-y

8. a n r·w n pe ḥbs pe swt pe z·l·c mt·t my ʾr-f n-y
wḥ ḥr mt·t nb nt e-y šn [ḥrr-w] ty n p-hw n mt·t m·t
sp-sn e mn mt·t

l. 33. 'The Ethiopian,' a curious epithet of Osiris. But he was worshipped in Ethiopia, Hdt. ii. 99, as well as at Philae, and he was dark-coloured, Plut., Is. et Os., c. 22. 33.

Ophois, Eg. *wḥ-w·wt*, a jackal god.

l. 34. *Rr·t*, the name of the sow, *pḥp*, and of the hippopotamus goddess, but here perhaps a snake goddess. The det. has only two loops.

grp·t. The det. is the uraeus, as in *ʿre·t*, l. 20. In 20/6 it seems to be simply a two-looped snake.

COL. X.

l. 1. Possibly the meaning is 'Artemi in the mother's womb.'

I am Ariotatu, the *Sheto* of . . . (33) I looked out before . . . to observe Osiris the Ethiopian, he came into my head, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Ophois behind him, (34) two sons of Rere mooring him. They said to me "Who art thou?" (*bis*). I am one of those two hawks that watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . (35) with its glory(?) . . . , bring them to me (*bis*), the souls of god, the souls of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon,

COL. X.

'(1) the spirits, the dead; let them tell me the truth to-day in that about which I shall ask: for I am Artemi . . . se(?)-mau, rising in the East. (2) Come in to me, Anubis with thy fair face, I have come to pray to thee. Woe(?) (*bis*), fire (*bis*), [South, North,] West, East, (3) every breeze of Amenti, let them come into being, proved (*bis*), established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the great one] of reverence; for I am (4) Iae, Iao, Iaea, Iao, Sabaoth, Atone; for I cast fury at thee, Thiai, Klatai, (5) Arkhe, Ioa, Phalekmi, Iao, Makhahai, Iee, Kho..n, Khokhrekhi, Aaioth, (6) Sarbiakou, Ikra, Phibick, Momou, Mounaikh, Stitho, Sothon, Naon, Kharmai, (7) the fury of all these gods, whose names I have uttered here to-day, rouse them for me (*bis*), the drowned(?), the dead; let your (plur.) soul and your (plur.) form live for me (8) at the mouths of my lamp,

1. 2. *wšt*, 'salute with reverence' is the real meaning, not altogether lost in Coptic.

1. 4. *te-y hwy hwt ar-k* clearly corresponds to *ἐξορκίζω σε*.

tsye, gloss *ⲁⲓⲁⲓ*. *ⲁⲓ* is here probably = short *ε*.

1. 7. *n hsy-w* opposed to *n ml-w*. In the Rhind. bil. *ḥ hsy-w*, 'approved spirits,' often, vii. 10, xiii. 9, xvii. 2. So perhaps here 'approved,' not 'drowned.'

nhe, again with a meaning allied to that in 1/1.

1. 8. *hbs*. Hitherto it has been the *hin*, 'vessel,' not the lamp.

9. n ʿze ḥn-w ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr še-k
a wʿ pr n kke e [ḥr]-f wn a pr-rs nge pr-ybt

10. n wʿ mʿ e-f wʿb eʾr-k prḥ-f n šʿ e-f wʿb n ʾny n
p yʿr-ʿo eʾr-k ʾny wʿ z n ḥmt e-f wʿb nge

11. wʿ hne n blz nmy nte-k t wʿ lq n mw n str nge
mw e-f wʿb a p z ḥnʿ wʿ lq n nḥe n mʿt

12. e-f wʿb nge nḥe wʿet-f n wš n t mw ar-f nte-k t
wʿ ʾny n qs-ḥḥ(?) a ḥn p hne ḥr nḥe nte-k t wʿ ḥt

13. n pr-nfr n p ʾytn n p hne nte-k t qte tbe-t III n
p qte n p hne n tbe-t nmy

14. nte-k ḥʿ t VII e-w wʿb ḥr n tbe-tw nt qte a p
hne nte-k ʾny wʿ ḥm-ḥl e-f wʿb e-f znt

15. n ne-f msz-w a t ḥ-t z e-f [ʾr] šw n še ḥr p hne
eʾr-k t ḥms-f ḥr [wʿ-t tbe-t] nmy nte-k ḥms ḥ-k

16. ḥr ke tbe-t eʾr-k wḥ pe-f [ḥr?] ke-z ʾt-f nte-k
t t-t-k a r yr-t-f [e yr-t-f] ḥtm eʾr-k ʿš a ḥry

17. ḥn t mt-t n zz-f n sp VII [eʾr-k] wḥ eʾr-k fy
t-t-k ḥr r yr-t-f eʾr-k p hne eʾr-k t t-t-k

18. a ne-f msz-w eʾr-k mḥt nʾm-w n t-t-k ḥ-k eʾr-k
šn n p ḥm-ḥl z ʿn aeʾr-k [nw a p ntr? ʿo?] e-f z te-y
nw a wʿt

19. kmeme-t eʾr-k z n-f ze a-z-ys z te-y nw a pe-k
ḥr nfr eʾr-k p ntr ʿo ʾNp

l. 9. *ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn* = *ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ* of the Greek papyri.

l. 11. *lq* = *λοσ* : *λοκ*, translating *κοτυλη*, which in the LXX. translates the Hebrew *log*. Whatever was the precise measure intended by the *λοκ*, it seems to have taken the place of the Egyptian *hin* (less than a pint).

mw n str : apparently water allowed to stand for the night.

l. 12. *ḥt n pr-nfr*. The Good House is the place of embalming, GRIFF., High Priests, p. 25; but the presence of a plant det. no doubt indicates that it is a plant-name here. *Ḥt* might then be *εγκαρδιον*, as a botanical term 'core.' More probably the whole expression 'heart of the Good House' is to be taken as the name of a symbolical plant, such as the 'resurrection' plant, *Anastatica hierochuntina*, or something similar. Cf. the story of the flower enclosing the heart of Bata put in a cup of

my bandage(?), my word-seeking(?). Let him make me answer to every word [about] which I am asking here to-day in truth (*bis*) without (9) falsehood therein. Hasten (*bis*), quickly (*bis*).¹ Its spirit-gathering: You go to a dark chamber with its [face] open to the South or East (10) in a clean place; you sprinkle it with clean sand brought from the great river; you take a clean bronze cup or (11) a new vessel of pottery and put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled(?) or of pure water into the [cup] and a *lok*-measure of real oil (12) pure, or oil alone without putting water into it, and put a stone of *gs-ankh* in the vessel containing oil, and put a 'heart- (13) of-the-good-house' (plant?) in the bottom of the vessel, and put three bricks round about the vessel, of new bricks, (14) and place seven clean loaves on the bricks that are round the vessel and bring a pure child that has been tested (15) in his ears before, that is, is profitable in proceeding with the vessel. You make him sit on a new [brick] and you also sit (16) on another brick, you being at (?) his face, otherwise said, his back, and you put your hand before [his] eyes, [his eyes being] closed and call down (17) into the middle of his head seven times. When you have finished, you take your hand from before his eyes, you [make him bend over] the vessel; you put your hand (18) to his ears, you take hold of them with your hand also, you ask the child saying, 'Do you [? see . . .]?' If he says, 'I see a (19) darkness,' you say to him 'Speak, saying, "I see thy beautiful face, and do thou [hear my salutation?], O great god Anubis!"'

water to revive, in the story of the Two Brothers. *gs-nh* might similarly be 'quicklime.'

1. 19. *wšte* is probably to be restored at the end of the gap, as in ll. 2, 26. The translation may be 'and do thou [pray to] the great god Anubis.'

20. cʿr-k wh a ʿr-f n hne wʿet-k eʿr-k mh yr-t-k n
py kys eʿr-k [hms hrʿ p hneʿ] a h p nt hry e yr-t-k

21. htm eʿr-k š p š nt hry n sp VII eʿr-k wn
yr-t-k cʿr-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb [nt eʿr-k wh-fʿ . . .] hr
ʿr-k-f n θ n p hw

22. n mh IV n p wrš š p hw n mh XV nte . . .
pe e h mh wz-t [šn hn]e wʿet a nw

23. a p wtn n p rʿ z-mt-t [a]wn n-y t p-t t mw-t n
n ntr-w my [nw-y a p wt]n n p rʿ e-f hty-hn[t]

24. hn-s z ʿnk Gb ʿrpe ntr-w šll p nt e-y ʿr nʿm-f
mbh p rʿ pe y[t e-tbe] n mt-t-w ʿr še n t-t

25. ʿy hkne-t wr-t nb qnh-t tʿr-št(?) a-wn n-y t
nb ʿyh[w a-wn] n-y t p-t hy[t]t my

26. wšte-y n n wpt-w [z] ank Gb ʿrpe ntr-w ʿy p VII
stn hy p [VII mnt] k syt nb šfe-t

27. šlz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) mʿ rw(?) nn(?) k kke hy
hnt-ybt-w

28. nwn wr he hy by sre by ʿmnt-w hy [by by-w k]
kke k k-w

l. 22. *h mh wz-t*, i. e. at full moon.

šn hne wʿet = σκεψη δια λεκανης αυτοπτου, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 162; αὐθο-
πτική λεκανομαντεία, ib. l. 221; and αυτοπτ(ικος) λογος, B. M. Pap. XLVI. 53.

This passage to the end of the column is repeated in 27/1-12.

l. 23. *hty hn[t]*. The parallel 27/2 gives in hieratic *ht* followed by the
nose *hnt* and the det. of a boat. *ht* means 'float down the river,' 'go
north,' and *hnt*, 'sail up the river,' 'go south.' With this clue it is easy
to read in LERMANS' facsimile the verb *hty* in demotic, written as in the
word *mhty*, V. 1, with its proper det. of water, and following it the verb
hnt, also in demotic, with its proper det. the boat. Thus, though LERMANS'
facsimile cannot be confirmed owing to the wear of the papyrus, it is clear
that we have a compound expression *hty-hnt*, 'go down and up.' This is
the proper order for the two verbs, as is shown by *hn m hd m hnt*, 'rowing
to and fro,' in the Westcar Papyrus, V. 4. It of course refers to the
sinking to the horizon and rising to the zenith of the sun-boat.

l. 24. *rʿ ntr-w* is a very ancient title of Geb.

l. 25. *hkne-t*, cf. LANZONE, Diz. Mit., 855; MASPERO, Rec. tr., i. 21.

l. 26. Whether the number 7 originally acquired its sacred character in
Babylonia or not, it had that character in Egypt, cf. BRUGSCH, Thes.,

(20) If you wish to do it by vessel alone, you fill your eyes with this ointment, you sit (?) [over the vessel ?] as aforesaid, your eyes being (21) closed ; you utter the above invocation seven times, you open your eyes, you ask him concerning everything [that you wish (?)]. . . you do it from the (22) fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the *uzat*.

[A] vessel-[inquiry] alone in order to see (23) the bark of Phre. Formula : ' Open to me heaven, O mother of the gods ! Let [me see the ba]rk of Phre descending and ascending (24) in it ; for I am Geb, heir of the gods ; prayer is what I make before Phre my father [on account of] the things which have proceeded from me. (25) O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret (?), Open to me, mistress of the spirits, [open] to me, primal heaven, let (26) me worship the Angels ! [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail ! ye seven Kings, ho ! ye [seven Môts], bull that engendereth, lord of strength (27) that lighteth the earth, soul of the abyss ; ho ! lion as lion of (?) the abyss, bull of the night, hail ! thou that rulest the people of the East, (28) Noun, great one, lofty one, hail ! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West, hail ! [soul of souls, bull] of the night,

117 seqq. ; LEPS., Todtenb. Vorw., p. 6 ; Pap. Ebers LIV. 19 (eighteenth dynasty), the 7 Hathors (nineteenth dynasty, Pap. Orb. ix. 8 ; Br., Thes., 800) and the 42 assessors in the Book of the Dead, ch. 125. The occurrence of 7 spirits in the very ancient chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead is of special importance.

The 7 kings are not elsewhere mentioned. ' 4 Môts in their cities ' occurs in the text, ' Que mon nom fleurisse ' (LIEBLEIN, x. 3, and parallel passages), and 7 is a number associated with Hermonthis, the city of Mônt (BRUGSCH, Relig., 164, 7 Hathors and 7 Horus, L. D., iv. 63 c).

1. 27. The reading of the name     is uncertain. *Rw*, an obscure lion-god (Hieroglyphs, pp. 17, 18).

29. s' nw't a·wn n-y ank wb-t 'r pr n Gb ky [ank y·y]y e·e·e [he·he·he]

30. h-^o h-^o h-^o ank e-nep-^o myryp-^o-i^c m^c-t(?) 'b thy[by-^o 'rw.]wy . . . [y^ch-^o]

31. z-mt snf n *^cⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛⲉ* snf n *ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲧ* snf n *^eⲁⲓⲟⲩⲗⲁ* 'nh-^om·w [snw-p·t]

32. 'o-mn qs(?)-'nh hstb n m^c-t hl p-tgs-^oS·t nt 'r m bnn-t [nte-k smt yr·t]-k n^om-f t-t(?) [rym?]

33. n by-^on-p·t n w^c h n hr n 'ny nge h n hbyn [nte-k mr-k] a pe-k qte [n w^c-t]

34. pke n šr-bne·t hwt n [w^c] m^c e-f θse wbe p r^c bn-s t yr·t-k n

35. a h p nt sh ar-f

COL. XI.

1. r n t hse·t 'm n-y p pe-k rn nfr Thwt ys sp-sn 'm n-y

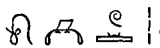
2. my m^o-y hr-k nfr ty n p-hw e-y n ky 'n nte-k šme . . .

3. n hš 'e n pe-k ls n stm-^ojk hrw-y n p-hw nhm-k-t mw 'hy nb t·w

4. r bn(?) nb hy p nte hbr-f n hbr-f 'o št a·pry ntr hr wt·t-f

1. 29. 'Son of Nut' might be either Osiris or Set, probably here the former: 'soul (b') of Nut' is a possible reading.

1. 30. Anepo may be 'great Anubis' or 'elder Anubis.'

The gloss ⲩⲟⲩ may be incomplete, in 27/9 it is ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ: the hieratic probably reads .

1. 32. p-tgs-^oS·t, pronounced perhaps *pteksese*. Cf. *πυραγίς*, the fruit of the *κρᾶνεια* or cornel-tree.

1. 33. h n hr, apparently the name of some object made of wood, lit. wood or stick of satisfaction, possibly the kohl-stick.

'ny, possibly Eg. 'nnw (Eb.) = 'wn = w^cn, 'juniper' (LORET, Fl. Phar., 2nd ed., p. 41), the *αρκευθίτις* of the Greek papyri. Its juice is used as a writing ink in Louvre dem. Mag. V. 20.

mr-k a pe-k qte, the restoration is from the parallel 27/11. The

bull (?) of bulls, (29) son of Nut, open to me, I am the Opener of earth, that came forth from Geb, hail! [I am I, I,] I, E, E, E, [He, He, He,] (30) Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat (?) Ib, Thi[bio, Ar]oui, Ououu, [Iaho.'] (31) Formula: blood of a *smun*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a n[ightjar], *ankh-amu* plant, [*senepe* plant], (32) 'Great-of-Amen' plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'footprint-of-Isis' plant, pound, make into a ball, [you paint] your [eyes] with it; put (?) a goat's-[tear] (33) in (?) a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony wood, [you bind it (?)] around (?) you [with a] (34) strip of male-palm fibre in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eyes ... (35) according to what is prescribed for it.

COL. XI.

1. A spell of giving favour: 'Come to me, O..... thy beautiful name. O Thoth, hasten (*ðis*); come to me. (2) Let me see thy beautiful face here to-day..... [I stand(?)] being in the form of an ape; and do thou greet (?) me (3) with praise and adoration (?) with thy tongue of ... [Come unto me] that thou mayest hearken to my voice to-day, and mayest save me from all things evil (4) and all slander (?). Ho! thou whose form is ofhis great and mysterious form, from whose be-

meaning 'to your side' is indicated by 21/12, *mr-k a pe-k hr* probably referring to a phylactery or knot tied at a particular place.

COL. XI.

1. 1. *t hse-t*, apparently not *t hp hse-t* as in l. 20. Cf. 12/21.

1. 2. *šme* (?), cf. *šm* 18/9, but with different det. One may perhaps conjecture *šm-t*, 'favour (?) me,' here; it is hardly *ḥw*, 'wash,' 'purify' (of clothes, BSCIAL, Rec. trav., vii. 27).

1. 3. Cf. ll. 16-17, and PLEYTE, Chap. Suppl., Pl. 128, *nḥm-k wī mꜥ ḫt nb dw* (var. *ḫt nb bin dw*) *ḥpr m ꜥwy n rm-t ntr-w ḫw mt-w*.

1. 4. *r bn* may mean 'evil spell.'

G

5. nt htp a mt(?) n N ank n t sr̄t(?) ʿo-t
nt e pyr H̄p(?)

6. hr-s(?) ank p hr n šfe-t ʿo by m s-w-f ank
syf šps

7. nt n pr r̄ ank p nem šps nt m tph̄-t [h]b
n s-w n m̄-t nt htp n ʿN

8. ank p nb hrwy ʿo nb tm m̄ pht m
[rn]-yt(?) ank sre s sre srpt-my-[sr] θs-ph̄r

9. rn-yt ʿh-hpr-sr(?) rn-yt n m̄-t sp-sn my n-y ḥs mr̄t
[šfe-t ne-hr mn a-ms] mn n p-hw nte-f t n-y ʿhy nb nfr

10. nte-f t n-y kew tfew nte-f ʿr mt-t nb nt e-y [a wh-s
nte-k tm t ʿr-f(?)] the a-ʿr-y a ʿr n-y mt-t bn(?) nte-f z n-y mt-t

11. e mst-s m hw pn m gr̄h pn m ʿbt pn m rnpt
tn m wne-t(?) e p r̄ a šht ht-w nte-f knm̄

12. yr̄-t-w nte-f t ḥp p kke m hr-w z ank byr̄y . . .
[r̄]y ḥre-tn r̄y ank s Šhm̄-t

13. ank bygt k lt ank ḡt s ḡt nte tȳ-t nte
htp a mt(?) m h̄-t-ʿo-t m ʿN

14. ank s Hkne-t nb mke-t nt ʿrf n ḥne-t
nte n nh̄t-w ʿo apht m sw-f

1. 5. *htp a mt(?)*, cf. l. 13. *mt(?)* is written differently from *ante* and may well be a masculine word, such as *mt*, 'depth.' It can hardly be *anr*.

 *sri-t* seems a possible reading.

pyr. The reading of the following words is uncertain. The construction with  @ (ete) suggests *nt e pyr H̄p* (cf. V. 5/1) *hr-s*, and the facsimile admits of it.

1. 7. *pr r̄*, 'House of Re,' Heliopolis.

1. 8. *nb hrwy*. It seems as if the scribe had substituted 'hostility' for *hrwy*, 'testicles,' unless the words here are mere gibberish.

The tail of  *sr* is traceable in the gap after  in the Leiden facsimile.

1. 9. Cf. l. 17 for the restoration.

1. 11. *mst-s*, probably for *mst-y-s*, 'which I hate,' unless it be passive, 'which is hated.' Note the present sense of the *stm-f* in a relative clause, apparently confined in demotic to the verbs *mr*, 'love,' and *mst*, 'hate' (see chapter on Grammar).

getting came forth a god, (5) who resteth deep (?) in Thebes; I am of the great Lady, under whom cometh forth the Nile, (6) I am the face of reverence great soul (?) in his protection; I am the noble child (7) who is in the House of Re: I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern the ibis as a true protection, who resteth in On; (8) I am the master of the great foe, lord of the obstructor(?) of semen, mighty my name (?) I am a ram, son of a ram, Sarpot Mui-Sro (and vice versa) (9) is my name, Light-scarab-noble (?) is my true name (*bis*); grant me praise and love [and reverence from N. son of] N. to-day, and let him give me all good things, (10) and let him give me nourishment and fat things, and let him do for me everything which I [wish for; and let him not] injure me so as to do me harm, nor let him say to me a thing (11) which (I) hate, to-day, to-night, this month, this year, [this] hour (?) . . . [But as for my enemies?] the sun shall impede their hearts and blind (12) their eyes, and cause the darkness to be in their faces; for I am Birai . . . rai, depart ye (?), Rai; I am the son of Sochmet, (13) I am Bikt, bull of Lat, I am Gat, son of Gat, whose the Underworld, who rests deep (?) in the Great Residence in On, (14) I am son of Heknet, lady of the protecting bandage (?), who binds with thongs (?) [I am the] phallus (?) which the great and mighty Powers guard,

kum. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI, l. 488, and the early Christian curse invoking blindness (CRUM, A. Z., 96. 85).

1. 12. *paï*, with det. of hide, may be the name of the lion(?), but there is a tendency to write *ai* words with this det. Cf. *gaxi*, 7/33.

hre-tu r-y suggests a fanciful writing for 'be far from me (*a r-y*, *apaï*).

'Son of Sochmet,' perhaps Nefertem or Mihos, both being lion gods.

1. 13. The 'Great Residence in On' is the name of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis.

1. 14. *nht*. Cf. Rit. Pamonth, ii. 8, 'Hear ye, O divine powers of

15. nt htp mw hn pr-wbst-t ank p m'm ntr nt
hn shym-t nb y't nb ot(?)

16. rn-yt h-hpr-sr(?) rn-yt n m't sp-sn y ny ntr-w
tre-w [a-z-y rn-w(?)] ty n p-hw m-n n-y stm-tn n e-z-y
n p-hw

17. nhm-tn[-t] m nene nb ze nb hy nb t nb m hw pn
my n-y hst mr-t sf[e-t ne-hr] t mn p pr-o erme pe-f m's

18. p tw erme ne-f w-w nte-f r mt-t nb nt e-y a
zt-w n-f erme(?) [rm nb nt e-w a-nw(?)] a-r-y nt e-y
a sze erme-w nt e-w a sze

19. erme-y hn hwt nb s-hm-t nb hm-hl nb hl-o nb
hr nb [n p] t tre-f [nt e-w] a nw a-r-y hn ny
wne-tw n p-hw

20. nte-w ty hp te-t hse-t n ht-w n mt-t nb nt e-y
a n mne erme n nt e-w a y n-y e shr hfe(?)
nb-w(?)

21. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn e b-r te-y zt-w nte-y whm
zt-w . . . [p]h *een* n mnḥ tbt(?) nte-k ty-f

22. a hn w(?) ssn ke-z tšps tp nge nhe n bq e-f
. . . . n *nenehe* ar-f hr nt tp hn pr-w(?)

Bubastis, who have come out of your shrines,' and below, V. 33/5;
I Kham. iv. 7; GRIFF., High Priests, p. 109.

l. 15. *m'm*. Cf. 13/11, 13, and in cipher *emam* 24/34, V. 32/2.
This must be the shrew-mouse. Here it appears connected with
Letopolis, where the shrew-mouse was sacred to the blind Horus
(RENOUF, P. S. B. A., viii. 155). In 13/11 the animal is prescribed
to produce blindness, and in 13/12 and 24/34 it produces death in a man,
and in V. 32/2 erotic feeling in a woman. The *m'm*, with determinative
of an animal, is prescribed in Pap. Eb. 91/10; and in Pap. Kah. 7/9
the remains of a determinative will suit very well the picture of a mouse.
It is curious that the cipher writing yielding *emam* (which is certainly
the same creature, cf. 13/19-21 with V. 32) makes its name almost
identical with Sah. *amam*, which in Sap. 12/8 corresponds to σφῆκες
of LXX. In Coptic, however, the shrew-mouse is *alil* : *alil* (PEYR.,
Lex. and Gramm.). The *μυγᾶλος* (*sic*) is prescribed several times in Pap.
Bibl. Nat. in *dyogai*.

Shym (Рот-шнм) and *y't* are both names of Letopolis in the Delta.
The last group in the line looks like *ti*, but is probably intended for *w'ti*.

l. 16. For the restoration cf. 10/7.

(15) which rests in Bubastis; I am the divine shrew-mouse which [resteth with-] in Skhym; lord of Ay, sole(?) lord ... (16) is my name Light-scarab-noble(?) is my true name (*bis*). Ho! all ye these gods, [whose names I have spoken] here to-day, come to me, that ye may hearken to that which I have said to-day (17) and rescue [me] from all weakness(?), every disgrace, everything, every evil(?) to-day; grant me praise, love [and reverence before] such an one, the King and his host, (18) the desert and its animals; let him do everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who shall see] me or to whom I shall speak or who shall speak (19) to me, among every man, every woman, every child, every old man, every person [or animal or thing(?) in the] whole land, [which] shall see me in these moments to-day, (20) and let them cause my praise to be in their hearts of everything which I shall [do] daily, together with those who shall come to me, to(?) overthrow every enemy(?), (21) hasten (*bis*) quickly (*bis*), before I say them or repeat them.' Over an ape of wax.

An oxyrhynchus(?) fish—you put it (22) in prime lily otherwise *tesheps*-oil or moringa(?) oil which [has been ... and you put liquid?] styrax to it, with prime frank-

l. 17. *šfe-t*. In the conspiracy against Rameses III(?) of the twentieth dyn., we hear of a spell to give *nrrwy* and *šfe-t*, 'valour and respect.' NEWBERRY, Amherst Pap. II, l. 2.

l. 20. The last words may perhaps be *hf nb*(?), 'every enemy,' *nb* being written over the line as a correction of the plural signs. 'Enemy' is written *hf* (without *t*) as in I Rhind dem. 2, 3. The passage is very obscure.

l. 21. 'h, for a similar direction following the invocation, cf. V. 33/8. The fish is here masc., and therefore different from that in 12/31.

l. 22. *ššn*, 'lotus,' may be an error for *skn ššn*, 25/26, *σουσινον*, Diosc. i. 62, oil of lilies (*κρυνα*), and *ελαιον σουσινον*, Pap. Berl. II. 249.

šps as an oil, Br., Wtb., 1602, made from *laurus cinnamomum* according to LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed. p. 51.

bg. v. LORET, Rec. trav., vii. 101.

neneke. v. LORET, Rec. trav., xvi. 148 *لبنى* styrax.

23. wr-mr-t hn w^c hn(?) n thne nte-k 'ny w^c 'nh n
 ths-f n py nhe nt hry nte-k 'š

24. ny [sh ?]-w ar-f n sp VII mbh p r^c n twe e b-r
 te-k sz[e wbe] rm nb n p t nte-k šty-f nte-k ths hr-k
 n'm-f

25. nte-k h^c [p]nh hn t-t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb
 'wt mš^c nb hr te-f t hp n-k

26. hs-t 'o-t 'wt-w m šs sp-sn py sp n sh pa p pr-'o
 [Ntryw(?)]š pe mn p nt (ne-)ne-f ar-f

COL. XII.

1. [w^c ky(?) a t 're] s-hm-t mr hwt hepwb'ls'mw
 sttr(?) I hb'ryr(?) sttr(?) I

2. qwšt sttr(?) I n sty sttr(?) I mrwe sttr(?) I
 nhe n m^c-t lq II e-r-k nt ny [phre-tw(?)]

3. e-r-k ty-sw a w^c ['ngen(?)] e-f w^cb nte-k t p nhe n
 pe-w hr-w hr t h-t n p wrš w^c hw a-re p w[rš]

4. hp e-r-k 'ny w^c-t qeš [k]m(?) e-s 'r n tb^c IX
 ke-z VII n hyt e yr-t-s šel n 'wn n [p nt(?)]

1. 26. The *pa* is for *πα-*. *περο* in O. C. Par. corresponds to *p pr-'o* in 21/2. So also we have in B. M. Pap. XLVI, l. 113 *εγω ειμι αγγελος του φαρω οσοροννωφρις*, 'of Pharaoh Osoronnophris,' where *φαρω* = our *pa p pr-'o*. Undoubtedly the initial letter of *pr-'o* had already been lost by assimilation to the article. The tautology of *του φα-* is precisely the same as in *Αμενωφισ του Παπιος*, 'Amenophis, son of Hapis,' in JOSEPHUS, *Contra Ap.* i. 26.

. . . . 3. The only kings whose names end in š are Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and the native Khebbesh. Of these Darius is doubtless the name to be restored here; cf. *Diod. Sic.* i. 95, and for his reputation as a magician in particular, *μαγικων διδασκαλος*, PORPHYRY, *de Abstin.*, iv. 16. That kings, as well as aspirants to the throne, used these arts is suggested by the spell 'of Rameses III' being given to the herdsman Penhuyban in order to give him 'valour and respect.' See note to l. 17 above.

COL. XII.

1. 1. Restore [w^c ky(?) a t 're] s-hm-t from 25/23, 31.

hepwb'ls'mw: cf. *αποβαλσαμνα* (ξύλα) Leyden Pap. W. ix. 21 = *οποβαλσαμον*, 'juice of balsam tree'; cf. SIGISMUND, *Aromata*, pp. 14, 15.

αλλαδαου = *μυλαβαθρον*, 'leaf of Laurus Cassia'; SIGISMUND,

incense together with seeds of (23) 'great-of-love' plant in a metal (?) vase; you bring a wreath of flowers of
 ... and you anoint it with this oil as above, and recite (24) these spells over it seven times before the sun in the morning, before speaking to any man on earth; you extract it, you anoint your face with it, (25) you place the wreath in your hand, and proceed to any place [and be] amongst any people; then it brings you (26) great praise among them exceedingly. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius] (?) ; there is no better than it.

COL. XII.

(1) [A method for making] a woman love a man. Opobalsamum, one stater(?); malabathrum, one stater(?). (2) *kusht*, one stater(?); scented . . . , one stater(?); *merue*, one stater(?); genuine oil, two *lok*; you pound these [medicaments]. (3) You put them into a clean [vessel], you add the oil on the top of them one day before the lunar period (?); when the lunar period (?) (4) comes, you take a black *Kesh* . . . -fish measuring nine fingers—another says seven—in length, its eyes being variegated (?) of

Aromata, p. 33, and LEMM., Kopt. Apocr. Apostelacten (Mél. Asiat. t. x. p. 351). It occurs in magic prescriptions, Leyden Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10. The demotic group *hb* . . . corresponding to it is strange in form and difficult to read: there seems to be a gap between the *r* and the measure.

Graphically Ⓞ, Ⓢ (fem.) are hieroglyphic equivalents of the demotic for *rite*, 'didrachma,' but from 24/15, 18 the former should be a small multiple of the latter. *στατηρ* (Copt. *catepe*, fem.) is common as a weight='tetradrachma,' in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.

l. 2. *qush*, perhaps *κοστος* (Diosc. i. 15), which follows *μαλαβαθρον* in a prescription, Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2680; cf. Leyd. Pap. W. i. 16, ix. 10.

lq. The Hebrew log is .56 litre, about one pint, and the Coptic *λολ* translates *κορυλη*, which in all its varieties is no larger than a pint.

ny [*phre-tu* (?)] : cf. 29/28, 29.

l. 3. *w* [*engen* (αγγελιον of l. 11) *e*]-*f* *w*^e*b* seems to fill the gap, which is too wide in the Pl. of vol. ii. in this and the following line according to the evidence of the succeeding lines.

4. *qesh* . . . , in l. 27 *qsh* . . . , in both cases broken. In l. 9 it is referred

5. [e·r-k] gm hn w^c mw(?) nte-k ty-s a py nhe
nt hry n hw II e·r-k š n py š ar-f n twe

6. e b·r te-k y n p [bl n pe-k(?)] y e b·r te-k sze
wbe rm nb n p t a·r p(?) hw II sny [e·r-k]

7. hrp a bl n twe e·r[k-š] a w^c km e·r-k ny w^c
šlhe n elle e b·r te-f wth elle

8. e·r-k fy·t-f n te-k·t [t·t n] e·r-k ty-f a te-k·t
t·t n wnm e·r-f r n tb^c VII e·r-k θy·t-f [a pe-k(?)]

9. y nte-k ny p [tbt(?)] a hry hn p nhe nte-k mr-s (*sic*)
a py-s st n tyb n mhe nte-k yh·t-s m-s [zz-f]

10. n p h n elle [nte-k h^c] p nk nt hr nhe hrr-s š^c
nte-s zlzl p nt n he·t-s a hr[y]

11. e p ngen nt hr[r-s] hr w^ct tbe nmy š^c ke hw III
a·re p hw III sny e·r-k [ny·t-s]

12. a hry e·r-k qs[-s] n hl hsm hbs n š-stn e·r-k
h^c-s n w^c m^c e-f hep hn pe-[k pr]

13. nge e·r-k r ke hw II e·r-k š a p nhe n
a hw VII e·r-k hrh ar-f e·r[k-w] (?)

14. a t r-f te-f yp·t e[r-k th]s pe-k mt n hwt hn^c
pe-k hr e·r-k str erme t s-hm·t nt e·r-k r-f a·r-s

15. n sh nt e·r-k š-w a p nhe ank šwy(?)
glb·n·o ank r^c nk qm-r^c nk s r^c ank

16. syšt s šwy(?) qme(?) n mw n N py srff nt n Bt
nte·t tp·t wr·t wr hyq

to apparently as *p tbt*, 'the fish'; and in l. 31 is written with the fish sign, but with feminine article and termination. It seems characteristically female, the gender of the pronoun changing to fem. ungrammatically immediately after the masculine *tbt*, in l. 9, and no doubt it was sacred to some goddess. The lates niloticus (which according to MM. Lortet and Hugounenq is found of all sizes mummified at Latopolis, and is therefore the Latus, Ann. du Serv. iii. 15) is called in Arabic *qīṣr*, قش.

l. 6. *a·r*. The original reads perhaps *a r p*. In either case it is probably a slip for *a·re p*.

l. 8. Vice versa of 'Lotus Lion-Ram' is 'Lion-Ram Lotus,' not 'Ram Lion Lotus'; see note to 1/12.

l. 9. *p [tbt]*. The remains favour this restoration. The word does

the colour of(?) the . . . (5) [which you(?)] find in a water(?) . . . you put it into this oil above-mentioned for two days; you recite this formula to it (the oil) at dawn . . . (6) before going [out of your] house, and before speaking to any man on earth. When two days have passed [you] (7) rise early in the morning [and go] to a garden; you take a vine-shoot before it has ripened grapes, (8) you take it with your left hand, you put it into your right hand—when it has grown seven digits (in length)—you carry it [into your] (9) house, and you take the [fish] out of the oil, you tie it by its tail with a strip(?) of flax, you hang it up to . . . (10) of(?) the vine-wood. [You place] the thing containing oil under it until it (the fish) pours out by drops that which is in it downwards, (11) the vessel which is under [it] being on a new brick for another three days; when the three days have passed, you [take it] (12) down, you embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and fine linen; you put it in a hidden place or in [your chamber] (13) You pass two more days; you recite to the oil again for seven days; you keep it; when you [wish] (14) to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it. (15) The spells which you recite to the oil, 'I am Shu, Klabano, I am Re, I am Komre, I am son of Re, I am (16) Sisht(?), son of Shu; a reed(?) of the water of On, this gryphon which is in Abydos. Thou (fem.) art Tepe-were (first, great) great of sorcery,

not occur elsewhere in the papyrus. For the change of gender in *mr-s* see note to l. 4.

m-s [zz-f], see l. 29.

l. 12. *pe-[k pr]* restored from the parallel l. 31.

l. 13. *nge* here and in l. 31 seems to be placed after the alternative phrase, as is the case with *r-pw* in older Egyptian.

l. 14. *ar-s* for *ar-s*, *epoc*, 'to her.'

l. 15. *šwy*. The name of the god Shu (cf. l. 20) is here falsely written like *ṯṣṣ*.

17. t ʿre-t ʿnḥ-t nte-t [p w]tn p šy n wʿpke my n-y
ḥs-t mrt šfe-t ne-ḥr

18. ʿte-t nb s-ḥm-t nb mrt pe rn n mte ʿš nte-s
ʿn ʿnk šwy(?) klʿkyn-ʿo-k ank yʿrn

19. ʿnk gʿmren ʿnk se pe pʿeaypʿf ynpen
ntylns gʿm-r-n mw n ʿN ʿnk

20. šwy(?) šʿbw šʿ šʿbḥ-ʿo lḥ-ʿy-lḥs(?) lḥ-ʿe-t
p ntr ʿo nt ḥr pr-ybt-t

21. lʿbrʿthʿ a[nk p] srrf nt n ʿBt ky nʿm-y(?) ʿn(?)
a t ḥs-t n ḥwt a ḥr s-ḥm-t ḥs-phr a ḥr . . .

22. nte-t t wrt t wr ḥyq ʿkš-t st n rʿ t nb
ʿre-t nte-t Šhm ʿo-t nb ʿst

23. ʿr šhme sʿbe nb a t n p rʿ n t wz-t
a-ms ḥ n t XV-t n grḥ nte-t qm

24. wr nwn nte-t qm wrt nt n ḥ-t-bnbn
m(?) ʿN nte-t t yʿl n nb [nte-t t]

25. skte-t p wtn n p rʿ lʿnzʿ p ḥrt p šr n t
wʿyʿnʿyne-t t pyt-t n t

26. n gwg ny št-t n by-wekm t ḥs-t t mrt nta
p rʿ pe-t yt ty-s n-t m[y] . . .

27. n-y a ḥry ḥn py nḥe ḥr ḥt yr-t nb s-ḥm-t
nb nt e-y ʿn-nʿ a ḥn a ḥr-w a wʿt qš

28. n tbʿ IX e-s km nte[-k ty-s a] ḥn wʿ sknn n wrt
nte-k ʿr-s n ḥsy ḥn-f nte-k ʿny-t[-s a ḥry]

l. 18. ʿš nte-s ʿn. The blank before ʿš is perhaps for the insertion of a word (*ke* (?) in red ink; *nte-s* is *ntac*, Str., § 299, and the invocation is still to the fish.

l. 20. *lḥ-ʿe-t*. The plural of *ʿe-t*, 'limbs,' is *ḥoʿ* in O. C. Par. The singular may have been **ḥe*.

l. 21. *nʿm-y*. Probably an error for *nʿm-f*, but the facsimile would admit of the reading *nʿm-w ʿn*.

l. 22. Thoueris is generally figured as a hippopotamus.

ʿst must be the place *ls-t*, dem. *ʿs*, mentioned in BRUGSCH, Dict. Geogr., pp. 70-71, as being under the rule of Sochmet.

l. 23. *wz-t*: sun or moon as eyes of heaven; cf. 8/8, 10/22, 29/23.

l. 24. *Ḥt-bnbn* [*m*] 'N' is the best restoration. The 'house of the obelisk' was a famous shrine in the temple of Heliopolis.

(17) the living uraeus, thou art the sun-boat, the lake of Ua-peke; grant to me praise, love, and lordship before (18) every womb, every woman. Love (?) is my true name.' [Another (?)] invocation of it again: 'I am Shu, Klakinok, I am Iarn, (19) I am Gamren, I am Se Paer(?)ipaf, Iupen, Dynhs, Gamrou, water of On, I am (20) Shu, Shabu, Sha , Shabaho, Lahy-lahs, Lahei, the great god who is in the East (21) Labrathaa, I am that gryphon which is in Abydos.'

[Another] form of them (?) again (?) to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa, before . . . 'Thou art Thoueris, the great of sorcery, [cat (?)] of Ethiopia, daughter of Re, lady of the uraeus; thou art Sochmet, the great, lady of Ast, (23) who hast seized every impious person [eye-ball (?)] of the sun in the *uzat*, born of the moon at the midmonth at night, thou art Kam (?) (24) mighty, abyss, thou art Kam (?) great one (fem.) who art in the House of the obelisk in On; thou art the golden mirror, [thou art ?] (25) the *sektet*-boat, the sun-boat of Re Lanza, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Amazon (?) in the . . . (26) of dûm-palm fruit (?), these of Bywekem; the favour and love which the sun, thy father, hath given to thee, send [them] (27) to me down into this oil, before the heart, and eyes of (?) every woman before whom I come in.' [Invocation] to a *Kesh* . . . -fish (28) of nine digits and black; [you put it] in an ointment of roses; you drown it therein; you

l. 25. *skt-t*. It is interesting to find this clear spelling, not *smkt-t*, which seems to be that of the Pyramid Texts.

w'y'n'yn-t, an extraordinary spelling for *oreenn*, 'Greek.'

pyt-t. *pdty* in Eg. seems to be a foreign soldier or mercenary. This is evidently a feminine derivative.

l. 26. *grwg* = *kwk* in Kufi, p. xx; probably the dûm-nut, as in Kufi it is evidently the fruit of a tree, so not *σοῦς*: *καρῶν*, carthamus.

l. 28. *skm n wrt*, *μυρον ποδινον* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 759. That it was of a consistency to choke a fish is seen by its use as a lamp-oil in 6/9.

29. nte-k 'yḥ m-s zz[-f] e'r-k wḥ e'r-k ty-s
a w' ḥn(?) n yl e'r-k (*sic*) w' ḥm n mw n s'smrem

30. erme w' ḥm n s-ṣt e-f . . . [e-f] nt nte-k 'š ny
ar-f n sp VII n hw VII wbe t pr n p r' e'r-k ths
ḥr-k n'm[-f]

31. n p nw nt e'r-k str erme s-ḥm-t [nte-k] qs t . . . t
n ḥl ḥsm e'r-k tms-s n pe-k pr n w' m' e-f hep nge

COL. XIII.

1. p ky n prz ḥwt a s-ḥm-t s-ḥm-t a py-s hy

2. wy sp-sn ḥo sp-sn ṛ(?) Gb ḥbr-f n k nq-f
mw-t-f Tfn-t m whm . . .

3. mw wwhe(?) p ḥb n yt-f ḥr-f p ḥyt n p nte by-f
m st-t e ḥe-f (*sic*) m ḥn nte-f . . .

4. mḥ p t n st-t nte n tw-w syt n s'ḥ(?) p ḥyt n ntr
nb ntr-t nb 'nḥ wr l'ḥ(?)

5. b'reš'k bel-kš . . . ḥwy mn p šr n t mn . . t mn
t šr-t n t mn

6. my t st-t m-s ḥt-f t šht-t n pe-f m' n str e b(?)
. n st-t n mst . . .

1. 29. *t*, or a similar word, has dropped out between *e'r-k* and *w'*. Such omissions have often been supplied over the line by the scribe.

s'smrem, probably *sisymbrium*, of which there were two sorts, growing respectively on land and on water, Diosc. ii. 154-5. The former being also known as *Ἀφροδίτης στεφανός*, *herba venerea* (ib.), is very appropriate for this *ἀρωγή*. It may be *mentha sylvestris*, and the second species is *nasturtium* (SPRENGEL). Unfortunately the determinative is lost of our word, so that we cannot be sure that a plant was intended: cf. V. 13/7.

1. 30. *s-[n ?]ṣt*. Among the ingredients of a sacred oil, Pap. Boul. I. Pl. 38, col. 1, is a plant called by this name. Here there is no det.

1. 31. *t ḥ(?)t* might mean 'the carcase,' but having no determinative almost certainly represents the *qēš* . . . -fish of ll. 6, 27.

COL. XIII.

1. 1. For the subject, compare Leyd. Pap. Graec. V. col. 11, l. 15 (see LEEMANS' ed.), headed *w' prz*, *διακοπός*.

1. 2. The first sentence, as far as *p ḥyt*, is in clumsy archaistic language,

take it [out], (29) you hang it up by [its] head [. . . days (?)] : when you have finished you put it on a glass vessel ; you [add] a little water of sisymbrium (30) with a little amulet (?) of Isis and pounded ; you recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You anoint your head with [it] (31) in the hour when you lie with [any (?)] woman. [You] embalm the fish with myrrh and natron ; you bury it in your chamber or in a hidden place.

COL. XIII.

(1) The mode of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband. (2) 'Woe! (*bis*), flame! (*bis*) ; Geb assumed his form of a bull, coivit [cum filia ?] matris suae Tefnet, again (3) because (?) the heart of his father cursed (?) his face ; the fury of him whose soul is as flame, while his body is as a pillar (?), so that (?) he (4) fill the earth with flame and the mountains shoot with tongues (?) :—the fury of every god and every goddess Ankh-uer, Lalat (?), (5) Bareshak, Belkesh, be cast upon (?) N. the son of N. [and (?)] N. the daughter of N., (6) send the fire towards his heart and the flame in his place of

employing the obsolete *y* for heart, *mw* for  or , the suffix with the noun *hbr*, the past *stm-f*, &c.

wy sp-sn : cf. Louvre dem. Mag. iii. 16.

Geb is *Kporos*, the planet *Kporos* being named 'Horus the Bull,' and Nut, daughter of Tefnut, is the heavenly cow in the Destruction des Hommes, &c. The restoration before 'his mother' is, however, very uncertain. Cf. the Greek myth of *Kporos*, and Plutarch, de Iside et Or., cap. 12, where 'Pea is Nut.

1. 3. *he-f*, 'his body,' must be for *he-t-f*, but this spelling occurs elsewhere in the papyrus. Cf. 21/22.

yn might represent the city of On, but the determinative is apparently a stone.

1. 5. *hwy a (?) mn*, 'is cast upon (?) N.'

There are traces of writing covering $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the end of this line, perhaps erased by the original scribe, and wholly illegible now.

7. a ḥn a ḥt-f n hte-t nb šc nte-f ḥwy t(?) mn t šr-t mn (*sic*) a bl ḥn ne-f 'y-w e-s lk(?)

8. mst n ḥt-f e-s ḥr ḥnt(?) n ḥr-f my n-f p wywy p w'w'c p 'he(?) p ḥnt 'wt-w

9. n hte-t nb šc nte-w prz a ne-w 're-w e bnp-w ḥtp a šwe a nḥe ***ḥue*** * p*

10. ***ḥeλ*** nte-k t 'rp ar-w nte-k 'r-w n w'c twt(?) n Gb e wn w'c ws n t-t-f

11. n p 'm'm nt ḥr še-f ar-w e'r-k 'ny w'c 'm'm nte-k 'r-f n ḥsy ḥn ḥyn-w ***ḥaor*** nte-k t swr p rm n (*sic*)

12. n'm-f ḥr 'r-f ***šwue*** n p byl II e'r-k nt pe-f ***ḥoce*** ḥr nk nb(?) n wm nte-k t wm-f-s p rm ḥr 'r-f(?)

13. ***ḥornto*** nte-f ***ḥeje*** nte-f ***ḥor*** e'r-k 'r-f a 'ny s-ḥm-t e'r-k 'ny w'c 'm'm e'r-k ḥc-f ḥr w'c-t blz n

14. ḥr nte-k wh-f ḥr t θse n w'c 'o nte-k t pe-f st ḥn w'c-t(?) blz n ḥr nge yl 'n nte-k wrḥ-f e-f 'nḥ a ḥn

15. n p r n w'c-t s-t-eyw n t s-ḥm-t nte-k -f n nb nte-k qs pe-f st nte-k t ḥl e-f nt ar-f nte-k ty-f a ḥn w'c-t 'lykt n nb

1. 7. At the end read *e-s ḥr* (?).

1. 9. **ḥue** is probably the true native pronunciation of the word for gum, unaffected by the Greek.

1. 10. *twt* (?). The determinative of a star must mean that the planet form *Hr-p-k*, a bull-headed man standing with *was*-sceptre, is intended, BR., Thes., p. 68. With regard to the reading, the sign is the det. of *twt* in Bul. Pap. I. Pl. 37, l. 14, and in l. 15 stands for *twt*. *Twt*, 'figure,' seems to be the reading here, and wherever it occurs with the det. of divinity (15/10, &c.); but without det. (16/22, &c.) it means 'style,' 'method,' and is probably to be read *ky*. Max Müller, however (Rec. trav. ix. 26), shows reason for reading it *qte*, comparing Louvre dem. Mag. v. I, vi. 19; *qte*, though apparently masc., may be the origin of the fem. **ḥor**.

1. 11. *ḥyn-w ḥaor*, some water: cf. 21/13 *ḥyn-w 'rt-t*.

1. 12. The word in cipher reads **ḥoce**, a word unknown in Egyptian. Probably it is a mis-writing for **ḥwue** (l. 17) = *swm* (σωμα) of V. 32/5.

sleeping, the . . . of fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] (7) into his heart at any time, until he cast N. daughter of N. out of his abode, she having (?) (8) hatred to his heart, she having quarrel to his face; grant for him the nagging (?) and squabbling (?), the fighting and quarrelling between them (9) at all times, until they are separated from each other, without agreeing again for ever.' Gum, . . . , (10) myrrh; you add wine to them; you make them into a figure of Geb, there being a *was*-sceptre in his hand.

(11) [The uses (?)] of the shrew-mouse (?) to which it is put (goes). You take a shrew-mouse (?), you drown it in some water; you make the man drink (12) of it; then he is blinded in his two eyes. Grind its body (?) with any piece of food, you make the man eat it, then he makes a (13) . . . and he swells up and he dies. If you do it to bring a woman, you take a shrew-mouse (?), you place it on a Syrian (14) pot, you put it on the backbone (?) of a donkey, you put its tail in a Syrian pot or in a glass again; you let it loose (?) alive within (15) the door of a bath of the woman, you gild (?) it (*sic*) and embalm its tail, you add pounded myrrh to it, you

wm-f-s p rm: note the superfluous *f*.

l. 13. *μωπητο*, probably a compound word, *μωπ-η-το*. It might mean 'water of spot (*τοε*)' or 'death of spot,' referring to a disease with spots or blisters.

blz n hr. Wine was imported from Syria in amphorae, but probably some special ware was denoted by this name.

l. 15. The word for bath is determined with the sign of fire: its name in Coptic is *ειουηε*: *ειωουηι* with variations; in the demotic there is no trace of the *η*, and it evidently means 'place of washings,' **ce-ειοουε*.

'You gild and embalm its tail' is perhaps the meaning.

l. 15. *ʿlykt* (fem.), an unknown word, apparently the *gswr*, 'ring,' of l. 27. It is perhaps to be connected with *ελιξ* or *ελικτός*. *φαλακ*, 'ring,' and *αλκον*, 'vase,' have been suggested, but these are both masculine, and ignore the *ι*, which seems to be firm. The determinative appears to be that of silver, also found in *znf*, &c.

16. nte-k ty-s a pe-k tb^c bn-s š ny sh-w ar-f nte-k mš^c a m^c [nb?] erme-f a(?) s-ḥm-t nb nt e-r-k a mḥt n'm-s ḥr [wh?]s m-s-k

17. ḥr 'r-k-f e ḥ mḥ e-r-k 'r-f a t 're s-ḥm-t lyb m-s ḥwt e-r-k fy pe-f *coaa* e-f šwy e-r-k nt[-f e-r-k] fy

18. w^c ḥm n'm-f erme w^c ḥm n snf n pe-k tb^c n mḥ II n p s[l'py[n] n tek-t t:t n e-r-k th-f erme-f e-r-k ty-f

19. a w^c z n 'rp e-r-k ty-f n t s-ḥm-t nte-s swr-f ḥr 'r-s lyb [m-]s-k e-r-k t pe-f *caue* a w^c 'rp

20. nte p rm swr-f ḥr *ateq* ty hte-t nge ty-f a nk nb [n wm] e-r-k t pe-f *zet* a w^c ḥtm(?)

21. n nb nte-k ty-f a t-t-k nte-k mš^c a m^c nb ḥr te-f t ḥp n-k [ḥs-t mr-t šfe-]t e-r-k 'r w^c *hes* n ḥsy ḥn

22. w^c 'rp nte-k t swr-s p rm ḥr *ateq* e-r-k t p *caue* n [w^c g']e n r'qt a nk nb n wm

23. ḥr *ateq* e-r-k t w^ct *zaqla* n st II a p nḥe [nte-k psy]-t-s nte-k ths p rm n'm-f ḥr

24. e-r-k wh a t ḥp *pauue* ḥr rm nte-s tm l'k-s w^ct *[z]antooc* [erme?] *zaqla[la]* nte-k psy-t-w ḥr

25. nte-k zqm p rm n'm-w e-r-k wh a t 'r-f *topp*(?) e-r-k t ḥr 'r-f *topp*(?) e-r-k ty ḥnk(?) . . .

26. a yr-t-f n rm ḥr 'r-f *swaa*

I. 16. 'The charms' are those at the foot of the column, l. 27 et seqq.

There seems scarcely space for the *a* before *s-ḥm-t*, and it should no doubt be omitted.

I. 17. There is a variant version in V. col. 32 of the prescriptions in ll. 17-20.

I. 18. *s'l'pyn*. The finger is always thus elaborately described in the pap., the blood being used in erotica as here 15/4, 22, V. 32/7. It is evidently the Boh. *ceλotte*, *الأنصر* 'middle finger' in KIRCHER. But Sah. *ceλenn* is 'heart,' also *ἐποχόνδρια* (cf. 21/25, 33); and that a nerve connected the third (ring-) finger of the left hand with the heart is said

put it in a gold ring (?), (16) you put it on your finger after reciting these charms to it, and walk with it to any place, and any woman whom you shall take hold of, she [giveth herself(?)] unto you. (17) You do it when the moon is full. If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, you take its body, dried, you pound [it, you] take (18) a little of it with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand; you mix it with it, you put it (19) in a cup of wine; you give it to the woman and she drinks it; then she has a passion for you. You put its gall into a (measure of) wine (20) and the man drinks it; then he dies at once; or (you) put it into any piece [of food]. You put its heart (?) into a seal-ring (?) (21) of gold; you put it on your hand, and go anywhere; then it brings you [favour, love, and] reverence. You drown a hawk in (22) a (measure of) wine; you make the man drink it, then he dies. You put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any food, (23) then he dies. You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and [cook] it, and anoint the man with it; then [he dies (?)]. (24) You wish to produce a skin-disease on a man and that it shall not be healed, a *hantous*-lizard [and (?)] a *hafteele*-lizard, you cook them with [oil (?)], (25) you wash the man with them. If you wish to make it troublesome (?), you put, then it is troublesome (?). You put beer (?) (26) to the eye of a man, then he is blinded.

(AFION, frag. 7, MACROB. Saturn. vii. 13) to be a discovery of Egyptian anatomy. For fingers of the right hand see 16/29, 29/5.

l. 20. *hr* *ⲁⲧⲉⲩ*. It is very interesting to obtain the *stm-f* form following *hr*; but whether it would be **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ* or **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ* in Sah. may be a little doubtful. The vowel seems however to represent *e*, not *a*; and should therefore correspond to *a*, not *o*, in Sah.; but a Sah. form **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ*, or even **ⲁⲧⲉⲩ*, would be conceivable.

l. 21. *l* over the line seems to be a correction of *hp*.

27. n sh·w nt hr ʾr-k š·w a p gswr n p nw nt e·ʾr-k
mht n(?) t s-ḥm·t nʾm[-f] yḥ-ʿo ʾbrʿsʿks

28. my ʾre mn a·ms mn mryt my ʾr-s mḥ m-s-y a
p myt nte-k zrp(?) hr ʾr-s wh-s m-s-k hr sh-
k[-s?] . . .

29. ʿn a t tys nt hr ʾr-k qs p [ʿmʿm(?)] nʾm-f

COL. XIV.

1. p-e·ze ke rm n-y z a·wn n yr·t sp-sn šʿ sp IV(?)

2. a·wn n yr·t-yt a·wn n yr·t-k θs-phr šʿ . . .
sp III a·wn tt a·wn nʾp III sp

3. a·wn III(?) z ʾnk ʾrtʿm-ʿo a·ms ḥme-ʿo p syt
ʿo n pr-ybt [nt] ḥʿ erme pe-k yt

4. n twe hy sp-sn ḥḥ(?) a·wn n-y ḥḥ hr z-k-f e·ʾr-k
sq n ḥrw-k ʾrtʿm-ʿo a·wn n-y ḥḥ e·ʾr-k

5. tm a wn n-y ḥḥ e-y a t ʾr-k wn n-y ḥḥ ḥb sp-sn
nwzh nte nw [a] p ntr ʿo ʾNp p nʿš

6. nt n-ne-zz-y p nʿšt ʿo n wz·t p nʿš ʾNp p mr ʾḥ
nfr a·wn nb e·ʾr-y

7. wnḥ-k a·ʾr-y z ʾnk nesthom neszot neshotb b-ʿo-
rylʿmmʿy sp-sn

1. 27. See l. 16 above for the employment of this spell.

1. 29. *qs*: the only embalming is of the tail of the shrew-mouse in l. 15.

COL. XIV.

1. 1. This line is merely a gloss on l. 2.

1. 2. The mark over *sp* occurs also in 29/22 and V. 9/8. In 29/22 it is placed over *sp* without any number following, in the other instance over a blank space where a numeral would be expected. Here a number has been written under *sp*, but below the line, as if inserted later, and the inference may be drawn that the sign in question indicates that a number is wanting.

1. 3. *Ham-o* might mean 'great carpenter,' but many Egyptian words in these magic names are no doubt almost meaningless, and it is difficult in translating to decide whether to give English equivalents or to transcribe them phonetically.

1. 5. *tm a wn*. The *a* is a mistake, or at least superfluous.

(27) The charms which you recite to the ring at the time of taking hold of the woman 'Yaho, Abrasax, (28) may N. daughter of N. love me, may she burn for me by the way (?).' You Then she conveys herself (?) after you ; you write it (29) again on the strip with which you wrap up the [shrew-mouse (?)].

COL. XIV.

(1) That which another man said to me : 'Open my eyes,' unto four times. (2) [A vessel-divination :] 'Open my eyes ; open thy eyes,' (and) vice versa, unto three times. 'Open, Tat ; Open, Nap,' three times ; (3) 'open [unto me ?]' three [times ?], 'for I am Artamo, born of Hame-o (?), the great basilisk of the East, rising in glory together with thy father (4) at dawn ; hail (*bis*), Heh, open to me Hah,' you say it with a drawling (?) voice 'Artamo, open to me Hah ; if thou dost (5) not open to me Hah, I will make thee open to me Hah. O Ibis (*bis*), sprinkle (?), that I may (?) see the great god Anubis, the power, (6) that is about (?) my head, the great protector (?) of the Uzat, the power, Anubis, the good ox-herd, at every opening (?) (of the eye ?) which I have (?) made, (7) reveal thyself to me ; for I am Nasthom,

muzh is used of sprinkling a floor with water for the reception of visitors.

nta would mean 'that I may,' the demotic equivalent of which is usually written *nte-y*, though the *y* was not pronounced. Here we have *nte* alone written, unless the group be read *nte-w* 3rd pl., which would give the meaning 'that the god may be seen.'

1. 6. *n-ne-zz-y* : the *n* is a doubling of the initial.

'That I may see the god every time I open my eyes (?).' *e.r-y* is only past relative in ordinary demotic, but in early demotic is often future. Possibly it retains this meaning here, but if so it is a very exceptional usage.

Arian is repeated three times, each time with a different epithet, but the reading of the second is uncertain : it might mean 'this bringer of prosperity.'

8. m'stsynks 'Np mekyste 'ry'n p nt 'y 'ry'n py n(?)-wzy 'ry'n

9. p nt n bl hy phryks yks 'n'ksybr-ko-ks 'mbr-ko-ks eb-ko-rks ks-ko-n

10. nbr-ko-khr' . . p hrt wr 'Np z 'nk py mty ne-ṭef ne-pephnwn m'sph-ko-nege

11. hy my hp n-e-z-y nb ty n p-hw ze hy nte-k th'm th'mth-ko-m th'm'th-ko-m

12. th'm'thwmth'm th'm'thwtsy 'Mn sp-sn pe-k rn n mte nt e-w(?) z rn-f z th-ko-m

13. 'nkth-ko-m nte-k yt-th thwtsy rn-yk sythom 'nythom 'p-s' . . . š'tn-sr

14. km a-wn n-y n n r-w n pe hne ty n p-hw 'm n-y a n r-w n pe hne pe swt my 're

15. pe 'pt 'r p(?) w[be?] n t p't my 're n wh'r-w n p hwlot t n-y p nt n m't n p nwn my z-w n-y

16. p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw n m't sp-sn e mn mt-t n 'ze n'm-w 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 m'kh-ko-pnewm'

17. z-mt-t hr 'ny-k w' z n hmt nte-k pth w' twt n 'Np hn-f nte-k mh-f n mw n str n

18. mnt(?) b-'r p r' gm-t-f nte-k zq hr-f n nhe n m't nte-k wh-f hr tb-t nmy e hrr-w prh

19. n š' nte-k t ke tb-t IV-t hr p hm-hl nte-k t 're p hm-hl str a hr he-t-f

20. nte-k t 'r-f(?) wh te-f mrt a t tb-t n p hne nte-k t 'r-f kšp a hn p nhe c wn w' hbs prh a zz-f

1. 13. *š'tn-sr-km* looks like 'sacrifice of black ram.'

1. 15. *wbe* (?). The facsimile gives *e* as the last letter of the word, and so excludes *wyn*. The previous group, apparently written *'re*, we have taken as *'r p*.

p hwlot has the determinative of locality.

1. 18. *mnt* (?), perhaps 'custodian,' as in I Kham. iv. 7. It might represent the name of the god Mōnth.

b-'r with final sense? Cf. I Kham. iv. 12, note, and below 22/3. The facsimile would perhaps admit of a reading *e b 'r*.

Naszot, Nashoteb, Borilammai (*bis*), (8) Mastinx, Anubis, Megiste, Arian, thou who art great, Arian, Pi-anuzy (?), Arian, (9) he who is without. Hail, Phrix, Ix, Anaxibrox, Ambrox, Eborx, Xon, (10) Nbrokhria, the great child, Anubis; for I am that soldier. O ye of the Atefcrown, ye of Pephnun, Masphoneke; (11) hail! let all that I have said come to pass here to-day; say, hail! thou art Tham, Thamthom, Thamathom, (12) Thamathomtham, Thamathouthi, Amon (*bis*), thy correct name, whom they call Thom, (13) Anakthom; thou art Itth; Thouthi is thy name, Sithom, Anithom Op-sao (?), Shatensro (14) black; open to me the mouths of my vessel here to-day; come to me to the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), let (15) my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven; may the hounds of the *hulot* give me that which is just in the abyss; may they tell me (16) that about which I inquire here to-day truly (*bis*), there being no falsehood in them $\alpha\epsilon\eta\iota\sigma\tau\omega$, Makhopneuma.' (17) Formula: you take a bowl of bronze, you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with water left to settle (?) and (18) guarded (?) lest (?) the sun should reach it; you finish its (sur-)face (of the water) with fine oil, you place it on [three?] new bricks, their lower sides being sprinkled (19) with sand; you put four other bricks under the child; you make the child lie down upon (?) his stomach; (20) you cause him (?) to place his chin on the brick of the vessel; you make him look into

sq: reading not quite certain, but probably *sq hr-f* means $\alpha\omega\kappa$, 'complete its (sur-)face,' i. e. fill up the vessel with a thin layer of oil on the top of the water.

tb.t: the facsimile shows a numeral III (?) following, and 'a brick' is always *w.t tb.t*. The plural *hr-w* also follows; yet in l. 20 'the brick of the vessel' is spoken of in the singular.

l. 19. *a hr he-t-f*, a curious expression, possibly meaning 'on his face-and-stomach.'

21. e wn w^c ḥbs e-f θ-r-t ḥr pe-f wnm w^c ḥb ḥr st-t
ḥr pe-f . . . nte-k t w^c ḥlp n sym n

22. 'Np ḥr p ḥbs nte-k t py sty a ḥry nte-k ṣ ny
sh-w nt ḥry a p hne n sp VII p sty nt e-r-k t-t-f

23. a ḥry ḥbwnt mrḥe(?) ḥmwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s bne
nt-w ḥr ḥrp nte-k ḥr-w n

24. bnn nte-k t a ḥry n'm-w e-r-k wh e-r-k t ḥre p
ḥm-ḥl wn yr-t-f e-r-k šn-t-f ze ne(?) p ntr ḥy a ḥn e-f

25. z ḥr p ntr ḥy [a ḥn] e-r-k ṣ ḥ-t-f z-mt-t pe-k q'
m'o ḥy ḥNp py . . . oy py g'm

26. py km pe(?) . . . py srytsy sp-sn srytsy sp-sn
ḥbrytsy rn-yk n pe-k rn n mte

27. nte-k šn-t-f a p nt e-r-k [wh-f] e-r-k wh n pe-k
šn nt e-r-k šn ḥrr-f e-r-k ṣ ar-f n sp VII e-r-k wt
[p ntr] a pe-f ḥy pe-f wt z-mt-t

28. wt nfr sp-sn ḥNp p mr ḥ nfr ḥNp sp-sn p šr n
nw wnš whr p(?)[-e-ze?] ke-zm(?) z p šr n ne te(?)

29. ḥSt whr nḥbryš-o-tht(?) p gerwb n ḥmnt pr-o n
te . . . z sp VII e-r-k fy

30. p ḥbs a p ḥlw e-r-k fy p hne nt ḥr mw e-r-k fy
t šnto-t [ḥr] ḥ-t-f ḥr ḥr-k-f ḥn

31. n šn-hne [w^cḥt-k nfr sp-sn ḥp e-f znt n sp IX p
sym n ḥNp ḥr rt-f n hhe n m^c

32. te-f gbe-t m q[ty t] gbe-t [n sym?] n ḥr e-f θy
wbḥ te-f ḥrre m q-t[y t ḥ]rre n ḥnq

l. 21. *sym n ḥNp*, the *ανουβιαδα την των σταχυν* of Pap. Bibl. Nat. I, 901. Cf. below, l. 31.

l. 22. *t a ḥry* is the regular expression for putting incense on the censer or brazier.

l. 23. *ḥmwny^ck trymy^cm^c-t-s* Ἀμμωνιακὸν πόα ἐστὶν ὅθεν τὸ ἀμμωνιακὸν θυμιαμα, Diosc. iii, 98. The very slight alteration of *r* to *h* in the demotic would produce *θυμιάματος*.

l. 28. *p šr n nw wnš whr . . . p šr n ne te(?) ḥSt whr*. For *te* = τα- cf. 8/13, 'the son of those of (?) a (?) jackal and (?) hound . . . , the son of those of Ta-Ese and (?) hound'; possibly a form of pedigree in breeding animals.

the oil, he having a cloth spread over his head, (21) there being a lighted lamp on his right, and a censer with fire on his left; you put a leaf of (22) Anubis-plant on the lamp, you put this incense on (the fire); you recite these spells, which are above, to the vessel seven times. The incense which you put (23) on (the fire): frankincense (?), wax (?), styrax, turpentine (?), date-stone (?); grind them with wine; you make them into a (24) ball and put them on (the fire). When you have finished, you make the child open his eyes, you ask him, saying, 'Is the god coming in?' If he says (25) 'The god has come in,' you recite before him: formula: 'Thy bull (?) Mao, ho! Anubis, this soldier (?), this Kam, (26) this Kem . . . Pisreithi (*bis*), Sreithi (*bis*), Abrithi is thy name, by thy correct name.' (27) You ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry which you are asking about, you call to him seven times; you dismiss the god to his home. His dismissal: formula: (28) 'Farewell (*bis*) Anubis, the good ox-herd, Anubis (*bis*), the son of a (?) jackal (and ?) a dog . . . another volume saith: the child of . . . (29) Isis (?) (and ?) a dog, Nabrishoth, the Cherub (?) of Amenti, king of those of'. Say seven times. You take (30) the lamp from (?) the child, you take the vessel containing water, you take the cloth off him. You do it also (31) by vessel-inquiry alone, excellent (*bis*), tried (?), tested nine times.

The Anubis-plant. It grows in very numerous places;

l. 29. *gerwb* probably = קריב. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 3061; Leyd. Pap. Gr. V, col. 9, l. 16.

l. 30. *fy* must refer to the removal of the apparatus.

l. 32. [*sym*] *n hr*. There seems hardly room for more than the sign *sym*, and some slight remains agree with it.

The leaves of stachys are λευκά (Diosc. iii. 110), coloris in luteum inclinati (PLINY, N. H., xxiv. 86). The former compares it with the

33. e-r-k yr-t e b-r te-k
p hne

COL. XV.

1. w^c t swr e-r-k 'ny w^c hm n hñ n 'pe-t n w^c rm
e-f mw-t n htb-t

2. erme VII n blbyle-t n yt(?) n tms hn w^ct be-t n
rm e-f mw-t nte-k nt-w erme 'p-t X-t

3. ke-z IX-t pr-w n zph nte-k t snf n w^ct h'f'm't^c
n w^c 'e(?) km a h-t-w erme w^c hm n

4. snf n pe-k tb^c n mh II n p sl'pyn n te-k't t-t n
gbyr erme te-k't mt-t nte-k

5. hm-w n w^c sp nte-k ty-sw a w^c z n 'rp nte-k t-t
wth III ar-f n t

6. h'yt-t n p 'rp e b-r te-k tp-f e b-r te-w wtne hn-f
nte-k 'š py 'š ar-f n sp VII

7. nte-k t swr-s t s-hm-t n'm-f nte-k mr p h'r n p
syb nt hry n w^ct tys n š-stn

8. nte-k mr-s a pe-k znñ n gbyr pe-f 'š z-mt-t 'nk
pa(?) 'Bt n m^c-t n

9. mnqe n ms n rn-s n 'S-t t sbb hh ta t s-t-sbh n
p š'y

10. 'nk py twt n p r^c s-t'me-sr rn-yt 'nk py twt n
mr mš^c a-ph-t py

marrubium, the latter (through misunderstanding of *πράσιον*) with the
leek. Here we have it compared to the *'nge εντ: (ενορκ?) κόρυφα*,
BSCIAL, Rec. trav., vii. 25; LORET, Flore Phar., 2nd ed., p. 68. Curiously
enough, amongst the synonyms of *κόρυφα* in Diosc. iii. 126 *ἀνοβίας* occurs.
Evidently there is some confusion here with stachys.

ty wbb probably 'tends to whiteness.'

COL. XV.

1. 1. *hth-t*: this might represent an Achmimic infinitive ending in *ε*,
but in the Hist. Rom. no. 245 there is a fem. subst. *hthy*.

1. 2. *rm e-f mw-t*, no doubt again a man slain or murdered. Parts
of the body of those who had suffered a violent death were considered
peculiarly efficacious for magical purposes. Cf. P. S. B. A. xiii. 169-70.

1. 3. *pr-w*, a genitive *n* has probably been omitted by mistake.

(32) its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant(?)]; it turns (?) white; its flower is like the flower of conyza.

(33) . . . you . . . eye . . . before you . . . the vessel.

COL. XV.

(1) A potion. You take a little shaving of the head of a man who has died a violent death, (2) together with seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave of a dead (?) man; you pound them with ten *oipe*, (3) otherwise nine, (of) apple-seeds (?); you add blood of a worm (?) of a black dog to them, with a little (4) blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand, and with your semen (?), and you (5) pound them together and put them into a cup of wine and add three *uteh* to it of (6) the first-fruits of the vintage, before you have tasted it and before they have poured out from it; and you pronounce this invocation to it seven times (7) and you make the woman drink it; and you tie the skin of the parasite aforesaid with a band of byssus (8) and tie it to your left arm. Its invocation, formula: 'I am he of Abydos in truth, (9) by formation (?) (and ?) birth in her (?) name of Isis the bringer (?) of fire, she of the mercy-seat of the Agathodaemon. (10) I am this figure of the sun, *Sitamesro* is my name. I am this

h'k'm'n, referred to in l. 7 as *syb*. *Syb*, cf. 25/25, 28, = *cm* : *cm* (Eg. *sp*), the meaning of which seems vague—parasitic worms and insects and even sores. Possibly our word may be connected with *ελμυς*.

a h't-w: see chapter on Grammar.

l. 7. *swr-s*: *s* is duplicated either as the object by *n'm-f* or as the subject by *t s-hm-t*.

l. 9. *n mnge n ms* is difficult.

n rn-s: it seems as if Abydos were here personified as Isis, cf. l. 13, or else we may translate 'by the name of Isis'; see 19/16.

ΤΑΠ : ΤΑ- represents Eg. *tnl*, to which *ta-* corresponds in Ptolemaic transcriptions of proper names. But possibly the *n* was retained in O. C. in looser combinations.

11. šṭ^c py šḥr-ṓ-t t ḥo ṓ-t rn-yt ṓnk py twt n Ḥr
py šṭ^m py šṭ^c py

12. šḥr-ṓ-t rn-t ṓnk py twt n ḥsy-ntr(?) nt mtr n šḥ
nt ḥtp a mr ty ḥr

13. t ḥtp-t ṓ-t n ṓBt nta mtr p snf n Wsr a rn-s n
ṓS-t e-w ty-f a ḥry ḥn

14. py z py ṓrp my nṓm-f snf n Wsr te-f n ṓS-t a t
ṓr-s w^c mr n ḥt-s ar-f

15. n grḥ mre-t n nw nb e mn nw šr my nṓm-f p
snf n mn a-ms mn a ty-f

16. n mn a-ms mn ḥn py z py ṓpt n ṓrp n p-hw a t
ṓr-s w^c mr n ḥt-s ar-f

17. p mr nta ṓr-s ṓS-t a Wsr e-s qte m-s-f a m^c nb
my ṓr-s mn t šr n mn

18. e-s qte m-s mn p šr n mn a m^c nb p pz nta ṓr-s
ṓS-t a Ḥr Bḥtt my

19. ṓr-s t mn s(?) mn e-s mr nṓm-f e-s lby m-s-f e-s
rqh n t-t-f e-s qte m-s-f

20. a m^c nb e wn w^c-t ḥo n st-t ḥn ḥt-s n ty-s wne-t
n tm nw ar-f

21. ke ky nṓm-f ṓn p znf n p ḥbys n te-k-t ṓne-t n
pr-w zpḥ ḥn^c snf

22. n pe-k tb^c nt šḥ a ḥry ṓn nte-k nt p zpḥ nte-k
t snf ar-f nte-k ty-f a p z n ṓrp

23. nte-k ṓš ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t n p
nw n rn-f

l. 12. ḥsy:  inserted after the ḥ seems to be a kind of determinative,
also in 19/24. The reference here is, of course, to Osiris.

a mr: the geographical significance of this is difficult to grasp, but
cf. 9/23.

l. 13. t a ḥry ḥn, 'pour into,' of liquids: cf. 19/29.

nt a seems to be the form for the relative before *stm-f* in this papyrus
when used instead of the old relative form *a-stm-f*. Cf. l. 17, &c.

l. 14. my nṓm-f: above this is a letter resembling a erased by two
lines; the following words are very difficult to understand. *Te-f* may be
intended for the past relative *a-te-f*, 'which he gave.'

figure of a Captain of the host, very valiant, this (11) Sword (?), this Overthrower (?), the Great Flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this Fortress (?), this Sword (?), this (12) Overthrower (?) is my name. I am this figure of One Drowned, that testifieth by writing, that resteth on the other side (?) here under (13) the great offering-table (?) of Abydos; as to which the blood of Osiris bore witness to her (?) name of Isis when it (the blood) was poured into (14) this cup, this wine. Give it, blood of Osiris (that ?) he (?) gave to Isis to make her feel love in her heart for him (15) night and day at any time, there not being time of deficiency. Give it, the blood of N. born of N. to give it (16) to N. born of N. in this cup, this bowl of wine to-day, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, (17) the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N. the daughter of N. feel it, (18) she seeking after N. the son of N. everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu, (19) let N. born of N. feel it, she loving him, mad after him, inflamed by him, seeking him (20) everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.'

(21) Another method of doing it again. The paring (?) of your nail's point (?) from an apple-fruit (?), and blood (22) of your finger aforesaid again; you pound the apple and put blood on it, and put it in the cup of wine (23) and invoke it seven times, and make the woman drink it at the moment named.

1. 21. *znf*: an obscure word; cf. 25/32, V. 7/1. It occurs also in a Philae inscription (BR., Thes., 1017), perhaps with the meaning of a 'small portion.'

pr-w: cf. perhaps Sah. *ēāpa*, pl. *ēāpwe*. It is not clear whether the fruit or the pips are intended.

1. 22. *a hry*. The MS. appears to have the *a*, but it must be a mistake of the scribe.

24. n še ne-ḥr ḥry e-f <sre-w(?)> myḥ erme-k
nte-f tm sze ar-k

25. μη με διωκε οδε· ανοχ παπιπετου μετουβανες· βασταζω

26. την ταφην του οσιρεως και υπαγω καταστησαι αυτην
εις αβιδος

27. καταστησαι εις ταστας και καταθεσθαι εις [α]λχας εαν μοι
ο ♀ κοπους

28. παρασχη προσρεψω αυτην αυτω pe-f 'š n mt-t
rm n kmy 'n pe py nt [ḥr]y

29. mpr ptt m-s-y t mn ank p'pypetw metwb'nes e-y
fy ḥr t qs-t n Wsr

30. e-y 'nn' a θy·t-s a 'Bt a ty ḥtp-s n 'Lgh'h e-f ḥp
nte t mn myḥ erme-y n p-hw

31. e-y a hwy·t-s abl z sp VII

COL. XVI.

1. ke-z'm thew ye 'o-e 'o-n y' w' ke-z'm elon
nfr sp-sn

2. n mt-wt n p ḥbs b-'o-th thew ye we 'o-'o-e y' w'
pth'kh el-'o-e

3. y'th e-'o-n peryph'e yew y' y-'o y' ywe 'm a ḥry

4. a p wyn n py ḥbs nte-k wnḥ a py 'lw nte-k šn
n-y ḥr p nt e-y šn ḥrr-f

1. 24. *ḥry* probably means 'Sovereign,' 'king,' but may perhaps only mean a 'superior officer.' *sre-w* would seem to mean 'range soldiers,' 'array battle.'

1. 25. The Greek formula, ll. 25-28, is translated into demotic in ll. 29-31.

ανοχ, &c. This passage invites interpretation as Old Coptic, but if it really meant anything it must be corrupt, and the demotic version in l. 29 renders it phonetically as if it consisted of magic names. One may perhaps suggest *'nk pe pa p nt 'o my t w' b n-s*, 'I am the servant of him that is great; give discharge (ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟ) (of the fault or the liability) to her' (*sic* for 'to me'?).

1. 26. *ταφην*. At this time *ταφή* in Egypt = 'mummy,' as is seen by the mummy tickets (Pap. Rainer Mitth. V. 14).

(24) [A spell] of going to meet a sovereign(?) when he fights with you and will not parley(?) with you. (25) 'Do not pursue me, thou! I am Papipetou Metoubanes. I am carrying (26) the mummy of Osiris and I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, (27) to take [it] to Tastai(?) and to deposit it in Alkhai; if N. deal blows at me, (28) I will cast it at him.' Its invocation in Egyptian also is this as below: (29) 'Do not pursue me, N., I am Papipetu Metubanes. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, (30) I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to cause it to rest in Alkhah. If N. fight with me to-day, (31) I will cast it away.' Say seven times.

COL. XVI.

(1, 2) The words of the lamp: 'Both, Theou, Ie, Oue, O-oe, Ia, Oua—otherwise, Theou, Ie, Oe, Oon, Ia, Oua—Phthakh, Eloë—otherwise, Elon, excellent (*bis*)—(3) Iath, Eon, Puriphae, Ieou, Ia, Io, Ia, Ioue, come down (4) to the light of this lamp and appear to this boy

1. 27. *ταστας*: an unknown name. This phrase is not translated in the demotic.

[α]λχας: the λ is sufficiently recognizable in the facs.; see the note on 1/16. The *s* of *κοπος* is likewise seen in the facs.

εαν μοι, &c. WÜNSCH, in the Supplement on magic tablets to the Corp. inscript. Attic., quotes in his preface an inscription from the Collections du mus. Alaoui I. p. 57 (publ. also MASPERO, Et. myth. arch. ii. 297), a Latin eroticion of the 2nd cent. A.D. from Hadrumetum written in Greek characters: 'Si minus descendo in adytus Osyris et dissolvam τὴν ταφήν et mittam ut a flumine feratur. Ego enim sum magnus decanus magni dei Achrammachalala,' i.e. as WÜNSCH says, a sepulcro Osiridis arcam illius eripiet et in Nilum coniiciet, idem quod olim Typho fecerat.

COL. XVI.

1. 1. This is only a gloss on the second line.
1. 2. The apparent *n* at the beginning before *n mt-wt* is probably false.
1. 4. *ἄν*. In this papyrus this word is often used in such a way as to suggest the meaning 'answer' rather than 'inquire.' Perhaps it may mean both 'to inquire' and 'to be inquired of.'

5. ty n p-hw y^c-o y^c-o-mr therenth-^co psykšyme^ckhe-
mr bl^c

6. kh^cnspl^c y^ce we-by b^crb^crethw yew ^crp-^co-n-ghnwph

7. brynt^cten-^co-phry he^c g^crhre b^clmenthre meneb^cry-
^ckhegh y^c

8. khekh bryn-sk(?) ^clm^c ^crwns^crb^c meseghryph nyptw-
mykh

9. m^c-^co-rkh^cr^cm ^cy l^cnkhekh ^co-mph brymb^cynwy-^co

10. th sengenb^cy gh-^co-wghe l^cykh^cm ^crmy-^co-wth nte-k
zt-f

11. e-f w^cb n py smte p ntr nt ^cnh p ^chs nt θ-ryt
t^cgrt^ct pa zt wy

12. b-^co-el a ^chn š^c sp III ^crbeth b^cy wtsy-^co p ntr ^co
^co a-(?)wy b-^co-el

13. a ^chn t^ct sp-sn a-wy b-^co-el a ^chn š^c sp III t^cgrt^ct
pa zt [a^c]wy

14. b-^co-el a ^chn š^c sp III bewtsy p ntr ^co a-wy b-^co-el
a ^chn s^c sp III

15. p ^cš nt e-^cr-k ^cš-f a ^chr p r^c n ^chrp e b-^cr te-k ^cš
a p ^clw z a-^cr p nt e-^cr-k ^cr-f a ^chp

16. p ntr ^co t^cb^c-^co b^cswkh^cm ^cm-^co ^ckh^cgh^cr-kh^cn-
gr^cbwns^c

17. nwny^cetsyqmc-t g^cthwb^cs^cthwry^cthmyl^cl-^co sp VII

18. ke gy n^cm-f ^cn e-^cr-k tw^cn-k n t^cwe ^chr pe-k klk n
^chrp n p hw nt e-^cr-k a ^cr-f n^cm-f nge hw nb

19. z a-^cr p nt e-^cr-k a ^cr-f nb a mte n t^ct-k e-^cr-k
w^cb a bte nb e-^cr-k ^cš py ^cš a ^chr p r^c n sp III nge sp VII

20. y-^co-t^cb^c-^co s-^co-kh^cm-mw^c ^co-kh-^co-kh-kh^cn-bwns^c-
nw ^cn

21. yesy eg-^co-m-p-t geth-^co sethwry thmyl^c ^clw^cp-^co-
khry my ^cre hb nb

1. 5. The demotic sign corresponding to the glosses λo, λω is identical with that for *r* in *R-q/y* = **PAROTE**, and with that for *mr* = **ΛC-**, 'superin-
tendent'; λo, λω is evidently the absolute form of the construct **ΛC-**.

and inquire for me about that which I ask (5) here to-day, Iao, Iaolo, Therentho, Psikhimeakelo, (6) Blak-hanspla, Iae, Ouebai, Barbaraithou, Ieou, Arponknouph, (7) Brintatenophri, Hea, Karrhe, Balmenthre, Meneba-reiakhukh, Ia, (8) Khukh, Brinskulma, Arouzarba, Mese-khriph, Niptoumikh, (9) Maorkharam. Ho! Laankhukh, Omph, Brimbainouioth, (10) Segenbai, Khooukhe, Lai-kham, Armioouth.' You say it, (11) it (*sic*) being pure, in this manner: 'O god that liveth, O lamp that is lighted, Takrtat, he of eternity, bring in (12) Boel!'—three times—'Arbeth-abi, Outhio, O great great god, bring Boel (13) in, Tat (*bis*), bring Boel in!' Three times. 'Takrtat, he of Eternity, bring (14) Boel in!' Three times. 'Barouthi, O great god, bring Boel in!' Three times.

(15) The invocation which you pronounce before Phre in the morning before reciting to the boy, in order that that which thou doest may succeed: (16) 'O great god, Tabao, Basoukham, Amo, Akhakharkhan-kraboun-zanouni-(17)edikomto, Kethou-basa-thouri-thmila-alo.' Seven times.

(18) Another method of it again. You rise in the morning from your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, (19) in order that everything which you will do shall prosper in your hand, you being pure from every abomination. You pronounce this invocation before Phre three times or seven times. (20) 'Io, Tabao, Sokhom-moa, Okh-okh-khan-bouzanau, An-(21) iesi, Ekomphtho, Ketho, Sethouri, Thmila, Alouapokhri,

l. 7. *καρπε*: the aspiration of the second *ρ* is interesting. Cf. note to I/20.

l. 11. *ε-f w^ε b*: the lamp must be pure as described in ll. 22 et seqq. *a-wy*, sometimes perhaps written *wy*, is *ατ-*, *ατεις*, St., § 384, and is synonymous with *a³ny*: cf. I7/10, &c.

l. 15. *z a³r* = *αερε*, 'final.'

22. nt e-y a θy t-t ar-f ty n p-hw my ʔ-r-f ḥp pe-f ky
ḥr ʔny-k wʕ ḥbs nmy e bnp-w t prš ar-f nte-k (*sic*)

23. wʕ sʕl e-f wʕb ar-f nte-k mḥ-f n nḥe n mʕ-t e-f wʕb
nte-k wḥ-f n wʕ mʕ e-f wʕb n mw n ḥsm e-f hep

24. nte-k wḥ-f ḥr wʕ-t tbe-t nmy nte-k ʔny wʕ ʕlw nte-k
t ḥms-f ḥr k-t tbe-t nmy e ḥr-f

25. st a p ḥbs nte-k ḥtm n yr-t-f nte-k ʕš ny nt ḥry
a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ʕlw n sp VII e-ʔ-r-k t ʔ-r-f wn

26. yr-t-f e-ʔ-r-k z n-f ʕn e-ʔ-r-k nw a p wyn e-f z n-k
te-y nw a p wyn ḥn t st-t n p ḥbs e-ʔ-r-k ʕš ty hte z

27. hewe ʔʔʔe n sp IX e-ʔ-r-k šn-t-f a p nt e-ʔ-r-k wḥ-f
nb bn-s ʕš p ʕš a-ʔ-r-k t ḥ-t mbḥ p rʕ n ḥrp

28. ḥr ʔ-r-k-f n wʕ mʕ e r wn a pr(?) ybt nte-k ḥʕ ḥr-f
n p ḥbs e-f st nte-k ḥʕ ḥr-f n p ʕlw

29. e-f-st a ḥr p ḥbs e-ʔ-r-k ḥr nʔm-f e-ʔ-r-k
ʕš a ḥry ḥn zz-f e-ʔ-r-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tbʕ n mḥ II n p(?)
ḥyne(?) n te-k-t t-t

30. n wnm

COL. XVII.

1. ke ky nʔm-f ʕn nfr sp-sn a p ḥbs e-ʔ-r-k(z?) b-ʕ-el
sp III y-y-y. ʕ.ʕ.ʕ. tʔt tʔt tʔt p šmsy ḥyt n p ntr ʕo p nt
t wyn m šs sp-sn

2. p ḥbr n t st-t nte t st-t n r-f pa t st-t nte my-s htm
p ntr nt ʕnḥ nte b-ʔ-r-f mw p ntr ʕo ⟨p⟩ nt ḥms ḥn t st-t
nt n t mt-t n t st-t nt

1. 22. θy t-t a, 'undertake,' 'apply hand to': cf. 17/26 θ wʕb a.

pe-f ky: this seems to correspond to py smt in l. 11.

t has been omitted by the scribe at the end of the line.

1. 28. f is omitted after r and pr is incomplete before ybt. The scribe has moreover been confused in describing the positions of the lamp and the boy.

1. 29. Thus the middle finger of the right hand must have had a different name from that of the left, see 13/18 and cf. 29/5 with this passage. ḥyne(?) has the det. of flesh and should be some part of the body.

let everything (22) that I shall apply (?) my hand to here to-day, let it happen.' Its method. You take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you (put) (23) a clean wick in it, and you fill it with pure genuine oil and lay it in a place cleansed with natron water and concealed, (24) and you lay it on a new brick, and you take a boy and seat him upon another new brick, his face being (25) turned to the lamp, and you close his eyes and recite these things that are (written) above down into the boy's head seven times. You make him (26) open his eyes. You say to him, 'Do you see the light?' When he says to you 'I see the light in the flame of the lamp,' you cry at that moment saying (27) 'Heoue' nine times. You ask him concerning everything that you wish after reciting the invocation that you made previously before Phre in the morning. (28) You do it in a place with (its) entrance open to the East, and put the face of the lamp turned (*blank*). You put the face of the boy (29) turned (*blank*) facing the lamp, you being on his left hand. You cry down into his head, you strike his head with your second finger, (that) of the, of your (30) right hand.

COL. XVII.

(1) Another method of it again, very good, for the lamp. You (say ?) : 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, A, A, Tat, Tat, Tat, the first attendant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, (2) the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame which is not quenched,

COL. XVII.

1. 1. *e'r-k*. 'Thou art Boel' would need *nte-k*: probably *e'r-k z* was intended.

1. 2. *pa t st-t*: the stroke over the *t* is merely a line separating off the interlineation.

nte my-s = *ετε μεε-*, elsewhere (l. 27, &c.) written etymologically *nte b'r-s*. Cf. *ο ασβεστος λυχνος* Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1218.

3. n p šy n t p't nte p 'w erme p n's n p ntr
n t-t-f 'm a hn n t mt n ty st:t nte-k wnh-k (wnh-k)
a py 'lw ty n p-hw nte-k t 'r-f šn n-y hr mt:t nb
nt e-y

4. a šn-t-f [a]r-w ty n p-hw z e-y a š's-k n t p't ne-hr
p r' e-y a š's-k ne-hr 'h e-y a š's-k n p t

5. e-y a š's-k ne-hr p nt hr p bht nte b'r-f htm pa
p š's 'o nte p 'w erme p n's n p ntr n t-t-f pa p

6. š's 'o petery sp-sn p'ter emphe sp-sn p ntr 'o 'o
nt n t r' hry:t n t p't nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)'ne-f n t-t-f
p-e'r t hp ntr e bp ntr

7. t hp-f 'm n-y a hn erme b-'o-el 'nyel nte-k t p zr
n n byl-w n py 'lw nt hr pe hne

8. n p-hw a t nw-f ar-k a t stm msz-f ar-k e'r-k sze
nte-k šn n-f hr hb nb mt:t nb nt e-y a šn-t-f ar-w ty
n p-hw

9. p ntr 'o sy-s-'o-th 'khrem-p-t 'm a hn n t mt:t n
ty st:t p nt hms hr p tw

10. n g'b-'o-n t'grt't pa zt p nte b'r-f mw nt 'nh š'
nhh <a·wy> a'ny b-'o-el a hn b-'o-el sp-sn

11. 'rbethb'y·nwtsy 'o p ntr 'o sp-sn <a·(?)wy> a'ny
b-'o-el a hn t't sp-sn <a·wy> a'ny b-'o-el a hn
e'r-k

12. z ny sp VII a hry hn zz-f n p 'lw e'r-k t 'r-f wn
yr-t-f e'r-k šn-t-f z 'n hr p wyn hp

13. e-f hp e bnp p wyn pyr e'r-k t 're p 'lw h-f sze
n r-f a p hbs z-mt:t 'w p wyn pr

14. p wyn θs p wyn hy p wyn pr p wyn n p ntr
wnh-k a'r-y p šmsy n p ntr nte p wh-shne n p-hw [n
t:]t-f

15. nt ne šn n-y hr 'r-f wnh-f a p 'lw n p nw n rn-f
hr š-k ny a hry hn zz-f n p 'lw e-f nw

1. 12. 'n hr = Boh. an a- cf. 2/24.

the great god that dieth not, the great god he that sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, (3) who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come within in the midst of this flame and reveal thyself to this boy here to-day; cause him to inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall (4) ask him here to-day; for I will glorify thee in heaven before Phrc, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee on Earth, (5) I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who perisheth not, he of the great glory, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of the great glory, (6) Petery (*bis*), Pater, Emphe (*bis*), O great great god, who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having (7) created him, come in to me with Boel, Aniel; do thou give strength to the eyes of this boy who has my vessel (8) to-day, to (?) cause him to see thee, cause his ears to hear thee when thou speakest; and do thou inquire for him concerning everything and every word as to which I shall ask him here to-day, (9) O great god, Sisaouth, Akhrempto, come into the midst of this flame, he who sitteth on the mountain (10) of Gabaon, Takrtat, he of eternity, he who dieth not, who liveth for ever, bring Boel in, Boel (*bis*), (11) Arbethbainouthi, great one, O great god (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in, Tat (*bis*) <bring> fetch Boel in.' You (12) say these things seven times down into the head of the boy, you make him open his eyes, you ask him saying, 'Has the light appeared?' (13) If it be that the light has not come forth, you make the boy himself speak with his mouth to the lamp. Formula: 'Grow, O light, come forth (14) O light, rise O light, lift thyself up O light, come forth O light of the god, reveal thyself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is the command of to-day, (15) who will ask for me.' Then he reveals himself to the boy in the moment named.

16. m-s p hbs mpr t ʔ-r-f nw m-s ge m^c m-s p hbs
w^ce-t-f e-f tm nw m-s-f hr ʔ-r-f htye-t

17. e-ʔ-r-k ʔr ny tre-w e-ʔ-r-k wh n pe-k šn e-ʔ-r-k st-k
e-ʔ-r-k t ʔ-r-f htm yr-t-f e-ʔ-r-k sze a hry hn zz-f n py ke

18. š nt hry ze a-ʔ-re n ntr-w še n-w nte p ʔlw lk-f e-f
nw ar-w ʔrkhe-khem-phe nsew

19. hele s^ctr^cpermt hrh a py ʔlw nte-k tm t ʔ-r-f htye-t
hnwhe škl-t nte-k t

20. st-f a pe-f myt n hrp a-wn ty-t a-wn ty te-y z n^cm-s
z ne-(ne)-ne py šn-hne n p hbs(?)

21. a p hrp py smt ʔn pe pe-f ky hr ʔny-k w^c hbs nmy
e-bp-w t prš ar-f nte-k t w^c s^cl n

22. hbs ef w^cb ar-f nte-k mh-f n nhe n m^ct e-f w^cb
nte-k wh-f hr w^ct tbe-t nmy nte-k t hms p ʔlw hr k-t tbe-t

23. wbe p hbs nte-k t ʔ-r-f htm yr-t-f nte-k š a hry
hn zz-f a h p ke ky ʔn ke š e-hr

24. ʔ-r-k š-f wbe p r^c n twe n sp III nge sp VII
z-mt-t y-ʔo-t^cbe-ʔo s-ʔo-kh-ʔo-mmw^c ʔo-kh

25. ʔo-kh-kh^cn bwns^c-nw ʔn yesy eg-ʔo-mth-ʔo geth-ʔo
seth-ʔo-ry thmy

26. ʔlw^cp-ʔo-khry my hp mt-t nb nt e-y a ʔ-r-w n p-hw
nte-w hp e-f hp nte-k tm θ w^cb ar-f b-ʔ-r-f hp te-f mt-t
ʔo-t w^cb ke

27. š a h p nt hry ʔn z-mt-t b-ʔo-cl sp III 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁
𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 sp III p nt t wyn m šs sp-sn p hbr n t st-t pa
t st-t nte b-ʔ-r-s

28. htm p ntr nt ʔnh nte b-ʔ-r-f mw p nt hms hn t st-t
nt n t mt-t n t st-t nt n p šy n t p-t nte p ʔw erme p nš

29. n p ntr n t-t-f wnh-k a py ʔlw hew 𐤀𐤁𐤁 sp-sn he-ʔo

l. 19. *hele* has the Greek symbol of the sun (☉) above it.

l. 20. The demotic sign for  at the end apparently stands for *hbs*, 'lamp.'

l. 26. θ w^cb a: cf. 14/32.

le-f mt-t ʔo-t: cf. εστιν δε το αγαθον ζωδιον B. M. Pap. XLVI. 171.

You recite these things down into the head of the boy, he looking (16) towards the lamp. Do not let him look towards another place except the lamp only; if he does not look towards it, then he is afraid. (17) You do all these things, you cease from your inquiry, you return, you make him close his eyes, you speak down into his head this other (18) invocation which is below, that is, if the gods go away and the boy ceases to see them: 'Arkhe-khem-phai, Zeou, (19) Hele, Satrapemet, watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or scared, and make (20) him return to his original path. Open Teï (the Underworld), open Tai (Here).' I say it that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better (21) than the beginning. This is the method again; its form: you take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you put a wick of (22) clean linen in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick, you make the boy sit on another brick (23) opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes, you recite down into his head according to the other method also.

Another invocation which (24) you recite towards Phre in the morning thrice times or seven times. Formula: 'Iotabao, Sokh-ommoa, Okh-(25)-okh-Khan, Bouzanau, Aniesi, Ekomphto, Ketho, Sethori, (26) Thmilaalouapokhri may everything succeed that I shall do to-day,' and they will(?) succeed. If it be that you do not apply(?) purity to it, it does not succeed; its chief matter is purity.

Another (27) invocation like the one above again. Formula: 'Boel,' (*thrice*), 'I, I, I, A, I, I, I, A, Tat (*thrice*), he who giveth the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which does not (28) perish, the god who liveth, who dieth not, he who sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might (29) of the god, reveal thyself to

nte-f šn n-y nte-k ty ʾr-f nw nte-f kšp nte-f stm a mt-t
nb nt e-y

30. šn-t-f ar-w z e-y a šš-k n t p-t e-y a šš-k n p t
e-y a šš-k ne-ḥr p nt ḥr p bḥt nte b-ʾr-f htm

31. py ʿw petery sp-sn emphe sp-sn p ntr ʿo nt n
ḥry (?) n t p-t nte p šbt nt ne-(ne)ʿne-f n t-t-f ʾr t ḥp ntr

32. e bnp ntr t ḥp-f ʾm a ḥn n t mt-t n ty st-t erme
b-ʿo-el ʾnyel nte-k t p zr n n byl-w n hew sp-sn

COL. XVIII.

1. n hew sp-sn p šr n hew sp-sn z e-f a nw ar-k n
yr-t-f nte-k t stm msz-f

2. nte-k sze wbe-f n hb nb e-f a šn-t-k ar-f nte-k z
n-y wḥ n mt-t m-t nte-k p ntr ʿo sʿ

3. b-ʿo-th ʾm a ḥry erme b-ʿo-el tʾt sp-sn a-wy b-ʿo-el
a ḥn ʾm a ḥn n t mt-t n ty st-t

4. nte-k šn n-y ḥr p nt ne-(ne)ʿne-f tʾgrtʾt py zt a-wy
b-ʿo-el a ḥn šʿ sp III ʾrbth

5. bʿynwtsy-ʿo p ntr ʿo a-wy b-ʿo-el a ḥn sp III e-ʾr-k
z ny a ḥry ḥn zz-f n p ʿlw

6. e-ʾr-k t ʾr-f wn yr-t-f e-ʾr-k šn-t-f a mt-t nb a ḥ p
ky nt n bl ʿn

7. šn-hne e te-s n-y wʿ syn ḥn p tše n pr-mz ḥr
ʾr-k-f ʿn n šn-hne wʿ-t-k

8. sʾbʾ nm nn(?) byrybʾt hy sp-sn p ntr sysyʾh-ʿo nt
ḥr p tw n qʾbʾh-ʿo

9. nte t wt-t n p šʿy n t-t-f šm a py ḥm-ḥl my pḥr-f
p wyn z ʾnk

1. 32. Gloss **ꜥꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣ**: the word is spelt in the demotic like **ꜥꜣꜣꜣ**,
'money,' with the det. of silver.

COL. XVIII.

1. 6. *n* *ll*: **ꜥꜥꜣ** in the Revenue Pap., WILCK., Ostr., i. 19 n., 'on the
verso,' 'on the other side.' Cf. V. 15/7. The verso columns I and II
are on the back of this Col. XVIII, but they do not contain the passage
here indicated.

this boy, Heou (*bis*), Heo, that he may inquire for me, and do thou make him see and let him look and let him listen to everything which I (30) ask him, for I will glorify thee in heaven, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who does not perish, (31) he of greatness, Peteri (*bis*), Emphe (*bis*), O great god who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, (32) deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with Boel, Aniel, and give strength to the eyes of Heu (*bis*).

COL. XVIII.

'(1) Of Heu (*bis*), the son of Heu (*bis*), for he shall see thee with his eyes, and thou shalt make his ears to hear, (2) and shalt speak with him of everything; he shall ask thee about it, and thou shalt tell me answer truly; for thou art the great god (3) Sabaoth; come down with Boel, Tat (*bis*); bring Boel in, come into the midst of this flame (4) and inquire for me concerning that which is good; Takrtat, he of eternity, bring Boel in,' three times, 'Arbeth, (5) Bainouthio, O great god, bring Boel in,' three times. You say these things down into the head of the boy, (6) you make him open his eyes, you ask him as to everything according to the method which is outside, again.

(7) [Another?] vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchus nome gave me; you (can) also make it with a vessel-inquiry alone by yourself: (8) 'Sabanem, Nn, Biribat, Ho! (*bis*) O god Sisiaho who (art) on the mountain of Kabaho, (9) in whose hand is the creation of the Shoy, favour (?) this boy, may he enchant the

1. 9. *twt-t n p šy*: 'the generation of the Agathodaemon' probably signifies 'the fortune produced by the god of Fate.'

10. ḥr 'nw pe p ze k-z'm z 'nk ḥr nwn n twe ḥp-ḥr
n mre-t 'nk

11. ḥ n ḥr rhwe 'nk p r' p ḥrt šps nt e-w z n-f g'rt'
n rn ank p-e'r pyr a bl

12. ḥr p znḥ n t rpy-t n pr-ybt 'nk 'o sp-sn rn-yt 'o
pe pe rn n mte 'nk

13. rn-yt 'w pe pe rn n mte ank l'-o-t mw l'-o-t pe
p 'r-y g'm sp-sn p nte te-f

14. g'm-t ḥn t st-t pa py qlm n nb nt n zz-f th-'y-yt
sp-sn t sp-sn

15. h'tr' sp-sn p ḥr n 'e sp-sn hy 'Np p pr-'o n t
ty-t my še n-f p kke

16. a-'ny p wyn n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne z 'nk Ḥr s
Wsr a.ms 'S-t

17. p ḥrt šps nte mr-s 'S-t nt šn m-s pe-f yt Wsr
wn-nfr hy 'Np

18. p pr-'o n t ty-t my še n-f p kke a-'ny p wyn
n-y a ḥn a pe šn-hne

19. pe swt ty n p-hw my wz-y my wz p nte ḥr-f pḥt
a py hne ty n p-hw

20. š' nte n ntr-w 'y a ḥn nte-w z n-y wh n mt-t m't
ḥr pe šn nt e-y šn

21. e-tbe-t-f ty n p-hw n mt-t m't n wš n mt-t n 'ze
twn hy 'Np

22. p snt nḥne mš' a bl ty wne-t a-'ny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t erme

23. p ntr nt θ wh n p-hw nte-f z n-y pe šn nt e-y
šn ḥrr-f n p-hw n sp IX

24. e'r-k wn yr-t-k nge p ḥm-ḥl nte-k nw a p wyn
e'r-k š' a p wyn z 'we-t-f

1. 10. *ḥr 'nw* possibly means 'ape-headed'; the word *šm* (l. 9) occurs with the name of the ape also in 11/2. The copula usually follows 'nk and nte-k immediately in this papyrus, but is separated here as in l. 13 'nk l'-o-t mw l'-o-t pe.

1. 12. *t rpy-t*: either the goddess Triphis or possibly the constellation Virgo.

light, for I am (10) Fair-face'—another roll says, 'I am the face of Nun—in the morning, Halaho at midday, I am (11) Glad-of-face in the evening, I am Phre, the glorious boy whom they call Garta by name; I am he that came forth (12) on the arm of Triphis in the East; I am great, Great is my name, Great is my real name, I am Ou, Ou (13) is my name, Aou is my real name; I am Lot Mulot, I have prevailed (?) (*bis*), he whose (14) strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, They-yt (*bis*), To (*bis*), (15) Hatra (*bis*), the Dog-face (*bis*). Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, (16) bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis, (17) the noble boy whom Isis loves, who inquires for his father Osiris Onnophris. Hail! Anubis, (18) Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, (19) my knot (?) here to-day; may I flourish, may he flourish whose face is bent down to this vessel here to-day (20) until the gods come in, and may they tell me answer truly to my question about which I am inquiring (21) here to-day, truly without falsehood forthwith (?). Hail! Anubis, (22) O creature (?), Child, go forth at once, bring to me the gods of this city and (23) the god who gives answer (?) to-day, and let him tell me my question about which I am asking to-day.' Nine times.

(24) You open your eyes or (those of) the boy and you see the light. You invoke the light, saying, 'Hail,

or or: the hieratic (?) symbols below are of uncertain meaning.

1. 13. *p'r-y*. It is difficult to make sense of this as it stands. Possibly the *p* may be a copyist's error for *e*, in which case the meaning could be that given above.

g'm sp-sn read *g'mg'm* = *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ*, cf. 3/10.

1. 17. *nle mr-s*: perhaps present relative, see chapter on Grammar.

1. 23. *nl θ wh n p-hw* seems to correspond to *nle p wh shne n t-t-f n p-hw* 6/17, &c., and so may mean 'who governs to-day': see 21/2.

25. p wyn pr sp-sn p wyn θs sp-sn p wyn ʿw sp-sn
p wyn p nt n bl ʾm a ḥn eʾr-k z-t-f n sp IX

26. šʿ nte p wyn ʿw nte ʾNp ʾy a ḥn aʾre ʾNp ʾy
a ḥn nte-f smne nʾm-f

27. eʾr-k z n ʾNp z tw n mšʿ a bl aʾny n-y n ntr-w
n ty bk-t tym

28. a ḥn ḥr še-f a bl n t hte-t n rn-s nte-f ʾny n ntr-w
a ḥn eʾr-k rḥ-s

29. z a n ntr-w ʾy a ḥn eʾr-k z n ʾNp z aʾny wʿ
tks a ḥn ḥr n ntr-w

30. nte-w ḥms e-w ḥms eʾr-k z n ʾNp aʾny wʿ ʾrp(?)
a ḥn erme ḥyn-w t-w my wm-w my swr-w

31. e-f t wm-w nte-f t swr-w eʾr-k z n ʾNp z n se
ne šn n-y n p-hw e-f z se ʿn eʾr-k z n-f z

32. p ntr nt ne šn n-y my ʾr-f t ʿḥʿ t-t-f n-y nte-f
z n-y rn-f e-f z rn-f n-k eʾr-k

33. šn-t-f a p nt eʾr-k wh-f eʾr-k wh eʾr-k šn ḥr p
nt eʾr-k wh-f eʾr-k wt-w

COL. XIX.

1. [r(?)] n mt-t a p phs n p whr

2. aʾr-y ʾy a bl n ʾrq-ḥḥ e r-y mḥ n sof n ʾe(?) km

3. e-y syt nʾm-f p(?) tšcr(?) n whr py whr nt ḥn p X
n whr

4. nte wn-te ʾNp s-f n ḥet-f šte n te-k-t mt-t ʿl n
pc-k zʾk nʾm-y(?) ʿn

5. eʾr-k tm šte n te-k-t mt-t nte-k ʿl n pc-k
zʾk e-y a θy-t-k

6. a ḥry a p ḥft-ḥ n Wsr pe nw e-y a ʾr n-k n
p-eʾr-e-p-e ge-t(?) ʾpt-w(?)

1. 27. *bk-t tym*: cf. Matt. ix. 35, x. 11, 14.

1. 31. *se*, lit. 'they' (are so), = *ce*, 'yes.'

COL. XIX.

1. 1. Supply *r*, 'spell,' before *n mt-t*: cf. l. 32.

(25) O light, come forth (*bis*) O light, rise (*bis*) O light, increase (*bis*) O light, O that which is without, come in.' You say it nine times, (26) until the light increases and Anubis comes in. When Anubis comes in and takes his stand, (27) then you say to Anubis, 'Arise, go forth, bring in to me the gods of this city (or?) village,' (28) then he goes out at the moment named and brings the gods in. When you know (29) that the gods have come in, you say to Anubis, 'Bring in a table for the gods (30) and let them sit down.' When they are seated, you say to Anubis, 'Bring a wine-jar in and some cakes; let them eat, let them drink.' (31) While he is making them eat and making them drink, you say to Anubis, 'Will they inquire for me to-day?' If he says 'Yes' again, you say to him, (32) 'The god who will ask for me, let him put forth his hand to me and let him tell me his name.' When he tells you his name, you ask him as to that which you desire. When you have ceased asking him as to that which you desire, you send them away.

COL. XIX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the bite of the dog. (2) 'I have come forth from Arkhah, my mouth being full of blood of a black dog. (3) I spit it out, the . . . of a dog. O this dog, who is among the ten dogs (4) which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract thy venom, remove thy saliva (?) from me (?) again. (5) If thou dost not extract thy venom and remove thy saliva (?), I will take thee (6) up to the court of the temple of Osiris, my watch-tower (?). I will do for thee the *parapage* (?) of

1. 4. *šte* seems to mean 'extract' rather than 'enchant.'

1. 6. *p-e-r-e-p-e ge-t* might mean 'that which he of *ge-t* did.'

ge-t, perhaps 'sort,' II Kham. vii. 7.

pt.w. REUVENS has clearly *ptḥ.w*, the *ḥ* being apparently inserted by error between *t* and the determination of birds.

7. a ḥ p ḥrw n ṽS-t t šte-t t nb šte nt šte n nt nb
nte b-ṽr-w šte

8. n-s n rn-s n ṽS-t t šte-t nte-k nt *ḡzan*
ḥr *šmor*

9. nte-k ty-f a t tm-t n p phs n p whr nte-k mt-t ar-f
n mne šc nte-f (ne-)nfr

10. [r(?)] n mt-t a šte n t mt-t ḥr ḥt-f n rm e-ḥr-w t
swr-f phre-t nge(?)

11. zw-t ṽwe-t-f sp-sn y'blw p z n nb n Wsr

12. e swr ṽS-t Wsr p šcy 'o n ḥe-t-k e swr-w p III
ntr-w e swr-y

13. m-s-w ḥt ze n-k t ṽr-y th n-k t ṽr-y byk n-k t
ṽr-y hy

14. a bl n-k t ṽr-y hbrbr n-k t ṽr-y the n ḥt n-k t
ṽre r-y

15. z w' my wz-y a kr'o(?) mw-bn mtw-t nb a-e-w
ḥt(?)w a ḥt-y

16. e-y swr-k my te-y hwy-t-w a ḥry n rn-s n s'rbythc
t šrt

17. n p šcy z ṽnk s'brc bry'thc brys'r' her

18. rn-yt ank Ḥr šc-r-n(?) e-f n-ṽw n p θ ṽwe-t-f y'h-'o

19. p ḥrt rn-yt n pe rn n mte a w' z n ṽrp

20. nte-k t *ḥeyoyy* e-f knn nte-k ty-f ar-f nte-k
mt-t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-f

21. p rm n twe e b-ṽr te-f wm [r(?)]n mt-t a p rm e
wn qs zthe

22. ḥr te-f šnbe-t nte-k pe šl'te l'te b'l'te

1. 7. ṽS-t ṽ šd-t is figured on a stela of Horus and the crocodiles in the British Museum, BUDGE, *Mummy*, p. 359; WILKINSON, *Anc. Eg.*, 3rd ed., vol. iii. Pl. 33. For šte see note to l. 4.

1. 8. *πρασον* is prescribed for *θηριοδηκτοις*, Diosc., ii. 178.

šmor (šmor?): cf. *kmw*, Br., Wtb. Suppl., 1245; or *qmḥ*, *kmḥ*, ib., Suppl., 1249; Wtb., 1455, 1495 = *ḥḥḥ*, 'fine meal.'

1. 9. *tm-t*, 'wound'; the word is best known in the Eg. *ḥr dm-t* = person stung, bitten, or wounded, written out in the Metternich stela, l. 32.

birds (?) (7) like the voice of Isis, the sorceress (?), the mistress of sorcery (?), who bewitches (?) everything and is not bewitched (?) (8) in her name of Isis the sorceress (?). And you pound garlic with *kmou* (?) (9) and you put it on the wound of the bite of the dog; and you address it daily until it is well.

(10) [Spell] spoken for extracting the venom from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or (?) (11) . . . 'Hail to him! (*bis*) Yablou, the golden cup of Osiris. (12) Isis (and) Osiris (and) the great Agathodaemon have drunk from thee; the three gods have drunk, I have drunk (13) after them myself; for, dost thou make me drunk? dost thou make me suffer shipwreck? dost thou make me perish? (14) dost thou cause me confusion? dost thou cause me to be vexed of heart? dost thou cause my mouth (15) to speak blasphemy? May I be healed of all poison, pus (and) venom which have been ed to my heart; (16) when I drink thee, may I cause them to be cast up in the name of Sarbitha, the daughter (17) of the Agathodaemon; for I am Sabra, Briatha, Brisara, Her (18) is my name. I am Horus Sharon (?) when he comes from receiving acclamation (?), Yaho, (19) the child is my name as my real name.' (Pronounced) to a cup of wine (20) and you put (*sic*) fresh rue and put it to it; and you make invocation to it seven times, and make (21) the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

[Spell] spoken to the man, when a bone has stuck (22)

l. 15. *kr'o* (?): the reading is very uncertain, and the remains will admit of reading *gr'o*, i. e. *κλo*.

a-e-w, perhaps for *εαω*, or simply *εω*.

l. 16. *n rn-s*: there is no fem. word preceding to which this can be attached. Apparently the pronoun is explained by the subsequent *S'rbytha*, and the passage may be translated 'by the name of Sarbitha.'

l. 20. Seeds or leaves of rue as an antidote to poison, &c., Diosc., 3/45. *km* is a word applied to leaves and flowers in this papyrus.

23. p msh wbh nt hr t stp-p-t(?) n p y'm n h-^o-h
nte he-t-f

24. mh n qs n hsy nb h'y e-r-k a syt n py qs n-y
a hry n p-hw e-f r

25. qs e-f r wšym(?) e-f r l . . . s n tys-t e-f r nge
nb e mn n

26. ge šre z 'nk w' h'-t n my ank w' tp n sr ank
w' šl

27. n 'byw srrf pe pe rn n mte z Wsr p nt m t-t
p rm n rn-f

28. p nt sp VII nte-k mt-t a w' hm n *neg*
nte-k

29. t hr-f n p rm a hry nte-k ty-f a hry hn r-f nte-k
hn pe-k tb' erme

30. te-k-t 'ne mwt II n te-f šnbe-t nte-k t r-f
'm p nhe nte-k t

31. tw-n-f-s n htp nte-k t p nhe nt hn te-f šnbe-t a
bl ty hte-t

32. hr 'w p qs a hry erme p *neg* r n mt-t a p
phs n p whr

33. p hyt(?) n 'Mn t rp-t z 'nk py hkr nht šl'm'f
m'let št(?)

34. a-ph't št-'e-t grš-'e-t grš-'e nb rnt t'hne(?) b'hne(?)
py 'e(?)

35. py km p 'e(?) r(?) št(?) py 'e(?) pa ty IV-t 'lw-t
p wnš n šr wpy

36. p šr n 'Np glz n pe-k šl h' n pe-k ryt a hry
e-r-k n hr

37. n St a Wsr e-r-k n hr n 'pp a p r' Hr s Wsr
a.ms 'S-t nta e-r-k mh r-k ar-f

l. 25. Copies and the original seem to admit the reading *wšym*, which may be connected with Eg. *wšm*, meaning perhaps a fine point; and *qs* in Egyptian is a harpoon-head.

l. 26. *'nk*, perhaps possessive 'mine is'; *tp*, parallel to *šl*, may here be 'horn': see 3/22.

in his throat. 'Thou art Shlate, Late, Balate, (23) the white crocodile, which is under (?) the . . . of the sea of fire, whose belly (24) is full of bones of every drowned man. Ho! thou wilt spit forth this bone for me to-day, which acts (?) [as] (25) a bone, which, which as (?) a bandage, which does everything without (26) a thing deficient; for I am (?) a lion's fore-part, I am a ram's head (?), I am a leopard's tooth; (27) Gryphon is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand, the man named (28) is he who gives (?) my'. Seven times. You make invocation to a little oil. You (29) put the face of the man upwards and put it (the oil) down into his mouth; and place your finger and (30) your nail [to the?] two muscles (?) of his throat; you make him swallow the oil and make him (31) start up suddenly, and you eject the oil which is in his throat immediately; (32) then the bone comes up with the oil.

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. (33) The exorcism (?) of Amen (and ?) Thriphis; say: 'I am this Hakoris (?) strong, Shlamala, Malet, secret (?) (34) mighty Shetei, Greshei, Greshei, neb Rent Tahne Bahne (?) this [dog ?] (35) this black [one], the dog which hath bewitched (?), this dog, he of these four bitch-pups (?), the jackal (?) being (?) a son of Ophois. (36) O son of Anubis, hold on (?) by thy tooth, let fall thy humours (?); thou art as the face (37) of Set against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop against the Sun; Horus the son of Osiris, born of Isis (is he ?) at whom thou didst fill thy

l. 27. *m t-t*, or 'beside me,' *ntoot*.

l. 31. *n htp*: in older demotic *n htp*, II Kham. 3/18; possibly the *t* may be an error.

l. 33. *hyt*(?): cf. 21/30.

hkr is determined with the signs of a foreigner and a man. It is perhaps the same word that constituted the name of king Akoris (*Hgr*) of the twenty-ninth dynasty.

l. 37. Apop, the dragon-enemy of the sun.

38. mn a·ms m[n nta(?)] e·r-k mḥ r-k ar-f stm n py
sze Ḥr ʾr t ʿlk ḥmm ʾr še a p nwn

39. ʾr snt p t stm p yḥ-ʿo sḥ-ʿo ʾbyḥ-ʿo n rn e·r-k
lšš(?) t tm·t e·r-k nt

40. ḥm ʾh tt t ar-f ke e·r-k nt bšwš ḥr ʾby t ar-f nte-k
z-t-f ʿn a wʿ z n mw nte-k t swr-f-s

COL. XX.

1. n mt·t a t plege
2. ʾnk pe s stn wr tp ʾNp te mw Šḥm·t ʾS·t(?) ʾre-s(?)
ʾy m-s-y
3. a bl a p t n ḥr a p sbt n p t n ḥḥ a p tš n ny
wm-rm z
4. ys sp-sn tkr sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp z twnt-k
nte-k ʾy
5. a Kmy z pe-k yt Wsr e-f n pr-ʿo ⟨a⟩ n Kmy
e-f n wr a (sic) p
6. t tre-f n ntr·w tre-w n Kmy swḥ a θ t grept n t·t-f
7. t wne·t n z ny a·re-s fy n-y n wʿt fks·t hy te
nmte·t a·r-y

1. 38. This seems to imply an original chaos of burning.

1. 39. *p* seems distinct, *stm* is extremely doubtful.

šš(?) : the reading is from REUVENS' copy. τῶσθε, 'purify,' is
determined by  in 5/3, and 'cleanse' fits the sense here.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *plege* = πλῆγη, as MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 174. πλῆγη is used especially of the sting of a scorpion, B. M. Gr. Pap. CXXI, l. 193, &c., but also of bites and stings of venomous animals in general, Diosc., Περι Ιοβολ. 19, and of wounds in general. Except that it bleeds (l. 14) there is little here to show what is meant by *plege* so long as ll. 7-8 remain unintelligible.

1. 2. According to this Anubis was the eldest son of Osiris (l. 5), and his mother was Sekhemet-Isis, called in l. 9 Isis. The liaison of Osiris with Nephthys (cf. PLUTARCH) is referred to in the O. C. of Pap. Bibl. Nat.
nte-s(?)y is a possible reading, *a·r-s* is not possible.

1. 3. *wm-rm* : there were Anthropophagi and Cynamolgi caninis capitis (cf. 21/7) associated in Africa, apparently on the Upper Nile, Plin.,

mouth (i.e. bite), (38) N. son of N. (is he) (?) at whom thou hast filled thy mouth; hearken to this speech. Horus who didst heal burning pain (?), who didst go to the abyss, (39) who didst found the Earth, listen, O Yaho, Sabaho, Abiaho by name.' You cleanse (?) the wound, you pound (40) salt with . . . ; apply it to him. Another : you pound rue with honey, apply it; you say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it (?).

COL. XX.

(1) [Spell] spoken to the sting : (2) 'I am the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis(?), she came (?) after me (3) forth to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh, to the nome of those cannibals, saying, (4) "Haste (*bis*), quick (*bis*) my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis," saying, "Arise and come (5) to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt, he is ruler over (6) the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand." (7) The moment of saying those things she brought me a blow (?),

H. N., 6. 35 ad fin. Northward, Anthropophagi were placed in Syria, ib. 7. 2, or in Parthia (ROBINSON, Apocr. Gosp., p. 23, and Preface): cf. Rec. tr., xxv. 41. The land of Hah (Millions) is not known.

l. 5. *a n Kmy . . . a p t* must be for *n Kmy . . . n p t*. Possibly the Faiyumic pronunciation *ε* for *ñ* has produced this exceptional writing.

l. 7. The following may be suggested as an alternative translation for this difficult passage: 'At the moment when she said this, a wasp (?) flew to me, my spittle (?) fell down upon me (from fright); it (the wasp) drew near (or gathered itself together) to me, coming unto me with a sting.' Here *a-re-s* is taken as a relative attached to *z* as regularly in other demotic texts (I Kham. v. 1, &c.); the *n* before *fks.t* is omitted. *fy* is taken in the sense of 'fly' (see GRIFF, H. Priests, p. 178, note to l. 19), and *fks.t* as possibly an Egyptian rendering of σφήξ. The Coptic ϣορκας, meaning an aquatic (?) animal of some kind, can hardly be the same word for phonetic reasons; for the form of the *f* see l. 21. The word recurs in 21/7.

nmtet as 'power' = *nmw.t*: this makes no sense. Cf. Kufi, xii. 30, 'he swallowed his *nmtet*' (of the monkey when terrified).

K

8. a·r-s swḥ a·e-s ʿy n-y n nw plege a·e-y ḥms a
ḥry a·e-y

9. rym ḥms ʾS·t te mw·t n pe mte a bl e-s z n-y mpr

10. rym sp-sn pe šr s stn wr tp ʾNp lkh n ls·t-k a
ḥt-k ḥs-phr

11. šꜥ n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) lkh n n r·w n t ḥt-s(?) šꜥ n
r·w n te-k·t

12. nmte·t p nt e·r-k a lkh-f e·r-k ʿm-f bn pꜥy n·m-f
a p t z pe-k

13. ls p ls n p šꜥy pe-k sꜥl pa ʾTm

14. nte-k lkh-f n pe-k ls e-f ḥr snf ty hte·t m-s-s e·r-k
mt·t a wꜥ ḥm

15. n nḥe nte-k mt·t ar-f n sp VII e·r-k t n·m-f a
t plege m-mne e·r-k

16. sp wꜥ·t tys n ʿyw e·r-k ty-s ar-f

17. nt e·r-k zt-f a p nḥe a ty-f a t plḡe
m-mne

18. ḥms ʾS·t e-s mt·t a p nḥe ʿbꜣrtꜣt e-s tyt a p nḥe

19. n mꜥ·t z e·r-k ḥsy te-y ne ḥys-t-k p nḥe te-y
ne ḥys

20. n·m-k e·r-k ḥse n t p šꜥy e·r-k mḥy n t·t ḥ·t
te-y ne ḥys-k

21. šꜥ zt p nḥe sp-sn n sym ke-z mꜥ·t p fty n p šꜥy
p s n Gb ʾS·t t nt

22. mt·t a p nḥe p nḥe n mꜥ·t t tltyle·t n hwm-p·t
p zlh n Hr-št

1. 10. *ls·t-k*. This form seems due to a confusion in endeavouring to write in archaic style. The *t* is quite unwarranted by Egyptian. We may compare the *t* added before the object pronouns following *stm-f*: cf. also note to l. 20. We have here a passage in which very modern forms ⲙⲙⲁⲙⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ are mixed with older forms *ḥms ʾS·t* (past *stm-f*) and this *ls·t-k*.

1. 12. *nmte·t*: if this means 'tail' we may compare Pist. Sophia, p. 323 ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲧ , 'the point of the tail of the dragon.'

bn pꜥy: the Achmimic vetitive $\text{ⲙⲡ} = \text{ⲙⲡⲣ}$, cf. 21/23, probably derived from the old vetitive *m*. It occurs in Eg. as *bn*, Pap. Mag. Harris 8/7.

fell my tail (?) upon me. (8) It (?) gathered together (?), it (?) coming to me with a sting (?) : I sat down and (9) wept. Isis, my mother, sat before me, saying to me, " Do not (10) weep (*bis*), my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis ; lick with thy tongue on thy heart, repeatedly (?) (11) as far as the edges of the wound (?) ; lick the edges of the wound (?) as far as the edges of thy (12) tail (?). What thou wilt lick up, thou swallowest it ; do not spit it out on the ground ; for thy (13) tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaemon, thy tongue (?) is that of Atum."

(14) And you lick it with your tongue, while it is bleeding, immediately ; thereafter, you recite to a little (15) oil and you recite to it seven times, you put it on the sting daily ; you (16) soak a strip of linen, you put it on it.

(17) [The spell] which you say to the oil to put it on the sting daily : (18) ' Isis sat reciting to the oil Abartat and lamenting (?) to the true oil, (19) saying, " Thou being praised, I will praise thee, O oil, I will praise (20) thee, thou being praised by the Agathodaemon ; thou being applauded (?) by me myself, I will praise thee (21) for ever, O herb-oil—otherwise true oil—O sweat of the Agathodaemon, amulet (?) of Geb. It is Isis who (22) makes invocation to the oil. O true oil, O drop of

l. 17. *p/pe*: the word has been extensively corrected ; *p*, originally *ρ*, and *g* and *e* being written above the line—see the facsimile.

l. 18. *tyt* = *τοειτ*, plangere. The songs at funerals both in ancient and modern Egypt are in praise of the deceased, so the word may really mean, or at least imply, ' pronounce eulogy.'

l. 19. *hys-t-k*, and in l. 20 *hys-k*. It seems as if in one case the *t* was preserved and in the other lost. Compare the fact that this *τ* of verbs *iii^{ae}* inf., is often preserved in Sah. when lost in Boh.

l. 21. *nhe n sym* = *νεε νεσυ*, i. e. *ῥαφάνων*, Diosc. i. 45 and Peyr. Lex.

fhy, cf. 21/16, is the reading = *ϣωτε*, not *šhy*, *ϣϣ*. For the form of *š* in this papyrus see *šhy* in 19/7, 8 ; *f* over another sign has the tail very short.

l. 22. *zlh* means to pump, draw water.

23. nt ʔn-w a ʔry n p wtn n twe eʔr-k a ʔr p nfr n
t yt-t n twe a hwy

24. t p-t a pʔytn a ʔr šn nb eʔr-k a t nfr t ʔe-t ʔr wh (?)
eʔr-k a ʔr pʔret

25. a p nt ʔnh z e-y a bk-k a t plege n s stn wr tp
ʔNp pe šr

26. z eʔr-k a mʔs n eʔr-k t nfr-s z e-y a bk-k a
plege n mn a-ms mn

27. z eʔr-k a mʔs n eʔr-k t nfr-s sp VII r n
mt-t a ʔny qs a bl ʔn šnbe-t

28. ʔnk p nte zz-f ʔy n t p-t e rt-t-f ʔy a p nwn ʔr
nhe n py msh msh (?) ʔn pr-zm (?)

29. n N z ʔnk sʔ syme tʔmʔh-ʔo pe pe rn n mte ʔnwg
sp-sn z swʔt n bk

30. p nt n r-y swʔt n hb p nt n ʔet z qs n ntr qs
n rm qs n hʔlet qs n rym

31. qs n ʔw qs n nk nb e mn nk ge z p nt n ʔet-k
my ʔw-f a ʔt-k p nt n ʔt-k

32. my ʔw-f a r-k p nt n r-k my ʔw-f a t-t ty n p-hw
z ʔnk p nt ʔn t VII n p-t nt smne-t

33. ʔn t VII n qnʔt z ʔnk p šr n p ntr nt ʔnh a
wʔ z n mw n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ʔm-t

l. 24. ʔr wh, past part. perhaps of στω, cessare, or of στωε, permanere.

l. 25. bk would seem here to mean 'employ,' 'apply.'

l. 27. a bl; or a ʔry would be a possible reading.

l. 28. ʔy n . . ʔy a: cf. note to l. 5.

ʔr nhe n py msh meaning very uncertain; perhaps 'who has risen, nasce, as this crocodile,' or, if nhe = ποτρε, 'who has expelled this crocodile.' Cf. note to 2/25.

pr-zm. This, though usually written without the pr, must be the **ΞΗΛΕ**, situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, and well known in Coptic literature. The name zm may be written with the figure of a crocodile.

rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter (23) which cometh down from the sun-boat at dawn, thou wilt make the healing effect(?) of the dew of dawn which heaven hath cast (24) on to the earth upon every tree, thou wilt heal the limb which is paralysed(?), thou wilt make a remedy (25) for him that liveth; for I will employ thee for the sting of the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis, my child, (26) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well? For I will employ thee for (the?) sting of N. the son of N., (27) that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well?" Seven times.

Spell spoken to fetch a bone out of a throat.

(28) 'I am he whose head reaches the sky and his feet reach the abyss, who hath raised up(?) this crocodile . . . in Pizeme(?) (29) of Thebes; for I am Sa, Sime, Tamaho, is my correct name, Anouk (*bis*), saying, hawk's-egg (30) is that which is in my mouth, ibis-egg is that which is in my belly; saying, bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, (31) bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides; saying, that which is in thy belly let it come to thy heart; that which is in thy heart, (32) let it come to thy mouth; that which is in thy mouth, let it come to my hand here to-day; for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who standeth (33) in the seven sanctuaries; for I am the son of the god who liveth.' (Say it) to a cup of water seven times: thou causest the woman (*sic*) to drink it,

1. 29. Egg of ibis and hawk, the same collocation in B. M. Pap. XLVI. 241.

1. 31. *e mn nk ge*, 'there being nothing else,' i. e. nothing not included in my words—a curious expression: cf. *emn nge šre*, 19/26.

COL. XXI.

1. p šn-hne n Wsr
2. ʾwe-t-f Wsr p pr-ʿo n t ty-t p nb n t qs-t p nte
zz-f n Tny e rt-t-f n N p nt θ wh n ʾBt
3. e te-f ʾwhe-t pr-šylem p nt hr p nbs n mrwe p nt
hr p tw n p-ʿo-r-ʿnws p nt hr pe pr šc nhe
4. p pr n Ne-tbew šc z-t p nte hr-f m sn n hr n bk
n š-stn a-ph̄te-t nte pe-f st n st n hf(?)
5. e te-f ʾt n ʾt n mnt(?) e te-f gyz n rm nt elθ(?)
n py mzh n ryt nte py bʿ n wh-šhne n te-f gyz
6. ʾwe-t-f yʿhw sʿbʿh-ʿo ʾt-t-ne mystemw yʿwyw ʾwe-t-f
mykhʿel sʿbʿel
7. ʾwe-t-f ʾNp n p tše n n hr-n-ʾe(?)w p nte pe-f pe
py qh p nt fy fks hr t rt-t wʿt-t
8. hp p kke n t mt-t a-ny p wyn n-y a hn ʾm n-y a
hn a-z-y n-y p wh n p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw n
sp IX
9. šc nte p ntr ʾy nte p wyn hp hr ʾr-k-f a h p ky
n p sp nt <bl> hry ʿn e hr-f n p ʿlw a pr-ybt e hr-k h-k
a pr-ʾmnt e-ʾr-k šc a hry hn zz-f

COL. XXI.

1. 1. The first lines of this column have been made the subject of special study in connexion with the Old Coptic texts of Paris (written on the first pages of the Pap. Bibl. Nat., edited by WESSELY), which contain a variant version of them: ERMAN, A. Z., 1883, 89; GRIFFITH, A. Z., 1900, 85; 1901, 86.

1. 2. Parallel to this line the O. C. (A. Z., 1883, Pl. 3) gives εοτωτq οτcιρε, пероѣти пинѣ ѣткансе петѣприсѣтин ет+ιωτω ѱεѱωτ петζα ζѱα ινωѱεc. ѱпероѱε. ете пец. εοοτ ѱ на ѱαλωμ. The notes to the foregoing in A. Z., 1900, 86 seq., may be consulted by those who wish to study its connexion with the demotic text.

Tny. The Edfu geographical list (Br., Dict. Geogr., 1359) states that the head of Osiris was preserved at Abydos (in the nome of This) and a *sbq*, 'foot(?)', at Thebes.

θ wh, O. C., ειωτω : cf. 18/23.

1. 3. ʾwhe-t has the determinative of wood : cf. ʾwhy, Kufi, xi, 21.

pr-šylem, πασαλωμ, perhaps Jerusalem, or Siloam. Probably *n pr-šylem* is to be read.

COL. XXI.

(1) The vessel-inquiry of Osiris. (2) 'Hail to him! Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in This, and his feet in Thebes, he who giveth answer (?) in Abydos, (3) whose is (in?) Pashalom, he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranos, who is on my house to eternity, (4) the house of Netbeou for ever, he whose countenance is as the resemblance (?) of the face of a hawk of linen, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a serpent, (5) whose back is the back of a crocodile (?), whose hand is a man's, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, in whose hand is this wand of command, (6) hail to him Iaho, Sabaho, Atonai, Mistemu, Iaiiu; hail to him, Michael, Sabael, (7) hail to him, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who carries a wound (?) on one foot, (8) hide the darkness in the midst, bring in the light for me, come in to me, tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here to-day.'—Nine times, (9) until the god come and the light appear. You must do it in the manner of the remainder as above again; the boy's face being to the East and your own face to the West; you call down into his head.

p nbs n mrwe: cf. MASPERO in P. S. B. A., xiii. 496. Cf. *n pr-wt* in l. 36.

p-o-r-nws, perhaps *οὐρανός*, in the sense of Olympus.

l. 4. *Ne-theu*: see note on 2/9.

hf: a 'snake's' head or tail is regularly described as *n hf* in Eg.: cf. Leyd. I. 384, V. II*. 12.

l. 5. *mnt*: some monster or reptile with spiny back, perhaps a crocodile, to judge by the determinative, for which cf. 3/23. It may mean a guardian (ⲁⲛⲡⲟⲩⲧ) dragon, as in I Kham. iv. 7.

nt elθ (?): very obscure, though the writing is clear.

l. 7. *hr-n-ew*: cf. ⲭⲟⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ, Z., 235, and see the note to 20/3 and A. Z., 1900, 88 (Hdt. iv. 191).

t rt-t w-t-t, ote-pnte is thus perhaps one foot as opposed to dual *pat-*.

l. 9. *nt n bl* and *nt hry* have both been written.

10. n p mhrr n p z n ʾrp a t (*sic*) s-ḥm-t mr
ḥwt eʾr-k ʾny wʿ mhrr n ḥr (?) ~~ⲛ~~ ⲥ nte py mhrr ḥm
pe nte mn-te-f tp e-f θ n III n ʾkym

11. ḥr t ḥ-t n zz-f ḥr gm-k pe-f ḥr e-f šm a bl nge
p nt θ tp II ʿn eʾr-k ʾny-t-f n t pr n p rʿ eʾr-k mr-k
n wʿ ḥbs(?) n p ḥrw n ʾt-k

12. nte-k mr-k a pe-k ḥr n wʿt pke-t n šr-bne-t e p
mhrr ḥr t ḥ-t n t-t-k nte-k mt-t ar-f a ḥr p rʿ e-f a pr
n sp VII eʾr-k wh eʾr-k θ-f n ḥsy

13. ḥn hyn-w ʾrt n ʾḥ-t kme-t eʾr-k ḥn a zz-f n wʿ
. . . n ḥ n zyt eʾr-k ḥ-f šʿ rhwe ḥn p ʾrte aʾre rhwe
ḥp eʾr-k

14. ʾnt-f a ḥry eʾr-k prḥ ḥrr-f n šʿ nte-k t wʿt mnfre(?)
n ḥbs(?) ḥrr-f ḥr p šʿ šʿ ḥw IV eʾr-k ʾr ʿnte ʾh st-t
mbḥ-f aʾre p ḥrw IV sny nte-f šwy

15. eʾr-k ʾnt-f ne(?)-rt-t-k e wn wʿ ḥbs(?) prḥ ḥrr-f
eʾr-k prz-f n te-f mt-t n wʿ tk n ḥmt eʾr-k fy te-f pše-t
n wnm erme ne-k yb-w n t-t-k rt-t-k n wnm

16. eʾr-k zffz-w ḥr wʿt blz n ššw nmy n ḥ n elle eʾr-k
nt-w ḥr IX-t n blbyle-t n zpḥ erme te-k-t mt-t nge te-k-t
fty n wš n nḥe

17. n t s-t-eyw-t nte-k ʾr-f n wʿt bnn-t nte-k ty-f a
p ʾrp nte-k mt-t ar-f n sp VII nte-k t swr-s t s-ḥm-t
nte-k fy te-f ke pše-t n . . . ḥnʿ ne-k yb-w n t-t-k

18. rt-t-k n . . . ʿn nte-k mr-w n wʿt tys n š-stn ḥr

1. 10. *a t s-ḥm-t mr*: supply *ʾre* after *t*; cf. 25/31, V. 3/14, 13/10.
'Fish-faced (?)': possibly the weevil as having the oxyrhynchus'
snout. In Horap. the weevil (?) is *μονόκερως καὶ ἰδιό- (ἰβιό-?) μορφος*.

tp: cf. 3/22; *ʾkym* probably = Eg. *lkm*, 'shield.'

1. 11. *p nt θ tp II* = 'stag-beetle (?)'. Cf. Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1, 65 *καυθαρον
τον ταυρομορφον*, and see Horap. I. 10 for Scarabaeidae, Lucanidae (*δίκη-
ρως καὶ ταυροειδής*) and Rhynchophora.

1. 12. *mr* sometimes means 'wrap,' but see 11/33.

ḥ-t must be a mistake for *ḥt*, probably through confusion of the
sounds *ḥ* and *ḥt*.

θ-f, not from *ⲁⲓ: ⲉⲓ*, which would give *θy-t-f*, but a false writing
for *t še-f* above 3/31 = **ⲁⲟϥ* from *ⲁⲟ: ⲉⲟ*.

(10) [The method] of the scarab of the cup of wine, to make a woman love a man. You take a fish-faced (?) scarab, this scarab being small and having no horn, it wearing three plates (11) on the front of its head; you find its face thin (?) outwards—or again that which bears two horns—. You take it at the rising of the sun; you bind (?) yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back, (12) and bind (?) yourself on (?) your face with a strip of palm-fibre, the scarab being on the front (?) of your hand: and you address it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you drown it (13) in some milk of a black cow; you approach (?) its head with a hoop (?) of olive wood; you leave it till evening in the milk. When evening comes, you (14) take it out, you spread its under part with sand, and put a circular strip of cloth under it upon the sand, unto four days; you do frankincense-burning before it. When the four days have passed, and it is dry, (15) you take it before you (lit. your feet), there being a cloth spread under it. You divide it down its middle with a bronze knife; you take (?) its right half, and your nails of your right hand and foot; (16) you cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood, you pound them with nine apple-pips together with your urine or your sweat free from oil (17) of the bath; you make it into a ball and put it in the wine, and speak over it seven times, and you make the woman drink it; and you take its other half, the left one, together with your nails of your left hand (18) and foot also, and bind them in a strip of fine linen, with myrrh and saffron, and bind them to your

l. 15. *ne-r-t-t-k*: a strange spelling.

 *fy*: so also in l. 17.

l. 16. *fly*, &c. *ρύπος βαλανείου* was actually prescribed as a drug, Diosc., i. 34.

hl grwgws nte-k mr-w a pe-k znḥ n gbyr nte-k str erme
t s-ḥm't e-w mr ar-k

19. e-f ḥp e-r-k wh a r-f 'n n wš n še-f n ḥsy ḥr r-k-f
'n n p mḥ III n p wrš e-r-k r n py smte nt ḥry n-f 'n
e-r-k šs pe-f šs ar-f a ḥr p r' n twe e-r-k zffz

20. e-r-k prz-f e-r-k r-f a ḥ p nt ḥry 'n n mt-t nb
nt e-r-k šs-f ar-f mbḥ p r' n twe nte-k pe
p mḥrr n ḥstb n m't a-n-y-t-k a bl n p r n pe rpe e-r-k

21. θy(?) zmyz ḥmt a šy-t-k nta rh wm p sym e-f hm
p sḥ't e-f gm' a n sšt(?) w 'y-w n na Kmy e-y hb n'm-k
a mn a-ms mn

22. a myḥ-t-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s sp-sn a ty-s mḥt sp-sn
a ty-s 'te-t z nte-s p-e-r r ty-s m't a ḥr p r' n twe
e-s z n p r'

23. z bn pr n p ḥ z bn wbn n p mw z bn 'y n na
Kmy n t sh-t z bn wlt' n šn-w 'y-w n na Kmy z bn wtwt

24. e-y hb n'm-k a mn a-ms mn a šk'-s n ḥt-s a ḥe-s
sp-sn a ty-s mpt (*sic*) sp-sn a ty-s 'te-t nte-s wh-s a p
myt m-s mn a-ms mn n nw nb(?)

25. nt e-r-k šs-f ar-f e-f ḥn p r'te a-wy 'o
sp-sn a-wy pe 'o sp-sn a-wy nwn-f(?) a-wy mr-f p mḥrr
sp-sn nte-k t yr't n p r' p s'k'pyn

26. n Wsr t šḥn-t-t(?) n šwy e-r-k n'cy n py ky nta
Wsr pe-k yt še n'm-f e-tbe mn a-ms mn š' nte-w t t
st-t m-s ḥt-s t ḥot

27. m-s ny-s ef-w š' nte-s {ne} še mn a-ms mn a m'

1. 23. Read (n) n šn-w.

1. 24. mpt (*sic*) for mḥt.

The last group is  n nw nb: cf. l. 43; but in 27/10 we have *stm* written similarly.

1. 25. s'k'pyn, see note to 13/18.

1. 26. šḥn-t-t looks like a compound with šḥ, 'the toes' collectively, or 'a toe.' šḥ-n-t-t may therefore mean the toes, or the fingers (collectively) of Shu, referring perhaps to his hands which support the sky. The eyes of Ra and Atum were the most important instruments of their rule.

py ky, i. e. the condition of one drowned, Eriqs, cf. 6/12.

left arm, and lie with the woman with them bound upon you. (19) If you wish to do it again without its being drowned, then you do it again on the third of the lunar month. You do it in this manner that is above for it again. You pronounce its invocation to it before the Sun in the morning, you cook (it), (20) you divide it, you do it according to that which is above again in everything. [The invocation] which you pronounce to it before the Sun in the morning: 'Thou art this scarab of real lapis-lazuli; I have taken thee out of the door of my temple; thou carriest (?) (21) of bronze to thy nose (?), that can eat (?) the herbage that is trampled (?), the field-plants (?) that are injured for the great images of the men of Egypt. I dispatch thee to N. born of N. (22) to strike her from her heart to her belly (*bis*), to her entrails (*bis*), to her womb; for she it is who hath wept (?) before the Sun in the morning, she saying to the Sun, "Come not forth," to the Moon, "Rise not," to the water, "Come not to the men of Egypt," to the fields, "Grow not green," and to the great trees of the men of Egypt, "Flourish not." (24) I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to injure her from her heart unto her belly (*bis*), unto her entrails (*bis*), unto her womb, and she shall put herself on the road (?) after N. born of N. at every time (?).'

(25) [The spell] that you pronounce to it, while it is in the milk. 'Woe (?), great (*bis*), woe (?), my (?) great, woe (?) his (?) Nun, woe (?) his (?) love. O scarab (*bis*), thou art the eye of Phre, the heart (?) (26) of Osiris, the open-hand (?) of Shu, thou approachest in this condition in which Osiris thy father went, on account of N. born of N. until fire is put to her heart and the flame (27) to

l. 27. *ne*. This group occurs in a similar phrase in l. 41 and in l. 32, if the reading in the latter instance be correct. If it stands, then *ne* is difficult to explain; it looks like a preposition 'to,' but if l. 32

nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e-r-k š-f ar-f e-r-k kk n'm-f
hy pe hrt nfr p syf n wm-w(?) nhe(?)

28. p-e-r syt nt syt 'wt n ntr-w tre-w py nta p nt
n hm erme p nt 'y gm-t-f 'wt t p't(?) 'o-t II-t hr pr-ybt
n Kmy

29. e-f pr n nw mhrr km hr w't bw n qme zwf te-y
'r-rh n pe-k rn te-y 'r-rh n te-k-t hm-t(?) t yp-t n syw
II(?) rn-k

30. te-y hwy hyt(?) ar-k n p-hw nph'lm b'll' b'lkhe
y-o-phphe z zf nb hmm nb sht nb nt e-r-k n'm-w

31. n p-hw e-r-k-sw hn p ht p wef p mws p nyš t
'te-t p mht 'o p mht hm n spyr-w n ef-w n qs-w n 'e nb

32. n p h'r n mn a-ms mn š' nte-s še(?) ne(?) mn
a-ms mn a m' nb nt e-f n'm-w nt e-r-k š- ar-f
hn p 'rp p mhrr sp-sn nte-k pe p mhrr

33. n hstb n m't nte-k t yr-t n p r' nte-k p byl n
'Tm t šhn-t-t(?) n šwy p s'l'pyn n Wsr nte-k py k km
hyt 'r pyr n p nwn

34. e p nfr n 'S-t erme-k nte-k r'ks r'p'r'ks p snf n
py 'š hwt a'n-w-f n p t n hr a Kmy hr p bl(?) a p 'rp(?)

be left out of the question, the fact that both in 21/27 and 21/41 š is written over *ne*, as if by an afterthought, suggests that *ne*, which is identical in spelling with *na* the auxiliary of the future, must be the verb *na*, 'go' (attaching itself to *noy* : *noy*, 'futurus esse'), as opposed to *nnoy*, 'come' (which is qualitative of *er*; see KABIS, A. Z., 75. 107). *na* is practically the qualitative of *we* (STERN, § 348). The correction of *ne* to š in both passages would therefore be particularly remarkable. Although, according to STEINDORFF, § 251, the qualitative is admissible in the conjunctive, it seems difficult after *yaute*- : hence no doubt the correction; but if it be possible, the meaning would be 'until she be going,' while š expresses 'until she go.' It would seem that the scribe was puzzled by the *ne*, hence the mistakes and corrections. The following table of forms of the verbs 'come' and 'go' may be useful:—

	Inf.	Inf.	Qual.	Sim-f.
'go'	Copt. <i>we</i> : <i>we</i>	<i>noy</i> : <i>noy</i> , <i>na</i> -	<i>na</i>	(τ)εππο(ορ)?
	Dem. š	<i>n'</i> <i>ne</i> -	<i>ne</i> (?)	<i>n'-f</i>
'come'	Copt. <i>ei</i> : <i>i</i>	—	<i>n-noy</i>	(τ)ατο
	Dem. 'y	—	<i>n-w</i>	<i>w-f</i>

her flesh, until she shall follow (?) N. born of N., unto every place in which he is.' [The spell] which you utter to it when you cook it: 'O my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), (28) thou who didst cast semen and who dost cast semen among all the gods, whom he that is little (and ?) he that is great found among the two great enneads in the East of Egypt, (29) who cometh forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus-reed; I know thy name, I know thy "the work of two stars" is thy name, (30) I cast forth fury upon thee to-day: Nephalam, Balla, Balkha (?), Iophphe; for every burning, every heat, every fire that thou makest (31) to-day, thou shalt make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver (?), the spleen, the womb, the great viscera, the little viscera, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, (32) in the skin of N. born of N. until she follow (?) N. born of N. to every place in which he is.'

[The spell] that you pronounce to it in the wine: 'O scarab (*bis*), thou art the scarab (33) of real lapis-lazuli, thou art the eye of Phre, thou art the eye of Atum, the open-hand (?) of Shu, the heart (?) of Osiris, thou art that black bull, the first, that came forth from Nun, (34) the beauty of Isis being with thee; thou art Raks, Raparaks, the blood of this wild boar (?) which they brought from the land of Syria unto Egypt

l. 28. *p't o-t*. It is very rarely that the Ennead is written without the addition of the word 'gods.' The double Ennead of eighteen gods is frequently mentioned from the earliest times onwards.

l. 29. *no*. Can this gloss represent a qualitative of *npe* as *o* of *eipe*? The usual qual. is *npe*.

n nw mhr for *n w' mhr*: cf. 14/28, 20/8.

hm-t (?), 'trade,' 'art' (?).

l. 30. *hyt*. In spite of its peculiar form this word can scarcely be other than *hyt*, both on account of its meaning and of its association with *hwy*. We may translate 'fury of Phalam,' &c.

l. 31. *mws*, O. C. *μαωτς*, probably from Eg. fem. *mls-t*, 'liver' or 'kidneys.' *p mht hm* named *p ky mht* in Pap. Rhind. iv. 6.

35. e-y hb-k n e-r-k n^c n pe hb n e-r-k a y-f hr-k
hb-t a p b nte-w thm-f a t hny-t nte-w t šwy-s a p š^c
n p snyt nte-w h-h-f n wš

36. n tw p zwf n(?) pr-wt nte-w t p hmt m-s-f e Hr
wz n S-t n hylhr-w y-w n na Kmy nte-w tm h^c hwt
s-hm-t n te-w mt-t e-y hb

37. n-m-k yn a ny e-y hb n-m-k a hry a p ht n mn a-ms
mn nte-k r st-t n he-s sht hn ny-s mht my p lyb m-s ht-s

38. p trwš m-s ny-s ef-w my r-s m qte n p hps m-s
t ryr-t my r-s

39. n [p?] mš^c n p hy m-s t hyb-t e-s qte m-s mn a-ms
mn a m^c nb nt e-f n-m-w e-s mr n-m-f e-s lby m-s-f e
b-r-rh-s m^c n p t

40. e-s n-m-f θy ty-s qt n grh my n-s p hm p rwš n
mre-t mpr t wm-s mpr t swr-s mpr t str-s mpr t hms-s hr

41. t hyb-t n ny-s y-w š^c nte-s (ne) še n-f a m^c nb nt e-f
n-m-w e ht-s bh e yr-t-s hl e ny-s nw pn^c e-b-r-rh-s m^c

42. n p t e-s n-m-f š^c nte-s nw ar-f e yr-t-s m-s yr-t-f
b-s m-s b-f t-t-s m-s t-t-f e-s t n-f ty . . . nb my hr t
h-t n rt-t-s

43. m-s ne-f tbs-w n p [h]yr n nw nb e mn nw šr ys
sp-sn tkr sp-sn

COL. XXII.

1. tey-s n(?) p rn n wr-ty nt e-w š-w a yh nb e mn
p nte

1. 35. y-f here and in V. 12/5-8 must represent the infinitive form of
r, 'do,' with suffix $\Delta\Delta\eta : \Delta\eta\eta$.

hr-k: cf. V. 33/3.

thm seems to be the actual reading in the original, but if so it must
be an error for hm.

hny-t: cf. $\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\omega\eta\epsilon$, CRUM, Pap. Fay. No. 34.

1. 37. eme: ms, 'be like,' takes n in Coptic, but here is used with a.

1. 38. The reading is uncertain: perhaps my r-s p qte, or more likely
the plural n qte. The Shoulder and Hippopotamus are the two well-
known constellations: cf. BRUGSCH, Thes., i. 126-7; MASPERO, Les
Origines, p. 94.

1. 39. The first words may be n n mš^c, hardly n p mš^c.

to the wine, (35) I send thee; wilt thou go on my errand? Wilt thou do it? Thou sayest, "Send me to the thirsty, that his thirst may be quenched, and to the canal that it may be dried up, and to the sand of the *snvt* that it may be scattered without (36) wind, and to the papyrus of Buto that the blade may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for (?) Isis, catastrophes grow great for the Egyptians, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst." I (37) send thee; do like unto these; I send thee down to the heart of N. born of N. and do thou make fire in her body, flame in her entrails, put the madness to her heart, (38) the fever (?) to her flesh; let her make the pursuit of the "Shoulder"-constellation after the "Hippopotamus"-constellation; let her make (39) the movements of the sunshine after the shadow, she following after N. born of N. to every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing the place of the earth in which (40) she is. Take away her sleep by night; give her lamentation and anxiety by day; let her not eat, let her not drink, let her not sleep, let her not sit under (41) the shade of her house until she follow (?) him to every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glance turned (?), she not knowing the place (42) of the earth in which she is, until she see him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand; she giving to him every Let fly (?) the tip of her feet (43) after his heels in the street at all times without fail at any time. Quick (*bis*), hasten (*bis*).

COL. XXII.

(1) Behold! (spell?) of the name of the Great-of-Five which they pronounce to every spirit. There is none

COL. XXII.

l. 1. No more than the heading has been written. It can hardly refer to the spell in 2/25.

2. n-nht-f ar-w(?) hr n z'm-w e-r-k š ny sh-w a hne nb
3. b-re n ntr-w še n-w e bnp-k šn-t-w a mt-t nb nte-w
z n-k
4. p wh hr t p-t p t t ty-t šn e-f ww y p mw
5. t sh-t sh e-f n t-t-f n rm a š-f

COL. XXIII.

1. w^c r a t hy z-mt-t
2. hr ʾny-k w^c tp n ʾo nte-k smn-t-f ʾwt rt-k wbe p
r^c n twe e-f a pr
3. wbe-f ʾn n rhwe e-f ʾn-n^c a p htp nte-k ths te-k-t
rt-t n wnm n st
4. n hr te-k-t rt-t n n s^cn n ʾšyn(?) w n te-k pt
ʾn nte-k smn te-k-t wnm
5. hr t h-t te-k-t hr ph e p tp n te-w mte-t
nte-k ths t-t-k n te-k-t t-t II-t n snf n
6. ʾo hn^c t fnz II-t n r-k nte-k š ny sh-w a hr p r^c
n twe rhwe n hw IV hr
7. str-f e-r-k wh a t ʾr-f * e-r-k ʾr-f n hw VII
e-r-k ʾr pe-f θ-^cwe-t e-r-k mr w^c-t ʾy n šr-
8. bne-t a t-t-k w^c-t pk n šr-bne hwt a hn-t-k hn^c zz-k
nfr nfr pw py(?) (p?) š nt e-r-k š-f a hr p r^c
9. επικαλουμει σε τον εν τω κενεω πνευματι δεινον αορατον
10. παντοκρατορα θεον θεων φθοροποιον και ερημοποιον ο
μισων

1. 2. Reading *n-nht-f e-r-w* (?).
1. 3. Or final 'that the gods depart not.'
1. 5. Probably this spell was never copied out, the remainder of the page having been left blank.

COL. XXIII.

1. 1. . . . (?). The signs are   , suggesting catalepsy or an evil dream, but the reading is quite uncertain. The result is sleep (l. 7), and, if further prolonged, death.

1. 5. *hr bl* or *hr ph* (?).

t-t-k n te-k-t t-t II-t: probably meaning 'your two hands.' Cf. V. 10/4, 5, of the feet.

that is (2) stronger than it in the books. If you pronounce these charms to any vessel, (3) then the gods depart not before you have questioned them concerning every word and they have told you (4) the answer about heaven, earth, and the underworld, a distant inquiry (?), water, (5) (and) the fields. A charm which is in the power(?) of a man to pronounce.

COL. XXIII.

(1) A spell to inflict (?) catalepsy (?) Formula. (2) You take an ass's head, and you place it between your feet opposite the sun in the morning when it is about to rise, (3) opposite it again in the evening when it goes to the setting, and you anoint your right foot with *set*-stone (4) of Syria, and your left foot with clay, the soles(?) of your foot also: and place your right hand (5) in front and your left hand behind, the head being between them. You anoint your hand, of your two hands, with ass's blood, (6) and the two *fnz* of your mouth, and utter these charms towards the sun in the morning and evening of four days, then (7) he sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you do it for seven days, you do its magic, you bind a thread of palm-fibre (8) to your hand, a mat(?) of wild palm-fibre to your phallus and your head; very excellent. This is the invocation which you utter before the sun: (9) 'I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, (10) almighty, god of gods, dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou

1. 6. *fnz*: possibly the corners of the mouth.

1. 7. *θ-wei-t* seems to mean literally 'taking pledge,' *χι-ερω: σι-αρω*, so as to get power over a man or god; hence 'magic.' See I Kham. iv. 32.

1. 9. See a very similar invocation in *διακοπαί*, Leyd. Gr. Pap. V. 11/17, 15/21.

11. οικίαν ευσταθουσάν ὡς ἐξεβρασθῆς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτου καὶ ἐξῶ

12. χωρὰς ἐπενομασθῆς ὁ πάντα ρησσών καὶ μὴ νικώμενος

13. ἐπικαλουμεὶ σε τυφὼν σηθ τὰς σὰς μαντείας ἐπιτελῶ

14. ὅτι ἐπικαλουμεὶ σε τὸ σὸν αὐθεντικὸν σου ὄνομα ἐν οἷς οὐ δυνῇ

15. παρακούσαι ἡ ἐρβῆθ ἡ πακερβῆθ ἡ βολχῶσηθ ἡ παταθναξ

16. ἡ σωφῶ ἡ ὠνεβουτοσσυαλῆθ ἀκτιῶφι ἐρεσχιγαλ νεβοπο-
σοαλῆθ

17. ἀβεραμενθῶν λερθεξαναξ ἐθρελνωθ νεμαρεβα αεμίνα

18. ὅλον ἦκε μοι καὶ βαδισὼν καὶ καταβαλε τὸν Δ ἡ τὴν
Δ ρίγει καὶ πῦ

19. ρετῶ αὐτὸς ἡδίκησεν με καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ φυῶνος ἐξεχύσεν
παρ εἰς

20. τῶ ἡ αὐτῇ δια τοῦτο ταῦτα ποίω κοίνα

21. a šn wbe ἥ e·r-k ʾr-f n šn·hn w·e·t nge ḥm·ḥl
e-f ḥp e nte-k nt ne šn e·r-k mḥ yr·t-k

22. n wyt mstme e·r-k ἥ ḥr zz w· m· e-f ḥse ḥr zz
pe-k pr e·r-k sze wbe ἥ e-f mḥ

23. wz·t n e·r-k w·b n hw III e·r-k š py š
wbe ἥ n sp VII nge sp IX š· nte-f wnḥ ar-k

24. nte-f sze wbe-k ḥy s·ks ʾMn s(t)·ks ḥbr·
s(t)·ks ze nte-k ἥ

25. p wr n n syw·w p·e·r ms·t·w stm m·s n·e·z·y mš·
m·s na r·y wnḥ-k a·r·y t·h·nw

26. t·he·nwn· t·hnw·th· pfe pe rn n mtr IX n z·t·s
š· nte-s wnḥ-s ar-k

l. 13. σηθ: the name of the brother of Osiris is usually written in the Greek papyri with the line over it. Cf. B. M. Pap. CXXI. 965, &c.

l. 15. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 893 *ονομασιν σου α ου δυνασαι παρακουσαι*.

l. 18. Frost and fire—probably ague and fever, as REVILLOUT suggests. Cf. *ῥιγοπύρετος* GALEN; *ριγοπυρετιον* Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 218.

l. 19. Read *τυφῶνος* (?).

l. 20. *κοίνα*: cf. WESSELY, N. gr. Zauberpap., numerous references in index.

l. 22. *sze wbe* is not ἀποκρίνεσθαι here.

that hatest (11) a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of (12) the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." (13) I invoke thee, Typhon Set, I perform thy ceremonies of divination, (14) for I invoke thee by thy powerful name in (words?) which thou canst not (15) refuse to hear: Io erbeth, Iopakerbeth, Iobolk-hoseth, Iopatathnax, (16) Iosoro, Ioneboutsoualeth, Aktiophi, Ereskhigal, Neboposoaleth, (17) Aberamen-thoou, Lerthexanax, Ethreluoth, Nemareba, Aemina, (18) entirely(?) come to me and approach and strike down Him or Her with frost and (19) fire; he has wronged me, and has poured out the blood of Typhon(?) beside(?) him (20) or her: therefore I do these things.' Common form.

(21) To divine, opposite the moon. You do it by vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a child. If it is you who will inquire, you fill your eye (22) with green eye-paint (and) stibium, you stand on a high place, on the top of your house, you address the moon when it fills (23) the *uzat* on the 15th day, you being pure for three days; you pronounce this invocation to the moon seven or nine times until he appear to you (24) and speak to you: 'Ho! Sax, Amun, Sax, Abrasax; for thou art the moon, (25) the chief of the stars, he that did form them, listen to the things that I have(?) said, follow the (words) of my mouth, reveal thyself to me, Than, (26) Thana, Thanatha, otherwise Thei, this is my correct name.' Nine (times) of saying it until she (*sic*) reveal herself to thee.

1. 24. The acrophonic use of the group   *st* in *sz* is remarkable.

1. 26.   is read first *sa* and then *shi*.

After IX probably *sp* should be supplied.

ne-s wnh-s: it seems as if the feminine referred to the Greek moon *σελήνη*, the Egyptian being masculine.

27. ke ky n'm-f 'n a 'š-f wbe 'h e'r-k smt yr-t-k n
py smt e'r-k a hry a hr 'h e-f mh wz:t hr nw-k a p
sšt n p ntr hn t wz:t

28. e-f sze wbe-k 'nk h'h q' m(?) -r m'c-mt mte
pe pe rn z 'nk . . . by s-'o 'g'n'gwp

29. mlh 'h(?) 'h(?) hy mlh rn-yt n m'c-t sp-sn . . . z:t
ank hl(?) -by stt hn(?) m nfr rn-yt sr 'o šnbt pe rn n mte

30. z m sp IX e'r-k 'h wbe 'h e yr-t-k mh n py kys
wy(t) mstme nt hr 'by n hr nte-k t w' shy n w' ppy

31. 'o ar-f nte-k ty-f a w' nk n yl nte-k h'c-f n-k n w'
m' e-f hep š' p nw nt e'r-k a 'h n-f hr 'r-k-f 'n a h
p nt hry

COL. XXIV.

1 a. a k-t

2 a. nyt n bne hwt

3 a. e-f š'kh n 'rte

4 a. *e(?)^hīl*

5 a. nte-k 'r-w n w' m bnn t a p 'rp(?)

1. phre-t e'r-k wh a *pōue* e-f znt

2. *σκαμωνα pū* (δραχμή) I

3. *οπιον* (δραχμή) I nt hr 'rte

4. nte-k 'r-f n bnn nte-k ty-f a w' *hnotē*

5. e-f zf(?) nte-f *otay* hr 'r-f *ahaz*

6. k-t e'r-k wh a t str rm n hw II

7. *μαπαραγορον pīza* (ούγκία) I

8. *μελαρετιον* (ούγκία) I

1. 29. The group before *z:t* is difficult to read.

1. 31. 'h n-f, 'wait for, be ready for, it.'

COL. XXIV.

1. 1 a. The five short lines at the top corner have been taken first and numbered 1 a, &c.

1. 1. *ef znt* seems to belong to *pōue*, but may perhaps be loosely attached, like *nfr* in l. 17 to *phre-t*, without reference to its gender.

1. 2. *Convolvulus scammonia*, Diosc. iv. 168, found chiefly in Syria

(27) Another form of it again, to be pronounced to the moon. You paint your eye with this paint, you (going ?) up before the moon when it fills the *uzat*, then you see the figure of the god in the *uzat* (28) speaking unto you, 'I am Hah, Qo, Amro, Ma-amt, Mete is my name; for I am . . . bai, So, Akanakoup, (29) Melkh, Akh, Akh, Hy, Melkh is my true (*bis*) . . . eternity, I am Khelbai, Setet, Khen (?) -em-nefer is my name, Sro, Oshenbet, is my correct name.' (30) Say it nine times. You stand opposite the moon, your eye being filled with this ointment :—green eye-paint (and) stibium, grind with Syrian honey and put the gall of a chick (31) full grown to it, and put it on a thing of glass, and lay it (by) for yourself in a hidden place till the time when you are ready for it; then you do it again as above.

COL. XXIV.

(1 *a*) For catalepsy (?)—another : (2 *a*) flour of wild dates (3 *a*) which has been beaten up (?) with milk, (4 *a*) . . . (5 *a*) you make them up together into a ball, (and) put in the wine.

(1) A medicament, when you wish to drug (?) a man—tested :—(2) scammony root, 1 drachm, (3) opium, 1 drachm; pound with milk, (4) you make it into a ball and put it into some food (?), (5) which is cooked (?), and let him eat it; then he is upset.

(6) Another, when you wish to make a man sleep for two days :—(7) mandragora root, 1 ounce, (8) liquorice (?),

and Asia Minor; a strong cathartic, very griping. The root is used, and from it is obtained a gum resin (Brit. Pharmacop.). *πρι* is probably a mistake for *πριζ* *ρίζα*, *σκαμβωνίας* *ρίζα* occurring amongst the synonyms in Diosc., l.c.

1. 7. Mandragora, Diosc. iv. 76.

1. 8. *μελακρετικόν* might be *μήλα κρητικά* (?) (*κυνδώνια*), meaning quinces.

9. ***οὐγκία*** (οὐγκία) I
 10. ***ρεσο*** (οὐγκία) I
 11. e·r-k nt-w a ḥ w^c lq n 'rp e·r-k wh 'r-f n mt-t
 rm-rh
 12. e·r-k t ḥt(?) IV·t a p w^c sp-sn n'm-w erme(?) w^c
 with n 'rp nte-k
 13. <nte-k> thb-w n θ n twe š^c rhwe nte-k stf-w
 14. nte-k t swr-w-s nfr sp-sn k·t III·t ***ρεσο***
 15. ***σπο*** sttr-t(?) I qt I t n^c hr ***ωτι***
 16. nte-k 'r-f n ***σσι*** nte-k t wm-s p rm nt e·r-k
 wh-f
 17. phr·t a t 're rm 'n-q<te>tk nfr sp-sn
 18. pr·w ***σπο*** sttr-t(?) I $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t I nn·t n m'nt'r'gwrw
 IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
 19. gyss-^co-s IV·t $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t nt n w^c sp nte-k t
 20. with n 'rp XV ar-f nte-k ty-f a w^c·t glyt·t n yl
 21. nte-k hrh ar-f e·r-k wh a ty-f e·r-k t w^c ḥm a
 w^c z n 'rp
 22. e·r-k ty-f n p rm p gyss-^co-s hr rt-f ḥn n km·w
 23. te-f gbe·t m qty gbe·t n šk'm e-s prz n III ḥlp
 24. m qty gbe·t n elle hr 'r-s šp I n ḥy te-f hrre
 25. m qty ḥt ke-z nb k·t shy n ***σλε*** n R'qt
 26. nte-k(?)t a nk nb n wm k·t w^c·t ***σλελε** nct* II
 27. phre a shy n fy pr·w zph n pr·mnt sym(?)
 n ***λο***
 28. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p wm(?)

But more probably it is the *μελίκρητον*, 'honey and water,' of Hipp., Aph. v. 41 &c.; cf. also *γλυκὴ κρητικόν*, GALEN, de Antid. i. 12, &c., 'liquorice.'

l. 9. Hyoscyamus, henbane, Diosc. iii. 69, used as hypnotic, &c., Brit. Pharm.

l. 10. *κισσος*, Diosc. ii. 210.

l. 11. *a ḥ*: a curious usage.

mt-t rm-rh: cf. I Kham. iv. 37.

l. 12. The meaning may be that you take each of the four ingredients separately and soak it in wine. Perhaps the four *uteh* of wine make the *lok*.

1 ounce, (9) hyoscyamus, 1 ounce, (10) ivy, 1 ounce; (11) you pound them like (*sic*) a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly (?) (12) you take four portions to each one of them with an *uteh* of wine, (13) you moisten them from morning to evening; you clarify them, (14) you make them drink it; very good.

Another, the fourth (?) :—pips (?) [of?] (15) apple, 1 stater (?), 1 *kite*, pound with flour. (16) You make it into a cake (?); you make the man eat it, whom you wish.

(17) A medicament for making a man sleep; very good :—(18) pips (?) of apple, 1 stater (?), 1 drachma, mandragora root, 4 drachmas, (19) ivy, 4 drachmas; pound together; you put fifteen (20) *uteh* of wine to it; you put it into a glass *glyt*; (21) you keep it. If you wish to give it, you put a little into a cup of wine, (22) you give it to the man.

Ivy: it grows in gardens; (23) its leaf is like the leaf of *shekam*, being divided into three lobes (24) like a vine-leaf; it (the leaf) is one palm in measurement; its blossom (25) is like silver—another says gold.

Another: gall of an Alexandrian weasel, (26) you add it to any food.

Another: a two-tailed lizard.

(27) A medicament for catalepsy (?) : gall of cerastes, pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*, (28) pound them together; make into a pill, put (it) into the food (?).

w^c sp-sn = ora ora.

l. 14. *t swr-w-s*, 'let them absorb it,' or 'let the patient (?) drink it.'

l. 18. $\frac{1}{2}$ *gt-t*. This group of the *kite*, written with the sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ either over it, as twice in this line, or preceding it, as in l. 19 and V. 7/5, 9/3, doubtless represents the Coptic $\sigma\iota\epsilon\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$: $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$, which is also a fem. word, meaning half a didrachma, or drachma.

l. 26. *nle-k* seems superfluous, see note on plate.

ll. 27-28. A parallel passage, V. 3/1-3.

l. 27. * $\kappa\lambda\omicron$ *: LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. x. (Bull. St. Pet. xiii. 12) has shown that $\kappa\lambda\omicron$ was the name of a vegetable arrow poison.

29. k·t e·r-k t snf n **σεωσι(?)λ** hr snf n rm e-f mw·t
30. a p 'rp nte-k t swr-f p rm hr **ατεεγ**
31. k·t e·r-k t snf n 'mwlz a **ιερεγ** hr 'r-f **σωνει**
32. k·t e·r-k t snf n **σενσλω** py smt 'n pe
33. k·t e·r-k 'r w' **hes** n hsy hn w' 'rp nte-k t swr-f p rm
34. hr 'r-f te-f yp·t w' **εινι** n py smt 'n hr 'r-f
35. te-f yp·t 'n pe-f **cege** 'n e·r-k ty-s a p 'rp
36. hr 'r-f te-f yp·t m šs e·r-k t **cegi** n
37. g'le·t n R'qt a nk nb n wm hr 'r-f te-f yp·t e·r-k t w'·t
38. **γαγλαλε** n st II a p nhe nte-k st(?)·t-s erme-f nte-k ths
39. p rm n'm-f hr 'r-f te-f yp·t

COL. XXV.

1. n mt·tw n p hbs a šn n p 'lw
2. z-mt·t te·te yg t'k thethe
3. s'ty s'n-t'skl kr-'o-m'k't
4. p'tksur'y k'lew-p'nkt 'c·tsyewy
5. m'kt-syt'k't ht-y ht r y-'o-y
6. h'w(?) y my z-w n-y wh <a> n mt·t nb nt e-y šn hrr-w ty n p-hw
7. z 'nk Hr p hrt hr 'b tt z ank 'S·t t rh·t
8. n n z n r-y hp z sp VII hr 'ny-k w'·t mšprt·t(?) nmy
9. nte-k t w' s'l n hbs(?) e-f w'b ar-s n 'ny a bl hn h't-ntr nte-k
10. smn·t-s hr w'·t tbe·t nmy n 'ny n p myhl e-s w'b e bnp

l. 30. *t swr-f (sic) p rm*: so also l. 33.

l. 35. *ty-s* for *ty-f*.

l. 38. *st-s*: can *ps-t-s* be intended? Cf. 27/14.

(29) Another: you put camel's blood with the blood of a dead man (30) into the wine; you make the man drink it; then he dies.

(31) Another: you put a night-jar's blood into his eye; then he is blinded.

(32) Another: you put a bat's blood; this is the manner of it again.

(33) Another: you drown a hawk in a jar of wine; you make the man drink it; (34) then it does its work. A shrew-mouse (?) in the same way; it does (35) its work also. Its gall also, you add it to the wine, (36) then it does its work very much. You put the gall (37) of an Alexandrian weasel into any food; then it does its work. You put a (38) two-tailed lizard into the oil and you cook it with it; you anoint (39) the man with it; then it does its work.

COL. XXV.

(1) The words of the lamp for inquiry of the boy. (2) Formula: 'Te, Te, Ik, Tatak, Thethe, (3) Sati, Santaskl, Kromakat, (4) Pataxurai, Kaleu-pankat, A-a-tieui, (5) Makat-sitakat, Hati, Hat-ro, E-o-e, (6) Hau (?), E; may they say to me an answer to everything concerning which I ask here to-day, (7) for I am Harpocrates in Mendes, for I am Isis the Wise; (8) the speech of my mouth comes to pass.' Say seven times. You take a new lamp (?), (9) you put a clean linen wick into it brought from a temple, (10) and you set it on a new brick, brought from the mould (?) and clean, on which

COL. XXV.

1. 6. $\pi\alpha\tau$: the demotic group is probably a ligature for some divine name.

1. 8. $n n z$, probably for $\epsilon\eta\tau\omega$, pronounced $\eta\eta\tau\omega$.

$m\dot{s}pr:t$: here and in l. 11 the first sign might be $\dot{h}$ as in the facs.

1. 10. $myhl$, possibly $\alpha\alpha\zeta\omega\lambda$, المنقر, in any case probably means the brick-maker's mould; my may well represent $\alpha\alpha$, as in imperative $\alpha\alpha-$.

11. rm ʕly ar-s nte-k t ʕh-s a rt-s nte-k smn t mšprt-t
12. hr ʔt-s nte-k t nhe n mʕ-t ar-s nge nhe n whe
13. nte-k smn tbe-t II-t nmy hrr-k nte-k hʕ p ʕlw ʔwt
14. rt-k nte-k ʕs n sh-w nt hry a hry hn zz-f n p ʕlw
15. e t-t-k hr r yr-t-f nte-k t hl a hry hr gbe-t n twre-t
16. ne-hr p hbs hr ʔr-k-f n wʕ mʕ e-f n kke e-f (*sic*)
pe-f r
17. wn a pr-ybt nge p rs e mn ʕy n p ʔytn hrr-f
18. nte-k tm hʕ wyn a ʔy a hn a p mʕ n rn-f nte-k
s-wʕb p mʕ n rn-f a t h-t
19. nte-k hwy ʔt-f n p ʕlw a p r n t ryt e-ʔr-k wh
e-ʔr-k ʕs sh
20. e-ʔr-k fy t-t-k hr r yr-t-f wʕ ʕlw e b-ʔr te-f še erme
s-hm-t
21. [p] nt e-ʔr-k t še-f ne-t-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z ʔh p nt
e-ʔr-k nw ar-f
22. hr mt-t-f erme-k n mt-t nb nt e-ʔr-k šn-t-f a-ʔr-w
23. wʕ ky a t ht s-hm-t m-s hwt ʔr n wʕ-t wne-t nte-f
hp ty hte-t hr ʔny-k
24. wʕ-t *hew(?)e* <e-s ʕnh> erme *ROTRON(?)AT*
e-w ʕnh kys n ʔr n-w
25. snfe n ʕo hwt snf n syb n ʔh-t km nte-k ths ne-w
26. ʕpe-t-w n skn sšn nte-k ʕs wʕ skp a hr p rʕ n te-f
wne-t n hʕ
27. e-ʔr-k ht(?) zz-w n t II-t e-ʔr-k ʔny pe-w ht a bl
n ne-w spyr n wnm
28. n t II-t nte-k ths-f n p snf n ʕo hnʕ p snfe(?)
n syb n ʔh-t km-t
29. nt hry e-ʔr-kt y-sw a hn wʕ hʕr n ʕo e-ʔr-k hʕ-w
n p rʕ šʕ nte-w

l. 11. ʕy would seem to represent $\alpha\lambda\epsilon:\alpha\lambda\mu$; the gloss $\alpha\lambda\sigma$ is strange.

a *rt-s* presumably means 'set it up on end.'

l. 17. ʕy n p ʔytn, probably to be taken together, meaning 'cellar.'

(11) no man has mounted(?); you set it upright, you place the lamp(?) (12) on it; you put genuine oil in it, or Oasis oil, (13) and you set two new bricks under you; you place the boy between (14) your feet; you recite the charms aforesaid down into the head of the boy, (15) your hand being over his eyes; you offer myrrh upon a willow leaf (16) before the lamp. You do it in a dark place, the door of it (17) opening to the East or the South, and no cellar being underneath it. (18) You do not allow the light to come into the place aforesaid; you purify the said place beforehand. (19) You push the boy's back to the opening of the niche. When you have finished, you recite a charm, (20) bringing your hand over his eyes. A boy who has not yet gone with a woman, (21) is he] whom you make come before you(?); you question him, saying, 'What do you see?' (22) then he tells you about everything that you ask him.

(23) A method to put the heart of a woman after a man; done in one moment(?), and it comes to pass instantly. You take (24) a swallow(?) alive, together with a hoopoe, (both) alive. Ointment made for them: (25) blood of a male ass, blood of the tick(?) of a black cow; you anoint (26) their heads with lotus ointment; you utter a cry before the sun in his moment of rising; (27) you cut off the heads of the two; you take the heart out of the right ribs (28) of both of them; you anoint it with the ass's blood and the blood of the tick(?) of a black cow, (29)

l. 21. Read [*p*] *nt e.r-k*, which is required by the space and the meaning.
ne-t-t-f: either *-f* must refer to the lamp, or to the action in general, or else it is a slip for *-k*.

l. 23. *w.t wne.t*: the preparation of the materials would take several days, but they could be kept ready for immediate use.

l. 24. **Bane** seems a likely word, but there is no authority for reading the third sign in the cipher word as **n**.

e-w 'nh does not mean that several hoopoes were required. There were only two birds: see l. 27.

30. šewy n hw IV a-re (?) p hw IV sny e-r-k nt-w
e-r-k ty-sw a w^c

31. ʔrky^c e-r-k h^c-f n pe-k ʔy e-r-k wḥ a t ʔre s-ḥm-t
mr ḥwt e-r-k θy

32. p znf n w^c ḥ n hr e-r-k š ny rn-w n mte a ḥr-w

33. e-r-k ty-f a w^c z n ʔrp nge ḥnke e-r-k ty-f n t
s-ḥm-t nte-s swr-f

34. ank byr^c-qhl l^ʔ-qḥ s^ʔsmry^ʔ-mr

35. pls-plwn ank ʔo-^cn-ne s^ʔb^ʔthl s^ʔswpw

36. nythy my ḥt mn a-ms mn m-s mn a-ms mn ḥn

37. ny wne-t-w n p-hw sp VII ḥr ʔr-k-f n p mḥ
XIV n p wrše nfr sp-sn

COL. XXVI

1. ke š ʔn n py z n ʔrp

2. byr^cgetht

3. s^cm^cr^c

4. pylpywn

5. y^chwt

6. s^cb^cwth

7, 8. s^cypwnyth^cs

9. ke š nte-f ʔn ḥr ke-zm

10. ank byr^cg^ctht

11. l^ctht

12. s^csmyr^c

13. plyprn

14. ʔo-hw

15. s^cb^cqht

16. s^cswpwnyth^c

17. my ḥt mn m-s

COL. XXVII.

1. ke šn-hne w^ce-t a nw a p wtn n p r^c p š nt e-r-k
š-f a-wn n-y t p^ct t mw-t n n ntr-w

2. my nw-y a p wtn n p r^c e-f ḥt-ḥnt ḥn-s z ʔnk Gb
ʔrpe ntr-w šll p nt e-y ʔr n^ʔm-f mbḥ p r^c pe yt

as aforesaid; you put them into an ass's skin; you lay them in the sun until they (30) are dry for four days; when the four days have passed, you pound them, you put them into a (31) box; you lay it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you take (32) the shaving (?) of a pleasure-wood (?); you recite these correct names before them; (33) you put it into a cup of wine or beer; you give it to the woman and she drinks it. (34) 'I am Bira, Akhel, La-akh, Sasm-rialo(?), (35) Ples-plun, Ioane, Sabaathal, Sasupu, (36) Nithi, put the heart of N. born of N. after N. born of N. in (37) these hours to-day.' Seven times. You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Very excellent.

COL. XXVI.

(1) Another invocation again of this cup of wine: (2) 'Birakethat, (3) Samara, (4) Pilpioun, (5) Iahout, (6) Sabaouth, (7, 8) Saipounithas.'

(9) Another invocation belonging to it again, in another book: (10) 'I am Biraka-that, (11) Lathat, (12) Sasmira, (13) Plipron, (14) Takou, (15) Sabakhot, (16) Sasoupounitha, (17) send the heart of N. after (18) Sasoupounithas.'

COL. XXVII.

(1) Another vessel-divination, (to be done) alone, for seeing the bark of Phre. The invocation which you recite: 'Open to me O (?) heaven, mother of the gods! (2) Let me see the bark of Phre going up and going

l. 34. *cacupriaλ*: note λ transcribing *mr*.

l. 35. Notice the transcription of the group for 'ass,' here 10, in 26/14 12-.

COL. XXVI.

l. 8. A gloss to l. 7.

COL. XXVII.

Lines 1-12 are a repetition of 10/22-34; see notes there.

3. e-tbe nt-t 'r še n t-t 'y hknēt wrt nb qnht t' r(?)
št-rd(?) a-wn n-y t nb 'yh-w

4. a-wn n-y t p't hyt-t my wšte-y n n wpt-w z 'nk
Gb 'rpe ntr-w 'y p VII stn 'y p VII

5. Mnt k syt nb šfe-t šhz t by nn(?) hy rw(?) m' rw(?)
nn(?) k kke

6. hy hnt-ybty-w nwn wr h'w hy by sr'w by 'mnty-w
hy by by-w

7. k kke k k-w s' nw-t a-wn n-y ank wb' t 'r pyr n
Gb hy 'nk

8. y-y-y e-e-e he-he-he h-ō h-ō h-ō ank 'nep-ō
myry-p-ō-r' m't(?) 'b thyby

9. 'ō 'rw-wy w'w y'h-ō p swḥ-'yh snfe n smnw snf
n qqwpt snf n 'mwłz

10. 'nh-'m-w snw-p't 'ō-Mn qs(?)-'nh hstb n m't hl
p-tgs-'S-t nt 'rw m bnn-t nte-k smt

11. yr-t-k n'm-f hr rym-t n by-'ō-n-p-t n w' h n hr n
'ny nge hbyn nte-k mr-k a pe-k qte

12. n w't pke-t n šn-bn-t hwt

13. p ky n 'r p šn-hne n p hbs e'r-k 'ny w' hbs e-f
w'b e-f wbḥ n wš n t prš mw n qme ar-f e pe-f šl n
š-stn nte-k mh-f n nḥe

14. n m't nge nḥe n yt-t nte-k mr-f n 'y IV-t n 'yw
e bnp-w st-t-w nte-k 'yh-t-f a w't z'y-t n pr-ybt

15. w't šmwe-t n h n tphn nte-k t 'h p hm-hl n pe-f
mt a bl e-f w'b e b-r te-f še erme s-hm-t nte-k hbs yr-t-f
n t-t-k

16. nte-k θ-r p hbs nte-k 'š a hry hn te-f 'pe-t š' sp
VII nte-k t 'r-f wn yr-t-f nte-k šn-t-f z 'ḥ n-e-nw-k a'r-w

1. 8. Note the hieroglyphic transliterations of demotic.

1. 10. *snw-p't*, possibly *σίωπι*, 'mustard'; it occurs in Louvre dem.
mag. iii. 27 with gloss . . . *ροχλον* (?).

1. 14. *st-t-w*, or perhaps *ps-t-w*, which have not been boiled.

1. 15. *tphn*, probably *δάφνη*, Diosc. i. 106.

A good instance of *ανεψυτο εβολ*.

down in it; for I am Geb, heir of the gods; prayer is what I make before Phre my father (3) on account of a thing that hath proceeded from me. O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the Rishtret open to me, mistress of spirits, (4) open to me primal heaven; let me worship the angels! for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Hail! ye seven kings; ho! ye seven (5) Môts, bull that engendereth, lord of strength, that enlighteneth the earth, soul of the abyss(?). Ho! lion as lion of(?) the abyss(?), bull of the night; (6) hail! thou that rulest the people of the East, Noun, great one, lofty one; hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West; hail! soul of souls, (7) bull of the night, bull (?) of (two?) bulls, son of Nut. Open to me, I am the Piercer of earth, he that came forth from Geb; hail! I am (8) I, I, I, E, E, E, He, He, He, Ho, Ho, Ho; I am Anepo, Miri-po-re, Maat(?) Ib, Thibai (9) great, Aroui, Ououu, Iaho. The spirit-gathering: blood of a *smune*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-jar, (10) *ankh-ami* plant, *senepe* plant, Great-of-Amen-plant, *ges-ankh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, 'foot-print(?) of-Isis' plant, pound and make into a ball, and paint (11) your eyes with it upon (?) a goat's tear, with a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony; you tie yourself at your side (12) with a strip(?) of male-palm fibre. (13) The way of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp. You take a clean bright lamp without putting minium (or) gum-water into it, its wick being of fine linen; you fill it with genuine oil (14) or oil of dew; you tie it with four threads of linen which have not been cooked(?); you hang it on an East wall (on) (15) a peg of bay-wood; you make the boy stand before it, he being pure and not having gone with a woman; you cover his eyes with your hand; (16) you light the lamp and you recite down into his head, unto seven times; you make him open

29. n m^c e-f hep n nw nb e'r-k wh a'r n p hbs

l. 24. *w̄he*(?) . *šn* stands in the parallel. It seems that *w̄he*(?) is used of *μαντεία αὐτοπτική* (cf. note to 10/22), and *šn-hne*, when opposed to it (l. 34), means divination with a medium.

his eyes; you ask him, saying, 'What are the things which you have seen?' (17) If he says, 'I have seen the gods about the lamp,' then they tell him answer concerning that which they will be asked. If you wish to do it by yourself alone, (18) you fill your eyes with the ointment aforesaid; you stand up opposite the lamp when alight; you recite to it seven times with your eyes shut; when you have finished, you open (19) your eyes; then you see the gods behind(?) you; you speak with them concerning that which you desire; you ought to do it in a dark place. The invocation which you recite, (20) formula: 'I am Manebai, Ghethethoni, Khabakhel, let me worship thee, the child of Arpithnapira, (21) Pileasa, Gnuriph-arisa, Teni-irissa, Psi, Psi, Irissa, (22) Gimituru-phus-sa, Okmatsisa, Oreobazagra, Pertaomekh, (23) Peragomekh, Sakmeph, come in to me, and inquire for me about the inquiry which I am inquiring about, truthfully without (24) falsehood.' Its spirit-gathering: the ointment which you put on your eyes, when you are about to make any divination by the lamp. (25) You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh, (26) and put them into a *lok* of glass; you close its mouth very carefully for twenty days in a hidden dark place; after (27) twenty days you take it forth, you open it; then you find a pair(?) of testicles and a phallus inside it; you leave it for forty days; and you take it (28) forth; you open it; then you find that it has become bloody; you must put it into some thing of glass, and you put the glass thing into a pottery (thing) (29) in a place hidden at all times. When you wish to make a divination(?) by the lamp with it, you

l. 29. *n nw nb*: the parallel 5/29, where this is repeated with the next sentence, shows that it cannot mean 'from all sight.'

fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, you proceed to lie down, (30) or you stand opposite the lamp; you recite this invocation aforesaid; then you see the god behind (?) you, while you are standing up or lying down. Excellent (*bis*) and tried (?). (31) You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink, 'Bakhukhsikhukh,' or, as says another book, 'Kimeithoro Phosse'; (32) this method which is written above is the method of the divination of Manebai. If you wish to do it (33) by inquiry of the lamp, this also is the form; it is also profitable for (?) the divination of Muribai. If you do it (34) by vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you make the boy stand upright (35) before the lamp, he having his face covered; you recite to his head, standing over him, this Greek invocation; when you have finished, you uncover (36) his face, then he answers you truthfully.

COL. XXVIII.

(1) Another mode of vessel-inquiry, alone. Formula: 'I am the lord of Spirits, Oridimbai, Sonadir, Episghes, Emmime, (2) Tho-gom-phrur, Phirim-phuni is thy name; Mimi, Bibiu (*bis*), Gthethoni, I am Ubaste, Ptho, (3) Balkham born of Binui, Sphe, Phas, I am Baptho, Gammi-satra is thy name, Mi-meo, (4) Ianume.' Its spirit-gathering: you go to a clean place, you take a vessel of bronze, you wash it with water of natron, you put a *lok*-measure (5) of oil to it; you place it on the ground; you light a bronze lamp; you put it on the ground by the bronze vessel; (6) you cover yourself with a clean

COL. XXVIII.

1. 1. *epysghes emmyme*: MAX MÜLLER, Rec. trav., viii. 178, reads here *episkhes epimme*, and regards it as a transcription of *ἐπισχες ἐνί με*, 'come to me.' The reading is probably *emmyme*, but it may still be a corruption of the Greek phrase he has suggested.

1. 5. *θ-s*, *noc*.

7. e·r-k šn·t-f a p nt e·r-k wḥ-f e·r-k wḥ a t 're n
ntr·w n p hne sze wbe-k n r-w wbe r-k e·r-k š yḥ-ō

8. yph e-ō-e gynntethwr neph'r 'ph-ō-e ḥr 'r-w n-k wḥ
a mt·t nb nt e·r-k a šn·t-f a·r-w 'n a·r-w tm z n-k wḥ
e·r-k š

9. py ke rn ng-ō-ngethygs m'ntwn-ō-b-ō-e g-ō-
kšyrhr-ō-nt-ō-r nt-ō-ntr-ō-m' leph-ō-ger

10. geph'er-s-ō-re e·r-k š ny ḥr 'r-w šn n-k n mt·t m'·t

11. ke šn-hne e·ḥr 'r-k t·t nḥe n sym ar-f e·ḥr 'r-k-f
a ḥ p nt ḥry z-mt·t sze wbe-y sp-sn h'cmst p ntr n n ntr·w
n p kk

12. 'yḥ nb ḥyb·t nb nt ḥn 'mnt e·r-s p-e·r mw nhse
n-y sp-sn py by n 'nḥ py by n sns n my pry

13. pe hne pe swt ty n p-hw e-tb p hne n 'S·t wr·t
e-s šn m-s py-s hy e-s qte m-s py-s sn ḥwt mn'š sp-sn

14. mn'nf sp-sn a·zy-s z mn'š sp-sn mn'nf sp-sn ph-ō-
ny sp-sn n hh n sp nte-k z·t-s n p ḥm-ḥl ze a·zy-s

15. z my š n-k p kke 'm n-y p wyn nte-k wn yr·t-k
ty hte·t ḥr 'w n ntr·w a ḥn nte-w z n-k wḥ n mt·t nb

COL. XXIX.

1. tey-s ky n šn n p r' e-w z n'm-f z e-f znt m šs sp-sn
pe-f swḥ-yḥ ḥr 'ny-k w' ḥm-ḥl e-f w'b nte-k 'r . . .

2. 'yḥ nt šḥ ar-f nte-k 'ny-t-f n p mt n p r' nte-k t ḥ-f
a rt-f ḥr w'·t tbe·t nmy n p nw nt e·re

3. p r' ne ḥ' n'm-f nte-f 'y a ḥry tre-f m tre p 'tn nte-k
t 'w w'·t qbe·t n 'yw nmy n pe-f ph (?) nte-k

1. 11. *p ntr n n ntr·w*: cf. *φρουθι νυθην*, Pap. Bib. Nat. 1643, and *προυτε νυθην τηρου*, B. M. XLVI. 8.

1. 12. *pr-'mnt*, the det. of *ḥn* being the same sign as *pr* that should have followed, one has been omitted.

e·r-s p-e·r mw: their meaning is obscure.

COL. XXIX.

1. 1. The end of the line is quite uncertain after *'r t(?)*.

1. 3. *qbe·t*: Boh. *κοῦτ*, in the Vienna ritual means a mat (?); in l. 23 we have a parallel passage with *šnt·t*.

linen robe, you and the vessel; you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, for seven times; you open your eyes; (7) you ask it concerning that which you wish; if you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths to your mouth, you cry: 'Iaho, (8) Iph, Eoe, Kintathour, Nephar, Aphoe.' Then they make answer to you concerning everything concerning which you will ask of it again. If they do not tell you answer, you recite (9) this other name: 'Gogethix, Mantounoboe, Kokhir-rhodor, Dondroma, Lephoker, (10) Kephhaersore.' If you recite these, then they inquire for you truthfully.

(11) Another vessel-inquiry: you put vegetable oil into it; you must proceed as above. Formula: 'Speak unto me (*bis*), Hamset, god of the gods of darkness, (12) every demon, every shade that is in the West and the East, he that hath died hath done it (?), rise up to me (*bis*), O thou living soul, O thou breathing soul, may (13) my vessel go forth, my knot (?) here to-day, for the sake of the vessel of Isis the Great, who inquireth for her husband, who seeketh for her brother; Menash (*bis*), (14) Menanf (*bis*). Say, 'Menash (*bis*), Menanf (*bis*), Phoni (*bis*),' a multitude of times; and you say to the boy, 'Say, (15) "Depart, O darkness; come to me O light," and open your eyes at once.' Then the gods come in and tell thee answer to everything.

COL. XXIX.

(1) Behold a form of inquiry of the sun, of which they say it is well tested. Its spirit-gathering: you take a young boy who is pure, you make the spirit-formula (?) (2) which is written for it; you take him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment at which (3) the sun shall rise, and it comes up entirely with the entire (?) disk; you put a new mat (?) of linen

4. t ʔr-f htm yr-t-f nte-k ʕh a rt-k hr ʔ-t-f eʔr-k ʕs a hry
hn zz-f eʔr-k qlhe a hry hn

5. zz-f n pe-k tbʕ n p rʕ n te-k-t t-t n wnm bn-s mh
yr-t-f n p smt aʔr-k n h-t

6. nʕsyrʕ ʕo-ʕpkys šfyw(?) sp-sn bybyw sp-sn rn-yk n
mʕ-t sp-sn srpt a-wn n-y t p-t n py-s

7. <n py-s> wšh py-s mt aʔny n-y p wyn nt wʕb my ʔw
n-y p ntr nte p wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y

8. wšh a mt-t nb nte ʔw-y šn hr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw n
mt-t mʕ-t e mn mt-t ʕze hn(?)w ʕrkhnwtsy etʕle tʕl

9. nʕsyrʕ yʕrmekh nʕserʕ ʕmpthw h-ʕo ʕmʕmʕrkʕr tel yʕ-ʕo

10. nʕsyrʕ hʕkyʕ srpt hʕzysyphth ʕh-ʕo ʕt-ne y-y-e(?)w
bʕlbel my

11. ʔw n-y p wyn e-f wʕb my phre p ʕlw my z-f n-y
wšh my ʔw n-y p ntr nte p wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z

12. n-y wšh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn hr-ʔr-w n mt-t mʕ-t
e mn mt-t n ʕze hn-w bn-m-s-s eʔr-k ʕs pe-f hʕr

13. n ke sp VII e yr-t-f htm z-mt-t sy-sy-py-tsyrpy
s-ʕ-ʕo-nkhʕb

14. hrʕbʕ-ʕo-t phʕkthy-ʕo-p ʕnʕʕn krʕʕnʕ krʕtrys tmʕ

15. ptʕrʕphne ʕrʕphnw ʔm n p ʕlw my ʔw n-f p ntr
nte p wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wšh a mt-t nb

16. nt e-y šn hr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw aʔre p wyn ʕsqe a
ʔy a hn eʔr-k z ke ke sʕls-ʕo-ʕthʕ yppel

17. syrbʕ n sp VII eʔr-k t *אלחורחור* a p ʕh
eʔr-k z py rn ʕo m-s ny tre-w eʔr-k ʕs-f

18. n h-t-f a ph-t-f ʕs-phr n sp IV ʕueb-ʕo-th-yʕbʕthʕ
bʕyth-ʕo-beuʕ

19. eʔr-k z my mʕ p ʕlw p wyn my ʔw p ntr nte p
wšh-šhne n t-t-f nte-f z n-y wšh a mt-t nb nt e-y šn

20. hr-ʔr-w ty n p-hw n mt-t mʕ-t e mn mt-t n ʕze
hn-w tey-s ke ky nʕm-f(?) ʕn eʔr-k ʕy p ʕlw a wʕ

1. 5. *hʕ n p rʕ*: possibly the 'Apollo-finger' of modern chiromancy,
i. e. the third (ring-) finger. The operation described in 3/12, 16, is the
προκαδωνισας παιδα of Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 89.

behind (?) him; you (4) make him shut his eyes; you stand upright over him; you recite down into his head; you strike down on (5) his head with your Ra-finger of your right hand, after filling his eye with the paint which you made before: (6) 'Nasira, Oapkis, Shfe (*bis*), Bibiou (*bis*) is thy true name (*bis*), Lotus, open to me heaven (7) in its breadth and height, bring to me the light which is pure; let the god come to me, who has the command, and let him say to me (8) answer to everything which I am asking here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein (?), Arkhnoutsi, Etale, Tal, (9) Nasira, Yarmekh, Nasera, Amptho, Kho, Amamarkar, Tel, Yaeo, (10) Nasira, Hakia, Lotus, Khzisiph, Aho, Atone, I. I. E. O, Balbel, (11) let the pure light come to me; let the boy be (?) enchanted; let answer be given me; let the god who has the command come to me and tell (12) me answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth without falsehood therein.' Thereafter you recite his compulsion another (13) seven times, his eyes being shut. Formula: 'Si. si. pi. thiripi S. A. E. O. Nkhab (14) Hrabaot, Phakthiop, Anasan, Kraana, Kratris, Ima- (15) ptaraphne, Araphnu, come to the boy; let the god who has the command come to him, let him tell me answer to everything (16) which I shall ask here to-day.' If the light is slow to come within, you say, 'Ke, Ke, Salsoatha, Ippel, (17) Sirba,' seven times; you put frankincense (?) on the brazier, you utter this great name after all those, you utter it (18) from beginning to end, and vice versa, four times, Auebothiabathabaithobeu; (19) you say: 'Let the boy see the light, let the god who has the command come in; let him tell me answer to everything about which I shall ask (20) here to-day, in truth without falsehood therein.'

l. 8. *hn-w*: this seems to be the reading, cf. l. 12.

21. m^c hry e-f θse e-r-k t ʕ-f a rt-f n w^c m^c e wn w^c ššt ʕo n pe-f mt e r-f wn a pr-ybt e hr [re(?)] p r^c wbne

22. a hn n ʕe-t-f nte-k smt yr-t-f n p ʕlw n p smt nt šh ar-f nte-k ʕš ar-f n . . . sp ke-z VII e-r-k ʕh hr ʔ-t-f nte-k t ʔ-r-f

23. kšp a hr p r^c e-f mḥ wz-t e-f ʕh a rt-f hr w^c-t tbe-t nmy e wn w^c-t šnto-t n ʕyw nmy n pe-f ph(?) e yr-t-f ḥtm

24. e-r-k ʕš a hry hn zz-f e-r-k qlh a zz-f n pe-k tb^c nt šh hry ʕn e-r-k t *אלהותיו* a hry ne-hr-f e-r-k wh e-r-k t ʔ-r-f wn yr-t-f

25. hr nw-f a n ntr-w n pe-f ph(?) e-w sze wbe-f nt hr ʔ-r-k ty-f a yr-t-f n p ʕlw e-f ʔn-n^c a šn-hne nb n p r^c

26. hr ʔny-k *יזח(?)* II n p y^cr e-w ʕnh n p II nte-k wš p w^c n^m-w n ḥ n elle n p mt n p r^c nte-k t p snf n p ke a hr-f

27. nte-k t n^c-f erme-f hr ḥl nte-k ʔ-r-w n bnn-t e-w ḥy n tb^c w(?) e-r-k šʕe(?) t a yr-t-f e-r-k ʔny w^c ʔb n lyl(?) erme w^c ḥ n

28. hr n ll ʕn nte-k ḥy ty phre hr(?) w^c ḥm n st n t(?)-nhš hr mw n elle n Kmy nte-k mḥ yr-t-k n^m-f e-r-k

29. mḥ yr-t-k n ty phre nte-k q(?)šp a hr p r^c e-f mḥ wz-t e yr-t-k wn a hr-f hr ʔ-r-f wnh-f ar-k nte-f z(?) n-k(?) wh(?)

30. a mt-t nb te-f mt-t ʕo-t(?) w^cb hr ʔ-r-f ʔr šw a ḥm-ḥl nte-f ʔr šw n-k ḥ-k n rm w^c-t

l. 21. *e hr p r^c* should be *e hr ʔre p r^c*; the condition of the MS. is very unsatisfactory in this part of the column.

l. 23. *mḥ wz-t*, i. e. at the summer solstice, Br., Thes., 296.

l. 26. For the use of vine-twigs as fuel for magic purposes, cf. HYVERN., Actes, p. 311; Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 544, &c.

Behold, another form of it again. You take the boy to an upper lofty (21) place, you make him stand in a place where there is a large window before him, its opening looking to the East where the sun shines (22) in rising into it; you paint the boy's eye with the paint which is prescribed for it, you recite to him times or seven times; you stand over him; you make him (23) gaze before the sun when it fills the *uzat*, he standing upright on a new brick, there being a new linen robe behind him (?), and his eyes being closed; (24) you recite down into his head; you strike on his head with your finger described above; you offer frankincense (?) before him; when you have finished, you make him open his eyes, (25) then he sees the gods behind him (?) speaking with him.

[The ointment] which you put in the boy's eyes when he goes to any vessel-inquiry of the sun (26). You take two of the river both alive, you burn one of them with vine-wood before the sun, you put the blood of the other to (?) it, (27) you pound it with it with myrrh, you make them into a pill, they measuring one finger (in length); you put into his eyes; you take a kohl-pot (?) of and a kohl-stick (?) of (28) *lel* (?). You pound this drug with a little *set*-stone (?) of Ethiopia and with Egyptian vine-water; you fill your eyes with it, you (29) fill your eyes with this drug, you look towards the sun when it fills the *uzat*, your eyes being open towards it; then he appears to you, he gives you answer (?) (30) to everything. Its chief point is purity; it is profitable for the boy, and it is profitable to you yourself as a person (acting) alone.

l. 27. *šē* or *šēme*? The reading is uncertain.

l. 29. *qšp* or *kšp*? The latter is the correct form of the word.

l. 30. *mt-t 'o-t w'ab*; cf. 17/26.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

1. ὀνῆ n r^c οφρὺς ἡλίου
2. ὀνῆ n ῑῆ οφρὺς (σεληνῆς)
3. hyn·w sym·w ne
4. ἡλιογονον
5. σεληνογονον
6. hyn·w sym·w ne
7. θιθυμαλος
8. nte py sym ἥm nt ἥr n km·w pe
9. nt ἥr ὀre t ὀw ὀrte a bl
10. e·r-k t pe-f ὀrt a ἥr n rm
11. ἥr ὀr-f blbl

VERSO COL. II.

1. χαμεμελον thw-w^cb rn-f
2. λευκανθεμον ξq·htr rn-f
3. κριναθεμον mn p nfr a ἥr-y rn-f
4. χρυσανθεμον nfr ἥr rn-f ke-z a t ἥrr-t nb

COL. I.

1. 1. ὀφρὺς ἡλίου is a synonym of the σχοῖνος ἐλεία in Diosc. iv. 52.
1. 4. ἡλιογονον: cf. ελιογωνον as synonym of εσσς in Peyr. Lex. 422 along with κνίκος (carthamus tinctorius, Diosc. iv. 187), ἀτρακτυλῖς (ib. iii. 97), &c.; so apparently a sort of thistle.
1. 5. σεληνογονον: the name given by προφήται to the παιονία (the modern paeonia) according to the synonyms in Diosc. iii. 147. The plant-names ascribed to the προφήται are naturally connected with deities, heavenly bodies and the like. SPRENGEL (Praefat., p. xvi) identifies the προφήται with those of Egypt, but this is perhaps too precise.
1. 9. The grammatical construction seems confused: one would expect εἰσαῖ or ετεῖσαῖ, St., §§ 426, 427. The writer has given the form of the relative ετωῶτεαι, but has inserted ἥr, which seems to be an anomaly.
1. 10. GALEN, de Simpl. medic., viii. 19/7, makes the same remark about the juice of the τιβύμαλλος (Diosc. iv. 162), viz. that if dropped on the skin it burns it.

VERSO

VERSO COL. I.

- (1) Eyebrow of Ra: ὀφρὺς ἡλίου. (2) Eyebrow of the moon. ὀφρὺς σελήνης. (3) These are some herbs.
 (4) *Heliogonon*. (5) *Selenogonon*. (6) These are some herbs.
 (7) Spurge, (8) which is that small herb that is in the gardens (9) and which exudes milk. (10) If you put its milk on a man's skin, (11) it causes a blister.

VERSO COL. II.

- (1) *Chamaemelon*. 'Clean-straw' is its name.
 (2) *Leucanthemon*. 'Prick-horse' (?) is its name.
 (3) *Crinanthemon*. 'None is better than I' is its name.
 (4) *Chrysanthemon*. 'Fine-face' is its name, otherwise

COL. II.

1. 1. χαμαίμηλον, chamomile (synonym of ἀνθεμὶς in Diosc. iii. 144, of παρθέμιον, ib. 145).

ihw-w'b = **ⲧⲟⲩ** + **ⲟⲩⲏⲁ** (?), 'clean hay,' probably on account of the scent. According to Apul. c. 24 *thaboris* (MS. var. *tuoris*) was the Egyptian name of the plant χαμαίμηλον (WIEDEMANN, Altaeg. Wörter v. Klass. Aut. umschr., p. 22).

1. 2. λευκανθεμον: synonym of ἀνθυλλίς, ἀνθεμὶς, παρθέμιον, Diosc. iii. 143-145, but none of these plants seem to suit the Egyptian name *šg htr*, 'prick(?)-horse.' Cf. **ⲩⲩⲟⲕ**, fodere, and Ar. **ⲉⲗⲁ**, 'prick.'

1. 3. κρινάνθεμον is said to be the houseleek; perhaps its occurrence in Diosc. iii. 127, as synonym of ἡμεροκαλλίς, gives a better explanation.

1. 4. χρυσάνθεμον, Diosc. iv. 58 = *Chrysanthemum coronarium*. The name also occurs as a synonym for ἀρτεμισία (ib. iii. 117) χρυσοκόμη, ἐλίχρυσον, and αἰζῶον τὸ μέγα (ib. iv. 55, 57, 88).

t hrr-t nb: cf. LEMM, Cypr. v. Ant., 12 a, 13, and p. 64, περρηρε (*sic*) **ⲙⲡⲏⲟⲩⲏⲁ**. The Hawara wreaths contained specimens, PETRIE, Hawara, p. 53.

5. n p s-qlm te-f gbe't nht pe-f h 'kf
6. te-f hrre't n nb te-f gbe't m qty gryn^cthemwn
7. p m^cknesy^c
8. *μανεσια*
9. w^c 'ny n ty e-f km m qty
10. stem e'r-k nt-f e-f km
11. *μαγνης* p m^cknes nt 'nh hr 'n-w-f
12. *μακνης* e'r-k hyt-f e-f km
13. p m^cnes n rm hr 'n-w-f
14. n t 'n-tsyke e'r-k hyt-f
15. hr 'r-f t 'w snf a bl
16. a t pe-k zz
17. w^ct *επυε* nte-k ws[-s(?)] n *μενεεβ(?)*
18. nte-k nt-s erme qt I:t n *απωε*
19. erme w^ct *ε(?)ερωλ* nte-k . . .
20. nte-k t w^ct

VERSO COL. III.

1. phre[-t a shy n fy]
2. pr-w zph n(?) pr(?)-mnt sym(?) n *κλο*
3. nt-w n w^c sp 'r m bnn t a p 'rp(?)
4. *φηκλης*
5. w^c 'ny e-f wbh pe e-f m qty
6. g'rb'n^c wn ke w^c e.hr 'r-w 'r-f

l. 7. *m^cknesy^c* is magnetic iron ore: cf. Diosc. v. 147; PLIN., H. N., 36. 25.

l. 10. *e-f km*: here *km* is probably pseudo-participle, but in l. 12 infinitive.

l. 11. *m^cknes nt 'nh* = *μάγνης ζών*, frequently referred to by ALEXANDER TRALLIANUS (ap. Fabricius, Bibl. gr. Hamburg, 1724, t. xii), e.g. p. 640 in prescriptions.

hr 'n-w-f: cf. l. 13, it is probably an imperfect sentence, unless it means 'it is imported.'

l. 13. *m^cnes n rm*: perhaps 'human magnes,' on account of the blood. Cf. PLIN., H. N., 36. 25, where the haematites magnes of Zimiris in Aethiopia is described as sanguinem reddens si teratur. He also

said 'the gold flower' (5) of the wreath-seller; its leaf is strong, its stem is cold (?), (6) its flower is golden; its leaf is like *crinanthemon*.

(7) Magnesia, (8) *manesia*. (9) A stone of black like (10) stibium; when you grind it, it is black.

(11) *Magnes*. Magnesia viva; it is brought (i.e. imported ?).

(12) *Maknes*. When you scrape it, it is black.

(13) *Maknes* of man. It is brought (14) from India (?); when you scrape it (15) it exudes blood.

(16) To drug (?) your enemy; (17) an *apshe*-beetle (?); you burn it with styrax (?), (18) you pound it together with one drachma of apple (19) and a and you (20) and you put a

VERSO COL. III.

(1) Medicament [for a catalepsy (?). Gall of ceras]tes, (2) pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*. (3) Grind them together, make into a ball, put it into wine(?), and drink (?).

(4) Lees of wine. (5) It is a white stone like (6) gal-

speaks of magnes mas and femina, the former being strongly magnetic and of reddish colour; and W. MAX MÜLLER has suggested to us that *n m* may here be for ἀνδρείος.

I. 14. *n-syke* = Ἰνδική (MAX MÜLLER). For Coptic forms of the name cf. LEMM., Kl. Kopt. Stud. ii. (Bull. de l'Acad. St. Petersbourg, x. 405).

I. 16. Probably the word is that in 23/1.

I. 17. *empe*: cf. the beetle *ḫḫy-t* of ch. xxxvi of the Book of the Dead.

II. 19-20. REUVENS' tracing and the facsimile show many scraps in the last lines, but they are too vague to be legible.

COL. III.

I. 1. Restored from 24/27.

I. 4. *φέλη*, 'lees of wine,' 'salt of tartar' (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 51, who gives references).

I. 6. *g-rḥ-n*: probably χαλβάνη, galbanum, the resinous sap of Bubo galbanum L., a plant of the fennel tribe used in medicine: see Diosc.

iii. 87. Cf. also *ḫapḥan*, Costum dulce, *حلو الحشيش*, Kircher, 186.

7. n sgewe p ky n rh-s
8. ar-f z nte-f n m^c-t pe e^r-k nt w^c hm
9. hr mw nte-k ths-f a p h^cr
10. n w^c rm n w^c-t hte hm hr ^r-f
11. ht(?) p h^cr
12. pe-f rn n mt-t wyⁿⁿ(?) *αφροσεληνον*
13. z^h n ^h w^c ^{ny} pe e-f wb^h
14. phr-t a ty ^{re} s-hm-t mr hwt θθ-t n šnt-t
15. nt hr ^{by} ths hnt-f (*sic*) n^m-f
16. nte-k str erme t s-hm-t
17. z^h n ^h w^c ^{ny} e-f wb^h pe e-f m qty
18. yl e-f h^yt n pke sp-sn m qty ^rseny^{gwn}

VERSO COL. IV.

1. phre-t n msze e-f n mw
2. hm zf hr ^{rp} e-f nfr
3. nte-k t ar-f bn-s šty n h-t
4. nte-k h^y(t?) hm w^c-t(?) zf(?) hr ^{rp}
5. nte-k t ar-f a hw IV
6. *σαλαματρα*
7. w^c-t h^fle^c hm
8. e-s n ^{wn} n k^rfyne
9. e mn-te-s rt-t
10. tp n sr κεφαλεκη rn-f
11. w^c sym e-f m qty w^c-t bw n šmr hwt

1. 7. *sgewe*. MAX MÜLLER (Rec. tr., viii. 174) suggests that σκευή may have the meaning 'quick-lime,' though this sense is not found in the dictionaries.

1. 12. *wyⁿⁿ* (?): cf. 4/7.

αφροσεληνον = *αφροσέλινος*, Diosc. v. 158, another name for *σεληνίτης λίθος*, selenite or foliated sulphate of lime (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 51, with reffs.).

ll. 14-16. These lines are repeated in V. 13/10-11.

1. 18. *^rseny^{gwn}* = *ἀρσενικόν*, yellow orpiment, i. e. sulphide of arsenic: cf. Diosc. v. 120. ALEX. TRALL., u. s., p. 632, mentions it in a prescription for gout.

banum. There is another sort which is made (7) into lime (?). The way to know it (8) that it is genuine is this. You grind a little (9) with water; you rub it on the skin (10) of a man for a short time; then it (11) removes the skin. (12) Its name in Greek (?) ἀφροσέληνον, (13) 'foam of the moon.' It is a white stone.

(14) A medicament for making a woman love a man: fruit (?) of acacia; (15) grind with honey, anoint his phallus with it, (16) you (*sic*) lie with the woman.

(17) 'Foam of the moon'; this is a white stone like (18) glass, (when?) it is rubbed into fragments like orpiment.

VERSO COL. IV.

(1) Medicament for an ear that is watery. (2) Salt, heat with good wine; (3) you apply to it after cleansing (?) it first. (4) You scrape salt, heat with wine; (5) you apply to it for four days.

(6) σαλαμάνδρα, (7) a small lizard (8) which is of the colour of chrysolite. (9) It has no feet.

(10) 'Ram's horn,' κεφαλική is its name, (11) a herb which is like a wild fennel bush; (12) its leaf and its stem

COL. IV.

l. 1. The cross x at the beginning of sections in this and the next column seems intended to catch the eye in the crowded writing on the original—see the facsimile.

Flux from the ears: cf. Pap. Eb. 91/3.

l. 7. *w^c.t* (?). The sign in the original is like *hmt*, 'bronze,' and scarcely like *w^c.t*.

l. 8. *k^{er}.yne* = καλαίνη, chrysolite, greenish-yellow: cf. GOODWIN, Cambridge Essays, 1852, p. 44 (B. M. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 197), and KRALL, Pap. Rain. Mitth., iv. 141.

l. 9. The σαλαμάνδρα of Diosc. ii. 67 has feet.

l. 10. *tp n sr*: probably κριός Diosc. ii. 126 = Cicer arietinum, PLINY, Nat. Hist. xviii. 32. See SPRENGEL, ad loc.

l. 11. *šmr hwt* = *שמר ברי*, TATTAM, Lex. from MS. Par. 44, p. 340. The Semitic word is interesting.

12. te-f gbe:t pe-f h zq^c m qty
13. p mr-rm e^cr-k nt-f e-f šwy nte-k sšf-f(?)
14. nte-k ^cr-f n kser-^co-n nte-k ty-f a šh nb
15. hr lk-f ταμονιακη
16. hr rt-s m qty slom(?)
17. n te-f gbe:t ne-f pr-w t-qty:t
18. m qty tp n sr e-f θ
19. swre:t hm n pe-f ph(?)

VERSO COL. V.

1. phre:t a(?) ^crz snf mw n h^cp(?)^c-^co
2. hr hnqe nte-k t swr-s t s-hm:t n^cm-f n twe
3. e b^c-r te-s wm hr ^ch-f
4. p ky a rh-s n s-hm:t z e-s ^cwr:t e^c-r-k t ^cre
5. t s-hm:t ty-s m^c a hr py sym nt hry ^cn
6. hr rhwe a^c-re twe hp nte-k gm p sym
7. e-f šhl^clt bn e-s a ^cwr:t e^c-r-k gm-t-f
8. e-f wtwt e-s a ^cwr:t
9. phre:t a ht(?) snfe gbe:t n šyš^c
10. gbe:t n hmt-^cf e-f knn nt t
11. ar-k e^c-r-k str erme t s-hm:t k-t hl
12. hzn shy n *σζαε* nt hr
13. ^crp ^cs n sty t ar-k e^c-r-k str erme-s
14. ασφοδελος
15. ke-z a mzwł hwt

l. 13. *p mr rm*: cf. φιλάνθρωπος, synonym of ἀπαρίμη, Diosc. iii. 94, a bedstraw 'cleavers' (προσέχεται δὲ καὶ ἡματίαις, Diosc. ib.).

šl-f(?): cf. *σλφελ*, cribrare (?).

l. 14. *kseron* = ξηρόν, as suggested by MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 173.

l. 15. ἀμμωνιακή: cf. DIOD. iii. 88, and above.

l. 16. *slom*: perhaps = *σλωα*, μολόχη, a mallow.

COL. V.

l. 1. *h^cp(?)^c-^co*, 'great Nile,' as name of some perhaps very juicy plant: cf. V. 33/5 for the reading.

ll. 4-8. A similar prescription in the nineteenth dynasty, Br., Rec., ii. pl. 107: cf. RENOUE, A. Z., 1873, 123, for recent parallels.

are incised like (13) the 'love-man' plant; you pound it when it is dry, you gather (?) it, (14) you make it into a dry powder; you apply it to any wound; then it is cured.

Styrax, (16) it grows like *slo*m (?) (17) as to its leaf; its seed is twisted (18) like the 'ram's horn' plant, it bearing (19) a small spine at its end.

VERSO COL. V.

(1) A medicament to stop blood: juice of 'Great Nile (?)' plant (2) together with beer; you make the woman drink it in the morning (3) before she has eaten; then it stops.

(4) The way to know it of a woman whether she is enceinte: you make the woman (5) pass her water on this herb as above again (6) in the evening; when the morning comes and if you find the plant (7) scorched (?), she will not conceive; if you find it (8) flourishing, she will conceive.

(9) A medicament to stop blood: leaf of *sheisha*, (10) leaf of 'fly-bronze,' fresh; pound, put (it) (11) on you, you lie with the woman. Another: myrrh, (12) garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with (13) old scented wine; put (it) on you, you lie with her.

(14) Asphodelos, (15) otherwise called 'wild onion.'

l. 4. *rh-s . . . s*: a characteristic construction in demotic: cf. II Kham. vi. 21. 27.

l. 9. *ht (?)*. This seems a curious use of the word.

l. 10. *hmt-f*. This looks like the literal translation of some foreign name. It is clearly a plant-name; but *χαλκόμυια*, which it suggests, is found only as the name of a kind of fly: cf. our 'corn-bluebottle.'

l. 13. *rp s*, 'old wine,' frequently prescribed in ALEX. TRALL.: cf. Corp. Pap. Rain. II. 183.

n sty = *οἶνος εὐώδης*, Pap. Bibl. Nat. I. 1837.

l. 14. *ἀσφοδελός*, *φύλλα ἔχων πρᾶσφ μεγάλα ὅμοια*, Diosc. ii. 199.

l. 15. *χελκεβε*: evidently some bulbous plant like the last; called *βοτανήν χελκεβει* in Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. XLVI. 70. Cf. perhaps *γέλυς*.

16. $\chi\epsilon\lambda\kappa\epsilon\beta\epsilon$

17. ke-z hzn hwt

VERSO COL. VI.

1. phre:t a t 'lk mw hr s-hm:t t hyt:t n phre:t hm
hr nhe nt . . . n-s(?) hw(?) II

2. bn-s p hw II phr n mh II-t psymytsy nte-k nt-f
erme w' hm n 'nzyr n s-nhe

3. m šs sp-sn nte-k t nhe n m' ar-f e-f nfr erme
w't swht nte-k nt-w nte-k 'ny w' ol(?)

4. n hbs(?) n 'yw e-f šm't nte-k sp-f n ty phre:t nte-s
zqm n t s't-eywe:t nte-s

5. y' n 'rp e-f <ne>nfr nte-k t p 'o-l n phre:t a
hry n'm-s nte-k s'y n'm-f n hn

6. a bl hn ty-s 'te:t n w't hte:t hm n p smt n p
mz n p hwt š' nte t phre:t

7. hlhl nte-k 'ny-t-f a bl nte-k h's š' rhwe a're rhwe
hp e'r-k sp w't qlme:t n 'by

8. n m' nte-k ty-f a hry n'm-s š' twe š' hw III
ke-z IV

VERSO COL. VII.

1. k't m-s-s mw n šwbe e-f lhm znf w' mw n msz n
qle:t znf w' a h p znf

2. n w' z nte-k t w' wth n 'rp e-f <ne>nfr a he-t-w
nte-s swr-f n mre:t e bap-s

3. wm nt nb n p t bn-s zqm n t s't-eywe:t a'r-s t
h't a're rhwe hp e'r-k t p 'l n

4. 'bye a hry n'm-s a h p nt hry š' hw VII k't
m-s-s e'r-k 'ny w't lwps nmy e'r-k t

COL. VI.

1. 1. The last signs must be *hw II*, 'two days': cf. l. 2. The group before this is unusual. The first sign may be $\mathfrak{A}$, the uterus, reading *k't* or *hm-t*(?) (Kah. Pap. V. 2 note), and the last two might stand for *n-s*, 'to her,' or for *n mn*, 'daily.'

(16) Khelkebe, (17) otherwise called 'wild garlic.'

VERSO COL. VI.

(1) A remedy to cure water in a woman. The first remedy: salt and oil; pound; apply to the vulva(?) daily(?) two days.

(2) After the two days, the second remedy: white lead, you pound it with a little pigment from an oil-dealer (3) very carefully; you put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg and pound them; you take a strip (4) of linen cloth which is fine-spun(?); you dip it in this medicament. She must bathe in the bath, she must (5) wash in good wine; you put the medicated strip on her; you draw(?) it in (and) (6) out of her vulva for a short time, like the phallus of a man, until the medicament (7) spreads(?); you remove it, you leave her till evening; when evening comes, you dip a bandage(?) in genuine honey, (8) you put it on her until morning, for three, otherwise said four, days.

VERSO COL. VII.

(1) Another to follow it: juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed down, one ladleful(?), water of the ears of a *khe*-animal, one ladleful(?) like the ladle (2) of a (wine-) cup; you add a *uteh*-measure of good wine to them; and she drinks it at midday, before she has (3) eaten anything whatever, after bathing in the bath, which she has done before; when evening comes, you put the rag(?) (4) with honey on her as above for seven days.

1. 2. *psymytsy*, as REVILLOUT pointed out, is *ψιμίθειον*, 'white lead': cf. ZOEGA, 626; DIOSC. v. 103.

5. X n wth n 'rp 's e-f hlk ar-s e'r-k t w't $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t
n bšwš e-f knn a h·t-f n θ

6. n twe š' mre't nte-s zqm n t s-t-eywe nte-s 'y a
bl nte-s swr-f a're rhwe

7. hp e'r-k t 'bye a hry n'm-s a h p nt hry 'n š'
hw VII

VERSO COL. VIII.

1. ποδακραν

2. e'r-k t hms p rm nte-k t š s'n hr rt-f n p rm

3. nte-k t š . . . m-s-f a rt-f hr 't-f e'r-k šn

4. p rm z hr-f stm š' hw III m-s-s e'r-k 'ny qpqp

5. e'r-k psy·t-f hr nhe n qwpre e'r-k ths rt-f

6. n'm-f e'r-k wh e'r-k 'ny qnt'e R'qt hr ell šw

7. hr sym n gyz e'r-k nt-w hr 'rp e'r-k slk-f n p bl

8. ny nte-k nyf m-s-f n r-k

VERSO COL. IX.

1. k·t

2. ευφορβιον I·t qt·t

3. πεπτερεως $\frac{1}{2}$ qt·t

4. περηθου sttr·t(?) I·t

5. αυταρχες sttr·t(?) I·t

6. sttr·t(?) I·t διοναπερον

7. mn 'rp sttr·t(?) VI

COL. VIII.

1. 5. *nhe n qwpre* = *ελαιον κύπρινον*, Diosc. i. 65; PLIN., H. N., 12. 51; 13. 1, 2; 23. 46, made from the seeds or leaves of *ή κύπρος*, *χούπερ*, KIRCHER, p. 179, *Lawsonia inermis*, the henna of the Arabs. The red dye made from the leaves is now the commonest cosmetic in the East, but was perhaps little known anciently. The oil frequently occurs in prescriptions in ALEX. TRALL.

1. 7. *sym n gyz*: lit. 'hand-plant,' with gloss *πυτάρταλος*, which no doubt stands for *πεντεδάκτυλος*, Diosc. iv. 42 = *πεντάφυλλον* (potentilla). According to LENZ, p. 702, it is still called in Greece by both names. Cf. PARTHEY, *Zauberpap.*, ii. 34. 40; Pap. bibl. nat. 287.

11. 7-8. *n p bl ny*: a curious construction, if correct.

COL. IX.

1. 3. *πεπτερεως* for *πεπέρεως*, 'pepper' (REUVENS, *Lettres*, i. p. 50), cf.

Another to follow: you take a new dish; you put (5) ten *uteh*-measures of old sweet wine on it; you put a half *kite* of fresh rue on it from (6) dawn till midday; let her bathe in the bath, and come out and drink it. When it is evening (7) you put honey on her as above again for seven days.

VERSO COL. VIII.

(1) Gout. (2) You make the man sit down; you place clay under the feet of the man; (3) you put . . . to it (?), his feet resting on it; you ask (4) the man, saying, 'Has it hearkened?' for three days. Thereafter you take an ant (?), (5) you cook it in oil of henna; you anoint his feet (6) with it. When you have finished, you take Alexandrian figs and dried grapes (7) and potentilla; you pound them with wine; you anoint him besides (?) (8) these; and you blow on him with your mouth.

VERSO COL. IX.

(1) Another: (2) 1 *kite* of Euphorbia, (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of pepper, (4) 1 stater (?) of pyrethrum (?), (5) 1 stater (?) of adarces, (6) native sulphur, 1 stater (?), (7) any wine 6

Diosc. ii. 188; and for its use as a magico-medical ingredient, WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 25; and below V. 14/3; SIGISMUND, Aromata, p. 41.

1. 4. *περηθου* = *πυρέθρον*, apparently an umbellifer hot to the taste: cf. Diosc. iii. 78.

1. 5. *ανταρχες* = *αδαρχης*, Diosc. v. 136, a salt efflorescence on marsh plants. It is noteworthy that these four ingredients, spurge, pepper, *πυρέθρον*, and *αδαρχης*, are all found with many others in a prescription for gout given by ALEX. TRALL., lib. xi. p. 628.

1. 6. *διοναπερον* = *θείον άπυρον* (REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50), native sulphur. For its use cf. Brit. Mus. Gr. Pap. CXXI. l. 168; ZOEGA, 626 **ени пѣтуща**. The **опанерон** of KIR. 203 = sulphur rubrum, is doubtless a corruption of the above.

8. nhe n m^ct . . . ntek nt-w
9. nte-k 'r-w n w^ct splelyn t a p m^c
10. nt šn n p rm

VERSO COL. X.

1. ke s a(?) rt-f n p-et'grwn
2. e'r-k sh ny rn-w a w^c pq
3. n ht nge tren e'r-k ty-f
4. a w^c h'r n 'ywr nte-k mr-f a rt-f
5. n p rm n rn-f δερμα ελαφιον n t rt-t II-t
6. **θεμελιαραθεμε**
7. **οτρεμελρενοττιπε**
8. **αιοχθοτ**
9. **σεμελιαραθεμειοτ**
10. **καιοτ** my lk mn a.ms mn
11. n šn nb nt hn ne-f pt-w te-f rt-w II-t
12. hr ' -k-f e 'h my

VERSO COL. XI.

1. phre:t n rt(?) . . .
2. hzn 'lbwnt
3. 's
4. nhe n m^ct nt ths-f
5. n'm-f e-f šwy e'r-k y^c-f
6. n mw qbe hr lk-f
7. phre:t n rt-t e-f sk m šs sp-sn nfr sp-sn
8. e'r-k y^c rt-f n mw n šwbet
9. nte-k hyt-f m šs sp-sn hr rt-f
10. k-t 'lqw n . . . θθ n šnt:t
11. šew nt t ar-f

1. 9. *splelyn*: cf. ZOEGLA, 630 **σπλελελιν**, apparently a 'plaster' or 'poultice,' probably = **σπλήν**, **σπληνιον**.

staters(?); (8) genuine oil you pound them, (9) you make them into a poultice; apply to the part (10) which is painful of the man.

VERSO COL. X.

(1) Another talisman for the foot of the gouty man: (2) you write these names on a strip (3) of silver or tin; you put it (4) on a deer-skin; you bind it to the foot (5) of the man named, *δέρμα ἐλάφιον*, with the two feet. (6) *‘θεμβαραθεμ (7) ουρεμβρενουτιπε (8) αιοχθου (9) σεμ-μαραθεμμον (10) ναισου.* Let N. son of N. recover (11) from every pain which is in his feet and two legs.’ (12) You do it when the moon is in the constellation of Leo.

VERSO COL. XI.

(1) Remedy for a foot(?): (2) garlic, frankincense, (3) old (4) genuine oil; pound (together); anoint him (5) with it. When it is dry, you wash it (6) with cold water; then he recovers.

(7) Remedy for a foot which is much sprained(?); very excellent. (8) You wash his foot with juice of cucumber; (9) you rub it well on his foot.

(10) Another: sycomore figs(?) of . . .; fruit(?) of acacia, (11) persea fruit(?); pound (together); apply (it) to him.

COL. X.

1. 1. *ῥ-εἰῖgrwn* = *ποδαγρών*.

1. 2. Cf. ALEX. TRALL, lib. xi. p. 656, for a similar method of dealing with gout. Such charms are as common in ancient times as in modern.

1. 3. Tin is frequently used for similar purposes: cf. WESSELY, N. Gr. Zauberpap., p. 11.

1. 5. *ν τ ρ τ τ II·t*, that is with the two feet of the skin.

1. 12.  the knife is the sign of the Zodiac for Leo (BRUGSCH, Nouv. Rech., p. 22, Stobart tables, &c.): cf. 5/11 and note 1/12.

COL. XI.

1. 10. *twne* is perhaps the reading of the imperfect group.

VERSO COL. XII.

1. ke-z wr šcr'y(?)
2. 'nk pe wr š(?)-'y nt 'r hyq a t rpy-t 'ot nb
qwow(?)
3. ll mw ll p mw n sn-t(?) p nt n r-y p 't n H-t-hr-t
šw mr
4. p nt n ht-y ht-y pz pe ht mr p(?) wħe e-ħr 're 'm-t
5. 'y-f a 'm-mw wħe e-ħr 're wnš-t 'y a wnš wħe
e-ħr 're wħr-t 'y-t-f
6. a wħr p wħ nt a p ntr šr spd(?) 'y-y-t-f a mw-s-t-s
e-f 'n-n' a t sbt-t n nyn're-t-s
7. a wħ mw n [p]e-f ntr pe-f ħry pe-f y'h-'o s'b'h-'o
pe-f glemwr' mwse plerwbe s my
8. 'br's'ks senkl'y my 're mn a'ms mn 'y-f a mn a'ms
mn
9. my 'r-s w' pz w' mr w' lyb 'o e-s qte
m-s-f a m' nb p ħyt
10. n y'h-'o s'b'hw h-'o-ry-'o-n(?) p'n-t-rg'-t-r 'n-t-rg'-t-r
'rb'
11. nth'k' th'l-'o th'l'ks z te-y ħwy ħyt a'r-tn

VERSO COL. XIII.

1. n n ntr-w 'y-w n Kmy mħ t-t-tn n st-t šht-t (bk-f)
ħwy-t-f a p ħt n mn a'ms mn
2. ħbq n'm-s nge 'yħ θ n ty-s qt-t mge rm 'mnt my
're p 'y

COL. XII.

1. 1. A gloss on l. 2.
1. 2. *qwow* (the first *w* may be a determinative ¶). BRÜGSCHE, Dict.
Geog., 819, identifies this with the modern Qau (Antacopolis). But
Qau is derived from Copt. $\pi\kappa\omega\sigma$, which in its turn is perhaps from the
hierogl. *dw-q*.
1. 3. *p 't*: obesity is a mark of beauty in the East.
1. 5. *'y-f*: cf. note 21/35. 'y in this line must be an error for *'y-f*.
'y-t-f at the end of the line must be the same word: cf. Boh. $\alpha\tau\sigma$ and
 $\alpha\tau\sigma$, and *ħsy-k* 20/20, beside *ħsy-t-k* 20/19.

VERSO COL. XII.

(1, 2) 'I am the great Shaay (otherwise said, the great Sheray?), who makes magic for the great Triphis, the lady of Kooou(?) (3) Lol Milol, the water of thy brother(?) is that which is in my mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, is (4) that which is in my heart; my heart yearns, my heart loves. The(?) longing such as a she-cat (5) feels for a male cat, a longing such as a she-wolf feels for a he-wolf, a longing such as a bitch feels for (6) a dog, the longing which the god, the son of Sopd(?), felt for Moses going to the hill of Ninaretos (7) to offer water unto his god, his lord, his Yaho, Sabaho, his Glemura-muse, Plerube . . S Mi (8) Abrasax, Senklai—let N. daughter of N. feel it for N. son of N.; (9) let her feel a yearning, a love, a madness great, she seeking for him (going) to every place. The fury (10) of Yaho, Sabaho, Horyo . . Pantokrator, Antorgator, (11) Arbanthala, Thalo, Thalax : for I cast fury upon you

VERSO COL. XIII.

(1) 'of the great gods of Egypt: fill your hands with flames and fire; employ it, cast it on the heart of N. daughter of N. (2) Waste her away, thou(?) demon; take her sleep, thou(?) man of Amenti; may the house

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1. 6. Cf. Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος ὑψίστου, quoted from the Orac. Sibyll.
 2. 247 by PARTHEY, 2 Gr. Zauberpap., p. 58. *s-t* is **ch*, 'seat.'
 1. 7. *wh mw* : very common as a title equivalent to *χοαχότης*.
 [*p*]*e-f* : this correction of the text seems almost certain.
plerube perhaps = πλήρωμα.

COL. XIII.

1. 2. *nge* . . . *nge* must be *πσι* : *πξε* before the subject, though here before the imperative, which is not allowed in Coptic (W. MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., xiii. 151).

3. n py-s yt ty-s mw-t n ny-s m^c nte e-s n he-t-w . . .
š e h-^co-h n st-t
4. ar-s e-s z ze n-ny e-s <h> qrmrm n bl z ne-^yy z
nk w^ct ryt-t n Gb
5. Hr r(?)^co-n p r^c rn-yt prq rn-s a bl n Kmy š^c hw
XL bt XXXIII CLXXV n hw p zq-r n VI n bt
6. gyre thee(?) pysytw ek-^co(?)^c-ymy t^cm sp VII
hs n *~~aece~~* w^c hm n mw-t n o-t
7. hn^c s^csmrym(?) p-t VII-t n hs n *~~sece~~* shy n
~~sece~~ n hwt h-t n yp-t n nhe
8. nte-k st-t-w n glm n mh nte-k š ar-f n sp VII
n hw VII nte-k ths hn-t-k
9. n^m-f nte-k str erme t s-hm-t nte-k ths ht-s n t
s-hm-t n
10. a t re s-hm-t mr py (*sic*) hy θθ-t n šnt-t nt hr
bye nte-k ths hn-t-k n^m-f
11. nte-k str erme t s-hm-t a t re s-hm-t mr
nq-s hbete n r-f n w^c htr hwt nte-k ths
12. hn-t-k n^m-f nte-k str erme t s-hm-t

VERSO COL. XIV.

1. a t
2. bn (δραχμη) I
3. *~~nnnp~~* (δραχμη) I
4. mh n knwt(?) e-f šwy (δραχμη) IV
5. s^cterw (δραχμη) IV
6. nt n phre šwy a^cry yp-t n^m-f
7. a h p nt e^cr-k swne n^m-f erme s-hm-t nb

1. 3. *n he-t-w*. Note this Coptic form **ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲱⲧ** instead of the usual demotic *hn-w* lost in Coptic. In this particular phrase, however, *n^m-w*, not *hn-w*, is usual.

1. 4. *n-ny . . . ne-y*. It is suggested that, in spite of the strange orthography, **ⲛⲁⲓ** misereri is here intended.

1. 5. It is difficult to see what is intended by the numbers.

1. 6. The first words of this line have been read by PLEYTE (P. S. B. A.,

(3) of her father and her mother (and) the places where she is; call out "There is flame of fire (4) to her," while she speaks, saying, "Have mercy(?)," she standing outside and murmuring "Have mercy(?)." For I am an agent(?) of Geb, (5) Horus Ron Phre is my name, tear her name out of Egypt for forty days, thirty-three months, 175 days, the complement of six months, (6) Gyre, Thee, Pysytu, Ekoimi, Atam.' Seven times. Dung of crocodile, a little placenta(?) of a she-ass, (7) together with sisymbrium, seven *oipi* of antelope's dung, the gall of a male goat, and first-fruits of oil; (8) you heat them with stalks of flax. You recite to it seven times for seven days; you anoint your phallus (9) with it, you lie with the woman; you anoint the breast(?) of the woman also.

(10) To cause a woman to love her husband: pods of acacia, pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it (11) and lie with the woman.

To make a woman *amare coitum suum*. Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

VERSO COL. XIV.

(1) To make (2) alum, 1 drachm, (3) pepper, 1 drachm, (4) *mhnknwt*, dried, 4 drachms, (5) satyrium, 4 drachms. (6) Pound together into a dry medicament; do your business with it (7) like that which you know with any woman.

v. 152) as κύριε θεέ πιστέ ἐξήμι' Ἀδάμ, 'O divine faithful Lord, I cast out Adam.'

l. 10. *py*: error for *py-s*.

COL. XIV.

l. 5. *sterw* = σαρπύιον, MAX MÜLLER, Rec. tr., viii. 176-177. For the plant (which is not identified) see Diosc. iii. 133. It is a venereal stimulant.

VERSO COL. XV.

1. n rn·w n n ntr·w nt hr wḥe-k-s e·r-k ʾn·n(?) a
ny ʿze a ḥn swr(?)
2. mʿskelly mʿskell-ʿo phnwgentʿb-ʿo
3. hreks(?)sygth-ʿo perygthe-ʿo-n perypegʿneks
4. ʿre-ʿo-bʿsʿgr ke-zm ʿo-bʿsʿgr
5. py rn hr z-k-f hr t ḥt n zy e-f n·nʿ a byk e-tbe
n rn·w
6. n **ΔΙΟΚΡΟΠΟΣ** nt n ḥn nte-f wzy e·r-k š-w a p z(?)
n **ΔΔΩΝΑΙ** nt šḥ
7. n bl e-f a ʾr wʿt bkʿy·i(?) ʿo-t e-f ny ʿze a ḥn

VERSO COL. XVI.

1. ʾrmy-ʿo-wt (ke-zm **ΑΡΜΙΟΥ**) sythʿny wthʿny
2. ʾryʾmwsy s-ʿo-br-tt byrbʿt my[s]yrythʿt
3. a-ms-thʿrmythʿt a-wy mn a-ms mn a bl ḥn ny-s
y·w
4. nt e-s nʾm-w a ʿy nb nte mn a-ms mn nʾm-w e-s
mr[t]-f e-s lby m-s-f
5. e-s ʾr n p šp n ḥt-f n nw nb e·r-k šḥ ny n
rʾw ḥl a wʿt tys·t
6. n š-stn e-s wʿb nte-k ty-s a wʿ ḥbs nmy e-f wʿb
e-f mḥ n nḥe n mʿt n ⟨p⟩
7. pe-k ʿy n θ n rhwe a twe e·r-k gm p fʿe n t
s-ḥm·t a ty-f a ḥn p sʿl nfr-f (*sic*)

COL. XV.

1. 1. GROFF has written an elaborate study on this column in *Mém. de l'Inst. Égypt.* iii. 377; many of his readings are wrong, but it remains very difficult to read and interpret.

wḥe-k (?): the second sign is imperfect; *wšte-k* (?).

ʾn·n (?): cf. l. 5, *n·n* (?).

ʿze: cf. 3/29.

swr (?). Can this be really a trace of *hn*, to be restored *n šn hn*, 'by vase-questioning'?

1. 2. For a similar list of names see Pap. Gr. Lugd., Pap. V., col. 9, l. 10.

1. 5. Can **εἴθε** have the meaning 'instead of'?

1. 6. The Dioscuri were the patron gods of sailors.

VERSO COL. XV.

(1) The names of the gods whom you want (?) when you are about (?) to bring in a criminal [by vase-questioning?] (2) Maskelli, Maskello, Phnoukentabao, (3) Hreksyktho, Perykthon, Perypeganex, (4) Areobasagra, otherwise Obasagra.

(5) This name you utter it before a ship that is about (?) to founder on account of the names (6) of Dioscoros, which are within, and it is safe.

You recite them to the bowl (?) of Adonai, which is written (7) outside. It will do a mighty work (?) bringing in a criminal.

VERSO COL. XVI.

(A row of figures, viz. 3 scarabs, 3 hawks, and 3 goats.)

(1) 'Armioout (otherwise Armiouth), Sithani, Outhani, (2) Aryamnoi, Sobrtat, Birbat, Misirythat, (3) Amsie-tharmithat: bring N. daughter of N. out of her abodes (4) in which she is, to any house and any place which N. son of N. is in; she loving him and craving for him, (5) she making the gift of his desire (?) at every moment.' You write this in myrrh ink on a strip (6) of clean fine linen, and you put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, (7) in your house from evening till morning. If you find a hair of the woman to put in the wick, it is excellent.

Bowl (?) of Adonai. Perhaps reference may be made to the familiar story of Nectanebus and the magic bowl in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

l. 7. *n bl*: see note on 18/6.

COL. XVI.

l. 7. For the use of hair in Egyptian magic, cf. the actual specimen mentioned by CHABAS, *Pap. Mag. Harris*, p. 184.

nfr-f or *nfr pe*: cf. 23/8.

VERSO COL. XVII.

1. w^c r a ʔny [s-ḥm-t?] n ḥwt a ḥb rswe-t ke-z a pre
rswe-t ʕn

2.

3. e-ʔr-k šḥ ny a w^ct gbe-t n ʔqyr nte-k ḥ^c ḥr zz-k
e-ʔr-k n-q<te>-t-k ḥr

4. ʔr-f rswe-t nte-f ḥb rswe-t e-f ḥp e-ʔr-k a ʔr-f a ḥb
rswe-t e-ʔr-k ty-s a r-f n w^c qs

5. ḥr ʔr-f ʔny s-ḥm-t ʕn e-ʔr-k šḥ py rn a t kbe-t n
ʕqyr n snf n *𐤀𐤁* nge *𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕* (sic)

6. nte-k t p f^ce n t s-ḥm-t a ḥn t gbe-t nte-k ty-s a
r-f n p qs nte-k šḥ n p ʔytn n py rn z a-wy

7. mn t šr-t n mn a p ʕy n p m^c n str nte mn p šr
n t mn nʔm-f

8. *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγωγίμων*

VERSO COL. XVIII.

1. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕

2. 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕

3. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕

4. wnḥ-k aʔr-y t mn p ntr

5. nte-k sze erme-y ḥr p nt e-y šn-t-k

6. ḥrr-f n mt-t m^ct e bnp-k z n-y

7. mt-t n ʕze *𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕* . . . II

8. *𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕* . . . II

9. nt ḥr snf n *𐤕(?)𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕*

10. ʔr m bnn-t nte-k ḥyt-f ḥr ʔrte

11. n ms-ḥwt t a yr-t-f n wnm nte-k ʕš(?) ar-f(?)

12. a ḥr <p> ḥbs nb nge p ḥpš n rhwe

VERSO COL. XIX.

1. w^c r n ʔny s-ḥm-t(?) a bl n py-s ʕy ḥr ʔny-k w^c
. . . . ce

COL. XVII.

1. 8. *ἀγωγίμων* = *ἀγώγιμον*. Cf. REUVENS, Lettres, i. p. 50 and refs.
there; also Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. CXXI. 295, 300, and p. 115.

VERSO COL. XVII.

(1) A spell to bring [a woman] to a man (and?) to send dreams, otherwise said, to dream dreams, also.

(2) (A line of symbols or secret signs.)

(3) You write this on a rush-leaf and you place (it) under your head; you go to sleep; then (4) it makes dreams and it sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you put it (the leaf) on the mouth of a mummy. (5) It brings a woman also; you write this name on the rush-leaf with the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe (?); (6) and you put the hair of the woman in the leaf, and put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you write on the earth with this name, saying: 'Bring (7) N. daughter of N. to the house in the sleeping-place in which is N. son of N.' (8) Now it is also an *αγωγίμων*.

VERSO COL. XVIII.

(1) ' *ἡροῦθεος* (2) *εκτοῦλα* (3) *ἡρρεφει*.

(4) 'Reveal thyself to me, god N., (5) and speak to me concerning that which I shall ask thee, (6) truthfully, without telling me (7) falsehood.' Saffron, 2 (measures), (8) stibium of Koptos, 2 (measures), (9) pound together with blood of a lizard, (10) make into a ball, and rub it with milk (11) of one who has born a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you make invocation (?) to him (?) (12) before any lamp or the 'Shoulder' constellation in the evening.

VERSO COL. XIX.

(1) A spell for bringing a woman out of her house.

COL. XVIII.

l. 8. **στηλιακήτ** = *στιμμί κοπτικόν*. Cf. Brit. Mus. Gk. Pap. XLVI. 67, CXXI. 336; Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 1071.

l. 10. *rite n ms-hwt*: common in Old Egyptian prescriptions. Cf. *γάλα ἀρρενοτόκου γυναικός*, Diosc. v. 99, likewise in connexion with *στιμμί*.

2. n ʾm-t (*sic*) n ḥwt nte-k t šwy-f nte-k ʾny wʿ qbh(?)

3. n ḥsy nte-k mnqe wʿ kswr e ḥ-t-f šfe n nb

4. n my e(?) r-w wn e ḥr-f n wn a wn nʾm-w eʾr-k t n(?) nk ḥr(?)-f

5. eʾr-k wh a ʾny s-ḥm-t n-k n nw nb eʾr-k wh p kswr n p ḥrw n wʿ ḥbs

6. e-f mh eʾr-k z ar-f(?) z a-wy mn t šr mn a py mʿ

7. nt e-y nʾm-f n tkr ḥn ny wnet-w n p-hw ḥr ʾw-s ty hte-t

VERSO COL. XX.

1. a ty lk yr-t-bn(?) n rm ʾMn py ḥwt ḥy py ḥwt ʾkš ʾr ʾy a ḥry

2. n mrwe a Kmy gm Ḥr pe šr e-f fy-t-f a hn rt-f a.e-f škʿ-f

3. a zz-f n III r n mt-t ʾkš e-f gm mn a.ms mn a.e-f fy-t-f a hn

4. rt-f a.e-f škʿ-f a zz-f n III r n mt-t ʾkš g(?)ntyny-tnty

5. nʾ qwqwby . . . khe ʾkhʾ

6. a wʿ ḥm n nḥe nte-k t ḥm ḥlyn ar-f nte-k ths p rm nt ḥr yr-t-bn(?) nʾm-f

7. nte-k sh ny ʿn a wʿ zm nmy nte-k ʾr-f n mze a ḥet-f nte-k py byl n t pʾt n n sh

COL. XIX.

1. 2. *qbḥ*: the reading of the first sign is doubtful. The determinative would lead one to expect ʾbḥ, 'tooth,' but it is difficult to read so. *qbḥ* would perhaps be *koḥg*, 'tendo,' or it may be the name of some animal which is to be drowned.

COL. XX.

1. 1. *yr-t*(?), followed by det. or word-sign for evil, 'bad eye,' which might be either ophthalmia or 'evil-eye,' *εἰρεφθονε*. The prescription perhaps favours the former.

1. 2. Amon was the god of Meroe: cf. II Kham. iv. 15.

You take a (2) of a wild she-cat ; you dry it ; you take a heel-tendon (?) [of a (?) which has been (?)] (3) drowned ; you fashion a ring, the body (?) bezel) of which is variegated (?) with gold [in the form of two (?)] (4) lions, their mouths being open, the face of each being turned to the other ; you put some its face (?). (5) If you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you place the ring on the upper part of a lamp, (6) which is lighted ; you say, 'Bring N. daughter of N. to this place (7) in which I am, quickly in these moments of to-day.' Then she comes at once.

VERSO COL. XX.

(1) To heal ophthalmia (?) in a man. '[Ho ?] Amon, this lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down (2) from Meroe to Egypt, he finds my son Horus betaking himself as fast as his feet move (?), and he injured (?) him (3) in his head with three spells in Ethiopian language, and he finds N. son of N. and carries him as fast as his feet move (?), (4) and injures his head with three spells in Ethiopian language : Gentini, Tentina, (5) Kwkwy, [Ak]khe, Akha.' (6) (Say it) to a little oil : add salt and nasturtium seed to it, you anoint the man who has ophthalmia (?) with it. (7) You also write this on a new papyrus ; you make it into a written amulet on his body :—'Thou art this eye of heaven' in the writings (followed by an eye with rays, as drawn in the papyrus).

The spell seems very corrupt, but some sense may be made of it by supplying *e-f* before *gm*.

l. 3. *a hn rt-f*, 'according to the movement (?) of his feet.'

l. 6. *hlyn*, *ϣλλει*, Sah. in Peyron = *κερδαμων* (*κάρδαμον*, Diosc. ii. 184) *κερδαμωμο* (*καρδάμωμον*, ib. i. 5).

l. 7. *mze*: cf. II Kham. ii. 26 ; P. S. B. A., 1899, p. 269 ; perhaps connected with *μαγία*.

VERSO COL. XXI.

1.
2.
3.
4. t-nhs(?) 'nh-ṣm
5. nt ṛ(?) n p yṛ
6. smt yr-t-k n'm-f

VERSO COL. XXII.

1. [e-f] znt
2. tey-s [p kys nt ḥr ṛ-k(?)] ty-f a yr-t-k eṛ-k ṛn-
3. nṣ a p hn n šn wṣ-t-k wyt
4. ms-tme qs(?)-'nh s(?) . . . ḥrrw n šr-ṣo-t(?)
5. km nte *epero(?)ṣ pe snf n qwqwpt
6. nt . . . m bnn nte-k smt yr-t-k n'm-f ḥr mw
7. n elle n(?) Kmy(?) ḥr st n t(?)-nhs ḥr
8. nw-k a t ḥyb-t n ntr nb ntr-t nb
9. -f te-y ṣ n-tn n ntr-w ṣy nt ḥṣ-w erme p rṣ
t(?)semwks
10. ṛmp(?) p-yṣm-enpṣyṣ yb-ṣo-th yṣe sṣṣ-ṣo-th
11. a-[wn] n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ṣy nt ḥṣ-w erme p rṣ
my wn yr-t a p
12. [wy]n nte-y mṣ p ntr nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn ze
p s ṣblṣ
13. n[ṣth]ṣndlbṣ p ntr wr mṣṣṣṣ ṣn-t-ne ṣbyṣth
14. n snn(?) . . ṣe n-t-ṣtrṣperqmṣe Wsr ly
15. l[ṣ]m rn-f a-wn n-y sp-sn n ntr-w ṣy my wn yr-t
a p wyn
16. nt[e-y] mṣ p ntr nt šn n p-hw a-wn n-y sp-sn te-y
ḥwy ḥyt aṣ-r-tn n p ntr ṣo sp-sn
17. . . . nte(?) ne-ṣy(?) te-f pḥt-t nt 'nh ṣṣ z-t my
pḥt-w sp-sn n p rnn

COL. XXII.

1. 4. *šr-ṣo-t km-t* = the edible seed *šr-t km-t*, E. E. F. Paheri, Pl. III. top
ine; BRUGSCH, Wtb., 1405: cf. the white *šr-t ḥzz-t* from which beer was

VERSO COL. XXI.

(1-3) (Fragments) (4) of Ethiopia (?), *ankh-amu* flowers, (5) pound, make(?) of the river, (6) paint your eye with it.

VERSO COL. XXII.

(1) tested. (2) Behold [the ointment which you] put on your eye when you (3) approach the vessel of inquiry alone: green eye-paint, (4) stibium, *ges-ankh* (?), amulet of, flowers of black *sher-o* (?) (5) which are beans (?), blood of hoopoe, (6) pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice (7) of Egyptian (?) grapes, and *set-stone* (?) of Ethiopia; then (8) you see the shadow of every god and every goddess.

(9) Its 'I invoke you (plur.), ye great gods who shine with the sun, Themouks (10) Amp . . . Piam, Enpaia, Eiboth, Eiae, Sabaoth, (11) open(?) to me (*bis*), ye great gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the (12) light, and let me see the god who inquires to-day, hasten (*bis*); for the protection (13) Ablanathanalba, the mighty god, Marara, Atone, Abeiath, (14) N Senen (?), [Psh]oi, Zatra-perkemei, Osiris, (15) Lilam is his name. Open to me (*bis*), ye great gods, let my eyes be opened to the light, (16) and let me see the god who inquires to-day. Open to me (*bis*). I cast the fury on you (plur.) of the great (*bis*) god, (17) whose might is great (?),

prepared, ib., Suppl., 1200. Here the former is made equivalent to *ερεκος*, presumably *ἄρακος* (= *Vicia cracca* L., common vetch according to LENZ, Bot. d. alten Griechen u. Römer, p. 726), which was a common cultivated plant in Egypt. Cf. Oxyrhynchus Pap. II. cclxxx. 16, Tebtunis Pap. pass.; in Coptic Corp. Pap. Rain. II. p. 176 (ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲏ), Crum Copt. MSS. Fay. p. 78 verso, l. 35 (ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ).

1. 7. *elle n(?) Kmy(?)*: cf. ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲏⲏⲉ, 'black grapes,' but see 29/28, which is practically a parallel.

18. sp-sn p rn n p [ntr?] a·wn n-y
sp-sn
19. [n ntr·w] 'y nt h^c-w erme p r^c my wn [yr·t a p
wyn nt]e-y
20. [m' p ntr] nt šn n p-hw ys sp-sn . . . sp . . .

VERSO COL. XXIII.

1.
2. nt
3. hr(?)
4. ke
5. . . . naž
6. 'ny
7. pr·w
8.
9. ke 'n
10. hs šwy e-f wš . . . II
11. nt [hr nhe(?) n q]wpr hr 'by
12. ths [hnt·k(?)] n'm-f nte-k str erme-s

VERSO COL. XXIV.

1.
2. ar-f nte-k
3. n š-stn ar-f e py(?) rnn III šh ar-f
4. hr hl nte-k θ-r-f nte-k wh-f
5. zz-k nte-k 'š-w ar-f 'n n sp IX
6. hbs hr 'r-k-f n p nw n p θ III n rhwe
7. t-k z-mt·t y-^co-b's'wmpth-^co
8. [ghr-^co-me lw]ghr my wn yr·t a bl
9. [n mt·t] m^c·t hr t mn t mt·t nt e-y šll hrr-s ty
10. [n p-hw n] mt·t m^c·t n wš n z n-k mt·t n 'ze
11. ιωβαλασταντωαχρωμελοσχαρ
12. my wn yr·t a bl n mt·t m^c·t hr t mn t mt·t nt
e-y šll
13. hrr-s ty n p-hw

who lives for ever, give power to the name (?) (18)
 the name of the god (?) open to me
 (*bis*), (19) ye great [gods] who shine with the sun, let
 [my eyes] be opened [to the light, and let] me (20) [see
 the god] who answers to-day, hasten (*bis*) ... times ...'

VERSO COL. XXIII.

(Lines 1-9 fragments.) (10) dung dried and
 burnt, 2 (measures), (11) pound (with oil of) henna and
 honey, (12) anoint [your phallus] therewith, and lie
 with her.

VERSO COL. XXIV.

(1) (2) on it, and you (3)
 of fine linen on it (? him); these three names being
 written on it, (4) with myrrh; you light it and
 place it (5) your head; you recite them to
 it again nine times. (6) the lamp; you do it
 at the time of the third hour (?) of evening (7) [and you]
 lie down (?). Formula: 'Iobasaoumpttho (8) [Khrome(?)
 Lou]khar; let my eyes be opened (9) in truth concern-
 ing any given matter which I am praying for here (10)
 [to-day, in] truth without telling thee (*sic*) falsehood.'

(11) 'Iobasaoumptthokhromeloukhar, (12) let my eyes
 be opened in truth concerning any given thing which
 I am praying (13) for here to-day.'

COL. XXIII.

1. 1. Probably some five or six short lines have completely disappeared
 before the beginning of the existing fragments of this column.

COL. XXIV.

Following this on LEYDEN, Pl. XIV., there are several scraps of Greek,
 &c., numbered 1-7. They are written on pieces of papyrus used for
 patching worn places, and have no necessary connexion with the text.

VERSO COL. XXV.

1.

2. hs n bk hm 'sy

3. bel nt n w^c sp ths

4. hn-t-k n'm-f nte-k str erme

5. t s-hm-t e-f hp nte-f šwy e'r-k

6. nt w^c hm n'm-f hr *epn* nte-k

7. ths hn-t-k n'm-f

8. nte-k str erme t s-hm-t nfr sp-sn

VERSO COL. XXVI.

1. e'r-k [wh a t 're n] ntr-w n p hne(?) sze wbe-k

2. a're n ntr-w 'y a hn e'r-k z py rn [a'r-w] sp IX

3. y'-o yph e'-o-e gynnt'hwyr neph'r

4. 'ph-o-e hr 'r-f wh-shne n-k a p nt e'r-k a šn-t-f
ar-f a'r θ-hr5. hp a tm z n-k wh e'r-k z py ke rn a'r-w n sp
IX š^c6. nte-w šn n-k n mt-t m^ct ng'-o-ngetsyks m'ntw7. n'-o-b'-o-e g'-o-ghyr hr'-o-n-t-r nt'-o-ntr'-o-m^c

8. leph'-o-ger gephe's-o-re sp VII

9. **ιατω · επιη · ωη · κηηααοορ · ηεφαρ · αφοε**

VERSO COL. XXVII.

1. a h p nt hry hn z ank pe syt-t'-k stm rn-yt

2. stm pe pe rn n mt ank g'nth^c gyn-tw gyry-tw3. hry-ntr 'rynwte l'bt'th^c l'ptwth^c4. l'ks'nth^c s'rys^c m'rkh'r'hwyt-tw5. 'rsyng^cghl^c k-zm 'rsyng^cl'bel b'-o-l-b'-o-el6. b'-o-el sp-sn l'-o-tery gl'-o-g's'ntr^c y'h'-o

7. rn-yt y'h'-o pe pe rn n mt b'lk'h'm p šft n t p t

COL. XXVI.

1. 1. This column is a reproduction of 28/7-10 with slight variations.

1. 4. θ-hr = Boh. σργο, 'delay.' This phrase is omitted in the parallel.

VERSO COL. XXV.

(1) (2) hawk's dung, salt, *asi* plant, (3) *bel*, pound together, anoint (4) your phallus with it and lie with (5) the woman. If it is dry, you (6) pound a little of it with wine, and you (7) anoint your phallus with it (8) and you lie with the woman. Excellent (*bis*).

VERSO COL. XXVI.

(1) If you wish [to make] the gods of the vessel (?) speak with you, (2) when the gods come in, you say this name to them nine times: (3) 'Iaho, Iphe, Eoe, Kinta-thour, Nephar, (4) Aphoe.' Then he makes command to you as to that which you shall ask him about. If delay (5) occur, so that answer is not given you, you recite this other name to them nine times until (6) they inquire for you truthfully: 'Goethix, Mantou, (7) Noboe, Khokhir, Hrodor, Dondroma, (8) Lephoker, Kephaersore.' Seven times. (9) Iaho . Eiphe . On . Kindathour . Nephar . Aphoe.

VERSO COL. XXVII.

(1) According to that which is above within, saying, 'I am this Sit-ta-ko, Setem is my name, (2) Setem is my correct name. I am Gantha, Ginteu, Griteu, (3) Hrinoute, Arinoute, Labtatha, Laptutha, (4) Laksantha, Sarisa, Markharahuteu, (5) Arsinga-khla; another volume (says) Arsinga-label, Bolboel, (6) Boel (*bis*), Loteri, Klogasantra, Iaho, (7) is my name, Iaho is my correct name,

l. 9. Repeats the invocation names in ll. 2-3.

COL. XXVII.

l. 1. This column is parallel to 1/13-16.

ni hry (n?) hn: hn must refer to the recto. Cf. *n bl* = 'verso,' 18/6, V. 15/7.

8. ʔbl'n'th'n'lb'c srrf n t qnh't n p ntr nt 'h n p-hw(?)

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

1. e-ʔr-k ne t š(?) syw(?) . . m(?) a hry(?) . . .
2. e 'h zl't(?)

VERSO COL. XXIX.

1. . . . ty lb rm nb nge s-ḥm-t nb
2. e-ʔr-k θ p f'e n p rm nt e-ʔr-k wh-f erme p f'e
3. n w'c rm e-f ***ⲁⲁⲟⲩⲧ*** nte-k mr-w erme ne-w ʔre-w
4. nte-k mr-w a ḥe-t-f n w'c ***ḥeṣ*** nte-k wrh-f
5. e-f 'nh e-f ḥp e-ʔr-k wh a ʔr-f n hyn-w hw-w
6. e-ʔr-k ḥ'c p ***ḥeṣ*** n w'c m'c e-ʔr-k s'nh n'm-f n
pe-k 'y

VERSO COL. XXX.

1. e-ʔr-k hs n ***ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ***
2. ḥr hy ḥe-[t]-s
3. k-t e-ʔr-k ths ḥn-t-k n hs n
4. ***ḥeλ*** nte-k str erme s-ḥm-t ḥr ʔr-s mr-t-k
5. e-ʔr-k nt hs n ***ⲉⲓⲥ(?)ⲁⲉ*** ḥr ʔby
6. nte-k ths ḥn-t-k n'm-f a ḥ p nt hry 'n
7. ke hs n ***ḡaite*** ḥr sknn n
8. wrt a ḥ p nt hry 'n
9. ke e-ʔr-k qp s-ḥm-t n hs n ***ḡaioṣλ***
10. e p snf ḥrr-s ḥr lk-s
11. hs n ***eo*** 'n py smte

COL. XXVIII.

1. 1. This short column appears to be the only part of the papyrus written in a different hand from the rest. It is very obscure, and the words seem much abbreviated. The group elsewhere reading *nh* (**ⲛⲏⲁ**) is conspicuous, but is without the determinative, and perhaps has another meaning here.

1. 2. Cf. V. 10/12. The zodiacal sign **ⲭⲁ** ★ stands for Scorpio (BRUGSCH, *Nouv. Rech.*, p. 22). For the reading *zl't*(?), cf. O. L. Z., 1902, V. col. 6, 223.

Balkham, the mighty (?) one of heaven, (8) Ablanathanalba, gryphon of the shrine of the god which stands to-day (?).'

VERSO COL. XXVIII.

(1) You shall cause a star (?) to go . . . place (?) under the earth (?) (2) when the moon is in the constellation of Scorpio.

VERSO COL. XXIX.

(1) [Spell to] make mad any man or any woman.
(2) You take the hair of the man whom you wish, together with the hair (3) of a dead (murdered?) man; and you tie them to each other, (4) and tie them to the body of a hawk, and you release (?) it (5) alive. If you wish to do it for some days, (6) you put the hawk in a place and you feed it in your house.

VERSO COL. XXX.

(1) If you dung of a *smoun*-goose, (2) then her body falls.

(3) Another: you anoint your phallus with dung of (4) a *kel*, and you lie with (the) woman, then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee). (5) You pound dung of with honey, (6) and you anoint your phallus with it as above again.

(7) Another: dung of hyaena (?) with ointment of (8) roses as above again.

(9) Another: you fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung (10) when the menstruation is on her; then she is cured.

(11) Ass's dung also—this method (of treatment).

COL. XXIX.

1. 5. *n hynrw hw-w*. Does this mean 'for several days' or 'after several days'?

COL. XXX.

1. 2. *hy he-t-s*: perhaps of abortion, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵: 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

1. $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\sigma\tau$
2. ke-z $\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\omega\tau\theta$
3. p ntr nt 'wh p hbs nt θ -
4. r-yt 'm a hn
5. hr zz-y nte-k z n-y wh
6. hr p nt e-y šn hrr-f ty n p-hw

VERSO COL. XXXII.

1. a t 're * $\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon$ *(?) m-s hwt
2. e'r-k 'ny w' * $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha$ * e-f 'nh
3. nte-k 'ny pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon[\xi]e$ * a bl nte-k h'-f n w' m'
4. nte-k 'ny pe-f * $\xi e[\tau]$ * nte-k h'-f n ke m' e'r-k
5. fy pe-f swm' tre-f e'r-k nt-f m šs sp-sn
6. e'r e-f šwy nte-k fy w' hm n p nt nt-yt ermc w'
7. hm n snf n pe-k tb' n mh II n p s'pyn
8. n te-k t't n gbyr nte-k ty-f a w' z n 'rp
9. nte-k t swr-s t hm't hr 'r-s * $\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon$ * m-s-k
10. e'r-k t pe-f * $\epsilon\epsilon\xi e$ * a w' z n 'rp hr * $\alpha\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ *
11. ty hte-t nge ty-f a ef nge nk n wm
12. e'r-k t pe-f * $\xi e\tau$ * a w' htm n nb nte-k ty-f
13. a t't-k hr ty-f n-k hs-t 'o't mrt šfet

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

1. a Hr [e-]f mš' a hry hr tw n mre-t
n 'h e-f t 'tyt a w' htr ht a w' htr km
2. e n zm . . . [hr 't-f na p wr-ty hn qne-f a-e-f gm
n n ntr-w tre-w e-w hms-t a hry a t s't wpe-t
3. e-w wm [n p rt] n h'p pe wr hr-w Hr 'm n e'r-k
wm Hr 'm n e'r-k ne wm hr-f 'l-wt-tn a hr-y

Col. XXXII.

1. 1. This column is a paraphrase of 13/17-21.
1. 6. e'r e-f: possibly for $\epsilon\alpha\xi$. The parallel has e-f šwy.

Col. XXXIII.

1. 1. a Hr. a in this papyrus appears as the auxiliary of the past α -, but not of the present e-.

VERSO COL. XXXI.

(1) 'Sisihoout (2) otherwise Armioth, (3) the god who liveth, the lamp which is (4) lighted, come within (5) before me, and give me answer (6) concerning that which I ask about here (7) to-day.'

VERSO COL. XXXII.

(1) To make rave for a man. (2) You take a live shrew-mouse (?), (3) and take out its gall and put it in one place, (4) and take its heart and put it in another place. You (5) take its whole body, you pound it very much; (6) when it is dry, you take a little of the pounded stuff with a (7) little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart, (8) of your left hand, and put it in a cup of wine (9) and you make the woman drink it. Then she has a passion for you.

(10) You put its gall into a cup of wine, then she dies (11) instantly; or put it in meat or some food.

(12) You put its heart in a ring of gold and put it (13) on your hand; then it gives you great praise, love, and respect.

VERSO COL. XXXIII.

(1) Horus he was going up a hill at midday in the verdure season, mounted on a white horse on a black horse, (2) the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his bosom. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgement (3) eating [of the produce?] of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief.

[ε?] *f mš*, &c. : cf. O. C. in A. Z., 1883, 100; 1900, 90 *πεπικον* *ππτοστ* *πμερε* *πσωα*.

For Horus on horseback, cf. PLUT., de Is. et Osir., c. 19.

1. 2. *hms-t*: probably as Ach. *εμαστ* (as used for infinitive in l. 6) rather than *εμασχοστ*.

1. 3. *h'p* (?): cf. l. 6 and V. 5/1. A feminine word similarly spelt is found in connexion with embalming in BRUGSCH, Thes., 893, 895.

4. mn [ky?] n'm-y n wm te-y šn zz-y te-y šn ħe-t a
w' g'wm' θy-t a w' tw rs ty 'h-y

5. ne 'S-t [lk]-s e-s šte ne Nb-ħt lk-s e-s s'wze ne p
XVI n Ne-tbew-w ne pe(?) w' n nħt

6. n ntr n[e p? 3?]65 n ntr ħms-t a ħry a wm n p
rt n t sh-t n ħp pe wr š' nte-w šte n p g'wm'

7. n zz[-f n p] šr n 'S-t n zz-f n mn a-ms mn n n
g'wm' n grħ n n g'wm' n mre-t p šn zz py srrf

8. py ħmm [n n g'wm'-w n ne 'r . . . n rt-f šte
a bl n zz-f n mn a-ms mn 'h nħe n m't

9. n sp VII [nte-k th]s t-t-f ħe-t-f rt-f nte-k mt-t ar-f

Probably the word here, with divine determinative, is different, and may well represent *Ḥp*, 'the Nile.' The same group occurs in Pap. In-singer 16/21.

pe wr is difficult, 'belonging to the Great,' or 'son of the Great,' or 'my Great one.'

ⲁⲣⲁⲉⲓ: cf. note 1/20.

l. 5. *ne*: probably fut. neg. *nne*.

XVI n *Ne-tbew-w*: cf. 2/9 note; perhaps *οι δεκαεξ γιγαντες* of Berl. Pap. (PARTHEY), II. 102. There were also the 16 cubits of the Nile, and according to one account the body of Osiris was torn into sixteen pieces, Rec. tr., iii. p. 56, v. p. 86; other texts give fourteen parts (PLUTARCH) or seventeen (Rhind. bil. i. p. 3).

l. 6. [3]65 gods, i.e. one for each day of the year. Cf. the 365

Said they, 'Horus, come, art thou eating? Horus, come, wilt thou eat?' He said, 'Take yourselves from me; (4) there is no [desire?] in me for eating. I am ill in my head; I am ill in my body; a fever hath taken hold of me, a South wind hath seized me. (5) Doth Isis [cease] to make magic? Doth Nephthys cease to give health? Are the sixteen Netbeou, is the one Power (6) of God, are [? the 3]65 gods seated to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief, until they remove the fever (7) from the head of the son of Isis (and) from the head of N. born of N., the fevers by night, the fevers by day, the headache, this burning, (8) this heat of the fevers of of his feet, remove from the head of N. born of N.' (Say it) over genuine oil (9) seven times, and anoint his hand, his body, his feet, and pronounce the words to him.

names of the great god in Leyd. Pap. Gr. V. 4, 32, and the 365 gods, ib. W. 3, 13.

n t sh.t: erased in original.

l. 7. *srrf*: probably for *srj*.

l. 8. *ne 'r*  (?).

šte: a participle resuming the idea of *šte* in l. 6 after the long parenthesis.

ERRATUM

Page 40, note to line 2, *for* *κοτε* *read* **κοτε**

CORRESPONDENCE OF COLUMNS

Old No. New No.			Old No. New No.		
<i>Recto.</i>			<i>Verso.</i>		
LONDON	I =	I	LEIDEN	I =	I
"	II =	II	"	II =	II
"	III =	III	"	III =	III
"	IV =	IV	"	IV =	IV
"	V =	V	"	V =	V
"	VI =	VI	"	VI =	VI
"	VII =	VII	"	VII =	VII
"	VIII =	VIII	"	VIII =	VIII
"	IX =	IX	"	IX =	IX
"	X =	X	"	X =	X
LEIDEN	I =	X	"	XI =	XI
"	II-III =	XI	"	XII =	XII
"	IV-V =	XII	"	XIII =	XIII
"	VI =	XIII	"	XIV =	XIV
"	VII =	XIV	"	XV =	XV
"	VIII =	XV	"	XVI-XVII =	XVI
"	IX =	XVI	"	XVIII =	XVII
"	X =	XVII	"	XIX =	XVIII
"	XI =	XVIII	"	XX =	XIX
"	XII =	XIX	"	XXI =	XX
"	XIII =	XX	"	XXII =	XXI
"	XIV =	XXI	"	XXIII =	XXII
"	XV =	XXII	"	XXIV =	XXIII
"	XVI =	XXIII	"	XXV =	XXIV
"	XVII =	XXIV	"	XXVI =	XXV
"	XVIII =	XXV	"	XXVII =	XXVI
"	XIX =	XXVI	"	XXVIII =	XXVII
"	XX =	XXVII	"	XXIX =	XXVIII
"	XXI =	XXVIII	"	XXX =	XXIX
"	XXII =	XXIX	"	XXXI =	XXX
			"	XXXII =	XXXI
			"	XXXIII =	XXXII
			"	XXXIV =	XXXIII
			"	XXXV =	XXXIV
			"	XXXVI =	XXXV
			"	XXXVII =	XXXVI
			"	XXXVIII =	XXXVII
			"	XXXIX =	XXXVIII
			"	XL =	XXXIX

It has been found necessary to make some changes in the numbering of the lines in Leid. I-V, XVII, and Verso Leid. III, VIII, XXII-XXVI.

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Notes on the PDF edition



This is the full version of the Leyden Papyrus, the largest known Greco-Egyptian magical text. While there is already an English translation of it online at the ‘Sacred Texts’ website, it lacks several magical figures and characters in the original demotic text (an exact reproduction thereof may be found at <http://www.etana.org>, in the ‘Core Texts’ section). I have added the original illustrations in this version, and have corrected the magical names from the Coptic glosses found in the original papyrus. The formatting has also been improved, to facilitate reading, and some fragmentary passages have been emendated using an updated translation (see Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells*, pgs. 195 ff.). Magical names and formulae have been capitalized.

The Leyden Papyrus contains many rituals for scrying, invocation of Gods, divination, and many other uses, as practiced in Greco-Roman Egypt. As such, it is a valuable addition to the corpus of Western magical literature.

(It is interesting to note that the invocation in column XXVIII was plagiarized by the author of the pseudo-Al-Azif Necronomicon.)



Pronunciation of special characters:

$\check{s}$ = *sh*

$\check{h}$ = German *ch*, Spanish *j*

$\check{h}$ = Similar to $\check{h}$ (Hebrew *heth*)

kh = *k+h*

ph = *p+h*

q = guttural *k* (Hebrew *qōf*, Arabic *qāf*)

$\bar{e}$ = *e* as in *they*

$\bar{o}$ = *o* as in *hole*

ou and *u* = *oo* as in *soon*, *u* as in *rule*



A vessel divination – Column 1

A vessel-divination, which a physician of the nome of *Per-mze* (Oxyrhynchus) gave to me.

Formula:

“O God N... ..the border of whose girdle rests in Pelusium, whose face is like a spark of (?) an obscene(?) cat, whose toes(?) are a rearing uraeus quickly; put light and spaciousness in my vessel Open to me the earth, open to me the Underworld, open to me the abyss ... great of copper of Alkhah, ye Gods that are in heaven, that are exalted, come ye..... put light and spaciousness in my vessel, my this boy, whose face is bent over this vessel (oil) ; cause to succeed .. .for this vessel-divination is the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought come in to me, O my compeller (?), for everything ' and cause the eyes of this child to be opened to them all ... for I am the Pharaoh Lion-ram; Ram-lion-lotus is my nameto thee here today, for I am SIT-TA-KO, STM is my name, STM is my true name, &c, HRENOUTE, LAPPTOTHA, LAXANTHA, SA-(RISA, &c.) BOLBOUËL (bis), LOUTËRI, KLOKASANTRA, YAHŌ is my name, &c BALKAM the dread one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the gryphon of the shrine of God, &c.”

You say it, drawling with your voice:

“O beautiful ox-herd, my compeller...ask thee about here today: and do thou cause the eyes of this boy to be opened and do thou protect this boy whose face is bent down over this vessel of God, lord of earth, the survivor (?) of the earth, lord of earth I am *Hor-Amon* that sitteth at this vessel-divination here today..... this vessel-divination here today; MARIKHARI, thou..... and that they tell me my inquiry.”

Say to them (*bis*) “O holy Gods of the abyss I am . . . of earth by name, under the soles of whose feet the Gods of Egypt are placed..... THAR, for I am TA-PIŠTEHĒI of earth by name preserve thee, O Pharaoh, PAŠAMĒI that resteth at the mouth (?) these shoulders of real gold. Truth is in my mouth, honey is on my lipsMA. ..THA for I am STĒL, YAHŌ, Earth-opener.”

COL II

You say to the boy 'Open your eyes'; when he opens his eyes and sees the light, you make him cry out, saying ‘Grow (bis), O light, come forth (bis), O light, rise (bis), O light, ascend (bis), O light, thou who art without, come in.’ If he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you make him close his eyes, you call to him again; formula:

“O darkness, remove thyself from before him (sic)! O light, bring the light, in to me! *Pšoi* that is in the abyss, "bring in the light to me! O Osiris, who is in the *Nešeme*-boat, bring in the light to me! These four winds that are without bring in the light to me! O thou in whose hand is the moment (?) that belongeth to these hours, bring in the light: to

me! Anubis, the good ox herd, bring in the light to me! For thou shalt give protection (?) to me here today. For I am Horus son of Isis, the good son of Osiris; thou shalt bring the Gods of the place of judgement, and thou shalt cause them to do my business, and they shall make my affair proceed; NETBEOU, thou shalt cause them to do it. For I am TOURAMNĒI, AMNĒI, A-A, MES (bis), ORNOUŌRF, ORNOUŌRF, PAHOROF . . . PAHROF, YO, a little (?) king, *Touhor*; let this child prosper, whose face is bent down to this oil and thou shalt escort (?) *Soukhos* to me, until he comes forth. STM is my name, STM is my correct name. For I am LŌT, MOULŌT, TOULŌT, TAT, PEINTAT is my correct name. O great God, whose name is great, appear to this child without alarming or deceiving, truthfully.”

You utter these charms seven times; you make him open his eyes.

If the light is good and he says 'Anubis is coming in,' you call before him (Anubis).

Formula:

“O RIZ MURIZ, O *Twrt*, O this beautiful male born of HERIEW, the daughter of the *Neme*. Come to me, for thou art this lotus-flower that came forth from in the lotus of *Pnastor*, and that illuminates the whole earth; hail! Anubis, come to me, the High, the Mighty, the Chief over the mysteries of those in the Underworld, the Pharaoh of those in *Amenti*, the Chief Physician, the fair [son?] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the Gods, thou manifestest thyself in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. Thou servest the souls of Abydos, for they all live by thee, these souls namely those of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth; show thyself to me here today. Thou art Thoth, thou art he that came forth from the heart of the great Agathodaemon, the father of the fathers of all the Gods; come to the mouths of my vessel today and do thou tell me answer in truth to everything that I shall inquire about, without falsehood therein; for I am Isis the Wise, the words of whose mouth of mine (*sic*) come to pass.”

Formula: seven times. You say to the boy ' Speak to Anubis, saying “Go forth, bring in the Gods.” '

When he goes after them and brings them in, you ask the boy, saying ' Have the Gods come in?' If he says 'They have come' and you (*sic*) see them, you cry before them.

Formula:

“Raise thyself for me (bis), PŠOI; raise thyself, MERA, the Great of Five, DIDIOU, TENZIOU, do justice to me. Thoth, let creation (?) fill the earth with light, O Thou who art an ibis in his noble countenance, thou noble one that enters the heart, let truth be brought forth, thou great God whose name is great.”

Say seven times.

You say to the boy 'Speak to Anubis, saying "Bring in a table for the Gods and let them sit."

When they are seated you say 'Bring in a jar of wine, broach it for the Gods; bring in some bread, let them eat, let them drink,

COL. III

‘Let them eat, let them drink, let them pass a festal day.’

When they have finished, you speak to Anubis (sic) saying 'Dost thou make inquiry for me?' If he says 'At once,' you say to him 'The God who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up.'

If he says 'He has stood up,' you say to him (i.e. the child) 'Say to Anubis "Carry off the things from the midst" '; you cry before him (i.e. the God) instantly saying 'O Agathodaemon of today, lord of today, O thou whose (possession) these moments are!'

You cause him (the boy) to say to Anubis 'The God who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name.'

When he stands up and tells his name, you ask him concerning everything that you wish. Its spirit-gathering.

You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you place them in their manner in which they were placed, again; and you place three tiles under the oil; and the other four tiles, you arrange them about the child without touching any part of him against the ground; or seven palm-sticks, you treat them in this fashion also. And you take seven clean loaves and arrange them around the oil, with seven lumps of salt, and you take a new dish and fill it with clean Oasis oil and add to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness (?) so that it becomes clear exceedingly; and you take a boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman, you speak down into his head while he stands, previously, (to learn) whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel.

If he is profitable, you make him lie on (?) his belly; you clothe (?) him with a clean linen tunic (?), (you call down into his head), there being a girdle on the upper part of the tunic; you utter this invocation that is above, down into his head, he gazing downwards (looking) into the oil, for seven times, his eyes being closed.

When you have finished, you make him open his eyes, you ask him about what you desire; you do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

The invocation that you utter down into his head previously. to test him in his ears as to whether he will be profitable in going to the vessel.

Formula: 'Noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and mighty.'

You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this, then his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it be his right ear, he is good; if it be his left ear, he is bad.

A prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly, so that the Gods enter and tell you answer truthfully.

You put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame; it will be enchanted instantly.

Prescription to make them speak: you put a frog's head on the brazier; then they speak.

Prescription for bringing the Gods in by force: you put the bile of a crocodile with pounded frankincense on the brazier.

If you wish to make them come in quickly again, you put stalks (?) of anise (?) on the brazier together with the egg-shell as above, then the charm works at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man, you put sulphate of copper on the brazier; then he comes in.

If you wish to bring in a spirit, you put *sa-wr* stone with stone of *ylh* on the brazier, and then the spirit comes in. You put the heart of a hyaena or a hare, excellent (bis).

If you wish to bring in a drowned man, you put sea-*karab*-stone (?) on the brazier.

If you wish to bring in a murdered (?) man, you put ass's dung with an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier; then he comes in.

If you wish to make them all depart, you put ape's dung on the brazier, then they all depart to their place, and you utter their spell of dismissal also.

If you wish to bring in a thief, you put crocus powder with alum on the brazier.

The charm which you pronounce when you dismiss them to their place: ' Good dispatch, joyful dispatch!'

If you wish to make the Gods come in to you and that the vessel work its magic quickly, you take a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow and put it on the brazier; then, it works magic in the moment named, and the light comes.

An amulet to be bound to the body of him who has the vessel, to cause it to work magic quickly. You take a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of green, four of

blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain, them with the blood of a hoopoe, and you bind it with a scarab in its attitude of the sun-God, drowned, being wrapped in byssus, and you bind it to the body of the boy who has the vessel and it will work magic quickly; there being nothing in the world better than it.

An invocation employed by Imhotep – Col. IV

A scout-spreader (?), which the great God Imuthes (Imhotep) makes. Its spirit-gathering. You bring a table of olive-wood having four feet, upon (?) which no man on earth has ever sat, and put it, it being clean, beside (?) you. When you wish to make an inquiry-of-God with it truthfully without falsehood, behold this is the manner of it.

You put the table in a clean room (?) in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you cover it with a tunic (?) from its head to its feet, and you put four bricks under the table before it, one above another (?), there being a censer of clay before it (the table); and you put charcoal of olive-wood on it (the censer) and put wild-goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-anh*. and make them into balls and put one on the brazier, and lay the remainder at your side (?), and pronounce this spell in Greek (?) speech to it - Formula - and you spend, the night without speaking to any one on earth, and you lie down and you see the God in the likeness of a priest wearing fine linen and wearing (a) nose at his feet. 'I invoke thee who art seated in the invisible darkness and who art in the midst of the great Gods sinking and receiving the sun's rays and sending forth the luminous Goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, the great God BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH, the sun; send up to me this night thy archangel ZEBOURTHAUNĒN; answer with truth, truthfully, without falsehood, without ambiguity concerning this matter, for I conjure thee by him who is seated in the flaming vesture on the silver (?) head of the Agathodaemon, the almighty four-faced daemon, the highest darkling and soul- bringing (?) Phox; do not disregard me, but send up speedily in this night an injunction (?) of the God,' Say this three times.

Then he speaks with you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning everything that you wish. When he has finished, and goes away again; you place a tablet of reading (?) the hours upon the bricks and you place the stars upon it and write your purpose (?) on a new roll and place it on the tablet, then he (?) makes your stars appear which are favourable for your purpose (?).

A method of lucky-shadows (?), that is tested: a hawk's egg with myrrh, pound (?), put on your eyes of it; then it makes lucky-shadows (?).

Another again: head and blood of a hoopoe; cook (?) them and make them into a dry medicament and paint your eyes with it; then you see them, again.

COL. V

And you set up your [planisphere ?] and you stamp on the ground with your foot seven times and recite these charms to the Foreleg, turning (?) to the North seven times and you return, down and go to a dark recess.

A question-form, tested. You go to a dark clean recess with its face open to the south and you purify it with natron-water, and you take a new white lamp in which no red earth or gum-water has been put and place a clean wick in it and fill it with real oil after writing this name and these figures on the wick with ink of myrrh beforehand; and you lay it on a new brick before you, its underside being spread with sand; and you pronounce these spells over the lamp again another seven times. You display frankincense before the lamp and you look at the lamp; then you see the God about the lamp and you lie down on a rush mat without speaking to any one on earth. Then he makes answer to you by dream. Behold its invocation.

Formula- Behold the spells which you write on the wick:

BAKHUKHSIKHUKH



'Ho! I am MURAI, MURIBI, BABĒL, BAOTH, BAMWI, the great Agathodaemon, MURATHO, the . . . form of soul that resteth above in the heaven of heavens, TATOT (bis), BOUEL (bis), MOUIHTAHI (bis), LAHI (bis), BOLBOĒL, I (bis), AA, TAT (bis), BOUĒL (bis), YOHĒL (bis), the first servant of the great God, he who giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great God who is seated in the fire, he who is in the midst of the fire which is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and the power of God; reveal thyself to me here today in the fashion, of thy revelation to Moses which thou didst make upon the mountain, before whom thou thyself didst create darkness and light, - insertion - I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer in truth without falsehood; for I will glorify thee in Abydos, I will glorify thee in heaven before *Prē*, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he (= thou) of the great glory, PETER (bis), PATĒR, ENPHE (bis), O God who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him. Come down (in) to me into the midst of this flame that is here before thee, thou of BOĒL (bis), and let me see the business that I ask about tonight truly without falsehood. Let it be seen (?), let it be heard (?), O great God SISIHŌOUT, otherwise said ARMIOOUTH, come in before me and give me answer to that which I shall ask about, truly without falsehood. O great God that is on the mountain of ATUKI (of Gabaon), KHABAHŌ, TAKRTAT, come in to me, let my eyes be opened to-night for any given thing that I shall ask about, truly without falsehood . . . the voice (?) of the LEASPHŌT, NEBLŌT . . . LILAS.'

Seven times: and you lie down without speaking.

The ointment which you put on your eyes when you are about to inquire of the lamp in any lamp-divination:

You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the garland-seller, otherwise said of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh and put them in a *log*-vessel of glass and stop its mouth very well for twenty days in a secret dark place. After twenty days, if you take it out and open it, you find a pair (?) of testicles in it with a phallus. You leave it for forty days and when you take it out and open it, you find that it has become bloody; then you put it on a glass thing and put the glass thing into a pottery thing in a place hidden at all times. When you desire to make inquiry of the lamp with it at any time if you fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, and if you go in to pronounce a spell over the lamp you see a figure of a God standing behind the lamp, and he speaks with you concerning the question which you wish; or you lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you rise and pronounce his compulsion. You must lie down on green reeds, being pure from a woman, your head being turned to the south and your face being turned to the north and the face of the lamp being turned northwards likewise.

Insert above – “I pray thee to reveal thyself to me here to-night and speak with me and give me answer truly concerning the given matter which I ask thee about.”

A divination ritual – Col. VI

An inquiry of the lamp.

You go to a clean dark cell without light and you dig a new hole in an east wall and you take a white lamp in which no minium or gum water has been put, its wick being clean, and you fill it with clean genuine Oasis oil, and you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn in his rising and you bring the lamp when lighted opposite the sun and recite to it the spells as below four times, and you take it into the cell, you being pure, and the boy also, and you pronounce the spells to the boy, he not looking at the lamp, his eyes being closed, seven times. You put pure frankincense on the brazier. You put your finger on the boy's head, his eyes being closed. When you have finished you make him open his eyes towards the lamp; then he sees the shadow of the God about the lamp, and he inquires for you concerning that which you desire.

You must do it at midday in a place without light, if it be that you are inquiring for a spirit damned, a wick of sail-cloth (?) is what you put in the lamp and you fill it with clean butter.

If it is some other business, a clean wick with pure genuine oil is that which you put in the lamp; if you will do it to bring a woman to a man, ointment of roses is that which you put in the lamp. You must lay the lamp on a new brick and the boy also must sit on another brick with his eyes closed. You cry down into his head four times. The spells which you recite (to the lamp) to the wick previously before you recite to the boy: formula: 'Art thou the unique great wick of the linen of Thoth? Art thou the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys?

Art thou the original band that was made for Osiris Hentamenti? Art thou the great bandage with which Anubis put forth his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty God? I have brought thee today - ho! Thou wick - to cause the boy to look into thee, that thou mayest make reply to every matter concerning which I ask here today. Is it that you will (?) not do it? O wick, I have put thee in the hand of the black cow, I have lighted thee in the hand of the female cow. Blood of the Drowned one is that which I put to thee for oil; the hand of Anubis is that which is laid on thee. The spells of the great Sorcerer are those which I recite to thee. Do thou bring me the God in whose hand is the command today and let him give me answer as to everything about which I inquire here today truly without falsehood. Ho! Nut, mother of water, ho! Apet, mother of fire, come unto me, Nut, mother of water, come Apet, mother of fire, come unto me YAHÖ.' You say it drawling (?) with your voice exceedingly. You say again: ' ESEX, POE, EF-HE-TON,' otherwise said, ' HET-ON,' seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, these alone are the things that you recite to the lamp, and you lie down without speaking. But if obduracy take place, you rise, you recite his summons, which is his compulsion.

Formula; 'I am the Ram's face, Youth is my name: I was born under the venerable persea in Abydos, I am the soul of the great chief who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse that is in *Wpq*; I am he whose eyes are as the eyes of 'Ahom when he watcheth Osiris by night; I am *Tptwf* upon the desert of Abydos; I am he that watcheth the great corpse which is in Busiris; I am he who watcheth for Light-scarab-noble (?).'

The spells that you write on the lamp:

BAKHUKHSIKHUKH



'Whose name is hidden in my heart; BIBIOU (Soul of souls) is his name.'

Formula, seven times. If it is a direct (?) inquiry, these things alone are what you recite.

If it is an inquiry by the boy that you are about, you recite these aforesaid to the lamp before calling down into the head of the boy, you turn round (?), you recite this other invocation to the lamp also.

Formula.: 'O Osiris, O lamp that giveth vision of the things (of days) above, that giveth vision of the things below and vice versa, O lamp (bis), Amen is moored in thee; O lamp (bis)I invoke thee, thou goest up to the shore of the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Do I speak to thee? Dost thou come that I may send thee? Ho, lamp, witness (?) to thyself, since thou hast found Osiris upon his boat of papyrus and *tehen*, Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female Gods about him. Speak, Isis, let it be told to Osiris concerning the things which I ask about, to cause the God to come in whose hand is the command, and give me answer to everything about which I shall inquire here today.

When Isis said "Let a God be summoned to me that I may send him, he being discreet (?) as to the business on which he will go and he accomplish it," they went and they brought to her; thou art the lamp that was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet thy mother and of Heke thy father is cast at thee, thou shalt not be lighted for Osiris and Isis, thou shalt not be lighted for Anubis until thou hast given me an answer to everything which I ask about here today truly without telling me falsehood. If thou wilt not do it, I will not give thee oil.

Invocations – Col. VII

"I will not give thee oil; I will not give thee fat. O lamp; verily I will give thee the body of the female cow and put blood of the male bull into (?) thee and put thy band to the testicles (?) of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, O ye of the underworld, the box of myrrh that is in my hand; receive me before you, O ye souls of Aqer belonging to *By-wkm*, the box of frankincense that hath four corners. O dog, which is called Anubis by name, who resteth on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of frankincense, let there come to me the ointment for the son of the lamp that he (?) may give me answer as to everything about which I ask here today, truly without falsehood therein. IO, TABAŌ, SOUKHAMAMOU, AKHAKHANBOU, SANAWANI, ETHIE, QOMTŌ, KETHOS, BASAETHORI, THMILA, AKHKHOU, give me answer as to everything about which I ask here today.' Seven times. The spells of the boy: "BOËL, BOËL (bis), II (bis), AA (bis), TATTAT (bis), he that giveth light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he in whose mouth is the fire that is not quenched, the great God that sitteth in the fire, he that is in the midst of the fire, he that is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of God, reveal thyself to this boy who hath my vessel today, and let him give me answer truly without falsehood. I will glorify thee in Abydos; I will glorify thee in heaven before *Prē*. I will glorify thee before the moon, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is upon the throne, who is not destroyed, he of the great glory, PETERI, PETERI, PATĒR, ENPHE, ENPHE, the God who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this fire that is here before thee, he of BOËL, ANIËL, cause me to see the business about which I am inquiring here today, let it be seen, let it be heard and do thou give strength to the eyes of the boy who has my vessel, to cause him to see it, and to his tears to cause him to hear it, O great God SISIHOÛT, before me and cause my eyes to be opened to everything for which I pray here today, AKHREMTŌ, come in into the midst of this flame, O great God that is upon the hill of (ATUGI) GABAON, KHABAHŌ, TAKRTAT.' You recite this until the light appears.

When the light appears, you turn round (?); you recite this spell-copy a second time again. Behold the spell-copy also of the summons that you recite: 'Ho! speak to me (*bis*) THES, TENOR, the father of eternity without end, the God who is over the whole earth, SALKMŌ, BALKMŌ, BRAK, NEPHRŌBANPRĒ, BRIAS, SARINTER, MELIKHRIPHS, LARGNANĒS, HEREPHĒS, MEPHRŌBRIAS, PHERKA, PHEXE, DIOUPHIA, MARMAREKE, LAORE-GRĒPHIE, may I see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here, may answer be made to me to everything about which I ask here today, truly without falsehood. Ho! ADAËL, APHTHĒ, KHOKHOMOLĒ,

HESENMIGADŌN, ORTHOBAUBŌ, NOĒRE, SĒRE, SĒRE, SANKATHARA, ERESKHIGAL, SAGGISTĒ, DODEKAKISTĒ, AKROUROBORE, KODĒRE.' You make him open his eyes and look at the lamp, and ask him as to that which you wish. If obstinacy appears, he not having seen the God, you turn round (?); you pronounce his compulsion.

Formula: "SĒMEA-KANTEU, KENTEU, KONTEU, KĒRIDEU, DARĒNKŌ, LEKAUX, come to me, GANAB, ARI-KATEI, BARI-KATEI, disk, moon of the Gods, disk, hear my voice, let answer be given me as to everything about which I ask here today. O perfume of ZALABAḤŌ, NASIRA, HAKE, arise (?) O Lion-ram, let me see the light today, and the Gods; and let them give me answer as to everything about which I ask here today truly. NA, NA, NA, NA, is thy name, NA, NA, is thy true name."

You utter a whisper (?) with your voice loudly; you recite saying, 'Come to me YAHŌ, IAEU, YAHŌ, AUHO, YAHŌ, HAI, KO, HOOU, QO, NAŠBŌT, ARPI-HAPE, ABLABALBOK, ḤORNBOK (Hawk-face), NI, ABIT, THATLAT, MARIBAL.'

COL. VIII

If the God delay so as not to come in, you cry: "MARIBAL, QMLA, KIKḤ, Father of the fathers of the Gods, go round (?), one Eye weeps, the other laughs, YOH (bis, bis), HA, HA, HE, ST, ST, ST, ST, IHE, YAHŌ, seek (?); let there come to me the God in whose hand is the command today, and let him give me reply to everything about which I ask here today.' You say, "*Pf-ntr* (?)" with your mouth each time, and you cry, 'I cast fury at thee of him who cutteth thee, of him who devoureth thee. Let the darkness separate from the light before me. Ho! God, ḤU-ḤŌS, RI-ḤTM, SI (*bis*), AHO (?), AH, MAI (?) ("I do not"), KHA, AIT, RI-ŠFE, BIBIU, YAHŌ, ARIAḤA (bis), ARAINAS ("do for her"), EWASETHOR ("they will turn the face"), BEKES, GS, GS, GS, GS, YANIAN, EREN, EIBS, KS, KS, KS, KS, let the God come to me in whose hand is the command and give me answer as to everything about which I inquire here today. Come in, PIATŌOU, HITORE; ho! *S-hop, S-hope, S-hop*, Abraham, the apple (?) of the Eye of the *wzat*, QMR, QMR, QMR, QMR, QMRO, so as to create, QOM, QOMWERWOT, ŠE...KNUŠ (?) is thy real name, let answer be told to me as to everything about which I ask here today. Come to me BAKAXIKHEKH; tell me answer to everything which I ask about here today truly without telling me falsehood.' Formula. Seven times. '

A direct (?) inquiry by (?) the voice of Pe-saḥ (?) the priest of Kes; he (the informant) tells it, saying it is tested, nine times : 'I am RAMŠAU, ŠAU, RAMŠAU son of TAPŠAU, of his mother TAPŠAU, if it be that any given thing shall happen, do not come to me with thy face of *Peḥe*; thou shalt come to me in thy form of a priest, in thy figure of a servant of the temple. (But) if it shall not come to pass, thou (shalt) come to me in thy form of a GALAŠIRE, for I am RAMŠAU, ŠAU, RAMŠAU, the son of TAPŠAU, of his mother TAPŠAU."

Say it opposite the Shoulder constellation on the third day of the month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic and there being three needles of iron piercing it, and

recite this to it seven times, and put it at thy head Then he attends to you and speaks with you.

Invocation of Khonsu – Col. IX

The vessel-inquiry of Khons.

‘Homage to thee, Khons-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, the noble child that came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time (?), one he is . . . Ho! Silver, lord of silver, *Šnty*, lord of *Šnty*, lord of the disk, the great God, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian, come to me, noble child, the great God that is in the disk, who pleaseth men (?), POMO, who is called the mighty bull (bis), the great God that is in the *wzat*, that came forth from the four boundaries of eternity, the punisher of the flesh (?), whose name is not known, nor his nature, nor his likeness (?). I know thy name, I know thy nature, and I know thy likeness. Great is thy name, Heir is thine excellent is thy name. Hidden is thy name. Mighty one of the Gods is thy name, "He whose name is hidden from all the Gods" is thy name, OM, Mighty Am is thy name, "All the Gods" is thy name, Lotus-lion-ram, is thy name, "LOOU comes, lord of the lands " (*bis*) is thy name, AM’AHR of heaven is thy name, "Lotus-flower of stars (?) cometh," EI-IO NE-EI-O is thy name. Thy form is a scarab with the face of a ram; its tail a hawk's, it wearing (?) two panther-skins (?). Thy [?serpent is a serpent] of eternity, thine orbit (?) a lunar month, thy tree a vine-tree and persea(?), thy herb the herb of Amen, thy fowl of heaven a heron, thy fish of [the deep(?)] a black *lbs*. They are established on earth. *Yb* is thy name in thy body in (?) the sea, thy figure of stone in which thou camest forth is a . . . ; heaven is thy shrine, the Earth thy fore-court; it was my will (?) to seize thee here today, for I am one shining, enduring: my . . . faileth (?) if I have not done it through (?) the delay, I not having discovered thy name, O great God whose name is great, the lord of the threshing-floor (?) of heaven. (But) I have done it, [enduring ?] hunger for bread, and thirst for water; and do thou rescue(?) me and make me prosper and give me praise, love, and reverence before every man. For I am the mighty bull, the great God that is in the *wzat*, that came forth from the four regions (?) of space (?). I am *Hune* (youth), the great name that is in heaven, whom they call . . . AMPHOOU (bis), "True" (bis), "He is praised to (?) Abydos." "Ra," "Horus the boy" is my name, "Chief of the Gods" is my correct name, preserve me, make me to prosper, make my vessel to become [successful?]. Open to me Arkhah before every God and every man that hath come forth from the stone of Ptah. For I am the serpent that came forth from Nun, I am a proud (?) Ethiopia; a rearing serpent of real gold; there being honey in my (?) lips. That which I shall say cometh to pass at once, Ho! . . . Mighty one, for I am Anubis, the baby creature (?); I am Isis and I will bind him, I am Osiris and I will bind him, I am Anubis and I will bind him. Thou wilt save me from every . . . and every place of confusion (?). LASMATNOUT, LESMATÖT, protect me, heal me, give me love, praise and reverence in my vessel, my bandage (?) here today. Come to me, Isis, mistress of magic, the great sorceress of all the Gods. Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem, a snake of the son(s) of Atum is that which . . . a uraeus-diadem at my head; for he that shall strike (?) me (?) shall strike (?) King Mōnt here today . . . MIHOS, mighty one shall send out a lion of the sons of MIHOS under compulsion to fetch them to me (*bis*) the souls of God, the souls of man, the souls

of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead, so that they tell me the truth today concerning that after which I am inquiring: for I am Horus son of Isis who goeth on board at Arkhah to put wrappings on the amulets, to put linen on the Drowned one, the fair Drowned one of the drowned (?). They shall rise; they shall flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), my word-seeking (?).

Arouse them for me (*bis*), the spirits, the dead; rouse their souls and forms at (?) the mouths of my vessel; rouse them for me with the dead; rouse them for me (*bis*); rouse their souls and their forms. The fury of *Pesiwont*, the daughter of ARB . . . rouse them for me (*bis*) the *Wntw* from their places of punishment, let them talk with their mouths, let them speak with their lips, let them say that which I have said, about that which I am asking them here today; let them speak before (?) me, let truth happen to me; do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true name without falsehood therein. [Ho?] scarab of true lapis lazuli that sitteth at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Wennefer? fill thy mouth with the water of [the pool ?], pour it on my head together with him who is at my hand; make me prosper, make him prosper, and. conversely, until my words happen, let that which I say come to pass; for if that which I have said do not come to pass, I will cause fire to go round about this SEWE until that which I have said do come to pass; for [they came] to the earth, they listened to me , , . they said to me, "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am Atum in. the sun-boat of *Prē*; I am ARIOTATU, the ŠTO of. . . I looked out before . . . to observe Osiris the Ethiopian, he came into my head, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, two sons of *Wpy* behind him, and two sons of *Rere* mooring him. They said to me "Who art thou?" (*bis*), I am one of those two hawks that watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . with its glory (?) . . . , bring them to me (*bis*), the souls of God, the souls of man, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon,

COL. X

The spirits, the dead; let them tell me the truth today in that about which I shall ask: for I am ARTEMI. .. SE (?) -MAU, rising in the East.

Come in to me, Anubis with thy fair face, I have come to pray to thee. Woe (?) (*bis*), fire (*bis*), South, North, West, East, every breeze of *Amentī*, let them come into being, proved (*bis*), established, correct, enchanted, like the fury of the great one of reverence; for I am YAE, IAO, YAEA, YAŌ, SABAŌTH, ATONE ; for I cast fury at thee, THIAL, KLATAI, ARKHE, IOA, PHALEKMI, IAO, MAKHAHAI, IEE, KHO...N, KHOKHREKHI, AAIOTH, SARBIAQOU, IGRA, PHIBIEK, MOMOU, MOUNAIKH, STITHŌ, SOTHŌN, NAŌN, KHARMAI, the fury of all these Gods, whose names I have uttered here today, rouse them for me (*bis*), the drowned (?), the dead; let your (plur.) soul and your (plur.) form live for me at the mouths of my lamp, my bandage (?), my word-seeking (?). Let him make me answer to every word about which I am asking here today in truth (*bis*) without falsehood therein. Hasten (*bis*), quickly (*bis*).¹ Its spirit-gathering:

You go to a dark chamber with its face open to the South or East in a clean place: you sprinkle it with clean sand brought from the great river; you take a clean bronze cup or a

“Come to me, O..... thy beautiful name. O Thoth, hasten (bis); come to me. Let me see thy beautiful face here today..... I stand being in the form of an ape; and do thou greet (?) me with praise and adoration (?) with thy tongue of. . . Come unto me that thou mayest hearken to my voice today, and mayest save me from all things evil and all slander (?). Ho! Thou whose form is- of ... his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting came forth a God, who resteth deep (?) in Thebes; I am of the great Lady, under whom cometh forth the Nile, I am the face of reverence great..... soul (?) in his protection; I am the noble child who is in the House of Re: I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern the ibis as a true protection, who resteth in On; I am the master of the great foe, lord of the obstructor (?) of semen, mighty my name (?) I am a ram, son of a ram, SARPOT MUI-SRŌ (and vice versa) is my name, Light-scarab- noble (?) is my true name (bis); grant me praise and love and reverence from N. son of N. today, and let him give me all good things, and let him give me nourishment and fat things, and let him do for me everything which I wish for; and let him not injure me so as to do me harm, nor let him say to me a thing which I hate, today, to-night, this month, this year, this hour (?). . .

But as for my enemies the sun shall impede their hearts and blind their eyes, and cause the darkness to be in their faces; for I am BIRAI. .. RAI, depart ye (?), RAI; I am the son of Sekhmet, I am BIGT, bull of *Lat*, I am GAT son of GAT, whose the Underworld, who rests deep(?) in the Great Residence in On, I am son of Heknet, lady of the protecting bandage (?), who binds with thongs (?) I am the. .. phallus (?) which the great and mighty Powers guard, which rests in Bubastis; I am the divine shrew-mouse which resteth with in *Shym* ; lord of Ay, sole(?) lord. . . is my name Light-scarab-noble (?) is my true name (bis).

Ho! All ye these Gods, whose names I have spoken here today, come to me, that ye may hearken to that which I have said today and rescue me from all weakness (?), every disgrace, everything, every evil (?) today; grant me praise, love and reverence before such an one, the King and his host, the desert and its animals; let him do everything which I shall say to him together with every man who shall see me or to whom I shall speak or who shall speak to me, among every man, every woman, every child, every old man, every person [or animal or thing (?) in the]whole land, which shall see me in these moments today, and let them cause my praise to be in their hearts of everything which I shall do daily, together with those who shall come to me, to (?) overthrow every enemy (?), hasten (*bis*)quickly (bis), before I say them or repeat them.'

Over an ape of wax. An oxyrhynchus (?) fish - you put it in prime lily otherwise *tesheps*-oil or *moringa* (?) oil which [has been . . . and you put liquid ?] styrax to it, with prime frankincense together with seeds of 'great-of-love' plant in a metal (?) vase; you bring a wreath of flowers of.. ... and you anoint it with this oil as above, and recite these spells over it seven times before the sun in the morning, before speaking to any man on earth; you extract it, you anoint your face with it; you place the wreath, in your hand, and proceed to any place and be amongst any people; then it brings you great praise among them exceedingly. This scribe's feat is that of King Darius (?); there is no better than it.

Love spells – Col. XII

A method for making a woman love a man.

Opobalsamum, one *stater* (?); *malabathrum*, one *stater* (?). *qušt*, one *stater* (?), scented . . ., one *stater* (?); *merwe*, one *stater* (?); genuine oil, two *loq*; you pound these medicaments. You put them into a clean vessel; you add the oil on the top of them one day before the lunar period (?); when the lunar period (?) comes, you take a black *Qeš*- . . -fish measuring nine fingers - another says seven - in length, its eyes being variegated (?) of the colour of (?) the . . . [which you (?)] find in a water (?) . . . you put it into this oil above-mentioned for two days; you recite this formula to it (the oil) at dawn . . . before going out of your house, and before speaking to any man on earth.

When two days have passed, you rise early in the morning and go to a garden; you take a vine-shoot before it has ripened grapes, you take it with your left hand, you put it into your right hand - when it has grown seven digits - you carry it into your house, and you take the fish out of the oil, you tie it by its tail with a strip (?) of flax, you hang it up to . . of (?) the vine-wood. You place the thing containing oil under it until it (the fish) pours out by drops that which is in it downwards, the vessel which is under it being on a new brick for another three days; when the three days have passed, you take it down, you embalm it with myrrh, natron, and fine linen; you put it in a hidden place or in your chamber. You pass two more days; you recite to the oil again for seven days; you keep it; when you wish to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it.

The spells which you recite to the oil.

'I am Šu, GLABANŌ, I am Rē, I am QOMRE, I am son of Re, I am *Sišt* (?), son of Šu; a reed (?) of the water of *On*, this gryphon which is in Abydos. Thou (fem.) art *Tp-wr* (first, great) great of sorcery, the living uraeus, thou art the sun-boat, the lake of *Wpq*; grant to me praise, love, and lordship before every womb, every woman. Love (?) is my true name'.

Another invocation of it again;

"I am ŠU, KLAJINOK, I am YARN, I am GAMREN, I am SE . . . PAER(?)IPAF YUNPEN, DYNHS, GAMROU, water of On, I am ŠU, ŠABU, ŠA. . . , ŠABAHO, LAHY-LAHS, LAHEI, the great God who is in the East, LABRATHAA, I am that gryphon which is in Abydos."

Another form of them (?) again, to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa, before. ...! Thou art *T3wrt*, the great of sorcery, [cat (?)] of Ethiopia, daughter of Re, lady of the uraeus; thou art Sekhmet, the great, lady of Ast, who hast seized every impious person . . . [eyeball (?)] of the sun in the *wzat*, born of the moon at the midmonth at night, thou art QAM (?) . . . mighty, abyss, thou art QAM (?).... great one (fem.) who art in the House of the obelisk in On; thou art the golden mirror, thou art the *sktt*-boat, the

sun-boat of Re . . . LANZA, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Amazon (?) in the . . . of *dum*-palm fruit (?), these . . . , of *Bywkm*; the favour and love which the sun, thy father, hath given to thee, send them to me down into this oil, before the heart, and eyes of (?) every woman before whom I come in.'

Invocation to a *Qeš* . . -fish of nine digits and black; you put it in an ointment of roses; you drown it therein; you take it out, you hang it up by its head [... days (?)]; when you have finished you put it on a glass vessel; you add a little water of sisymbrium with a little amulet (?) –of -Isis. . . and pounded; you recite this to it seven times for seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You anoint your head with it in the hour when you lie with [any (?)] woman. You embalm the fish with myrrh and natron; you bury it in your chamber or in a hidden place.

COL. XIII

The mode of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband;

‘Woe! (bis), flame! (bis); Geb assumed his form of a bull; he laid with the daughter of his mother, *Tfnt*, again . . . because (?) the heart of his father cursed (?) his face; the fury of him whose soul is as flame, while his body is as a pillar (?), so that(?) he..... .. fill the earth with flame and the mountains shoot with tongues (?) : - the fury of every God and every Goddess *Anḥ-wr*, LALAT (?), BAREŠAK, BELKEŠ, He cast upon (?) N. the son of N. [and (?)] N. the daughter of N., send the fire towards his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . of fire of hatred never ceasing to enter into his heart at any time, until he cast N. daughter of N. out of his abode, she having (?) hatred to his heart, she having quarrel to his face; grant for him the nagging (?) and squabbling (?), the fighting and quarrelling between them at all times, until they are separated from each other, without agreeing again for ever.’ Gum, . . . , myrrh; you add wine to them; you make them into a figure of Geb, there being a was-sceptre in his hand.

The uses of the shrew-mouse (?) to which it is put.

You take a shrew-mouse (?), you drown it in some water; you make the man drink of it; then he is blinded in his two eyes.

Grind its body (?) with any piece of food, you make the man eat it, then he makes a . . . and he swells up and he dies.

If you do it to bring a woman, you take a shrew-mouse (?), you place it on a Syrian pot, you put it on the backbone (?) of a donkey, you put its tail in a Syrian pot or in a glass again; you let it loose (?) alive within the door of a bath of the woman, you gild (?) it (sic) and embalm its tail, you add pounded myrrh to it, you put it in a gold ring (?), you put it on your finger after reciting these charms to it, and walk with it to any place, and any woman whom you shall take hold of, she giveth herself unto you. You do it when the moon is full.

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man, you take its body, dried, you pound it, you take a little of it with a little blood of your second finger, that of the heart (?), of your left hand; you mix it with it, you put it in a cup of wine; you give it to the woman and she drinks it; then she has a passion for you.

You put its gall into a measure of wine and the man drinks it; then he dies at once; or you put it into any piece of food.

You put its heart (?) into a seal-ring (?) of gold; you put it on your hand, and go anywhere; then it brings you favour, love, and reverence.

You drown a hawk in a measure of wine; you make the man drink it, then he dies.

You put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel into any food, and then he dies.

You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and cook it, and anoint the man with it; then [he dies(?)].

You wish to produce a skin-disease on a man and that it shall not be healed, a *hantous*-lizard [and (?)] a *hafleele*-lizard, you cook them with [oil (?)], you wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it troublesome (?), you put then it is troublesome (?).

You put beer(?) to the eye of a man, then he is blinded.

The charms which you recite to the ring at the time of taking hold of the woman“YAHŌ, ABRASAX, may N. daughter of N. love me, may she burn for me by the way (?).” You. . . . Then she conveys herself (?) after you; you write it again on the strip with which you wrap up the [shrew-mouse (?)].

Invocation of Anubis and other Gods for revelation – Col. XIV

That which another man said to me; 'Open my eyes,' unto four times. A vessel-divination : ' Open my eyes; open thine eyes,' (and) vice versa, unto three times. ' Open, Tat; Open, Nap,' three times; ' open unto me' three times, 'for I am ARTAMO, born of Hame-o (?), the great basilisk of the East, rising in glory together with thy father at dawn; hail (bis), *Hh*, open to me Hah,' you say it with a drawling(?) voice 'ARTAMO, open to me Hah; if thou dost not open to me Hah, I will make thee open to me HAH. O Ibis (bis), sprinkle (?), that I may (?) see the great God. Anubis, the power that is about (?) my head, the great protector (?) of the *wzat*, the power, Anubis, the good ox-herd, at every opening(?) (of the eye ?) which I have (?) made, reveal thyself to me; for I am NASTHŌM, NASZOT, NAS-HŌTB, BORILAMMAI (bis), MASTINX, Anubis, MEGISTE, ARIAN, thou who art great, ARIAN, PI-ANUZY (?), ARIAN, he who is without. Hail, PHRIX, IX, ANAXIBROX, AMBROX, EBORXXON, NBROKHRIA,... the great child, Anubis; for I am that soldier. O ye of the *Atef*- crown, ye of PEPHNUN,

MASPHONEKE; hail! Let all that I have said come to pass here today; say, hail! thou art THAM, THAMTHOM, THAMATHOM, THAMATHOMTHAM, THAMATHOUTH, Amon (bis), thy correct name, whom they call THOM, ANAKTHOM; thou art ITTH; THOUTH is thy name, SITHOM, ANITHŌM OP-SAO (?), ŠATN-SRO black; open to me the mouths of my vessel here today; come to me to the mouths of my vessel, my bandage (?), let my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven; may the hounds of the *kulot* give me that which is just in the abyss; may they tell me that about which I inquire here today truly (bis), there being no falsehood in them, MAKHOPNEUMA.”

Formula : you take a bowl of bronze, you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with water left to settle (?) and guarded (?) lest (?) the sun should reach it; you finish its surface of the water with fine oil. You place it on [three ?] new bricks, their lower sides being sprinkled with sand; you put four other bricks under the child; you make the child lie down upon (?) his stomach; you cause him (?) to place his chin on the brick of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, he having a cloth spread over his head, there being a lighted lamp on his right, and a censer with fire on his left; you put a leaf of Anubis-plant on the lamp, you put this incense on (the fire); you recite these spells, which are above, to the vessel seven times.

The incense which you put on the fire: frankincense (?), wax (?), styrax, turpentine (?), date- stone (?); grind them with wine; you make them into a ball and put them on (the fire).

When you have finished, you make the child open his eyes, you ask him, saying, 'Is the God coming in?' If he says 'The God has come in,' you recite before him:

Formula; 'Thy bull (?) Mao, ho! Anubis, this soldier (?), this GAM, this KM . . . PISREITHI (bis), SREITHI (bis), ABRITHI is thy name, by thy correct name.'

You ask him concerning that which you desire; when you have finished your inquiry which you are asking about, you call to him seven times; you dismiss the God to his home.

His dismissal formula: ' Farewell (*bis*) Anubis, the good ox-herd, Anubis (bis), the son of a (?) jackal (and ?) a dog . . . another volume saith: the child of . . . Isis (?) (and 7) a dog, NABRIŠOTH, the Kerub (?) of *Amenti*, king of those of....'Say seven times.

You take the lamp from (?) the child, you take the vessel containing water, you take the cloth off him. You do it also by vessel-inquiry alone, excellent (bis), tried (?), and tested nine times. The Anubis-plant. It grows in very numerous places; its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant (?)]; it turns (?) white; its flower is like the flower of *conyza*. . . you . . . eye . . . before you . . . the vessel.

A potion. You take a little shaving of the head of a man who has died a violent death, together with seven grains of barley that has been buried in a grave of a dead (?) man; you pound them with ten *oipe*, otherwise nine,(of) apple-seeds (?); you add blood of a worm (?) of a black dog to them, with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart (?), of your left hand, and with your semen (?), and you pound them together and put them into a cup of wine and add three *with* to it of the first-fruits of the vintage, before you have tasted it and before they have poured out from it; and you pronounce this invocation to it seven times and you make the woman drink it; and you tie the skin of the parasite aforesaid with a band of byssus and tie it to your left arm.

Its invocation formula: 'I am he of Abydos in truth, by formation (?) (and ?) birth in her (?) name of Isis the bringer (?) of fire, she of the mercy-seat of the Agathodaemon. I am this figure of the sun, SITAMESRO is my name. I am this figure of a Captain of the host, very valiant, this Sword (?), this Overthrower (?), the Great Flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this Fortress (?), this Sword(?), this Overthrower (?) is my name. I am this figure of One Drowned, that testifieth by writing, that resteth on die other side(?) here under the great offering-table (?) of Abydos; as to which, the blood of Osiris bore witness to her (?) name of Isis when it (the blood) was poured into this cup, this wine. Give it, blood of Osiris (that?) he (?) gave to Isis to make her feel love in her heart for him night and day at any time, there not being time of deficiency. Give it, the blood of N. born of N. to give it to N. born of N. in this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N. the daughter of N. feel it, she seeking after N. the son of N. everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu, let N. born of N. feel it, she loving him, mad after him, inflamed by him, seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him.'

Another method of doing it again. The paring (?) of your nail's point (?)from an apple-fruit(?), and blood of your finger aforesaid again; you pound the apple and put blood on it, and put it in the cup of wine and invoke it seven times, and make the woman drink it at the moment named.

A spell of going to meet a sovereign, (?) when he fights with you and will not parley (?) with you. 'Do not pursue me, thou! I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris and I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to take it to Tastai (?) and to deposit it in Alkhai; if N. deal blows at me, I will cast it at him. 'Its invocation in Egyptian also is this as below; 'Do not pursue me, N., I am PAPIPETU METUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris; I am proceeding to take it to Abydos, to cause it to rest in Alqhah. If N. fight with me today, I will cast it away.' Say seven times.

Invocations – Col. XVI

The words of the lamp: 'BŌTH, THEOU, YE, WE, O-OE, YA, WA - otherwise, THEOU, IE, OE, OON, IA, OUA- PHTHAKH, ELŌAI - otherwise, ELŌN, excellent (*bis*)- IATH, EON, PURIPHAĒ, IEOU, IA, IO, IA, IOUE, come down to the light of this lamp and appear to this boy and inquire for me about that which I ask here today, YAŌ,

YAOLO, THERENTHO, PSIKHIMEAKELO, BLAKHANSPLA, IAE, WEBAI, BARBARAITHOU, IEOU, ARPONKNOUPH, BRINTATENOPHRI, HEA, KARRHE, BALMENTHRE, MENEBAREIAKHUKH, IA, KHUKH, BRINSKULMA, AROUZARBA, MESEKHRIPH, NIPTOUMIKH, MAORKHARAM, Ho! LAANKHUKH, OMPH, BRIMBAINOUIOTH, SEGENBAI, KHOUKHE, LAIKHAM, ARMIOUTH, "You say it, being pure, in this manner: 'O God that liveth, O lamp that is lighted, TAKRTAT, he of eternity, bring in BOEL! - Three times - 'ARBETH-ABI, OUTHIO, O great God, bring BOEL in, TAT (bis), bring BOEL in!' Three times.' TAKRTAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in!' Three times.' BAROUTH, O great God, bring BOEL in!' Three times.

The invocation which you pronounce before *Prē* in the morning before reciting to the boy, in order that that which thou doest may succeed: 'O great God, TABAO, BASOUKHAM, AMO, AKHAKHARKHAN-GRABOUN-SANOUNI- EDIQOMTO, KETHOU-BASA-THOURI-THMILA-ALO.' Seven times.

Another method of it again. You rise in the morning from your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that every thing which you will do shall prosper in your hand, you being pure from every abomination. You pronounce this invocation before *Prē* three times or seven times. 'YO, TABAO, SOKHOM-MOA, OKH-OKH-KHAN-BOUZANAU, AN- IESI, EGOMPHTHO, GETHO, SETHOURI, THMILA, ALOUAPOKHRI, let everything that I shall apply (?) my hand to here today, let it happen.'

Its method. You take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you (put) a clean wick in it, and you fill it with pure genuine oil and lay it in a place cleansed with natron water and concealed, and you lay it on a new brick, and you take a boy and seat him upon another new brick, his face being turned to the lamp, and you close his eyes and recite these things that are (written) above down into the boy's head seven times. You make him open his eyes. You say to him, 'do you see the light?' When he says to you 'I see the light in the flame of the lamp,' you cry at that moment saying '*Hewe*' nine times. You ask him concerning everything that you wish after reciting the invocation that you made previously before *Prē* in the morning. You do it in a place with (its) entrance open to the East, and put the face of the lamp turned (blank). You put the face of the boy turned (blank) facing the lamp, you being on his left hand. You cry down into his head, you strike his head with your second finger, (that) of the . . . , of your right hand.

Divination rituals – Col. XVII

Another method of it again, very good, for the lamp. You (say?): 'BOEL,' (thrice), I, I, I, A, A, A, TAT, TAT, TAT, the first attendant of the great God, he who gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame which is not quenched, the great God that dieth not, the great God he that sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the God, come within in the midst of this flame and reveal thyself to this boy here today; cause him to inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask

him here today: for I will glorify thee in heaven before *Prē*, I will glorify thee before the Moon, I will glorify thee on Earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who perisheth not, he of the great glory, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the God, he of the great glory, PETERI (bis), PATER, EMPHĒ (bis), O great God, who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created, deity, deity not having created him, come in to me with BOĒL, ANIĒL; do thou give strength to the eyes of this boy who has my vessel today, to (?) cause him to see thee, cause his ears to hear thee when thou speakest; and do thou inquire for him concerning everything and every word as to which I shall ask him here today, O great God SISAOUTH, AKHREMP TŌ, come into the midst of this flame he who sitteth on the mountain of GABAON, TAKRTAT, he of eternity, he who dieth not, who liveth forever, bring BOĒL in, BOĒL (bis), ARBĒTHBAINOUTH, great one, O great God (*bis*) (bring) fetch BOĒL in, TAT (bis) bring BOĒL in.'

You say these things seven times down into the head of the boy, you make him open his eyes and you ask him saying, 'has the light appeared?' If it be that the light has not come forth, you make the boy himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

Formula: 'Grow, O light, come forth O light, rise O light, lift thyself up O light, come forth O light of the God, reveal thyself to me, O servant of the God, in whose hand is the command of today; who will ask for me.'

Then he reveals himself to the boy in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, he looking towards the lamp. Do not let him look towards another place except the lamp only; if he does not look towards it, then he is afraid. You do all these things, you cease from your inquiry, you return, you make him close his eyes, you speak down into his head this other invocation which is below, that is, if the Gods go away and the boy ceases to see them: 'ARKHE-KHEM-PHAI, ZEOU, HELE, SATRAPERMĒT, watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or scared, and make him return to his original path. Open *Tei* (the Underworld), open *Tai* (Here).'

I say it that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better than the beginning. This is the method again, its form: you take a new lamp in which no minium has been put and you put a wick of clean linen in it, you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick, you make the boy sit on another brick opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes, you recite down into his head according to the other method also.

Another invocation, which you recite towards *Prē* in the morning, three times or seven times. Formula: 'YŌTABAO, SOKH-OMMOA, OKH-OKH-KHAN, BOUZANAU, ANIESI, EGOMPHTHŌ, KETHŌ, SETHŌRI, THMILA-ALWAPOKHRI may everything succeed that I shall do today,' and they will (?) succeed.

If it be that you do not apply (?) purity to it, it does not succeed; its chief matter is purity.

Another invocation like the one above again.

Formula: 'BOËL,' (thrice), 'I, I, I, A, I, I, I, A, TAT (thrice), he who giveth the light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he of the flame which does not perish, the God who liveth, who dieth not, he who sitteth in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the God, reveal thyself to this boy, HEOU (bis), HEO, that he may inquire for me, and do thou make him see and let him look and let him listen to everything which I ask him, for I will glorify thee in heaven, I will glorify thee on earth, I will glorify thee before him who is on the throne, who does not perish, he of greatness. PETERI (bis), EMPHE (bis), O great God who is above heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with BOËL, ANIEL, and give strength to the eyes of HEU (bis).

COL. XVIII

Of HEU (bis), the son of HEO (*bis*) for he shall see thee with his eyes, and thou shalt make his ears to hear, and shalt speak with him of everything; he shall ask thee about it, and thou shalt tell me answer truly; for thou art the great God SABAŌTH; come down with BOËL, Tat (*bis*); bring BOËL in, come into the midst of this flame and inquire for me concerning that which is good; TAKRTAT, he of eternity, bring BOËL in,' three times, 'ARBĒTHBAINOUTHĪŌ, O great God, bring BOËL in,' three times. You say these things down into the head of the boy; you make him open his eyes, you ask him as to everything according to the method which is outside, again.

Another vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchus nome gave me; you can also make it with a vessel-inquiry alone by yourself: 'SABANEM, NN, BIRIBAT, Ho! (*bis*) O God SISIAHO who (art) on the mountain of QABAHO, in whose hand is the creation of the ŠOY, favour (?) this boy, may he enchant the light, for I am Fair-face' - another roll says, 'I am the face of Nun - in the morning, HALAHO at midday, I am Glad-of-face in the evening, I am *Prē*, the glorious boy whom they call GARTA by name; I am he that came forth on the arm of *Triphis* in the East; I am great, Great is my name, Great is my real name, I am OU, OU is my name, AOU is my real name; I am LOT MULOT, I have prevailed (?) (*bis*), he whose strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, *Thyyt* (*bis*), To (*bis*), HATRA (*bis*), the Dog-face (*bis*). Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis, the noble boy whom Isis loves, who inquires for his father Osiris Wennefer. Hail! Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld, let the darkness depart, bring the light in unto me to my vessel- inquiry, my knot (?) here today; may I flourish, may he flourish whose face is bent down to this vessel here today until the Gods come in, and may they tell me answer truly to my question about which I am inquiring here today, truly without falsehood forth with (?). Hail! Anubis, O creature (?), Child, go forth at once, bring to me the Gods of this city and the God who gives answer (?) today, and let him tell me my question about which I am asking today.

Nine times.

You open your eyes or (those of) the boy and you see the light. You invoke the light, saying, 'Hail, O light, come forth (*bis*) O light, rise (*bis*) O light, increase (*bis*) O light, O that which is without, come in.' You say it nine times, until the light increases and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis comes in and takes his stand, then you say to Anubis, 'Arise, go forth, bring in to me the Gods of this city (or?) village,' then he goes out at the moment named and brings the Gods in. When you know that the Gods have come in, you say to Anubis, 'Bring in a table for the Gods and let them sit down.' When they are seated, you say to Anubis, 'Bring a wine-jar in and some cakes; let them eat, let them drink.' While he is making them eat and making them drink, you say to Anubis, 'Will they inquire for me today?' If he says 'Yes' again, you say to him, 'The God who will ask for me, let him put forth his hand to me and let him tell me his name.' When he tells you his name, you ask him as to that which you desire. When you have ceased asking him as to that which you desire, you send them away.

Various healing spells – Col. XIX

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. (?) 'I have come forth from Arkhah, my mouth being full of blood of a black dog. I spit it out, the . . . of a dog. O this dog, who is among the ten dogs which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract thy venom, remove thy saliva (?) from me (?) again, If thou dost not extract thy venom and remove thy saliva (?), I will take thee up to the court of the temple of Osiris, my watch-tower (?). I will do for thee the *parapage* (?) of birds (?) like the voice of Isis, the sorceress (?), the mistress of sorcery (?), who bewitches (?) everything and is not bewitched (?) in her name of Isis the sorceress (?).' And you pound garlic with *kmou* (?) and you put it on the wound of the bite of the dog; and you address it daily until it is well.

Spell spoken for extracting the venom from, the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or (?) ...' Hail to him! (*bis*) YABLOU, the golden cup of Osiris. Isis and Osiris and the great Agathodaemon have drunk from thee; the three Gods have drunk, I have drunk after them myself; for, dost thou make me drunk? Dost thou make me suffer shipwreck? Dost thou make me perish? Dost thou cause me confusion? Dost thou cause me to be vexed of heart? Dost thou cause my mouth to speak blasphemy? May I be healed of all poison pus and venom which have been ed to my heart; when I drink thee, may I cause them to be cast up in the name of SARBITHA, the daughter of the Agathodaemon; for I am SABRA, BRIATHA, BRISARA, HĒR is my name. I am Horus Šarn (?) when he comes from receiving acclamation (?), YAHŌ, the child is my name as my real name.' (Pronounced) to a cup of wine and you put (sic) fresh rue and put it to it; and you make invocation to it seven times, and make the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

Spell spoken to the man, when a bone has stuck in his throat. 'Thou art ŠLATE, LATE, BALATE, the white crocodile, which is under (?) the . . . of the sea of fire, whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man. Ho! Thou wilt spit forth this bone for me today, which acts (?) as a bone, whichwhich. . . . as (?) a bandage, which does everything

without a thing deficient; for I am(?) a lion's fore-part, I am a ram's head (?), I am a leopard's tooth; Gryphon is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand, the man named is he who gives (?) my. . . . ' Seven times. You make invocation to a little oil. You put the face of the man upwards and put it (the oil) down into his mouth, and place your finger and your nail [to the?] two muscles (?) of his throat; you make him swallow the oil and make him start up suddenly, and you eject the oil which is in his throat immediately; then the bone comes up with the oil.

Spell spoken to the bite of the dog. The exorcism (?) of Amen and Thriphis; say: ' I am this Hakoris (?) strong, ŠLAMALA, MALET, secret (?) mighty ŠETEI, GREŠEI, GREŠEI, *Nb Rnt* TAHNE BAHNE (?) this [dog ?] this black one, the dog which hath bewitched (?), this dog, he of these four hitch-pups (?), the jackal (?) being (?) a son of Ophois. O son of Anubis, hold on (?) by thy tooth, let fall thy humours (?); thou art as the face of Set against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop against the Sun; Horus the son of Osiris, born of Isis (is he ?) at whom thou didst fill thy mouth (i.e. bite), N. son of N. (is he) (?) at whom thou hast filled thy mouth; hearken to this speech. Horus who didst heal burning pain (?), who didst go to the abyss, who didst found the Earth, listen, O YAHŌ, SABAHO, ABIAHO by name.'

You cleanse (?) the wound, you pound salt with . . . ; apply it to him.

Another: you pound rue with honey, apply it; you say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it (?).

Healing spells – Col. XX

Spell spoken to the sting: 'I am the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis (?), she came (?) after me forth to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of *Heh*, to the nome of those cannibals, saying, "Haste (bis), quick (*bis*) my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis," saying, "Arise and come to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt, he is ruler over the whole land; all the Gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand." The moment of saying those things she brought me a blow (?), fell my tail (?) upon me. It (?) gathered together (?), it (?) coming to me with a sting (?): I sat down and wept. Isis, my mother, sat before me, saying to me, "Do not weep (bis), my child, King's son, eldest and first, Anubis; lick with thy tongue on thy heart, repeatedly (?) far as the edges of the wound (?); lick the edges of the wound (?) as far as the edges of thy tail (?). What thou wilt lick up, thou swallowest it; do not spit it out on the ground; for thy tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaemon, thy tongue (?) is that of Atum." And you lick it with your tongue, while it is bleeding, immediately; thereafter, you recite to a little oil and you recite to it seven times, you put it on the sting daily; you soak a strip of linen, you put it on it.

The spell which you say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: 'Isis sat reciting to the oil *Abartat* and lamenting (?) to the true oil, saying, "Thou being praised, I will praise thee, O oil, I will praise thee, thou being praised by the Agathodaemon; thou being applauded (?) by me myself, I will praise thee for ever, O herb oil - otherwise true oil - O sweat of

the Agathodaemon, amulet (?) of Geb. It is Isis who makes invocation to the oil. O true oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter which cometh down from the sun-boat at dawn, thou wilt make the healing effect (?) of the dew of dawn which heaven hath cast on to the earth upon every tree, thou wilt heal the limb which is paralysed (?), thou wilt make a remedy for him that liveth; for I will employ thee for the sting of the King's son, eldest and first, Anubis, my child, that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well? For I will employ thee for (the ?) sting of N. the son of N., that thou mayest fill it; wilt thou not make it well?"
Seven times.

Spell spoken to fetch a bone out of a throat. 'I am he whose head reaches the sky and his feet reach the abyss, who hath raised up (?) this crocodile . . . in Pizeme (?) of Thebes; for I am SA, SIMĒ, TAMAHO, is my correct name, ANOUG (bis), saying, hawk's-egg is that which is in my mouth, ibis-egg is that which is in my belly; saying, hope of God, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides; saying, that which is in thy belly let it come to thy heart; that which is in thy heart, let it come to thy mouth; that which is in thy mouth, let it come to my hand here today; for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who standeth in the seven sanctuaries, for I am the son of the God who liveth.'

Say it to a cup of water seven times: thou causeth the woman (*sic*) to drink it.

COL. XXI

The vessel-inquiry of Osiris.

'Hail to him! Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in *This*, and his feet in Thebes, he who giveth answer (?) in Abydos, whoseis (in?) *Pašalom*, he who is under the nubs tree in *Meroe*, who is on the mountain of *Poranos*, who is on my house to eternity, the house of NETBEOU forever, he whose countenance is as the resemblance (?) of the face of a hawk of linen, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a serpent, whose back is the back of a crocodile (?), whose hand is a man's, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, in whose hand is this wand of command, hail to him YAHŌ, SABAHO, ATONAI, MISTEMU, YAUUIU; hail to him, MIKHAEL, SABAEL, hail to him, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who carries a wound (?) on one foot, hide the darkness in the midst, bring in the light for me, come in to me, tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here today.'

Nine times, until the God come and the light appear.

You must do it in the manner of the remainder as above again; the boy's face being to the East and your own face to the West; you call down into his head.

The method of the scarab of the cup of wine, to make a woman love a man.

You take a fish-faced(?) scarab, this scarab bring small and having no horn, it wearing three plates on the front of its head; you find its face thin (?) outwards - or again that which bears two horns -. You take it at the rising of the sun; you bind (?) yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back, and bind (?) yourself on (?) your face with a strip of palm-fibre, the scarab being on the front (?) of your hand; and you address it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times.

When you have finished, you drown it in some milk of a black cow; you approach (?) its head with a hoop (?) of olive wood; you leave it till evening in the milk. When evening comes, you take it out, you spread its under part with sand, and put a circular strip of cloth under it upon the sand, unto four days; you do frankincense-burning before it. When the four days have passed, and it is dry, you take it before you (lit. your feet), there being a cloth spread under it. You divide it down its middle with a bronze knife; you take (?) its right half, and your nails of your right hand and foot; you cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood, you pound them with nine apple-pips together with your urine or your sweat free from oil of the bath; you make it into a ball and put it in the wine, and speak over it seven times, and you make the woman drink it; and you take its other half, the left one, together with your nails of your left hand and foot also, and bind them in a strip of fine linen, with myrrh and saffron, and bind them to your left arm, and lie with the woman with them bound upon you.

If you wish to do it again without its being drowned, then you do it again on the third of the lunar month. You do it in this manner that is above for it again. You pronounce its invocation to it before the Sun in the morning, you cook (it), you divide it, you do it according to that which is above again in everything.

The invocation which you pronounce to it before the Sun in the morning:

'Thou art this scarab of real lapis-lazuli; I have taken thee out of the door of my temple; thou carriest (?)of bronze to thy nose (?) that can eat (?) the herbage that is trampled (?), the field-plants (?) that are injured for the great images of the men of Egypt. I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to strike her from her heart to her belly (bis), to her entrails (bis), to her womb; for she it is who hath wept(?) before the Sun in the morning, she saying to the Sun, "Come not forth," to the Moon, "Rise not," to the water, "Come not to the men of Egypt," to the fields, "Grow not green," and to the great trees of the men of Egypt, "Flourish not." I dispatch thee to N. born of N. to injure her from her heart unto her belly (bis), unto her entrails (bis), unto her womb, and she shall put herself on the road (?) after N. born of N. at every time (?).'

The spell that you pronounce to it, while it is in the milk.

'Woe (?), great (bis), woe(?), my(?) great, woe (?) his (?) Nun, woe (?) his (?) love. O scarab (bis), thou art the eye of *Prē*, the heart (?) of Osiris, the open-hand (?) of *Šu*, thou approachest in this condition in which Osiris thy father went, on account of N. born of N. until fire is put to her heart and the flame to her flesh, until she shall follow (?) N. born of N., unto every place in which he is.'

The spell which you utter to it when you cook it:

'O my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), thou who didst cast semen and who dost cast semen among all the Gods, whom he that is little (and?) he that is great found among the two great enneads in the East of Egypt, who cometh forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus-reed; I know thy name, I know thy . . . "the work of two stars" is thy name, I cast forth fury upon thee today: NEPHALAM, BALLA, BALKHA (?), YOPHPHE; for every burning, every heat, every fire that thou makest today, thou shalt make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver (?), the spleen, the womb, the great viscera, the little viscera, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of N. born of N. until she follow (?) N. born of N. to every place in which he is.'

The spell that you pronounce to it in the wine:

'O scarab (bis), thou art the scarab of real lapis-lazuli. thou art the eye of *Prē*, thou art the eye of Atum, the open-hand (?) of *Šu*, the heart (?) of Osiris, thou art that black bull, the first, that came forth from Nun, the beauty of Isis being with thee; thou art RAKS, RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar (?) which they brought from the land of Syria unto Egyptto the wine, I send thee; wilt thou go on my errand? Wilt thou do it? Thou sayest, "Send me to the thirsty, that his thirst may be quenched, and to the canal that it may be dried up, and to the sand of the *snyt* that it may be scattered without wind, and to the papyrus of Buto that the blade may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for (?) Isis, catastrophes grow great for the Egyptians, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst."

I send thee; do like unto these; I send thee down to the heart of N. born of N. and do thou make fire in her body, flame in her entrails, put the madness to her heart, the fever (?) to her flesh; let her make the pursuit of the "Shoulder"-constellation after the "Hippopotamus"-constellation; let her make the movements of the sunshine after the shadow, she following after N. born of N. to every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing the place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night; give her lamentation and anxiety by day; let her not cat, let her not drink, let her not sleep, let her not eat under (41) the shade of her house until she follow (?) him to every place in. which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glance turned (?), she not knowing the place of the earth in which she is, until she see him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every Let fly (?) the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times without fail at any time. Quick (bis), hasten (bis).'

COL. XXII

Behold! (spell?) of the name of the Great-of-Five which they pronounce to every spirit. There is none that is stronger than it in the books. If you pronounce these charms to any vessel, then the Gods depart not before you have questioned them concerning every word and they have told you the answer about heaven, earth, and the underworld, a distant

inquiry (?), water, (and) the fields. A charm which is in the power (?) of a man to pronounce.

A curse, and a moon divination – Col. XXIII

A spell to inflict (?) Catalepsy (?)

Formula. You take an ass's head, and you place it between your feet opposite the sun in the morning when it is about to rise, opposite it again in the evening when it goes to the setting, and you anoint your right foot with set-stone of Syria, and your left foot with clay, the soles (?) of your foot also and place your right hand in front and your left hand behind, the head being between them. You anoint your hand, of your two hands, with ass's blood, and the two *fnz* of your mouth, and utter these charms towards the sun in the morning and evening of four days; then he sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you do it for seven days, you do its magic, you bind a thread of palm-fibre to your hand, a mat (?) of wild palm-fibre to your phallus and your head; very excellent.

This is the invocation which you utter before the sun:

'I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, almighty, God of Gods dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou that hatest a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." I invoke thee, Typhon Set, I perform thy ceremonies of divination, for I invoke thee by thy powerful name in (words ?) which thou canst not refuse to hear; YOERBĒTH, YŌPAKERBETH, YOBOLKHŌSĒTH, YŌPATATHNAX, YŌSŌRŌ, YONEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, AKTIOPHI, ERESKHIGAL, NEBOPOSOALĒTH, ABERAMENTHŌOU, LERTHEXANAX, ETHRELUŌTH, NEMAREBA, AEMINA, entirely (?) come to me and approach and strike down Him or Her with frost and fire; he has wronged me, and has poured out the blood of Typhon(?) beside (?) him or her: therefore I do these things.'

Common form.

To divine, opposite the moon. You do it by vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a child. If it is you who will inquire, you fill your eye with green eye-paint (and) stibium, you stand on a high place, on the top of your house, you address the moon when it fills the *wzat* on the 15th day, you being pure for three days; you pronounce this invocation to the moon seven or nine times until he appear to you and speak to you ; ' Ho! SAX, AMUN, SAX, ABRASAX; for thou art the moon, the chief of the stars, he that did form them, listen to the things that I have (?) said, follow the (words) of my mouth, reveal thyself to me, THAN, THANA, THANATHA, otherwise THEI, this is my correct name.

'Nine (times) of saying it until she (sic) reveal herself to thee.

Another form of it again, to be pronounced to the moon.

You paint your eye with this paint, you (going ?) up before the moon when it fills the *wzat*, then you see the figure of the God in the *wzat* speaking unto you. 'I am HAH, QO, AMRO, MA-AMT, METE is my name, for I am . . . BAI, SO, AGANAGOUP, MELĤ, AĤ, AĤ, HY, MELĤ is my true (*bis*) . . . eternity, I am ĤELBAI, STT, ĤN MNFR is my name, SRO, OŠENBET, is my correct name.'

Say it nine times. You stand opposite the moon, your eye being filled with this ointment; - green eye-paint and stibium, grind with Syrian honey and put the gall of a chick full grown to it, and put it on a thing of glass, and lay it by for yourself in a hidden place till the time when you are ready for it; then you do it again as above.

Potions and recipes – Col. XXIV

For catalepsy (?) - another:

Flour of wild dates which has been beaten up (?) with milk ...you make them up together into a ball and put in the wine. A medicament, when you wish to drug(?) a man - tested: - scammony root, 1 drachm, opium, 1 drachm; pound with milk, you make it into a ball and put it into some food (?), which is cooked (?), and let him eat it; then he is upset.

Another, when you wish to make a man sleep for two days: - *mandragora* root, 1 ounce, liquorice (?), 1 ounce, *hyoscyamus*, 1 ounce, ivy, 1 ounce; you pound them like (sic) a *log*-measure of wine.

If you wish to do it cleverly (?) you take four portions to each one of them with an *wth* of wine, you moisten them from morning to evening; you clarify them, you make them drink it; very good.

Another, the fourth (?): - pips (?) of apple, 1 *stater* (?), 1 kite, pound with flour. You make it into a cake (?); you make the man eat it, whom you wish.

A medicament for making a man sleep; very good:

- pips (?) of apple, 1 *stater* (?), 1 drachma, *mandragora* root, 4 drachmas, ivy, 4 drachmas; pound together; you put fifteen *wth* of wine to it; you put it into a glass *glyt*; you keep it.

If you wish to give it, you put a little into a cup of wine; you give it to the man.

Ivy: it grows in gardens, its leaf is like the leaf of *šekam*, being divided into three lobes like a vine leaf; it is one palm in measurement; its blossom is like silver - another says gold.

Another: gall of an Alexandrian weasel, you add it to any food.

Another: a two-tailed lizard.

A medicament for catalepsy (?): gall of cerastes, pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*, pound them together; make into a pill, put (it) into the food (?).

Another: you put camel's blood with the blood of a dead man into the wine; you make the man drink it; then he dies.

Another: you put a night-jar's blood into his eye; then he is blinded.

Another: you put a bat's blood; this is the manner of it again.

Another: you drown a hawk in a jar of wine; you make the man drink it; (34.) then it does its work.

A shrew-mouse (?) in the same way; it does its work also. Its gall also, you add it to the wine; then it does its work very much.

You put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel into any food; then it does its work.

You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and you cook it with it; you anoint the man with it; then it does its work.

A divination, and a love spell – Col. XXV

The words of the lamp for inquiry of the boy.

Formula: 'TĒ, TĒ, IK, TATAK, THETHE, SATI, SANTASKI, KRŌMAKAT, PATAXURAI, KALEU-PANKAT, A-A-TIEWI, MAKAT-SITAKAT, HATI, HAT-RO, E-O-E, HAU (?), E; may they say to me an answer to everything concerning which I ask here today, for I am Harpocrates in Mendes, for I am Isis the Wise; the speech of my mouth comes to pass.'

Say seven times.

You take a new lamp (?), you put a clean linen wick into it brought from a temple, and you set it on a new brick, brought from the mould (?) and clean, on which no man has mounted (?); you set it upright, you place the lamp thereon; you put genuine oil in it, or Oasis oil, and you set two new bricks under you; you place the boy between your feet; you recite the charms aforesaid down into the head of the boy, your hand being over his eyes; you offer myrrh upon a willow leaf before the lamp. You do it in a dark place, the door of it opening to the East or the South, and no cellar being underneath it. You do not allow the light to come into the place aforesaid; you purify the said place beforehand. You push the boy's back to the opening of the niche.

When you have finished, you recite a charm, bringing your hand over his eyes, A boy who has not yet gone with a woman, is he whom you make come before you (?); you

question him, saying. 'What do you see?' then he tells you about everything that you ask him.

A method to put the heart of a woman after a man; done in one moment (?), and it comes to pass instantly.

You take a swallow (?) alive, together with a hoopoe, (both) alive. Ointment made for them: blood, of a male ass, blood of the tick (?) of a black cow; you anoint their heads with lotus ointment; you utter a cry before the sun in his moment of rising; you cut off the heads of the two; you take the heart out of the right ribs of both of them; you anoint it with the ass's blood and the blood of the tick (?) of a black cow, as aforesaid; you put them into an ass's skin you lay them in the sun until they are dry for four days; when the four days have passed, you pound them, you put them into a box; you lay it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you take the shaving (?) of a pleasure-wood (?); you recite these correct names before them; you put it into a cup of wine or beer; you give it to the woman and she drinks it.

'I am BIRA, AQHEL, LA-AQH, SASM-RIALO (? *Sasmryamr*), PLES-PLUN, YŌANE, SABAATHAL, SASUPU, NITHI, put the heart of N. born of N. after N. born of N. in these hours today.'

Seven times. You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Very excellent.

Love spells – Col. XXVI

Another invocation again of this cup of wine:

'BIRAGETHAT, SAMARA, PILPIOUN, YAHOUT, SABAOUTH, SAIPOUNITHAS.'

Another invocation belonging to it again, in another book:

'I am BIRAGATHAT, LATHAT, SASMIRA, PLIPRON, TAKON, SABAQHOT, SASOUPOUNITHA, send the heart of N. after *Sasoupounithas*.'

Invocations to see the boat of Ra, and for revelation – Col. XXVI

Another vessel-divination, (to be done) alone, for seeing the bark of *Prē*.

The invocation which you recite: 'Open to me O (?) heaven, mother of the Gods! Let me see the bark of *Prē* going up and going down in it; for I am Geb, heir of the Gods; prayer is what I make before *Prē* my father on account of a thing that hath proceeded from me. O Heknet, great one, lady of the shrine, the *Rištret* open to me, mistress of spirits, open to me primal heaven; let me worship the angels! for I am Geb, heir of the Gods. Hail! Ye seven kings; ho! Ye seven Monts, bull that engendereth, lord of strength that enlighteneth

the earth, soul of the abyss (?). Ho! Lion as lion of (?) the abyss (?), bull of the night; hail! Thou that rulest the people of the East, Noun, great one, lofty one; hail! soul of a ram, soul of the people of the West; hail! Soul of souls, bull of the night, bull (?) of (two?) bulls, son of Nut. Open to me, I am the Piercer of Earth, he that came forth from Geb; hail! I am I, I, I, E, E, E, HĒ, HĒ, HĒ, HŌ, HŌ, HŌ; I am ANEPO, MIRI-PO-RE, MAAT (?) ʾB, THIBAI, great, ARUWI, OUOOU, YAHŌ. The spirit-gathering; blood of a *smune*-goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night jar, *anh-amw* plant, *senepe* plant, Great-of-Amen-plant, *qs-anh* stone, genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, ' foot-print (?) -of-Isis' plant, pound and make into a ball, and paint your eyes with it upon (?) a goat's tear, with a 'pleasure-wood' of *ani* or ebony; you tie yourself at your side with a strip (?) of male-palm fibre.

The way of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp. You take a clean bright lamp without putting minium (or) gum-water into it, its wick being of fine linen; you fill it with genuine oil or oil of dew; you tie it with four threads of linen which have not been cooked (?); you hang it on an East wall (on) a peg of bay-wood; you make the boy stand before it, he being pure and not having gone with a woman; you cover his eyes with your hand; you light the lamp and you recite down into his head, unto seven times; you make him open his eyes; you ask him, saying, 'What are the things which you have seen?' If he says, 'I have seen. the Gods about the lamp,' then they tell him answer concerning that which they will be asked, if you wish to do it by yourself alone, you fill your eyes with the ointment aforesaid; you stand up opposite the lamp when alight; you recite to it seven times with your eyes shut; when you have finished, you open your eyes; then you see the Gods behind(?) you; you speak with them concerning that which you desire: you ought to do it in a dark place.

The invocation which you recite, formula: ' I am MANEBAI, GHETHETHŌNI, KHABAKHEL, let me worship thee, the child of ARPITHNAPIRA, PILEASA, GNURIPH-ARISA, TENI-IRISSA, PSI, PSI, IRISSA, GIMITURU-PHU-SA, OQMATSISA, OREOBAGRA, PERTAŌMĒKH, PERAGŌMĒKH, SAKMĒPH, come into me, and inquire for me about the inquiry which I am inquiring about, truthfully without falsehood.'

Its spirit-gathering: the ointment which you put on your eyes, when you are about to make any divination by the lamp. You take some flowers of the Greek bean; you find them in the place of the lupin-seller; you take them fresh, and put them into a *loq* of glass; you close its mouth very carefully for twenty days in a hidden dark place; after twenty days you take it forth, you open it; then you find a pair (?) of testicles and a phallus inside it; you leave it for forty days; and you take it forth; you open it; then you find that it has become bloody; you must put it into something of glass, and you put the glass thing into a pottery (thing) in a place hidden at all times. When you wish to make a divination (?) by the lamp with it, you fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, you proceed to lie down, or you stand opposite the lamp; you recite this invocation aforesaid; then you see the God behind (?) you, while you are standing up or lying down.

Excellent (*bis*) and tried (?).

You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink, 'BAKHUKHSIKHUKH,' (BAXYXCIXYX) or, as says another book, 'KIMEITHÖRÖ PHÖSSE'; this method which is written above is the method, of the divination of *Manebai*.

If you wish to do it by inquiry of the lamp, this also is the form; it is also profitable for (?) the divination of *Muribai*. If you do it by vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you make the boy stand upright before the lamp, he having his face covered; you recite to his head, standing over him, this Greek invocation; when you have finished, you uncover his face, then he answers you truthfully.

COL. XXVIII

Another mode of vessel-inquiry, alone.

Formula: 'I am the lord of Spirits, ORIDIMBAI, SONADIR, EPISGHES, EMMIME, THO-GOM-PHRUR, PHIRIM-PHUNI is thy name; MIMI, BIBIU (bis), GTHETHONI, I am *Wbstt*, PTHO, BALKHAM born of BINWI, SPHE, PHAS, I am BAPTHO, GAM-MI-SATRA is thy name, MI-MEO, YANUME.'

Its spirit-gathering : you go to a clean place, you take a vessel of bronze, you wash it with water of natron, you put a *log*-measure of oil to it; you place it on the ground; you light a bronze lamp; you put it on the ground by the bronze vessel; you cover yourself with a clean linen robe, you and the vessel; you recite into the vessel, your eyes being shut, for seven times; you open your eyes; you ask it concerning that which you wish; if you wish to make the Gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths to your mouth, you cry: 'YAHÖ, IPH, EOE, GINTATHOUR, NĒPHAR, APHÖĒ.'

Then they make answer to you concerning everything concerning which you will ask of it again. If they do not tell you answer, you recite this other name: 'GOGETHIX, MANTOUNOBOĒ, KÖKHIR-RHODOR, DONDROMA, LEPHOKER, KEPHAERSORE.'

If you recite these, then they inquire for you truthfully.

Another vessel-inquiry; you put vegetable oil into it; you must proceed as above.

Formula: 'Speak unto me (bis), Hamset (*H^cmst*), God of the Gods of darkness, every demon, every shade that is in the West and the East, he that hath died hath done it(?), rise up to me (bis), O thou living soul, O thou breathing soul, may my vessel go forth, my knot(?) here today, for the sake of the vessel of Isis the Great, who inquireth for her husband, who seeketh for her brother; MENAŠ (bis), MENANF (bis).' Say, 'MENAŠ (bis), MENANF (bis), PHONI (bis),' a multitude of times; and you say to the boy, 'Say, "Depart, O darkness; come to me O light," and open your eyes at once.'

Then the Gods come in and tell thee answer to everything.

A solar ritual for divination - XXIX

Behold a form of inquiry of the sun, of which they say it is well tested.

Its spirit-gathering: you take a young boy who is pure; you make the spirit-formula (?) which is written for it; you take him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment at which the sun shall rise, and it comes up entirely with the entire(?) disk; you put a new mat(?) of linen behind (?) him; you make him shut his eyes; you stand upright over him; you recite down into his head; you strike down on his head with your Ra-finger of your right hand, after filling his eye with the paint which you made before: 'NASIRA, OAPKIS, ŠFĒ (bis), BIBIOU (*bis*) is thy true name (bis), Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and height, bring to me the light which is pure; let the God come to me, who has the command, and let him say to me answer to everything which I am asking here today, in truth without falsehood therein (?), ARKHNOUTSI, ETALE, TAL, NASIRA, YARMĒKH, NASERA, AMPTHŌ, HŌ, AMAMARKAR, TĒL, YAEŌ, NASIRA, HAKIA, Lotus (*srpt*), HZISIPHTH, AHO, ATONE, I .I. E. O, BALBEL, let the pure light come to me; let the boy be (?) enchanted; let answer be given me; let the God who has the command come to me and tell me answer to everything about which I shall ask, in truth without falsehood therein.'

Thereafter you recite his compulsion another seven times, his eyes being shut.

Formula: 'SISIPI-THIRIPI S. A. E. O. NKHAB HRABAOT, PHAKTHIOP, ANASAN, KRAANA, KRATRIS, IMAPTARAPHNĒ, ARAPHNU, come to the boy; let the God who has the command come to him, let him tell me answer to everything which I shall ask here today.'

If the light is slow to come within, you say, 'KE, KE, SALSŌATHA, IPPĒL, SIRBA,' seven times; you put frankincense (?) on the brazier, you utter this great name after all those, you utter it from beginning to end, and vice versa, four times, AUEBŌTHIABATHABAITHŌBĒUA; you say: 'Let the boy see the light, let the God who has the command come in; let him tell me answer to everything about which I shall ask here today, in truth without falsehood therein.'

Behold another form of it again. You take the boy to an upper lofty place, you make him stand in a place where there is a large window before him, its opening looking to the East where the sun shines in rising into it; you paint the boy's eye with the paint which is prescribed for it, you recite to him. . . . times or seven times; you stand over him; you make him gaze before the sun when it fills the *wzat*, he standing upright on a new brick, there being a new linen robe behind him (?), and his eyes being closed; you recite down into his head; you strike on his head with your finger described above; you offer frankincense (?) before him; when you have finished you make him open his eyes, then he sees the Gods behind him (?) speaking with him.

The ointment which you put in the boy's eyes, when he goes to any vessel-inquiry of the sun. You take two . . . of the river both alive, you bum one of them with vine-wood

before the sun, you put the blood of the other to (?) it, you pound it with it with myrrh, you make them into a pill, they measuring one finger (in length); you put into his eyes; you take a kohl-pot (?) of and a kohl-stick (?) of *lel* (?). You pound this drug with a little set-stone(?) of Ethiopia and with Egyptian vine-water; you fill your eyes with it, you fill your eyes with this drug, you look towards the sun when it fills the *wzat*, your eyes being open towards it; then he appears to you, he gives you answer (?) to everything. Its chief point is purity; it is profitable for the boy, and it is profitable to you yourself as a person (acting) alone.

Properties of herbs – Verso Col. I

Eyebrow of Ra: *ophrus heliou*. Eyebrow of the moon. *ophrus selenes*. These are some herbs.

Heliogonon. *Selenegonon*. These are some herbs.

Spurge, which is that small herb that is in the gardens, and which exudes milk. If you put its milk on a man's skin, it causes a blister.

VERSO COL. II

Khamemelon. 'Clean-straw' is its name.

Leukanthemon. 'Prick-horse' (?) is its name.

Krinanthemon. 'None is better than I' is its name.

Khrysanthemum, 'Fine-face' is its name, otherwise said 'the gold flower' of the wreath-seller; its leaf is strong, its stem is cold (?), its flower is golden; its leaf is like *krinanthemon*.

Magnesia, manesia. A stone of. ... black like stibium; when you grind it, it is black.

Magnes. *Magnesia viva*; it is brought (i.e. imported ?).

Maknes. When you scrape it, it is black.

Maknes of man. It is brought from India (?); when you scrape it, it exudes blood.

To drug (?) your enemy; an *epše*-beetle(?); you burn it with styrax(?), you pound it together with one drachma of apple and a and you.... and you put a..... .

Recipes – Verso Col. III

Medicament for a catalepsy (?). Gall of cerastes, pips (?) of western apples, herb of *klo*. Grind them together, make into a ball, put it into wine (?), and drink (?).

Lees of wine. It is a white stone like galbanum. There is another sort which is made into lime (?). The way to know it that it is genuine is this. You grind a little with water; you rub it on the skin of a man for a short time; then it removes the skin. Its name in Greek (?) *aphroselenon*, 'foam of the moon,' It is a white stone.

A medicament for making a woman love a man: fruit (?) of acacia; grind with honey, anoint his phallus with it, you (sic) lie with the woman.

'Foam of the moon'; this is a white stone like glass, (when?) it is rubbed into fragments like orpiment.

VERSO COL. IV

Medicament for an ear that is watery. Salt, heat with good wine; you apply to it after cleansing (?) it first. You scrape salt, heat with wine; you apply to it for four days.

Salamandra, a small lizard which is of the colour of *chrysolite*. . It has no feet.

'Ram's horn,' kephalike is its name; an herb which is like a wild fennel bush; its leaf and its stem are incised like the 'love-man' plant: you pound it when it is dry, you gather (?) it, you make it into a dry powder; you apply it to any wound; then it is cured.

Styrax, it grows like *słom* (?) as to its leaf; its seed is twisted like the 'ram's horn' plant, it bearing a small spine at its end.

VERSO COL. V

A medicament to stop blood juice of 'Great Nile (?)' plant together with beer; you make the woman drink it in the morning before she has eaten; then it stops.

The way to know it of a woman whether she is enceinte: you make the woman pass her water on this herb as above again in the evening; when the morning comes and if you find the plant scorched (?), she will not conceive; if you find it flourishing, she will conceive.

A medicament to stop blood: leaf of *šeiša*, leaf of 'fly-bronze,' fresh; pound, put it on you, you lie with the woman.

Another: myrrh, garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with old scented wine; put (it) on you, you lie with her.

Asphodelos, otherwise called 'wild onion.' *Khelkebe*, otherwise called 'wild garlic.'

VERSO COL. VI

A remedy to cure water in a woman. The first remedy; salt and oil; pound; apply to the vulva (?) daily (?) two days.

After the two days, the second remedy: white lead, you pound it with a little pigment from an oil-dealer very carefully; you put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg and pound them; you take a strip of linen cloth which is fine-spun(?); you dip it in this medicament. She must bathe in the bath, she must wash in good wine; you put the medicated strip on her; you draw (?) it in (and) out of her vulva for a short time, like the phallus of a man, until the medicament spreads (?), you remove it, you leave her till evening; when evening comes, you dip a bandage (?) in genuine honey, you put it on her until morning, for three, otherwise said four, days.

VERSO COL VII

Another to follow it: juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed down, one ladleful (?), water of the ears of a *kle*-animal, one ladleful (?) like the ladle of a (wine-)cup; you add a *wth*-measure of good wine to them; and she drinks it at midday, before she has eaten anything whatever, after bathing in the bath, which she has done before; when evening comes, you put the rag (?) with honey on her as above for seven days.

Another to follow : you take a new dish; you put ten *wth*-measures of old sweet wine on it; you put a half kite of fresh rue on it from dawn till midday; let her bathe in the bath, and come out and drink it. When it is evening, you put honey on her as above again for seven days.

VERSO COL. VIII

Gout

You make the man sit down; you place clay under the feet of the man; you put . . . to it(?), his feet resting on it; you ask the man, saying, 'Has it hearkened?' for three days. Thereafter you take an ant (?), you cook it in oil of henna; you anoint his feet with it. When you have finished, you take Alexandrian figs and dried grapes and *potentilla*; you pound them with wine; you anoint him besides (?) these; and you blow on him with your mouth.

VERSO COL. IX.

Another:

1 kite of Euphorbia, 1/2 kite of pepper, 1 *stater* (?) of pyrethrum (?), 1 *stater* (?) of *adarkhes*, native sulphur, 1 *stater* (?), any wine 6 *staters* (?); genuine oil . . . you pound them, you make them into a poultice; apply to the part which is painful of the man.

VERSO COL. X

Another talisman for the foot of the gouty man:

You write these names on a strip of silver or tin; you put it on a deer-skin, you bind it to the foot of the man named, DERMA ELAPHION, with the two feet. 'THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUIPE AIOKHTHOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIOOU. Let N. son of N. recover from every pain which is in his feet and two legs.'

You do it when the moon is in the constellation of Leo.

VERSO COL. XI

Remedy for a foot (?):

Garlic, frankincense, old..... genuine oil ; pound together; anoint him with it. When it is dry, you wash it with cold water; then he recovers.

Remedy for a foot which is much sprained (?); very excellent.

You wash his foot with juice of cucumber; you rub it well on his foot.

Another:

Sycamore figs (?) of . . .; fruit (?) of acacia, persea fruit (?); pound together; apply to him.

A love spell – Verso Col. XII

'I am the great ŠA'AY (otherwise said, the great ŠERAY ?), who makes magic for the great Triphis (*Trpyt*), the lady of *Quwou* (?) LOL MILOL, the water of thy brother (?) is that which is in my mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, is that which is in my heart; my heart yearns, my heart loves. The longing such as a she-cat feels for a male cat, a longing such as a she-wolf feels for a he-wolf, a longing such as a bitch feels for a dog, the longing which the God, the son of *Sopd* (?), felt for Moses going to the hill of Ninaretos to offer water unto his God, his lord, his YAHŌ, SABAHO, his GLEMURAMUSE, PLERUBE, S MI ABRASAX, SENKLAI - let N. daughter of N. feel it for N. son of N.; let her feel a yearning, a love, a madness great she seeking for him going to every place. The fury of YAHŌ, SABAHO, HORYON, PANTOGRATOR, ANTORGATOR, ARBANTHALA, THALO, THALAX: for I cast fury upon you

VERSO COL. XIII

'Of the great Gods of Egypt: fill your hands with flames and fire; employ it, cast it on the heart of N. daughter of N. Waste her away, thou (?) demon; take her sleep, thou (?) man of *Amenti*; may the house of her father and her mother (and) the places where she is; call out "There is flame of fire to her," while she speaks, saying, "Have mercy (?)," she standing outside and murmuring "Have mercy (?).'

For I am an agent (?) of Geb, Horus Ron *Prē* is my name, tear her name out of Egypt for forty days, thirty-three months, 175 days, the complement of six months, GIRE, THEĒ, PISITU, EKOIMI, ATAM.'

Seven times.

Dung of crocodile, a little placenta (?) of a she-ass, together with sisymbrium, seven oipi of antelope's dung, the gall of a male goat, and first-fruits of oil: you heat them with stalks of flax. You recite to it seven times for seven days; you anoint your phallus with it, you lie with the woman; you anoint the breast (?) of the woman also.

To cause a woman to love her husband: pods of acacia, pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

To make a woman *amare coitum suum* (enjoy intercourse).

Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

VERSO COL. XIV

To make *alum*, 1 drachm, pepper, 1 drachm, *mḥ-nknwt*, dried, 4 drachms, *satyrium*, 4 drachms. Pound together into a dry medicament; do your business with it like that which you know with any woman.

Magical names – Verso Col. XV

The names of the Gods whom you want when you are about to bring in a criminal [by vase-questioning?] MASKELLI, MASKELLŌ, PHNOUKENTABAŌ, HRĒKSIKTHŌ, PERIKTHŌN, PERIPĒGANĒX, AREOBASAGRA, otherwise OBASAGRA. This name you utter it before a ship that is about to founder on account of the names of *Dioskoros*, which are within, and it is safe. You recite them to the bowl (?) of *Adōnai*, which is written outside. It will do a mighty work (?) bringing in a criminal.

A love spell – Verso Col. XVI



‘ARMIOOUT (otherwise ARMIOUTH), SITHANI, OUTHANI, ARIAMOUI, SOBRTAT, BIRBAT, MISIRITHAT, AMSIETHARMITHAT: bring N. daughter of N. out of her abodes in which she is, to any house and any place which N. son of N. is in ; she loving him and craving for him, she making the gift of his desire(?) at every moment.'

You write this in myrrh ink on a strip of clean fine linen, and you put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, in your house from evening till morning. If you find a hair of the woman to put in the wick, it is excellent.

A spell to send dreams – Verso Col. XVII.

A spell to bring a woman to a man, and to send dreams, otherwise said, to dream dreams, also.

0 H 0 M 3 J W U F D U T I Y H < < H 0 N Y 0 X 2 H 4 T F -

You write this on a rush-leaf and you place (it) under your head; you go to sleep; then it makes dreams and it sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you put it (the leaf) on the mouth of a mummy. It brings a woman also; you write this name on the rush-leaf with the blood of a.... or a hoopoe (?); and you put the hair of the woman in the leaf, and put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you write on the earth with this name, saying: 'Bring N. daughter of N. to the house in the sleeping-place in which is N. son of N.' Now it is also an *agōgimon*.

Spell for revelation – Verso Col. XVIII

ΗΡΟΥΒΥΘΟΥ ΕΚΤΟΥΛΑ ΗΡΡΕΦΕΔΙ

(ĒROUBITHOU, EKTOULA, ĒRREPHEDI)

'Reveal thyself to me, God N., and speak to me concerning that which I shall ask thee, truthfully, without telling me falsehood.'

Saffron, 2 (measures), stibium of Koptos, 2 (measures), pound together with blood of a lizard, make into a ball, and rub it with milk of one who has born a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you make invocation (?) to him (?) before any lamp or the 'Shoulder' constellation in the evening.

Spell for attracting a woman – Verso Col. XIX

A spell for bringing a woman out of her house.

You take a.... of a wild she-cat; you dry it; you take a heel-tendon (?) [of a (?).... which has been (?)] drowned; you fashion a ring the body (? bezel) of which is variegated (?) with gold [in the form of two (?)] lions, their mouths being open, the face of each being turned to the other; you put some its face (?). If you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you place the ring on the upper part of a lamp, which is lighted, you say, 'Bring N. daughter of N. to this place in which I am, quickly in these moments of today.'

Then she comes at once.

VERSO COL. XX

To heal ophthalmia (?) in a man.

‘[Ho?] Amon, this lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down from *Meroe* to Egypt, he finds my son Horns betaking himself as fast as his feet move (?), and he injured (?) him in his head with three spells in Ethiopian language, and he finds N. son of N. and carries him as fast as his feet move (?), and injures his head with three spells in Ethiopian language: GENTINI, TENTINA, QWQWBY (QUQUBI), AKKHE, AKHA.’

Say it to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, you anoint the man who has ophthalmia (?) with it.

You also write this on a new papyrus; you make it into a written amulet on his body: - 'Thou art this eye of heaven' in the writings (followed by an eye with rays, as drawn in the papyrus). (*Fragments*) of Ethiopia (?), *anh-amw* flowers, pound, make (?) of the river ... paint your eye with it.

VERSO COL. XXII

. Tested. Behold the ointment which you put on your eye when you approach the vessel of inquiry alone:

green eye-paint, stibium, *qs-anh* (?), amulet of , flowers of black *sher-o* (?) which are beans (?), blood of hoopoe, pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice of Egyptian (?) grapes, and set-stone(?) of Ethiopia; then you see the shadow of every God and every Goddess.

Its

I invoke ye, ye great Gods who shine with the sun, THEMOUKS AMP . . . PIAM, ENPAIA, EIBOTH, EIAE, SABAOth, open(?) to me (bis), ye great Gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the light, and let me see the God who inquires today, hasten (*bis*) for the protection ABLANATHANALBA, the mighty God, MARARA, ATONE, ABEIATH, N . . . SNN (?), PŠOI, ZATRAPERQMEI, Osiris, LILAM is his name. Open to me (bis), ye great Gods, let my eyes be opened to the light, and let me see the God who inquires today. Open to me (bis). I cast the fury on ye of the great (*bis*) God . . . whose might is great (?), who lives for ever, give power to the name (?) the name of the God (?) open to me (bis), ye great Gods who shine with the sun, let my eyes be opened to the light, and let me see the God who answers today, hasten (*bis*). . . times . . . !

VERSO COL. XXIII

(*Lines 1-9 fragments.*)

dung.....dried and burnt, 2 measures, pound (with oil of) henna and honey, anoint your phallus therewith, and lie with her.

A divination ritual – Verso Col. XXIV

....., ...on it, and you of fine linen on it (? him), these three names being written on it,with myrrh; you light it and place it your head; you recite them to it again nine times. the lamp; you do it at the time of the third hour(?) of evening [and you] lie down (?).

Formula: 'YŌBASAOUMPTHŌ KHRŌME LOUKHAR let my eyes be opened in truth concerning any given matter which I am praying for here today, in truth without telling thee (sic) falsehood.'

'YŌBASAOUMPTTHŌKHRŌMELOUKHAR, let my eyes be opened in truth concerning any given thing which I am praying for here today.'

VERSO COL. XXV

..... hawk's dung, salt, *asi* plant, *bel*, pound together, anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman. If it is dry, you pound a little of it with wine, and you anoint your phallus with it and you lie with the woman.
Excellent (bis).

Formulae to invoke the Gods – Verso Col. XXVI

If you wish to make the Gods of the vessel (?) speak with you, when the Gods come in, you say this name to them nine times: 'YAHŌ, IPHE, EŌE, KINDATHOUR, NĒPHAR, APHŌĒ.'

Then he makes command to you as to that which you shall ask him about. If delay occurs, so that answer is not given you, you recite this other name to them nine times until they inquire for you truthfully: 'GOGETHIX, MANTOU, NOBOĒ, KHŌKHIR, HRODOR, DONDROMA, LEPHOKER, KEPHAERSŌRE.'

Seven times.

YAHŌ, EIPHĒ, ŌN, KINDATHOUR, NEPHAR, APHOE.

An invocation – Verso Col. XXVII

According to that which is above within, saying, 'I am this SIT-TA-KO, STM is my name, STM is my correct name. I am GANTHA, GINTEU, GIRITEU, ȚRINOUTER, ARINOUTE, LABTATHA, LAPTUTHA, LAKSANTHA, SARISA,

MARKHARAHUTEU, ARSINGA-KHLA; in another volume: ARSINGA-LABEL, BOLBOEL. BOĒL (*bis*), LOTERI, GLOGASANTRA, YAHŌ, is my name, YAHŌ is my correct name, BALKHAM, the mighty (?) one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, gryphon of the shrine of the God which stands today (?).'

VERSO COL. XXVIII

You shall cause a star (?) to go . . . place (?) under the earth (?) when the moon is in the constellation of Scorpio.

VERSO COL. XXIX

Spell to make mad any man or any woman.

You take the hair of the man whom you wish, together with the hair of a dead (murdered?) man; and you tie them to each other, and tie them to the body of a hawk, and you release (?) it alive. If you wish to do it for some days, you put the hawk in a place and you feed it in your house.

VERSO COL. XXX

If youdung of a *smoune*-goose, then her body falls.

Another: you anoint your phallus with dung of a *kel*, and you lie with (the) woman, and then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee).

You pound dung of..... with honey, and you anoint your phallus with it as above again.

Another: dung of hyaena (?) with ointment of roses as above again.

Another: you fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung when the menstruation is on her; then she is cured. Ass's dung also - this method (of treatment).

Invocation – Verso Col. XXXI

‘SISIHŌOUT otherwise ARMIŌUTH, the God who liveth, the lamp which is lighted, come within before me, and give me answer concerning that which I ask about here today.'

VERSO COL XXXII

To make....rave for a man. You take a live shrew-mouse (?), and take out its gall and put it in one place, and take its heart and put it in another place. You take its whole body, you pound it very much; when it is dry, you take a little of the pounded stuff with a little blood of your second finger, (that) of the heart, of your left hand, and put it in a cup of wine and you make the woman drink it, then she has a passion for you.

You put its gall into a cup of wine; then she dies instantly; or put it in meat or some food.

You put its heart in a ring of gold and put it on your hand; then it gives you great praise, love, and respect.

Spell against fevers and headache – Verso Col. XXXIII

“Horus..... he was going up a hill at midday in the verdure season, mounted on a white horse on a black horse, the papyrus rolls of... being on(?) him, those of the Great of Five in his bosom. He found all the Gods seated at the place of judgement eating [of the produce ?] of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief. Said they, 'Horus, come, art thou eating? Horus, come, wilt thou eat ?'”

He said, 'Take yourselves from me; there is no [desire ?] in me for eating. I am ill in my head; I am ill in my body; a fever hath taken hold of me, a South wind hath seized me. Doth Isis cease to make magic? Doth Nephthys cease to give health? Are the sixteen *Netbeou*, is the one Power of God, are the 365 Gods seated to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my (?) Chief, until they remove the fever from the head of the son of Isis (and) from the head of N. born of N., the fevers by night, the fevers by day, the headache, this burning, this heat of the fevers of of his feet, remove from the head of N. born of N.'

Say it over genuine oil seven times, and anoint his hand, his body, his feet, and pronounce the words to him.

Finis



